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Communist Party of  
Britain  
(Marxist-Leninist)



**DRAFT ACTION PROGRAMME  
& ANALYSIS OF THE  
STUDENT MOVEMENT**





COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN (MARXIST LENINIST)

Draft Action Programme and Analysis  
of the Present State of the  
Student Movement in Universities in England

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I: A REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PROGRAMME FOR THE STUDENT MOVEMENT: TOWARDS  
WORKER-STUDENT UNITY AGAINST CAPITALISM & IMPERIALISM FOR SOCIALISM

Preamble:

- 1) Our student movement remains almost completely isolated from the working class and working people, it is itself only a very small and transient fraction of the population. It can accomplish only minor reforms without a revolutionary change in society and this we are unable to achieve by ourselves.
- 2) What is the alternative to an isolated and unallied student movement? If the interest of the movement is fighting to destroy the source and cause of what we all come against in the university - imperialism - then we must establish unity under its direction with the class which is the most victimised and exploited by capitalism, and at the same time by virtue of its historic role, size, organisation and position at the point of production will be capable of overthrowing it and seizing state power: the working class.
- 3) Because as students we come from and in most cases remain members of intermediate strata, it is a precondition for worker student unity that our revolt against capitalism and imperialism be from a proletarian standpoint - not an attempt by a stratum that is both privileged and victimized by imperialism to (with revolutionary rhetoric in a syndicalist way) increase its area of privilege and irresponsibility, both materially and culturally.
- 4) We must not call upon the workers to make a revolution to increase the sphere of our privilege! This means, in fighting against the imperialist university and for our particular just needs, that we strive to remould ourselves, to develop the progressive aspect of the contradiction we face as members of the petty-bourgeoisie, identify our future interests with that of the proletariat. This means placing our movement within that of the vanguard of the revolutionary working class, with its party.
- 5) As revolutionary socialist students, our maximum goal is the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism by all means necessary: the seizure of state power by the working class and its party to establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat in all spheres, including science and culture, to transform society through socialism to Communism.

The educational system will be in all ways transformed by a cultural revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat to serve the people under the direction of the working class and its party aided by revolutionary students and staff: "Education must serve proletarian politics so as to enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture". Mao

- 6) We must relate our long term goal to our specific struggles. Based upon objective anti-imperialist demands, we must expose the university as an imperialist institution in all its aspects, and attack the concrete manifestations of this which we come up against every day. In this way we will start to educate a large number of students, draw some of these into political activity or clarify and raise the level of existing political activity, and develop a few students (perhaps five or so each year per base area) who will become proletarian cadre and act as a vanguard. By means of struggles against the common enemy we can begin to create indirect or potential worker student unity which can then be extended to direct worker student unity.



7) Action Programme:

Attack the Universities' Blatant Links with Capitalism & Imperialism

- (1) No director of an imperialist corporation (e.g. Shawcross/Shell) shall serve as a university official or governor.
- (2) No imperialist corporation or banks (especially those with links with South Africa, Biafra, Vietnam or Zimbabwe) can interview or recruit at the university. Nor any representative of the military or police.
- (3) No grants from corporations, or from imperialist foundations (e.g., Ford, Rockefeller), or from the U.S. or British military and related departments can be accepted by the college or university.
- (4) No racist or imperialist spokesman shall speak at the university without opposition. The university must not confer honorary degrees upon racials and imperialists.

Attack the Effect for Students and Staff of the University being an Imperialist Institution

- (1) There must be no direct or indirect (i.e. "academic") discrimination against or victimization of revolutionary socialist or progressive students, teachers or staff. To ensure this, all student files and all university correspondence with its sources of finance must be open for inspection.
  - (2) There must be no regulation of the form or content of progressive political activity by internal disciplinary committees: they must be abolished.
- (The following two demands only acquire revolutionary significance in context of the Action Programme as a whole.)
- (3) An end to specialist and elitist modes of teaching, to bureaucratic educational procedures and methods of selection, to competitive forms of grading and assessment, as they only serve the needs of the job recruiter and capitalist state (the degree as index of career potential and ability to serve imperialism).
  - (4) To expose the extent to which the university is an imperialist institution: we demand courses taught by revolutionary workers, teachers and students from a proletarian standpoint that exposes bourgeois ideology, that relate to and are integrated with the realities of class struggle in England and the world. We will in the lecture halls attack the bourgeois line in education.
    - (a) A general educational campaign on working class and national liberation struggles against capitalism and imperialism throughout the world, on the proletarian cultural revolution in China and the construction of socialism in the world - presented not from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, but from that of the people engaged in revolutionary struggle.
    - (b) Courses on working class history taught by trade union militants from a proletarian perspective.
    - (c) Courses that from the point of view of dialectical and historical materialism expose the forms of bourgeois thought in the sciences, social sciences and in the arts (idealism, mystification, empiricism).
    - (d) Courses that criticise and expose the bourgeois line in literature; e.g., courses that relate the study of content and form of literature to the social context and the writer's class contradictions, that criticize reactionary content in literature, that feature literature and art that gives a true concrete representation of reality in terms of its historical revolutionary development and thus contributes to



the ideological transformation and education of the reader in the spirit of socialism and the class struggle.

Attack the University as a Racialist and Capitalist Exploiter of the Working Class and Working People

- (1) Fight for an immediate increase in wages for all manual and clerical workers employed and paid by the students' union.
- (2) Support for better working conditions, job security and pay increases for university manual and clerical workers. A better deal for instructors - in conjunction with a reduction in differentials between intellectual and manual university employees.
- (3) Investigate and expose the universities internal racialist policies (such as racialist lodgings bureaux), and the universities' role as landlord in the community.
- (4) No "developmental-programme" or military research which can be used to exploit the people in the neo-colonial countries, no "urban-redevelopment", "personnel management" or "business studies" courses that will be used to exploit the working class, no studies such as the Sussex Social Science Research Council study in how to contain the student movement.
- (5) Preferential admission for working class students: expose the bourgeois slogan "maintain academic standards".
- (6) Abolition of inequality between different types of institutions of higher education. Better libraries, language labs and sports facilities to be made available to the working class as a whole.

Direct Worker-Student Unity

- (1) Participation in meetings and demonstrations in support of National Liberation Struggles in Vietnam, Palestine, Biafra, Indonesia, etc.
- (2) Support for working class demonstrations and activity against the capitalist anti-trade union White Paper.
- (3) Strike support - join picket lines, raise money in the university, leaflet in workers' areas to gather support.
- (4) Support for tenants' struggles and anti-racialist activities.
- (5) Students should be encouraged to take factory jobs whenever possible (when they will not be forcing down workers wages) - not with the intention of telling workers anything but to learn from them.

For worker-student unity against the common enemy: monopoly capitalism and its corporate state!

For Workers State Power in all spheres: cultural, political, economic;  
for the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

For Socialism and Communism!



## II: THE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT: BERKELEY/PARIS/ENGLAND

- 8) We are living in a time of intense imperialist crisis. Seemingly far away or abstract matters, such as national liberation struggles, competition for world markets, the fluctuating price of gold and devaluation, quickly result in mini-budgets, rising taxes and council rents, sharp wage freezes by dictat of the Prices and Incomes Board. Faced with a falling rate of profit at home, British imperialism has failed to compete with other imperialist powers ("export drive") for markets and cheap labour. In this period of crisis they have been forced to put on the screws at home - university disciplinary regulations, the anti-trade union white paper, the injunctions against Ford strikers and LSE students, aim to stop strife that is class struggle against the capitalist ruling class and their coporate state.
- 9) However, a "revolutionary mass movement of students" has not yet really developed in English universities. This topic deserves attention because looking at Paris or Berkeley through a rose coloured telescope many students have come to yearn for an instant mass movement, an instant insurrection. Not enough attention has been paid to the different class situation of English university students, and to objective political and economic factors which condition the development of student movements.
- 10) "When one goes to a unit to get to know the situation there, one must become acquainted with the whole process of the movement - its inception, its development and its present state, how the masses have acted and how the leadership has acted, what contradictions and struggles have emerged and what changes have occurred in these contradictions, and what progress people have made in their knowledge - so as to find out its laws." (Mao)
- 11) First we must maintain a historical perspective on the student movement, which is a product of the crisis of monopoly capitalism. It is true that the student movement has conducted significant struggles in England, that today students come from more diverse social strata and are gathered together in large social units. It is also true that in recent years the student movement has moved beyond the pacificism and liberalism of the disarmament movement to opposition to imperialism and partial recognition (at least in words) of the historic role of the working class. However, in the period preceding the "cold war" - the time of the slump, of militant trade union activity, of the anti-fascist fronts - there were mass student struggles and examples of worker student unity: membership in Communist Youth and student organizations in the Stalin period when they were progressive often exceeded that of militant student and youth groups today; old student newspapers record student struggles and vic timization of students and teachers. This is something that most of us are not likely to be conscious of.
- 12) We must also take account of the different conditions that prevail today in France and the U.S.A. France has the immediate heritage of mass working class struggle - the popular front, the resistance, constant strikes against the fascisation and anti-working class policy of the de Gaulle regime. In the U.S. there has been the struggle of the black working class, important and often violent strikes that the British press seldom reports, and the failure of the imperialist war in Vietnam. Many more students go on to higher education in France, thus education is far less elitist than it is in England. At French universities students have to squeeze together with 1,000 other students in small lecture rooms, have no personal contact with the staff, face serious material deprivations and often cannot get a decent job when they graduate. In the States, unlike England, 50% of the white population goes on to higher education - again there are real problems of superlarge classes, lack of jobs, etc. And black students face national oppression, an extension of their class oppression.
- 13) In France, the major issues were Vietnam and the reactionary de Gaulle regime and, not long ago, conscription for Algeria, the OAS machine-gunning of Algerians in Paris and Marseilles. The student grouplets that took the lead



in May, 1968, were in most cases formed three years before. The Marxist-Leninist group remained secret for one year preparing a clear theoretical perspective. By 1968 it had established a base in the Sorbonne on the basis of an anti-imperialist line, and had set up more than 60 cells in the factories and worked in contact with the PCFML, the Marxist-Leninist party. Mistakes were made and recently most ML students have recognized the necessity of working under the leadership of the PCFML.

- 14) The Berkeley rebellion had been prepared for by years of struggle on political issues such as HUAC (the House Un-American Activities Committee investigations), civil rights (ghetto riots and the black working peoples' struggle), Cuba (Bay of Pigs national alert) and Vietnam mass conscription. And even then the 1964 strike that was finally supported by 18,000 out of 27,500 students was initially begun by a sit-in by a small vanguard of only 50 students; a few weeks ago again a correct political action by a vanguard of only 70 out of 27,500 developed into a large scale month long strike against racism and in support of the black working class community. The Cuban blockade, the failure and cost of the war in Vietnam, the black working people's struggle, the militant strikes and exposures of poverty, poor housing and wretched primary and secondary working class schools - all this radicalized the student movement which still, however, has a long way to develop. To this list we should include the example of the proletarian cultural revolution in China. The American SDS (somewhat analagous to RSSF) has begun to develop toward political maturity within these conditions, with an influx of working class and lower middle class students from the large city universities, with Marxist-Leninist leadership.

### III: IMPERIALISM AND THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITY. THE UNIVERSITY IS AN IMPERIALIST INSTITUTION IN CRISIS

- 15) "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is no such thing as Education for Education's sake, Education that stands above classes, Education that is detached from or is independent of politics." (Mao)

A student who has learned this has taken a giant step toward completing his or her education.

- 16) Education and technology cannot be independent or detached from society, they serve political ends - the question is what class shall they serve? Under socialism the university will serve the needs of the people under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the university exists to serve privilege, profit, exploitation and war. It does so by providing people to take over managerial positions assisting in exploiting workers corporations and industry, media and government, teachers who will educate the working class to remain ignorant of their revolutionary role in the class struggle, and by turning out cultural and scientific research that will be used by monopoly capital and their state to expand and maintain control of their area of exploitation.
- 17) The university is an imperialist institution: the class domination of the monopoly capitalists (British and American) pervades every aspect of higher education, from admissions policy (grossly biased against the working class), to course content (based upon bourgeois idealism and empiricism, assuming the permanent existence of monopoly capitalism and present class society), to the system of discipline and government.
- 18) In recent years, the ruling class and its state have found it necessary to increase the number of places available in higher education, and in the next twelve years they plan to double admissions in higher education. The corporate state is faced with a contradiction. On one hand, it needs to produce additional technicians, managers and trained ideologists to serve the political,



cultural and industrial needs of monopoly capital, to renew and buy off the petty bourgeoisie who are being increasingly squeezed to the point of coming out in opposition to the system and to bribe and skim off a few sons and daughters of the working class as an example of its generosity, while the majority of the children of the working people after a few years of general education have to hire themselves out as a cheap labour force to be ruthlessly exploited.

- 19) However, because of the growing imperialist financial crisis, the corporate state is finding it more and more difficult to allocate significant funds to maintain facilities, to equalise facilities between the bourgeois universities and working class tech-colleges, and to pay for expansion - especially as it is faced with developing anti-imperialist activity in educational institutions which displeases the big imperialists. This is a key contradiction!

#### Students' Class Contradictions

- 20) Those working class students that overcome the numerous hurdles placed in their way face intense personal contradictions in the trendy (e.g. Sussex) or aristocratic (Oxbridge) bourgeois university. They are offered a place in the lower or middle bourgeoisie upon graduating, with all the money and status this entails - this is graphic escape from the intense exploitation their parents have faced. But in return, they must adopt bourgeois culture in all its forms (social and intellectual), they risk university discipline and notations on their record that will result in diminished vocational possibilities if they engage in militant political activity, they have to intensely compete with their otherfellow students in examinations that are designed primarily as hurdles so that only a few will qualify for the scarce elite bourgeois positions after graduation.
- 21) Students from petty-bourgeois or bourgeois backgrounds also face contradictions. They are offered a middle or high place in society by imperialism if they compete well. However, imperialism has made promises and aroused expectations that it cannot fulfill: an archaic, an utopian dream of unbridled individual freedom of educational consumption and production; the offer of unlimited opportunity and commanding positions for all in the good of society that is the best of all possible worlds. This important cause of the student revolt will be looked at in detail in Section IV.

#### Research Grants and Corporation Recruitment

- 22) The teaching material students encounter in British universities and colleges are also extremely reactionary and decadent. Take the science and engineering universities for example. Many courses are opened directly according to the needs of monopoly capital. Through its agents, monopoly capital directly links the research work in the universities with its industrial production and policy of war. According to the British press, the chemical and bacteriological warfare research centre under the British Ministry of Defence has contracts with many British universities. The United States has made much of British universities in doing research work on much of the military equipment used in war of aggression against Vietnam. This was carried out either through some big British firms or by signing contracts with the universities directly. For instance, in 1967 alone, the U.S. Air Force and Department of Defense purchased from 26 British universities about £242,000 worth of research data, ranging from missile research to chemical and biological warfare research. The British Social Science Research Council sponsors research ranging from how to maintain economic control over neo-colonial countries, how to make capitalism work better, to a project at Sussex University on how to contain the student movement.
- 23) In imperialist society, the university serves as a recruiting centre for companies such as Shell, or Decca Radar, which makes helicopter guidance systems for the U.S. in Vietnam and for the South African government, or Elliot Automation which is the largest British producer for the U.S. in Vietnam.

Imperialism controls the university through direct grants by corporations, research grants from the U.S. Department of Defense, the Social Science Research



Council and the imperialist Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. Rockefeller is Chase Manhattan Bank which has connections with one of South Africa's biggest banks; after the U.S. invasion of the Congo and murder of Lumumba, one of the Rockefeller brothers flew in and proceeded to buy up all available mines; Rockefeller is Standard Oil of N.J. which in 1961 made a profit of £390 million and has the largest capital employment in the world; Dean Rusk, former U.S. War Secretary of State, was once chairman of Rockefeller Foundation: "Nations can be converted to our way of thinking through investments", Nelson Rockefeller, Time, 12.5.68.

#### Bourgeois Propaganda in University Courses

- 24) In the imperialist university, bourgeois methods and ideology are the order of the day. There is a complete divorce of theory from practice, of intellectual labour from manual labour. Students are encouraged to compete in examinations which are designed to test ability for becoming a part of the ruling and exploiting elite: self-interest, careerism and me-first attitudes are encouraged. Students are encouraged to look down on those who do manual labour as less intelligent.
- 25) Education is isolated from the needs of society, divorced from practice and from the realities of the working class struggle, from labour and from production. Students are told to be "objective": that is, not to commit themselves to revolutionary ideology and struggle to remould themselves to the standpoint of the proletariat, but to maintain a bourgeois-eclectic detachment, to at most become an armchair socialist or a concerned radical who maintains his "integrity" by not joining a revolutionary group.
- 26) Courses are taught not from the scientific point of view of dialectical and historical materialism, but from that of bourgeois empiricism and idealism: the permanent existence of monopoly capitalism and the class society is assumed.

In the Social Sciences working class history is glossed over, not taught by workers with revolutionary experience and a recognition of their historic class role to overthrow capitalism; Marx is revised, "updated", and reinterpreted in light of his very early Pre-Marxist works; exploitation and war is seen as a need of Freudian human nature, not as a result of imperialism, courses are linked to serve the needs of capitalism: cost-accounting, business studies, personnel management, how to screw your workers, etc.

In schools of American Studies there is no mention or attack on U.S. imperialism in Vietnam or U.S.-Russian anti-China activity, no interpretation of the black working class struggle, other than as a national struggle, or existentialist crisis of soul, no serious consideration of American working class struggles past or present, in fact, we are taught that they no longer exist and that America is a "pluralistic" classless society. The only thing that is wrong according to bourgeois academics is that things are too complex and the "structure" of certain institutions improved.

In the field of literature, writers are not studied in relation to the contradictions they often faced as members of the petty bourgeoisie in a time of acute class struggle in their society; writers such as Pound, Lawrence and Yeats who resolved these contradictions by turning to fascism are uncritically praised for their abstract form and vision of eternal supraclass human nature.

In the sciences also bourgeois ideology prevails (eternal gene pools, no causality or objective reality) and the application of scientific knowledge for profit and war (pharmaceuticals, missiles) by imperialist corporations is dismissed as irrelevant to academic concerns - courses are geared to commodity production and the military needs of imperialism.

- 27) When students at Sussex and other universities have challenged the bourgeois line in education in their courses they have had this noted on their files and have been threatened with academic reprisals.



## Who Rules the University: IMPERIALISTS AND BOSSES

- 28) British monopoly capital not only controls education through the bourgeois educational system and a series of threats, decrees and regulations; it is increasingly exercising outright control over the colleges and universities, making them directly serve the interests of the monopoly groups. For instance, the mechanical engineering faculty of Lancaster University in Lancaster, centre of Britain's textile industry, is mainly financed by the Imperial Chemical Industries, Britain's largest chemical industry group. This university also has links with other local industry groups through various research items. Some universities have close connections with U.S. monopoly groups. The British monopolists have also placed their agents in important posts in the institutions of higher learning to take direct control of the finance, administration and scientific research. According to a leaflet distributed by a progressive students' organization of Sussex University, the Chancellor of the University is also on the boards of directors of the Royal-Dutch Shell Oil Company and the Associated Electrical Industries, two of the biggest monopoly groups in Britain. At the same time, he is "special advisor" to the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, one of the biggest U.S. monopoly groups of the U.S. military-industrial complex.
- 29) The so-called liberal universities are really typical institutions of monopoly capitalist society, institutions under direct control of imperialism. LSE, for example, has been ruled for a long period by racialists and imperialists. The present governing body of LSE includes a director of the Bank of England, and a chairman of Barclay's Bank which last year reaped a 25% increase in profit out of the people of the neo-colonial countries and the British working people (15/- in the £ of council house rent goes to the bankers). The Court of Governors contains or recently contained the chairman of I.C.I., Unilever and B.P. The Director, Walter Adams, was, of course, imported from Rhodesia.
- 30) When the imperialist governors of LSE were faced with student-staff opposition to the war in Vietnam, imperialist corporation recruitments, and the gates set up to restrict militant student activity they responded by calling the police, setting up internal disciplinary committees, initiating victimization proceedings against Nick Bateson and two other left-wing lecturers. The Labour government gave them full support - Short's "academic-thugs" speech in Parliament.
- 31) Sussex University Chancellor, Lord Shawcross (former member of the post-war Labour government) is a blood stained imperialist. He is special advisor to Morgan Bank of N.Y., one of the key financial institutions of U.S. imperialism, exerts control of the media as a director of The Times, approves his appointment to new directorships as a member of the Takeover Board, and is a director of Shell Transport and Trading Company: in short, one of the more important monopoly capitalists in the world. Shell has oil interests in South Vietnam; after the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists, the Nasution regime returned part of the investment of the Shell Group; Shell recently lost a £200 million investment which was nationalised by Biafra and thus has a good deal to gain from the war of genocide currently being conducted against Biafra with the help of the British government, which via B.P. also has a direct stake in the oil booty. Net profit for Shell in 1967 was £3,000 per employee: such are the fruits of exploitation.

### The University as an Exploiter of Labour

- 32) In addition to training students to serve imperialism, the university as an imperialist institution exploits labour, just like any boss. For example, at one university food workers and cleaners earn about £4 per week basic rate for 20 hours of work with no job security, semi-skilled women clerical workers get 4/6 an hour, porters receive £9 a week after deductions basic rate. Petty-supervisors make certain clerical workers always look busy, even if there is little to do - you can't be seen reading a book; porters have to pick up all the rubbish left on the floor after student meetings, including often after



socialist-student meetings. And to make only one comparison: these wages are barely on a par with student grants, many of these workers are in middle years, have families to support and capitalism has closed their horizons.

### Political Victimization and Imperialist Control

- 33) As important imperialist institutions, Universities are governed directly by monopoly capitalists, such as Shawcross of Sussex. They are financed by grants from the corporate state, from the big monopolies and their foundations. This, of course, ensures complete political control of the university administration, in addition to cultural superstructural factors: "Our annual budget is two million pounds. Who is going to provide it? The University Grants Committee? U.S. and Electric (sic)? . . . Students cannot expect to indulge in revolutionary activities and at the same time expect society to pat them on the back . . . A university has got to find its money somewhere . . . We wouldn't be sitting in this room if it wasn't for Lord Shawcross." Asa Briggs, Sussex Vice-Chancellor, 2.69.
- 34) The University administration not only ensures that bourgeois ideology is taught in the university and that the products of the educational system serve imperialism as managers, ideologists, etc., but also attempt to victimize in reactionary witch hunts students who take a militant anti-imperialist stand in a significant way that educates other students, and gives wide-spread publicity to the universities' imperialist connections. (We refer here to the objective reasons for the administrations action - obviously many lackeys believe their own ideology, that they are doing it to preserve "law and order", "reason and civilisation".)

### "Victimization" therefore is only one symptom of Imperialist Control of the University

- 35) For example, the rustications carried out by Shawcross and Briggs at Sussex after the militant demonstration against the U.S. Embassy spokesman for the imperialist war in Vietnam. Shortly after the rustication of Michael Klein and Sean Linihan, Briggs went to Rockefeller's C.I.A. villa in Italy to "plan the University's long term future" (The Times, 22.3.68.). Three months later Esso (Rockefeller) handed over a \$100,000 grant to the university. The next day (5.6.68.) at the Vice-Chancellor's conference Briggs was quoted as advocating the political screening of post-graduate applicants to the University. And several days after his public confession (while under attack by Marxist-Leninist students) of dependence upon imperialism, Briggs joined the President of the Prices and Incomes Board in having tea at Claridges with NIXON - the Chairman of U.S. Imperialism!
- 36) The parallels between LSE and Sussex are clear: they define the English university as an imperialist institution in all aspects.
- 37) Power resides in the monopoly-capitalist imperialist state, and is exercised in all its institutions: this is no mere abstraction. We engage in struggle in the university against imperialist education or the more blatant manifestations of imperialism at the university. The university under the control of the ruling class calls in the cops and/or victimises via its internal disciplinary system. Not until imperialism is smashed and state power is taken from the bourgeoisie by the working class and its party can the university be revolutionized to serve the working masses under their cultural and political direction.



#### IV: CONTRADICTIONS FACED BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

##### What Imperialism offers Students

- 38) Let us be frank: imperialism offers a lot to English university students. Grants for education while at the university, when non-students are starting work for about the same money. After graduation the odds are that if you apply for six jobs at the appointments service, you will get one of them. Shell offers £5,000 if you are willing to leave England half time to work in a neo-colonial country. Decca Radar will pay a science student with only a fair degree (II:2) £1,300 to start, guarantees £2,000 within eight years and perhaps pay for additional training. Teach at a school and you will soon be earning over £1,300. Teach at a university and you will start at this, and soon rise to £3,670 with all sorts of financial and sexual side benefits. Get an M.A. and the B.B.C. will pay £2,500 to start. Social status, of course, goes with all of this.
- 39) But, you may object, and say, are not students as an exploited class leading the world revolution? Students as such are not a class. But are English students "exploited"? They represent an elite (less than 10% of the population). Very few Sussex students come from the working class. All choose to come to the university, which is an institution that trains us to better serve capitalism and imperialism. The average Sussex graduate may exploit labour and will be earning £1,500 in a secure job by the time he's thirty. The grants that Sussex students receive are more than the wages of the average worker. What worker is paid to set his own time schedule, read what he pleases, sit and talk in the snack bar, sleep with whom he pleases - all during "working hours"! Not that students as members of the intermediate strata are not in contradiction with imperialism.

##### Student Struggle A Reflection of Historical Conditions

- 40) Others may object that students are creating the revolution. But this overlooks the class contradiction, and that the students' struggles only reflect worker and anti-imperialist struggle. The struggle of the NLF preceded the anti-Vietnam war movement in American universities; the English working class struggle for better pay and against the Mussolini-style corporatist "White Paper" conditioned the student movement's awareness of the working class struggle for socialism; Algeria, Vietnam and years of intense working class struggles preceded Paris, 1968. And Paris 1968 teaches us another lesson: although the student struggle was very important, it was not the ten thousand students, but the students in alliance with ten million striking workers that shook the fascist government. But even this - street fighting and the occupation of the factories by ten million workers - was not enough. A proletarian revolution requires a revolutionary party to lead the workers and their allies in armed struggle, to seize state power and establish the workers' dictatorship over the reactionaries.

##### The Intense Contradictions Students face as part of the Intermediate Strata in Imperialist Society

- 41) We must recognize that students are part of the intermediate strata in capitalist society and as such are, in general, in a contradiction. Many can see the crisis of imperialism and monopoly capitalism threatening their security and their liberal "freedoms", and may well intellectually understand the need for socialism. However, they will realise that for the moment that in their prospects in terms of work and income they are still a privileged strata separate from the working class. (Even the humble teacher is guaranteed over £30 a week by the age of 35 and with absolute security will, if a graduate, probably earn over £40 a week for his last 30 years of employment and then retire on half-pension.) The difficulties, then, of choosing the proletarian revolutionary road while a student are considerable - even though the spectre of technological unemployment and "productivity" enslavement to the capitalist



corporate state in the future in fields such as teaching is clear.

- 42) What is the objective situation we are in at this time of intense anti-imperialist and working class struggle? We face a contradiction as members of the petty-bourgeoisie, a class that includes most students, teachers and intellectuals. The petty-bourgeoisie are a transition class and thus have a dual character - in the time of triumph of corporate monopoly capitalism, as capital and its government control all spheres of life, the petty-bourgeoisie as an independent self-employed class faces extinction: they must choose sides: either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. They begin to struggle in a confused way, at first claiming that they are the revolutionary class or proclaiming their independence from class struggle, blind to the fact that as Mao says: "In the world today all culture, all literature and all art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines".

Almost all petty-bourgeoisie art of this century reflects this crisis (See Caudwell's essay on D.H. Lawrence, or John Harrison's "The Reactionaries"). Bourgeois academics refer to it in idealist terms as the "crisis of western civilisation". But this spiritual crisis that we all experience is a class crisis: "Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul." (Mao)

Artists and intellectuals by no means necessarily resolve this contradiction in a revolutionary way: more often rather than side with the proletariat, they resolve their contradiction in a utopian way, taking refuge in primitive myths, or an idealisation of the past: for example, Lawrence, Dos Passos, Pound, Eliot, Yeats. Thus Pound ends up broadcasting for fascist Italy, Dos Passos finally supports Goldwater, James T. Farrell backs Humphrey and U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam, Bob Dylan supports Rockefeller, one of the biggest capitalists and imperialists in the world for President of the U.S. As for the Beatles - from inside their Rolls Royces they sing "Revolution you can count me out", as they drive through India in quest of a feudal religion.

This is not surprising. "The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action, until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggle, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them . . . They can overcome their shortcomings only in mass struggles over a long period." (Mao)

- 43) The student then faces a complex contradiction: he can accept the benefits of imperialism, he can rebel for a more pleasurable slice of the pie, he can take up a revolutionary position against imperialism in unity with the proletariat.

#### Early Educational Experience and Contradictions

- 44) The student comes up against imperialism not only at the university (c.f.III), but also indirectly in the period of school training. In primary and secondary school we are taught to compete to do well in examinations for the purpose of ensuring advancement in the system. Examination results and certificates serve to judge the career potential of an individual, have a commodity function that are, on the whole, only of use to the monopoly capitalists and their state. In this way petty-bourgeois individualist attitudes are instilled.

A utopian expectation about the university is instilled in the schools in order to further motivate the students: we believe that at the university we will be free to study for the sake of studying, to educate and cultivate ourselves. This is, of course, another variant of petty-bourgeois individualism. However this is in contradiction to the growing need of monopoly capital to vocationalize university training.

Students begin to struggle out of this contradiction as well; it is at first expressed as opposition to some "structure of domination", as a wish to



determine our lives in an individualist-free way. However much we wish to achieve "liberation", "freedom", etc., we must finally come to terms with the facts of history, that this sort of anarchist or primitive capitalist individualism or its modern more social syndicalist expression is now utopian, because society has advanced to the stage of monopoly capitalism and the corporate state. Thus either we sell out and serve the bosses in return for the financial benefits and the free time to consume and in a schizoid way play weekend or armchair radical, or else we join the proletariat in smashing capitalism and then in taking up a non-parasitic socially productive job in socialist society. The emancipation of the individual is impossible until the masses are emancipated.

- 45) A utopian expectation about the university is instilled in the schools in order to further motivate the students: students are led to believe that at the university they will be free to study for the sake of studying, to educate and cultivate themselves. This is, of course, another variant of petty-bourgeois individualism.

#### The Situation in the University

- 46) However, this is in contradiction to the growing need of monopoly capital and its corporate state to vocationalize university training. Thus too much work is assigned so that students can only imbibe the bourgeois superficialities without coming to grips with what is taught (a systemization of the bourgeois world outlook); to be critical (or to objectively begin to approach the work from the point of view of dialectical materialism - Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung's thought - in opposition to bourgeois idealism, empiricism, lack of commitment, relativity and compartmentalisation) it is necessary to do double the amount of work which is a very heavy load, especially when combined with political activity that relates the studies to social practice.

Examinations in form and content (also courses) are designed to favour students with facility in the genteel essay style, and to elicit an answer that is bourgeois or non-proletarian in content and form. They are an obstacle race designed in accord with the values of capitalist society to determine what position the student should fit into in that society. This is inevitable in imperialist educational institutions in general. The bourgeois "expert" mode of "teaching" also prevails.

- 47) Students face contradictions in terms of the special needs of their transitory position in the university, and in relation to their situation in two or three years when they leave the university. According to recent data (1965), 77% of university graduates take up positions in industry, commerce and government (often managerial or technical positions), 16% become teachers and 7% take up other positions. However, 40% of students delay taking up a job for at least a year. This fact and the history of objectively anti-imperialist activities of the student movement testify that a significant contradiction exists between students as members of intermediate strata and imperialism. This contradiction will become more acute as in certain fields students are "overtrained" or "overeducated" for the available jobs, with technological redundancy, as in certain fields (e.g. teaching in schools) conditions get worse ("productivity") and as arts graduates, especially women, become subject more and more to unemployment.
- 48) It is important that the manifestations of these contradictions be developed in a progressive way: the petty-bourgeoisie can only truly fight for their emancipation from the imperialist system of exploitation and war by taking up the standpoint of the proletariat and accepting its organizational and ideological leadership.



The Choice: Various Forms of Student Rebellion, but only the Proletarian Road is Revolutionary and Progressive.

- 49) Students are becoming conscious of the strings, what imperialism demands of them in return. They are becoming conscious that they are asked to exploit and manage the labour of others. They are realizing that their scientific knowledge is controlled and used only for profit, war and exploitation. That their culture and sociology will be put to use (e.g., advertising, personnel management) for profit and exploitation, not to serve the people under their direction. Those who can freely express "radical ideas" at the university will when employed live in fear and cover up, lest they be sacked. And as the financial crisis comes, many will feel the material squeeze.

Not that the squeeze hasn't started. In some sectors students find jobs hard to obtain. In (for example) London and Brighton students and staff have been victimized because of their radical political views and actions - being sent down for bureaucratic reasons, exams and papers failed because of political objections disguised as "academic standards". This sort of political repression is already intense: if a student doesn't hide his views in the class room or in his research, he is likely to be hit. This is the way the bourgeois dictatorship operates in the area of culture. The struggle against political repression which affects students and intellectuals in their role as "producers" is very different from abstract opposition to the university as a "structure of domination" - theory in which students demand a more privileged position as "consumers".

There are rewards: there are strings. You are free to choose. There are three roads open:-

- (a) Some will try and climb up to any of the benefits of a middle position in imperialist society.
- (b) Some will take up a revolt against certain restrictions imposed by monopoly capitalism - "authority", "lack of freedom", some of the gross defects of the system will be subjected to the demand for radical reform. Some may even project their desires for a "free and autonomous university" on to the working class and call for "workers' control". These people are important for they are joining in the struggle against the common enemy. However, they are with us, but not of us in the revolutionary struggle because essentially they are out in the long run to tidy up the system and preserve their own privileged position as a class.
- (c) Some will come to the understanding that by virtue of its position at the point of production that the working class is the historical force that will overthrow capitalism, and will see that the "intellectuals" alone constitute only a minute and often unproductive part of the population. They will take up the ideological stand point of the working class and will serve the people under the direction of the working masses. This is not a question of individual action, but of collective solidarity in struggle: the revolutionary struggle will be led by the revolutionary party of the working class to create a new proletarian society: workers state power to serve the people.

All of us will only be at the university for a few years. We must join in the struggle against imperialism now, in the university and outside. And what will you do when you leave? Which side will you be on?

- 50) In studying why certain students have and have not developed towards a revolutionary position, we have been forced to consider their class position, their situation as students in this present time of deepening U.S. and British imperialist crisis, their past and likely future. We have concluded that it is of utmost importance to distinguish between the progressive and reactionary aspects of the student movement in English universities, between the progressive aspects of petty-bourgeois opposition to monopoly capitalism, the reactionary aspect of petty-bourgeois opposition to monopoly capitalism, and the proto-proletarian tendencies.



Student political activity must, in its own area, be integrated with and brought into correct relation to the developing struggle of the working class - under proletarian leadership and discipline. There is a great difference between conducting intense anti-imperialist political struggles or exposing bourgeois culture or fighting for certain reforms and giving the utopian impression that the class enemies can be defeated within an institution (university) that exists within imperialist society.

We must maintain a correct perspective. At present the proletarian forces in England are still weak. This is the stage of cadre-building!

The General Class Contradiction of the Intermediate Strata:  
Petty-Bourgeoisie & Labouring People & Intellectuals

- 51) To understand in what way the petty-bourgeoisie may play a progressive role, we should not in a studentist manner confine our attention solely to the University. Marx in The Communist Manifesto was very clear on the general nature of the petty-bourgeoisie: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class . . . The lower-middle class . . . fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle-class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history . . . In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty-bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society."
- 52) Marx makes it clear that there are other criteria apart from ownership of the means of production which determine consciousness. The production worker is controlled by the machine, and by selling his labour power directly creates surplus value. The function of managers, administration and corporation lawyers, etc., is to increase the relative surplus value that a worker produces and as a reward he receives a salary, conditions of work and security that the worker can never expect from the capitalist system. They are the "over-lookers" and, for example, the mining engineers whose role Marx exposed to clearly in Capital. (I.S. in their disjunctive analysis mention them - "the technocrats" - but never explore how they fit into their rosy description of them as proletarian.)
- 53) "Becoming an employee" (i.e., in a formal sense selling one's labour power) "does not necessarily mean "proletarianisation". These new small producers are inevitably being cast into the ranks of the proletariat. (Therefore) it is natural that the petty-bourgeois world conception will again and again crop up in the broad workers' parties." (Lenin) This often holds true today for intellectuals, technicians, etc. We must look upon class roles in their essence under concrete conditions: at the whole process of contradictions. Look at the tragic example of Russia: the class nature of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie as people was not changed by formal expropriation of their property. These people and their children remained bourgeois (often as managers, or in the universities especially in the social sciences and the arts), then under favourable conditions began the process of restoring capitalism in the culture and in the substructure.

Reaction Petty-Bourgeois Rebellion

- 54) The question of class interests is crucial for students and other members of intermediate strata who have often in history used revolutionary rhetoric in their struggle to gain a higher position. Marx, writing about the revolutionary movement in 19th century France, clearly saw that the petty-bourgeoisie are perfectly willing to use the proletariat as shock troops and to pay lip service to their demands, but that they will later seize power for their own interests which they will call "the people's interests":



"But the 'democrat' because he represents the petty-bourgeoisie, that is, a transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously blunted, imagines himself elevated above class antagonism generally. They concede that a privileged class confronts them, but they, along with all the rest of the nation, form the people. What they represent is the people's rights; what interests them is the people's interests. Accordingly, when a struggle is impending, they do not need to examine the interests and position of the different classes . . ."

They believe that the special conditions of their emancipation are the general conditions within the frame of which alone modern society can be saved.

This is the basic position of the misleaders of the student movement - ("Student control/workers' control", combat "structure of domination"): the essence of Revisionism and Trotskyism.

#### Revolutionary Resolution of the Contradiction: Unity with the Working Class

- 55) What does it mean for a student or member of the intermediate strata to take up a revolutionary position: "If by chance they are revolutionary they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat." (Marx, The Communist Manifesto)
- 56) Faced with this conflict of interests, the revolutionary student must resolve it completely and uncompromisingly in favour of serving the interests of the revolutionary working class. No-one can be a genuine revolutionary who has not done this; "Will not Marxism destroy any creative impulses? It will. It will certainly destroy the creative impulses that arise from feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, from individualism, anarchism, from art for art's sake, from the decadent and pessimistic outlook. Indeed any creative impulse not rooted in the proletariat . . ." (Mao)
- 57) The aim of all revolutionary socialists is the expropriation of the capitalist class and the seizure by the working class of the state, thus taking control of the means of production, and the superstructure and maintaining the power to transform them. Within the capitalist system revolution has no meaning other than this: the working class is the source and the vanguard of all revolutionary activity, and the aims of all genuine revolutionaries are necessarily identical with the interests of the working class and its vanguard party.

#### V: THE MISLEADERS

##### The Reactionary Aspects of Student Rebellion Against Imperialism: Petty-Bourgeois Individualism, Utopianism, Syndicalism

- 58) Failure to see the revolutionary movement in its correct (i.e., working class) context leads to fundamental errors of aims and methods. Chief of these is the syndicalist demand for reform or control of universities and educational institutions in isolation. Led by misguided idealists or bourgeois careerists who use this misdirection of effort as a road to power, those who adopt such slogans as "student control" or "student participation" either are not revolutionaries or fail to see the impossibility of revolution in the field of education alone without the complete overthrow of the capitalist class. The ideal of any educational system serving the interests of the working class can follow only from the seizure of power by the working class and its party and cannot be achieved independently. Not only is the student power demand unrealistic and impossible within the capitalist system, it also helps to perpetuate capitalism by directing revolutionary energy into unproductive channels.



- 59) Further, the idea of a "students' revolutionary movement" is a contradiction in terms. The revolutionary movement is the progressive working class and its party. Apart from the futility of its aims, a students' movement per se indirectly serves capitalist interests by dividing the revolutionary movement and concealing its common objectives from the workers themselves, and damages itself by providing the authorities and reactionaries with a clearly defined group of scapegoats. In other words, students as a group (not a class) thus lay themselves open to the same sort of victimisation and oppression as nationalist-syndicalist immigrants suffer at the instigation of the ruling class, all of which helps to undermine class consciousness and divert the attention of the mass of workers, the potential revolutionaries, from their real enemies.

Another product of bourgeois thinking is the belief that students and intellectuals have a duty to provide a revolutionary leadership for the working class. This is taken to mean "provide for and impose on". Those who voice such views clearly think of themselves as an elite, and have yet to rid themselves of the bourgeois training which encourages elitism in the middle class to secure its alliance with the ruling class. The working class makes, and is making, its own leadership in the revolutionary struggle; it has no use for intellectuals or students who confine action to glib phrases about "raising the political level" of workers or handing out leaflets at factory gates. The Marxist intellectual works within and beside the working class, forming his theory by participation in the workers' struggle. This is not to say that revolutionaries cannot function in educational institutions outside the factories: it means that knowledge is valueless separate from practice, that the theory of revolution is not to be understood without taking part in the workers' struggle, that it is necessary to learn from the workers before preaching to them.

- 60) The misleaders in the student movement appeal with revolutionary rhetoric to the petty-bourgeois aspects of the student movement we have called attention to: individualism, syndicalism, etc: the belief that students or those who study at or work in the university can somehow detach it from imperialist control and revolutionize it. We have stressed the extent to which the university is dependent upon the imperialist state and corporations for its finances: it is at best utopian and quixotic to assert that the university can be detached from imperialist control and revolutionized independent of a socialist revolution.

The demand for "student power" or "participation" not only leads students away from making specific attacks on capitalism and imperialism in universities, but obscures the question of which class controls the state, thus of all society, and the long-term necessity of seizing state power and transforming it into the workers' democratic dictatorship to build socialism.

The demand for "student power" also reinforces the desire of the intermediate strata to return to an archaic laissez-faire society in which they at one time were a powerful class: the wish of the free-lance intellectual, small farmer, shop-keeper and self-employed professional to do their own thing (i.e. to compete and exploit) finds its contemporary expression in demands for self-liberation and for an autonomous and non-responsible "free university".

#### The "Student Power" "Red Base Syndrome": Fake Radical Phrasemongering

- 61) These points of view find their clearest expression in the desire that a "Red Base" be immediately set up in the universities, by a mass movement. The "Red Base" is a form of petty-bourgeois syndicalism: a system in which independent social units determine themselves and compete with one another. It fosters the illusion that in modern capitalist society a university can be red, and that it can be some sort of impregnable fortress. It gives the utopian impression that class enemies can be defeated in an institution necessary for the functioning of capitalism within an imperialist society.



It encourages elitism and commandism and an inflated sense of importance effectively making it more difficult for students to unite with workers - all the suspicions workers have about students will be confirmed.

- 62) The demand by IS and the New Left for a Red Base has been expressed by many slogans that have a romantic aura of militancy: "student power/workers' power" (but not "workers' state power" which means the dictatorship of the proletariat, not syndicalism), "all power to the general assembly of students, staff and workers", "smash bourgeois ideology and transcend it with a theoretical practice which is liberation", "present a truth which will dissolve the lies in which structures of domination hide". It is also an easy step to slide from anarchist/petty-bourgeois opposition to "structures of domination" to identifying the enemy not as capitalism, but as capitalism because it happens to be "highly technocratic". An IS (Trot.) pamphlet on education very clearly does this - the enemy is "technological capitalism", the "technological university". The New Left raise the slogan "for a sociologically inaccessible university"; the University has never in class society been sociologically inaccessible to the ruling class, its needs and ideology - under socialism education will be under the direction of the working class and geared to the material cultural needs of the new proletarian society.
- 63) There are also some misleaders who with anti-imperialist and working class rhetoric falsely equate students with workers, seeking to channel student discontent into student revolution for students - "critiques of courses, of the norms of education", and of student societies; the formation of "student communes". This is a myopic and selfish parody of the best achievements of the student movement in France and America. And it is cheap to take up slogans that call to mind the 1870 Paris Commune, the 1917 workers' and peasants' soviets, the Communes in China and the Proletarian Cultural Revolution when you are not talking about the struggle of an exploited class to take or retain state power, but of the attempt of an already privileged stratum (less than 10% of the population) to make the University more "stimulating", "creative" and "truly educational" for your own enjoyment. This sort of syndicalist-student power demand fosters the illusion that the university does not have to be subservient to the needs of capitalism and imperialism, but can be revolutionized within the system, and it serves to isolate the students even more from the workers who correctly resent students' demands for exclusive control of institutions they build, service and pay for. In China the final stage of the proletarian cultural revolution workers with proletarian consciousness have taken direction of the educational system - this is proletarian education, not "student power". In spite of their revolutionary rhetoric, these students seem to think of revolution as something that will grant them special certificates of petty-bourgeois liberty: The right to till their own plots in the university in a "progressive way".
- 64) Petty-bourgeois syndicalism often expresses itself in militant sounding phrases - for example this leaflet from LSE in which the IS Trot. misleaders project "student control" into "workers' control": "We believe that if the building workers controlled the building resources they would build houses for the homeless, not luxury offices for the bosses. We believe that if printworkers controlled their newspapers they would argue against the capitalist system of inequality, exploitation and privilege." The printworkers leaflet reveals the petty-bourgeois syndicalism of "workers' control", and by extension, "student power": it is not by the printworkers' control of the newspapers or the building workers' control of building construction that the dictatorship of the proletariat after the revolution will be exercised. Surely the printworker must help control the building industry, just as the building worker must be assured of a proletarian press: it is through the medium of the workers' party that such control is effectively made.
- 65) The demand for control of the university by a "general assembly of students, teachers and university workers" although seemingly "proletarian" may be romantic and syndicalist, especially if it is presented in the name of "mass democracy" without a clear-cut anti-capitalist programme. The demand is merely left in form as it creates disunity and leads to disillusion.



This cry was recently raised in the School of Social Studies of one university. Half the students voted against the proposal, in part because it was impractical, in part because neither offered the prospect of specific reforms, nor of a clear attack on imperialism, in part because the proposers overestimated the militancy of the students. Most all of the instructors and lecturers voted against the proposal - uniting against the students' demand to take away two-thirds of their power without offering anything in return. The university workers - clerical workers and private secretaries - were not offered anything by the proposal, so voted with their bosses. The students, however, could have united progressive students, workers and (to a lesser extent) teachers, if they had initially framed anti-capitalist demands within the school, instead of making an abstract proposal for "power". For example, a raise in pay and better working conditions for the clerical workers and porters, elimination of needless red tape work and protection of progressive teachers against victimization, an end to research grants from imperialist corporations and foundations and closer evaluation of grants from government councils, courses on working class history and Marxist-Leninist sociology taught by revolutionary teachers and workers, criticism of reactionary members of the faculty who are serving the government committees that are investigating "student unrest", an end to grading and forms of assessment that only serve the needs of the capitalist employers and their state.

WORKERS' STATE POWER OVER THE BOURGEOISIE and their Agents in all Spheres of Society and Culture

- 66) The ideology of student power can only lead to the defeat of radical and revolutionary organising by either (i) building into the movement fundamental illusion about where power lies and thereby disillusioning people when they find their demands for "power" made to the university are impossible, or (ii) becoming co-opted into the morass of university "decision-making". There can be no such thing as revolutionary student power under capitalism. There can only be reactionary student power; i.e. students making similar decisions as are now made.

But the general demand for student control within the context of the continuation of an imperialist state means objectively asking for a place in the decision making in this society. It may mean more liberal or "progressive" decisions, but within this system. That is the necessary outcome of student power as versus state power in the hands of the working people. And it will necessarily lead to mitigating struggle in the long run, since it says that the problems can be worked out within the "university community", by some sort of general assembly.

Hence, if we are going to achieve a basic change in the university, we must fight for workers' state power. Student power over the university ignores this fact. It creates the illusion that the university does not have to run parallel and be subservient to the needs of capitalism, that the university can be run for the students no matter what the ruling class wants and furthermore that students can remove themselves from the day to day struggle between the workers and the ruling class. This leads to isolating ourselves from the rest of the student body who are not about to fight for something that is unattainable and from workers who rightly resent students' demands for exclusive control of the institution which they pay for. It is ludicrous as well as arrogant for students to tell the working class even though you built the university and pay taxes for construction and upkeep that the university community will spend your money as we see fit.

- 67) The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all spheres of society (from the point of view of the oppressed majority of the population, their dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) is avoided by the New Left, neo-Trotskyist and revisionist points of view. It is no accident that for Lenin this issue was a litmus test for distinguishing between proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology: "Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois



politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means . . . reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty-bourgeois as well as the big bourgeois."

The "new left", of course, refer to themselves as "marxists" not as "democrats" - but beyond the complicated semantics and the mention of the proletariat, their class position peeps through. Note also that according to one NL spokesman, the revolution takes place "through time and structure", not through the proletarian revolutionary party and under its iron discipline. Perhaps the revolutionary party of the working class is a nasty old "structure of domination"!

Lenin stressed the role and discipline of the proletarian party as a matter of life and death, for to reject it "is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is tantamount to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness, instability, incapacity for sustained effort and organized action, which if indulged in, must . . . destroy every proletarian revolution."

### The Misleaders

- 68) The Revisionists, various sorts of Trotskyists and neo-Trotskyists, New Left, The Internationalists, are the misleaders of the student movement.

"Red Base", "all power to the general assembly of students and staff", "for a democratic education", "seek truth combat cultural oppression", "the will to be demands crisis for itself . . . the necessity of change", "no structure of domination"; "no confrontation", "for academic enquiry" are slogans some of these groups have adopted which divert the struggle from the revolutionary road of the Action Programme.

- 69) The Revisionists, phoney "communists" like their counterparts in France and Japan, play an open counter-revolutionary role in the student movement - for example, the combined revisionist and cop guard placed upon the July 1968 Grosvenor Square march to ensure that it was respectable. They advocate peaceful evolution to "socialism", by which they mean nothing more than social-fascist state-capitalism with bourgeois culture, and collaborating with U.S. Imperialism. At the university they confine their activity to polite debates and advocacy of working peacefully within the system for reforms, and in society for peaceful evolution to peace and social democracy.
- 70) The Internationalists under the alias of "English Student Movement" are presently trying to form an international "Marxist-Leninist" youth and student group detached from and in most cases in opposition to recognized Marxist-Leninist workers' parties. They force a national liberation struggle programme on imperialist metropolitan countries, such as England and the U.S.A., thus stress national, studentish and bourgeois democratic demands. They have an idealist concept of "cultural oppression", appeal to bourgeois-academic ideals to desanctify them ("for a democratic education", "for academic free enquiry"), appeal to bourgeois egoism ("liberate yourself", "this something is his will to be") and volunteerism without any sense of the objective limits that the English students' class position place on revolutionary cadre in universities. They are like the New Left and Trots in that they seek to manipulate the negative supreclass aspect of the petty-bourgeois student rebellion into the vanguard of the revolution: "Simply cultural oppression is the process whereby any desire that a person might have to understand and participate in living is crushed". Insofar as they aspire to create an anti-party international, they objectively are splitters and thus anti-China, fake Marxist-Leninists, "left" in appearance, but right (petty-bourgeois) in essence.

- 71) The many Trotskyite student groups mislead the students. The "Militant" Trot Group turns its back on students with contempt, except that it attempts to lead students into joining and giving critical support to the social-democratic Labour Party; in 1968 at Sussex University they opposed the demonstration against the U.S. spokesman for Vietnam and even applauded the U.S. imperialist when he spoke



of the 1956 Hungarian incident.

The International Socialist (I.S.) neo-Trots, have fraternal links with the reformist I.S.C. in the U.S.A. who are notorious for their sell-out "minimal programmes". The I.S. neo-Trots consist of a number of disparate factions and thus puts out two or three different lines. They often talk a good deal about "student liberation" and "student control/power", "workers' Control/power", but never about workers' state power or an organized democrat-centralist revolutionary party for they are not serious revolutionaries, but opportunists, or at best quixotic. With the New Left they wrote the syndicalist "Red Base" and "Workers' control" planks in the RSSF platform. At LSE they reduced and wrecked an anti-imperialist struggle into defensive and syndicalist demands.

They have no class analysis of students - in 1966 they rejected students with contempt, today these opportunists say that students are workers. They hold a bourgeois supraclass concept of education and culture as an end in itself which should not be subject to any control even by proletarian forces in socialist society, an anarchist-syndicalist attitude to authority. They have no understanding of the nature of imperialism, or of how to develop contradictions in imperialist society in a purposeful way, no concept of the life or death necessity for a democratic-centralist revolutionary party and for the proletarian dictatorship. At present they are the primary opportunist misleaders of the student movement, the most prominent fake radicals: their leadership has mislead many students.

#### VI: METHOD OF WORK: HOW TO PUT THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PROGRAMME INTO PRACTICE

- 72) "Take the ideas of the (progressive) masses - scattered and unsystematic ideas - and concentrate them - through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas - and then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action."  
(Mao)

"Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit, it won't fall . . .  
The object of war is specifically to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy."  
(Mao)

#### 73) Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization

If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and working style. If our talk about unity with the working class under its leadership is to be more than romantic rhetoric, then we must conduct our struggle in correct relation to the revolutionary party of the working class: the Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist.

- 74) If possible Marxist-Leninist students should set up ML groups in their universities and colleges (as has been done in areas where struggles have been conducted). Using the Action Programme as a guide, they should conduct appropriate activity in their own right. These vanguard organisations will contain CPBML student members: however, no university branch as such should be constituted, for such an organisation would have an inbuilt tendency toward reflecting the contradictions of its base.

#### Bookstore and Study Group

- 75) A bookstore should be set up to sell the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung, "The Worker", "World Revolution", etc., and publications on socialist construction in Albania and on the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, the centre of the world revolution. Experience has



shown that students have a great interest in this material, and that a book stall can become an important focus for discussion.

- 76) Study sessions should be set up making use of the material sold in the book stall; a seminar for cadres to train revolutionary intellectuals schooled in both theory and practice (as Lenin discusses in "What is to be Done"), a study session of the Red Book and classics relating theory to immediate questions and local investigations for people who are just becoming interested in Marxism Leninism, Mao Tse Tung's thought. When possible these should be cadre/worker/student study groups.

#### Base Building: Cells and Left Centre Coalitions

- 77) Using the demands of the Action Programme as a basis and taking into account after conducting investigations the concrete local conditions and the political level of the students, work should be initiated on a number of levels: leaflets and posters, resolutions in union meetings, base-building in schools and other units within the university, anti-imperialist and ad-hoc front organisations, Socialist Clubs and RSSF branches if conditions warrant.
- 78) In base-building the method of left-"centre" coalition should be attempted - the "left" being Marxist-Leninist Communist revolutionary students, the "centre" being fellow travellers or the advanced or progressive sector of the student body in a given area, which is not necessarily synonymous with self-proclaimed "socialists". (From our limited experience, students from upper strata working class or lower middle-class backgrounds, or those who have had contact with student movements in other countries tend to be more progressive.) It is important that the left develop the "centre" and at the same time demonstrate its own ideological necessity to the movement.
- 79) The left must not cover up its political views or betray its principles by opportunist or revisionist adoption of liberalism, studentism, syndicalism or eclecticism. However, it must also guard against adopting a non-proletarian working style that intellectuals often fall into: arrogance, sectarianism, inflated rhetoric, romantic self-expression!
- 80) We must (both in base-building and in conducting action projects) locate the areas of greatest contradiction and conflict and of most potential unity!
- 81) In evaluating a potential base it is important to know the whole situation in that area: the contradictions, the possibilities for development. Examples of possible left-"centre" coalition base building activities range from the establishment of workshops on the CPBML student Action Programme in RSSF, work shops on the CPBML Programme in Socialist Clubs to a militant application of the demands of the Student Action Programme at Union Meetings and mass campaigns in the university.

A base once initiated by the vanguard should be expanded so that new leaders develop, so that both the leadership and rank and file learn as many political lessons as possible from the struggle, that the basis be laid to fight on a higher level next time, that a number of people be educated and some of these developed as cadre.

#### Confrontations

- 82) Combined with base-building and educational work if conditions warrant (c.f.64) confrontations should at times be initiated to attack and expose imperialism, to increase people's understanding and political commitment.
- 83) If a confrontation is chosen in an area of maximum sympathy, it is often the best way to establish a new political group. In this case it is important that it either be an anti-imperialist issue which is widely recognized (for



example the visit of a spokesman for the U.S. war in Vietnam) or one on which a good deal of mass/political work has been done. These conditions satisfied the vanguard to attain success and minimize victimization may have to plan the tactics with a certain amount of secrecy and discipline and rehearse the event carefully.

- 84) Once the action (demonstration, etc.) has been conducted, the initiative often passes to the university administration, which is thus forced to define its position. At this point it has done its utmost and the initiative passes again to the revolutionary students.
- 85) The administration may at first attempt to disguise its position as a lackey of imperialism - that is it will appease the revolutionary students. This, however, allows without hindrance to capitalize on the interest that the confrontation has aroused in order to explain to a large number of people the reasons for the action - that is to explain it in relation to imperialism.
- 86) In the other hand the administration may pick out several students and staff and take disciplinary action against them. If the correct issue for a confrontation has been chosen, this will produce the effect of unifying a large part of the student body and some staff. However, without revolutionary leadership the issue of "victimization" will likely be divorced from the fact that the ruling class has in a reactionary witch-hunt attacked the progressive student movement; it will be limited to questions of "fair procedure" and other bourgeois formalist principles.
- 87) If the struggle is conducted primarily at this level it becomes merely studentist, legalistic and defensive, reflects the ideology of the middle sections. Either the original anti-imperialist demand is lost sight of and in spite of all our glorious rhetoric they will have reduced the struggle to a question of merely maintaining a status-quo ante bellum, or the position of the university as an imperialist institution of the ruling class (the reason for the victimization!) is lost sight of, in which case the confrontation will have done little to raise the political awareness of the students and of the general public.
- 88) This is exactly what the university and the ruling class hope will occur - they fear publicity of the universities' intricate connections with imperialism: the imperialist sources of finance, the military research, the identity of the blood stained governors, the truth about university underpaid workers, etc. For this reason, one of the conditions of rustication at Sussex University following a militant demonstration against a spokesman from the U.S. Embassy on Vietnam was that the students could not talk to the press or media on penalty of immediate expulsion. However, a few months later a protracted campaign was begun culminating in the Vice-Chancellor being put in the dock under quotations from Mao Tse Tung, where he had to answer questions about the university's links with imperialism. In this way, the rustications were explained, the leadership developed politically - the education of the student body as a whole was advanced toward a recognition that the University is controlled by the ruling class and its state, is one of its most valuable and pliable institutions.

Maintain the Anti-Imperialist Offensive: Expose and Educate

- 89) Tactics may range from meetings and demonstrations to quasi-guerilla activities, occupations, seizure and publication of imperialist files, boycotts and strikes. In all these activities, stress should be placed on exposing the capitalist and imperialist nature of the university as an institution of the imperialist state, the importance of worker-student unity in a protracted struggle toward our maximum goal of revolution and workers state power. This obviously is a step by step process, proceeding from a specific demand, the vanguard should gradually raise the level in the course of a term-long campaign.



- 90) In this way worker-student unity may be promoted. By this we mean that students in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism within and outside the university and colleges develop the progressive aspect of their contradiction and take up a proletarian standpoint, and that the working class and working people come to see that the students are fighting a common class enemy for the correct reasons.

#### The Limitations of Student Activity in English Universities at Present

- 91) This is, of course, a difficult task. We should not approach it with inflated hope, for present objective conditions dictate that although at this stage the awareness of a large number of students may be heightened and that they may be drawn into some form of activity that only some of these (perhaps only five each year at a given university!) will remould themselves to take a proletarian stand. Both groups are of course important in different ways, and on a national scale four or five cadre per university per year is by no means unimportant! We must not overestimate the results of our activity and judge it in superficial terms as the misleaders and sensationalist press do, for then we will be prone to lapse into despair, either becoming opportunist in an effort to spark an instant mass movement, or indulging in ultra-left activities taking no account of their effect. . . .  
Adopting a correct attitude, working style and perspective we can play an important part in our area in the revolutionary struggles to come.

THUS FAR WE HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THE SITUATION IN THE UNIVERSITY WHICH IS AT PRESENT THE CENTRE OF STUDENT UNREST - IN PARTICULAR THE LESS ARISTOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS: THE NEW UNIVERSITIES, LSE, ETC.

FROM A LONG TERM POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, THE SITUATION OF STUDENTS IN EDUCATION COLLEGES (their class situation, contradictions, political control by reactionary regulations, inequality in relation to universities and the problems teachers face regarding wages and teaching working class and immigrant children in imperialist schools) AND IN TECHNICAL COLLEGES (the worker-student class contradiction and exploitation in day release and sandwich courses) IS OF EQUAL OR GREATER IMPORTANCE. THIS REPORT CANNOT BE CONSIDERED COMPLETE UNTIL THESE AREAS ARE COVERED, OR BEFORE A WORKER EVALUATION OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS INCLUDED.

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