

Ahwan Reprint Series—1

WHERE SHOULD STUDENTS AND YOUTHS MAKE A NEW BEGINNING?

**Editorial Board
'Ahwan Campus Times'**

Translated from Hindi
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Publisher's Note

The student-youth magazine, 'Ahwan Campus Times' is being published for past fifteen years. Alongwith issues of education, employment, culture and various related social questions it has also given keen and thought-provoking material on the question of student–youth movement.

Three editorial articles of this magazine published in recent past have addressed some very crucial questions facing the student–youth movement and has raised some very important issues. In our view, it is necessary that all young people who desire change, should give them a thought. Keeping this in consideration we have published these essays in the form of a booklet so that it can be read by a wide youth population. These essays were published successively in three issues between January 2003 and January 2005.

Discussing the obstacles, problems and challenges in the path of preparing for future revolutions these essays call upon the new generation of revolutionaries to understand the science of revolution and with help of their scientific understanding they will have to find a path of new revolution keeping their country and times in mind.

We hope that this booklet would be helpful in navigating the way forward to the travellers of the long and arduous path of revolutionary social change.

— *Rahul Foundatuion*

31.1.08

If You Are Young

Tell memories to
Come out of stone sepulchre.

Let fall
The yellowed leaves,
They will have to fall anyway.

Don't lament,
Neither raise a hue and cry
If your heart really is
Over-brimming with love.

Say then, to rebel against injustice
Is justified.

Extend invitation to war
Against deathly silence and cowardly—idle discourse.

Like yellowing grass under a rock
Or as stains of tears that have been subdued
Dreams of father
And awaiting mother
And yes, some broken some cracked relations and memories
Have to be taken along
While travelling on the heart of burning times
And don't let this century
Become cruel.

You have to reach again the ocean of blood
And have to snatch from its grasp
Glowing magnificence of humanity
Flight of the primordial wings of truth
Dignity of justice
And poetry of future
If you are young.

— Shashi Prakash

What is that you wait for? And for how long? The world needs you!

Amidst stifle and restless seething, a couple of years of the new millennium have passed in slumber. In the whole wide world the bloodsucking bearhug of capital has been constantly challenged by revolts, struggles and mass movements. However, this continuity did not witness any qualitative leap that can give crucial indications of breaking the stagnation of history. On the level of world history the stagnation after reversal continues. The tides of counter-revolution dominate waves of revolution.

In the 1960s, the rising popular upsurge of national liberation struggles in Africa was shaking the world. Today, the same Africa is in hibernation. It is a unique specialty of Latin America that it is never stagnant. This specialty perhaps is the product of that history which has been witness to the most barbaric mass-slaughter perpetrated by colonialism and seen it continue unabated in the most cruel dictatorships of the neo-colonial era. Latin America was the first laboratory of the policy of liberalisation in the era of economic neo-colonialism. Workers, peasants and student-youth of this continent are constantly at war against this devastation in the backyard of superpower America. However, these struggles are the continuation of struggles of bygone era. The significant changes which have occurred in world condition, politics and economic policy of the enemy during the past couple of decades have not been able to register themselves so that a all-round strategy for effectively opposing these forces can be evolved in Latin American mass upsurges, revolts and resistance struggles. Explosives have already been piled in the Arab world. The Arab people are firmly standing by the peoples of Iraq and Palestine. For the Imperialist world this whole geographical landscape has become the knot of contradictions. In the days to

come, eruption of the fierce explosion of the anger of the Arab people against the imperialist policies of America and the whole West is going to play a crucial role in weakening Imperialism and leading it into serious crisis. However, what is going to occur in the next few years in the Arab world is principally a process of fulfilling hitherto incomplete task of the period of national liberation wars. The intensified contradictions of the new age imperialism will come on the agenda only after this process. The fact cannot be overlooked that the vanguard of the working class that wages the struggle against capital is presently, relatively speaking, politically and organisationally is extremely backward.

The situation in the rest of Asia is sort of a mixed bag. In the leadership of the Proletariat a huge peasant population organised themselves, handed a crushing defeat to Imperialism, its lackey indigenous capitalists and feudal lords taking giant strides in the direction of Socialism in China, Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia etc. However, after the restoration of capitalism, there is a reckless creation of the dichotomy of heaven and hell by the free-market policy (Heaven for a handful and Hell for the rest). The unwavering stand of North Korea against American hooliganism is laudable and a positive, but it has to be admitted that the progress of Socialist experiments has stopped there long ago. It can be hoped that in China, a nation which hitherto inaugurated a new direction for Socialist experiment, after the contradiction of Globalisation turns fierce (and the process is ongoing), a new stream of revolution will spring forth amidst current ongoing mass movements and revolts. The vanguard that takes forward the journey of progress from the past will organise themselves once again. The people who have witnessed the prosperity of advanced Socialist experiments will surely resurrect their heritage. However, analysing the situation one can say that a new edition of the October Revolution is not possible to create in the near future. From countries with relatively developed productive forces like Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan to backward countries like Burma, Cambodia, Laos, the contradictions against imperialism and indigenous capitalists are becoming bitter. However, for any radical socio-political transformation the nucleus of leadership in these countries are not even in the primary stage of organisation. The absence can be traced in the causes that are generated by their

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respective histories. Revolutionary Peoples' Army in Palestine has carried on an armed struggle for past half a century but the problem is that, without taking into account the fundamental changes in the situation, the proletarian revolutionaries there are still using the strategies and path of the past revolutions (especially Chinese Revolution) and this is the fundamental reason of their struggle becoming stagnant. An indomitable, irresistible People's War in Nepal, for past seven years, is continuously taking forward strides, conducting original experiments taking into account situation prevalent in their country. The ruling class of Nepal has been unsuccessful in crushing it despite the range of help from Imperialist nations to neighbouring Indian government. Today in the prevailing atmosphere of reaction in the whole world, especially after the retreat of Peru's revolutionary struggle, the struggle waged by the working people of Nepal acquires a special significance. But Nepal is a small country with extremely backward productive forces. It is performing the task of anti-Imperialist anti-feudal revolution (National Democratic Revolution). Today with exceptions of few extremely backward, small and poor countries in Africa and sub-Sahara, the majority of Asian-African-Latin American countries have gone beyond that stage. The majority of countries in these continents have, albeit backward, become capitalist countries. In the present era of Globalisation, the broad cross section of masses here have to create a new type of Socialist revolution against Imperialism and the ruling indigenous capitalists of their respective countries. This new revolution would be an heir and a subsequent link in the chain of Russian and Chinese revolutions. The next round of the Great War between Capital and Labour would begin only after these new streams of Socialist revolutions gain momentum. Until that time, it would be a transition between past and future round of this Great War, during which it is possible that the backlogs of past are addressed and completed. In view of this, the revolution in Nepal despite its historical importance cannot be a trend-setter or path-breaker.

The erstwhile colonised countries of the Third World (Asia, Africa, Latin America) where (1) power devolved on the capitalists some four to five decades back and compromising with Imperialist plunder performed (though, a sick, backward and handicapped but nevertheless) capitalist transformation, that is, countries who have

become backward capitalist countries; (2) Despite the backwardness and Imperialist exploitation a infrastructure of industries has been developed; (3) they have enough land for the production of foodgrains for consumption and possess enough resources for raw materials, that is, whose economies are diversified; (4) the area and population if not too big are not too small either, only in those countries there is a realistic potential for trend-setter revolutions of the new century.

This assessment in itself is a subject for lengthy discussion but in the front ranks of such countries, India surely has her place. Discontent against world capitalism is prevalent all over the world, even the peoples of developed countries are seething against it, but the pressure is most in countries that are backward and poor. These very countries are still the weakest links of Imperialism and the world-transforming base for future explosions are being prepared here. In these countries, there is abundance of natural resources, labour and intellectual wealth for plunder and establishing monopoly.

India is one such country where the era of liberalisation-privatisation has unraveled the most naked and ugly face of the devastation and evils caused by capitalism. The path of capitalist development after half-a-century has reached the dead end of a dark tunnel. Amidst the ocean of grief and poverty of the common people, on the island of prosperity the minarets of luxury and wantonness are kissing the skies. Markets are being glutted by luxurious items like cars, motorcycles, refrigerators, air-conditioners and like. On the other hand, deaths are occurring due to hunger and malnutrition. Even basic necessities like medical facilities are beyond reach of the common people. A fifth of the country's population is prey to unemployment and under-employment. Every year, millions of small and medium farmers distressed by the blows of capital are uprooted from their land and join the ranks of wage-slaves. Even after toiling in inhuman conditions for twelve hours a day workers do not get enough wages to feed their families. More than 95% of urban and rural workers toil on daily wages, and as contract or temporary workers. Whatever rights they got through hitherto organised struggles, 80% of those have been gradually taken away from them. With the exception of bureaucrats, doctors, engineers and some highbrow intellectuals, a large section of the middle-class is reeling under rising inflation and unemployment. The doors of higher

education and technical and vocational courses have been properly and firmly shut on the face of common youth. The process of fee hike, decreasing seats and privatisation of educational institutions, selling them to capitalist class is continuing unabated. The division between rich and poor was never so sharp at the level of primary and secondary education.

The economic policies that are responsible for this condition find unanimous support among the political parties that represent the ruling class. Singing the well-rehearsed tune of protest, parliamentary Left has also become fellow traveller of the same road. In fact, there is no scope for the mask of Socialism now. The capitalist class of India to extract maximum profit has bowed down to the Imperialists for capital and technology and the whole country has been transformed into a vast expanse for Imperialist plunder. This is the substance of neo-colonial economic policies. Analogous to this economic policy, capitalist politics has changed its character accordingly. The substance of bourgeois democracy – dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is becoming clear by each passing day. With promulgation of one draconian law and another, the remnants of peoples' rights are being usurped. State-power is taking on the mantle of a naked terrorist machinery. The resurgence of Fascism in India (and indeed the whole world) is a representative manifestation of all round crisis of capitalism and despotic repression by capitalist class.

To expect a “human face” of capitalism in this day and age is quixotic. The progress and drive of history cannot be bent backwards. To search for alternative and solution in the past is useless. The search for alternative should be carried out by looking at the future. World today does not need an “improved” capitalism but an alternative of capitalism. The central problem of the world today is that capitalism is living a prolonged life. The problem is, what should have been in the garbage bin of history is sitting on our chest. Problem is one and so is the solution. Humanity needs an alternative of capitalist rule, society and culture.

We say this emphatically that after tremendous progress of thousands of years in science and human consciousness, destruction of nature and human beings by lust for profit and the anti-human Capitalist system that wreaks havoc of war and starvation is not the last stage of human history. This is not the end of history. The hirelings

of capitalists who beat their breasts claiming the end of Socialism constantly try to reinforce the false belief among people that there is no other alternative to this system. But people who are being crushed under the plunder, who have no way out, who see that bodies of numerous working people are used as a stairway to ascend to heaven, who see that despite all natural wealth and human potential there is a private monopoly of few over all the means of production and law of profit prevails whereas majority lead a dreadful life, those people will not sit silently. They will not commit collective suicide. They will not become beasts. They are proving it by sporadic outbursts of revolts. Their next step would be to trace the path of a well-planned, well thought out revolution and create a new socio-economic system.

The Socialist revolutions of the 20th century even presented an alternative to capitalism. They were initial experiments. Their defeat was not unexpected. They can only be considered as failures of initial experiment. Past is a witness to the fact that previous revolutions in their initial stages have failed. Powers of progress do not register a decisive success over power of stagnation in their first stage. Lessons learnt by the great revolutions of the 20th century and study of new methods and machinations of capitalism would be used to find a way for new revolutions of this century. In addition, as we have said earlier, India is full of opportunities as a land of possible revolutions in the new century. Now necessity is of those scientists and experimenters who would use the science of social change as tools and equipments to arouse and organise people, who would form weapons to change lives forged from the knowledge about life.

The need is of those brave hearts, thoughtful young people who will come forward to accomplish this task. Everyone feels that their parents need them. People who feel that society needs them, only they create tools to change history and become vanguard of the people who desire change. Today, time has come to make a new beginning and no messiah would be descending on earth to accomplish this mission. Preparation for change would be taken over by the brave, young children of common people. People like these are real youth. Their number is majority. But they are in a dilemma of 'what to do and what not to do' which stems from disappointment. It is true, that in a period of defeat people are a little disappointed. But for how long brother? It is time to get over it. Try and hear the clarion call.

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Aren't there a thousand reasons that we revolt and amongst all these, aren't only a few enough that we start preparing right now? Is it not that the only way out is to fight against injustice, and not fight intermittently but transform our fight into steps for a social revolution.

Borrowing a few lines from a poem by Bertolt Brecht, we ask all young, brave, just, self-respecting, sensitive and visionary sons and daughters of this country:

*What is that you wait for?
And for how long?
This world needs you!*

(Ahwan Campus Times, January-March 2003)

Hope is not a mere sentiment!

*In this time of dark night
Dews of dawn of morning are incensed
What should I do that in these dewdrops
I see red flames
As if, hundred drops of bloods are shaking
To count their glowing rays
I am making an effort*

(Muktibodh)

This belief that billions of common people will not be crushed under the yoke of capital buried in the mire of stasis and despair is a result of the long and glorious history of class struggle, the history of capitalism, the previous round of anti-capitalist workers' revolution and lessons learnt from the positive and negative experiences of these revolutions. The economic foundation of world capitalism is now rendered hollow. By the power of inertia, it is blocking the way of history with all its might, but this might is being constantly eroded. The root of its power is strong because the powers of change are disintegrated due to defeat and have not been able to organise themselves after forming a coherent understanding of new conditions. New projects of liberation are still under preparation. Indeed, this process is going to be long and arduous. However, this is as important a fact that it is inevitable.

This hope is not merely a sentiment. Hopes are realistic only when they have a science of their own. Plekhanov has written that intellectuals severed from the masses are wont to airy-fairy, hyperbolic and rose-tinted wishful thinking. The long and arduous task of imparting revolutionary consciousness in the masses, assimilation in their lives and developing their political struggles are a source of boredom to them. People of this ilk without understanding the intricate

problems of social revolution celebrate with a lot of song and dance and supplicate to the revolutionaries after every successful revolution. In addition, when the powers of defeat and darkness are resurgent then in gloomy enclosed rooms they wail with despair, curse the revolutionaries and making apocalyptic predictions about inevitable failure of every attempt and experiment of change find a refuge with the blood-sucking class. Progressive youth should shun even the shadows of such so-called intellectuals. They will have to learn from the history- making masses, become people of the masses and prepare for the arduous task of their role as a vanguard. They will have to become a scientific optimist and not some airy-fairy one.

Keeping this view in mind, we will discuss some of the fundamental obstacles, problems and challenges of preparing for future revolutions.

One of the problems faced by new generation of revolutionaries in periods of stagnation and reversal is the emergence of orthodoxy and bondage of historicity regarding successful and great revolutions of past. New generation of revolutionaries want to reach the stages of future in the shadows of their great ancestors, they want to follow history blindly without learning from it, using it to study the present and find a way for future. The basic cause for this attitude is that this path appears short and simple and it is caused by immaturity that is dazzled by the glowing light of great revolutions. For preparation and practice of new projects of liberation, one has to be free of this attitude of imitation and revolutionary youth will have to prepare themselves for the risks of obvious mistakes during experiments.

Certainly, a predisposition to negate history would be another extreme and an equally mistaken one to follow. We will have to properly understand the dialectical interrelationship between tradition and change. Avoiding both pitfalls of bondage and negation of history - that is, staying clear of both dogmatism and “free thinking”, we will have to arm ourselves with a genuine sense of history.

Many things cannot be comprehended without a study of social revolutions of past and entire history of class struggle. There are some general laws of basic economic structure of society as there is for its social-cultural-ideological-political-legal superstructure, that

are lessons drawn from the complete history of class society and these laws would be relevant till class society exists. We will try and explicate this with a few general examples. (a) The known history up to this time is a history of class struggle and until classes exist, class struggle would be key link of progress of history. (b) Every ruling-exploiting class uses state as a central means for use of force to maintain its exploitation-rule, every state has a class character and this means of coercion is destroyed with force itself, by the masses, that is, it is destroyed by social revolution. (c) When relations of production become an obstacle in way of progress of productive forces then the productive forces destroy them to establish a suitable production-relation—this is the formula of the inevitability of social revolutions. These are some of the general laws of development that are applicable to a class society, from its long-winding past to its long-winding future, in their extremely long historical time-period.

Similarly, there are some rules whose relevance would continue until the time capitalism continues to exist on earth in some form or the other. (a) Annihilation of capitalism is possible only by the Proletariat and through a revolution accomplished under the leadership of this class. (b) All forms of bourgeois democracy is dictatorship of bourgeoisie and its only historical alternative is Socialist democracy which is dictatorship of Proletariat. (c) Proletarian revolution is possible under the leadership of a unified Proletarian Party, and there are general laws for this party's structure and methodology that have been established and enriched through past workers' struggles and experiments in workers' revolution. (d) The historical mission of the Proletariat is annihilation of capitalism as well as become vanguard of the transition from history of class society to a classless society. This is the last and most progressive class of history and Proletarian revolutions are history's first and last consciously organised revolutions. (e) Socialism is historical duration of the transition from a class society to a classless society, full of success and failures. In advanced stages of transition to Communism, with withering away of classes the process of withering away of state would occur simultaneously.—These are some of the general formulae that would remain relevant until the time capitalism exists (even during the Socialist transition).

There are some general laws that would be relevant in the entire

contemporary age of Imperialism and Proletarian revolutions. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. On the juncture of the 19th and 20th centuries capitalist mode of production underwent some important basic, structural changes that changed many things in world politics. Development in areas of productive forces, higher stages of concentration of production gave birth to capitalist monopolies and dominance of these monopolies was established in the field of production-relations. *“Imperialism is that stage of development of capitalism, which when reached, the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is firmly established, where export of capital gains extreme importance, in which division of the world among international trusts has begun, in which division of all regions on earth has begun amongst big capitalist powers.”* (Lenin). The monopolistic tendency of economy in the form of highest and last stage of capitalism, in the form of obstructed, parasitic and moribund capitalism determines the historical place of Imperialism. Phenomena like uneven development, inter-Imperialist rivalry, and its explosive manifestation in intermittent wars, erosion-disintegration of bourgeois democracy, militarisation of economic system etc. are characteristics of Imperialist age. Because of monopolies, production is increasingly socialised and within capitalism, material milieu of Socialism is prepared. The polarisation between capital and labour constantly increases and so does the fierceness of class contradictions.

Even today, we are living in the age of Imperialism. However, during the past century Imperialism is not prevalent in the same form. The mode of production, mechanism of ruling and international relations have undergone so many important changes, that as a result the strategy and general tactics of next round of workers' revolution, general orientation and nature of world Proletarian revolution have to obviously undergo changes.

The history of all hitherto class struggles, all Proletarian revolutions and experiences of all Proletarian revolutions constitute an ideology based upon the general formulation of the essence of these experiences that acts as a guiding principle for each revolution. As far as concrete forms of strategy and general tactics of any revolution is concerned, that would be determined by the study of concrete conditions in particular countries and time. Conditions are constantly changing. In a same time-period in history, different

categories of countries in accordance to their stages of socio-economic development would have different revolutionary strategies and stages. Even in countries of a same category and having same revolutionary stage, their strategies will differ partially and will have important differences at the level of general tactics. Countries at the same level in terms of social and economic structure might have the same revolutionary direction but no revolution would be a carbon copy of another revolution.

If our understanding of social-history and its process of progression would be weak, if our knowledge about the science of revolution is false, superficial or incomplete, if we have a tendency to shy away from the arduous task of concrete analysis of concrete conditions, then our ability to learn from past revolutions would be non-existent. Then the short and simple path we chose overlooking changing conditions, would be blindly imitating great revolutions of the past, we would not discriminate between relevant and irrelevant and become dogmatic. Then we would turn the strategies and general tactics of the revolutions accomplished in the past into ideologies and general principles.

We are not discussing these things merely to lay down general principles. This is a concrete problem of our times. Active people engaged in revolutionary change, whether they are working towards organising the workers-peasants or on the front of student–youth or some other front, have this general problem of blindly imitating revolutions of past century while working and thinking about the project of revolutionary change. Undoubtedly, delusion-spreading “free thinkers” abound, but slothful people affect active people when thinking aspect of the latter is weak. Our discussion might be appearing a little tedious to our young friends brimming with emotions of a revolutionary change, but it is imperative to have a definite understanding of these issues. There can be no social change even if we give our all in disoriented revolts–movements. Revolution is a scientific process, student–youth movement is a part of one whole social revolution. The structure and mechanism of society that student–youth inhabit have to be understood by them. Whose class interest lies in revolution, whose class interest lies in the present system, what are the various modes of production and what are the forms of exploitation in that process, how does political–

constitutional–legal systems and military machinery protect the system of exploitation, what is the nature of economic–political relationship between indigenous and foreign plunderers, what is the standard of living and level of consciousness of common people—without a proper understanding of all these issues neither a proper orientation can be given to student–youth movement, nor can they be integrated with the revolutionary struggle of the broad cross-sections of the working people, nor any young friend can go in an area of working population and arouse or organise them effectively or successfully.

Apart from the people who try for reform in the system, do patchwork through electoral politics and fashionable grandiloquent “revolutionaries”, there are several revolutionary currents and tendencies existent who have their own different understandings of conditions prevalent in the country and of strategies and general tactics of revolution. Only a correct understanding can finally lead to success. Shutting one’s eyes, or merely on grounds of empirical observation as to who appears more militant, powerful or successful or whose planning-project appears to be simpler and more attractive, it would be incorrect for student–youth to align to a single current of revolutionary politics. A true path usually is not easy and short and success is not achieved without original experiments and failures. Therefore, our student–youth friends will have to study the world history of revolutions and Indian history, socio–economic, political conditions and will also have to study the revolutionary programmes in front of them and decide which alternative is relatively more logical, more scientific and most in accordance to social realities. Simultaneously, they will have to acquire experience of organising student–youth and participation in movements, and they will have to find time to go amidst the working populace, understand their life, be one among them, serve them, learn from them, then teach them, give them political education and as far as possible have to register their presence in working class’ struggle and movements. This formula should never be forgotten that ‘to change things one has to understand things and in the process of changing things one has to change oneself.’

The fundamental problem in the course of preparation for future revolutions is that in most of the cases attempts are made to mould them in the cast of past revolutions. If new realities of life stare

directly in the eyes then an attempt is made to fit them into the old framework, or instead of changing the whole framework, failed attempts are made to adjust new realities by stretching or pruning the old framework and thereby continuing the routinism of small movements and mass activities.

Based on our study of present conditions and history, also on the basis of our limited practical experiences it is our firm belief that the entire world and India have undergone such changes that general direction, strategy and general tactics of future revolutions would be different from the worker's revolution of the past century. Without a shadow of doubt, we cannot move forward without learning from the general directions, strategy and general tactics of past revolutions. There is much to learn from them and an intensive study of the history of revolutions is imperative, but the present social-economic-political conditions have to be studied anew because many changes that have happened are fundamental in nature. The model of programme of past revolutions has become outdated now. It is not possible to have an elaborate discussion here, but without a brief discussion, this cannot be made clear.

It is true that we are living in an age of Imperialism and despite failures of the first editions of Proletarian revolution, the study of world economy leads us to the conclusion that due to an unprecedented increase in the socialisation of production in comparison to the past, the objective base for Socialism is being prepared more pervasively and resolutely. That is, this formulation is applicable even in the contemporary world that Imperialism is the eve of Proletarian revolution. One change that has happened today is that the crisis of worldwide slump and stagnation that had a cyclical movement previously and used to torment the capitalism, has transformed itself today as a long-term structural crisis and this historical reality today, in comparison to the past, is more tangible and comprehensible that Imperialism is the decaying and parasitic form of capitalism. One of the new lessons of history is that the years of senility and decay of capitalism is far longer than its years of youth.

Despite the presence of all the fundamental characteristics of Imperialism even today, its modus operandi and structure of capitalist world has undergone crucial changes due to which the revolutionary

stage, its strategy and general tactics have changed fundamentally in countries with revolutionary objective conditions. Instead of old trusts and syndicates, new forms of global capitalist monopoly have emerged. Gigantic transnational corporations have spread in all countries of the world as if they do not have a national origin. However, in world market interests of these corporations are represented chiefly by the state power of their native countries. The uninhibited global flow of finance capital, in comparison to past, has become more deft and nimble. The scientific–technological revolution has played a definitive role in the effectiveness of progress of economic production and increasing its rate by increasing the productivity of machines, it has enabled the process of extracting super–profit from workers to reach an unprecedented magnitude, and communication revolution and new levels of automation have especially played an important role in increasing the global flow of finance capital. What is known as Globalisation today is in fact the globalisation of finance capital, because the course of free global flow of labour is constantly being impeded by new obstacles.

The real economy which produces goods and services for basic necessities is under the control of a few monopolistic houses, and this is true for the entire world. This real economy along with extracting super-profits puts a ceiling on the income of the populace that is lower in hierarchy. As a result, the possibility of earning profit by increasing capacity of production is lowered and monopolistic houses begin to invest in financial activities. This is what happened in the decades of 1970, when a stagnation came into the world economy. Since, even traditional financial activities slowed down in this period of stagnation, therefore, financial regulators increasingly were trapped in grips of speculation. The role of debt in economy, with comparison to past, increased rapidly. Under the pressure of sky-high demand for debt, there was an unprecedented expansion of currency market and doors were completely opened for speculation. In the last decade of the previous century, conditions were such that, with comparison to capital invested in real economy producing goods and services, the ratio of finance capital became manifold. Independent of the process of real production there came into existence finance capital, and bloating like a balloon and unstable like mercury, finance system also came into being. If in seventy-five

years of the past Imperialist century speculation was like a bubble on the stream of real production then now real production has become like a bubble on the stream of speculation. It is for the first time that capital accumulation was no longer the fundamental factor–indicator of capitalist economy. In the face of continuous slump in real production, impelled by blind competition to increase the rate of profit, capital is invested in stock markets of various countries creating an illusion of economic strength and development and when it finds a better alternative, it 'runs away' all of a sudden. As a result these economies collapse. Because of the irrational competition for profit, real competitors in the backward countries of the world, to outdo each other in a hurry, give preference to investment in the financial market.

Actually in the initial decades of the 20th century, along with dominance of monopolies and finance capital, reactionary aspect of bourgeois democracy became pre-eminent and fascist currents were emergent. Now, the condition of 'absolute hegemony' of finance capital has led the bourgeois democracy to such a level of erosion–disintegration at the world level that the line between bourgeois democracy and Fascism has blurred. Imperialism in initial decades of the last century, to increase the growth rate of production and exploitation of labour, also to minimise the bitterness of contradiction between labour and capital, used the form of state monopoly. However, in last decades of the century, this ad hoc solution to contradictions of capitalism itself made the contradictions fierce and stagnation of economy increased. This condition once again became a crucial reason for expansion of private monopoly capitalism. The age of so-called 'welfare' state ended and process of surrendering everything to the unrestricted power of market began rapidly.

The cut-throat inter–Imperialist rivalry is continuing even today. New methods and strategies for trade-war have been developed. But taking lessons from past revolutions, today the Imperialist plunderers, depending on their respective economic power, take their respective shares of surplus extracted at the global level for a long time, they wait in ambush to take advantage of every crisis that their rival undergoes, and to change the balance of power they constantly align and then break away from mutually opposite groups and alliances. Contradictions of inter–Imperialism are present in a fundamental and

subsidiary form as continuing regional wars in different parts of the world, but possibility of these exploding in the form of a world war is negligible, although it is not completely impossible. One of the fundamental reasons for this is that the fight for domination and capture of world market is not in the form of division of colonies anymore. Chiefly, due to pressures of past revolutions and class struggles, colonies and most neo-colonies do not exist anymore. World has gone beyond the era of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is possible today for every Imperialist to enter the market of every country, notwithstanding a little restriction.

Despite mutual competition, Imperialist nations for the time being are in general agreement to impose their policy on the people of backward countries, and ruling capitalists and international agencies like World Bank-IMF-WTO by emphasising the role of debt and grants in their exploitation, by making entry into national markets of backward countries more unrestricted and by being an assistant to imposition of arbitrary trade-conditions, they play a crucial role in implementing the consensus of Imperialists.

There is one more transformation of note in the contemporary era of Imperialism. To increase the rate of profit indigenous-foreign companies divide the process of production of a single commodity in different countries, and at different places within the same country. The commodity that was made on the assembly line of a single plant, that process has now been divided between many units. Intellectuals have coined a term for this phenomenon known as the 'Global assembly line'. Wherever a certain kind of cheap labour-power is available, and wherever a certain kind of raw material is easily and cheaply available, accordingly different kinds of parts are made at certain places and then they are assembled at a different place to give final shape to the product. For example, a company of a developed nation purchasing cheap raw material and labour-power produces one part in a country, makes second part in another country, in a third country makes another part and assemble them in a fourth country as the final stage of product which is finally sent to markets of those countries where there is a demand for that product and buyers have the ability to give a better price for it. Along with increasing the rate of extracting super profit this gives multiple benefits to Imperialists. Firstly, by dispersing majority of workers working within

the boundary of a single factory, their ability to create pressure has been decreased for a while. The social crisis within Imperialist countries which resulted due to immigration of workers from backward countries is reduced to an extent, and it has become easier to poach on the earned rights of workers, to break their movement and to get maximum work done through contract workers and temporary workers. It might be that for a while, this 'globalisation' of production process is advantageous to Imperialists and there might be new challenges facing the workers' movement, but this higher level of socialisation of production in a long-run is preparing an extensive background for Socialism. This is connecting the workers of different countries. When the working class would understand this fact by acquiring high level of consciousness through struggles and propaganda of revolutionary forces then the unified struggle of distant workers would be more effective than ever to incapacitate the capitalist system.

Indigenous capitalist class ruled the countries of Asia–Africa–Latin America that were erstwhile colonies, after achieving their independence. Some of them, for the development of capitalism in their own countries, stressed on capital and technological help from Imperialist countries. They were under Imperialist pressure and their political freedom shrunk in that proportion. Some countries taking advantage of the Socialist camp and inter–Imperialist rivalry decreased the pressure of Imperialist assistance, and with that by establishing a structure of state capitalism, they fulfilled their need of capital by raising wealth through a medium of taxes and public savings. However, in this era of unified world economic system of Imperialism, this method had its limits and it was not long before it reached a saturation point. Now to take forward the capitalist progress, a gradual opening of the doors of their economy for foreign capital and selling off state monopolies at throwaway prices to indigenous and foreign capitalists was their need and obligation. No sections of capitalist class of these countries have remained nationalist or anti–Imperialist. This class has voluntarily become the 'junior partner' of Imperialists. On the question of increasing–maintaining, their share of surplus–appropriation their contradiction with Imperialists go on fiercely–moderately, but now they cannot fight Imperialism being on the side of people. They are partners of big plunderers in pillaging the

widespread populace. When people fight against them then the Imperialists stand for them unswervingly. In addition, when people fight against Imperialism then they stand firmly on the side of Imperialism.

In the countries of Third World during regime of capitalist class, as a continuous development, apart from industries even villages have had a capitalist development and despite the presence of various forms of the vestiges of feudalism and pre-capitalist remnants, capitalist production relation have become principal even in the sphere of agriculture. Because of this process the class structure of these societies have undergone crucial changes. With exceptions of few countries, majority of the third world countries have become backward capitalist nations.

We believe that even today the weak links of Imperialism are backward countries of the world and are the potential centers of future tempests of coming revolutions, but there have been fundamental changes in the class structure of these centers of storm and as a result in the nature of revolution. This is indeed an age of Imperialism, but this is not the age of colonialism or neo-colonialism but of economic neo-colonialism. In addition, today, in majority of the countries there would not be anti-Imperialist anti-feudal National Democratic Revolutions, but new forms of Socialist Revolution that would be against Imperialism as well as against indigenous capitalism.

Let us take our own country as a representative example. In the past half-century, not only industries and cities have had a widespread expansion, but farming also has seen mechanisation and there has been development of a huge web of agro-based and allied industries in the villages. The indigenous capitalist class to sell its product and to purchase labour-power as cheaply as possible and to prepare new markets for machines-fertilizers-hybrid seeds in farming, has ruptured the feudal land relations and in a continuous process has accomplished the task of making tenants the owners and liberating labour. After getting ownership, big landowning farmers are now investing capital and producing for the market, and are extracting labour-power from wage labourers working on their field. A section of feudal landlords also has transformed itself into capitalist landowner by changing his ways. A large section of medium and small landowning farmers are joining the ranks of the proletariat after being displaced by the lash of

capital and the proletariat–semi-proletariat population in villages and cities have reached a number which is half of the total population.

This is a subject for a detailed discussion. However, even within this discussion, the point is understood that India in sum total has become a capitalist country. She is not an independent capitalist country, ruling capitalist class of this country is a junior partner of Imperialists and it is a backward capitalist country where vestiges of feudalism are still present. In India and in majority of the countries of the third world only a new form of Socialist revolution is possible. Feudalism has remained only as a relic. The principle contradiction is the contradiction between labour and capital.

In the 20th century, after the Socialist revolution of Russia in 1917 when the tide of world proletarian revolution was rising and turning against world capitalism then the centre of revolutionary tempests were those countries which were colonised or semi–colonised. It was only there that the pressure of plunder and exploitation were felt the most and these weak links had to break. In all these nations question of national liberation was a central question then and a section of capitalists was ready then to participate in an anti–Imperialist struggle because without political freedom it was not possible for this class to envisage its progress. The second principal question in backward agrarian societies of colonised and semi–colonised countries was the annihilation of feudal land relations, which was a question of the whole peasant population. The feudal landowners were the social mainstay of the foreign regime. Therefore, both contradictions of anti–feudalism and anti–imperialism were intertwined. Around 1970 majority of colonies had attained political freedom and work for capitalist progress had begun. Until the ninth decade, conditions in colonies had changed drastically and in place of military dictatorship, limited democracy was installed. As we have discussed above, these erstwhile colonies and neo-colonies are centers of future revolutions even today, but their class social structure has changed.

People who are plagued by dogma and blindly emulate past revolutions say that since even today we are living in the age of Imperialism, therefore our strategy and general tactics of revolution would be the same as it would have been in 1920, 1940 or 1960. They say that the leadership of the great revolutions of the 20th century

have told that in Asian-African–Latin American countries there would be national democratic revolutions and Socialist revolutions in Europe–America—these would be the two constituent elements of world revolution. Our point is that this is not the guiding principle of revolution, but an assessment of prevailing conditions. To be tied to this is like chopping the toes to fit a shoe. Conditions have changed. The age of Imperialism prevails, but the age of colonialism and Neo-colonialism has passed. No section of the capitalist class has remained revolutionary today. According to their own needs and obligations, they have become junior partner of Imperialists. Land relations within these countries have also changed. Feudal elements remain mere vestiges, becoming a small shareholder in the exploitation and reign of Imperialists and indigenous capitalists. If they are fighting, it is to increase their share in the plunder. Their crisis is the crisis of a small shareholder of exploitation. Now even in these countries the project of liberation can only be the project of Socialism.

Along with this, we also say that Socialist revolution in these countries will not be in the same form as it happened in Russia. The development of capitalism has been in a different way than in Russia. One of the root causes of this difference is due to a colonial past and another root cause is due to the fact that today's world is hugely different from the world of 1917. Russia stood at the point of conjunction between the developed west and the backward East. Secondly, due to the First World War, favourable conditions for revolution originated but it was an exceptional condition. Thirdly, after the decline of Czarism the incumbent capitalist class was neither stable nor was able to strengthen its roots. Its social base was also quite narrow. The pressure of Imperialism was on Russia indeed, but its ruling class was not chugging along the Imperialists, as is the condition of Indian capitalist class today. The social base of Indian capitalism is quite diverse. Conjoined with rich peasants and bureaucracy, there is a strong social prop present in the form of upper middle class and other parasitic classes. Due to capitalist progress, the system of communication–transport is quite developed and the grasp of state power is quite pervasive even in distant areas. It is not concentrated only in the capitals or the big cities. Because of this, general tactics and way for future revolutions have to undergo many changes from that of Russia. This is a different subject for a

long discussion, but as a general conclusion, it is not difficult to understand that anti-Imperialist anti-capitalist Socialist revolution that would happen now would be a new kind of Socialist revolution.

Overlooking these changes and blindly following the footprints of past revolutions is not the way to prepare for new revolutions. While studying past revolutions, issues of similarities and differences have to be known and important lessons have to be learned, but it is a major responsibility to find, after a concrete study of concrete conditions, as to what is new in today's new revolutions. Young generation of revolutionaries will have to accept the challenges of paving a new path. The tendency to accept general conclusions of old revolutions as formula and performing routine exercises, the tendency to blindly emulate great revolutions of the past; we see them as main obstacles to revolutions because these tendencies are dominating. This is to shirk effort for understanding and developing the science of revolution and is like living in the fool's paradise of achieving a revolution through enthusiasm and revolutionary optimism alone .

Therefore, we emphasise this point that it is not enough to keep hope alive merely as a sentiment. Optimism has to be given a scientific base. To avoid dogmatism, science of revolution has to be understood and with the help of this scientific understanding, a path of revolution has to be paved by interpreting temporal-spatial conditions of a country.

This is the paramount historical responsibility of the young generation of Revolutionaries!

(Ahwan Campus Times, January-March 2004)

Where Should Students and Youths Make a New Beginning?

Those youth who do not think that this misanthropic capitalist system is the last stage of human history—the 'End of History', who have not accepted present victory of the tyrannical powers of reaction as their fate, who have the memories of past revolutionary struggles as a legacy, they would definitely come forward to forge dreams of future into new projects of liberation. In the preparation for a new world—historical epic war these youth would be in the forefronts.

*Where future—symphony is playing
Where dreams are on a journey to discover
Where audacious projects of the approaching is being forged
Where memories are fuel,
Filled in the heart of workman's furnace
Where restless hot air is giving momentum to life,
You have to be there,
If you are young!*

(Shashi Prakash)

All brave, self-respecting, visionary and sensitive youth in the process of becoming thoughtful—understanding the science of revolution—have to first internalise the fundamental lesson of history that is that with mere emotions of valour and martyrdom it is not possible for youth to complete a revolution. Even if majority of the youth of a country stand up in revolt it is not possible for them to attain the goal of revolution. The romantic notion of triggering a revolution usually attracts the restless and the rebellious hearts of youth, sinking the youth movement in the self-defeating mire of adventurism. Despite good intentions and pure feelings this adventurism is as lethal to Revolution as the reformism which begs

for crumbs of favour and concessions. A true revolution in all cases is a people's revolution. Only an organised power of the majority of working people can make a revolution possible. It destroys like hurricane the military might endowed with the most lethal weapons, that is equipped for the protection of the rule of capital. History is made, not by heroes but by common masses, that builds all social wealth and culture. This fundamental rule should never be forgotten. There is nothing like a born hero. In the perennial process of struggle and creation the rank and file of the vanguard which emerges from the masses, only they perform the role of leaders and some of them become the symbols of revolution.

Martyred revolutionary thinker **Bhagat Singh** also came to this conclusion, based on the history of revolutionary movement in India until his time and on experiences of his generation, that a few revolutionary youth without awakening and organising the masses cannot make a revolution successful by taking to arms. Undoubtedly, in the process of transforming the social system, the role of force is that of a mid-wife, without use of force it is not possible to smash the state power. However, such a use of force can be deployed only by an awakened and organised peoples' power. To arouse and organise this peoples' power, enlightened and advanced elements from society have to go amongst the people, perform the task of revolutionary political propaganda and teach how to struggle in an organised way on small demands of every day life. And even before this, they study society first hand in this process, test their understanding and consolidate it; understanding production, governance and society they acquaint people with the fundamental reasons for their exploitation and repression, they provide a credible and practical picture of a just and egalitarian alternative social structure and then organise masses for a struggle to achieve this model. In this background, the relevance of that great message is easily understood that, seventy –five years ago, Bhagat Singh addressed to youth of the country from the gallows:

“Youth have to spread the message of revolution in every nook and corner of the country, in factories and industries, millions of people who live in dilapidated huts in squalid hamlets and villages have to be illuminated with the glow of revolution which will bring freedom and then exploitation of one human being by another would become impossible.”

One might ask why this responsibility has to be on the shoulders of youth? A befitting answer to this was given quite a long time back by the great leader of Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung in these words: *“Youth are the most active and most lively power of society. They have an intense desire to learn and their thoughts are least affected by orthodoxy.”* Once while speaking to the students he said; *“This is your world, it is ours’ too, but in the end it will be yours’ only. You, the young people full of power of life and vigour, like the sun of morning at 8 or 9’ o clock are at the peak of life, our hopes rest on you.”*

The widespread working people for two square meals and for fundamental needs toil to the point of being crushed and are ground in the mill of wage slavery. By depriving them of the heritage of civilisation-culture and the knowledge of history, even the fundamental conditions of human living is snatched away from them. Revolting against circumstances their consciousness continuously moves towards social revolution, but without the study of society and history and without the understanding of the science of revolution, organisation for revolution is not possible. In this situation the responsibility for making them acquainted with the form, practice and path of revolutionary change devolves on the shoulders of those few educated youth who are equipped with the heritage of knowledge and culture and are capable of critiquing a civilisation. Surely enough these educated youth cannot perform the tasks who are born with a silver spoon in their mouth and whose “paradise” is secured in this system. Only in exceptional cases, brave young people will come from this parasitic exploitative strata, who can break themselves away from their class and join the project of liberation of the oppressed people. This responsibility in all circumstances would be of brave and wise children of common masses.

Youth with such revolutionary feelings and thought would not take the message of revolution among people as mere preacher or propagandist. To become vanguard of the people they will have to become ‘one among people’, they will have to internalise the life and struggle of the masses; they will have to learn before they can teach. They cannot become capable of executing action merely based on

bookish knowledge about revolution. Not only from life reflected in the world of knowledge, they would also have to learn directly from real life. Then only can they become true revolutionary youth. In a famous essay titled **‘The Orientation of Youth Movement’** Mao Tse-tung has written: *“Is somebody a revolutionary youth or not, what are the parameters of judgment? How to recognise? There is only one parameter, that is, it should be observed whether they are able to assimilate themselves with wide worker–peasant population or not, and whether they execute this or not? A revolutionary is one who wants to assimilate with the workers and peasants, and in practice become one with the workers and peasants, otherwise one is not a revolutionary but a counter–revolutionary.”* Certainly, in today’s scenario peasants can only mean small peasants that are victims of capitalist plunder, not the profiteering, prospering landowning farmers who themselves indulge in exploitation of toiling workers. The essence being that firstly, revolutionary youth will have to assimilate with the labouring class which is the producer of all social wealth; they will have to go amongst them; through diverse reform activities serve them with true devotion; they will have to renounce completely the mentality of accepting special rights and superiority of intellectuals that are born as a result of the social division between physical and mental labour; only then the common people will trust them as one of their own, will listen to them intently and act on it. Then only a revolutionary youth can become a practical revolutionary, can understand every contradiction of social life and can be successful in the preparation and progress of revolutionary struggles.

Along with this, to win the confidence of people and to understand the application of the science of revolution it is essential that revolutionary youth implement their ideals in their own life. For example, apart from being completely free of the notion of considering physical labour as lowbrow, they have to be liberated from notions of caste discrimination and every evil social practices and orthodoxy; not a speck should remain. Then only can they carry a continuous struggle against socio–cultural obstacles on the path of revolution and can establish a pervasive peoples' unity, which is a fundamental condition of militant mobilisation of masses to change the system.

It is very important that there is a clear view on what is known as “reform activities” in order to rebuild a revolutionary student–

youth movement. If our final goal would be an improvement of living conditions of the masses, to get some concessions within the prevailing socio-economic structure, then it would be reformism. It would mean keeping this exploitative system intact and alleviating a little its naked licentiousness, atrocity and ensuring the longevity of this system.

It would imply removing blood stains from the fabric of capitalism. It would imply telling people that it is possible to make a whole shirt by begging for patches of cloth, that is, make your life worth living by reforms and fight for small concessions, because only this much is possible and revolution is either impossible or impractical. It would imply giving an illusion to people that it is possible to attain rights by convincing the ruling class or applying some pressure on them or system can be changed using peaceful means through a change of heart or supplication, therefore it is not necessary to take the “troubles” of forceful change or revolution. In societies with class exploitation, and especially in capitalist society, reformism is present in various forms and comes up in ever-new garbs. This acts as a ‘safety valve’ to reduce the pressure of public anger, as a second line of defence of the system and as a ‘smokescreen’ to the people. All electoral left parties of India that have renounced the path of revolution act on reformism and today an increasingly active NGO reformist politics all over India is its newest and most effective organ.

However, those revolutionary youth who want to organise people for a decisive revolutionary struggle against Imperialism and Capitalism, even they, along with revolutionary political propaganda and education, have to not only organise mass struggle for small demands of everyday life but also have to organise reform activities on various levels. If we have the goal of revolutionary change and a definite strategy, then to unite with wider population, to make its consciousness militant, with an objective to arouse, mobilise, and organise them, organised activities of reforms and small struggles for rights become a link in the long revolutionary struggle. These ventures give youth an opportunity to come close to the life of people, unify with them and win their confidence. During this period, the youth also gets an opportunity of studying and examining social realities. It cannot be over-emphasised that it is imperative to know

things in order to change them.

Take some concrete examples. In any system, the form of education and culture is decided by the fact as to what the character of political-social system is and which class controls the state power. In all class societies, it is the education and culture of the ruling class that dominates. The structure of education-culture can be changed decisively only when the ruling apparatus is in the hands of the people. However, even during the preparation for revolution we organise alternative ventures of education and culture that are used to revolutionise the consciousness of people. For example, revolutionary organisation of students and youth, to fight against casteist-religious-social orthodoxy and superstitions and to increase awareness among youth as well as the widespread population, will have to establish study circles, night schools, libraries, dramatic and music teams etc. By doing this, they certainly cannot challenge the capitalist educational and communication medium, but with concerted efforts like these if they can free a large section of common people and youth from their mental bondage, then commensurate to that the possibility of recruiting youth for the revolutionary columns would be increased and creativity and initiative of common people would accordingly become free from restrictions. Let us assume that any organisation of revolutionary youth organises a medical camp in a workers' settlement, then along with serving people and winning their confidence they publicise that free medical facilities is a fundamental right of people and is not a commodity to be sold in the market. From here, the preparation of a struggle for basic rights begins. Let us assume that a youth organisation to awaken peoples' initiative take up activities like cleanliness drive, road repair, construction of bridges on a settlement or village, then they also convince people that they put government and peoples' representatives in the docks and prepare for a movement for these rights. When links of these innumerable efforts start joining, then the masses themselves move forward realising their capability for organisation and creativity, self-confidence to take decisions is generated (that afterwards develop into the self-confidence to rule) and in this process, platforms for alternative peoples' power emerges in embryonic form at various places. The youth should not forget this fact that the struggle for revolutionary change is a class-war between the exploiting and exploited class, in which a final verdict

will not be reached merely by a few sporadic skirmishes or swerving wars. The verdict would, although, finally come with a lightening strike of peoples' revolt which blows away the fort of capitalist state power, the process of reaching that stage, however, would be in such a way as if two flanks themselves have been battling for a long time by taking 'positions'. To achieve this, along with peoples' struggle and revolutionary political propaganda amongst masses such institutions and ventures would have to be raised using peoples' initiative and creativity that can act as turrets and ramparts of the formative "peoples' fort". Only then, this trust would be generated in the masses that it is possible to create a system in which the structures of production, governance and society would be in their hands.

Undoubtedly, only the slogan of 'equal education to all and equal opportunity of employment to all' can be the central slogan of a revolutionary student-youth movement. It can be asked then, instead of the point why did we discuss at length that youth should assimilate in the large working population, conduct revolutionary propaganda, should conduct creative programmes etc.

A straight forward answer to this can be that the words of Bhagat Singh in today's situation, when there is need for a new beginning by pushing back the surge of reaction which is dominating the surge of progress, is completely apt and relevant that youth would have to take the message of revolution to factories, squalid settlements and dilapidated huts of villages. This is the paramount responsibility of youth. Revolutionary youth with mature consciousness have to take the responsibility of equipping the struggle of working masses with the science of revolution and they can do this only when they participate in movements and creative activities amongst people, assimilate in their life and metamorphise their own personality through practically educating themselves about life and revolution.

The struggle of youth on question of education and employment is not an isolated struggle from the rest of struggles in the society, but is indivisibly linked to the latter. If seen from the perspective of political economy, then unemployment is a phenomenon that necessarily prevails in a capitalist system and becomes a crisis of the system. In the same way, unequal education that is divided according

to the status and is like a saleable commodity in the market is in fact a fundamental characteristic of capitalism. That is, a struggle for equal education to all and equal opportunity of employment to all is a struggle against the general and fundamental tendency of capitalism. This struggle is an anti-capitalist struggle and can become meaningful and successful only when it aligns and becomes a part of the anti-capitalist struggle of all classes. Otherwise, its fate is doomed and is going to be lost in the blind, labyrinthine alleys of reformism.

This is why along with organising an extensive population of student-youth for 'equal education to all and equal opportunity of employment to all' it is a job of the vanguard of revolutionary youth to go to the working masses that have been pushed on the streets by capital and are displaced and are grounded in the mill of wage slavery; by undergoing class-transformation accept the role of the vanguard in initial stages of struggle, acquaint the masses with science of the revolution and perform a role in generating vanguard units from the masses. Additionally, it is also their responsibility that they tell the restless and the agitating student-youth population on question of education and employment that without aligning themselves to the struggles of extensive working population against Capitalism-Imperialism they can get a few relief or concessions, but they cannot hope to succeed in their mission. This is why they not only have to align themselves to the revolutionary struggle of the masses but also will have to perform a role in organising them anew. A new beginning is possible only when student-youth become a revolutionary recruitment center for the struggle of all classes of common people. This aspect of the student-youth movement is its most important aspect today.

The point to ponder is that when nearly all organisations of student and youth talk about fighting for equal education and employment to all, then why a student-youth movement cannot be organised on these demands. Most student organisations that pay lip service to these slogans are appendages of this or that capitalist electoral party. They throw these slogans to deceive the student population. To save their face, they sometimes ritualise movements and sometimes, even if they get some concessions, it becomes handy in increasing the influence of a particular party or the incumbent government. The student-youth organisations like these can never

associate the movement with struggles of extensive working population. This is never their goal. Their only goal is to ward off the student-youth population from revolutionary target, to distract them from fundamental issues by flaring up non-issues, to divide them based on region, caste, religion, language etc. and to keep student-youth movement as a perennial recruiting and training center for capitalist electoral politics. The student-youth organisations which are appendages of sham left parties that indulge in parliamentary debates play the same game, but the difference is that they play with some fiery slogans and by paying lip service to “workers’ revolution”. The electoral left parties indulge in some economic-reformist gimmicks and their student-youth organisations perform yearly ritual of some movements and carnivals. In recent years, there have been some changes in as much that the false revolutionism of their namesake left student-youth organisations have been stripped naked in the eyes of common student-youth. However, their vulgar farce of revolutionary student-youth politics continues unabatedly even now.

The naked truth of the day is that outside the campus, in the society, on the streets the ritual excitement of any youth movement is visible only in name. The quietude that has been widespread in the colleges and university campuses for the last decade shows no sign of breaking up. The common students since long have stopped looking with hope at the capitalist and spurious left student organisations and individualist, careerist student leaders. However, there is no effective revolutionary alternative in front of them that can awaken new hope. This bitter truth cannot be overlooked that in this milieu of pessimism and stagnation there has been a rapid flourishing of fascist tendencies in various hues among the student population. A sizeable number of pale faced, mentally sick youth belonging to the common middle-class have gone and stood behind the crooked gangsters with shining smooth faces who indulge in politics of religious fundamentalism or fierce casteism or various forms of hooliganism. In this milieu, a sizeable population of common students due to pessimism and helplessness has become the victim of lethal tendency of depoliticisation and has withdrawn into their shell.

The intervention of NGOs among student-youth have made the situation grim. These organisations that run on the money of Imperialists, indigenous capitalists and government, blur class

contradictions in the society by cunningly playing tricks of reformist patchwork, working as a new line of defence for capitalist system, acting as a “safety valve”; along with this, in the name of social work, they push the militant, honest youth who have the potential to become a vanguard of revolution, in the mire of reformism, corrupt them by turning them into “salaried social worker” and co-opt them in the system. The situation is such that there are some student organisations that were aligned till very recently with the left stream (and claim that they are, even today) are openly courting NGOs and they are the gatherings of careerist, idle, fashionable leftist youth who after pursuing the hobby of student politics become servants or stooges of this or that NGO.

There are several small student organisations of revolutionary left stream that ruminating on some ritualistic work and fiery slogans, have become deviant and are inclined towards group of sham left student organisation. Some are victims of ideological parochialism, dogmatism and ultra-leftist verbosity. Instead of acting on a mass line of awakening-organising extensive student population and doing grassroot activities, they mouth fierce slogans and display romantic dreams of instantaneous armed revolutions. Instead of understanding the changed situation of a New Socialist Revolution against Imperialism-Capitalism they claim even today that India is semi-feudal semi-colonial and give the slogan of National Democratic Revolution. In absence of an understanding about mass action and wrong understanding of socio-economic conditions of the country these student organisations until date have not been able to organise any movement among extensive student population, neither would they be able to do it in future. In practice, these student organisations along with new student-youth recruitment for ongoing armed-struggle in some backward-inaccessible regions on lines of “left” adventurism, either perform some seminar-type ceremonies or do some radical reformist activities.

Whether the issue be of densely capitalist friendly education policy continuously imposed by Birla-Ambani report and several government decisions, or of continuous fee hike and decreasing seats, or of surrendering educational institutions directly into the hands of capitalists, or of continuously shrinking democratic space in the campuses, students’ movement is not in a position to organise effective

resistance anywhere.

To break from this status quo it is important to understand its fundamental reasons. First thing is that today when in the entire world and country the surge of counter-revolution dominates that of revolution and due to ideological weaknesses, wrong understanding of conditions, blind imitation of the past revolutions, the stream of revolutionary politics is a victim of stagnation and fragmentation. The whole scenario then also affects the student and youth politics. However, to change this situation again the revolutionary youth will have to perform an important role. Based on true understanding of situations along with reconstruction of student-youth movement the enlightened revolutionary youth would also have to think about rebuilding the revolutionary politics of working class, work among them and launch an aggressive campaign to recruit student-youth who could form the vanguard of revolutions.

Another important reason for stagnation-fragmentation of student movement in campuses is that for past almost twenty years the structure of student population has undergone some important changes. Due to continuously decreasing seats and increasing fees, the student population at centers of higher education has decreased significantly. In addition, those who are mostly from well-to-do families, selfish, careerist and without social concern, whose 'paradise' is quite secured in this system. The emphasis has been more on the professional courses such as technology, management etc, and these venues of expensive education are dominated by students of the wealthy class. The students of common families are able to study only some neglected subjects and desperately try to get employment by any which way. It is only as an exception that youth from the majority working population reach the campuses of higher education. Now even the majority of lower middle class youth have been pushed out of universities and campuses of reputed colleges. They are either living a desperate, frustrated life floating in the dungeon of an uncertain future in some neglected college in lower middle-class colonies or in far-flung small towns, or doing some petty work trying to get better employment, or are in the flanks of contract workers and daily wage workers waiting outside factory gates.

Therefore, possibilities of campus centric student movement have objectively decreased today. Today conditions for organising a

unified student-youth movement are much favorable than in the past and possibilities of these being directly linked to anti-capital struggles of extensive working population are more pregnant. The structural changes that have occurred in society and extended to campus, it is important to completely change the model and mould of old, inert, orthodox character of revolutionary student movement and keeping in mind the above changes have to make a new beginning according to a new programme.

Students and youth have to be brought out of the campus from its excitement of political agitation and propaganda on to the streets and into working peoples' and lower middle class residential settlements. There they will have to organise student-youth on issues of education and employment and have to take up various creative programmes, participate in their movements and organise activities of revolutionary propaganda among them.

The greater the extent that youth power is organised and agitated outside campus and aligned to the struggles of common people, greater the help we are going to get in organising common students on daily issues of campus, on issues of democratic rights and on the larger question of education and employment. From the viewpoint of organising student movement, it would be more appropriate to concentrate on the campuses of backward areas because students from common families are in majority, although due to their backward cultural-political consciousness the job of their political education-training would be more challenging. In the prestigious metropolitan campus of higher education, the ground for student movement would be weak, but the possibility of recruitment of advanced elements for revolutionary flanks is greater, numerically they would be definitely small, but if they are able to assimilate themselves with working people then they can prove immensely valuable.

Our proposal is that on this assessment of changed circumstances and on the path of building anew a revolutionary student-youth movement, its form, agenda and priorities, all students-youth who desire change should think seriously on our opinion, debate, discuss it, and form a consensus by experimentation.

The road might be a thousand mile long, a beginning is made by taking the first step, and we will have to make a new beginning.

The task of moulding the vision for future envisaged by **Bhagat**

Singh into a project of liberation and to devise a plan for its implementation is still a cardinal question faced by us. The 75th anniversary of the martyrdom of this great revolutionary young thinker is about to be completed. Would we continue to ignore his call? The future is beckoning the hearts of liberty loving youth to weigh their wings to take a flight in the revolutionary storms. Proud eagles and stormy petrels can never ignore this call.

(Ahwan Campus Times, January-March 2005)

If You Are Young

Where spring is pulsating
Amidst violent autumn and desolate winter
That is where you belong
If you are young!

Where future-symphony is playing
Where dreams are on a journey to discover
Where audacious projects of the approaching is being forged
Where memories are fuel,
Filled in the heart of workman's furnace
Where restless hot air is giving momentum to life.
You have to be there
If you are young!

Where life is being uprooted
Where living words are being murdered
And where verdicts are passed on voices
For incarceration and solitude,
Where exiled flora
And black baking rocks are present
There you are being awaited
If you are young!

Where barricades of resolves are being raised
Where bunkers of knowledge are being dug
Where flags of challenges are being unfurled
There is where you have to be deployed
If you are young!

—**Shashi Prakash**