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MAO ZEDONG

“MARXISM COMPRISES MANY PRINCIPLES,
BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THEY CAN ALL
BE BROUGHT BACK TO A SINGLE SENTENCE :

IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL
AGAINST THE
REACTIONARIES.”

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First of May 2018

Joint Declaration

This First of May of this year has a particular significance : 50 years ago happened the student revolt of May 1968 in France, which produced a popular movement all around the country which brought more than ten millions workers to go on strike.

It produced also numerous revolutionary organisations – which historically are summed up onto the label of “Leftism” - trying to relaunch the revolutionary process broken by the triumph of Revisionism, following the Coup in the Soviet Union in 1953.

It stood in full convergence, as the revolt of the youth, as the call of Revolution, with the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution in China.

The value of May 1968 in France – and also in others countries, with different forms -, the value of the revolutionary experiments of the 1970's in general, the negative aspect of the ideological influences of the petty-bourgeois and the universities (with the students but also the teachers), must be understood in a proper way.

On this First of May 2018, we call to learn the lesson from the past. The historical value of May 1968 is a part of the world revolutionary heritage, as it shows that, how strong a bourgeois modern society can be in organizing its institutions and its ideological-cultural controls, it is condemned to fail.

There is always a way to break the system maintaining the masses into a passive attitude;

there is always a way to open spaces for the revolutionary conscience.

In this sense, the main lesson from May 1968 is the workers autonomy, i.e. the autonomy of the working class, the non-dependence to the institutions and in particular of the trade-unions.

The main trade-union, the CGT, dominated by the Revisionist “Communist” Party, played a major role to block the alliance between student and workers, to reduce the struggle to an economical one. It was a part of the institutions in itself.

This is the great lesson of May 1968, which corresponds to the changing of form of the bourgeois society since the productive forces have been developed after 1945.

This stresses of course the subjective aspect. The ability to break with the forms of thinking and acting spread by the bourgeoisie requires a high ideological-cultural level. This was a new situation for the Communists in the imperialist countries.

If May 1968 had such an echo, it was also because the Russian October revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1949 belonged to societies which were not that much developed, both in the biggest country of the World and the most populous country of the World.

May 1968 in France appeared, therefore, as a major rupture in a bourgeois modern society, something of a new kind.

We must never forget that the rebellious youth understood then that the question was the one of everyday life.

Class struggle was not reduced to an economical question, but was understood as it is really : a struggle concerning each aspect of life, because the revolution touches the mode of production, of organizing society, of permitting the faculties of each person to develop themselves.

This is why we say that the key of May 1968 is that the revolutionary Party interacts with the wide masses through the workers autonomy : this was understood in the genuine Maoist experiences after May 1968, in France, in Germany, in Italy, in Belgium.

This is the way to build the new state, to organize the rupture at the scale of society with the ruling ideology. This is the real sense of Maoism.

And this real sense was carried by the Red line, on the contrary of the Black Line, which pretended to be anti-Revisionist insofar as it proposed the revolutionary model of the 1920's, when in fact it was a Trade-unionist, Legalist, formalist trend.

On this First of May 2018, we call to understand this fact : because of the temporary failure of the Red Line in the 1980's-1990's, the last remains of the Black Line still existing today pretend to have formed in the 1960's-1970's the correct line, to be the real Maoist movement.

This is not true and there is still the need for a “back to the roots” proletarian movement, recuperating the heritage from the past and the Leading Thought which emerged then.

We say : there won't be any revolutionary process in any country, if is not understood the two-line struggle from the 1960's-1970's. Even if often the Red Line tended to move to subjectivism, it was on the correct path ; the Black Line has nothing to propose but a Neo-Syndicalist, formal, strategy, full of clichés, with absolutely no cultural and ideological value.

The French example from May 1968 is here very clear, as there was :

- a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France -PCMLF, which was Legalist, Neo-Syndicalist, moving more and more across a lot of splits to Reformism, Hoxhaism, a pro-Deng Xiaoping line ;

- a Union of Young Communists (Marxist-Leninist) – UJC (ml), which became the Proletarian Left – GP, being the most famous organization from the 1960's-1970's because of its activity, its quest for the worker's autonomy.

This two line struggle existed in fact all over the world, for example through the contradiction between the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Türkiye İhtilalci İşçi Köylü Partisi and the Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist, the Revolutionary Youth Movement II and the Revolutionary Youth Movement I, etc.

It was during this two-line struggles that emerged Siraj Sikder, Akram Yari, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, Gonzalo, Charu Mazumdar... as Guiding Thoughts in their own country.

As we know, the Red Line was not able to succeed in its initiative, even if it marked the history of its country, on the contrary of the Black Line. It is obvious, for example, that even if they failed, the Black Panther Party and the Weathermen marked American History, whereas the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, did not.

The reason for the failure can now be correctly understood, fifty years afterwards.

The Red line, then, overestimated the question of the subjective aspect, believing that the revolutionary process would only be a question of a few years ; it was not before the beginning of the 1980's that appeared the understanding that the revolutionary process would be protracted in itself.

The Red Line, also, was not able to recuperate correctly Dialectical Materialism. The continuity of Marxism-Leninism defined by Stalin through the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, through Maoism, was not apprehended in a proper manner, permitting leftist-subjectivist and rightist-liquidationist to emerge.

The history of the Red Line is, therefore, often marked by instability and the brutal triumph of liquidationism.

We have to understand that it was the price to pay to discover the new situation. For this reason, there is no fetishism to be made, neither of May 1968 nor of the experiences made then and afterwards.

This would bring in the hands of subjectivism again, even if the main risk, still today and because of the development of the productive forces, is still the loss of the subjective aspect.

Here, we have to remember that numerous actors of May 1968 became part of the institutions, especially in the intellectual and cultural fields. And the modernist part of the bourgeoisie used also the shaking from May 1968 to promote

liberalism, individualism, the refusal of any “conservative” value which means of any value at all, etc.

Each sequence of class struggle must be properly understood in relationship with the sequences before and after it, and of course with the main goal : the conquest of power.

We say for this reason : let's learn, on this First of May, 2018, from May 1968!

**Marxist Leninist Maoist Center
of Belgium**

**Communist Party of France
(Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)**

May 2018



Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (marxiste-léniniste)

And now, to the factories !

Anger is rumbling among the masses.

A million out of work. Starvation wages. Fascist repression at Dassault Citroën, Simca, and in many other plants. The CRS against workers' and peasants' demonstrations in Le Mans, Radon, and Caen.

For several months now, popular revolts have been breaking out against the employers and Gaullism.

Everywhere the reformist party machines, the revisionist leadership of the PCF, and the bureaucratic leadership of the CGT have striven to break the mass movement in Rhodioceta, at Schwartz-Hautmont, Aluvac, the ceramic factories of Alès, and in many other places. But more and more the CGT and the PCF organizers have been checkmated and unmasked by the mass movement.

More and more the masses are becoming conscious of these maneuvers which aim at crushing the class struggle in the factories in order to canalize action in favor of reformist objectives and, above all, of parliamentary debates.

On the occasion of student demonstrations, with violent police repression, popular pressure made itself felt: on Monday and especially Tuesday, workers and young labourers came to demonstrate in the streets with the students.

This worker participation reflects the deep-seated anger that exists among the broad masses of the

working class against Gaullism, which is a regime of unemployment and misery, and against revisionism, which is a reactionary trick for demobilizing the masses.

The masses want to fight against Gaullism.

On the question of street demonstrations, their slogans, and their itineraries: from now on we must take up the fight against the obstacles erected by the reformists, we must help the masses to overcome these and to clear a way towards the revolutionary class struggle.

Three reactionary forces have leagued together in order to repress and check the revolutionary mass movement.

Gaullism has repeatedly hurled its aggressive troops against the populace, the students, and the workers.

The social democrats (PSU, SFIO, Trotskyites, and the executive committee of the UNEF) were quick to try to turn the student movement to account.

Their goals are to keep the students isolated from the working class and limit the movement to reformist objectives: "structural reforms for the University, openings for young cadres, etc.

These objectives are reflected in the reactionary political line followed these past days by the UNEF officers: at all costs keep the students in the Latin Quarter, limit slogans to absurd student demands, incapable of uniting students with the broad masses of workers and peasants.

The revisionists of the PCF and of the CGT leadership began by brutally attacking the student movement, revealing their true counter-revolutionary nature. The anger of the masses exploded against these traitors, who are police accomplices.

Frightened, they have retreated a bit and rallied to the operation of their social democratic friends to limit the movement's objectives to the three points laid down by the UNEF officers. That is, the revisionists pretend that the workers are demonstrating for academic freedoms.

This is not true: the workers are demonstrating because they want to fight against Gaullism, a regime of unemployment and misery, because they want to make an end to repression. One flag only can unite the broad masses of workers, poor peasants, and students:

The overthrow of Gaullism.

The conquest of freedom for the broad masses of the people. Control over the exploiters.

Let us sweep away the reformist slogans, which are purely academic, as well as the small revisionist and social democratic groups who are working together in an attempt to prevent us from having access to the masses of the people and to the revolution!

We must leave the bourgeois neighbourhoods, which are not our concern. We must go to the factories and to the working class neighbourhoods to join with the workers.

DOWN WITH GAULLISM

FREEDOM FOR THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE!

UJC (m-l) , Cercles "Servir le Peuple" Tuesday, May 7, 1968.



Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (marxiste-léniniste)

Down the anti-popular Gaullist regime !

Police repression has been unleashed upon the students during the past few days: the students have responded courageously with force.

The workers themselves have known this repression for a long time.

Every day it is a struggle against increasingly difficult working conditions.

To repress this struggle the bosses call upon the bourgeois state, their faithful servant; these are the methods of fascist repression used by the CRS at Redon, at Caen, at La Rhodia in Lyon, etc.

Redon, Caen, La Rhodia are serious blows struck at big capital and the Gaullist régime by the workers and the poor peasants.

The workers know that it is their blows which are always the most forceful, always the most determined, which will bring down the regime that is oppressing the people.

The students have also dealt blows against this repressive regime.

But the socialist “politicians”, the new left-wing careerists, are taking full advantage of the confusions and inconsistencies of what is a petty-bourgeois movement.

They are doing all they can to corrupt the student struggle, to enlist it under their banner: they wish to use the student movement to snatch the reins

of the struggle from the proletariat.

How?

By calling on the workers to support the petty-bourgeois demands of Daddy’s boys in the university.

But the contrary is true.

The progressive students ought to put themselves at the service of the workers and peoples struggle against unemployment and poverty, for freedom.

The opportunist leaders of the PCF and the CGT first of all attacked the students fight in an unworthy manner.

Then, faced with the development of the situation, they changed their tack and asked for support for the social-democratic manoeuvres, for complete support of the strike on the basis of petty-bourgeois slogans, the manoeuvres and capitulation of opportunist leaders will not be able to withstand the mounting tide of the workers revolt.

The workers are seizing the banner of the struggle against Gaullist.

In the CGT they are going to overthrow the reformist bureaucrats, they are building the proletarian party in mass struggles against unemployment and capitalist poverty. Progressive students are doing to serve the People.

**LET US BREAK
THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
COUNTER-CURRENT**

Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (marxiste-léniniste)

A comrade is dead – 11th of june, 1968

A comrade is dead. A young high school student: Gilles Tautin of Lycée Mallarmé. A militant of the movement in support of the people's fight. A militant of the Union des Jeunesses Communistes (marxiste-leniniste) [Union of Young Communists (Marxist-Leninist)]. He died at Flins.



He died clubbed by the police, drowned. Other comrades have not yet returned. All day hundreds of young people were pursued, tracked down, arrested.

And yes or no, was the proletarian killed at Flins? We will come to know the answer. Hundreds of proletarians wounded. Gilles stands witness for all of them.

*Who killed our comrade? : The cops, the Gaullist dictatorship. This government of assassins horrifies the people.

Based on the power of the exploiters, this government is hated by the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, by the entire working population. Our people has risen up against this government.

The force of millions of proletarians making themselves masters of the factories has shaken the power of the exploiters; the capitalists trembled. Today their government wants to make

the people pay, make it forget that it is an invincible force. It wants to divide it, repress it. It can't.

The Gaullist government hopes that everything will return to "order." Didn't it promise legislative elections? Yes, elections so people would go back to work. So people would go back to work before the SATISFACTION OF WORKERS' DEMANDS. Elections so that the workers would return to their factories under the pressure of scabs, cops and C.D.R. Elections to defeat the people. And when the workers resist, like at Citroen and Renault, the government of assassins sends in its C.R.S.

But like all reactionaries, the Gaullist government underestimates the strength of the people: the working class resists, and young people and the populace support the bastions of proletarian resistance. At Flins the workers, students and the whole populace are united, united in one cause, the cause of the people.

* Who assisted the government in its work of division and repression? : The anti-worker and anti-people politicians.

The large masses of our people saw them at work: the leaders of F.O. [Force Ouvrière] licking the ministers' boots, the leaders of the CFDT who signed all the capitulation agreements and, when the working class fought for the satisfaction of all its demands and for a popular government, found the means to present ITS candidate, a retired anti-communist politician, MENDES-FRANCE. Finally, the federal leadership of the CGT and the clique of politicians of the PCF.

The attitude of the federal leadership of the CGT was DISGRACEFUL. Through secret ballots and lies it called for the return to work. It sabotaged the self-defense of the factories. It opened the gates of Flins to the CRS so that THE ELECTIONS COULD TAKE PLACE. IT DISARMED THE WORKING CLASS. AND IT ARMED THE ASSASSINS AT FLINS.

What did the federal bureau of the CGT and *L'Humanité* say on June 7, 1968?

“The government failed to designate the true troublemakers and provocateurs whose actions, including those against the return to work, were covered up by a striking complaisance on the part of the government.”

The government responded to this appeal. It killed our comrade. Our comrade is dead. Those responsible for his death are the Gaullist government and ITS ACCOMPLICES IN THE FDEREAL BUREAU OF THE CGT, and the LEADERSHIP of the PCF. Our comrade died in order to SERVE THE PEOPLE. For the union of the Youth Movement and the Workers' Movement.

He went to Flins to put himself under the authority of the workers and the proletarian syndicalists of the CGT. Because he was part of a political organization which was born in the heart of the working masses. An organization proud to count among its members the defenders of the CGT of the proletarians. He was a young militant who defended the working class and the cause of the great CGT of the class struggle, indissolubly linked.

He didn't confuse the traitors of the federal bureau with the hundreds of thousands of CGT militants who are ardent defenders of the working class. It must be made known WHY AND FOR WHOM he died: FOR THE WORKING CLASS, FOR THE CGT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, FOR THE PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIANS that he assisted in building, FOR THE PEOPLE.

Engraved in his spirit was the instruction of the great guide of the World Revolution, comrade Mao Tse-Tung: SERVE THE PEOPLE. Comrade: from now on your name is inseparable from the popular revolution, from our people's springtime!

We vow to you that we will follow the path you traced with your blood. The blood of the proletarians, the blood of our high school comrade, of those who have died WITHOUT THE PEOPLE'S KNOWLEDGE, is for us THE BLOOD OF MARTYRS. Martyrs of the POPULAR REVOLUTION. It causes an up-swelling of hatred, which is immense, as immense as the suffering inflicted on the People by its exploiters. Comrades, gather around the red flag of proletarian resistance, of the Popular Revolution, of communism: UNITED UNTIL VICTORY!

Proletarian syndicalists of the CGT, Movement in Support of the People's Struggle, Union of Young Communists (Marxist-Leninist) and the organization following the line of SERVING THE PEOPLE.

Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (marxiste-léniniste)

Forward for the Long March of Youth June 1968

Starting with the student revolt, the first phase of the popular revolution had two principal characteristics: the development of a powerful mass strike movement, and around the working class the unity of the people in solidarity with the strikers in the fight against the regime of big capital and its assassins.

This immense tidal wave swept away all the capitulationists, all the defeatists, all the chamber and verbal revolutionaries.

The many sabotages and betrayals by the PCF, supported by the national leadership of the CGT, the manoeuvres of the social democratic leaders, the blackmail and repression of the Gaullist regime have not put a stop to the popular determination to fight.

A million strikers are organizing the proletarian resistance along with those who, betrayed, have returned to work, and are again preparing for the struggle.

The population of the cities and the countryside is united around the workers.

Nothing can any longer stop the march of the popular revolution, whatever its detours.

But the power of capital and its accomplices in the PCF is trying to smash the popular flood.

Their weapons: the club and the rifle on one side, electoral trickery and manoeuvres on the other.

For this they seek to rely on those fractions of the people who have not yet joined the struggle, on the still hesitant masses.

The poor and middle peasantry have not yet risen up; certain fractions of the proletariat, not

mobilized because of the treason of the bureaucratic union leadership, have not actively participated in the strike; a portion of the petite bourgeoisie of the cities still maintains a wait and see attitude.

Who will win over the not yet committed masses? The bourgeoisie or the proletariat?

It is certain that it will be the proletariat, for the immense movement that the people gave rise to has shown that 90% of the population can and must unite, and that the reactionaries are only a handful.

Young people have a great role to play in this.

In large numbers students have shown their desire to connect with the people, to **SERVE THE PEOPLE**.

Through their action they have contributed to uniting the people around the working class.

The tasks of the young are clear:

1. Supporting the bastions of proletarian resistance, like Renault, Citroen, Peugeot.
2. Assisting the people in organizing in the quarters and villages. The mass of young people is ready to accomplish these tasks. Many have already set to work.

But progressive youth apparently remains divided into several movements and organizations, divided by sectarian disputes.

Progressive youth needs to be united in order to participate in the people's combat.

All of the elements for this exist. In the course of the struggles of the past weeks the principal correct ideas of the experience of a century of the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples have massively penetrated the young and have become a powerful material force.

Those who divide us have been swept away; the arrogance of the bourgeois intellectual has been considerably shaken.

SERVE THE PEOPLE, unite with the people are today the key ideas of the youth movement and which it has adopted through the experience of several weeks of struggle.

What is this common property of progressive youth that permits and demands its unity?

1. Young people have played and can still play the role of pioneers, giving the signal for the shaking up of the old order.

2. The students didn't fight to improve a university for the privileged, for a few structural reforms.

They attacked the university system that forms the continuators of the bourgeois cause and the managers of capitalist exploitation.

3. Young intellectuals have understood that they were only a small part of the army of the revolution and that they had to unite with the principal forces.

They understood that in order to do this they had to connect with the laboring masses, that they had to SUPPORT THE PEOPLES' STRUGGLES.

They put this into practice, at the price of their blood, as at Flins.

4. Young people knew how to recognize their friends and enemies.

The leading clique of the PCF and the CGT did everything to oppose the union of the students and workers; it employed the most ignoble slanders and armed the assassins.

Today young people understand that capital's best allies are the bourgeois politicians who have infiltrated the working class.

5. Young people knew how to foil the maneuvers of those who wanted to use their revolt for the good of an exchange solution by big capital.

The "Combat" operation, the meeting at Charley, and the smiles of the CFDT in order to push Mendes-France forward have all failed.

6. Young people swept aside all those who wanted to tell the working class what to do, all those who wanted to make of the working class a supplementary force.

They placed themselves under the leadership of the mass of the workers, and they knew how to

distinguish between the traitorous union leadership and the union militant at the heart of the fight, with the proletarian syndicalists of the CGT at their head.

7. Young people massively rejected the electoral farce. The slogan "Elections=Treason" was massively taken up by large.

They know that a popular government must be born of the mass of workers and not from rigged elections and parliamentary agreements between bourgeois parties.

Young people are united on all these points. This unity must be made real today. As we have seen, the foundations are clear and healthy.

Upon them a united mass movement must be built as quickly as possible, setting aside all quarrels.

Under these conditions young people can make this watchword theirs: "UNITE WITH THE PEOPLE. UNITE THE PEOPLE."

The students are already united with the workers.

Through their action they have already added all strata of the population in order to tighten their ranks against capital.

The long march of youth has already begun.

It must be continued and intensified. To the factories, the quarters, the countryside.

To the factories to support the bastions of the proletarian resistance. To the quarters to make every electoral meeting a popular meeting to denounce the regime and the elections.

To the countryside to massively explain to the poor and middle peasants the struggle of the workers and students, to place themselves at the service of the working peasantry and to assist it in entering the great popular combat en masse.

The popular revolution will be a prolonged struggle, the very one that will progressively unite in the struggle 90% of the population against a handful of exploiters.

The experience of the Chinese Revolution sweeps away the theories of the instant revolutionary seizure of power, of the “active minority taking power by surprise.”

Our revolution will not be the fruit of a lucky chance; rather of a bitter, merciless, and prolonged struggle.

It won't be the sudden work of a minority, but the progressive rallying, by stages, of the large masses of our country. One doesn't make the revolution for the masses; it is they who make it.

The task of youth: THE LONG MARCH TO THE PEOPLE, TO THE 90% OF THE POPULATION WHO, AROUND THE PROLETARIAT, HAVE BEGUN THE

POPULAR REVOLUTION.

We will easily sweep aside the negative currents that brake or lead the student movement to deviate; the routine of the sterile violence of barricades, the decadent and petit-bourgeois style of work, the maneuvers of groupuscules.

For this, the unity of intellectual youth and working class youth is indispensable.

The young workers who are an active and enthusiastic part of the proletariat will assist the students in uniting with the people and uniting the people.

FORWARD FOR THE LONG MARCH OF YOUTH



THE STUDENT REVOLTS

[Third part of “On the concept of Urban guerilla” by the Red Army Fraction, 1972.]

“The conclusion that it is impossible to separate the revolution in the “heartland” from that in “underdeveloped areas” is based on an analysis of the unique character of the capitalist ruling system. Without a revival of revolution in the West, the imperialists, with their logic of violence, will be able to develop their exit strategy through a catastrophic war, and it will be impossible to prevent the world’s superpowers from imposing crushing oppression.” (II Manifesto, Thesis 52)

To dismiss the student movement as a petit bourgeois revolt is to reduce it to the grandiose claims that accompanied it, to deny its roots in the contradiction between bourgeois society and bourgeois ideology; it means recognizing its obvious shortcomings while ignoring the theoretical level that this anticapitalist protest managed to achieve.

The pathos with which the student movement became aware of its mental immiseration in the knowledge factories was certainly exaggerated, as was the identification of this with the situation of the exploited peoples of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

The comparison between the mass circulation of Bild Zeitung here and the massive bombing of Vietnam was a grotesque oversimplification, just as it was arrogant to compare the ideological critique of the system here and the armed struggle over there.

The students’ belief that they were the revolutionary subject, insofar as it was based on the appeal of Marcuse, betrayed their ignorance as to the actual nature of bourgeois society and the mode of production which it has established.

The student revolt in the Federal Republic and West Berlin—with its street fighting, its arsons, its use of counter-violence, its pathos, as well as its exaggerations and ignorance...

In short, with its practice—has the merit of having reconstructed Marxism-Leninism, at least in the consciousness of the intelligentsia, as that political theory without which the political, economic, and ideological factors and their outward manifestations cannot be combined into an overall analytical perspective.

Without this, internal and external relationships cannot be described. The student movement was based on the contradiction between the theory of academic freedom and the reality of monopoly capitalism’s control of the universities.

Precisely because it was based on this, and not merely on ideology, it didn’t run out of steam before it had established the relationship between the crisis in the universities and the crisis of capitalism, if only in theory.

Not before it was clear to the student movement and their public that “liberty, equality, and fraternity” would not be achieved by appeals to human rights or the UN Charter, that what was occurring here was what had always occurred in the colonialist and imperialist exploitation of Latin America, Africa, and Asia: discipline, subordination, and brutality for the oppressed and for those who take up their struggle by protest, those who resist and wage the anti-imperialist struggle.

In its ideological critique, the student movement viewed almost all aspects of state repression as expressions of imperialist exploitation: in the Springer campaign, in the demonstrations against American aggression in Vietnam, in the campaign against class justice, in the Bundeswehr campaign, in the campaign against the Emergency Laws, and in the high school student movement.

Expropriate Springer! Smash NATO! Resist Consumer Terror! Resist Education Terror! Resist Rent Terror!—these were all correct political slogans.

They aimed to expose the contradiction between new needs which could be satisfied through the development of productive forces, on the one hand, and the pressure of irrational subordination to class society, on the other.

Their identity was not based on class struggle here, but rather on the knowledge that they were part of an international movement, that they were dealing with the same class enemy as the Viet Cong, the same paper tigers, the same pigs.

The second merit of the student movement was that it broke through the old left's parochialism: the old left's popular front strategy in the form of the Easter Marches, the German Peace Union, the Deutsche Volkszeitung, an irrational hope for a "massive landslide" in some election or another, a parliamentary fixation on Strauß here or Heinemann there, their pro- and anticommunist vacillation about the GDR, their isolation, their resignation, and their moral conflicts: ready for every sacrifice, incapable of any practice.

The socialist section of the student movement developed its consciousness, in spite of theoretical errors, from the correct recognition that "the revolutionary initiative in the West can be based on the crisis in the global balance of power, and on the development of new forces in old countries." (IL Manifesto, Thesis 55)

They based their agitation and propaganda on what can be considered the most important aspect of German reality.

They opposed the global strategy of imperialism by internationalizing national struggles, by creating a connection between the national and international aspects of the struggle, between traditional forms of struggle and international revolutionary initiatives.

They managed to turn their weakness into strength, because they recognized that continuing resignation, parochialism, reformism, and popular front strategies could only lead to a dead-end for socialist politics in the post- and pre-fascist conditions existing in the Federal Republic and West Berlin.

The left knew that it was correct to link the distribution of socialist propaganda in factories with actually preventing the distribution of *Bild Zeitung*.

It was correct to link propaganda against GIs being sent to Vietnam with actual attacks on military

planes targeting Vietnam, and the Bundeswehr campaign with attacks on NATO airports.

It was correct to link the critique of class justice with the blowing up of prison walls, and the critique of the Springer Corporation with the disarming of its private security services.

It was correct to set up radio stations, to demoralize the police, to have safehouses for Bundeswehr deserters, to combine agitation amongst foreign workers with the production of false documents, to prevent the production of napalm by sabotaging factories.

It was an error, however, to make their own propaganda dependent on supply and demand: to have no newspaper if the workers could not yet finance it, no car if the "movement" could not afford it, no transmitter because they had no license for it, no sabotage because capitalism wouldn't collapse immediately as a result.

The student movement fell apart when its typically student and petit bourgeois form of organization, "antiauthoritarianism," proved itself ill-suited to achieving its goals.

Its spontaneity proved ineffective in the factories, nor could it create a functioning urban guerilla movement or a socialist mass organization. Unlike in Italy and France, the spark of the student movement here failed to ignite the prairie fire of class struggle, and it was at that point that it collapsed.

It could enumerate the aims and contents of the anti-imperialist struggle, but it could not be the revolutionary subject, could not offer the necessary organizational structure.

Unlike the proletarian organizations of the New Left, the Red Army Faction doesn't deny its roots in the history of the student movement, a movement that reshaped Marxism-Leninism into a weapon of class struggle and established the international basis for revolutionary struggle in the metropole.

