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Youth and Students should Unite under the Political Banner of the Working Class

India is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state. What is the principal contradiction in this state? It is the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie on the one hand and the people on the other. The people, the exploited classes are the workers, peasants, small traders, national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. The petty-bourgeoisie comprises the intelligentsia that is, teachers, students, office employees, engineers, doctors and so on. They are all exploited and constitute the masses. The only solution of the principal contradiction in Indian society is a people's democratic revolution, which will be completed when under the leadership of the communist party a people's democratic state will be founded by means of people's armed struggle. A revolutionary front has to be formed by uniting all exploited people in the country opposed to imperialism and feudalism. This front will destroy feudalism and comprador capitalism and will root out imperialism from the country.

Revolutionary Front and the Intelligentsia

So, the first and foremost task is the formation of a revolutionary front under the leadership of the proletariat and its political party, the communist party, the main force being the peasantry. Other classes and people ruthlessly oppressed by the ruling clique will be in the front as potential allies. Among them a big section is the petty-bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and the student community. So it is essential to bring them into the revolutionary front. Every member of the intelligentsia, who is honest and patriotic, has to be brought into within the front. The reason is, "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking."

Students are the biggest section among the youth, therefore the importance of students in a people's democratic revolution can't be minimised. Because of various social factors they have had the opportunity for learning unlike workers and peasants. To organise workers and peasants and to propagate revolutionary thoughts among them, the help of the intelligentsia is needed. But it is not enough to get them inside the party. Their class character has to be changed and they have to be imbued with the thought of the working class. The ultimate aim is to transform them into workers as well, and with their help create intellectuals from among the working class. The ruling class always tries to purchase the intelligentsia to suit their requirements. The task of the revolutionaries will be to frustrate their game.

Intelligentsia: A Force in the Revolutionary United Front

It is true that the intelligentsia and the students are a powerful force in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist front. But can revolutions be completed by relying only on them? No, because they are not the main force in the revolutionary struggle. Why not? Why can't they give leadership in the revolutionary struggle? They know so much, they have learnt so much! The reasons can be divided into three categories.

First, the most progressive section in a capitalist society is the working class. They are related to the most advanced productive system. This class is the most organised, the most united. This class is the most selfless because they have nothing to lose but chains. Therefore, they can throw their selves in the struggle without any hesitation and suffer any amount of sacrifice. At the same time, they are modest, unlike the intelligentsia who are proud of their learning. For this reason, the working class alone can give revolutionary leadership. The intelligentsia and the student community lack these distinctions of the working class. Therefore, they cannot be leaders in the revolutionary struggle.

Secondly, the intelligentsia mainly belongs to the petty-bourgeoisie. The petty-bourgeoisie are parasites. Even when they do not directly exploit they partake the fruits of exploitation. They are exploiters and the exploited at the same time. Society advances on the basis of the development of productive forces, when a particular productive relation becomes an impediment

in the development of productive forces, the advance-ment of society is hampered unless that relation is altered. When feudal productive relations had been hampering the growth of productive forces, the new capitalist productive relations were created. Its driving power was the new born bourgeoisie. Feudalism was replaced by capitalism. To-day, capitalist relations cannot carry society forward. New relations have to be brought in. The new relations will be socialistic and its driving force will be the working class. This new society will be built on the basis of friendship with broad peasant masses. In the place of capitalism there will be socialism, the petty-bourgeoisie, partners in the old rotten productive system of capitalism cannot be the main force behind this social change, cannot give leadership in this process.

Thirdly, many people think that the members of the intelligentsia are well-read and they know everything. But it is not true. Whatever they may learn, their knowledge is partial, incomplete, because it is derived from bookish study. Real knowledge can be had only through work, through application of knowledge to social practice. Unless one participates in the productive-processes, and join the class struggle, no knowledge can be complete. If anyone wants to acquire correct knowledge about any subject, he must get in direct touch with it. He must get his hands into it. Otherwise his knowledge will remain imperfect.

Therefore it is important to take part in social practice, in any productive process. It is because of this that despite lack of formal knowledge, a worker and a peasant knows more than a member of the intelligentsia. Being a participant in the production process, being instrumental in social change, he carries forward the task of revolution and hence historical development. A member of the intelligentsia, in the absence of this experience, can have only a partial understanding. Therefore, he can not belong to the leadership of revolutionary struggle.

The educational system in India was created by the colonial power in the interest of having a comprador class in this country. The system today supplies the manpower needed to preserve the imperialist mode of exploitation and feudal pattern of relations. Its use is to produce robot-like men to aid exploitation. The neo-liberal policies being implemented at the behest of imperialist financial institutions are shaping the education system into a profit making sector. At the same time, it is being designed to turn the Indian youth into tools who apply technology, but never able to gain the scientific knowledge needed to develop our own appropriate technologies. This perpetuates our dependency on the imperialist countries. Those who cannot give up illusions about this system meant only to help exploiter class, are unable grasp the working class politics.

Exploited Petty-bourgeoisie

The petty-bourgeois intelli-gentsia is also the exploited. How? Most of them are employees dependent on salaries. Their emoluments do not increase corresponding to the price rise of commodities. As a result, their condition is getting worse day by day, particularly so since they have to preserve the trappings of gentlemanliness. Unemployment, the inevitable outcome of an all round crisis, has assumed monstrous proportions, students cannot look forward any more to getting jobs. At this stage of economic crisis, these sections cannot keep their identity and are bound to get declassed. They are ground by the giant exploitative machine, the common victims of capitalism.

The much-trumpeted free enterprise is a cover to hide the hideous fight of big fish gobbling small fry!

The petty bourgeois have no roots. To belong to the bourgeoisie is beyond their power, but they feel humiliated at the same time to be one with the proletariat. Of course, in the end in their own interest, they will join the PDF. The liberation of the labouring masses is their liberation too. They are also exploited, the difference being, the workers and peasants are more directly exploited. They have to come to the united front of revolutionary classes. There is no other way.

Students are the exploited section, not only in an economic sense of the term, but also in the sphere of education. The edu-cation they receive, unfit to serve the masses, only make them adept in exploiting the people. The bookish knowledge they get, unrelated to reality, they realise later, have made them cogs in a vast machine. They find themselves on the opposite

side of the barricade, arrayed against the people. This perverted system has produced only weaklings, whose lives are centered round pay-packets.

A student has no choice before him in the matter of subject he wants to learn, chances of getting a job is the criterion. One who wants to learn English literature goes in for Economics. In this system the talk of free development of personality is humbug. Extracurricular activities are discouraged. Their talents are wasted. Their youthful vigour is lost in the welter of economic, social and political taboos. Students have no say in making the syllabi or in the mode of instruction. On the other hand, the authorities enjoy absolute liberty of actions, of serving the interest of the exploiters. They sow the seeds of reaction at the behest of the ruling class and its mentor, US imperialism and propagate the virtues of Yankee culture.

Liberation of the student community is impossible unless this system is resolutely fought and crushed. To achieve this student must join the ranks of people's democratic forces, the workers and peasants.

Come Forward Young Intellectuals, Students & Youths

The intellectuals and the students have to mix thoroughly with the working class and the peasantry. They have to be one with them. They have to serve the people. Their petty-bourgeois mentality which tries to keep them away from revolution will disappear gradually if they try to be one with the people. Only in this way can they become real revolutionaries and can dedicate themselves to the bigger cause by giving up their own class interest. Only then can they be able to unite with the progressive classes and give up their own class position. But the task is not easy. They have to bring this change.

The intellectuals and students have to go among the workers and peasants to unite and organise them. The main task will be to propagate politics among them. The intellectuals and students will in this way help in forging a political united front of the toiling masses.

What is the class character of the Students?

A large section of young intellectuals is the student community. Students do not belong to any particular class, because young men and women of all classes are there among them. They are young in age. So the forces of reaction can influence them little. They have a tremendous life-force. They are very much interested to learn new things. They have less conservatism in their thought. They have a strong sense of Justice. They are always ready to oppose injustice. A great advantage for them is that they have time at their disposal. They can spend this time in revolutionary work. For all these, the student community as a whole, is always progressive and a party to the people's democratic front.

Build yourself in the light of Mao's Thought

Mao wrote, "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually do so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary."

The Chinese youths and students occupied the front rank during the historic May 4th Movement in China in 1919. How could they do this? Intellectuals and students were the first to realise the need for a revolution to win freedom from the yoke of exploitation, as they possessed some progressive consciousness derived from their education. If political consciousness and the sense of revolutionary self-sacrifice intermingle, the intellectuals acquire a revolutionary character. Youths and students fought from the forefront during the May 4th Movement because they believed in revolutionary politics and were ready to sacrifice everything for the interest of the masses. As a result, they could show courage and take a leading role in the movement.

Moreover, the Chinese working class was not advanced and united at that time. The Communist Party of China was not yet there. As a result, the movement was deprived of such a party leadership. So the working class could not come to the forefront of the movement. In

this situation the intellectuals and students came to the forefront of the movement with their progressive thoughts and political consciousness. They created a revolutionary impact throughout the country. But yet they could not be the motive force leading the Chinese revolution to success.

A trend in Student movement

Some politicians have, of late, raised such slogans - students, leave the educational institutions; go to villages; mix with the peasants; propagate politics of revolution. These cannot be done by attending schools and colleges. So, go to villages by leaving schools, colleges and universities. This system of education is the fulcrum of this decaying society. So it must be destroyed. Boycott examinations.

Are such slogans correct? Two things must be examined to find out whether a slogan is correct or wrong. First, why is a slogan being given? And secondly, when is the slogan being given?

1. Why will a student cadre be sent to the village or to the working class? Communists should be, at the same time, both a student and a teacher. To teach revolutionary theory to the masses one must become a student as well of the masses. Then only can one qualify himself for propagating revolutionary theory and become an organiser. So while trying to disseminate the theory of revolution, he must stay with them, must share the stresses and strains of their life. This is why he should live among the peasant in villages and among the workers in cities. And as the peasantry constitute by far the greatest numerical strength in the revolutionary camp. It is necessary to place large number of political cadres in the rural belt. Herein lays the urgency of sending revolutionary intellectuals in large numbers to the villages. The work requires patience and theoretical knowledge. Time as well as adequate training is needed for this. But why are the students being sent to villages now by giving "leave the colleges" slogan? They are being sent to participate in operation extermination. The idea of those people who are giving this slogan to leave educational institutions, is that the local reactionaries must be killed one by one by secret guerrilla units and only in this way can the local people be awakened. These extermination operations are being called "actions". Students are being sent to villages to lead and participate in these actions, and not to preach revolutionary theories, or build a revolutionary party or mass organisation. This theory of action is against the "people's war" theory of comrade Mao Tse-tung. Leave the colleges will not be a revolutionary slogan if the students are asked to go to villages for this action.

Another thing must be made clear. Those who are going to villages may do so by revolutionary impulse. But they cannot do serious revolutionary work if they do not acquire complete competence for this. To build up revolutionary struggle and organisation is a tough job. Strong determination, patience, courage and correct theoretical knowledge are needed for this. It must be seen whether a cadre possesses these qualities before sending him to build up revolutionary organisations in village or in a workers' colony. If he does not have these qualifications he will do harm instead of doing good. Revolutionary organisation cannot build only with revolutionary impulse.

The first necessity for the success of revolution is the existence of a real communist party. The revolutionary forces are rising in India with a tremendous speed. These forces fail to proceed in the proper way for the absence of a correct leadership of a party. There exists much theoretical confusion in the revolutionary camp. The revolution is not proceeding along the correct line as a result of wrong application of correct theories or application of incorrect theories. And no real revolutionary Party has emerged as yet. When there is no real party, the main task should be to strive to build up a real party and not to send student cadres indiscriminately to rural areas en masse. Ideological battle must be carried on in building up the party, relentless theoretical war must be continued against all sorts of deviations. At the same time, every revolutionary cadre must take part in all class struggles and mass movements. Through all these works a revolutionary leadership will emerge and develop.

Only a revolutionary party leadership can send batches of students in a planned manner to participate in movements on necessary occasions and can direct them properly under the control

of the leadership. When even this primary revolutionary work is not done the slogan of leaving schools and colleges is not only a deviation from revolutionary politics, but is also a slogan to create chaos and anarchy among the student community. The student community can be consistent in the revolution only when the basic masses carry on an uninterrupted revolutionary struggle. The students of Telangana can out of their educational institutions in 1949 and participated in the movement along with the peasants only after the peasantry carried on their struggle to the optimum. Of course, students have work to do at the first stage of revolution. Advanced students with revolutionary political consciousness and character will definitely go to villages in a planned way to awaken the peasants with revolutionary politics. They will unite with the workers in cities to organise them for direct class struggle. Through these works they will acquire the qualities to directly participate in fights in villages in a bigger way. And those who acquire these qualities will of course stay in the rural belt as professional revolutionaries. The advanced students will do this under the leadership of the party. Apart from students who live in cities, there are many students who live in villages. The responsibility of students living in villages is great in peasant revolution. They can very well preach the politics of revolution to the peasantry. The students residing in villages have the best opportunity to work among them even without leaving schools and colleges.

The students who come from villages to attend schools and colleges in cities and suburbs can learn acquire knowledge about working class struggle in cities. They can utilise this knowledge in rousing their respective villages. They can at the same time enlighten the students of cities with their special knowledge about the rural life and its struggle. In this way can the students of cities come in direct contact with class struggle in villages and vice versa and verify respective knowledge. Moreover, the students of cities and towns may in leisure time accompany their student friends coming from the village, to go to their native places to have firsthand knowledge of the village life.

Student organisation is a type of mass organisation. The party preaches and spreads its politics among the larger masses through these mass organisations. So, the party must have a student organisation to reach the politics of new democratic revolution to the student community as a whole. The advanced students will do this work under the leadership of the party. The advanced students will be able to establish mass base for the politics of the working class and bring the student community into the fold of the revolutionary united front only if they succeed in spreading the politics of new democratic revolution. If without doing this the educational system is paralysed with "leave colleges" slogan, a large section of the student community and middle class people will go against the revolution. This is a big loss at the stage of new democratic or people's democratic revolution, when large section of the masses should be united. It will not do if a handful of students only go ahead. Politics must be spread among the entire student community. So long as there is no organisation among the students and the largest section of the student community is not participating in the politics of revolution, the "leave college" slogan cannot deliver any good for the cause of revolution.

Before doing any work we must see how far it will advance our main aim. If the cause of revolution can advance with the closure of schools and colleges then we must do that. But in practice the case is just the reverse.

Build a New Society: Destroy the Thoughts of the Exploiters

The bourgeois education system must be destroyed. But how? Is it by upsetting the examinations and closing the educational institutions? Of course not. That is possible only after the establishment of the people's democratic state. The education system is a part of the super-structure which depends on the system of production, that is, the economic structure of the society. The super-structure cannot be radically changed without changing the structure. So, it is not possible at this moment to establish a new system of education by destroying only the present educational institutions.

But shall we the revolutionary workers then allow this bourgeois education system to go unhampered and unchallenged? Of course not. Comrade Mao Tsetung teaches us that all reactionary things are of same stuff. They do not crumble down on their own without any blow.

We will oppose everything that the enemy supports. We have to fight in all fronts. Education and culture is one of enemies' important fronts. We have also to fight against it. We must prove that this system of education is a part of this decaying colonial and imperialist culture and so this system is also worn out. In 1968 some examiners of the political science department of Calcutta University took bribe and gave good marks to many bad students. Their nasty move was made public by an enquiry forced by a student movement. Here the students have a major role to play.

Again, a few years back, the students of political science of Calcutta University started a movement against the syllabus and demanded that it must be changed. In this way they revealed the decadent character of this education system. Though their movement did not totally succeed but it proved that no progressive change can be brought under this setup; the whole system must be changed. That is possible only after changing the whole society through the new democratic revolution. But this education system must be constantly hit by movements like this and other democratic movements. Entry of imperialism into Universities and other educational cultural institutions must be resisted by organising large scale and strong student movements. Simultaneously, the students must endeavor to build up a revolutionary culture with the medium of art, literature, drama, etc. These are the historical limitations within which the students should necessarily confine them-selves just at the moment.
