

Political Resolution: Calls for Multifaceted Struggle against BJP-RSS

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The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) held from April 2 to 6, 2025 in the city of Madurai concluded with renewed vigour and resolve to increase the independent strength of the Party, enabling it to effectively undertake the task of isolating and defeating the BJP-RSS as also move forward towards building a Left and democratic alternative.

International Developments

The Political Resolution adopted at the 24th Congress noted that one of the key global trends is the involvement of US imperialism in the major conflicts unfolding across the world. The United States is actively supporting Israel in its genocidal assault on Gaza, where more than 55,000 people have lost their lives due to Israeli aggression. Simultaneously, the US has been arming Ukraine heavily in its ongoing war with Russia.

The rightward political shift identified in earlier Party Congresses continues. The election of Donald Trump as President of the United States, Giorgia Meloni as Prime Minister of Italy, and the growing influence of far-right forces in Germany, the Netherlands, France, and several other countries stand as testimony to this trend. The far-right has effectively exploited the widespread discontent among ordinary people, who are bearing the brunt of exploitative neoliberal policies.

However, the rise of the far-right has not gone unchallenged. In many countries, the working class has led powerful struggles against neoliberal offensives. In countries such as Sri Lanka, Uruguay, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico, the Left has garnered popular support through elections and formed governments. The Resolution acknowledges that wherever the Left takes the lead in resisting exploitative economic policies, it is not only able to curb the advance of the far-right but also to make progressive gains.

The emergence of China as a major economic power and its active participation in various international developments is also welcomed in the Political Resolution. Along with Russia, China has become a rallying point for countries resisting imperialist domination. It is precisely for this reason that imperialism views China and its socialist system as a significant threat to its hegemony and is mobilising all its resources to isolate and contain it.

The Political Resolution further notes developments in our neighbourhood, particularly the rising influence of religious fundamentalist forces. These trends are likely to have a significant impact on our country.

National Developments

The Political Resolution adopted at the Congress analysing the developments since the last Congress held at Kannur in 2022 noted that this period was “marked by a growing conflict between the forces of the Hindutva-corporate regime, represented by the Modi government and the secular-democratic forces who were opposed to it”. Further “The push to impose a reactionary Hindutva agenda and the authoritarian drive to suppress the opposition and democracy displays ***neo-fascist characteristics***”. (emphasis added).

It is for the first time that the term “neo-fascist” has been used by the Party in a Political Resolution. While at the 22nd Congress, we had stated that the authoritarian and Hindutva communal attacks exhibit ‘emerging fascistic trends’, in the 23rd Congress we had said that the Modi government is carrying out the fascistic agenda of the RSS. The term neo-fascism was specifically used to distinguish it from classical fascism, with which we are familiar like in Italy under Mussolini and Germany under Hitler, where fascist forces after seizing power abolished bourgeois democracy in which they were fully backed by the monopoly capitalists.

Fascist Danger Underlined in Party Programme

Much before the RSS-BJP had entrenched itself in power at the Centre, the CPI(M) Programme updated in 2000 at Special Conference held at Thiruvananthapuram had noted: “The threat to the secular foundations has become menacing with the rise of the communal and fascistic RSS-led combine and its assuming power at the Centre. Systematic efforts are on to communalise the institutions of the State, the administration, the educational system and the media. The growth of majority communalism will strengthen the forces of minority communalism and endanger national unity. The support of sections of the big bourgeoisie for the BJP and its communal platform is fraught with serious consequences for democracy and secularism in the country”.

But we are clear that some elements of neo-fascism are the same as in fascism in the early period of the 20th century. It is the perceived feelings of historical wrongs and injustice that ultra-nationalists use to target the ‘other’. In the Indian scenario, as the updated programme notes: “The RSS and its outfits constantly instigate hatred against the minorities and they target the Christian community also”.

Neo-fascism, driven by the crisis of neo-liberalism, is a global trend. Unlike classical fascism of the 1930s, today’s neo-fascist regimes arise in a context where inter-imperialist rivalries are subdued due to global finance capital. These forces exploit public discontent with populist rhetoric but, once in

power, continue neo-liberal policies that serve big capital. They use elections to gain power and retain the electoral system, while deploying authoritarian tactics to suppress opposition and reshape the state from within.

In India, the BJP-RSS regime exhibits neo-fascist characteristics, but it is not yet a full-fledged neo-fascist government or State. After a decade of BJP rule, political power has consolidated in the hands of the BJP-RSS, raising concerns of a shift toward neo-fascism. The Political Resolution warns of the danger of Hindutva-corporate authoritarianism evolving in this direction.

The Modi government into its third term, despite a reduced strength for the BJP is witnessing a continuation of the Hindutva neo-liberal agenda. There are three basic features in this situation:

Three Basic Features in the Current Scenario

The State-sponsored inauguration of Ram temple at Ayodhya, the ever growing number of disputes over Muslim shrines and the use of religious festivals and processions to instigate violence have become a common feature now. The use of bulldozers in BJP ruled states to demolish dwellings of Muslims accused of participating in violence has become blatant. All these form part of the project to make Hindutva the State ideology and transform the secular-democratic Republic into a Hindu Rashtra.

The other feature is the all out effort to establish a full-fledged authoritarian set up. This is evident in the increasing steps to curtail Parliament, attempts to weaken the higher judiciary and undermine the independent status of the Election Commission. This attack on institutions is accompanied by misuse of central agencies as also draconian laws like the UAPA and PMLA against opposition leaders.

The third feature is the assault on the federal structure of the republic. The BJP government is centralising all powers. States are being starved of resources and the office of Governors are being used for advancing the partisan interests of the BJP.

The fight against the Hindutva-corporate alliance, which is underpinning the Modi government, requires the broadest mobilisation of all secular democratic forces in the country.

The BJP-led government has introduced policies such as the National Monetisation Pipeline (NMP) to restructure the overall framework of economic management in order to hand over natural resources and public assets to large corporate interests. It is granting monopoly rights over highly developed public infrastructure such as national highways, railways,

airports, pipelines, and transmission lines to private corporations and financial firms under the guise of long-term leasing. Even strategic sectors like defence and communications have been opened up for exploitation by foreign and private capital. The recent decision regarding the manufacture of fighter jets clearly favours private defence corporations over the public sector enterprise Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL). Similarly, the haste with which the government granted permission to Elon Musk's Starlink to launch satellite communications services in India, without adequate consideration for national security, exposes its blatant corporate bias.

The consequences of these pro-corporate policies have been starkly visible in the form of widening economic inequalities. The Resolution observes: "According to the World Inequality Report, by 2022–23, the top 1 per cent of the population cornered 22.6 per cent of all income and owned 40.1 per cent of the country's wealth. This is the highest share recorded in Indian history—even exceeding levels seen during the British colonial period. India's top 1 per cent income share ranks among the highest in the world, surpassing even South Africa, Brazil, and the United States. In contrast, the bottom 50 per cent of the Indian population owns only 3 per cent of the country's wealth." According to the Forbes list of billionaires, there were 100 billionaires in India in 2014, the year Modi became Prime Minister. That number has doubled to 200 by 2024. Moreover, the combined wealth of the top 100 billionaires has now surpassed one trillion dollars for the first time.

Meanwhile, the condition of ordinary people has deteriorated sharply. The Resolution cites data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), noting that "from 2014 (the first year of the Modi regime) to 2022 (the latest year for which data is available), 1,00,474 farmers and agricultural workers were forced to commit suicide, primarily due to indebtedness". The intensified exploitation of labour is evident from the alarming statistic that wage growth in the organised sector dropped to just 6 per cent during 2014–15 to 2020–21, compared to 10.1 per cent in the preceding six-year period. Unemployment and inflation continue to rise, while the reduction in customs duties has pushed domestic industries into a struggle for survival.

In order to divert public attention from the harsh realities of its governance, the BJP government has increasingly sought to control the media. It has identified and targeted independent media outlets that expose these realities and present them to the people. Simultaneously, the RSS has expanded its influence over cultural and research institutions by systematically infiltrating them with its ideological affiliates. The Resolution notes: "The Hindutva communal agenda cannot succeed unless it becomes part of the 'common sense' of the wider population. For this, propagation through popular culture is crucial. Hence, their relentless efforts to infiltrate and control the film

industry, television channels and OTT platforms, popular music, and even, of late, high art. The projection of what were once regional or local religious festivals on an all-India scale is also part of the attempt to construct a homogenous ‘Hindu’ identity. The attacks on reason and the continued undermining of rationality are part of this agenda.”

During the decade of BJP rule, crimes against women have risen by 28 per cent. “According to the NCRB, in 2022 alone, on average, 50 crimes against women were committed every hour, and 88 women were raped every day. Among them, 11 were Dalit women.” Several BJP-ruled states have introduced laws that effectively strip women of their right to choose a partner if the partner belongs to another religious community. “The Uniform Civil Code adopted in Uttarakhand and presented as a model by the BJP criminalises consensual relationships—such as live-in partnerships—and violates the basic, fundamental right of an adult woman to decide how she wants to live her life.” The Resolution underscores the urgent need “to strengthen the struggle for women’s rights, including the recognition of their labour, which is critical for family survival.”

In the light of the RSS-BJP-Hindutva forces systematically promoting Manuvadi ideologies in the garb of sanatan dharma and seeking to draw dalits and marginalised castes into the Hindutva framework the Party has called for countering these tactics by “large scale mobilisation against the caste system, caste based oppression, for social justice and prevention of the reversal of social reform”.

The Political Resolution is scathing in its attack on the BJP government’s undermining of adivasi rights. The amendments to the Forest Conservation Act and its rules; amendments to the rules of the Forest Rights Act and the Mining and Minerals Development laws, which have done away with the mandatory requirement of free and informed consent of adivasis for projects in the areas inhabited by them and dilution to various other laws that offer them some sort of protection have to be seen as an attack on their rights. The pro-corporate policies of the Modi government is adversely impacting the lives and livelihood of the adivasis.

The Resolution also noted the problems faced by the disabled, particularly the failure of the government to allocate sufficient funds and under-utilisation of even the miniscule amounts allocated.

Discussing the plight of the youth in our country, who constitute the majority of the population, the Resolution notes that there is a growing vacuum in the social and cultural life of the younger generation. It states: “It is essential to provide the youth with an alternative programme that addresses their need for quality education, meaningful employment, and a fulfilling social and

cultural life. While advancing such a political platform, the Left must present the socialist ideal to the youth, as it alone holds the potential to bring about a fundamental transformation in society”.

The Party recognizes that a crucial factor in the Party’s future growth lies in attracting more youth. The Party’s appeal among the youth as a Party that is different from other bourgeois parties has to be established. We have to address the search and hunger of the youth for an alternative.

Increase the Independent Strength of the Party

The 24th Congress has called for gearing up the Party to conduct sustained activities in the political, ideological, cultural, economic and social spheres to counter the activities and influence of Hindutva and the various RSS outfits. It also reiterates that the BJP-RSS cannot be isolated and defeated only through electoral battles. Given the fact that in the past one decade the Hindutva forces have created a substantial support base, based on their ideological influence, it is necessary to have a comprehensive programme to counter Hindutva.

Towards this, the Party will pay special attention to organise anti-communal work through social and cultural activities among the working class and in the working class residential areas by the Party, trade unions and other mass organisations and platforms. Amongst other measures, the Party will reach out to believers to explain the difference between religious faith and misuse of religion for political aims. It will try to intervene in festivals and social gatherings to prevent their misuse for communalization; encourage and strengthen inter-faith, inter-caste syncretic initiatives present in such popular local festivals and events. It will also involve in social service activities, popular science movements, promote secular and scientific thinking and broad-based cultural activities to counter Manuvadi and obscurantist values, and take the initiative for social reform.

The Congress underscored that in order to achieve a significant increase in the strength of the Party, the rebuilding and expansion of the Party and the Left in West Bengal and Tripura is paramount. In West Bengal, special attention will be paid to work among the rural and urban poor and efforts made towards organising them.

Even while making all out efforts to regain the confidence of the people in West Bengal and Tripura, the Party will strive to expand its influence in other states as well. The 24th Congress, therefore, has emphasised that the Party’s work among the basic classes should be given priority. It has called for overcoming the weakness of struggles of the rural poor against the exploitation by the rural-rich nexus. It is also clear that the Party should pay

more attention to the independent political campaign and mass mobilisations around the political platform of the Party. It underlines that “There should be no blurring of our independent identity or diminishing our independent activities in the name of electoral understanding or alliances”.

Rather than relying on the traditional approach of caste, gender and social issues being raised by respective mass organisations, the Party has for some time now been advocating that it should directly campaign and conduct struggles on these issues, while at the same time linking these with the struggles against class exploitation.

Various hitherto suppressed, oppressed and marginalised sections have been trying to assert their identity and fight for their rights. It is incumbent upon the Party to not just come out in solidarity with their struggle but also be part of it. Even the Party Programme, adopted decades ago, views the assertion by the Dalits and its democratic content as reflecting the aspirations of the most oppressed sections of society. The Programme promises to ensure the rights of disabled persons to live a dignified life. It dwells into the issues faced by the tribal population etc.

Political Line

Isolate And Defeat BJP & Hindutva Forces

The 24th Congress was categorical in its conclusion that the prime duty before the Party lies in isolating and defeating the BJP and the Hindutva forces. The Political Line adopted at the Congress states that the nearly eleven years of Modi’s rule have led to the consolidation of right-wing, communal, and authoritarian forces with neo-fascist traits, representing an alliance between Hindutva forces and big capital.

The CPI(M) identifies defeating the BJP-RSS and the Hindutva-corporate nexus as its central political task. This requires sustained ideological and political struggle against Hindutva, as well as broad mobilisation of all secular forces.

To counter the Hindutva neoliberal regime, the Party emphasizes building its independent strength and that of the broader Left, while integrating the fight against communalism with the struggle against neoliberal, pro-corporate policies. Class and mass struggles must target crony capitalism, privatisation, and the exploitation of the working people.

The CPI(M) will cooperate with INDIA bloc parties on agreed issues both inside and outside Parliament, and work with secular democratic forces to resist authoritarianism, draconian laws, and attacks on the Constitution. It will also

engage with regional parties opposing the BJP, supporting pro-people policies and opposing anti-worker measures.

The Party supports united platforms and actions by class and mass organisations, including efforts to involve people aligned with bourgeois parties. Reviving and strengthening Left unity is a priority, with united campaigns highlighting alternative Left policies. The goal is to bring together Left, democratic, and progressive forces into a cohesive platform. Electoral tactics should be aligned with this political strategy to maximise anti-BJP vote consolidation.

About the electoral tactics that the Party will pursue, the Resolution states: “Appropriate electoral tactics can be adopted as per the above political line to maximise the pooling of anti-BJP votes”.

Strengthen the Party

As stated earlier, these important political tasks cannot be achieved without strengthening the Party. Towards this the Political Resolution lays down that the Party must emphasize prioritizing work among the basic classes, particularly rural poor, workers, and the urban poor. The weakness of struggles of the rural poor against the exploitation by the rural-rich nexus must be overcome. It calls for expanding influence in the organised sector (especially among contractual and non-regular workers), and fostering worker-peasant unity. Anti-Hindutva campaigns should be actively taken to the basic classes, and politicisation of those involved in struggles must be deepened.

The Party must focus on independent political campaigns and mass mobilisations without compromising its identity for electoral alliances. Strengthening ideological campaigns against RSS-Hindutva forces is essential.

Local struggles on mass and class issues should be taken up more consistently, with higher committees guiding local units. Innovative methods of struggle should replace routine protest forms.

The Party should also lead struggles against caste and gender oppression, linking them with broader class struggles. It must engage youth through demands that reflect their concerns and by promoting the campaign that “Socialism is the Alternative.”

The Political Resolution also decided to redouble the efforts for building Left Unity. It noted: “There has to be a renewed thrust for Left unity and united actions to project the Left’s alternative policies. The Left’s increased intervention in national politics will strengthen the united struggles against the divisive and harmful policies of the Modi government”.

The Political Resolution also noted the importance of building the Left and Democratic Front to meet the aspirations and defend the interests of the working class, peasantry, artisans, small shopkeepers, middle class and intelligentsia. “The priority must be for a strong Left and Democratic Front forged through sustained mass and class struggles for alternative policies”. It spelt out the broad contours of the Left and Democratic Programme, an alternative programme that will be the basis on which we will mobilise people and build the Left Democratic Alternative.

Tasks

In order to realise these goals, the Political Resolution directed the Party to implement the following eight tasks:

“(1) The Party should step up its campaigns and struggles against the neo-liberal economic policies, Hindutva communalism and authoritarian attacks on democracy.

“(2) The Party should develop and intensify struggles of the rural poor, working class and urban poor on livelihood issues, land, food, wages, house sites, social security benefits and employment opportunities.

“(3) The Party should strive for the broadest unity of all secular-democratic forces against Hindutva communalism.

“(4) The Party should consistently stand for the protection of democracy, democratic rights and civil liberties. It should cooperate to forge wider unity against authoritarian attacks to suppress dissent and opposition, misuse of Central agencies and subversion of Constitutional bodies.

“(5) The Party should actively take up the fight against all forms of caste oppression and discrimination. The Party should champion the rights of women, dalits, adivasis and religious minorities. The Party should pay special attention to work in tribal areas.

“(6) The Party should work to raise the anti-imperialist consciousness of the Indian people and mobilise popular opinion against the Modi government’s pro-US foreign policy and strategic alliance with the US.

“(7) The Party should rally forces for the defence of the rights of states and for federalism. It must take up the defence of the LDF government in Kerala and support its efforts to implement pro-people policies.

“(8) The Party should work for building a Left and Democratic Front and project a Left Democratic Programme as an alternative. This must also be linked to the campaign for Socialism as the Alternative – a socialism in tune with Indian conditions”.

During the course of the deliberations in the 24th Party Congress, many comrades raised the question on to how we can ensure the proper implementation of the conclusions of the Party Congress, which are in the correct direction. No doubt, this is a very important question. There are over a million members our Party, and tens of thousands of Party units at different levels. If we are able to activate every Party member and Party unit, a very substantial part of the tasks enumerated by the Party Congress can be achieved. In this, politicizing the millions of activists of mass and class organisations in which our Party members work at different levels, is also a part. The political formulations of the Party Congress assumes significance and meaning when all Party committees diligently put them into practice through systematic organizational and agitational activities.