

Comrades!

Our struggle against imperialism and its many manifestations--racism--national oppression, sexism--has been a long and hard one. We have faced our enemies on many fronts, won victories and suffered defeats--but on the whole, our revolutionary struggle has advanced forward. We are a part of the historical motion of humanity zigging and zagging its way to a time when exploitation will be overthrown once and for all, man's relationship to man will be free from oppression, and mankind will finally triumph over nature. It is a victory for us to be here meeting tonight, temporarily liberating some time and space here at Princeton University, a bastion of propaganda for the monopoly capitalists. It is on the heels of your victory in the Week of Solidarity with the student struggle at Southern University--particularly because it reflected the revolutionary consciousness that "Southern is where you are!" And it follows the victory of the inspiring study tour to Cuba by the Progressive Student Delegation, a corps of dedicated brothers and sisters who are largely responsible for our being here right now.

My task is to discuss "The Significance of the February 1st Movement to the Anti-Imperialist Student Movement." I take on this responsibility as a friend of FFM, and as a communist dedicated to proletarian revolution and Black liberation. The main questions we must answer are:

1. What are the present conditions and historical precedents setting the stage for the February First Movement?
2. What is the role of the anti-imperialist student movement in our revolutionary struggle?
3. What steps must be taken to place the February First Movement on a solid anti-imperialist footing?

In other words, we must sum up the material conditions and theoretical lessons on which to build the FFM (namely, the current situation of students, the historical experience of Black student struggle, and lessons from student struggles in the context of world revolution). Also in building FFM we must pay attention to both strategic goals and tactical plans.

1. Current Situation of Students: There has been a significant change in the student sector of the Black community during the last 60 years. This change reflects basic changes in the structure of the Black community. In 1916 the Office of Education reported 2,132 students at 31 Black colleges. The significance of this group can be easily seen when one recognizes that the census reported in 1940 30.4% of Black people as illiterate, 90% living in the South and 60% of Black men employed in agriculture. By 1940, the number of students had increased to 58,000 at 118 Black colleges. This increase followed the mass migrations to the cities and the industrial North. In 1940, 34% of Black people had moved to central cities, but still "over 3/4 of all Blacks lived in the South, close to 2/3 lived in rural areas there, and just under half were still engaged in agriculture." By 1964 there were about 200,000 Black college students, and over triple this ten years later--today. By 1969 the U.S. Census reported that 55% of Blacks lived in central cities, about half lived in the North and only 4% remained employed in agriculture.

In sum, the increase in the number of Black college students reflects fundamental changes in U.S. society and Black peoples situation in it. The demand for Black students must be understood as a sub category of the demand for Black labor, merely more skilled labor. Combining the mechanization of agriculture with the blood-thirsty industrialization of the war economy monopoly capitalism created the demand for Black students in the interest of the Bourgeoisie.

This demand, however, was not based on only one need, but has changed historically with the needs of monopoly capitalism. Private schools were set up in the 1850's and 1860's to serve the task of producing a Black petty bourgeois elite, particularly in the fields of education, religion, social work, law, medicine, and business. In 1900, of all Black college graduates 37% were teachers, 11% were ministers, 4% were doctors, and 3% were lawyers, and only 1.4% were engaged in farming. This was the "Talented Tenth" DuBois spoke of. While these schools were the only avenue for higher education at one time, they now account for only

12% of all Black students . Integration (beginning in 1950's with a few isolated cases then and before) has resulted in 8% of all Black students being enrolled at previously all white private schools.

Another group of schools began to be set up in the 1890's as a result of the second Morrill Act of Congress that set up the land-grant college system to decentralize technological innovation and training to aid U.S. agricultural production. This was also the heyday of Booker T. Washington's vocational education philosophy. By 1940, while 22.3% of Black college students were still majoring in Education, now 23% were also majoring in Agriculture, Industrial Arts, and Home Economics. But the situation changed after the war, and by 1955-56, over 2/3 of graduates from the publicly controlled Black colleges were graduating with degrees in Education. Another change is reflected in the late 1960's with education falling to 50% in 1967 and social sciences (social work) rising to 17% and business to 9%. At the present time 22% of Black students go to public Black schools, and 26% go to public previously all white ones.

The newest educational form is the urban community and junior college. While previously for the city dweller there was no nearly universal education beyond high school the junior college was created due to advances in skill requirements for the job market. The para-professional, clerical and technical jobs needed more than high school trained persons, reflecting both the inadequacy of the high school and the special skills needed for the job. While these schools actually began after WWI, it wasn't until the late 1960's that they boomed. Furthermore, the boom for all students resulted in 18% of the total U.S. students being enrolled in them it resulted in 32% of all Black students being enrolled in them.

Now, so far we have examined the aggregate growth of Black students, and the development of 3 types of educational institutions. We have summed up the form of education but only touched on its essence. Its essence is based on the national oppression and class exploitation of the masses of Black people. On the one hand,

higher education has served the need of monopoly capital to have Black managers (overseers) for the Black community to administer Black institutions, public agencies, and serve as role models for Black youth to emulate. On the other hand, higher education serves to prepare Black youth for more skilled working class jobs in order to accelerate production and increase their exploitation.

In discussing these class destinations of Black students we must directly raise the question of what class students are in. The concept class is based on one's relationship to the means of production. In the capitalist mode of production, the Bourgeoisie owns the means of production and the Proletariat's relation to them is based on the need to sell their labor power for wages in order to survive. Students are members of the intellegensia, a strata that has no direct role in production, but nevertheless serves one class or another. But students, on the whole, are a social group within the intellectual strata that are consumers of education rather than producers of knowledge. So, (1) students have a concrete class origin--for the most part working class: "37.4% of students at Black land-grant colleges come from families making less than \$4,000 a year. In general, a student going to a Southern school, be it private or public, now comes from homes where the medium income is \$3,900. . . (and) . . . only 17% of all Black college students come from families over \$10,000." And, (2) the class destination of students is either the Black petty bourgeois service professional or managerial set, or the skilled working class clerical set. (3) While in school, Black students are a social group in transition within the intellectual strata consuming education while preparing to play a role in the society. (This, of course, does not take into consideration the students who work while going to school, and work during the summer.)

This class essence of Black higher education is a function of the dynamic antagonistic clash of classes struggling in a battle to the death. And with the crisis of imperialism intensifying in this period of inflation, overproduction,

unemployment, trade wars, and government corruption crises throughout nearly all capitalist countries, the class life of Black students has been radically changed. The U.S. Labor Dept. admitted that the unemployment rate of Black workers reached 11.7% in November, 1974, and it was reportedly as high as 30-40% in some big cities. So the class origin (parents) of Black students is under attack. This also is an attack on the class destination of Black students (future jobs) since job offers are no longer easily picked up in the traditional professional fields and the working class is facing unemployment. Yeah, its possible to get a B.A. and be unemployed, seasonally employed, underemployed, or only part-time employed. Moreover, the current institutional home of Black students is under attack as well. Federal funds to higher education are being cut back, endowments are being plundered, faculty/student ratio's are increasing by cutting the faculty and increasing student enrollments, Afro-American Studies programs are being cut, tuition fees are being raised, and tolerance for all forms of political radicalism is rapidly diminishing. The material conditions of Black students are in a definite crisis.

The situation is excellent!

The situation is excellent because where there is oppression and exploitation there will be resistance. The future is bright because it is in our hands, the masses of people, the proletariat. We are the future. But the road ahead is not goint to be an easy road to travel. It is going to be tortorous, it is going to necessitate flexibility and require endurance--but the February First Movement is going to spark the might and force of our student vanguard, is going to raise high the banner of struggle for our people, and take its place on the battle field against our enemies. We will unite the many to win still greater victories.

One reason I have confidence in you is that you are apart of the historical motion of Black youth, we have had many high tides of Black student struggle in the past so we can have full confidence in our future! So lets review some of these periods of struggle to learn the lessons of the victories and defeats of the past

and not be condemned to blindly repeat the errors, but take from it what is good and boldly march forward.

During the 1920's there were many student strikes that occurred, particularly at Hampton, Fisk, Shaw, and Howard. These strikes reflected struggles with the administrations who were maintaining 19th century standards in a post WWI period. The mass movement of Black people was at a high point in the 1930's with the fight to save the Scottsboro boys, the formation of the National Negro Congress, militant struggles of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, the fight to save Angelo Herndon, the mass movement of the Unemployed Councils, and the drive to unionize Black workers into the CIO. Many of these struggles were led by the Communist Party (USA) when it was still a revolutionary party, which it no longer is today.

In the late thirties Black youth militancy led to the formation of the first SNYC, the Southern Negro Youth Congress in a conference in Richmond, Virginia, on February 13, 1937. The first conference was a broad based conference that included representatives from nearly every Black college in the country, young steelworkers from Birmingham, sharecroppers, boy and girl schouts, churches and even the YMCA. It was formed in an era of the fascist menace. Its broad united front character is reflected by the fact that Dr. Mordechai Johnson who served over 30 years as the first Black president of Howard Univeristy gave an address and said: "The greatest danger to democracy is not communism or socialism but first of all fasicism. A danger not only to Black but to white men."

The conference endorsed a "Proclamation of Southern Negro Youth" that spoke to the national democratic character of the movement:

"We, Negro Youth of the South, know that ours is the duty to keep alive the traditions of freedom and democracy. We know that ours must be a ceaseless task, to win the status of citizenship for the Negro people."

They adopted a nine point program:

1. Equalization of education for the Black youth in the South as compared with white youth.

2. Parks and recreational centers for Black youth.
3. Abolition of the poll tax.
4. To securing for the Negro people the right to vote and the right to be elected to public office and to serve on juries.
5. Making lynching a federal crime.
6. An end to police brutality against Black people and labor.
7. No discrimination because of creed, color, or political affiliation.
8. The right to organize without intimidation by police terror.
9. The right to jobs at union wages and of unemployment benefits for the youth.

Ⓚ Hosea Hudson, veteran Black worker revolutionary from the South for the last 40 years, has written this about the first SNYC:

"Some real achievements for the Negroes in the South were made under the leadership of SNYC. Skilled jobs were won by Black workers in some of the ship yards in Mobile, Alabama, in the Beckman McComb aircraft plant in North Birmingham Alabama, and in the Bell aircraft plant in Marietta, Georgia. New public school buildings were constructed for Black children in some sections of the South, and many other concessions were won."

SNYC maintained an office in Birmingham and was characterized by militant bold action, including intervention in incidents of fascist violent repression of Black people in 1946 in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. It was a vital force in the united front against fascism. It had its 7th convention in Columbia, South Carolina in 1946 and had over 1,000 delegates in attendance. But this was a turning point year for SNYC. There were charges from liberals who were against SNYC that it had mismanaged funds collected to defend Blacks in 1946, particularly in the Colombia, Tennessee race riot. Moreover, SNYC had become increasingly focused on national and international issues that were distant from the masses in the South and they failed to do the necessary propaganda work to maintain mass involvement. The broad based participation of their first conference had dwindled to only the more politically conscious elements. After John L. Lweis resigned from the CIO, Hosea Hudson reports that the militant connections of SNYC and the CIO were dis-

rupted by KKK elements who began to take a leading role in the unions. And finally, the Attorney General put SNYC on the list of subversive organizations in 1948 and SNYC was the victim of an intense red baiting campaign. SNYC was dissolved in December, 1948 after 11 years of heroic struggle.

After the next 12 years of desegregation victories, setbacks by mob violence, and the rise of the Montgomery Bus Boycott movement the student movement rose again. The forecast of the motion to come was reflected by 2 marches, "Youth marches for integrated schools", that brought 8,000 in 1958 and 25,000 in 1959 to Washington, D.C. On February 1st, 1960, as you all know 4 young Black students from North Carolina A&T sat in a 5 & 10¢ store in Greensboro, N.C., and sparked the sit-in movement that led to the second SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

SNCC was the most dynamic organization in the Black liberation movement in the 1960's and from its experience there are many lessons to be learned. SNCC moved through three stages: (1) 1960-1963, SNCC was based in the South, and focused its attention on fighting the denial of democratic rights to Black people particularly in the rural areas. This was a period of idealism. SNCC wrote in its founding statement:

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action . . . through nonviolence, courage displaces fear. Love transcends hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice, hope ends despair. Faith reconciles doubt. Peace dominates war. Mutual regards cancel enmity. Justice for all overwhelms injustice. The redemptive community supersedes immoral social systems."

Moreover, it was not the system of American society (USA) that was rejected but the rejection of Blacks by the system that SNCC fought against. SNCC folks believed in the American Dream. One militant wrote:

"What was the source of my belief? It was based on my assurance that in this country there was room for everybody, that for every man there was, or soon would be, some place where he could be free to explore and employ the creative potential within him . . . In short, I believed in guaranteeing everyone freedom, equality and democracy as the means of living full lives, and I thought that the rest of the country believed in these things too."



But unlike the now bureaucratic reformists that dominated the old civil rights organizations (Urban League and NAACP) or the new church-based motion (SCLC), SNCC was militant and bold in its desire to resolve injustice with direct action, changing reality by facing whatever danger was there.

The sit-ins hit this country like a bomb shell and spread like a prairie fire. In a year's time over 50,000 students were involved in over 140 places in the new tactic of struggle--the sit-in. Actually it spread through the mass media, the articles reading like handbooks of struggle. While Martin Luther King had ideological hegemony over students, it was Ghandian tactics that guided the struggle. The students also had the Black college's commitment to bourgeois political idealism for their ideological foundation. Stephen Wright, former president of Fisk University said at the time, "Students have been exposed all of their lives to the teachings of the great American scriptures of democracy, freedom, and equality, and no literate person should be surprised that they reflect these teachings in their conduct." This ideological basis fit the rising petty bourgeois aspirations of Black students so the initial level of participation was broad and far reaching.

Tactically the sit-ins were a model of dedication, commitment and discipline. People were instructed to absorb whatever violence came, but not to retaliate.

"You may choose to face physical assault without protecting yourself, hands at the sides, unclenched; or you may choose to protect yourself, making plain you do not intend to hit back."

The sit-inners faced tear gas, police dogs, burning cigarettts on their flesh, beatings, jailings and suspension or expulsion from college. Throughout it all, their discipline dedication and commitment was a source of moral strength that pierced deep into the Black community and eventually led to winning the sympathy if not support of the masses of Black people.

The sit-ins led to the freedom rides initiated by CORE, and SNCC moved in

when mob violence had temporarily halted them by burning a bus in Annston, Alabama. Students from Nashville and Atlanta went to Birmingham and rode buses into Jackson, Mississippi.

After the sit-ins and freedom rides, students began to voluntarily leave school to work full time for SNCC. They plunged deep into the South. One group focused on the struggle to desegregate public accommodations, and the other stressed the need to register voters and struggle for change at the ballot box.

2. The second period of SNCC development is really a period of transition (1963-1964). In these two years SNCC used the momentum of the previous 3 years of oft times isolated struggle in the deep rural South to seize a national platform and also pull the nation into the deep South. In 1963 SNCC was a key participant in the March on Washington in which 250,000 people went to demonstrate in the Capital, the seat of state power. SNCC was regarded as a brash young militant organization and was forced to delete part of John Lewis' speech. He was supposed to say:

"We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. . . . We must have legislation that will protect the Mississippi share-cropper who is put off his farm because he dares to register to vote. We need a bill that will provide for the homeless and starving people of this nation. We need a bill that will ensure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year. We must have a good FEPC bill.

"Let us not forget that we are involved in a serious social revolution. By and large, American politics is dominated by politicians who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic, and social exploitation. There are exceptions, of course. We salute those. But what political leader can stand up and say, 'My party is the party of principles?' The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javist is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party . . . We cannot depend on any political party, for the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

"The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our 'scorched earth' policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground--non-violently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy."

After much struggle, in February, 1964, SNCC sent out a call for Black and

white students throughout the nation to come to work in Mississippi for the summer. Nearly 1000 volunteers worked in Mississippi that summer. During those months 6 people were killed, 80 beaten, 35 churches burned, and 30 other buildings bombed. But the slogan that fits SNCC's posture was "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Us Around". The nation was forced to look at the swamp that is Mississippi, a state dripping with the venom of racism, falling near the bottom of every index of social development with a population 43% Black. SNCC had long since dropped its college appearance and had adopted the denim overalls of the rural Mississippi sharecropper as the uniform for struggle.

During this same period SNCC groups had been developing in Northern cities and had moved beyond simply support work for the Southern struggle. The Chicago group sparked a united front effort to fight defacto segregation of schools. This resulted in two school boycotts, 225,000 students in 1963, 180,000 in 1964.

This period sparked a reconsideration of nonviolence. Bob Moses, a leading SNCC militant in Mississippi, said of Martin Luther King's philosophy:

"We don't agree with it, in a sense. The majority of the students are not sympathetic to the idea that they have to love the white people that they are struggling against. But there are a few who have a very religious orientation. And there's a constant dialogue at meetings about non-violence and the meaning of non-violence . . . For most of the members it is a question of being able to have a method of attack rather than to be always on the defensive."

The great political lesson during this period was learned when SNCC tried to upset the domination of the regular Mississippi Democratic Party with the organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. After holding legal precinct, district and state elections with full legal documentation the MFDP went to the Democratic convention in Atlantic City. In addition to the MFDP delegates, and scores of SNCC militants, SNCC brought the burned remains of the car driven by Chaney, Goodman, and Swerner, the first 3 civil rights workers killed earlier in the summer. Although they had a sound case the political maneuvering of vice-presidential hopeful Hubert Humphrey at Johnson's instructions

set up a compromise for the MFDP to accept representative seating with no voice or vote. All established civil rights leaders urged acceptance of this, King, Wilkins, Rustin, etc. But SNCC said that we had to put some principles in politics and rejected it. The grass roots MFDP delegates swung with SNCC, the youthful militants who had walked with them down the dusty roads to register to vote, they had marched with too many sacrifices to compromise their principles. This was a political lesson of the highest order. And it was this political lesson that propelled SNCC into its 3rd period. One militant put it this way:

"In retrospect, I think that in our hearts we knew our flawless arguments would fall on deaf ears. We were aware, at least subconsciously that no group of white people was going to send some of its own packing in order to make room for us. No matter that that group had said to the world that it regarded all people as equals and no matter that we had a right to representation in that group. It took a few more turns at knocking our heads against stone walls (walls that, according to our society, did not exist) before we became fully conscious that this was the case."

She continued:

"In this experience can be seen one of the origins of the call for black power, which I consider the other side of the coin of black consciousness. One cannot exist without the other. Imagine the MFDP's 1964 experience repeated hundreds of times in hundreds of conventions and back room meetings. Imagine that in every corner of the United States black people are coming face to face with the fact, never before so widely or so publicly acknowledged that it is through the exercise of power that decisions are made, and that those decisions have little or nothing to do with morality. The next logical step is the call for black power."

3. The third period lasted from 1965 to 1967. A trip to Africa by a SNCC leadership delegation, discussions with and about Malcolm X, and growing alienation between Blacks and whites inside SNCC, was capped by the Watts riot of August, 1965. By May, 1966, at a SNCC staff meeting in Nashville, Stokely Carmichael was elected chairperson of SNCC. During the June march in Mississippi started by James Meredith, SNCC militants set off another spark that resulted in a prairie fire--BLACK POWER. What this did was ignite motion in every aspect of U.S. society. In light of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1964 another tactic to attack the system was necessary. And while the initial response of white liberals and bureaucratic Civil Rights leaders was to charge "racism in

reverse" SNCC gained great popularity among the masses of people. The latent nationalism of Black people who still have childhood roots in the rural South, have relatives living there, and continue to experience national oppression in the North surged forward. However, SNCC still had not developed a scientific analysis of this society, and did not have a systematic program. Therefore, this new prairie fire was guided away from revolution to reform by a reformist petty bourgeois elite who used the movement to promote its own class interests. SNCC moved to form local political parties like the Lowndes County Freedom Party, and in fact included the revolutionary weapon of armed self defense. But the petty bourgeoisie pushed a nationalist program with themselves at the helm.

By 1967 the Black liberation movement was at an all time high. And it is at this time that SNCC began to move away from its independent organization impact on the movement and began to count more on its leading personalities, the media, and its influence on other organizational forms.

During this year, 1967, H.Rap Brown formerly a Southern University student was elected Chairperson of SNCC. He and Stokely Carmichael became household names in the USA. The riots and repression in Newark and Detroit reached an all time high for national coverage of racial violence. In all there were 164 incidents of violence in the U.S. in 1967, 89 deaths, and nearly 600 million dollars in property loss. Also in this period the forces of Ron Karenga (US) and the Panthers developed national prominence. The ideologies of the new nationalist posture congregated in Newark at the 1st National Black Power Conference. But for SNCC, 1967 signalled a new focus:

"In May 1967, SNCC formally declared that it was no longer a Civil Rights organization but a Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the U.S. but throughout the world. It declared its support of those liberation groups struggling to free people from racism and exploitation."

SNCC sent delegations to a peace conference in Japan, to Vietnam representing the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, to the Latin American Solidarity

Organization in Havana, then to Vietnam, Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea, Tanzania, and Europe. Moreover, SNCC spoke at a UN conference on Apartheid in Zambia, and again in New York on foreign investments in Southern Africa. This new posture led to a position on the Palestinian problem after the June War in the Middle East. SNCC held that "The basic issue of the conflict was aggressive, expansionist Zionism backed by U.S. imperialism." SNCC alienated itself once and for all from the liberal philanthropists who had financed the civil rights movement. The leadership then turned to the Black Panther Party as a new organizational form, but their relationship was short-lived. SNCC continued, but the staff was tired, disillusioned and demoralized with the lack of organization, strategy and most of all a systematic coherent line.

Now although this has been a most hasty sketch of SNCC, it is possible to sum up some of its most important shortcomings and strengths. The major weakness was its consistent lack of a unified line and political education. This resulted in great gaps developing between the rank and file militants in local projects and its central leadership. Moreover, it made it difficult for SNCC to consolidate and make shifts of position when necessary. This is the basis for the other problems: (1) SNCC lacked a revolutionary strategy so on each campaign hung ultimate hopes only to lead to great disappointments, disillusion, and anger; (2) SNCC's organization revolved more around key personalities rather than on organizational structure and process. Therefore many SNCC leaders appeared larger than life. This led to many problems that resulted from the fact that the actual weaknesses of these brothers and sisters became magnified liabilities for the entire organization; (3) SNCC program was characterized by bowing to spontaneity, a process of seizing on the objective motion of the people and calling that revolutionary. Moreover, sometimes a major campaign would start accidentally and be allowed to disrupt ongoing work; (4) and last, all of what's just been said was complicated by SNCC militants not having the discipline of relating to each other

in the most principled way. This was true in general, but particularly between men and women.

These shortcomings were glaring not because SNCC was a failure, for it was a great success, but it did not survive and we need to learn the reasons well. Its strengths were based on an honest and quite serious attempt to change this society. The Black students of SNCC were committed to the masses of Black people and had no hesitancy in sinking deep roots among them. If integrating with the masses is a revolutionary trait for students, then surely it is clear that SNCC had a revolutionary style of work. SNCC reflected this in its ability to develop slogans that were adopted by the masses, its use of songs to mobilize and raise the spirit of the masses, its projection of symbols that fired the imagination of the Black masses, and generally its use of records, still photography, films, and newspapers in carrying propaganda work deep among the masses. And SNCC was a bold fearless army of militant Black youth. In every State SNCC sought out the most dangerous area to show Black people that it was possible to fight oppression and win. The theme song of the Mississippi project was "We'll never turn back."

In 1967 arose the next major case of Black student struggle that is in many respects both an historical precedent for the February First Movement and a current context for struggle: The rise of the Black Studies Movement. BSU's were formed, Black Studies programs started like at SF State and Negro Digest published the first of 3 special issues on the Black University concept. But after Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968 the ruling class moved to use the university to coopt the youth of the Black masses who had turned to a revolutionary rhetoric to express their emotions and anger. There was a great increase in recruitment at colleges of all sorts, and rather than create Black Anglo-Saxons it frequently did the opposite. Black students began to form organizations, demand Black-oriented courses, Black faculty, soul food, Black dormitories, open admission for more Black students, improved conditions for Black workers on campus, and a positive service-

providing relationship from the college to the Black community. In formerly white schools the students were demanding a portion of the budget and facilities, while in the traditionally Black schools the demand was for a new type Black University.

Many of these students were motivated by revolutionary aspirations, and many were affiliated with or looked for leadership from political organizations like the Black Panther Party or the US organization. However, while these aspirations were good the follow through was soundly defeated. The rise of this mass motion involved many students of all stripes but quickly split into three trends:

1. the academic bureaucrats--these were students who were tricked into being concerned with the administrative details of reorganizing the university. This was clear cooptation into a system the students had no real understanding of. Plus, there were material incentives--salaries, summer stipends, travel funds, etc. These students were lured into dealing with the formal aspects of the educational change and frequently lost the essence of their struggle in the process.
2. The campus anarchists--these were students who might have tried the bureaucratic route but ended up disillusioned with the capacity of the system to change. So it was "if they won't come around we'll burn it down", or we'll seize buildings, we'll use some form of power confrontation politics to get the change we want. Sometimes this brought temporary concession, often not.
3. The campus revolutionaries--These students were connected with a revolutionary thrust in the Black community and the working class. A good example of this is the Black students at Wayne State University in Detroit and their relationship with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, students fought for campus workers, students fought the role of ROTC, and the corporations.



Because of the high level of repression and economic crisis this period is increasingly eliminating the bureaucratic and anarchic alternatives. There is but one way for progressive Black students to turn and that way will soon be illuminated by the militant action of the February First Movement. Now before I sum up this rather lengthy background to discussing the February First Movement, it is important to direct you to the many lessons to be learned from the student aspect of World revolutionary struggles. You have heard some comments on Cuba.

Since I've recently returned from the Peoples Republic of China I'd like to make a few remarks about the May 4th Movement. University students in China in 1919 were a privileged group, but nevertheless were not without oppression--fear was a tactic used by Tuan Chi-Jui to keep this potential threat under control. The war ended in 1918, and the students had hopes of China escaping from the humiliating control of foreign powers, especially Japan. But when they found that the sellout government was not to be independent of Japan and Japan was to be more in control of China than ever before the All China Federation of Students called a demonstration that was called National Humiliation Day. But the students didn't wait til May 7th, but marched on May 4th over 3,000 strong from 13 schools. One goal was to prevent China from signing the peace treaty at Versailles, the other was a cultural revolution for freedom, democracy and science. Mass propaganda was used widely. Students were arrested, along with teachers. High school and primary students got involved. Moreover, when the movement spread it involved many sectors of Chinese society. Its revolutionary turn came when the militant workers of Shanghai (known as the home of the Chinese working class) called a general strike on June 6th. The results were great involvement of intellectuals in a cultural revolution (use of popular not classical language so masses could understand, hair and clothing styles changed, opium smoking and foot binding attacked, etc.) and Chinese students in France prevented the Chinese delegation from signing the so-called peace treaty.

Mao has written that:

"The May 4th Movement was directed against a government of national betrayal, a government which conspired with imperialism and sold out the interests of the nation, a government which oppressed the people."

He goes on to sum up the most important lesson we can learn from this May 4th Movement:

"What role have the Chinese youth played since the May 4th Movement? They have played the role of vanguard . . . It means taking the lead and marching in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks . . . But this (student) army is not enough; we cannot 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 . . . Therefore, the young intellectuals and students throughout the country must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, and only then can a mighty force be created."

In general, this revolutionary mandate was characteristic of SNYC and SNCC. However, SNYC was isolated from the broad masses by their own sectarianism and rising forces of reaction, and SNCC bowed to the spontaneity of the masses so that they were unable to consolidate forces and give consistent revolutionary leadership. The Black Studies Movement has swung from the right (bureaucratic reform) to the left (anarcho-syndicalism). You are the rising revolutionary trend. You are the continuation of the May 4th Movement and these lessons of the past 50 years must be clear to you.

Now let us turn back to the initial 3 questions laid out and take up the second one: (2) What is the role of the anti-imperialist student movement in our revolutionary struggle? Our general formulation is that the broad masses of the people must be united in action against the imperialists in order for our revolutionary struggle to be carried through to a victorious end. This is the United Front Against Imperialism. In addition, and most important, there must be a revolutionary party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism--a new communist party--to guide, to lead the struggle. And we must all recognize that before its all over, revolutionary armed struggle will be a necessary component of our revolution. But in this context, our main concern is with the United Front Against

Imperialism, because this is the revolutionary strategy in which the broad based anti-imperialist student movement must be understood and led.

At the center of the United Front, giving it its objective center, and providing the basis for its conscious leadership is the workers movement and the national liberation struggles, for we agree with Mao when he says "The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

In fact, it is precisely the proletarian character of Black people that provides the objective basis for this merger, and it is our task to fight against those things that prevent it, and fight for those things that help bring it about. Since the question of national oppression of Black people is in essence a class contradiction, we must not play down the particular national oppression of Black people but drawn out the class essence of the contradiction between the Black masses and the U.S. ruling class. That is the strategic task of the anti-imperialist struggle, as it levels death blows against the imperialist system.

And we must never lose sight of the dialectical relationship of strategic goals and tactical considerations. As the Chinese say we must despise our enemy strategically, but take him seriously tactically. That means we must always know that ther merger of the workers movement and the Black liberation movement (and all other national liberation movements) will merge, that history is on our side, and we will defeat imperialism soundly and finally. But also, every attack, every campaign, every step along the way is filled with danger. "The future is bright, but the road ahead is tortorous." We must never underestimate the work in sheep's clothing, the paper tiger is a tiger nevertheless, and always remember that imperialism has no conscience.

Strategically we must unite the many, but tactically we do this taking one step at a time.

Now a vital force within the United Front Against Imperialism is the student movement. Almost without exception, every successful revolutionary struggle has had a revolutionary student sector. This is because you are young, a group in transition, you are open to new ideas, you are full of energy, and you have not yet been tainted into total submission by the seductive propaganda of the ruling class.

There are incorrect ideas about the student movement that you must guard against.

1. Students will lead the struggle. This position is dangerous because it liquidates the necessary leadership of the workers and liberation forces in order to carry revolution through to the end led by a revolutionary party. An example of this reactionary line appeared in an editorial in the December 27th issue of the Militant newspaper. In dealing with the student call for a conference to deal with the crisis in Boston they write:

"Students have taken the lead, as they did in the earlier civil rights movement, by setting the next step in the campaign. They are urging supporters of civil rights to come to Boston again Feb. 14-15 for a conference to plan further action. This conference can be a powerful boost toward developing an ongoing mass movement that can defeat the racist offensive."

The correct communist position is to encourage the students calling the conference (1) to ensure that a full and decisive ideological struggle occur so that a clear choice can be made on a program and course of action; (2) to ensure to fully represent the interest of the Afro-American people and the proletariat in all planning, and actions undertaken. The Trotskyite newspaper doesn't mention the working class once, and they seem to shy away from ideological struggle. They have moved in like this before and brought havoc everytime. FFM should be on guard.

A new communist party is necessary in order to have correct leadership for the multi-national proletariat and the national liberation struggles, and the entire United Front Against Imperialism--including the student movement. Where

does this party come from? It comes from all revolutionary sectors of society, most importantly the proletariat--but student revolutionaries are also a vital source of members for the party. So as you develop, as you study the science of revolution--Marxism-Leninism, you will increasingly lose your identity as a student, and take on a new one as a revolutionary who goes to school. So students don't lead, the proletariat and the national liberation struggles do with their revolutionary party as their general staff.

But remember that you have two responsibilities as you develop: on the one hand to raise your level of theoretical and practical work and transform yourselves into professional revolutionaries, on the other to maintain a good mass style so that the broad united front character of FFM is not sacrificed for the development of a politically advanced few.

2. Students are more knowledgeable than the people. This ill-fated arrogant elitism will lead to no movement at all. Knowledge is grounded in practice, especially revolutionary knowledge which is grounded in the practice of class struggle. This includes anti-imperialist struggle. What students and intellectuals can have is a grasp of theory, and this only by serious systematic study of materials that sum up the lived experience of the masses. And the task is to go to the masses--the masses of students, the masses of workers, the masses of Black people and learn first hand of the particular details of oppression and exploitation--then your limited experience will be made rich by the storehouse of knowledge contained in the masses' experience. And you then will be able to arm the masses with your now firmer grasp of theory in order that they might find a clearer path of struggle. But we must never believe the imperialist lie--the fact is that the people are wise, and we must learn from them.

These are aspects of revolutionary work on all levels--in the student movement and in more advanced organizational forms.

3. Students are not revolutionary and will not join in the struggle, or

cannot. This is a leftist position that negates the history of world revolution. One manifestation of this regards students as petty bourgeois and focuses only on workers. Not mainly or most importantly on the proletariat, but only. This leftism isolates one from mass struggles, many of which will be supported or even initiated by students. A variant of this position occurs when students are turned on to M-L, negate their revolutionary role in the anti-imperialist student movement, and abandon the campus and student work. This is an infantile purist position that burns bridges connecting the student movement to the communist movement, and leads to a rejection of the advanced elements by the masses of students. What must be done is to link the student movement to the communist movement for a new party. This is the correct revolutionary task of the politically advanced students. Also, this leftist position fails to recognize the difference between the objective condition of students, and the subjective false consciousness of many students. Objectively the masses of students are in contradiction with imperialism, of course there is a significant sector that is not--but its significance is more qualitative than quantitative since it is a small part of the 10,000,000 or so college students in the United States. And our grasp of the crisis of imperialism helps us to understand that the objective material conditions that students have with imperialism are heightening. The ruling class moves to camouflage this or dull it with drugs, sexual fantasy and perversion, popular culture, religious cults and all forms of mysticism. But the masses of students aren't going for it or can be won away from it. We must move correctly or we will be isolated from the masses. Our approach must be to practice "unity--struggle--unity" with the masses of students. Unite with them on issues they are concerned about, issues they understand, and build tight bonds of unity. Then there is a basis to raise the political level of the unity by increasing study and principled discussion on the conditions of exploitation and oppression, and on how to build a movement to defeat imperialism. If our movement is to be successful we must not be negative in our thinking, and

reject our fellow students for being temporary victims of imperialism.

This brings us to the 3rd and last major question: What steps must be taken to place the February First Movement on a solid anti-imperialist footing? While I hope it is possible to draw out an answer to this by what's already been said, I'd like to suggest 5 principles to guide your initial thrust.

1. An anti-imperialist student movement must be based on scientific consciousness of current patterns of oppression and exploitation and a grasp of the historical role students have played in revolutionary struggle. This means that you must study, not just with books though that is absolutely essential, but with the newspapers, the mass media in general, and most important of all--make direct investigation among the masses of students, workers, and throughout the Black community. Learn how to listen to people, learn how to learn from the peoples experience. And be objective, be systematic, and be thorough.

One more point on study. Our main task is to combine the advanced learners with the average learners by having a clear understanding of what one's objectives are, what problems need solving. This will help us when we develop our approach to study. Remember that the same books can be read by people on different theoretical levels and much be gained by it, and remember that theory is good only as a guide to action. The task is not merely to understand the world but to change it.

2. An anti-imperialist student movement must make creative use of propaganda and cultural activity to raise the general consciousness of the masses. This points to leaflets, forums, and small discussions in which we try to state as clearly as possible in a way that the masses will readily grasp what is happening in the world, in the community, on the campus, the problems of imperialist and the solution--struggle. We must let the masses use these instruments to speak for themselves. Also, we must use the African World as our major voice. We must write for it, we must support it financially, we must distribute it widely, and we must organize the consistent systematic study of it. In addition, no student movement can make

an all-sided statement without use of cultural activities like songs, poems, plays, paintings and parties. We must use these forms to educate, we must make anti-imperialist consciousness appealing and enjoyable--the choice cannot be having fun versus the movement. A student must be able to have fun and be in the movement too!

3. An anti-imperialist student movement must have a consistent commitment and discipline to revolutionary change. This has a dual character. Objectively we can measure our commitment and discipline by how we spend our money, and how we allocate our time. We must find time everyday to struggle, and make it as regular as sleeping, eating, going to the bathroom, putting our clothes on. We do those things everyday and we must make the struggle as regular. Subjectively, in everything we do not just on those things that pertain directly to the struggle, we must ask ourselves two questions: What role does imperialism play in this? How can this help the struggle? These questions will become a new set of glasses for you to look through and interpret the world, and strengthen your commitment to struggle. One last point concerns organization. Our commitment and discipline must not be merely viewed as individual tasks but must be viewed and carried out in the organizational life of the February First Movement. As the crisis of imperialism breaks down organizational efficiency around us in the society, the February First Movement must be a model of responsibility and follow through, organizational accountability to the masses (like being able to account for all funds raised), and simply, always be on the scene.

4. An anti-imperialist student movement must have a positive attitude and ability to integrate well with the masses of students, workers, and people throughout the community. If we place our faith in the masses, and know that while the struggle will be long and hard we will win, then let us go to them with a smile on our face and warmth in our hearts. People like to be liked. And after all, don't we love the people. So loosen up your style, and flow among the masses like



a fish in water. As we raise high the banner of the February First Movement the masses will come to love us. And their love will not be based simply on emotions, though it's necessary for that to be there, they will love us because we represent an end to suffering and oppression, we stand for the truth, and we are consistent in our willingness to fight in their interests to smash our common enemy imperialism. All this is possible because we know the laws of history;

"While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and Black people in its own country. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

We will win there is no doubt!

5. An anti-imperialist student movement must be bold in its action to support and spearhead the mass student struggles. Bold action, guided by all that we have just discussed, is one sure way to overcome fear, break down inertia, and spark the flames of struggle. No injustice can be allowed to go unchallenged, no righteous struggle, no matter how small, can go unsupported. Remember that a single spark can start a prairie fire. Four freshmen students in 1960 led to 50,000 students in the sit-in movement. That is the legacy of the sit-ins. To go to that counter and sit in was bold. When SNCC went into Selma, Natchez, Tallahatchie county--all that was bold. When the students of San Francisco State struck, the students of Howard University seized the campus and the students of Southern went to the docks at Burnside to fight the importation of Rhodesian Chrome all these were bold. The February First Movement must raise this tradition high. "Be resolute! Fear no sacrifices!"

In sum, the principles are simple but far reaching. An anti-imperialist student movement must have:

1. scientific consciousness
2. creative use of propaganda and culture
3. consistent commitment and discipline
4. positive attitude
5. be bold in its action.

Yours is a necessary historical task in struggle to liberate Black people and

bring an end to imperialism. What I have tried to do is share with you a few thoughts to contribute to your success. I welcome criticism and discussion so that our knowledge may be deepened and our movement set on a correct path.

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM AND ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION!

BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDENT MOVEMENT!

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF THE FEBRUARY FIRST MOVEMENT!