

Key Note

Challenges Faced by the Forces Struggling to Change the Present System in India

Dear Comrades,

We took the initiative to organize this seminar with humbleness and concern towards the Indian communist Movement and as an attempt to locate the challenges and problems faced by it. Though we have varied and differing opinions. Our presence at a forum like this would help us to find a common ground in the present situation and thus having long-term sustaining united action among us against the ruling classes and their policies. This we hope would instill the spirit of struggle among the people and rank and file.

The development of Indian society was (and still is) hampered by the colonial occupation and rule. The British colonial power effected changes in the Indian society to the extent of entrenching their rule and protected feudalism. Thus India continued to be colony and semi-feudal society. The transfer of power along with the partition of India was a design to continue the imperialist plunder and domination of our country. Thus India became a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. With this understanding, the CPI (ML) is continuing its practice and striving to develop the movement.

In this key note we are pointing out certain aspects to facilitate our discussions

We think that the economic, political, social and cultural systems in our country are, in a broader sense, are obsolete and reactionary.

1. We think that the feudal exploitation had not come to an end in our rural economic system. We think whatever changes it underwent; it is only in the sphere of super- structure.

We think the feudal exploitation of labour had assumed more sophisticated forms in some places.

2. Can we think that some striking forms of capitalist exploitation and the use of modern machinery in agriculture in some states had put an end to the methods of feudal exploitation?

Had land concentration declined from the hands of landlord forces? Had the real productive forces turned landless because of the concentration of land in a different form? Had those alienated from land switched over to other fields of production? We need detailed and analytical answers to these questions.

We think, in a situation where agricultural labour, peasants and tenant farmers- the main productive forces-are devoid of the right over the land- the main means of production; the land owners who are having the right over the land are feudal in their class nature and they are playing the role of oppressing the rural poor.

Had the role of agricultural labour and peasants in the agricultural productivity lost its utility owing to the increased role of machines in the cultivation of land? While discussing this issue, we must explain the division of labour into various kinds. Even then, we think that feudal exploitation and oppression are being carried on in newer forms.

3. The feudal politics are nothing but the politics of domination in rural system. There can be no politics that has no relation with the feudal economic system. The social and cultural conditions also remain accordingly.

The Marxist teachers have never seen these three in isolation.

We think that the feudal economic, social, political and cultural traditions are surviving depending on each other.

4. We think, the caste, tribe and ethnicity have their roots in the theories and traditions of slave system. The feudal ownership came to dominate replacing the slave ownership. It got weakened and had undergone some changes but is continuing as semi-feudal ownership and domination. Idealism and mysticism connected to religion were created only to protect it. The idea with a line of clear demarcation as 'lowest' and 'highest' was drawn between the human beings. The ideas which view the political domination as a means of economic exploitation were established and defended for generations.

The colonial power used the religious diversity to divide the people on communal lines. The ruling classes of India are using communalism to divide the people to weaken their organized strength and divert their attention from the real causes.

The ruling classes are resorting to fascistic methods to suppress the peoples struggles and dissenting voices using the pretexts like national security, terrorism, communal feelings and left wing extremism.

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The feudal exploitation, oppression, discrimination and domination got themselves systematized and entrenched. How to completely dismantle this well entrenched system is a question before us.

The humanist, idealist and reform-oriented movements can be accepted as having provided some consolation. Yet, the system could not see a complete change.

In the conditions when the feudal kings were ruling; when the society was rotting and was faced with ever intensifying social contradictions, when the foreigners were resorting to invasions and wars against the tribal and feudal kingdoms with an aim of imposing their oppressive political domination over them; they rampaged and got themselves entrenched in vast areas of the country. The feudal kings, heads of some tribes stood by the imperialist powers and became their social base while the Portuguese, French and British imperialists were subjugating the feudal kings in various corners of the country using the might of their finance capital and armed force. The imperialist forces stood in support of feudalism. This was part of a history. Accordingly, the imperialists had done nothing to cure the diseases such as caste, tribe, culture, etc. in the light of modern and democratic ideas, but sustained them as they were.

5. Exactly, here comes the question, what will be the nature of revolution that must be consummated in India? What is the ideology which helps to completely change India's social, economic, political and cultural system? What is the solution? The questions which have already cropped up are: Is it Marxism, Idealism or Reformism? We respect the genuineness and sacrificing work done by them within the limits of their understandings and take inspiration from them. At the same time, we must say that it remains a fact that there are differences in the Communist Movement on the question of Indian people establishing the state power of toilers overthrowing the rule of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bourgeoisie on the basis of proletarian ideology-Marxism Leninism Mao tse Tung Thought. Likewise, there are differences between the progressive forces, reformers, the forces of movement and the forces of Communist Movement. Though they are fraternal in nature, when the movements reached higher level and they became hurdles to the movements they had acquired an antagonistic character. We have had such experiences.

Here the question is: Cannot we see the ideological and political differences objectively and as they are; make an earnest attempt to debate them in a healthy and democratic atmosphere basing on the facts and experiences and strive to overcome them instead of allowing the differences to reduce into mutual slandering and brandings thereby harming the interests of working class and other toiling people?

Where the communists stand in relation the Manifesto of the Communist Party – which is the fundamental programmatic document for the revolutions in the world?

The Communist Party (Bolshevik) in Russia led by Lenin concluded that the Bourgeois which led Bourgeois Democratic Revolutions in Europe cannot henceforth provide the leadership to the democratic revolution and the Proletariat alone can lead the Democratic Revolutionary Front. Adopting suitable tactics, it had established the Soviet Republic under the leadership of Working Class. Prior to this, it had the experience of Paris Commune where the Bourgeois could not stand to the end.

Learning from this, the CPC had arrived at the conclusion that the Democratic Revolution in China will be carried on with the help of peasants and other small propertied classes under the leadership of working class. In place of old European Bourgeois Democratic Revolution, they carried as a New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of Working Class. This experience is the basis for understanding that it is applicable to all the Asian countries which are waging national liberation struggles and had agriculture as the main means of production.

So, an understanding had come to the fore that imperialism is using the neo colonial methods of exploitation through comprador bourgeoisie and by making India's feudal system as its social basis for its capitalist exploitation. We think this was the beginning for the differences in the Indian Communist Movement. There are differences between those forces who think that the Indian revolution is yet to be carried on as the democratic revolution and those forces who think that democratic revolution was already completed and it is the Socialist revolution that must be carried on. The tasks of democratic revolution and the tasks of socialist revolution are not one and the same. Therefore, there are serious differences between the orientation of those who think that we must pass over to socialism by completing the tasks of democratic revolution and the orientation of those who think that they are working for socialist revolution.

To day, India had more nakedly opened the floodgates for the imperialist exploitation. We think, all the programmes carried out in the name of India's welfare; all the moves in the name of development are tied to the interests of imperialism; Modern methods are combined with the methods of feudal

exploitation; we think old feudal forces are carrying on the exploitation by combining the feudal economic exploitation, capitalist methods of exploitation through capital, state treasury and bureaucracy.

This economic might is helping to capture the political power and to shoot up political power into a colossal economic power. Along with this, the differences based on caste, religion, social, culture and tradition are being sustained and are being used as a means of their economic exploitation, political authority and social arrogance. Therefore with added emphasis, we think that humanist, idealist and reformist movements cannot bring the total change in the society. In the present system, all the governments of any party are deceiving the people in the name of pro-people programs.

The forces of Communist Movement, democratic revolution and socialist revolution-all are being considered as the left forces. We think that they have issues of commonness. The questions like the democratic rights incorporated in laws because of the struggles of people; campaign of theories of equality; developing the consciousness of class struggle on the basis of Marxism need not be the issues of difference.

The Communists and Socialists with the orientations of democratic and socialist revolutions need not have any difference on questions like demanding the proper implementation of laws enacted by the Governments. Such as land reforms; forest rights; the rights of workers, Dalits, Women and calling the classes and sections of people to protest actions for the implementation of these rights. This program will provide a minimum basis for united action.

Similarly, the question of opposing the imperialist penetration into the Indian economy and through it keeping Indian political arena under its control and binding India to their strategies of world domination also can provide a minimum basis for the above mentioned forces to come on to a common platform. There need be no difference in opposing the imperialist threats, invasions and wars in the international sphere. Then, there is question of nationalism, pure nationalism-ultra-nationalism. Of the three, the Communist Revolutionaries have one orientation based on Marxism on the question of nationalism and national struggles. Perhaps, there is no common view on this question.

The regional interests and regionalism are not one and the same. The Communists have commonness on the question of supporting the demands of the people of a particular region for economic and social development and organizing the movements to realize them. At the same time, we are opposed to turning it into regionalism and regional chauvinism. There may also be commonness on this with a minor difference.

There are differences on the question, which form of struggle is suitable for the proletarian forces to win the state power. We can develop the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movements, in a broader sense of the term, while, at the same time, each working according to one's own orientation regarding the forms of struggle. Cannot we build the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movements basing on the principle of struggle-propaganda-agitation-struggle and political consciousness?

Every one has one's own orientation regarding the Indian Constitution and the principles of justice. Yet, the experience of six decades show how they are in the service of wealthiest classes, helping the common people too now and then as a result of people's protest and struggle and how every day they are being made nominal and mockery by the same classes who are mainly benefitting from them. This experience can help us to overcome the difference on this question too. The promises made in the Constitution and the assurances of justice made in the laws are keeping not only the common people but also the progressive forces in illusions.

The forces who are struggling to change the Indian society have to examine the challenges before them in the light of this.

1. Feudalism- one of the main enemies- is a question that concerns the change of feudal economic, social and political conditions.
2. The question is one of proving and focusing on imperialism, which is well entrenched in India in every sector, as one of the main enemies. It is a question of facing the imperialist exploitation in the present stage.
3. The agrarian question-the main source of production – is the question of ownership of the land which solves the problem of food, cloth and other problems of the crores of people.
4. The question is of industrial sector which is a source of employment and meets the needs of crores of people entrapped in the oppressive clutches of imperialist plunder.
5. The question of distributing the wealth created by the working and toiling people in the agrarian and industrial sectors.
6. The question of bringing the progressive forces, Communists, Communist Revolutionaries and Socialist forces together which are the leading forces in raising the political, economic, social and cultural level of the masses of Indian people.

7. The question is one of debating the philosophical, ideological and political questions in a democratic and healthy atmosphere and striving to resolve them. The question is one of evolving the forums of united action and functioning them with proper coordination and on the basis of equality.
8. The question is how to view the forms of struggle and the struggles that are being carried on in accordance with ones' own method. The question of extending the solidarity. Extending the solidarity does not mean stopping just at condemning the state repression, but standing politically and physically in support of achieving the slogans of struggle and aspirations of the people. Besides this, the spontaneous movements are coming up on many problems of life. Communal attacks; upper casteist attacks; murders in the name of encounters; atrocities against women and girls; suicides by the peasants, humiliating harassments against the girl students, women professionals and employees and many other problems are there. The question before us is how to emerge ourselves into a united force in dealing with daily and unending problems of our people.
9. The growing fascist trends in the Indian polity, which are at present donning the garb of Hindu communalism, are meant to divert the people from their real problems and thus safeguard the interests of imperialist finance capital, big bourgeoisie and big landlord class.
10. Opposition to the destruction of lives, livelihoods and culture of adivasis by dispossessing them of *jal, jungle and jamin*.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is ever intensifying and became irreconcilable. This led to the growing unrest and protest among the working people. The lack of International centre and the ideological and political attacks unleashed on Marxism-Leninism are some of the impediments to the communist movement.

The all round crisis that engulfed the Indian society and growing disenchantment and struggle of various section of people are providing many opportunities to move the people towards revolutionary change.

The Indian communist movement has rich experience of utilising the favourable conditions and surmounting the unfavourable ones. Our unflinching commitment to Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought and its application to the concrete conditions in India will, we hope, pave the way for the unity of the forces struggling to change the Indian society.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

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