

# Paper by C.P.I. (M-L) –ND

**Com.Yatinder Kumar, General Secretary**

## **Comrades,**

We thank the Central Committee of CPI(ML)-Class Struggle, organizers of this Seminar, to invite us and present our views. The topic of the Seminar is “Challenges Faced by the Forces Struggling to Change the Present System in India” and the objective formulated by the organizers is “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”.

Communist Revolutionaries struggling to change the present system i.e. revolutionary transformation of society are facing a complex situation. Imperialist system is going through an unprecedented and protracted crisis and the policies of rulers of imperialist powers are increasing the hardships and the miseries of the people the world over. Resentment and anger is growing among the people in different countries and the situation for the development of revolutionary movement and people’s struggles is improving. All the major contradictions of the imperialist system are intensifying and new hotspots of conflict and war are emerging in different parts of the world. US imperialism is trying to stop decline in its share of world production by launching trade war targeting its rivals and even traditional allies. Globalization has received a setback with the growth of protectionism.

In our country too, economic crisis is deepening. Value of rupee has declined sharply while NPAs of nationalized banks are growing continuously. Fudging the data cannot hide the stark reality of growing difficulties of the overwhelming majority of the people. Condition of working class and peasantry is worsening while unemployment is growing. People are rising in struggle for their rights. The ruling classes are not able to rule in the old way. RSS-BJP having a majority of their own for the first time, have unleashed an offensive to impose fascist dictatorship over the country. In semi feudal, semi colonial India, ruling classes generally resort to fascist repression on the revolutionary movement and people’s struggles, but the challenge posed by RSS-BJP offensive is much more serious because they want to even formally abolish the constitutional rights of the people. Though some sections of the state are still to fall in line, but this offensive has already achieved ominous form.

There is a broad agreement among the communist revolutionary organizations that India is a semi feudal, semi colonial country which is being oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. Hence the task before the revolutionaries is to overthrow the rule of big bourgeois big landlord classes subservient to imperialism. CR organizations also agree that Indian revolution is a New Democratic Revolution i.e. democratic revolution led by working class. We also agree on forging an alliance of four classes with worker-peasant alliance as its axis and agrarian revolution as the main aspect of this revolution. There is further agreement that path to be followed to accomplish this democratic revolution in India is the path of protracted people’s war. Within this broad framework, the communist revolutionaries also have some differences relating to aspects of programme and path. However, among the forces which genuinely uphold the above orientation, aspect of unity is primary howsoever serious the differences may appear at the time.

There are changes brought about the imperialist exploitation of the country and policies of ruling big bourgeois, big landlord classes, though these changes have not changed the basic fabric of the society i.e. its semicolonial, semifeudal structure. However, these changes have to be properly understood and factored into the tasks of the revolutionary forces. Correct and timely appreciation of the changes is necessary for the revolutionary organizations to lead the struggle for the victorious advance of the New Democratic Revolution. A scientific approach towards such changes which is aimed at serving the cause of revolutionary transformation of Indian society will also help in overcoming some of the differences among the communist revolutionary organizations.

All the problems being faced by the revolutionary forces and all the differences existing on the various aspects of their line should definitely be debated and discussed among the communist revolutionary organizations. Coming to a common understanding on how to solve these problems is necessary for them to come closer and ultimately unite in a single Party to accomplish the New Democratic Revolution. The long term objective of the communist revolutionary forces is to achieve unity and not united action only. However, due to existing divisions among the communist revolutionary organizations, undertaking joint action among them on the burning issues of the people is also very necessary. Besides bringing the revolutionary people on a common platform and thus enthusing

them, such joint actions also help improve relations among the communist revolutionary organizations and create an atmosphere in which their differences may be discussed and resolved in a comradely manner. Another important aspect of such joint struggles is that an alternative to the present system may be projected from such forum and issues may be taken to the people from the revolutionary perspective.

However, the struggle for revolutionary transformation is carried on in a given situation which has several characteristics. Struggle for change of the system i.e. its revolutionary transformation is distinct from the struggle to defend the rights of the people including resisting fascist offensive of the present rulers. Though there are interconnections between the two types of struggles, yet these are also distinct. Clarity on this is necessary to take initiatives. It is necessary to take joint activities with forces including non-revolutionary forces on issues of the people and anti-people policies of the Central and State Governments.

The attacks of the ruling classes against the working class, peasantry and other sections of people call for immediate struggles of these sections against such attacks both at all India level targeting the Central Government and at state level targeting the State Governments as all these are following anti-people policies serving the interests of imperialism, big capitalists and big landlords. Forces other than communist revolutionaries have base among these sections and take up struggles on such issues though they take up such issues from the standpoint of the present system. Need for waging such struggles demands joint action by communist revolutionaries with non-revolutionary forces and organizations. The objective of such a joint action is to draw the broadest sections of the affected people into struggle and beat back the attack of the ruling classes to create confidence among the people and educate them in the process of the struggle. Most of such issues relate to contemporary attacks on different sections and there is need to draw the broadest section of the people into such struggles. These do not basically attack the present semifeudal and semicolonial system but are mostly limited to defending or achieving some rights within the system. Hence, it is preferable that such moves for joint struggle should be taken by mass organizations working among the section of the people affected by the attack of the ruling classes. The same may hold true for implementation of some legal rights of the section of the people or for the demand for some legal right to be enacted which has become the pressing concern of the people. Several such initiatives are being taken up on the issues relating to different sections.

The present situation calls for all out resistance against the fascist offensive of RSS-BJP. This offensive reflects the need of the ruling classes to increase exploitation and oppression of the people in the interest of imperialism and domestic reactionaries. A section of ruling classes is backing fascist RSS-BJP as they feel the need to suppress democratic rights-even those given in the Constitution-to suppress the rising struggles of the people. Besides democratic rights, RSS-BJP are also attacking secularism and federalism even to the extent it is enshrined in the Constitution. They are building a narrative of Hindu nationalism constructed on the plank against Muslims whom they are targeting under different pretexts and brand many of them as 'infiltrators'. One of the main symbols of their nationalism is the security forces, signifying the suppression of the rising people's movements against increasing exploitation and oppression.

They are targeting minorities, particularly Muslims, organizing physical attacks against them including lynching. Communalization of the state machinery has helped in unleashing these attacks. The Hindutva of RSS-BJP, which is aimed at constructing a Hindu identity for establishing their hegemony, but their Hindu way of life rooted in Manusmriti is essentially patriarchal upper caste chauvinism. Physical attacks against Dalits including their killings have increased. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act has been virtually annulled by the Supreme Court. The Central Govt. has banned even use 'Dalit' by the media. Dalit youth protesting against these attacks are being arrested in thousands and put in jails. Tribals are being dispossessed from their land including *podu* (Shifting cultivation) lands and means of livelihood which they have been enjoying for decades, while their culture is being destroyed. Their struggles are being crushed by large-scale deployment of security forces, large number of arrests, foisting of false cases and use of draconian laws. Women's striving for equality and independence from patriarchy is being denied and the code of Manusmriti is being foisted on them. Suppression of the struggles of nationalities for their democratic aspirations including right to self-determination under military boots is being intensified.

The main targets of the RSS-BJP fascist offensive are the struggles of workers and peasants, especially the revolutionary movement. They have intensified suppression of the revolutionary movement with the increasing deployment of the security forces in the areas of struggle. Use of draconian laws like UAPA, PD Act has become common. RSS-BJP have coined the term "Urban Naxalism" to target the movement for democratic rights and to destroy and intimidate the democratic

rights' activists especially those who stand for the democratic rights of struggling people. Arrests of intellectuals in June 2018 and now again in August and raids on the houses of a number of intellectuals bear serious portents for the people's struggles.

As the non-fulfilment of promises by the RSS-BJP has become glaring and its attacks on the constitutional democratic rights are arousing anger, RSS-BJP is targeting the sections of media opposed to them. They are also trying to control the social media which has become an important vehicle for dissemination of the news and views of the people's struggles.

Resisting this fascist offensive has become an urgent task before the communist revolutionaries. Being the most consistent fighters for people's rights and being the only force struggling for the revolutionary transformation of this crisis-ridden system, communist revolutionaries should be in the first rank of fighters against this fascist offensive. They should unitedly take up this task of developing struggle against this offensive, of uniting all the forces which can be united against this offensive and deal powerful blows on the base of this fascist offensive. Besides communist revolutionaries, a number of organizations of oppressed communities are struggling against the attacks of fascist forces and these needs to be united. Communist revolutionaries should display requisite initiative and flexibility to forge united action with such forces. Given the all round attack by the fascist forces and the need for all out resistance against this fascist offensive, communist revolutionaries should also go for joint struggles on the issues of this fascist offensive. This is an urgent task which brooks no delay. It also influences the struggle of the communist revolutionaries for change of the present system. By spearheading this resistance, communist revolutionaries will be able to harness the unity of the oppressed people and even expose the compromising nature of the ruling class opposition.

Comrades, there are a number of issues on which we can undertake sustainable joint action. Ambit of the joint action will be decided by the nature of the issue and the stand in practice of the various forces on that issue.

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(Presented by  
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