

# Draft Political Programme For The Revolutionary Student and Youth Movement

*This Draft, prepared by the West Bengal State Students' Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, has been circulated among the revolutionary students and youth workers of West Bengal for discussion and necessary improvement. We reproduce this Draft in Liberation so that it may serve as a basis for discussion among revolutionary student and youth workers throughout India and a strong all-India organisation may be built up to guide the revolutionary movement of the students and the youth.*

—*Editorial Board, Liberation*

1. In colonial India our people carried on a glorious struggle against imperialism for national freedom and independence. The aim of this struggle was to transform the colonial and semi-feudal social system, education and culture into an independent and democratic social system, education and culture. The main force of this anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle was workers, peasants and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie the major section of which was the youth and students. Our youth and students played a glorious fighting role in this struggle for national freedom and independence.

2. After the Great October Revolution in Russia and at a critical time when, after the Second World War, a vast mass-awakening took place in the national freedom struggle, the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India—their principal political mouth-piece was the Indian National Congress—betrayed the national freedom struggle to serve their own narrow reactionary class interests. Afraid of being overthrown, which seemed imminent, by the high tide of the death-defying national freedom struggle, the

imperialists and the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India entered into an agreement.

As a result of imperialism's manoeuvre, imperialist exploitation was preserved intact and the imperialists chose to move away behind the scene allowing their two social bases in this country—the feudal landlords and the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India—to take up the reins for carrying on direct rule and oppression. In this way the Congress leadership became imperialism's agent for ruling the country. The aim of this notorious agreement was to blunt and disrupt Indian people's anti-imperialist struggle and to continue imperialist exploitation and rule in a new way. In a desperate attempt to cover up this fact, a so-called 'Republic' and a 'Constitution' with universal adult franchise were proclaimed under instructions from and under the guidance of the imperialists. If the rulers and exploiters so desire, this 'Republic' can, at any moment, be transformed into a monarchical dictatorship of the President.

3. In fact, there has not been any qualitative change in India's social development until now. British imperialist exploitation has not only continued uninterrupted, but even increased. Moreover, other imperialists, and specially, U.S. imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of the world's people and Soviet social-imperialism, the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, who are jointly working for world domination and for re-dividing the world among themselves, have penetrated into India at an increasingly rapid rate. In the name of giving economic 'aid', U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have reduced India into a neo-colony and are carrying on their cruel neo-colonial exploitation and rule. Indeed, they lead all other imperialists in carrying out imperialist rule and exploitation in India. The relation between the foreign imperialists on the one hand and the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords of India, the reactionary Indian

government and the Indian bureaucracy on the other, is that of a master and his lackeys. Today India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country and has been reduced into a neo-colony.

4. The cruel rule and exploitation of India by her four enemies—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their two lackeys, the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords—have stalled the all-round progress of the country. In the interest of carrying on their exploitation, the foreign imperialists are preserving the decadent and rotten feudal system in our country. In this way they are cruelly exploiting the peasantry, brought about disaster in the country's agriculture and have barred the road to a free capitalist development of industry in the country.

Robbed of their land, driven out of their homes, the peasants have been reduced to the position of paupers and starving beggars. The rate of food production having gradually decreased, a food crisis has set in, resulting in starvation and semi-starvation all over the country. Both the national and the international markets are controlled by the imperialists as a result of which the purchasing power of the peasants, who constitute eighty per cent of the country's population, has continuously fallen. This, in turn, has thrown the development of the country's industry into an alarming crisis. In a vain bid to get rid of this crisis the exploiters are passing the burden of this crisis on to the workers and other toiling people by resorting to retrenchment, lay-off, closure and by introducing automation. The pauperisation of peasants and the retrenchment of workers and employees are daily making the crisis more intense. The unemployment situation has become explosive. While the entire system of production in the country is in such an appalling state, the education system is being restricted and the number of educated persons are sought to be reduced by various tricks. This is inevitable in a society based on exploitation.

The ruling classes and the exploiters have always been using a two-faced reactionary policy to prevent the exploited and oppressed masses from advancing unitedly along the correct revolutionary path to liberate themselves from the monstrous and reactionary exploitation and oppression.

On the one hand, people are being corrupted morally and spiritually and disruption and weakness are sought to be sown among the fighting masses by all sorts of poisonous propaganda defending the present system of exploitation and oppression, by encouraging the spread of sex-biased vulgarity, rabid chauvinism, provincialism and religious communalism; by spreading all sorts of lies and slanders against the great Socialist China—the source of inspiration and hope of the toiling people of the whole world; and by turning India into a base for imperialist aggression against China and whipping up a vicious anti-China war hysteria. The exploiting classes have skilfully managed to send their agents, who wear various garbs, into the ranks of the fighting masses. Posing as revolutionaries, these agents are holding back the people's struggle from behind, and are trying to preserve the existing system of exploitation and oppression by leading the people astray. The revisionists and the neo-revisionists—the bootlickers of the ruling classes—are such agents. But as soon as the people begin to overcome all these obstacles, sweep forward along the road of struggle and start hitting at the exploiters and oppressors, the ruling classes reveal the other aspect of their policy and rush out with naked ferocity to attack the fighting masses with the police, the military and various draconic laws and try to destroy the people's struggle with unrestrained violence and brutality. Thus, they reveal their true fascist features hidden behind the mask of 'democracy.'

5. Thus, the basic reason for all the problems now facing the workers, peasants, employees and other toiling people including the youth and the students, the problems

of food, education, unemployment, culture, freedom, democracy etc., lies in the fact that the Indian society is today semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character. The crisis has now entered a stage when it is impossible for the existing social system even to make the smallest progress, not to speak of ushering in the new. Every single problem is worsening daily and is assuming enormous proportions bringing the people's normal life almost to a standstill. The contradictions between the Indian people and imperialism, between the peasantry and the feudal lords and between the working class and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie have become very sharp. Of all these, the contradiction between the peasantry and the feudal exploiting class is the principal contradiction. The peasant problem is a national problem, because it affects the peasants, who constitute eighty per cent of the country's population. By people we mean, in the main, the peasants. In this sense, the contradiction between the overwhelming majority of the people, the peasants, and the feudal exploiting class is the principal contradiction.

6. The only way to achieve liberation from the existing reactionary system based on exploitation and oppression and to attain independence and democracy is resolutely to overthrow by armed force the four enemies—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys in this country, the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, and thus to complete the People's Democratic Revolution. There is no other way. We can carry this revolution through to victory and establish a people's democratic state only by successfully applying the all-conquering thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era and the great leader of the world communist movement. Only after this can we advance towards socialism.

We must reject the hoax of parliamentarism and accomplish the People's Democratic Revolution through

revolutionary people's war by uniting the fighting masses in a revolutionary way under the leadership of the Communist Party and the working class and on the firm basis of worker-peasant alliance. Today the basic task is to liberate the rural areas through revolutionary armed agrarian revolution and encircle the cities and, finally, to liberate the cities and thus complete the revolution throughout the country. Our main stress must be on fulfilling this task. The peasant struggles in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and other places which have developed along this line are the vigorous path-makers of India's liberation struggle.

While such agrarian revolution is being developed in the rural areas it is of great importance to inspire the factory workers and other toiling people, the broad masses of fighting people, in the cities with revolutionary politics, to make them active and to build up class struggle among them to support the agrarian revolution and to organise democratic movements there. To ignore this task will be disastrous for the revolution.

7. The primary condition for the success of the People's Democratic revolution is to establish the leadership of the Communist Party and the working class over the revolution and to lead the people and revolution along the correct road mentioned above. The so-called communists and the other political parties in India have refused to undertake this revolutionary task. In spite of enormous courageous sacrifices it was possible for the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India and their chief political representative, the National Congress, to betray the people in 1947 because there was no correct revolutionary leadership. As a result of this, the aims of India's struggle for national freedom and independence remained unfulfilled.

During the Congress regime and till now, all movements have been led by the so-called Leftist political parties. These parties pay only lip service to Marxism-Leninism

but, in practice, have never cared to educate the workers, peasants, youth, students and the broad masses in Marxism-Leninism nor directed their struggles along the Marxist-Leninist line. On the contrary, they have kept the movements strictly within the bounds of laws which are based on exploitation and dragged them down into the mire of economism, reformism and parliamentarism. This explains why in spite of enormous glorious sacrifices and bloodshed, these struggles have not solved problems nor brought liberation. These revisionist and neo-revisionist parties are trying, as the reactionary Congress Party has been doing, to preserve by various means the existing social system based on exploitation and to destroy the revolutionary people and their struggle. In this way, all these parties are serving the reactionary classes and have proved themselves counter-revolutionaries.

The experience of our freedom struggle, which is more than a hundred years old, and the experience of the revolutionary struggles for people's democracy and of other revolutionary struggle, the world over teach us that, in order to win victory in the revolution, we must courageously and resolutely advance along the revolutionary road under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. To attain victory by persisting in the revolutionary road we must not only resolutely oppose the exploiting and ruling classes by adopting correct Marxist-Leninist method, but must also fight determinedly against revisionism and neo-revisionism.

8. We must build up revolutionary struggles of the youth and the students on the lines of the struggle of the workers, the peasants and other toiling people to support the agrarian revolution, which is the principal task of the people's democratic revolution, under the banner of the thought of Chairman Mao.

The basic orientation of the youth and student movement in our country at the present time, must be to attain

the immediate object of establishing a people's democratic state through agrarian revolution, that is, people's democratic revolution; and on its basis, to attain the long-term object of building a socialist India. The youth and student masses in our country must, without delay, be united and rallied in the anti-imperialist anti-feudal national democratic struggle under the leadership of the working class, that is, the agrarian revolution, to achieve national freedom, independence and democracy. The student movement must be integrated with the struggle of workers, peasants and other toiling people, with the struggle for people's liberation and a united struggle to support the armed agrarian revolution must be built up,

9. Only a few advanced elements cannot carry this struggle through to a victorious end. The broad masses of the youth and the students are the main force in this struggle. The mere propagation of the politics of agrarian revolution can induce only a small section of the advanced and conscious elements among the youth and the students to come forward and participate in the struggle. But it will take quite a long time for the broad sections of the youth and students who are backward, to grasp the revolutionary politics and participate consciously in political work if we rely on propaganda alone. So, the advanced section will get isolated from the overwhelming majority of the youth and students who are backward, if it tries to advance into the struggle by itself without caring to inspire the backward sections in order to make them participate actively in the struggle. Taking the opportunity provided by this isolation of the advanced section, the reactionaries organise the broad sections of backward masses and utilise them to serve the needs of counter-revolution.

The advanced section must, therefore, lay special emphasis on building up struggles on the basis of the general political programme of agrarian revolution against

the various problems and difficulties affecting the life of the broad masses of the youth and students with a view to uniting the backward sections and inspiring them to participate actively in the national democratic struggle. The discontent, indignation, revolt and struggle of the youth and the students against any problem they face, including the problems of food, education, unemployment, culture, must be supported and these must be organised into powerful struggles on correct lines and directed to attain the revolutionary objective. At every stage of struggle the methods and tactics which we adopt in our propaganda, programme of action and movement must be such as ensure mass participation by broad sections of the youth and students, enhance their political consciousness and activate them.

10. While the conscious and advanced elements, guided by the thought of Chairman Mao, work in their respective spheres to build, in theory and in practice, an anti-imperialist anti-feudal fighting unity among the broad sections of the youth and students through political propaganda and struggle, they must, at the same time, establish contacts with people who live in places close to the areas in which they work, with workers and the illiterate people who live in slums in towns and cities, and with the peasants in the villages, and become one with them. In this way they can become pupils of the people and take a leading role in organising revolutionary peasant struggle. Those youth and students who are more advanced in theory and practice must go to the villages, unless circumstances make it impracticable for them, to work there among the peasants as wholetime workers under the guidance of the revolutionary party.

Political mobilisation and initiative of the youth and students must be organised on revolutionary political slogans in support of the other revolutionary masses, and they must be mobilised to carry on revolutionary political propaganda. Joint initiative and joint mobilisation,

meeting, demonstration, discussion with the other fighting masses have to be organised. Whenever any repression is let loose on any section of the revolutionary masses or against their struggle, the youth and the students must be rallied to resist it and express their indignation against it, and to give full support to the struggle.

The youth and the students must come forward in support of liberation struggle, whether in our own country or anywhere else in the world. Popular opinion must be organised in support of these struggles and the masses must be inspired with the idea of proletarian internationalism.

Political classes must be organised for the youth and the students and political literature and leaflets widely spread among them. Every medium for carrying on propaganda among the masses should be made use of.

In this way, the youth among the intelligentsia, the youth and student masses, must not only become an advanced section, an important detachment, in the anti-imperialist anti-feudal democratic revolution in our country but must become one with workers and peasants.

11. No struggle, be it economic or political, can be sustained if it is isolated and relies on its own strength alone. Only a united and fighting organisation can carry on struggle through to the end in a disciplined manner, along correct lines and according to a definite programme. If the youth and the students are to fulfil their important and historic political task in our anti-imperialist anti-feudal national democratic struggle in the context of the existing national and international situation, they must have their own mass political organisation. This is indispensable. Without this, they cannot fulfil their task and will be defeated by the blows of counter-revolution. Such a mass political organisation of the youth and students will have as its leading body the State organisation. Those revolutionary youth and students who, inspired with the thought

of Chairman Mao, have come forward to implement the revolutionary politics of agrarian revolution, that is, the Naxalbari politics, in an organised manner and those new elements who are coming forward now to work for this purpose will have to be organised in their respective spheres of work and on the basis of the programme mentioned above. The mass political organisation of the youth and students should comprise of such elements.

12. We are now living in the era of the thought of Chairman Mao when imperialism is rapidly heading towards total collapse. Imperialism and its lackeys in various countries are on the brink of their total destruction. In many countries of the world, including Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia, armed struggles are raging and the flames of people's war are burning world reaction into ashes. The flames of agrarian revolution have spread from Naxalbari to Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri. The revolt of the peasant revolutionaries in Kerala shook the whole country. Just now the Adibasis in the Chotanagpur area are relentlessly marching forward in their liberation struggle and the national liberation struggles of the Nagas, the Mizos and the Kukis have reached a new stage. So, we must correctly apply the thought of Chairman Mao and respect and rely wholly and completely on the heroic 500 million Indian people. Once we are able to do this there is no doubt that we can march forward resolutely, liberate our country from the imperialists and their Indian lackeys, and build an independent, people's democratic India.