

BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDENT MOVEMENT

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**By The
Revolutionary Union**

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INTRODUCTION

To read the papers of a few months ago, you would think that the student movement was dead and buried. The different media outdid each other daily, cheering the fact that students were no longer interested in "raising hell" and changing the system. Now students were maturing and returning to their books. The "calm" on the campuses was a common theme for news reporters, and college presidents sighed in relief. The so called winding down of the war and the 18 year old vote had restored students' faith in the system. The student movement, after a decade of fierce political activism, had died.

So the papers said.

To the great dismay of the press, the government and the big businessmen who control them, those myths were exposed and smashed by the massive student unrest throughout the country in the spring of '72. On campus after campus thousands of students rose up in protest of the latest escalation of U.S. imperialism's war of aggression in Viet Nam. Breaking a two year period of relative silence, the American student movement reestablished its fighting tradition of meeting the government's attacks blow for blow.

In the struggle of the American people against U.S. imperialism's aggression around the world and especially in Indochina, the student movement has been a leading force for a decade. In many other anti-imperialist struggles, it has played a key role. The movement to free political prisoners and fight fascist repression, support of workers' struggles, liberation for women . . . all of these are struggles students have helped push forward. The student movement has been, and will continue to be, a powerful battalion in the struggle of the American people.

in three main ways: First, as communist intellectuals who will bring communist ideology to the working class; Second, *as a group*, students will spread anti-imperialist ideas among workers; and Third, by building a powerful anti-imperialist movement, including a Marxist-Leninist section within that movement, on the campuses. We have confidence that the working class will grasp these truths, and raise all the struggles of the people, including the students, to an entirely new level." (Red Papers I) This pamphlet analyzes the roles of the student movement in the past and for the future.

We are at a crucial point in the development of the student movement. From a movement that attacked the symptoms of imperialism (racial discrimination, aggression abroad, etc.) to a conscious anti-imperialist movement which strikes at the root of the problem—the capitalist system; this is the step being taken today. At times like these, critical questions arise and confront the student activists. And these questions must be dealt with.

This pamphlet will try to address the following questions:

**WHERE DID THE STUDENT MOVEMENT COME FROM,
WHAT IS ITS HISTORY?**

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

**WHAT ROLE DOES THE STUDENT MOVEMENT PLAY WITH-
IN THE OVERALL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE?**

**HOW DO WE RE-BUILD THE STUDENT MOVEMENT ON A
STRONG ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS?**

**WHAT ARE THE IMMEDIATE TASKS AND WHAT PITFALLS
DO WE NEED TO AVOID IN ORDER TO CARRY THESE TASKS
OUT?**

These and other questions must be taken up by the student movement. This pamphlet is a step toward answering them. It does not answer many specific questions that face third world students or junior college students—although we do feel the general lessons summarized in this pamphlet are applicable. (Reliance on the masses of people, the leading role of the working class, etc.) It does analyze the history of the American student movement and the lessons to be learned from that history.

It puts forward certain key problems facing the movement right now. And it proposes a program for building the anti-imperialist student movement in the present period. First, however, we must have a historical perspective in which we can view the student movement. In order to do this, the rise of U.S. imperialism in the world is briefly traced in the first section.

RISE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Since WW II, the role of U.S. imperialism internationally has become increasingly clear; U.S. aid to Chiang Kai-shek in China in 1945, direct military intervention in Korea in 1950, the propping up of corrupt puppet regimes all over the world to protect U.S. investments, and the U.S.'s decade long war against the Indochinese people have all pinpointed U.S. imperialism as the main counter-revolutionary force in the world today.

What led to the U.S. becoming the main imperialist power in the world?

Although imperialism began developing in the late 19th century (U.S. capital investment abroad rose from \$100 million in 1869 to \$25 billion in 1908) it wasn't until WW II that the U.S. imperialists found themselves in a position to edge out the other imperialist powers and come out on top, controlling much of the world's wealth. While WW II raged across Europe, destroying much of the industrial base of European nations, the U.S., which suffered little war damage, used its position to "sit on the mountain top and watch the tigers battle below." The U.S. government only entered the latter period of the war to turn things their way. Through loans to the weakened imperialist powers, Britain, Japan, France, and Germany, the U.S. imperialists were able to carve out large parts of these countries' economies for themselves and at the same time make these countries dependent on the U.S. dollar. The U.S. also used its position to secure military bases in many of these countries.

U.S. imperialism came out of WW II controlling nearly 70% of the world's oil, 50% of the rubber, 55% of the world's steel and basic metals, 45% of the electrical power, and 45% of the entire world's income.

Rising in opposition to the imperialist's theft of the wealth of the world has been the struggle of the oppressed and toiling masses to take back the wealth that rightfully belongs to them. In 1917, the Russian working class in alliance with the peasantry, armed with the theory of proletarian revolution originated by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, captured state power. The Russian Revolution removed vast territories from the hands of the imperialists—inspiring working and oppressed people the world over to do the same thing.

The successful Russian Revolution was a tremendous setback for the imperialist powers. But it was only the beginning of troubles for the imperialists. The Russian people removed 1/6 of the world's people from imperialist and capitalist exploitation. Vainly the imperialists tried again to conquer the U.S.S.R. during WW II, but the

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is the highest and final stage of the capitalist system of wage slavery. Imperialism has five main features that distinguish it from the earlier form of "competitive capitalism:"

- (1) The dominance of monopolies in the major industries of the country. This is why imperialism is the same as monopoly capitalism.
- (2) The merging together of industrial capital and bank capital into finance capital, as the dominant form of capital and investment.
- (3) The export by the big monopolies of capital, either money, in the form of long-term loans and investments, or physical capital, such as factories, machines, etc. This export of capital, international investment, replaces trade of finished goods as the main form of capitalist economic relationship with other countries.
- (4) The formation of international cartels between the big monopolies of various imperialist countries.
- (5) The territorial division of the world by the big capitalist powers is completed, the various imperialist powers struggle against each other to redivide the world. This is why imperialism inevitably produces wars.

Imperialism, or monopoly capitalism, does not do away with the internal conflicts of the capitalist system, but raises them to a higher, more intense level, and spreads them throughout the world. This leads to a world wide struggle against imperialist rule, and inevitably to the victory of proletarian revolution.

Red Army under the leadership of Joseph Stalin defeated the Nazi's attempt to enslave the Russian people and the people of the world once more.

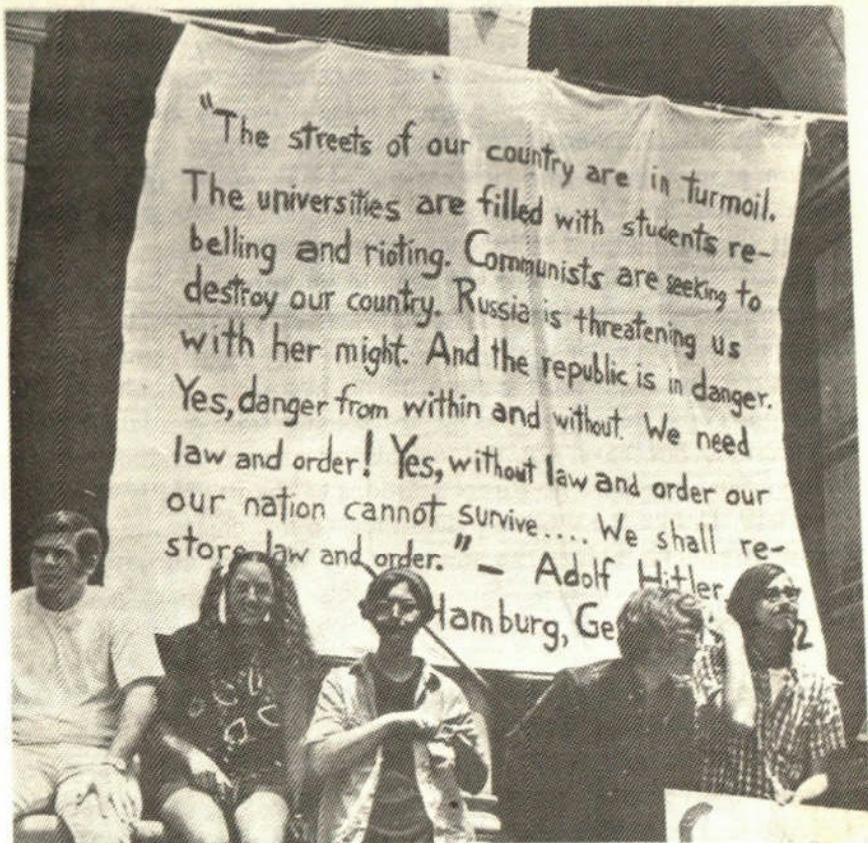
Immediately following the USSR's success in defending their state sovereignty and leading the struggle against fascism, came the successes of the Chinese people under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung in 1949. Mao Tse-Tung, correctly applying Marxism-Leninism, united the Chinese people to defeat the imperialist's attempts to dominate China. The Chinese revolution removed another 1/4 of humanity from imperialist enslavement.

All over the world revolutionary struggles intensified and the weakened imperialists became desperate. U.S. imperialism, as the main imperialist power, found itself having to wage global counter-revolution in order to defend its interests. In order to meet threats to its power the U.S. has established over 3,000 military installations on foreign soil. It has pumped out billions of dollars in foreign aid to prop up corrupt regimes favorable to U.S. investments and opposed to true independence for their countries. In spite of desperate shows of force, country after country has been successful in gaining independence—North Korea, North Vietnam, Albania, Cuba, Algeria, Chile and many other Third World countries. Much to the woe of the U.S. imperialists; countries want freedom, nations want independence and the people want revolution!! National liberation struggles have truly become the main historical trend in the world today. The truth of this is reflected in revolutionary movements in almost every country in the world.

The tremendous intensification of the struggles of the world's people against U.S. imperialism, especially in Vietnam and all of S.E. Asia combined with the growing struggle for national liberation of Black and Brown people in this country, has had a tremendous impact on awakening the student movement in the U.S.



**REVOLUTION
IS THE
MAIN TREND
IN THE
WORLD TODAY**



A SHORT HISTORY OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The history of the student movement in the last 10 years has gone through two general phases. The development of the student movement must be viewed as an historical process—there is no magic dividing line between the two phases—both of which are marked by uneven development within them. Both periods found students struggling against the objective conditions of imperialism. But the earlier period was largely characterized by a student movement that battled the symptoms of U.S. imperialism without understanding the disease itself. The next period, the period we are now in, finds many active students linking up the struggles around different issues and coming to an understanding of imperialism as a system—a system responsible for exploitation and oppression at home and abroad.

But before we go any further, it is first necessary to understand why students become involved in political activity in the first place. In the last 10 years in this country there have been two main groups

in society that have been leading the resistance against the injustices in the U.S.—the Black liberation movement and the student movement. Now, as the economic crisis deepens, the working class is fighting the increasing attacks on its living standards and beginning to act on overall political questions like the Vietnam war, discrimination against 3rd world people, and women etc. It is clear why Black people and the working class as a whole are struggling to get rid of the conditions they are forced to live under—but why students? Don't most students come from relatively comfortable backgrounds? Don't they have a chance to further their education?—something many people don't have? Yes, all that is true, and it is also a large part of the reason many students become politically active. Students are in transition. They are coming from particular class backgrounds but have not yet established their individual role in society. Students have no direct relations to the productive process of society. Unlike the working class they do not create the material wealth of society. This is the source of the so-called alienation that has swept student circles. Since students do not have a clearly defined productive role in society they begin searching for it, or at least questioning the role that has been cut out for them. And because students have the time, resources, and skills, they are able to get a broad view of what is happening in society, in order to determine what role they want to play in it. As a result many students have become politically active because they understand intellectually the injustices that exist as a result of U.S. imperialism without having to directly experience them. But in addition to this, students, as part of the petty-bourgeois (mainly), are finding their position in society being cut away by the decay and crisis of imperialism.

FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO VIETNAM

The 1950's were the last years of what college trustees must look back on as the golden age of American education. The kids were clean, quiet, studious, and best of all anxious to get out and make a buck. But this was not to last. The struggle of Black people for their democratic rights and equality had begun to roll forward in the fifties with the Montgomery bus boycotts and the Little Rock school fight. The Black liberation struggle was given impetus as the sixties began by Black college students, who initiated the freedom rides and lunch counter sit-ins. In the North, white college students joined integrated groups like CORE or formed support organizations like

the Friends of SNCC. These groups fought against discrimination in stores and schools, publicized the struggle in the South. In addition, hundreds of students went south on summer projects.

The early 60's also saw the growth of pacifist and nuclear disarmament organizations like the committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy. These grew most rapidly after the Cuban missile crisis when American imperialism was minutes from launching a vicious war.

These early movements, although developing side by side (with many individuals involved in both movements) were largely seen as separate issues with only vague if any connections made between them. They were movements to force reality into what high school civic books said America could and should be. "Bring America into the Twentieth Century" was the slogan and voter registration was the means. Young people believed in the electoral system and many regarded John Kennedy as a leader and hero. But white students found that the day to day struggle for survival of the Black farmers and workers they were trying to register brought them face to face with conditions far different from ones they had previously known. This was underlined by the stark brutality that Blacks braved as they fought for their rights. Students began to ask the first questions



Black students spearheaded the civil rights struggle, awakening white students to activism.

about their own individual class positions and their educations. The free speech movement at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964, was a direct outgrowth of the civil rights movement.

At first, the growth of U.S. aggression in Vietnam was actively opposed only by a tiny handful of anti-imperialist youth. The liberal peace and disarmament groups discredited themselves by forthrightly refusing to raise it as an issue. In this vacuum many students campaigned for Lyndon Johnson in 1964, on the basis of his anti-escalation promises. SDS in New York summed it up in the slogan, "Part of the way with LBJ."

In February of 1965, Johnson began the savage bombing of North Vietnam. For many the dream of fulfilling the American myth died. "We Shall Overcome" took on a hollow ring as conditions in the South failed to be transformed, as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was denied seating at the Democratic Convention, and as ghetto rebellions and the murder of Malcolm X proved to whites that racial oppression did not stop at the Mason-Dixon Line. These activist students began defining themselves in open rebellion to something they knew as "the System," but exactly what it was and how it was to be fought, was still far from clear. Black people pointed the way after the last big Mississippi Summers in 1964 and 1965, by politely telling whites, "Go back and organize your own people." They knew better than the white students the depth of racism among the white people and also the great oppression of white poor and working people. 1965 saw the growth of SDS community projects up North. Some of them (NCUP—Newark Community Union Project and JOIN—Jobs or Income Now) lasted up to 3 years. These projects were based on the concept of communities of the poor (entire communities forced out of work by automation), communities which would fight for control over the institutions that controlled their lives and for a guaranteed national income. This went hand in hand with the organizing of students on campuses (who would be running the machines that had displaced people) to link up with the communities of the poor and take control over various institutions. This theory was very similar to the new working class theory (described later).

S.D.S.

For whites, at least, student movement in the mid-1960's meant the Students for a Democratic Society. The SDS Port Huron Statement of 1961, the organization's founding principles, was the epitome of belief in the perfectability of America. Yet by 1965

disillusionment had led SDS to sponsor the first big Vietnam demonstration in Washington D.C. Because SDS refused on principle to exclude communists from the demonstration or from the organization, liberals and the leadership of SANE tried to sabotage the April march. Swamping everyone's expectations, 25,000 people showed up. On the west coast, centered in Berkeley, the Vietnam Day Committee, a broad coalition against the war, held demonstrations at the same time, also drawing tens of thousands.

Concerned young people flooded to the SDS banner of "participatory democracy"; Roosevelt-Kennedy democrats, free enterprise fans, anarchists, socialists, and many who were unsure what they were, although most inclined towards pacifism. In Northern California alone, there were close to 25 SDS chapters. In early 1966, a small but influential anti-imperialist group called the May 2 Movement (M2M) officially dissolved—its members joined SDS. Many in M2M also related to the Progressive Labor Party, a group which at the time appeared to push a Marxist-Leninist analysis. However, the changing nature of PL's role was summed up with a great deal of foresight in Red Papers 1:

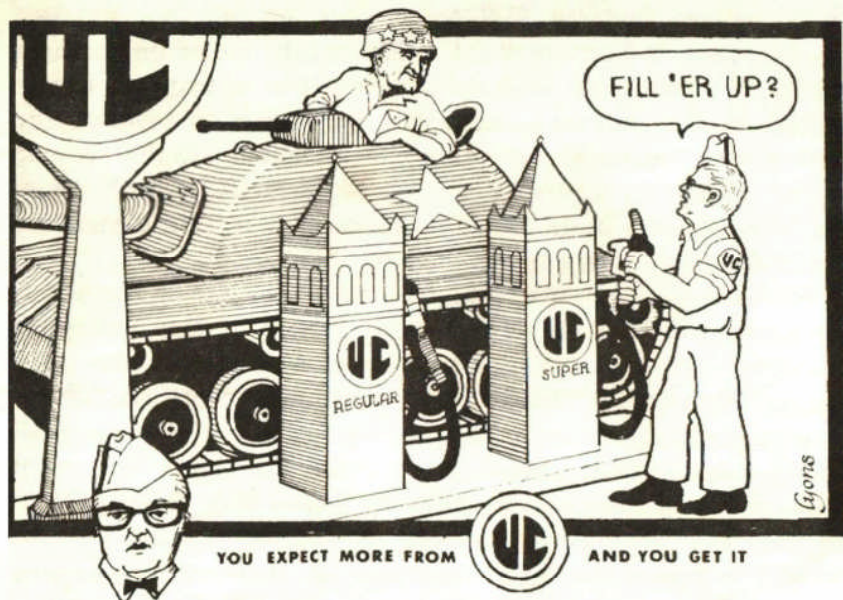
For a time it appeared that the organization (PL) would make a significant contribution to a revolutionary movement in the U.S. In its early stages PL seemed to be carrying out a genuine struggle against revisionism. It took a militant and principled stand before the HUAC: it raised the anti-imperialist consciousness through its support of the Cuban people's struggle against the U.S. It supported the Black Liberation movement, and contributed to the defeat of pacifist and liberal ideas in that struggle and in the anti-war movement. Its launching of the student M2M was helpful practically and ideologically. Whatever mistakes PL made in line and action in that period could be called short-comings. In our view that is no longer the case. (Page 18)



READ: **The RED PAPERS**

R.U. theoretical journal

(see inside back cover)



Graphic reproduced from "The Uses of U.C. Berkeley," a pamphlet by the Radical Student Union in 1969.

San Jose State students' prop exposing Standard Oil Co. recruiters.



However, most SDSers were not anti-imperialist or Marxist-Leninist. They were just against "the system"—many were anti-"authority" for the most part. Among most SDS'ers there also existed a growing disillusionment with anything "liberal" after the crimes and lies of JFK and LBJ (the Bay of Pigs invasion and the bombing of the North in Vietnam). The general anti-authoritarianism that existed fostered in return a kind of anarchism that was as impotent as the despised liberalism it was intended to replace. Most important of all, participatory democracy came to mean a rejection of leadership. On a national level this was very serious. The independence of chapters was raised to the highest principle; because of this, SDS abdicated its overall role in the anti-war movement. Individual chapters of course continued to respond to demonstrations, but could not play a planning role, leaving that to giant one-issue coalitions controlled largely by reformists and opportunists, like the Mobe. On a local level it was less of a problem because, of course, leadership did develop in chapters, but this was spontaneous and no discussion of what the role of leadership should be took place. This lack of understanding had serious repercussions as the organization grew.

Despite the independence of chapters, their work tended to follow a basic pattern. Vietnam teach-ins led to action, which mainly took the form of work against the draft. This focused on anti-recruiter activity, Resistance and draft card turn-ins. Students began to investigate the relationship between the war and the universities. Students fought to sever the ties between the "war machine" and their schools. At Columbia, students protested Dept. of Defense contracts, and Stanford students demonstrated against SRI's counter-insurgency research. And all over the country, students waged campaigns against ROTC programs, military recruiters on campus, war-related industry recruiters (such as the Dow Co. which manufactures napalm) and war-related research in general.

On the whole these struggles revealed only one aspect of the universities complicity with the imperialist system. It was an important beginning that laid the basis for the future growth of anti-imperialist consciousness in the student movement.

The political agitation struck directly at the ties between the imperialist system and the colleges so the school administration responded with repression. This turned the movement towards efforts to reform the university—to "student power." Some radicals sought to win support from masses of students with demands like open dorms or ending requirements, figuring that once they were mobilized they

could be given a dose of politics. Students did not respond and school administrations set up dozens of faculty student committees and undermined student power demands by cooptation. But the real change of emphasis at this time was due to the fact that campus reform struggles did not strike at the basic contradictions of society which had provoked students to action in the first place. Student power ignored the world outside the ivory tower. Vietnam was fighting half a million American invaders. Watts and Detroit put the exclamation point in Stokeley's cry for Black Power. The student movement shook itself awake again.

It was roughly at this time the student movement was entering into its second phase—politically active students in larger numbers than ever before began to understand that imperialism itself was the enemy. There were three major factors that influenced the student movement in this direction. They were: 1) the already gained experience in the fight for civil rights and against university complicity with the war; 2) further research into who ran the universities and how it serves their interests; and 3) the Black Panther Party.

As was pointed out earlier, the research into university complicity with the war laid the foundation for more extensive investigations. Articles and pamphlets began to draw a more comprehensive picture of the role of the university under imperialism: They pointed out that American colleges and universities, especially the large universities, are important centers of research and planning for the ruling class. (These investigations confirmed in many student minds the existence of a ruling class). Industry and government use the university for much more than just producing graduates. The military depends heavily on the universities for weapons research, political and cultural studies of other countries, etc. The trustees who run the colleges were almost all heads of monopoly corporations and banks. For instance, the University of California is the biggest nuclear weapons developer in the country. It also concentrates on aiding California agri-business and industry. U.C. helped develop the bracero program for importing inexpensive laborers from Mexico. And when the Labor Dept. cut that off, the university jumped to agri-business's aid once again by quickly designing (for free) a tomato picking machine. Stanford University with its Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace and the SRI, develops foreign policy so that American corporations, and the military, can dominate the Pacific Basin. The state college system doesn't miss out either. In California, besides aiding local and state industry, a special program has trained many young Vietnamese to be "leadership" (i.e. U.S.

puppets) for their country. (This program has backfired as many Vietnamese students have stood up and supported the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence).

The important point here is not the few muckraking examples, but the fact this function of direct service to the ruling class is an integral part of America's higher education system.



Free Huey Rally—May Day 1969, San Francisco.

THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The direction of the student movement from its beginning was always strongly influenced by the struggles of Black people. This reached a new level with the emergence of the Black Panther Party in 1967.

The BPP symbolized the militant, organized resistance against the national oppression of Black people. The BPP continually demonstrated their seriousness as they stood fast behind the principle of armed self-defense—breaking through the shroud of pacifism that engulfed the progressive movement for so long. The BPP repeatedly stated and patiently explained that the struggle in the U.S. was basically a class struggle—all poor and oppressed people against U.S. imperialism. The Panthers also popularized the Red Book and slogan "Serve the People" and demonstrated the importance of a disciplined

organization. The massive campaign to Free Huey Newton, led by the Panthers, brought many of the above points to the fore. It was also an inspiring example of how—by relying on the masses of people, political victories can be won. Despite almost unprecedented pig infiltration and violent repression, and whatever the internal weaknesses of the Panthers, they ushered in a new stage in the development of the U.S. revolutionary movement in 1967.

Another of the ways the Panthers influenced the student movement, was by giving impetus to the organization of B.S.U.'s and other progressive Third World organizations. The Panthers encouraged these organizations to serve their communities and to fight against abandoning the people's needs for narrow self interest. The Panthers called for a revolutionary unity between poor and working people of all colors and in so doing opposed the cultural nationalist position that divided progressive forces. The Panthers so exposed the reactionary nature of cultural nationalism, that some cultural nationalist police agents assassinated two Panthers at U.C.L.A. The experiences at Columbia, S.F. State, and U.C. Berkeley were to show that when Third World students united, victories could be won.

The Black liberation struggles also had an effect on the anti-war movement. Inspired by the Black Liberation movement, the struggle between the militant and pacifist opposition to the war came to a head with Stop the Draft Week in Oakland, California, when 10,000 students battled police to close down the induction center. The next week-end, an even larger, militant demonstration surrounded the Pentagon. A new tone had been firmly established in the anti-war movement. All across the country militant struggles erupted. At Columbia University buildings were occupied by Black students and SDS to prevent the university from expanding at the expense of the surrounding poor communities.

In May, 1968, in France student struggles merged with a workers' general strike, setting off a grave crisis for the French government. This was followed in this country by the Chicago Democratic National Convention, where the hopes of many people that the Democratic Party would produce an anti-war candidate were crushed. Outside the Convention hall, thousands of anti-war demonstrators and McCarthy supporters were beaten bloody by the Chicago police. The Chicago Convention illustrated to many students the futility of trying to reform the Democratic Party. These events created an atmosphere of tremendous anticipation as the 196-69 school year started. It was a time when anti-imperialist consciousness began to blossom.

Third World students began the 1968-69 year by rejecting the old divide and conquer trick. The school administrators were constantly trying to pit Black, Chicano, Asian and Native-American students against each other to fight over the financial aid crumbs, administrative posts for minorities, etc. On many campuses Third World students banded together and led a fierce struggle to force the higher education system to serve their communities. On many campuses, the fight for Third World studies departments and open admissions was waged. The longest student strike in the history of the country was staged at S.F. State College as thousands of students rallied

Third World students led longest student strike in U.S. history at S.F. State.



under Third World leadership to support the democratic right to a relevant education for Third World people. S.F. State was followed by the Third World strike at U.C.B. Both these strikes exposed who the colleges served and the role of the police in preserving the ruling class's control over these institutions. S.F. State strike drew students (and the public at large) attention to the Master Plan for Education which established a tracking system throughout the California schools. According to the master plan, anyone in the top 33% of their high school class was supposed to be able to get into the University of California and anyone from the top 70% could get into the state colleges. In reality, only students in the top 12% can enter the University and only the top 33% the state colleges. Black, Brown and other Third World students have been hit hardest of all by the economic crisis—at S.F. State for example, in 1960, 12% of the students were Black; by 1968 this had dropped to 3%. The S.F. State strike illustrated the fact that the fundamental function of the educational system is to serve the ruling class. The educational system is one of the weapons the ruling class uses to maintain, enforce and further its class rule. From the lowest grades, children of definite classes are prepared for their class roles, either to exploit or



Striking S.F. State students formed a solidarity pact with striking Standard Oil workers in Richmond.

to be exploited. We have grading systems, tracking systems, IQ tests, etc. to legitimize this process. The "better" schools make sure they get the "better" students (ruling-class or upper-middle-class students) through high tuitions, entrance exams, etc. In California, the average parent's income gets lower and lower as you go from Stanford to U.C. to State Colleges to Junior Colleges. This is the same in every state.

Not only did the S.F. State strike deepen understanding of the schools as a tool of imperialist rule, but for the first time in years made a significant breakthrough in the isolation of student struggles from the struggles of other sections of the people. By uniting with the surrounding Black and Brown communities and the strikers at Standard Oil in Richmond, the student strikers demonstrated the importance of linking up with allies (outside the student movement) to gain the strength of a united front to win their demands.

As student participation in strikes increased, anti-working class ideas decreased. Student participation in strikes also undercut the image of students presented by the media as "wildeyed, mindless anarchists." And during the course of many strikes workers solicited the support of students. At the same time an ever increasing number of students (although still small in number) recognized the necessity for the working class to lead the revolutionary battle to overthrow U.S. imperialism. Many of these students left the campuses to join the struggles of the working class and help build a revolutionary multi-national working class movement.

It was also during the course of the S.F. State Strike and the Third World Strike at Berkeley that masses of students grasped the slogan raised by many third world students in opposition to the war in Vietnam—"our fight is here." Anti-imperialist consciousness became even more wide-spread on the campuses.

Around the same time, the women in the movement took up the anti-imperialist battle on another front—the liberation of women. Many small women's groups examined the roots of the oppression of women. This investigation proved male supremacy, like racism, was a prop of capitalism. Some of the most obvious examples of these inquiries pointed to were how women were systematically brought into the work force when needed (like during WW II) and then forced out when the need was met; less pay for equal work (not only a clear savings for companies but also a brake on the wages of the whole work force). These were just a few of the many aspects of the oppression of women that were discussed in these small groups. Although some groups stagnated and became ingrown, this was far

weighed by the struggles that grew on the campuses for women's rights, especially the struggle for child-care programs. In addition many women left the campus to fight against the oppression women faced on the job and in the community. Another extremely important result of the women's liberation movement was that it spawned active participation of women in all aspects of the anti-imperialist movement, (and not just as typists).

In spite of this tremendous surge forward, there were still many questions unanswered about the direction the student movement could take. To say that the movement was becoming Marxist-Leninist is misleading. In fact, this was a real period of transition for the student movement as a whole. As we said earlier, in its beginning, the student movement lacked a cohesive understanding of the ties between the fights around different issues. Along with this were weak reform-oriented strategies. As students saw the inadequacies of reform here—reform there approach they had to seek the strategy that would correspond to their developing understanding of imperialism.



Anti-imperialist women lead march on the Women's House of Detention in New York.



Revolutionary leader of the heroic Vietnamese people—Ho Chi Minh.

SPLIT IN SDS—P.L. & WEATHERMEN

The most serious and crucial debates over new strategies and new directions for the student movement took place in SDS. Many diverse ideas about what was needed to build a revolutionary movement in America were aired in these political debates. Out of these ideological struggles came three basic trends: 1) P.L.; 2) Weatherman; and 3) the other forces who could not accept P.L. or Weatherman strategies.

The role of PL in the latter part of SDS was succinctly summarized in Red Papers 1. We quote at length because we feel it important that students not repeat the mistakes made earlier.

The relationship of PL to the student movement is also a matter for serious concern. PL factionalism is threatening to destroy SDS. Predictably PL factionalism within SDS has engendered a factional response. On many campuses splits have already occurred. The pattern is simple: PL so screws up the works in specious "ideological" disruption, that, patience exhausted, other forces create a counter-organization, or disintegrate. This procedure shows that PL does not want to serve the people, to learn from others, or to unite with others; it merely wishes to carry out leadership coups. It offers up the worker-student alliance as a grand strategy for power. . . . Its real meaning is

probably best summed up in the incredibly sectarian statement made in the February PL Magazine editorial "opposed to imperialism stands the Progressive Labor Party and its political supporters."—the masses be damned! In all advanced industrial countries, the student movement is playing a vanguard role and often brings advanced ideas to the workers, and to use that preaching as a club against student assaults on the ruling class is to cater to the most conservative non-struggle rationalizations of students. Don't smash the Standard Oil recruiter, only a worker-student alliance can defeat the ruling class. When students do move in support of workers' struggles, as in Richmond, California, PL advises them not to act as "shock troops." . . . When the workers move before the students do, on the basis of revolutionary ideas, such as the Black Detroit auto workers, PL finds one thing after another wrong with the struggle, and advises students: "Hands Off." And when students and workers form joint solidarity pacts, PL attacks the opportunism of the leaders on both sides. The only consistency in their application of worker-student alliance strategy is opposition to the most militant struggles with the most advanced consciousness, whenever they are led by anyone other than PL, which is almost always, since PL's reactionary line seldom leads to their leadership of the struggle. (Page 21)

PL, posing as Marxist-Leninists, openly exposed themselves as objectively counter-revolutionary with their declarations that "all rationalism is reactionary." This led to an attack on the Panthers. PL's racism created an opposition to PL within SDS that grew as they denounced Ho Chi Minh as a traitor. In Red Papers 1, the R.U. put forward: "The Vietnamese face U.S. imperialism, guns in hand, defeating it on the battlefield and winning support all over the world. Here in the U.S. their persistence and heroism has raised the consciousness of millions and advanced all struggles against the ruling class. Revolutionaries and working people owe a profound debt to the Vietnamese people and Ho Chi Minh for exposing and weakening U.S. imperialism. And contrary to the statement that North Vietnam has sold us out, they have advanced our struggle a thousand fold." PL's words and actions formed the noose with which they hung themselves. At the same time as PL drove many students out of politics altogether, others took up a serious study of Marxism-Leninism in order to refute PL's obviously counter-revolutionary stance.

Within SDS, PL was not the only group that used Marxism-Leninism as a guise for misleading the student movement. One section of SDS, that later crystallized into Weatherman, promoted the new working class theory. The new working class theory was an attempt to redefine the working class so that everyone could fit into it, *with no sweat!* For example a leading proponent of the new working class theory wrote in New Left Notes in 1969, "Marx's prophecy of the development of capitalist society into two classes, a large working class and a small ruling bourgeoisie, has nearly come true. . . . If class membership is determined by relationship to the means of production, in a Marxist fashion, then the vast majority of the people in this country, who own no means of production and are forced to sell their labor power to someone who does, are members of the working class." If this statement were taken literally, then not only cops, but military brass and all other pigs, who own no means of production and sell themselves to the ruling class are part of the working class. The real point in defining the working class so vaguely was to push intellectuals and skilled technicians as the main revolutionary force. The new working class theory flowed from the class position of the students promoting it who were spurred on by the general situation in the economy at that time which was in a period of general boom, a point when many new highly skilled technical jobs were opening up. But it was realized that their relative privileges made it impossible that they would spearhead the opposition to the ruling class. And more politically aware students studied the history of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and China's analysis of Russia and recognized that in Russia this same technically skilled elite had formed the social basis for the restoration of capitalism.

Also underlying the new working class theory was a reaction to PL beating students over the head with a club labeled "working class." Unfortunately in rejecting PL some chucked the baby out with the bath water and began to feel that the American working class was "fascist" and could not be moved.

Weatherman based its anti-working class ideas on the false assumptions that the working class in America was 1) all white, and 2) so bought off with material privilege pillaged from the Third World that revolution was not in its interest. So Weatherman tried to organize a "red army of fighting white youth" to trash the mother country in support of wars of national liberation. This proved unworkable. When the youth they sought to recruit stayed away in droves, the

organization degenerated into a terrorist underground. Weatherman's strategy was not just a one-shot fad, a contemporary phenomena. Terrorism as a strategy has been advanced throughout the history of the working class and its allies' struggles for state power. Lenin characterized the Weather-people long before they existed. In 1902, he wrote, "the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals, who are either incapable of linking up the revolutionary struggle with the labor movement, or lack the opportunity to do so." (A later section of the pamphlet on the current economic situation we feel will refute the notion that the working class is so bought off that revolution is not in its interest.)

The third major force in the student movement was not represented by any single organization but was generally composed of students who rejected both strategies offered up by PL and Weatherman. One of the main groups within SDS, the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM II) was essentially an over-reaction to Weatherman terrorism. It was characterized by social-pacifism covered over with talk about the importance of working class organizing. In many parts

Members of the Young Lords Party lead a march in New York following a 2-day Puerto Rican student strike. (1970)



of the country the major trend within this group was to work only among working people (and then only on the level of doing "Marxist-Leninist propaganda) and ignore other forces—most notably students. Independently and within RYM II, the R.U. put forward its analysis which called for the building of a broad united front against U.S. imperialism under the leadership of the multi-national working class (see Red Papers 2). The R.U. called for the formation of disciplined political collectives based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought. Inevitably, RYM II turned inward and fell apart, but in many of the collectives that stayed together, students began to successfully integrate into the working class and its struggles. Later many of these collectives partially formed the basis for the R.U. to become a national organization.

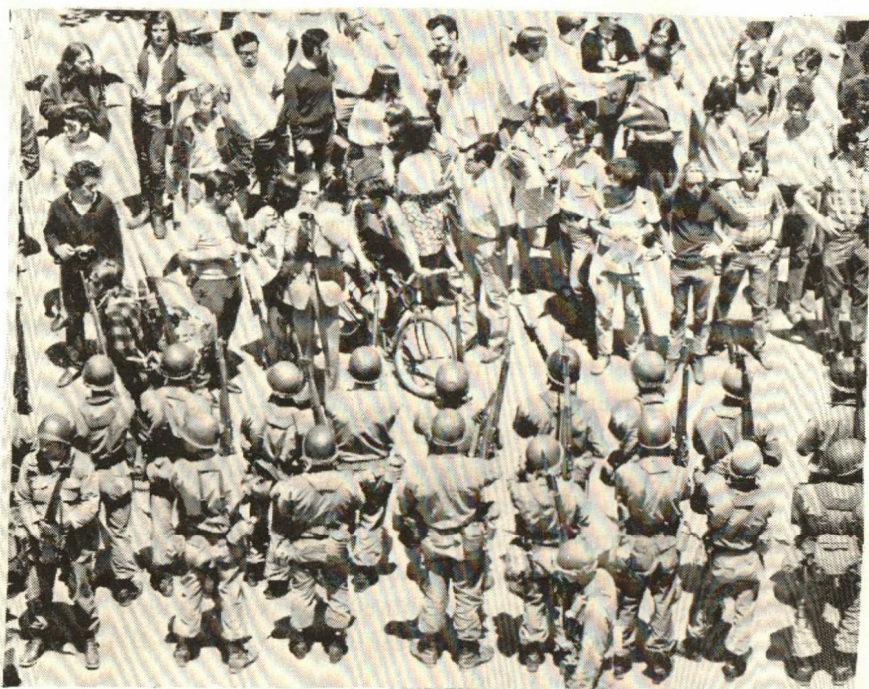
Outside of SDS, several organizations, particularly the Young Lords, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers through their political activity in factories and their community influenced many students to join with the struggles of the working class. However it would be a mistake to think that most students (who were neither supporting PL or Weatherman) took this path. Not only was the situation in SDS very confusing for many, but the break-up of SDS in mid-1969, literally left large numbers of students isolated on campuses all across the country. The result—many former activists faced with having to start all over, against what seemed insurmountable odds and complete isolation dropped out of politics. Many turned to dope and the youth culture movement. While many radicals intended to transform the youth culture into a leading revolutionary force, in fact, youth culture temporarily transformed a good number of them.

The breakup of SDS, a national organization with thousands of members and many more sympathizers, was a step backward for the revolutionary movement. Following the shattering of SDS, the isolation of active anti-imperialist and revolutionary students and the exodus of hundreds of activists to the community (leaving the campuses without a lot of experienced political leaders) led to a slow collapse of the student movement. The anti-imperialist and revolutionary students left on campuses were unable to help less politically conscious students through the same process that they themselves had gone through. A common mistake was to assume that everyone else understood what they did.

Although no national organization gave cohesion to the student movement, this period was still punctuated by massive upheavals in campus communities. The most notable examples were People's Park

and Isla Vista.

People's Park and Isla Vista taught the student movement important lessons for which it paid a high price. People's Park—a lengthy battle to turn vacant university property into a community park—ended with the National Guard occupation of Berkeley, and one killed and several wounded by police bullets. It was a time when large numbers of students experienced first hand the brand of fascist repression that had been brought down on Black and Chicano communities many times before. People's Park taught the masses of students the “sacredness” of private property as a foundation of capitalism and the bitter fact that the ruling class would never relinquish its power (even over something as simple as a park) without a violent struggle. Isla Vista underscored the new political level in the mass consciousness of the student movement. Discontent over housing conditions and constant police harrassment crystallized and the movement was directed at the Bank of America—a symbol of the class responsible for the intolerable conditions—and it was burnt to the ground.



People's Park proved the ruling class will never relinquish its power without a violent struggle.

CAMBODIA

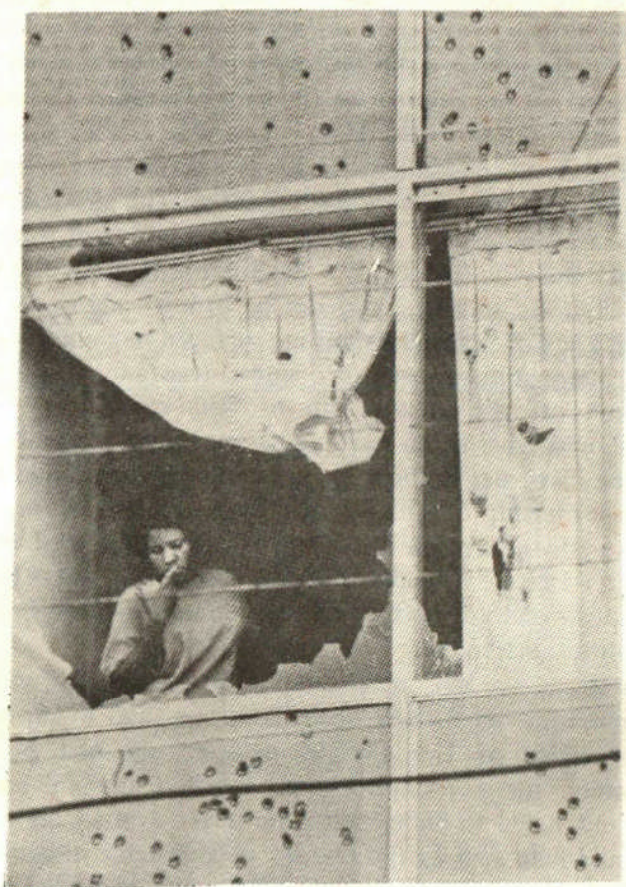
Then in the spring of 1970, across the country the student movement launched an offensive against ROTC programs—a symbol (and a tool) of imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Nationwide, ROTC buildings were under attack and many were burned down. On May 4, 1970, students demonstrating against ROTC on the Kent State campus in Ohio were viciously attacked by the National Guard and 4 students were murdered. Everywhere students were outraged. The same day the U.S. government launched a major invasion into Cambodia. A few days later 2 Black students were gunned down at Jackson State in Mississippi.

The campuses erupted. Nation-wide student strikes shook the country. The first and largest nation-wide student strike was underway. The strike was the high water mark of campus rebellion in this country. It had profound effects not only on those who took part but also on the Nixon clique at whom it was aimed. There were two opposite tendencies during the strike. On the one hand many student revolutionaries did not appreciate the very real effect the strike had in limiting the options of the U.S. imperialists in S.E. Asia. On the other hand many liberal students had high expectations of ending the war once and for all and were disappointed. The strike was a clear example of the importance of students as a powerful force against imperialism. But the strike also demonstrated that fundamental change in capitalist society could not be brought about by students alone. An inkling of this understanding surfaced in a mass way during the strike. Many students sought to spread resistance to the imperialist's invasion off the campus out to "the community." Revolutionaries should have taken part and encouraged students to go to the working class, but in most cases revolutionaries failed to do so. Under the leadership of Third World students the anti-war activity was linked with the struggles of Third World people for liberation in this country. Despite a media attempt to black it out—students on many campuses endorsed as part of their demands—Free Bobby Seale and All Political Prisoners.

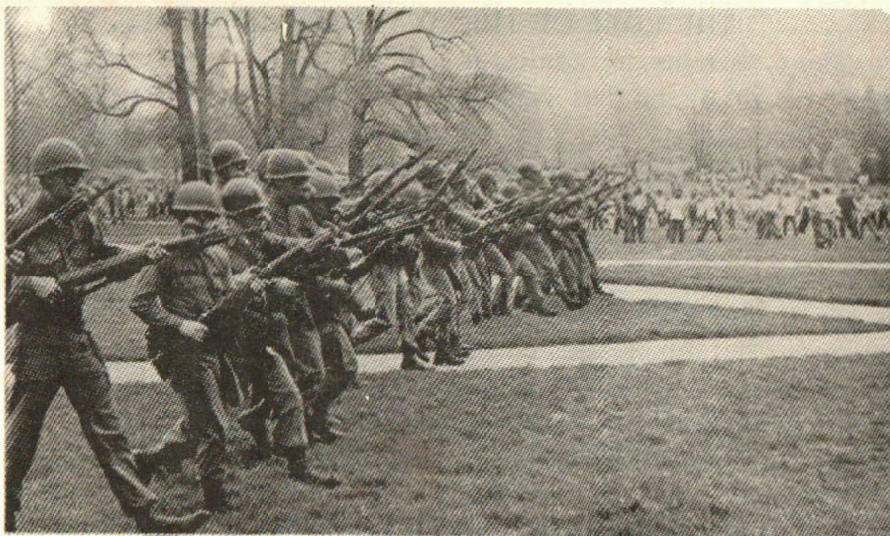
All this would not have been possible in a mass way without the years of agitation and struggle against the war and in support of the democratic rights of Third World people that had preceded it. Unfortunately, many revolutionaries scorned the upsurge as too "liberal" and failed to plunge into the strike and struggle to give it direction and help sum up the lessons of the strike in order to move masses of students to an anti-imperialist consciousness. As a result, school administrations went largely unchallenged as they assumed a

crafty cooptive stance. Exams were cancelled, encouraging less committed students to leave . . . Facilities and resources were given to "worthy" projects and with them came faculty and administrators to "guide" them. All this helped lead to a slow strangling of the strike.

After Cambodia the student movement went into a period of ebb. Cynicism is widespread on the campuses (taking advantage of this, all kinds of "mystics" are flooding the campuses). The established press and school administrators have repeatedly and triumphantly announced that the student movement is dead. Is it? Absolutely not. If what led to the situation of the past 1½ years is correctly summed up, that summation will reveal the progress the student movement has made and the steps it needs to take to move forward.



The American people will never forget Kent State and Jackson State.



May 4th, 1970 four students at Kent State were gunned down by National Guard troops.

University of Illinois (Chicago) students express outrage at invasion of Cambodia and murders of Kent and Jackson State students.



THE ROLE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Many students are cynical because the last 10 years of struggle have taught them that fundamental changes need to be made in American society. That the war is no accident—it is integrally linked with the oppression and exploitation of the working class in this country and of Third World people around the world and here at home. That our society doesn't need to be "perfected" in minor ways but that it needs complete overhauling. More and more students also realize that students alone can not bring about these changes. This general understanding reflects the progress we've made. In order to defeat the cynicism that prevails, what steps do we generally need to take? Students need to realize that imperialism is a paper tiger and that there is a class in society that can lead the revolutionary movement to change the capitalist system—the working class. But more than that students need to understand the important role the student movement can and has played in its own right and its relationship to the revolutionary movement as a whole.

We agree with the kind of analysis made by Mao Tse-Tung in *The Orientation of the Youth Movement*.

"What role have China's young people played since the May 4th Movement? In a way they have played a vanguard role—a fact recognized by everybody except the die-hards. What is a vanguard role? It means taking the lead and marching in the fore front of the revolutionary ranks. In the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ranks of the Chinese people, there is a contingent of considerable size and, even if the many who have given their lives are not included, it now numbers several million. It is an army on one of the fronts against imperialism and feudalism, and an important army too. But this army is not enough; we can not defeat the enemy by relying on it alone, for when all is said and done it is not the main force. What then is the main force? The workers and peasants." (Pages 6-7)

In Red Papers 1, the Revolutionary Union summarizes the 3 main roles the student movement plays:

"We hold that the proletariat is the only class capable of leading the struggle for socialism. Students will therefore aid the struggles of working people in three main ways: First, as communist intellectuals who will bring communist ideology to the working class; Second, as a group, students will spread anti-imperialist ideas among workers; and Third, by building a

powerful anti-imperialist movement, including a Marxist-Leninist section within that movement, on the campuses. We have confidence that the working class will grasp these truths and raise all the struggles of the people, including the students, to an entirely new level."

This statement in Red Papers 1 correctly outlines the relationship between the student movement and the overall revolutionary movement. The history of the student movement illustrates in a living way the three roles it plays. First, as communist intellectuals, students will bring communist ideology to the working class. This is born out by the growth of our own organization and groups like the Young Lords Party, Black Workers Congress and smaller collectives across the country. Secondly, as a group, students will spread anti-imperialist ideas among workers and the American people as a whole. The most



Students united with sailors of the aircraft carrier Coral Sea in the Stop Our Ship movement.

outstanding example of this point is the spread of anti-war sentiment, mainly by students, to the overwhelming majority of people. Ever increasing numbers of workers and other sections of the American people are participating in anti-war activities. The Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles was partially organized by Chicano students. And on another front G.I.'s are refusing to fight for the imperialists. There are other less obvious but extremely important examples. The struggle for Women's Liberation was originally popularized largely by women students. The struggle for equal pay, child care and attacks on discrimination against women has been taken up by working class women. The struggles on the campuses, led by Third World students, for the democratic right to a decent education for Third World people, influenced not only Third World communities but the working class as a whole—particularly white working class youth. The growth of progressive and anti-imperialist consciousness of the working class and the American people as a whole is partially due to the influence of the student movement.

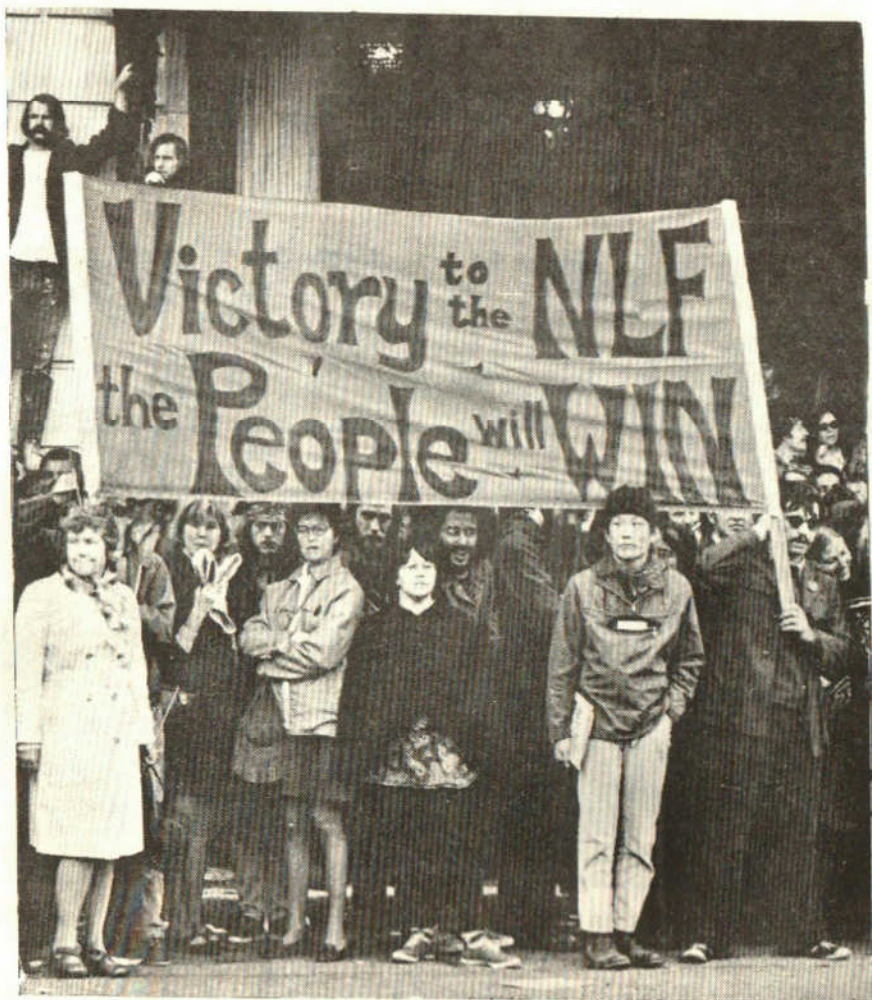
To the extent the working class has begun to take up ideas promoted by the student movement, the struggle around them has been raised to a higher political level. For instance, Black students began the movement of support for African Liberation struggles. Dock workers in Louisiana took it up and refused to unload chromium ore from Rhodesia which drew national attention to the issue. Local 10 of the I.L.W.U. voted not to load or unload any products going to or from South Africa. The working class has the power to concretely effect these issues because the working class is strategically located in the economy. An example on another front in the fight against U.S. imperialism, is that women workers have played a key role through their struggles, in demonstrating that men are not the enemy. But that the enemy is the corporations that profit from the oppression and exploitation of women and the division of men and women.

And finally the last 10 years of student unrest underscore the importance of the student movement (in its own right) as an important force against imperialism. Just think if students did not turn out for many demonstrations what a setback it would be for the revolutionary movement.

Within the student movement, the Marxist-Leninist section is growing. This is extremely important because the degree to which growing anti-imperialist organizations can lead the student movement is directly related to how well Marxist-Leninists within them can put forward the correct strategy, foresee problems and win over students

to those ideas.

Chairman Mao points out that the May 4th movement in China marked the beginning of a mass upsurge of students against imperialism and feudalism. We too, have our May 4th movement—the Cambodia upsurge (which also began on May 4th). We must learn from the past and rebuild a mass anti-imperialist student movement that will be an important force in the battle to overthrow U.S. imperialism.



THE DECLINE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The earlier summary of the history of the student movement points out that many students are beginning to recognize U.S. imperialism as the enemy of the world's people. It is the source of the oppression that the oppressed people are heroically fighting to destroy. However, the student movement lacks a scientific understanding of imperialism. For instance, the understanding of imperialism on a world-wide scale that not only colonizes the Third World, but also exploits the working people of the imperialist countries is still weak. In order to show the relationship between different struggles as part of the overall united front against imperialism; in order to show the leading role of the working class in the united front against imperialism; in order to show the leading role of the working class in the united front against imperialism and the role of the student movement within it; in order to show that U.S. imperialism is in fact a paper tiger that can be overthrown, anti-imperialists must develop a scientific understanding of the nature of imperialism. An important task for anti-imperialist students is to examine the developing world situation and specifically how it is affecting the American people.



Palestinian women join the struggle to recover their occupied homeland.

in the short space allowed in this pamphlet we can not go into detail on the current world scene and the crisis of U.S. imperialism. But we do hope to provide the general framework for a more in-depth study of the decline of U.S. imperialism. Armed with this we can then begin to develop a strategy for rebuilding the anti-imperialist student movement as an important part of the united front against U.S. imperialism.

The position of U.S. imperialism is continually weakening. The imperialists' (monopoly capitalists) drive for economic expansion, its search for new markets, sources of raw materials, and cheap labor, has inevitably led to aggression and war. The war in Indochina and an over-extended U.S. military presence protecting economic interests world wide has resulted.

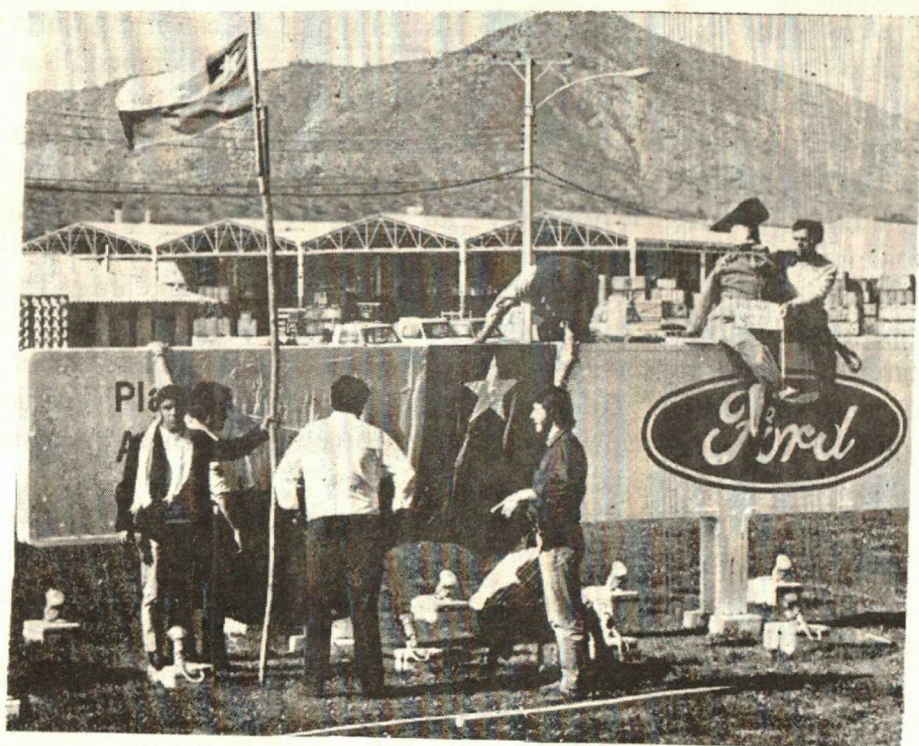
The U.S. imperialists find themselves caught up in the four main contradictions in the world:

1) Between the oppressed nations and the imperialist and social-imperialist* countries:

National liberation is the main trend in the world today. Liberation struggles throughout the world are the strongest force shattering the control of U.S. imperialism. But U.S. imperialism not only conducts its own wars against oppressed peoples fighting for liberation—it is the main supplier of other colonial powers that are attempting to suppress revolutionary movements or to commit aggression against other states. Thus the U.S. supplies Portugal in its wars in Africa against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Israel, imperialism's main outpost in the middle-east, likewise gets its main backing from the U.S. Thai mercenaries in Laos are paid by the U.S. imperialists. [This means that the armed revolutions in Palestine, Africa, Thailand, the Philippines, the Persian Gulf, Indonesia and other areas are direct blows against U.S. imperialism's attempt to economically and politically dominate these countries.]

In the past several years, nations that have never before stood up to U.S. imperialist domination of their resources are now defending their rights. In Latin America struggles to nationalize industry controlled by U.S. corporations and to defend territorial waters have developed. A case in point is the nationalization of U.S. copper mines in Chile. Two U.S. companies, Anaconda and Kennecott, controlled 90% of Chile's copper resources and over the last 60 years

* Social-imperialism refers to the USSR, which is socialist in words but imperialist in deeds.



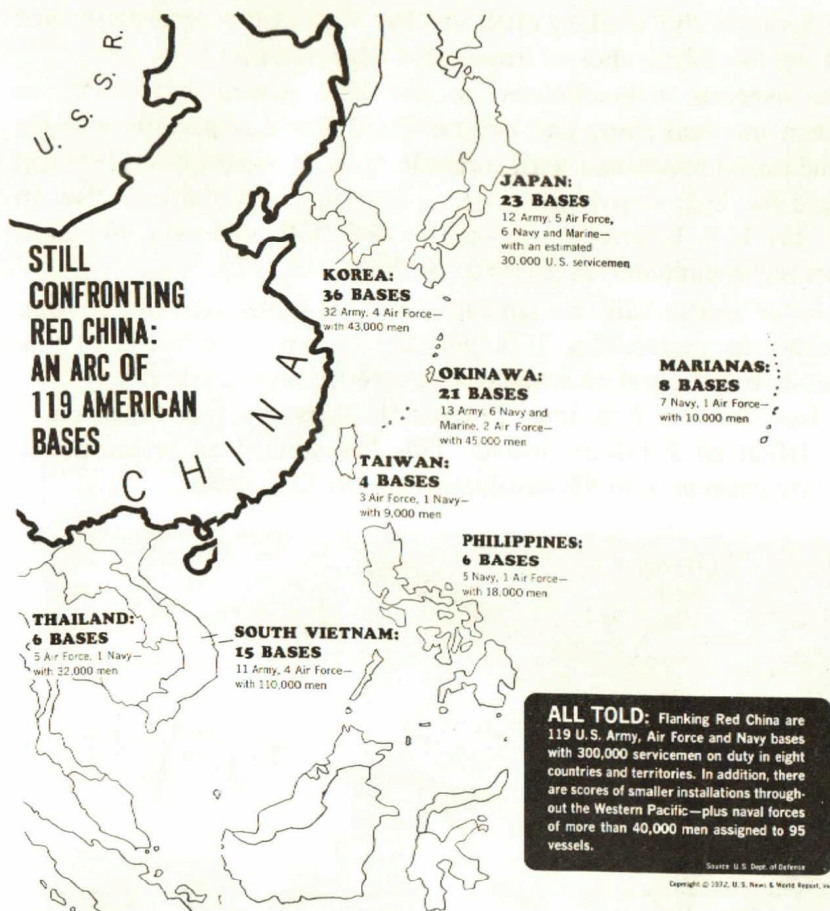
Chilean workers force nationalization of a Ford auto plant.

were able to acquire copper worth \$10.8 billion, which is more than all the capital Chile has accumulated in over 400 years! The 10 member states of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries have asserted themselves by cutting the amount of profit U.S. and other foreign companies could take on the oil extracted and are pressing for more control of their nitrous oil resources.

These are just a few examples from many—but added together they say one thing loudly and clearly—**REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY.**

2) Between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries on the one hand and the socialist countries on the other:

Here too U.S. imperialism is being increasingly exposed and isolated. A look at the list of nations that backed the restoration of the People's Republic of China's rights in the United Nations and opposed the "two-Chinas" plot shows the growing anti-U.S. imperialist tide. At the same time the role of the Soviet Union has become much more evident since their attacks of China (in 1969 on the Heilung And Wisuli Rivers) and their continual build-up of troops on the Sino-Soviet border.



In addition to the U.S. bases, 1,000,000 Soviet troops are stationed on China's northern border.

3) Between the various imperialist countries or between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries:

It is clear that the contradiction between the U.S. imperialists on the one hand and the West German and Japanese ruling classes on the other, are sharpening as these two junior partners of U.S. imperialism are stepping up their drive for top spot in the firm.

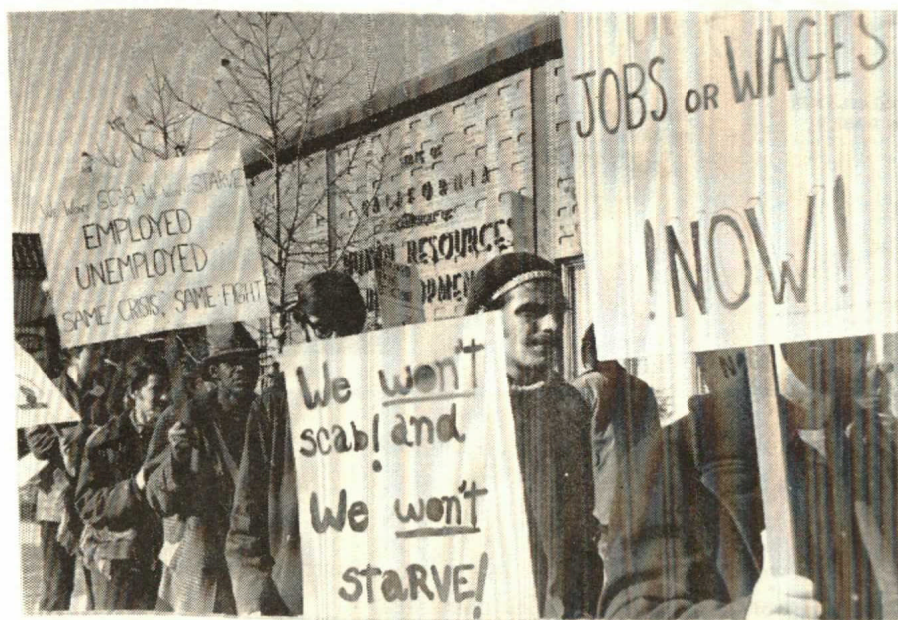
And with the all-round restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the flowering of Soviet social-imperialism, the contradictions between the New Tsars of the USSR and the U.S. imperialists are intensifying, even while they collaborate to carve up the world. The Middle East, India, Pakistan and Indonesia are but a few examples of U.S.-Soviet collaboration and collision.

4) Between the working class and the oppressed people on the one hand and the ruling class of imperialist countries on the other:

The overseas expenditures by the U.S. government to try to maintain its weakening grip on the Third World (especially military expenditures) combined with a classic crisis of overproduction** has plunged the U.S. imperialists into an economic and political crisis. In 1971, the U.S. balance of payments deficit totaled over 30 billion dollars and is expected to go up to 30 billion in 1972.

In other words, military spending and the subsequent out-pouring of dollars to maintain a U.S. military presence the world over is greater than the input of dollars from investment and trade.

In fact, for the first time in over 50 years, the U.S. registered a trade deficit of 2 billion dollars. This has created an international monetary crisis and an 8% devaluation of the U.S. dollar.



As unemployment grows, the unemployed begin to organize for jobs or income.

* * Overproduction: Competition between capitalists forces them to increase production. But at the same time wages are held down so buying power decreases. The result is periodic crises of mass unemployment and massive cuts in production, with overabundance of goods but not enough people who have the money to buy them.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to shift the burden of the economic difficulties their system has caused onto third world countries, onto other capitalist countries, and onto working people here. For the American people, unemployment and inflation have steadily risen. In response to the efforts of the working class to defend its living standards, the current spokesman for the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, Nixon, instituted the "New Economic Policy." The "NEP" is a head-on attack against organized labor, including the basic tool the working class has to defend its living standards—the strike.

In an attempt to smash the growing resistance within the U.S., the imperialists are ruling in a more openly repressive fashion. The increasing police brutality in Third World communities, the packing of the Supreme Court with fascists, use of the federal grand juries to conduct witch-hunts, brutal conditions in prisons, use of Taft-Hartley injunctions against strikers are just a few of the examples of this trend.

Part and parcel of the economic crisis are the attacks being made on students. Again students from working class and Third World backgrounds are being especially hard hit. The lies the ruling class has spread about colleges and universities being "centers of knowledge and social advancement for the entire American people" are pretty hard to believe when every year less and less working people can afford to send their children to college. The ruling class is forced by the economic crisis to cut back on aid to low-income students, while at the same time hiking tuition and other educational fees to the skies. (One of the exceptions to Nixon & Co.'s price controls is the cost of education.) The private colleges and universities have always been reserved mainly for the sons and daughters of the ruling class and the highest stratum of the middle classes. Many public colleges and universities, however, have been forced to enroll numbers of working class and Third World youth in recent years. The crisis of imperialism is stripping away these hard won rights. EOP, state scholarships and all other forms of financial aid are increasingly being denied.

Students from the working class and middle classes find it harder and harder to stay in school. Part time jobs are few and far between these days and its getting worse all the time. The standards of living of the students' parents is being eaten away. More and more students are forced out of school and into the labor force, where decreasing real wages and increasing unemployment are now the rule.

These developments are due both to the control of the educational



More and more students are fighting against education cutbacks.

system by the ruling class and to the developing crisis of imperialism facing the ruling class today. Even in the ideological field the colleges and universities are being exposed for promoting reactionary theories, like those of Shockley and Jensen on the "inferiority" of Third World people. These theories are not only to prepare the ground for driving the Third World people, and poor people in general, out of higher educational institutions but to try and prevent a united resistance to U.S. imperialism. But as U.S. imperialism, beset by continuous setbacks, exposes its degeneracy throughout the world (Indochina . . .) and at home (Attica . . .), fewer and fewer students swallow the mystified defense of imperialism pushed in the schools.

In reaction to the atrocities of U.S. imperialism all over the globe, including within this country, the student movement has become an important force in the struggle of the American people against imperialism. The ruling class sees this threat to U.S. power and is attempting to smash it. Political repression is on the increase on the campuses. Campus police forces are being beefed up. Politically active students are being denied financial assistance, suspended, expelled, etc. Radical professors and Third World faculty members are

being denied tenure and fired.

The sharpening of these four main areas of contradiction will force ever sharper struggle so that the period of reciprocating domestic and international conflict against U.S. imperialism, mounting in intensity and overcoming difficulties and setbacks will continue for a relatively long period, but its end result is certain—the destruction of U.S. imperialism. To minimize the difficulties and setbacks and to hasten the end, revolutionaries must learn to forge unity in struggle and based on *world* practice, must become increasingly adept at formulating theory and strategy and their application to changes in circumstances.

Out task then is to develop a strategy for rebuilding an anti-imperialist student movement. The next section of the pamphlet, we hope will begin to do this.

BUILD AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDENT MOVEMENT

Over the past decade and more, the student movement has played an important role in the overall struggle of the American people against imperialism. In the coming period as the U.S. falls more deeply into political and economic crisis, the student movement's development and direction will be crucial in helping to turn back fascism, fighting the attacks on people's living standards, preventing world war, and struggling to overthrow U.S. imperialism. The potential is there for the student movement to play this role, for the politically conscious students now have a better understanding of U.S. imperialism than ever in the history of the U.S. student movement (see earlier section on this history).

The first step in rebuilding the student movement is to unite the active anti-imperialist students on the campuses. Only by establishing unity and organization between these consciously anti-imperialist students can the larger number of less politically advanced students be mobilized in on-going anti-imperialist struggle. In the recent student upsurge in response to the imperialist escalation of the war (the mining of the harbors of N. Vietnam), uniting the anti-imperialists was begun and certain lessons can be learned from that experience.

The mass organizations which are developing on many campuses across the country are openly and boldly proclaiming their anti-imperialist nature. Although there is uneven understanding within these groups as to what exactly imperialism is, there is unity in understanding that imperialism is a system that molds the domestic policies as well as the foreign policies of the ruling class and its government. While putting much effort into the anti-war movement,

these groups do political work around many other spearheads also, the political prisoners movement, the womens movement, labor support committees, student grievances, etc. These groups are also forging unity, where possible, with Third World student organizations on the basis of common practice. This is the direction that these mass organizations should go in, to crystallize the growing anti-imperialist consciousness on the campuses into concrete work against imperialism. Some organizations of anti-imperialist students have joined recently-formed larger anti-imperialist coalitions in their area to link up the student movement with these coalition's work.

In the course of uniting the anti-imperialist forces, the first question that arises is—who are the genuine anti-imperialists? Generally this will have to be worked out through common practice. However, there are groups which have demonstrated that they are not interested in building an anti-imperialist student movement and in fact will sabotage any attempt to do so. These groups (where possible) should be excluded from the beginning on the basis of their past record. Exclusion of these groups will not prevent many of the wrong ideas they espouse from coming up in an anti-imperialist organization but it will make possible for honest ideological struggle to take place when these ideas are not being pushed by a group that has crystallized these wrong ideas into a strong line and practice. Specifically, we are referring to all Trotskyite groups like S.W.P., Y.S.A., I.S., and P.L., Spartacist League, and to the revisionist, counter-revolutionary Communist Party.

The common thread running through all Trotskyite groups is their adherence to abstract dogmas and their attitude of “to hell with the concrete situation.” From the right Trotskyites like SWP-YSA-SMC to the “left” Trotskyites like PL-SDS, they all attack the Vietnamese leadership for selling out the Vietnamese people, they charge China with being an imperialist tool, and within the U.S. instead of organizing people to fight for their rights, the Trotskyites leech onto the movements of the people to sow confusion within them and to disrupt them. They attack the true leadership of the people and put forward meaningless slogans like “all nationalism is reactionary.” It has been a bitter lesson, but the revolutionary groups developing in the U.S. have learned that Trotskyism, in various forms, is a poisonous weed whose only function is to destroy the peoples movement.

The revisionists (mainly the CPUSA) role is primarily one of holding back the mass movement by keeping it within the bounds of what's legal and legitimate. In practice this means that the CP's calls for unity and a United Front are used to direct mass struggle into



support and dependency on ruling class liberals (politicians and congressmen) and sell-out trade union leaders. Though it may be coated in revolutionary rhetoric the CP mainly sees reforms and elections as building quantitative support for a peaceful transition to socialism and the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Especially around the issue of political prisoners, the CP has held back mass struggle, by relying on and making the legal questions primary, rather than the masses of people.

In order to forge unity among the anti-imperialists that is not just superficial unity—political discussion and ideological struggle with the anti-imperialist groups must be encouraged. Anti-imperialist mass organizations must not make the mistake of dealing only with pragmatic questions of tactics and actions. Tactics and actions should be decided on the basis of political discussion. This political discussion could take the form of regular agenda items at general meetings, small group discussions, organized study groups, etc. Students have different ideas and are at different levels of development politically. In order to prevent unprincipled splits and political stagnation, groups should develop ways for these ideas to be shared, to struggle with each other, and for the general understanding of the group to advance. Questions such as what role do students play in the revolu-

tion, or what is Trotskyism, or what is socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat; these types of discussions must not be ignored because of the day to day work. In the long run, these discussions will play an important role in whether the group grows or flounders.

Anti-imperialist students must be clear from the beginning about who they are primarily trying to reach. Anti-imperialist campus groups must in fact base themselves on students. Around many campuses today there are youth communities which include many "street people." These people will often be swept into the movement, especially when the actions are fairly exciting. However, they are a much less dependable force than students for developing ongoing mass struggle. The movement must be based on the students, not on the "community." Within the youth communities, there are many honest revolutionaries who do a lot of political work, especially in the area of media and culture, and who help build the anti-imperialist movement. Mass student organizations should form ties with these people, if possible through larger coalitions as described earlier in this section.

Later in this pamphlet are outlined concrete political tasks for the anti-imperialist mass organizations and the student movement in general to take up. But first let's deal with a few more key problems anti-imperialists face in building a mass anti-imperialist movement on the campuses.

Over 20,000 people rallied in support of the 7 point peace proposal in San Francisco, April 22, 1972.



WHO DO WE RELY ON?

While uniting the active anti-imperialists is an extremely important first step in rebuilding the student movement. The two key problems we must tackle in the course of building anti-imperialist struggles are 1) the isolation of the active students from the general population and 2) cynicism and its resultant inactivity among the masses of students. Both problems essentially boil down to different aspects of the same question—who do we rely on to make significant social changes?—the masses of people or some other group, be it a small handful of revolutionaries or “liberal” politicians? We must rely on the masses of people. In order to avoid the isolation of the active students from the general student population, the anti-imperialist forces must deepen their own understanding of the current crisis of U.S. imperialism and the importance of mass student struggles against U.S. imperialism. This is one of the lessons of the last 10 years of the student movement. We must avoid the mistakes of the past as well, particularly assuming that masses of students understand what anti-imperialists do. At all times we must be out among the broad section of the student body investigating what students think about different questions. We must develop forms of struggle that correspond to the actual level of student activity but will at the same time move masses of students toward an anti-imperialist consciousness.

By learning from the errors of the past, such as Weatherman's adventurism and PL's sectarianism, we can see that, no matter how dedicated, a small number of revolutionaries are ineffective and even drag back struggle if they don't rely on the people. The ability of the activists to involve masses of people and raise the political consciousness of the people through anti-imperialist struggle, not the number of windows broken or “material damage” done, is what makes the student movement an effective anti-imperialist force.

This is a key question facing the student movement today. The recent upsurge in response to the imperialist's escalations of the war has shown that this question is far from settled. There can be no doubt that the massive outpouring of anger by the students generally played a very positive role in expressing mass opposition to the escalation. But, many of the tactics used reflected the isolation and frustration of many of the anti-imperialist activists. Blocking freeways, airports and railroads which are not directly connected with the war, and trashing, especially of small businesses, do not (and did not) serve to break down the gap between the anti-imperialists and the masses of the people, including the masses of students. Rather

they do the opposite. Anti-war action is good, but it is qualitatively better when it is clearly focused and is aimed at reaching the masses, educating them and mobilizing them.

The anti-imperialist student groups must be firm on this. Tactics must develop based on their political value in reaching and mobilizing the students and others who are not now active, not on their supposed "military" value in bringing down the beast. (For more on this question, see Red Papers 4 "Proletarian Revolution versus Revolutionary Adventurism"). Active anti-imperialists must end their isolation from the masses of students.

This is only one side of the question. Among the larger number of students, it takes a different form. There is widespread cynicism about students' ability to influence or change society through mass struggles like the Cambodia upsurge. Education on the history of the student movement, its achievements and potential as well as a realistic understanding of its role in the overall U.S. revolutionary movement is needed.

Many students through the experience of the movement have learned that they alone can not make basic changes in society. It is important for anti-imperialist students to understand and point out to other students that there is a class—the working class—that can and must lead the struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism. Without this overview many cynical students will not see the importance of joining in anti-imperialist struggle.

The ruling class has gone all out to take advantage of the prevailing cynicism about the potential of the student movement especially in this election year. Once again it is a question of who do we rely on—the "liberal" wing of the ruling class, or the masses of American people? Even though some candidates appear to take progressive stands on some issues, (McGovern, of course, is the clearest example of this), the point is that significant change has only been brought about by the struggles of the people. This is proved time and again by the history of the labor movement, the anti-war movement, the Black and Brown liberation movements, the women's liberation movement, the prisoners' movement, and the student movement.

The role of the government is also obscured by the "liberal" candidates. Liberals argue that there is no such thing as U.S. imperialism, though certain policies may "favor" big business. They want to portray the government as the means by which the working people can control big business, that the state is neutral. In short, they deny that the state is a tool of class rule.

The liberals cannot deny the facts. Financial and industrial capital

controls the government and both the Republican and Democratic parties by financing campaigns, etc., and through ruthless force when necessary to protect their control.

The exposure of the leaders of both parties in the Pentagon Papers for their role in sponsoring U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, proves that both parties are equally controlled by big business.

Even though many anti-imperialists recognize the electoral process as a dead end in the long run for winning basic changes, we can't ignore the fact that large numbers of students are involved in supporting candidates. Most students will see through their own experience the bankruptcy of relying on candidates instead of on the strength of an anti-imperialist mass movement. In fact, a good number of supporters of various liberal candidates participate in anti-imperialist struggles. Anti-imperialists should expose such candidates on concrete issues, in order to further win over larger numbers of students to anti-imperialist consciousness.

Right now the conditions exist on the campuses for rebuilding an anti-imperialist movement. The struggles in the real world are propelling us forward.



AREAS OF WORK

The following areas of political work reflect the growing mass struggle of the people on different fronts. It is the duty of anti-imperialists to not only develop ongoing work in each area but to concretely build the links between different aspects of our political work by constantly stressing and demonstrating that U.S. imperialism is our common enemy. We are not suggesting that our tasks be defined mechanically and they are bound to change with the changes in concrete conditions (and will vary from area to area).

Generally our tasks are:

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The struggle against U.S. aggression in Indochina has been and still



Attica Brigade marches thousands strong in N.Y.—linking Attica massacre to U.S. war of aggression in Indochina.

is the focus of anti-imperialist struggle on the campuses. In the course of struggles in response to the invasion of Cambodia and now Nixon's intensified bombing and "Vietnamization" scheme, students have become increasingly militant in their support for the national liberation movements in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. This has created a strong basis for anti-imperialists to put forward an analysis of the war that goes beyond the slogan "out now," promoted by the Trotskyites. Explaining the imperialist nature of the war, exposing the air war and Vietnamization, and making support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's (P.R.G.) 7 point peace plan a mass issue, within the student movement and the anti-war movement in general are key to anti-war work in the next period.

On the campuses opposition to war related programs such as ROTC, military recruiting, and research as well as mass mobilizations such as the April 22 demonstration in San Francisco, must continue in order to pressure the U.S. imperialists to end the aggression in Vietnam.

The student anti-war movement needs to join with the growing resistance of G.I.'s and the anger of veterans around issues like the case of Billy Smith and the Stop Our Ship movements developing among soldiers and sailors. Anti-imperialist students should also participate in and lead students in going to the community to reach working people, who have the ability to shut down production to protest the war. Too many student activists hesitate at leafleting factories and shopping centers because of the way some opportunists

(PL-SDS especially) have in the past used this to draw students away from the student movements. We must combine work among students with mobilizing students to reach the working class with anti-war and anti-imperialist ideas.



ATTICA

ATTICA DEFENSE COMMITTEE, BUFFALO

PRISONERS MOVEMENT

The thousands of prisoners in the penal system are fighting for survival and reform of the barbaric conditions they now face. This struggle goes to the heart of the liberation struggle of Black, Brown and other oppressed peoples within the U.S. and is a powerful deterrent to fascism. Prisoners, overwhelmingly from the working class

and the poor, largely Third World people, are developing a unity in the face of racist attempts to divide them. This is an inspiration to students and all oppressed people.

The ruling class is using the penal system not only to suppress revolutionaries and progressive people, but as a source of slave labor. The huge prison industries where men and women inmates labor for pennies an hour not only bring huge profits but adds to unemployment as a whole.

The nature of the government as a tool of the monopoly capitalists, as organized violence against the people, is nowhere as clearly exposed as in the prison system. The outbreak of prison rebellions, such as Attica, are waking more and more people to the need for progressive reform of the penal system.

The defense of the militant leaders of the prisoners' movement and the revolutionary movement—political prisoners—is an important task. To defend political prisoners as well as support the democratic demands of all prisoners, Third World and white students should develop the type of unity the prisoners themselves are displaying.

On the campus, anti-imperialists should organize committees that build support for the prisoners' movement around basic demands prisoners themselves are putting forward (i.e. minimum wage, better medical care, end to the indeterminate sentence law in California), defend political prisoners, and expose the class and racist nature of the penal system.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

RUCHELL MAGEE





END U.S. INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES

More and more students are learning that the U.S. imperialists are not only waging an aggressive war in Indochina but are involved in imperialist ventures throughout the world. Anti-imperialists must do education on the role of U.S. imperialism around the world.

The struggle of the Palestinian people against U.S. imperialism and its main prop in the Middle East, Israel, is very important—the struggle there is very sharp and there is a great deal of education about the actual situation there that needs to be done. Education around and support for the just struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the growing movements in Ireland, Spain, Greece, and other European countries is needed.

Not only must anti-imperialists on the campuses support the ongoing liberation struggles but education around the role of the socialist countries, especially China, is important because China is the bastion of world revolution. There also needs to be education on the role of the Soviet Union and its transformation to a social-imperialist country.

GRADUATION GREETINGS

by Mike Quin

They've ground it into your thinking
and hammered it into your bones,
that the good rise up like bubbles
and the evil sink like stones.

They've drilled you with guns on the campus
and taught you the arts of gore.
You're an A-1 competent killer
in line for the coming war.

They gave you a fancy diploma
with a speech by a wealthy snob.
You're a certified guaranteed moron,
let's hope you can find a job.

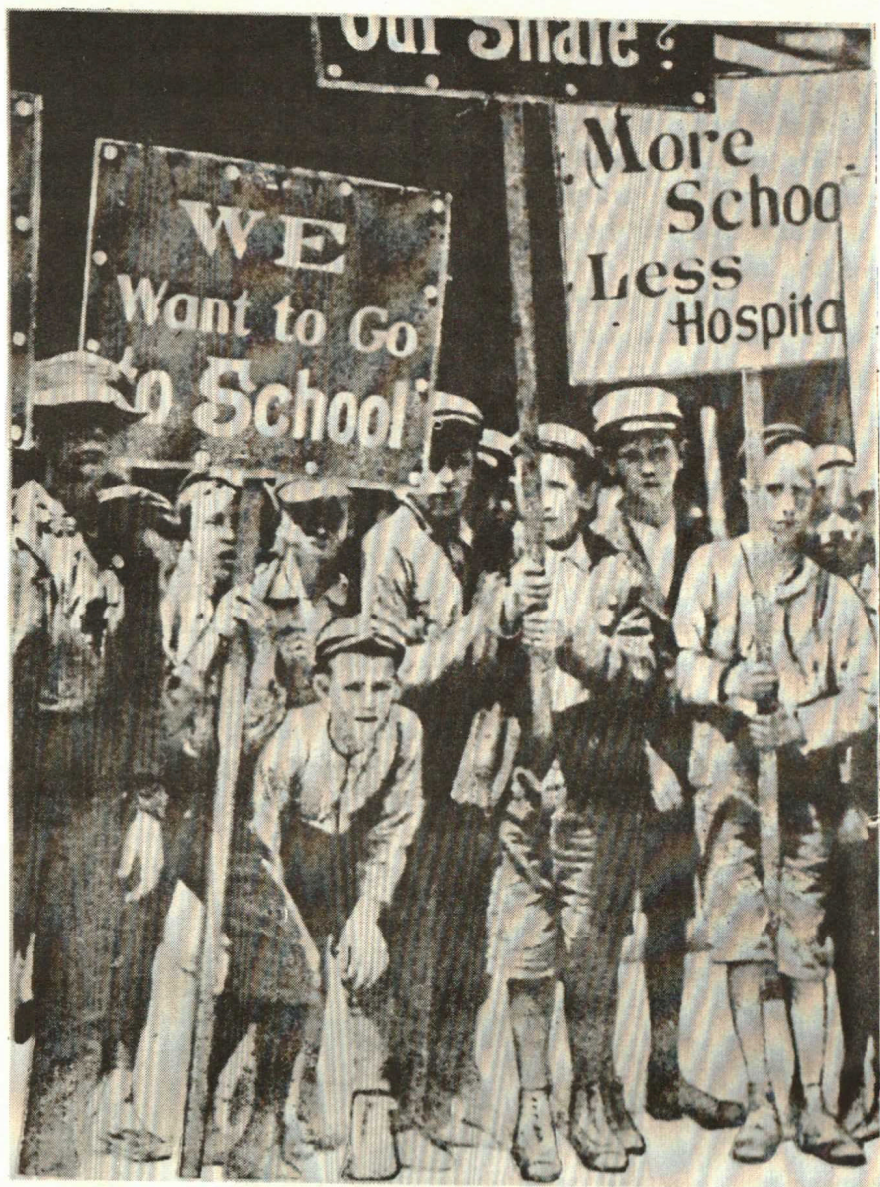
Come into the world so perfect.
Have a look at the hungry men.
Have a look at the lives of the workers
and study your lessons again.

The stools of the clerks are many.
The mahogany desks are few.
The bread lines stretch for many a block,
There's room at the end for you.

FIGHT EDUCATION CUTBACKS, DEFEND THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

The developing economic crisis is hitting higher education. Tuition has risen drastically in Universities. At state colleges the cost of education is skyrocketing and tuition is in the works. Perhaps the hardest hit are the Junior Colleges where budgets are being slashed and fees are being imposed. Students on all campuses now receiving financial aid are living on a shoestring, and in great jeopardy of having their funds cut off altogether. All this, part of the "master plan" for education, is making it near impossible for working class and Third World youth to get into college and difficult even for middle class youth to stay there.

The children of working people have always had to fight for the right to a decent education. It's nothing new that the current cutbacks in education hit hardest at the working class.



in three main ways: First, as communist intellectuals who will bring communist ideology to the working class; Second, *as a group*, students will spread anti-imperialist ideas among workers; and Third, by building a powerful anti-imperialist movement, including a Marxist-Leninist section within that movement, on the campuses. We have confidence that the working class will grasp these truths, and raise all the struggles of the people, including the students, to an entirely new level." (Red Papers I) This pamphlet analyzes the roles of the student movement in the past and for the future.

We are at a crucial point in the development of the student movement. From a movement that attacked the symptoms of imperialism (racial discrimination, aggression abroad, etc.) to a conscious anti-imperialist movement which strikes at the root of the problem—the capitalist system; this is the step being taken today. At times like these, critical questions arise and confront the student activists. And these questions must be dealt with.

This pamphlet will try to address the following questions:

**WHERE DID THE STUDENT MOVEMENT COME FROM,
WHAT IS ITS HISTORY?**

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

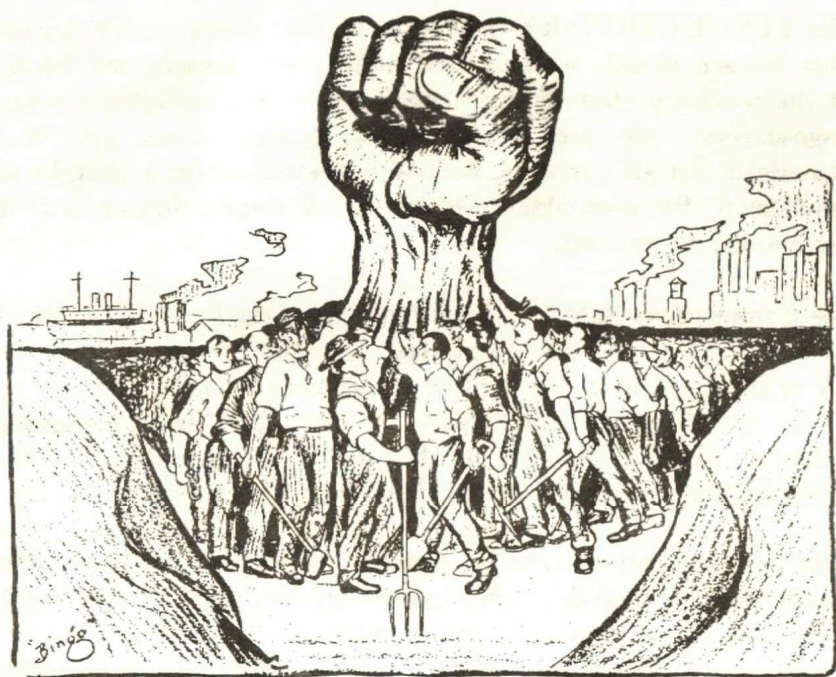
**WHAT ROLE DOES THE STUDENT MOVEMENT PLAY WITH-
IN THE OVERALL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE?**

**HOW DO WE RE-BUILD THE STUDENT MOVEMENT ON A
STRONG ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS?**

**WHAT ARE THE IMMEDIATE TASKS AND WHAT PITFALLS
DO WE NEED TO AVOID IN ORDER TO CARRY THESE TASKS
OUT?**

These and other questions must be taken up by the student movement. This pamphlet is a step toward answering them. It does not answer many specific questions that face third world students or junior college students—although we do feel the general lessons summarized in this pamphlet are applicable. (Reliance on the masses of people, the leading role of the working class, etc.) It does analyze the history of the American student movement and the lessons to be learned from that history.

It puts forward certain key problems facing the movement right now. And it proposes a program for building the anti-imperialist student movement in the present period. First, however, we must have a historical perspective in which we can view the student movement. In order to do this, the rise of U.S. imperialism in the world is briefly traced in the first section.



Already on many campuses groups of active anti-imperialists are forming. By consolidating and expanding these groups around the principles outlined earlier and developing on-going work around the different spearheads of struggle and by linking these together, a mass anti-imperialist student movement can and will be built.

In the near future the anti-imperialist groups can provide a bridge to organizing regional anti-imperialist groups that could co-ordinate activities, exchange resources, sum up experience, and provide leadership in the overall student movement. Similar developments throughout the country will lay the basis for once again forming a national anti-imperialist student organization, which will play an important role in the united front against imperialism.

Unite the People, Defeat the Enemy

WHAT IS THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION?

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION is a national communist organization. We are mainly workers, and students who have joined the ranks of the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system of wage-slavery. We are White, Black, Brown, Asian and Native American. In all our work we base ourselves on the principles first proclaimed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the Communist movement:

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement . . . they never cease for a single instant, to instill in the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION fights to build the day to day struggles of the American workers to defend our living standards; and we work to unite this movement with all the other struggles of the American people—against the war in Indochina, for the rights and freedom of Black and Brown people and other national minorities, against the development of fascism and fascist repression by the government, and for full equality for women.

The United Front Against Imperialism, led by the working class, will eventually bring about the overthrow of monopoly capitalism (imperialism) in the United States, and establish the political rule of the working people: the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers' rule will completely transform society in the interests of the people and will abolish forever the evils of class society: exploitation, unemployment, poverty, wars, and all inequalities. This is the historic mission of the working class; it is to this end that the REVOLUTIONARY UNION and all other genuine Communist organizations are dedicated.

Other publications by the Revolutionary Union:

China's Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy — .50

A Selection from the Red Papers 1, 2, & 3 — .50

Red Papers 4: Proletarian Revolution vs. Revolutionary
Adventurism — \$1

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To be published soon:

Red Papers 5: National Liberation and Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.

Red Papers 6: Proletarian Leadership in the United Front

"I began as a student and acquired at school the habits of a student; . . . I used to feel it undignified to do any manual labor, such as shouldering my own luggage. At that time it seemed to me that the intellectuals were the only clean persons in the world, and the workers and peasants seemed rather dirty beside them. Having become a revolutionary, I found myself in the same ranks as the workers, peasants, and soldiers of the revolutionary army . . . I came to feel that it was those unremolded intellectuals who were unclean as compared to the workers and peasants, while the workers and peasants are after all the cleanest persons—even though their hands are soiled and their feet are smeared with cow dung."

Mao Tse-tung