

**Changes in Relations of Production in India -
Our Political Program**

2021 January

**Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

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Central Committee

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Foreword

A century passed since the world capitalist system transformed into imperialism. Still capitalist-imperialist economic system exists. This has the character of unequal development and so there is enough diversity of conditions of various countries and various areas of the countries all over the world. Imperialist-capitalist, semi-feudal and pre-capitalist relations of production still exist in the world economic system. Labor power is being produced in varied conditions. In whatever conditions it is being produced, imperialism attempts to loot all of it. Conditions of production, productivity, labor conditions, payment of wages and other such things of the capitalist sector of the world, especially the economies of the oppressor and the oppressed countries are different. Though the capitalist market is spread all over the world, consumption of capital goods rose in a large scale and labor is internationalized, there is enormous inequality in wages and rates of exploitation. In the same way Indian economy is utmost intricate. Economic systems of different stages exist side by side.

How do the old relations of production in a given society undergo change? How do new relations of production form and develop completely? In order to understand this, it is not enough to explain with the help of contradictions between the forces of production and relations of production. We must also look into the relations between economic base and compositions of superstructure. In order to understand whether the social system is progressive or reactionary, we have to compare it with the earlier social system and the later one. Therefore in order to understand the fundamental features and particularities of feudalism, we must normally compare them with the fundamental characteristics and particularities of capitalism. For an understanding of the present reality of a situation, Marxist/dialectical historical materialist must understand the concrete process of the past that led to the present and must objectively and comprehensively examine the relations among all the classes of the society. Only then they can adopt appropriate tactics in coordination of the past and the present and find a path for future. Marx said, 'Only when the advanced class objectively sees the entity of relations

among totally all the classes in a concrete society, only when it sees the stage of objective development that the society thus reaches and the relations between that society and the other societies those observations shall become a basis to adopt correct tactics’.

Lot of discussions and controversies are going on among Marxists, fake Marxists, revisionists, neo-revisionists, bourgeois intellectuals and NGOs as to whether our country is a capitalist society or semi-feudal, semi-colonial. Genuine Communist Revolutionaries do not make discussion for the sake of discussion but they discuss to find a solution for the question of revolution. According to the great Marxist teacher Lenin, the main duties of the vanguard of the proletariat are – to accurately assess the opportunities that come forth in every political situation basing on the class analysis of socio-economic reality, developing the proletarian movement according to its objective and to fight against the attempts of the bourgeoisie, revisionist and petty bourgeoisie that come in the way of the proletariat to reach the stage of achieving fundamental change.

What kind of Strategy-Tactics should be adopted for revolution in India? This is entwined with the classification of the entire classes, social sections and oppressed nationalities of the society. Which classes should the proletariat fight against? What all classes, social sections and oppressed nationalities become part of revolution as friendly forces? Which class leads the revolution? Which classes should be eliminated through revolution? Which classes are friendly classes and which classes are enemy classes? These and other such things are intertwined.

We have to first select proper Marxist method to properly understand the social order of India. It means we have to shed subjectivity-mechanical and metaphysical method and adopt dialectical historical materialist method. As per this method we have to see every entity in motion. We have to see this motion in the concrete condition of the entire country and in the concreteness of the respective areas. Marx said thus – ‘...it (dialectics) includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and

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therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary. (*Capital, Vol I, Afterword to the second German Edition, last but one paragraph, 1873 January 24th*). It means, in the specificities of India we have to study the feudal society, the later colonial (colonial, semi-feudal) and neo-colonial (semi-colonial, semi-feudal) societies, the attack of imperialist globalization (finance capital), the changes that it caused in the entire country and in the respective areas and the role of class struggle that contributed to the change in relations of production in the respective areas. As a part of theoretical, political study we must also take up the study of social conditions of the country. The objective of our study must be to learn from the experiences of class struggle going on in all sectors along with the internal struggle between two lines in the party, to learn from the people, to rectify wrong ideas and methods and to enrich the line of revolution in a systematic manner on the basis of correct ideas and politics.

India turned semi-colonial from the British imperialist direct, colonial rule since 15th August, 1947. Indian society was already semi-feudal. Initially revolutionary communists did not fundamentally differ in this regard. In 1946-51 the great Telangana Armed Peasant struggle took place for land, bread and liberation. The leadership of the unified Communist Party withdrew from armed struggle and betrayed it. This strengthened right opportunism in the Party. If we see the later strategy of the Party, the leadership of the Party made a gimmick of words and started considering India as a fundamentally independent capitalist country. It did not place before the people any kind of correct and clear strategy-tactics for Indian Revolution. Its fundamental, main agenda was only to participate in elections. It praised the big, comprador capitalists as progressive. However, the revolutionary faction in the Party never accepted this right opportunist tendency. When the unified Communist Party split into the CPI and the CPI (M) in the decade of 1960, the revolutionary faction was in CPI (M). But it opposed the neo-revisionist line of the leadership. In no time, many of the first rank leaders like Comrade CM and Comrade KC the founder leaders and teachers of our

Party – the CPI (Maoist) who paved the line for Indian Revolution and the activists clearly said that India was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and raised the question of Armed Agrarian Revolution. As a result the Naxalbari armed peasant struggle took place in North Bengal in 1967. The struggle soon spread to several parts of the country. The CPI (ML) and the MCC that emerged in 1969 clearly stated the Indian society as semi-colonial, semi-feudal. The parties took up the line of Protracted People's War and went ahead with the goal of New Democratic Revolution. The successful Eighth Congress of the CPI (ML) in 1970 unanimously held this line aloft.

The comprador ruling classes brought forth 'Green Revolution' in the interests of the imperialists. As a result of this, basing on the distorted capitalist relations that developed in certain areas like Punjab, these classes raised a discussion on the Mode of Production (MoP) in the country. This is a conspiracy to wipe out the basis for Armed Agrarian Revolution and the line of Protracted People's War. The discussion on Mode of Production began in early 1970s among the academicians and spread to political activists. Opinions were expressed in various methods such as presentations, analytical papers, research studies, theoretical formulations, political analyses and field reports. The discussion has been continuing even now in various degrees. Apart from economists, social scientists, political activists, ruling class parties, revisionist and neo-revisionist parties, the spokespersons of the state, planners of government schemes and several magazines provide the evidence for the same.

Again in the 1980s Armed Agrarian revolutionary struggle grew in the leadership of revolutionary parties MCC, CPI (ML) (PW) and CPI (ML) PU. These parties took up class analysis in 1974-80, analysed the relations of production in agriculture and on its basis wrote 'Become part of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Struggle, intensify the effort to build People's Army and Red Liberation areas', 'Agrarian Revolution', 'The peasantry cannot be liberated without land to the tiller', 'Class analysis of Indian agriculture' and other such articles. The writings analysed the relations of production that continued in the decades of 1970 and 1980 and irrefutably proved that semi-colonial, semi-feudal relations of production are in practice in

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India. They gave the slogans of 'Land to the tiller' and 'All powers to Peasant organisations/Revolutionary Peasant Committees'. Discussions regarding mode of production in the country came forth on many occasions in various forms in these parties which they solved in the respective committees and conferences in a democratic manner as per the principle of Democratic Centralism. As a result Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla War spread to several states across the country. The slogans, more specifically 'Land to the tiller', 'All powers to the Revolutionary People's Committees' came forth in the guerilla zones and the slogans of 'Land to the tiller' and 'All powers to the peasant committees' in the red resistance areas with the aim of establishing liberated areas in the strategic areas. These parties answered several discussions in various forms time to time on the developments that came forth due to the globalization policies of the 1990s. CPI (Maoist) emerged with the merger of two main revolutionary streams based on the enormous theoretical, political, military, organizational and cultural experience acquired through practice in the light of MLM. The emergence of united Party gave abundant momentum to the ongoing People's War in the country. Along with the expansion of People's War in waves the three magic weapons relatively strengthened.

The unified Party CPI (Maoist) conducted political debate regarding the mode of production in India that came forth in certain states, especially in Punjab, in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress conforming to the principle of democratic centralism. The Congress emphasized that although distorted capitalist relations exist in certain areas of India including Punjab, the mode of production is constituted of semi-feudal relations of production and that the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of unequal development must be rooted out in the path of Protracted People's War by adopting appropriate tactics and New Democratic Revolution be accomplished and thus it further enriched the Party line.

On the other hand the imperialists by this time assessed the severe consequences in the domestic and international plane if the People's War in India strengthens. On the dictates of the imperialists the comprador ruling classes declared our Party as 'the biggest danger to the internal

security of the country’.

Utilizing this situation, the theoretical attack on the Party line intensified once again in the form of debate on relations of production. Several imperialist sponsored think tanks emerged all over the world and in the country. They raised the discussion whether the socio-economic system of India is semi-feudal or whether it changed into capitalist and whether the line of Protracted People’s War is relevant today or whether it is an outdated theory. A big seminar was held in the Oxford University in 2011 and countless researches were taken up and are going on. In this process few scholars of the ruling class took up surveys of villages. The imperialist sponsored NGOs are pouring in crores of rupees for this purpose.

On the whole we see three trends among the intellectuals in the process of these researches. The first trend is that India is a semi-feudal country. Several independent teams of intellectuals also took up investigations in support of this understanding and announced to the world the fundamental character of the economic system of the country. The second trend is that India is not at all a semi-feudal country but it has transformed into a capitalist society. This is mainly sponsored by the imperialists and the ruling classes. Enemy agents, anti-revolutionary forces, opportunist revisionist forces pushed out of the Party and traitorous forces that left the Party and surrendered to the enemy represent this trend. Few independent intellectuals also represent this trend due to lack of understanding of MLM, lack of experience and since they are away from social practice and few others represent this trend with mechanical analyses based on unreliable average data. Various kinds of revisionist parties and individuals also represent this trend. The third is the centrist trend. This hypothecates that the Indian social system is on the verge of capitalism, is semi-capitalism and capitalism in transformation. This trend is to a certain extent sponsored by imperialism but few independent groups of intellectuals and few right opportunist revisionist groups also represent this trend.

The first trend brings forth the alternative of changing the semi-feudal society of India and establishing New Democratic system and later

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Socialism-Communism. The fascist exploitive ruling classes sensed the danger for their existence if this trend strengthens and are hunting the revolutionary-democratic intellectual groups that represent it. They are foisting several false cases and imprisoning them. The second trend brings forth the imperialist sponsored international 'development' model. It argues that the classification by the Maoist Party might apply to the ending period of the 1960s but that at present 'feudalism' has absolutely weakened and to a large extent capitalist relations of production dominate the agricultural sector. Therefore it tries to prove theoretically that Armed Agrarian Revolution in the rural area is meaningless. It brings forth certain traitors who betrayed the Revolutionary party, people and revolution and bowed to the enemy for this purpose. They adopt mudslinging and make hue and cry over the Party line and make vain attempts to create confusion in the revolutionary camp. The third trend is knowingly or unknowingly spreading confusion among the revolutionary ranks and the people that is weakening the struggle zeal of the people. In this process a clear line of demarcation has been drawn between the model of fake development that the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois class (CBB), the big landlord class that serve the imperialists and fulfill their interests and the exploitive ruling class parties that represent these classes bring forth in the name of social development and the Revolutionary movement going on for the past 52 years in the leadership of the CPI (Maoist) and the genuine model of New Democratic development that it brought forth through practice.

In this background the extended meeting of the CRB in July 2014 released a paper on the changes in the relations of agricultural production in the country and the tactics to be adopted. Investigation was made and reports prepared in various states of the Central Region. The Eastern region decided to take up social investigation. In this process CC took up the study of the social relations that exist (are in motion) in the country. The study concluded that although there are considerable changes in the social system (semi-colonial, semi-feudal) of the country, there are no fundamental changes. However the CC opined that the considerable changes that took place in the economy in the interests of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes, made a strong impact on the social relations

and that they underwent considerably sizeable changes. It also realized that these changes took place as per the character of unequal development of the semi-colonial-semi-feudal social system of India and that a change be made in tactics accordingly. The Central Committee of our Party is releasing this document on the 'Changes in Relations Of Production in India - Our Political Program' basing on these conclusions. The document takes the country as a whole and attempts to analyse the present mode of production in the country and to formulate corresponding political program and tactics.

Social transformation – Marxist perspective

In order to understand the mode of production of a society we must first understand the materialist principle of social development. We must develop Marxist perspective towards the history of social development. Severe struggle has been going on in the society between historical idealism and historical materialism for a long time. The reactionary, ruling exploitive classes and their representatives inevitably propagate idealist ideas about history and distort history to preserve their rule. No scientific understanding took birth in the society before the birth of Marxism. All the advocates of the exploiting class clung to the illogic that human society developed as per the wishes of god. They spent time on trivial issues with the dogmatic argument that heroes make history. Only after the birth of Marxism, only after Marx scientifically explained the materialist concept regarding history, it thoroughly fought back the wrong atmosphere created by idealist concept about history. It provided the genuine scientific materialist understanding about the development of human society. It scientifically explained the Marxist materialist concept about history that human society developed according to its rule from the lower level to the higher level as a result of motion of opposites. It proved that starting from the primitive society, it was followed by slave society, feudal society and capitalist society and that it shall ultimately inevitably lead to the emergence of classless society – Socialist, Communist society. This is the materialist principle irrespective of the wishes of human being.

Marxism scientifically tells us thus about the history of human social development – just like classes there was no state in the initial phase of

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human history and the existing classes and state will not last forever. State shall wither with the withering of classes. State emerged in the process of formation of class society for a class to unleash exploitation and oppression and to prevail upon another class and to suppress the resistance of the classes being exploited and oppressed. Since the human society split into classes the exploitive ruling classes have always been utilizing state machinery to sustain their exploitive rule. The slave owners battered the slaves to preserve their rule. It means the slave owners applied utmost cruel methods to exploit the surplus labor and produce from the slaves. Feudal landlord class exploits and oppresses the peasantry and the bourgeois class exploits the proletariat and exerts dictatorship on it. Similarly the proletariat will have to exert dictatorship on the bourgeois class to sustain its rule. Revolutionary dictatorship learnt this principle from counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

As Lenin said, in order to justify their exploitation the capitalists bring forth the illogic and deceive the people that the state is something divine, is beyond nature and that it expresses the wish of the people, entire people's decision and national wish. As long as land and instruments of production continue to be private properties and capital continues to dominate, however democratic they claim their republic to be, its state machinery shall be a machine that oppresses the proletariat and peasantry and fulfills the interests of the capitalists. Universal electoral right, Constitutional Assembly, Parliament – all these cannot at all change the actual character of the state machinery. Capital alone is all powerful and Parliament and elections are mere dolls and puppets. There can be no equality until exploitation exists. A worker can never be equal to a capitalist. A human being starving out of hunger can never be equal to a human being with a full meal. The proletariat shall destroy the machinery that is called the state, which the oppressed people considered to be people's rule with the belief in ancient stories and respected it with superstition and shall declare that it is the lie of the bourgeois class.

Every new social order in the history emerged from the basis of the old society; it negated the old society. The new society will in essence be different from the earlier society. At the same time it will inevitably retain

certain birth scars of the old society. A prolonged and complex struggle will take place between revivalism and counter-revivalism in the class society. The basis and conditions for the existence of the revivalist forces are the birth scars the old society carried to the new society. The proletariat brings down the rule of bourgeoisie through violent revolution and then establishes Socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great leap in the history of the development of human society. This is a great step forward of decisive importance in the transformation of a class society to classless society.

In the primitive society the development of relations of private property is vital in the disruption of people's ownership. Capitalism rose from the ordinary commodity economy of the feudal society. This is the highest phase in the development of commodity economy. The class struggle that takes place in the society due to fundamental social contradictions takes the society onward. Marxism explains the history of social development that the fundamental reason for the development of human society from the lower phase to the higher phase lies in social class struggle, i.e. class struggle exists due to the contradictions between the relations of production and forces of production and those between the superstructure and economic base in class society and this leads the history forward. In class society these fundamental contradictions manifest as class struggle. The history of human society after the disintegration of primitive society is nothing but the history of class struggle. If we understand this aspect in a proper manner we can understand the fundamental contradictions in the respective specific societies in a much deeper manner. We can also understand how to make continuous revolution in Socialist society in the dictatorship of the proletariat for a revolutionary transformation of the superstructure and base so as to help advance for the objective of classless society.

Forces of production, relations of production: The forces of production contain the following three aspects – 1. Workers with a little experience and labor skill 2. Instruments of labor. Of which, instruments of production is the first 3. Objects of labor. Out of the three aspects workers is the primary and decisive aspect. It means only toiling people can create,

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improve and utilize the instruments of production. As the great Marxist teacher Lenin said – ‘Workers and toiling people are the primary force of production in the human society as a whole’.

Relations of production speak about the relations formed between the people in the process of social production of material goods. There are three aspects in these – 1. The form of ownership of instruments of production; 2. The position of various social groups in production decided by the form of ownership of instruments of production and the mutual relations between them; 3. The form of distribution of the products based absolutely on these two things. Out of these the ownership of instruments of production is decisive and the basis for relations of production. The ownership of instruments of production decides the mutual relations among the people and the form of distribution. For example, in a capitalist society the instruments of production are in the ownership of the capitalists. Workers have nothing but their labor power to sell. Capitalists have a dominant, exploitive, oppressive position in production. Workers are like wage slaves in an exploited, oppressed position. Since capitalists own the instruments of production and workers do not have any power, products of labor inevitably belong to capitalists. Workers only obtain wages necessary for their sustenance. Ownership of instruments of production plays a decisive role in relations of production. Anyhow mutual relations among the people and the form of distribution too show impact on the system of ownership. In certain conditions they play a decisive role.

The forces of production and relations of production are two aspects of dialectical unity. There is none without the other; forces of production are the utmost revolutionary and active aspect and so normally they play the main and decisive role. Relations of production for certain develop either speedily or slowly due to the development and changes in the forces of production. Compared with the forces of production relations of production are a little stable. Therefore once the forces of production develop to a certain level, relations of production obstruct their development.

When relations of production obstruct the development of forces of

production, violent revolution takes place for a fundamental change in the relations of production. This revolution brings down the old social order and establishes new and higher relations of production so that there is revolutionary development in the forces of production. The birth of new relations of production in turn brings about the development of forces of production.

Until date human society experienced five kinds of relations of production. They are – Primitive Communist society, Slave society, Feudal society, Capitalist society, Socialist society.

Economic base, Superstructure – Economic base speaks of economy in a particular phase of social development, i.e. about the whole of relations of production. Superstructure speaks about the social positions regarding politics, law, philosophy, art, religion and such others and about the corresponding political, legal, judicial institutions (jails, courts) and the army and state machineries.

The contradiction between superstructure and economic base is one fundamental contradiction in the society. It augments social development and change. The relation between superstructure and economic base is of dialectical unity. Economic base normally plays main and decisive role. Superstructure forms from economic base. Economic base determines its character. For example, the economic base of capitalist society, the superstructure, state mechanism under bourgeois class dictatorship and bourgeois class ideology formed on this basis put together, we say capitalist relations of production. Great teacher Marx said thus about the decisive role of economic base – ‘The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. (*Preface to ‘A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy’, Para 6, last line*).

However superstructure does not merely follow the economic base without taking up any kind of active role in social development. This is relative and influences the economic base. Progressive superstructure forms so as to fulfill the necessities of the growth of progressive economic base; it strengthens the base and consolidates it. It destroys the old economic base. It develops into a motive progressive force for the growth

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of forces of production. Decaying superstructure preserves the old economic base and obstructs the birth and growth of the new economic base. After the transformation of the old economic base through revolution, the old superstructure, especially the old ideology does not immediately change but continues for a long time. It plays a reactionary role in suppressing the new economic base and in reviving the old one. It becomes a reactionary force coming in the way of the growth of forces of production. We clearly see in the period of Socialist revolution that in particular conditions superstructure shows decisive impact on economic base. This is because socialist economic base does not emerge on its own from the old society. It will be formed and develops only after the proletariat seizes the political power.

Let us briefly see the process of social evolution all over the world and especially in India –

The history of primitive society begins with human being. Labor created human being. Human hand turned into a tool and started creating tools and thus continuing as a part of nature, human beings became the controllers of nature. Labor is the basic reason for human existence. Hand is not only an organ of labor but also the result of labor. Evolution of human race passed through the eras of savagery, barbarism and civilization in the process of practice and production for thousands of years. While the first two eras belong to the primitive or the classless society, slave and slave owner relations of production came forth with the emergence of class society. It means slave society was established as the 'civilized' era with the emergence of class society.

However in India instead of the form of slave society, after the first civilization in the Indus valley collapsed and Aryan tribes formed stable habitations and took up agriculture, class society took birth in the form of Varna system. The essence of the Varna society apparently different when compared with the slave civilizations of Egypt, Rome and other such areas and that of the slave society is one and the same. Both of these emerged by breaking away the collective relations of production of the primitive gentile society.

The process of evolution of Indian society

Indus Valley civilization (2500-1800 BC) apart, the process of evolution of ancient Indian society can be divided into four phases. It starts from the arrival of the Aryans (1800 BC) and ends with the Gupta period (4th century AD).

1. The stage of livestock raising and primitive agriculture: In this stage (1800-1000 BC) livestock raising was the main basis for living for the nomadic Aryan tribes. By that time they were divided into Aristocracy known as 'Rajanya', priests known as 'Brahmans' and ordinary gen members known as 'Vis'. During this Rig-Veda period Aryans had Cow meat for food. They took up agriculture mainly for cattle fodder. On the other hand in this stage non-Aryan savage tribes continued food gathering and hunting while the tribes of bronze era took up simple agriculture. Few took up livestock raising. Stone implements and bow and arrows were the instruments of production. An important development that took place in this period was the Aryans defeated the non-Aryan savage tribes in wars, subdued them in various ways and created a large gentile society. Relatively stable habitations of agrarian societies of copper and bronze ages were formed in South India. However primitive agriculture was more than livestock raising. On the whole class societies were not yet formed anywhere in India.

2. The stage of transformation to agriculture with plough: This is the stage of transformation from nomadic livestock raising to stable agriculture (1000-600 BC). At the beginning of this stage usage of iron was widespread and there was considerable change in the forces of production. Agriculture started becoming the main livelihood. Cattle started to be used for the first time in agriculture. Growth in productivity made Aryan gens possible for the first time to produce surplus. Varna system provided new social system and new relations of production. There were Rajanya, Brahman and Vis Varnas in the Aryans and Shudra Varna rose from non-Aryans. Kshatriyas and Brahmans became the ruling class and Vysyas the agriculture making peasants. Apart from them the subdued Dasas and other non-Aryan savages were turned servants of the Aryan gens and Shudras by Varna. Shudras did not become slaves but collective labor for

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the Aryan tribes. The duty of the Shudras was to serve the above three Varnas. In this stage Shudras did not have direct participation in production. This shows that in India primitive society was followed not by slave society but foremost class society in the form of Varna system. This laid the foundation for class order and ruling class that grabs surplus produce. It was inevitable to bring down the old gentile order that was in the way of further development of the forces of production. By this stage tribes in South India did not know the usage of iron. Bronze-age agriculture was mainly in practice.

3. Varna based society: After the Indus valley civilization this was the period (600-200 BC) when once again the stage of civilization began. This was class society that was undergoing transformation into pre-feudal society or feudalism. In this stage the Aryan cattle raising tribes learnt agriculture from the local tribes. Thus production of food took the place of food gathering. Agriculture based society came in the place of society based on cattle raising and class (Varna) system in the place of gentile system. In this stage Brahman and Kshatriya Varnas emerged in the process of formation of classes-Varnas living on the taxes and gifts submitted by the Vis and the subdued tribes. The heads and priests from the local tribal gens were taken into Kshatriya and Brahman Varnas respectively. The defeated Aryan and non-Aryan tribes were gradually changed to Shudra Varna. Mainly the Vysya peasants and Shudras raised cattle and did farming. The Brahman priestly class developed varnashrama dharma. Gradually the real agriculturists and artisans became Shudras and several of them turned agricultural workers and bonded laborers. Vysyas confined to trade. The differences between the Aryans and the non-Aryans vanished and a new tribal economy of Aryans came into existence. In a period of time yagna and rituals turned complex involving riches, time and expenditure. They became tools of redistribution of surplus. Society sustained on the surplus value created by the Shudra toilers. Shudras transformed into domestic slaves of the Kshatriya, Brahman and Vysya Varnas. In the Chaturvarna system while the peasant gained the position of Shudra, the Dasas were made to do those considered as 'demeaning' works like tanning the dead cattle, cleaning and killing cattle. Kautilya's

'Arthashastra' reflects this stage. Karma ideology played the main role in solidifying the foundations of Varna system and in suppressing the Shudras.

Villages of stable habitation became the main feature in this stage. Town centers came up. State emerged in the place of gentile rule and tribal confederations as the representative of higher classes/Varnas, the Kshatriyas and Brahmans of all tribes. Urban civilization, speedy expansion of iron-age agrarian society, formation of big Empires, accumulation of surplus produce in centralized manner and foreign trade were the major developments in this stage. This is the age when Buddhist and Jain religions emerged and developed.

Buddhism propagated non-violence and karma ideology and so became the representative of the new society. Buddhism had the objective to establish peace and stability in the society and thus gave a big momentum to trade. Therefore it became a handy instrument of the rich classes, Setti Gahapathis and the Kings. On the whole Buddhism played a prominent role in introducing agrarian class society in the gens in the early stage.

Territorial and atmospheric conditions were the main reason for the nearly 1200 years needed for the transformation to this stage since the Aryans migrated to India.

The eastern side of River Indus was a thick forest. Copper and Bronze implements were not adequate to develop agriculture and form stable habitations. Iron axe to cut the thick forests, spade to level land and heavy iron plough to till the soil were necessary. Extensive mines to make iron implements were present in Bihar. Iron was in use by the time Aryans came to this country and they occupied Bihar. Thus this stage of transformation was complete and it made the emergence of civilized society possible. Moreover bronze-age weapons were not adequate to conquer and subdue the non-Aryan races like Naga and Nishada still in savagery and the Dasas and other gens still in bronze-age barbarism. It is possible only with sword and spear made of iron. As Engels said iron sword was the main weapon in the stage of barbarism. The Aryans could defeat and subdue the savage bronze-age barbaric gens with the help of horses and iron swords. Or else they taught farming and assimilated them. They could thus form class society and establish Empires. Plough-based stable

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habitations spread to South India. The same kind of developments that took place under the centralized kingdoms in North India occurred in the South under the Satavahana regime.

Surplus production was little in the initial days of agrarian class society of iron-age. Ruling classes needed brutal centralized governance in order to snatch it in a large scale. Tax collection needs violence. It is possible to collect heavy taxes only when production of non-agricultural goods and trade too are centralized. This led to the emergence of big centralized Empires in all countries of the world in the initial stage of civilization.

4. The stage of transformation from Varna based system to caste based feudalism: In this stage (200 BC-400 AD) several small decentralized kingdoms and feudatories came into being in the place of large centralized Empire. Brahman based Varna system competed with Buddhism, strengthened in the process of assimilation of gens into civilized society, ultimately urban trade was affected and it gained upper hand with the establishment of self-sufficient villages. This laid the foundations for feudal society. Decline of artisans, merchants and towns, migration of professionals to villages, decline of Buddhism, domination of Brahman religion and establishment of caste system were the major developments in this stage. 'Manusmriti' reflects the changes in this stage.

This stage ended with the establishment of self-sufficient villages after the decline of Mauryas in North India and Satavahanas in the South.

There were two reasons for the absence of slave system in India like it was in Greek, Roman and other western societies –

1. Aryans who established agrarian societies were not dependent on private property. They came from gentile societies that owned land and cattle as collective property. Therefore Aryans turned the subdued Dasas and non-Aryans into collective servants of the entire Aryan gens and Shudras by Varna. They were not personal slaves to anyone.
2. India had a wide territory with abundant opportunities for food gathering and hunting. So there was no chance for the survival of slave society. Like in Greek, Roman and other Empires it was not

possible to keep the savages and dasas as slaves always. Therefore karma ideology played the main role in suppressing them in various forms of social structure like Varna system. This does not mean that few of the non-Aryans became Shudras or all the Shudras voluntarily surrendered without making class struggles. Varnashrama dharma lessened the necessity of force to a certain extent.

Feudal society

In our country feudal society developed in two phases since 4th century AD – 1. Feudatory feudalism or feudalism from above 2. Village based feudalism or feudalism from below.

1. Feudatory feudalism or feudalism from above: This began in the 4th century AD, institutionalized after the decline of the Gupta Empire in the 6th century AD and continued to be the main trend until the 11th century AD. There were layers of feudatories between the farmer and the King. Every feudatory paid tax to the one above him, while enjoying complete freedom at his level. Caste system and Hindu religion based on Varnashrama dharma were fully shaped during this stage. Land was the common property of the villagers and the Grama sabha was autonomous. Shudras transformed into farmers in this period. Weaker gens became part of the rural society as untouchables or the panchamas.

2. Village-based Feudalism or Feudalism from Below: Though this stage began in the 9th century itself, it became the main trend only in the 11th and 12th centuries. In this stage, an armed feudal class was formed between the villagers below and the Kings and feudatories above. Collection of taxes, maintenance of law and order, commodity production, management of tanks and other water resources and all such things were their direct rights and responsibilities. With this the Grama Sabha lost autonomy. Under the Muslim rule this rural feudal class retained major portion of the revenue collected from peasants. They supplied soldiers for war.

Important features regarding feudal society

1. Land is the main instrument of production, self-sufficient rural economy that fulfills the local needs locally exists and commodity-

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market relations are utmost limited.

2. Feudal class that extracts taxes or surplus production from the peasants is in the being.
3. Peasantry that constitutes majority of the population pays considerable portion of their produce to the parasitic feudal class that does not participate in production, peasantry are exploited by the landlords through paying surplus in the form of free service/bonded labor, goods or money.
4. Feudal society is mainly based on the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the Shudra castes and Dalits (untouchables).

After the Mauryan rule in North India (600-200 BC)/Satavahana rule in the South (250 BC-400 AD), the self-sufficient villages that were the basis of feudal society spread all over and came to be the primary units of natural economy. Gramsabhas looked after the governance. Agriculture and handicrafts were blended at the village level. These self-sufficient villages were not absolutely separated and closed on all sides but had limited relation with the outside world for their necessities.

After the Gupta period, changes such as dwindling of trade guilds and handicraft guilds, artisans settling in villages due to shrinkage of financial transaction and development of self-sufficient rural economy enabled the necessary conditions for the rise of caste based feudalism. Chaturvarna order was not adequate for self-sufficient villages. In the process of expansion of agriculture there was growth in social production, rise of new professions according to social necessities and several 'Shudra' castes came into being irrespective of Varna system in the process of formation of new rural society. Varnas and classes changed into castes. People of one profession became a caste. In addition to Chaturvarna the fifth Varna (panchams) constituting of untouchables and downtrodden came into being. Shudra community was split and several artisans and tribals were formed into a community of untouchables. This apart those in Dasa situation since the beginning were considered as impure Shudras. The gods and goddesses of the tribes that were transformed into castes in the caste based feudal society were Brahmanised. The 4th and the 5th Varnas could be stamped down with the ideology of karma.

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In many parts of the country caste system started being consolidated approximately in the 6th century and took total form earlier to the conquests of Gazni Mohammad, i.e. by the 10th century. Feudal class shouldered caste system. People of all the castes related to physical labor or those who questioned the hierarchy of the Brahmans or the statuses of Varnas were categorized Shudras. Manusmriti provided effective theoretical justification to feudalism and the domination of exploitive classes. It deprived the freedom of majority people and pushed them into a heinous situation.

The self-sufficient rural economy existed as a part of caste based feudal/ landlord society as a class system. Initially land was not a private property in this society and therefore it was not a commodity. A part of the land was collective and was used for feeding cattle and for firewood of the people of the whole village. Endogamous agrarian groups subdued other tribes as Shudras and established stable habitations. These formed into agricultural villages in our country. The main agricultural farms of the village were the joint property of the villagers. These villagers were called 'Kutumbinulu'. They distributed the land for agricultural purpose every year through Gramsabha. Few artisan communities pushed into ultra-Shudra ranks from Shudra Varna were bonded slave agricultural laborers having been rejected property and land. Their only duty was to work for the whole village, especially the land owning class. They lived outside the village and experienced extremely heinous life and everlasting slavery. Surplus produce could be exploited from them in a very big way. Gramsabha donated the waste lands to Brahmans and other such people. Although the traditional powers of the Gramsabha started decreasing since the 9th century it had certain powers even by the time of British invasion.

There were carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, weavers, tanners, toddy tappers, goldsmiths and other such artisans in every village to fulfill the needs of the people. Weaving thread and clothes was a sub-occupation in each family. People like karanam (traditional revenue record keeper), priest, barber, washer-person and water-person provided economic and social services of the village. They were paid in the form of paddy. This for centuries was called Jajmani/Balutedar method or the Ayyagaras method.

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'Barah Balutedar' meant twelve kinds of professions. In addition to payment in cash there was a tradition of giving them additional lands for cultivation. When Brahmans were donated agraharas there was exemption in tax on the lands of these artisans. This method came into practice since the Gupta period.

This method allowed the higher castes that extract free labor manifold, total departure from human labor even at village level. The vetti-bigar method gave rise to a non-economic, repressive relation. The untouchable castes were allotted works of lower rank. Some of them obtained right to cultivate a little land in the village but most of them were bonded laborers, domestic slaves and landless serfs tied to particular families.

This method further strengthened the self-sufficient rural economy. It was because the artisans did not need to go out of village. Production in the village was mainly for consumption but not for sale. The village produce had use value but were not commodities. Role of money was nominal. This was called natural economy. Caste system and Hindu varnashrama dharma did not permit change in division of labor in the villages. The feudal society was constituted with such self-sufficient rural economy, unchangeable division of labor and rigid caste system and it was but natural that market relations and economic progress were very slow.

Farmers very rarely had relation with market. When few kings imposed payment of land tax in cash they came into relation with the market but it was temporary. In few areas they sold paddy just necessary to pay tax in cash. However in most of the areas of the country farmers took cash on loan from money-lenders and repaid it after harvest. When Akbar imposed the rule to pay one third of the crop as land tax in cash, farmers mainly depended on money-lenders but seldom personally went for sale in the market.

As a result of the exploitation by feudal classes, class division among the peasantry in the society intensified. Land tax is in essence a tax by force. It saddled the poor farmers more than the rich ones. Due to caste system class division attained a complex form. Except for a few among the untouchable castes, it made most of the farmers landless. Such farmers were one-fifth or one-fourth of the rural population.

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British analyst Francis Buchanan said that even in the 17th and 18th centuries most of the peasantry of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Mysore also where commodity-money relations were relatively well developed paid taxes in the form of paddy or in the form of cash taken as loan from money-lenders. Because of limited market relations peasantry did not transform into producers of commodity. They did not buy goods from the market except salt and iron. Feudal society was the main obstacle for the spread of commodity-money relations in the rural areas.

In our country caste based feudal society is primarily the agrarian system of small producers; supremacy of natural economy and very little advancement or stagnant situation are the features of this system. In this system there is an exploitive relation that takes up various forcible methods of surplus economy between two main classes, the landlords of various castes mainly the higher caste and the various castes, mainly the oppressed (Shudra) castes and Dalit peasantry under them. We saw that in Europe feudal system survived on exploitation of peasant labor. In the concrete conditions of India it took a different form. When we say pre-feudal system it means that the Varna based foremost class society survived on Shudra labor and this later caste based feudal society formed as a result of the development of forces of production and class struggle survived on Dalit labor. In this society the landlord exploited the surplus produce gained after subsistence wage for Shudra and Dalit farmers in the form of labor, rent in crop or cash for tenancy. Moreover the farmers were forcibly tied to land, made slaves to land and caste oppression, especially discrimination towards the Dalits was an additional economic, social instrument of force. This is the basis of caste based feudal oppression in our country. Extraction of maximum surplus produce from the labor of real producers by the feudal class is the primary rule of the feudal society. Subsequently this became a hurdle for the development of forces of production.

Emergence-development of rural feudal class – Donation of land to Brahmans and Buddhists laid the foundation for the emergence of feudal class. Ruling classes kept the people under the influence of religion with the help of the Brahmans to unleash uninterrupted exploitation. This is

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the reason they donated hundreds and thousands of villages to the gurus of any religion like the Buddhists, Jains, Vaishnavas, Pasupathas, Kalamukhis and in the later period to Muslims and Christians. Land was donated to make the land in those villages favorable for farming and to cultivate. The Shudras and the panchamas who came from other savage tribes were made to farm this land. Thus waste lands were extensively farmed and nomadic tribes transformed into agrarian communities that led to speedy development of forces of production. This resulted in class division in the savage tribes as per which very few became part of the ruling classes and the majority became either Shudras or panchamas. Brahman agraharas grew extremely in South India from the 9th century to 13th century. Brahmans who transformed into landlords, military officers or other feudal lords in between the king and the peasantry gained strength and thus government machinery became considerably weak.

During this period the centers for sale and purchase surrounding the villages also were given to the beneficiaries of land. In this way the income out of trade and commerce to the state also was transferred to the Brahman land beneficiaries. So neither the traders nor the artisans had the opportunities to develop independently and they became part of rural feudalism. These merchants benefited out of collaboration with the feudal class and never needed to oppose the feudal class. As mentioned above rural feudalism took birth in the womb of feudatory feudalism and the autonomy of Gramsabha extinguished.

The administrative machinery that began with Sher Shah Suri and was institutionalized in the Moghul rule ended the rule of independent feudatories to a certain extent and established direct central administration. It means it introduced the method where the government officers collect taxes instead of many layers of feudatories in between the peasantry and the government. However the tax collecting officers came to be Jagirdars and feudal class. It became a widespread feature during the Moghul rule to give them 'jagirs' (lands) instead of salaries.

Feudal forms of exploitation: The feudatories and jagirdars collected many kinds of taxes from the farmers along with one-third of the crop as land tax. The peasantry had to pay taxes like head tax, marriage tax, birth

tax and house tax. There were special taxes on occasions of child birth or any festive occasion in the families of feudal rulers. Taxes were collected for wars, for protection of law and order and for temples. The exploitation by temples, Matts, feudatories and the landlords and traders who emerged at the village level in the Brahman agraharas formed as strata and squeezed the peasantry. Landlords made the farmers and those of the lower castes do bonded labor.

Artisans and traders too could not escape feudal exploitation and oppression. Artisans had to first give goods free and do free service to the Brahmans of the agraharas and landlords. Artisans of a village were restricted to go to another place. The same situation continued in towns almost all over the country until the 11th and 12th century. The Indian merchants too were not permitted to go beyond a limited area. Temples, Matts and landlords imposed taxes on goods sold in their territory. Merchants were oppressed in two ways. The first being the properties of prominent merchants were not protected from the Indian feudal rulers and their personnel were constantly attacked. The second being Indian merchants had to pay several kinds of local taxes in various places to transport their goods through roads and rivers. Conditions worsened by the end of 17th century. Disintegration of forces of production reached an extensive level. Exploitation, oppression and suppression by the feudal rulers came to be a big hurdle to the development of peasantry and handicrafts and for trade. With constant wars among Kings from the second half of the 17th century and all through the 18th century there was political and social turbulence in the country. These wars ruined agriculture and trade and intensified the crisis in the entire society.

A number of peasant revolts took place against the feudal exploitation, especially the cruel exploitation of the Brahman Matts and temples in the name of varnashrama dharma. In few places anti-feudal struggles erupted as bhakti movements in 12th-17th centuries. The Veerasaiva movement in the leadership of Basavanna in North Karnataka in the 12th century was the most progressive of these movements. Since these artisans were organized in various 'ranks' and were a strong force they led these revolts together with the traders. These anti-feudal movements

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were mainly concentrated against Brahman agraharas and caste system. These revolts and the extensive rebellions that took place in the ideological sphere against the ancient Hindu, Muslim religious customs weakened the feudal system.

In fact by the time colonial rule began in India feudalism reached the stage of decline and every sphere of the feudal living fell in severe crisis. Rise in expenditure on a broad army to carry on endless wars and to suppress the rebellions and control the people; extreme waste expenditure of the kings for a lavish life and other such things led to extract heavy surplus from the farmers. Munsabdars and his followers tried to extract most of the farmers' produce. When the Munsabdar gave land to Ijardar (revenue contractor) for contract the exploitation was much more severe. In this process the peasantry was totally shattered. This evil feudal oppression obstructed the forces of production. This led to disorder all over and the farmers, artisans and untouchables to escape to towns.

Growth of production of small scale goods and towns: Since Brahmanic caste based self-sufficient rural economy held hegemony in the Indian feudal society artisans like weavers, potters, blacksmith, tailors and toddy tappers carried on production of ordinary goods. They were organized in ranks on the basis of caste. From the 11th and 12th centuries new professions and new castes emerged corresponding to the demand for goods like clothes, oil, betel nut powder and betel leaf and to the market needs and led to the growth of towns. Anyhow mostly ornaments, silk clothes, gilded clothes, art pieces, scents and other such things for the luxury of feudal classes and for foreign market were manufactured. Goods to meet the needs of the town people also were manufactured.

In the feudal natural economy of the country initially towns developed mainly into centers of government administration and tourist places but not into commercial centers. In fact after the decline of the Guptas many kings did not even have a capital city on permanent basis. Anyhow the relatively stable centralized state of the Moghuls for nearly two centuries and the high growth of towns and cities gave a good momentum to handicrafts and trade. By the time British colonialists arrived nearly ten percent of the population of the country lived in towns. In some places

most of the town population worked as employees and workers in the industries.

With the towns and cities turning into centers of sale and purchase of rural and urban goods this market system inevitably showed its impact on agriculture and rural industries. Money relations gradually grew. Although the farmers initially depended upon money-lenders for payment of taxes the subsequent sale of a considerable part of agricultural produce in the market shows the remarkable growth in production of goods and transaction of money. Farmers partially produced indigo, sugarcane, raw silk and other such things to meet market demands from afar and nearby. Artisans sold a part of their surplus production in the market and purchased the necessary raw material. Subsequently there was a division among them and villages of weavers and blacksmiths arose to provide goods for the extensive market.

Producers took up production of small scale goods and fulfilled the needs of the autocratic families, urbanites, army, rural rich and export market. While most of it was family labor wage laborers also were hired. During this period capitalist domestic industry that practiced putting-out system grew in various parts of the country. This diminished the relation between the traders and artisans as that of owner and slave. There were very few independent artisans that owned and freely sold their products than those in the control of mercantile capital. Although they had their own equipment and worked based on family labor they in fact turned wage laborers who sold their labor power to the traders.

Some parts of the country witnessed a mercantile capitalist hiring several artisans and engaging them in work in a factory. There was no division of labor. However a number of workers were engaged in manufacturing the same kind of material. Handicraft owners appointed up to 500 workers in various fields. There were weaving workshops, bangle manufacture, textile printing, production of salt and saltpeter, carpenter and other such industries in South India. This shows that a labor market existed. Ship building, diamond exploration, iron-steel, manufacture of silk thread, carpet weaving, sugar, colors and other such industries too witnessed capitalist production. There was methodical

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division of labor in these industries.

So undoubtedly there was considerable development of production of ordinary goods in some parts of India. But the persons who purchased and sold the goods did not arise from the artisans but from the business community that was carrying on trade activities for generations, due to the caste based feudal system. So there were many kinds of limitations in the growth of handicraft industries. The artisans were skilled and rich but were limited to their profession. They could not rise to the level of merchants. On the contrary they inevitably depended on the merchants for capital and sale of goods. This led the artisan class to permanent economic subjugation. The main reason for this situation was the availability of ordinary or the unskilled labor and skilled labor largely and cheaply; the inability of a large extent of real producers (artisans) to make technical inventions because of poverty and ignorance; merchants with cash capital were not part of the process of production due to caste system; they lacked the technical knowledge; they felt that instead of spending their capital to encourage technical inventions to revolutionize the methods of production it was more beneficiary for them to lend the artisans in advance and make them do bonded labor.

The merchants of the respective areas of the country earlier took up business limited to a few towns. They formed region-wise commercial markets and trade organisations that controlled the markets in the 16th and 17th centuries. Rajasthani Marwari, Gujarati banias, Tamil Chettiars, Kannada Banajigas were the prominent of them. By the beginning of the 18th century all the economic affairs of the Moghul Empire were centralized in the hands of these trading, money-lending classes (castes). Many Marwaris went to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and settled as important businessmen in the 17th and 18th centuries. By the time the British colonialists started to occupy India in the Plassey war (1757) mercantile capital and usury capital were well developed in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bengal, Mysore and Tamilnadu. Trade was in big momentum in Kembe, Surat, Ahmedabad of Gujarat, Dhaka and Mursheedabad in Bengal, Agra, Lahore, Chennapatnam (Madras), Bengaluru, Davanagere and Machilipatnam.

However the process of transformation of small industrial producers, merchants or usury traders into capitalists took place in a slow pace in India. Feudal mode of production has to normally follow one of the two processes Marx suggested to transform into capitalist mode of production. In the first way industrial capitalists emerge from the producers of small goods. They take birth from inside the small producer economy. In the second way the merchant transforms into industrial capitalist (producer). Small producers are subjugated to mercantile capitalists. This involves specific mixture of several forms of exploitation, meaning the forms to extract and distribute the benefit of surplus value. There are methods like extraction of absolute rent by non-economic coercion, which were, pre-capitalist form of exploitation, by social and political pressure and trade-usury exploitation. More than the first way the second way is more slow, painful and bureaucratic by character.

The state of Mysore towards independent capitalism: If we see the changes in the relations of production in the state of Mysore that developed independently for 40 years even after the British aggression in 1757 we understand that there was a possibility for the emergence of capitalism in India. In this state the hegemony of landlords (palegars) was ended and a strong modern centralized state was established. There were nearly one lakh permanent employees and other one lakh part-time employees in the government administration. This apart there was a regular army of one and a half lakh soldiers and another one and a half militia called kandacharas. The land of landlords, waste land and lands not cultivated for more than ten years were distributed to poor peasants and Dalits on the basis of land only to the tiller irrespective of caste and religion. Irrigation facilities were expanded in a large way. One-third, i.e. 38 percent of the total cultivable land was brought under irrigation. This resulted not only in the growth of per capita productivity of land but a considerable growth in the production of ordinary goods. Commodity-money relations expanded. The peasantry was forced to depend on the market. While there was self-sufficient economy in most of the villages in India, the weekly markets of the state of Mysore at that time shows the process of development of mode of production of ordinary goods.

With the end of pategars that were feudal lords and the establishment of a centralized modern state there were no hurdles to the development of mercantile capitalism. Moreover they could even prevent British goods into their state. Thus they totally encouraged the local banijaga merchants. This is the reason banijaga merchants supported the rulers of the state of Mysore Hyder and Tippu and stood strong in the anti-British struggle. At the same time we see that the banias of Gujarat, the marwaris of Rajasthan and the Gowda saraswata Brahmans of the west coast of Goa and Karnataka collaborated with the feudal classes and the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialists and worked as their middlemen. Banijaga merchants of Mysore could play a progressive role since textile industry was the fastest growing in the country and Karnataka and since it was dependent on agriculture. They extended support to the artisans and the peasantry in their struggle against the pategars and the Brahman class. They symbolized national bourgeoisie.

In 1791 there were 90 towns in the state of Mysore. The urban population was estimated to be 21 percent. A major portion of production was putting-out system in big towns like Srirangapattanam, Bengaluru, Nagar, Sira and Bellary. In this method merchants gave a little money to the artisans as advance for production of goods. Although the artisans produced with their own implements we can say that this stage was their transformation into wage laborers. Unable to repay loans some of the workers dependent on the merchants for raw material gradually carried out production in a single workshop. We observe this more in the production of goods like glass articles, oil and clothes. Moreover manufacture of silk, cotton clothes, iron, steel and sugar was mostly in the form of 'capitalist manufacture'. Ten to twenty workers (wage laborers who lost their implements and sold only their labor power) worked under a capitalist in iron manufacturing 'forges'. These industries took up capitalist type of production based on division of labor. Also, few public sector industries took up modern capitalist factory production with the help of machinery.

Mass production of goods with modern machines in few industries was a revolutionary step forward in the historic conditions of that time.

The machine to drill 130 musket barrels at a time was one example. The arms factory of Bidanuru produced twenty thousand guns and muskets per annum. Double barrel pistols were produced in Srirangapattanam. This apart there were factories that manufactured watches, cutlery, magnifiers, scissors, scientific equipment, factories that manufactured war material, guns, muskets, carbines and rockets, a gun-powder factory, a paper mill and industries that manufactured glass material. Hundreds of foreign technical experts were brought from France, Germany, Turkey, Arab countries and China. Such artisans, arms manufacturers, watch makers, manufacturers of cutlery brought along with them technical knowledge and modern world outlook.

These consequences led to the initiation of the disintegration of feudal society and the stage of transformation of mercantile capital into industrial capital in the state of Mysore. National bourgeois consciousness arose among the merchant classes and government employees. But the victory of the British over the state of Mysore in 1799 suppressed the voice of the nascent national bourgeoisie and the process of development of capitalist mode of production was affected.

On the whole capitalist features came into being in an embryonic form in the womb of feudal economy in India. Several big industries that hired workers in large numbers emerged. There was division of labor among the workers. The capitalist domestic industry that produced in putting-out method in the control of mercantile capital became the main structural form of these industries. So the factory did not transform into industries. The leap from the stage of manufacture to major scale machinery industry did not take place. There is no direct relation and continuity between these two stages of development. We see such kind of development of capitalist production and knowledge only in a few areas.

To put in brief, however compact the pre-colonial caste based feudal system in India was, though big mercantile capital did not play a considerable role in expanding the domestic market and in increasing the productivity of handicrafts and thus developing industrial capitalist enterprises, however strong caste customs were, the following main factors came forth that weakened the old feudal system; although natural

economy held supremacy in rural India there was the trend of expanding production of ordinary goods in agriculture and industries. The trend of growing right to private property on land clearly came forth. There was polarization among the peasantry. Role of cash grew in the economy. A considerable portion of agricultural produce was meant for market. Hiring wage laborers in agriculture came into being. Production of ordinary goods in industries reached a high stage and goods manufacturing factories arose in some areas. Conditions were not that favorable but there were technical inventions and replications. Direct producers seldom emerged as industrial capitalists. Trade and foreign commerce spread in the country. By the end of Moghul rule there was a spurt in political, social, theoretical movements such as resistance struggles of farmers and artisans against feudalism, bhakti movement, Sikhism, the development of several national languages and the beginning of the development of nationalities. There were several changes in social relations. Although in a weak manner, capitalist forces began to sprout in the womb of the old, ruining feudal society. So it is not at all correct to say that pre-colonial Indian society came to a standstill and was inefficient and that the period before colonial rule is a dark era. On the whole undoubtedly Indian economy would have gradually transformed into capitalist mode of production from feudal mode of production. In the concrete conditions of the country if such a change occurred it would have taken much more time and it would have been much more painful than in West Europe.

Although handicrafts developed to a higher stage in urban areas of pre-British India and there was large scale trade with the foreign countries, self-sufficient economy was not much affected. In fact this economy was the main hurdle to transform the mercantile capital into industrial capital. Like in West Europe land was not a commodity and the commodity-money relations that considerably spread to the rural areas could not create a big social fissure. Hindu orthodox custom and compact caste system made the division of labor permanent and prevented social change.

The solid caste system (varnashrama dharma) barred the handicrafts from becoming traders. Since the Vysyas alone were to take up trade as per caste rule almost the whole merchant class and money-lenders (except

few Muslims and Parsis) of India belong to the Vysya caste. These traders never participated in production. Since the beginning they benefited out of transaction of goods but not from production of goods. They did not invest the money earned either to increase production or productivity like a capitalist. They acted as bankers giving loans, exchangers of money, tax collectors serving feudal lords and commission agents for foreign traders and earned money. They lent the nawabs and kings for wars. In this way mercantile capital was accumulated through preserving feudal system and caste system. More than investing the money earned as capital it was mainly given for loans and so reproduction was in much primary forms. In order to save it from feudal lords and due to danger from thieves, instead of changing the money earned into capital it was kept in the form of gold, ornaments and valuable stones. Much money was spent on temples, palaces, gold ornaments, architecture and art pieces. Few Matts and temples had so many properties that foreign kings and nawabs invaded India for the sake of this wealth. Mohammad Gazni invaded Somnath temple in Gujarat 17 times and stole crores of rupees worth gold and diamonds. Within a short time after each attack the temples once again prospered with riches. This crores of rupees of property was the surplus production exploited from the peasantry and artisans. They were in severe poverty while the feudal kings enjoyed luxury. The internal markets that came to a standstill due to self-sufficient rural economy and a kind of motionlessness due to caste order did not allow handicrafts and trade to become one indivisible lively structure. These factors dictated the economic direction of entire India (during the British period and even until now) and showed a severe unfavorable impact on the development of capitalist relations.

Anyhow as said above in view of the changes going on in economy feudal ruling classes kept the trading classes in their control and molded the economy according to their interests. Therefore in pre-colonial India, in spite of numerous revolts against feudalism, change of states due to several foreign invasions on the country and formation of strong centralized states, there was no fundamental change in the solidly institutionalized self-sufficient rural economy. Due to all these reasons

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feudalism in India was relatively stable for more than two and a half centuries and obstructed social development.

Relations of production stood in the way of the development of forces of production during British colonial rule

By the time British colonialists captured India in the second half of the 19th century capitalism began to develop from inside the feudal society in some parts of our country. During this period they collaborated with the feudal kings, feudal lords, money-lenders and merchants that turned into their middlemen and eliminated Jhansi Lakshmi Bai, Tantiya Tope and such those that stood against their invasion and hegemony. They unleashed massacres and utmost inhuman atrocities through the British army and the Indian mercenary army formed in its affiliation. In order to mystify this medieval kind of massacre they created illusions that 'western culture' was the most developed in the world and introduced slave culture that slaves British imperialism based on Indian feudal social foundation. They turned our country as their colony, as the source of raw material for their industrial production and as a market for their industrial goods for nearly two centuries and obstructed the independent development of capitalism in the country. Thus Indian feudal society became colonial, semi-feudal society. The policies introduced in our country by the British imperialists in their economic, political and military interests led to considerable changes in class relations and Brahmanic caste based feudal relations. As a result Comprador Bourgeois class, modern educated section, modern proletariat, various bourgeois parties along with Congress and the Communist Party emerged. Colonialism unleashed severe exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination towards the people of the country and there was a countrywide upsurge of struggles for freedom and independence. This led to national democratic revolutionary movement. In view of the prominent changes in world capitalism, especially in British capitalism/colonialism this period can be divided into three phases – the stage of mercantile capital, stage of industrial capital and the stage of finance capital.

1. The stage of mercantile capital

This stage continued from 1757 to 1813. All the exploitive methods the British colonialists adopted in this stage were mainly related to unequal trade and primary capital accumulation. East India Company played the main role in this. The main methods of exploitation it unleashed were – 1. Exploitation through unequal trade; 2. Extraction and exploitation of artisans and merchants by force; 3. Imposing heavy additional taxes; 4. Looting the people and wealth of the country by direct attacks of the army; 5. Oppression of indigo planters. This direct loot began after the East India Company brought Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under its rule in the Plassey war in 1757.

Initially the main motive of East India Company was to gain profits through monopoly on trading goods manufactured in India. As a part of it, it mainly purchased Indian goods for dead cheap prices by force and minted profits by selling them in the world market for high price. For this purpose it forced the artisans to produce the goods of their needs through their agents (Parsis of Mumbai, banias of Gujarat and marwaris of Rajasthan worked as 'mukaddams') and its clerks. There was a rule that weavers registered in the Company should neither work for anyone nor sell their goods. By that time England did not yet develop into an industrial country. Silver and gold had to be spent to buy spices, silk and cotton clothes that had extensive demand in Europe and all over the world. At that time India always had trade surplus.

Prominent changes in Indian economy in the stage of mercantile capitalism: 1. Revival of the ruining feudal relations so as to fulfill British colonial interests; 2. Peasants lost their traditional right to land and land became a commodity, penetration of commodity-money relations; 3. Destructive impact on Indian industry and commerce; 4. Destruction of self-sufficient rural economy and liquidation of peasantry and artisans; 5. Several old independent big traders and bankers of India liquidated and merchant and money-lenders who worked as middlemen for the British transformed into trading class and strengthened; 6. Domestic market shrunk further.

Revival of feudal relations: East India Company strengthened the

feudal kings, nawabs and other feudal forces to mainly seize the heavy surplus out of the crops produced by the peasants and production of ordinary goods by the artisans. In places it could establish its direct rule it created new feudatories. It preserved the utmost reactionary social and religious customs and organisations against which there were extensive revolts during pre-colonial rule. It halted the process of developing unity between Hindu and Muslim communities that has been going on since the Akbar period and set it back. It revived several evils such as sati. The most heinous untouchability rose in Indian society during the colonial rule. Macaulay system of education was introduced with the motive to create modern educated section to fulfill colonial interests.

Apart from the unequal commerce in the market, collection of tenancy rent also was one main source of profits for the company. Company collected 90 percent of the tax the feudatories collected from the peasants or the company itself collected tenancy rent from the peasants or else it threatened the feudal lords and collected duties from them. This squashed the peasantry in the form of land tax. In a way company acted like a big landlord. One third of the population (more than one crore farmers and artisans) died in the horrible famine in Bengal in 1770 but tax collection in 1771 exceeded the collections of 1768. More than half of the tax collected from this state was shifted to England. Land revenue went on being increased every year and this pushed the peasantry in pathetic living conditions. Anyhow with the right to sell and buy lands through the Permanent settlement of Bengal Act of 1793 land became a commodity. There was considerable rise in production of market based crops in agriculture. These policies led to large scale devastation of peasants and forces of production. The minimum water sources during the period of feudal lords were depleted; tax burden increased; and peasants did not cultivate the fields the consequence of which, within 20 years of British invasion of the country one third of the cultivable land in Bengal turned barren. Bengal farmer firstly experienced exploitation that was unprecedented during the rule of any feudal king in the history of India.

Decline of domestic market: In addition to the heavy taxes on Indian exports the British also imposed duties on internal commerce and taxes

on artisans. There were no price/payments of the export goods and there was a considerable part of loot. This dampened the production and transaction of goods. Tax was collected as per contract irrespective of the yield of crop and this considerably reduced the income of feudal lords and feudatories. Artisans producing mainly for them ended in bankruptcy. Purchasing power of the people fell and market declined much more.

Independent big traders ruin – Comprador merchants develop: During the colonial rule many old giant merchants and bankers of East India lost. Banias, money-lenders, merchants, feudatories and diwans who worked for the British government as middlemen developed. They earned abundant wealth in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Independent merchants were thrown away not only from foreign commerce but also internal commerce of the country. On the other hand in India the process of transformation of artisans into traders was almost absent, traders never participated in production and so there were more feudal characteristics than capitalist features. Therefore they could very easily become compradors to the colonialists. Almost all Marwari, Gujarati money-lenders and Parsi traders that served the old feudal kings and Moghul emperors acted as comprador class for the British. Colonialists could end the Muslim rule in Bengal and the state of Mysore only with the support of Indian comprador merchants. They also worked as collectors of taxes and were part of British financial companies. However, all their trade transactions were in the control of mercantile capital. This comprador class earned massive wealth through their support to the East India Company in squeezing the vast masses of India. It was propped as an instrument of colonial exploitation and oppression. It grew unstoppable like a strong weed in the colonial, semi-feudal society. Thus the development of the country not only slowed down in economic, social, political, theoretical and other such spheres but was also distorted. Colonial rule created the social basis to hinder the development of independent capitalism in our country.

‘Industrial Revolution’ took place in England with the stolen wealth of India by British colonialists. With this change the industries needed raw material at a cheap rate. British industrial products needed outside markets

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also. In the resulting conflict between mercantile capital and industrial capital naturally industrial capital gained the upper hand. By 1813 East India Company lost monopoly.

2. The stage of industrial capital

This stage continued from 1813 to the beginning of the 20th century. The main changes in Indian economy in this stage were – 1. The most prominent change was as a colony Indian economy became an inseparable part of the world capitalist system in a dependent status; 2. It was degraded to the situation of importing industrial goods from that of export, turned a market for the British goods; 3. Feudal relations transformed into semi-feudal relations; 4. Indian comprador merchants began transforming into comprador bourgeois class; 5. Emergence of modern proletariat; 6. With the further ruin of artisans and peasantry there was stagnation in the domestic market.

Indian economy faced an irrecoverable blow with the country well known as an exporter until the beginning of the 19th century degraded to that of an importer of industrial goods due to the severe impact of colonial rule. Colonialists did not establish any new industries in India and lakhs of artisans lost their livelihood and migrated from the towns to villages. By the end of the 18th century several towns like Dhaka, Murshidabad and Surat that could be compared with London transformed into villages. With the migration of urban population to the villages there was extreme rise in rural population and much pressure on agriculture. India was made into an agrarian colonial, semi-feudal country supplying the necessary raw material and other primary products to the British industries.

Explaining the way the new methods of exploitation that colonialism adopted changed Indian economy Marx wrote – ‘It was the British intruder who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning-wheel. England began with driving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindostan, and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons....British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindostan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry. (*The British rule in India*, 1853, Para 11). Thus colonialism became a severe obstacle to the development

of forces of production.

Zamindari, Ryotwari and Mahalwari methods that the British introduced in various parts of India strengthened feudal relations of production in agriculture on a new foundation. The tenancy rent the farmers paid through land revenue policy that the British government implemented is not capitalist land rent but the cruelest, savage feudal land rent. It helped for maximum collection of rent and to gain profits through unequal exchange. It encouraged comprador trade and usury trade. The old feudatories were affected due to the 1793 Permanent settlement of Bengal Act and the Regularisation acts that followed it. In their place merchants, banias and diwans who became rich all of a sudden through their service to the British became a vast rich landlord class and new bania landlords emerged. They had unlimited powers to unleash cruel violence, to beat and kill, to burn houses and to totally impart loss to the farmers for tenancy rent. Every landlord engaged mercenary forces for this purpose. Farmers who ran away from land were forcibly brought back and tied to the land. This gave rise to a new kind of feudal slavery in addition to bonded labor. Money-lenders/landlords had large number of loan deeds with which they could seize the whole crop of the farmer. In Bengal poor farmers were sold and purchased like cattle. Thus the British government, landlords and money-lenders degraded majority of the farmers into slaves and exploited not only their surplus labor but also a considerable part of labor necessary in their life. Farmers had to pay heavy revenue tax in cash and so considerable number of them had to inevitably shift to commercial crops. As a result they had to face not only feudal exploitation but also that of stock business. The vast amounts of profits the British and their Indian compradors earned were not out of ordinary capitalist commerce but profits of stock business with semi-feudal character extracted by force and fraud.

We must see three important changes for lack of industrial development in this period even on comprador basis – 1. It was harmful for the interests of British colonialists. In order to keep India as a dependent system supplying raw material to Britain it is necessary to affect local industries and see that there is no industrial development; 2. Colonial

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economy collaborated with merchant, usury capital of India and British bourgeoisie and unleashed extreme exploitation on the people. This led to the distorted form of industrial development; 3. Considerable industrial development in any country is not possible without capitalist development of agricultural sector. However there was no capitalist development in agricultural sector because British colonialists propped feudal forces of India so as to exploit the food material and other agricultural raw material at a dead cheap rate and because of the total cooperation of the Indian comprador capitalists. At the same time the conditions imposed to let 563 'Indian states' that were not in the control of the British, remain independent came to be the conditions for their permanent collapse and severe ineffectiveness. Due to the above reasons as Marx initially guessed, construction of Railways, improvement of other transport facilities, development of plantations and mines could not develop forces of production and capitalism in a big way.

In this stage in 1833 the British started tea, rubber, coffee plantations and mines in the country to produce the necessary raw materials for their industries. By 1869 they laid railway lines in a length of four thousand miles in the country for transport of material. Later they laid railway lines linking Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. They unleashed severe repression on the peasantry, physically tortured them, made them slaves to produce cotton, tobacco, indigo, opium, jute, sugarcane and other such things necessary for the British industries in a big way and exported them. The workers of tea plantations worked like slaves. It was an ordinary thing to beat them with whips. Thousands of workers died unable to bear the violence of the British and their compradors. They ran away into the forests. Each of these crop yields carried the blood stains of farmers and workers. Exports of food material especially rice and wheat too rose 22 times.

There was a change in the policy of collection of land tax according to the industrial needs of the British. The role of merchant and usury capitals increased. Leech like money-lenders and merchants emerged in every village. Except in the plantations established for British industrial needs agriculture continued in feudal methods in most of the land. There was

extreme rise in population dependent on agriculture, British government absolutely neglected irrigation, leaving aside the cultivation of waste lands, and cultivable land was made barren, there were various kinds of feudal exploitation due to which peasantry lost their lands and all these led to the reduction of per capita cultivable land day by day. There were small holdings, land was cultivated in feudal and pre-capitalist methods and so there was considerable decrease in productivity of land. Farmer was put to various kinds of exploitation and at a certain point cultivation of land became a burden.

A striking feature of this stage was that the peasantry of the country was burdened with loans. A report of the Famine Commission mentioned that by 1880 nearly two thirds of the farmers fell in the mire of loans and it was impossible for them to overcome it. Famine and poverty were all over. Nearly 2.6 crore people died out of hunger from 1876 to 1900.

In places where the farmers grew commercial crops for export they had to inevitably depend on merchants for food material. This affected them in two ways. When prices fell in the world market the farmers had to lose everything. On the other hand they had to buy food material for the rates fixed by merchants. When crops did not give enough yield merchants lent the farmers on interest and bought the crop as per their wish. Bania and Marwari merchants heaped profits in this way.

Comprador big bourgeois class: In India industrial capitalism did not develop independently by giving a blow to the deep rooted feudalism. The local capitalist mode of manufacture that arose in a few places and its knowledge were crushed during the colonial rule. Several decades' later capitalism that developed in far off Britain collaborated with feudalism for its needs and artificially established few industrial centers. It destroyed the capitalist relations rising from the womb of Indian feudal society and pasted artificial dependent capitalism on this society. The land taxes that the feudal kings of the feudatories (such as Gwalior, Mysore, Baroda, Indore, Travancore) and other feudal forces collected squeezing the peasantry to the core and the capital the big landlords and maharajahs (Darbhanga, Bardhaman) invested were one main source of the capital invested in the Indian industries.

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The Indian Comprador bourgeoisie that worked as compradors for the colonialists for a long time was least interested to invest the abundant wealth it earned in industries. The motive behind the cotton ginning mills and pressing mills was to contribute to easily export the raw cotton product and encourage commerce. However since the beginning of 1850s to World War I the Indian Comprador Bourgeoisie mainly invested in two industries – textile mills and iron-steel factories. But all through this stage money-lending and merchandise were their main sphere of activity. It was the British colonialists that built these textile mills, supplied machines and spare parts for manifold high prices, provided the technical knowledge and ran those machines and mills. In that situation the market for the goods manufactured in those mills too was totally dependent on the British. There was severe variation in the wages of foreign personnel and Indian personnel. These owners of textile mills absolutely dependent on the mercy of the British, supplied raw cotton to the British textile mills in Lancashire from India and sold the thread and clothes produced there in the Indian market. It means they acted as comprador merchants for the British and became an obstacle for real industrial development of the country. In the end of the 19th century on one hand the thread produced in India was affected by Japanese products in the Chinese market and on the other the Tatas exported raw cotton to the same Japanese mills. The main objective of Indian big bourgeois class is to work for their interests more than those of the country through serving the imperialists. This is its class essence. The westernization movement held by the comprador and feudal forces of the country further strengthened the shackles of colonial rule.

The organisations and boards established by the Indian big bourgeoisie and the supremacy of British colonialists on them shows us clearly their dependent relations. In this stage industries were established mostly with British capital. The British allowed the compradors of India to establish textile mills because they can no way compete with the British textile mills. Another reason was the need to market British machines. The clothes manufactured in those mills were of low quality and rough and they cannot compete with the clothes of high quality manufactured in the Lancashire

mills in Britain. Another important industry that the Indian big bourgeoisie established with the cooperation of feudal lords was iron and steel factory. Coming to this the US technical experts built and managed it. The mutual relations among the comprador bourgeois class, feudal lords and imperialists are clear from the establishment of this industry. This industry helped the war interests of British imperialists.

This is the reason Indian Comprador Big Bourgeoisie did not question British imperialist exploitation and oppression. They accepted colonial rule as a boon and only asked for a little improvement in the colonial administrative machinery. They tried to achieve power and special rights in their interest in this administrative framework.

3. The stage of finance capital

This stage began with the emergence of imperialism in the beginning of the 20th century. In this stage too British investments entered only Railways, mining, plantations and few jute and textile mills. Before World War I (1913) 2,704 crore pounds of British capital flowed into the country. The main intention of this capital was not to industrialise the country but to loot the raw materials of our country and to bring industrial products from Britain to market in our country.

British imperialists formed the Industrial Commission of India in 1916. They imported the necessary machines for the industries established in India from Britain. They appointed only the British where the jobs required technical knowledge. They were established in between the two World Wars. They held control on of those industries through managing agency enterprises. They controlled the financial companies also. They did not set up heavy industries. The British were so much against the establishment of vital industries in India that although they necessarily did establish companies manufacturing native machines and equipment during the period of WW I, they destructed them immediately after the war ended. Similarly during WW II they established the most necessary vital industries in Canada, Australia and New Zealand of the British Empire where the white race resides but not in India.

The following three economic, military and political reasons made British-Indian government change its industrial policy since WW I. This

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led to formation of industries in India – 1. The competition from economically powerful imperialist countries like the US and Germany. 2. Military security of the British Empire. 3. There was the need to give certain subsidies for the reliable service provided by the Indian big bourgeois class and to cool down the anger of the people against the British imperialists.

After WW I British imperialism weakened and in its place the US occupied the supreme position in the capitalist-imperialist world. Moreover the success of October Revolution in Russia and the rising of the first Socialist state in the world showed the path of liberation to the oppressed people of the world. It posed a danger to the imperialist system. WW I pointed out the necessity of an industrial camp on the East. WW I brought unbearable difficulties and misery to the people of India and unprecedented opportunities for the Comprador Big Bourgeoisie to accumulate profits. Influenza took the lives of one crore 40 lakh people in 1918. In this background the British imperialists provided certain subsidies to the Indian Comprador Big Bourgeoisie that was serving them in the interests of imperialism more than in those of India in order to strengthen their social basis.

As a part of it they provided opportunity to their reliable servants the Comprador Big Bourgeois to establish industries, especially cotton textile manufacturing industries in such a way that does not create loss to them. As a result the Congress party representing the Indian Comprador Big capitalists liquefied the anti-British struggle in the beginning of the 1920s. A document of the Communist International mentioned thus about this situation in 1928 – ‘Fear of the revolutionary movement during the war compelled British imperialism to make concessions to the native bourgeoisie, as shown, in the economic sphere, in higher duties on imported goods, and, in the political sphere, in insignificant parliamentary reforms introduced in 1919. Nevertheless a strong ferment, expressed in a series of revolutionary outbreaks against British imperialism, was produced among the Indian masses as a result of the ruinous consequences of the imperialist war (famine and epidemics, 1918), the catastrophic deterioration of the position of wide sections of the working

population, the influence of the Russian October revolution and of a series of insurrections in other colonial countries (as for example the struggle of the Turkish people for independence). This first great anti-imperialist movement in India (1919-22) ended with the betrayal by the Indian bourgeoisie of the cause of national revolution. The chief reason for this was the fear of the growing wave of peasant risings, and of the strikes against native employers. The collapse of the national-revolutionary movement and the gradual decline of bourgeois nationalism enabled British imperialism once more to revert to its policy of hindering India's industrial development' (*P532, Paragraphs 3, 4 & 5 of Volume II, 1919-1928 of Documents of The Communist International*).

In this process by 1934-35 three fourths of the clothes utilized in India started to be manufactured in the country. British capitalists established monopoly on Indian cotton textile market by establishing 'Discriminatory protection' together with the Indian mill owners to face competition from Japan textiles. They preserved and encouraged Tata of the Indian Comprador Bourgeois class in steel industry only to prevent steel products of Germany and Belgium into the Indian market. They introduced division of labor in the steel industry in the name of 'imperialist preference' so as the British can retain the manufacture of best steel and India can produce only low quality steel. They imposed a rule that Indian Railways must buy only British steel.

The investments of the Indian big bourgeois companies and the British or other foreign companies were integrated so well that it was difficult to separate them. Anyhow control was in the hands of the foreigners. According to the list issued by the Bombay shareholders association in 1932 handful of Indian directors had supremacy on Indian business. Out of them F.E. Din Shah had shares in 65 industrial enterprises, Sir Purushottam Das Thakur in 42, Sir Firoz C. Setna in 34, H.C. Modi in 14, Sir Lalubhai Syamaldas in 26 and N.B.Saklatwala in 29. British finance capital was exported to India from 1860s to 1930 conforming to the important changes in British capitalism. Then the ratio of British and Indian investments was 40:60. This collaboration led to the growth of industries in India. Moreover Indian comprador capital indulged in also exploitation

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of other colonies of British Empire. By 1930 Tamil Chettiar money-lenders spread their comprador activities to Sri Lanka, Malaya, Singapore and especially to several South-east Asian countries like Burma. Their capital gradually entered the industries of these countries.

Managing Agency system: The Managing Agency system reflects the non-industrial activities of the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie. This became a hurdle to industrial development. Indian big bourgeoisie strengthened through this British agency. This had supremacy on several independent industrial, trading companies. This system placed the production sector in the hands of a few finance capitalists. The Managing Agencies gave rise to big finance enterprises that were a mixture of odds. So instead of real industrial growth, enterprises that gain very large profits with very less risk were established. The Indian Industrial Commission mentioned this saying that Managing Agents rejected to invest in industries where there were no opportunities for utmost profits and therefore necessary industries also were not set up. Structurally these were feudal kind of organisations. These stood in the way of flow of capital from trading sector to the sector of industrial production.

By the time of transfer of power, the share of modern industry in the industrial sector was very less (a mere 6 to 8 percent in national income) and small cottage industries and mines had 12 to 14 percent. On the whole urban population was 10 percent of the population of the country in 1901 and it grew to only 11 percent in 1931 and 12.8 percent in 1941. The most important feature of Indian industrial sector was the near lack of production of capital goods (or the producer goods). India had to almost totally depend on foreign imports for machinery. Thus foreign finance capital flowed into only a few consumer industries, trade, insurance and other such commercial sectors. Banking and insurance sectors were totally in the control of the British.

During World War II Indian big capital developed closer relations with the British capital and colonial government. In reciprocation to the services of the Indian Big Bourgeoisie to the British imperialists in WW II the British government helped them in things like purchasing their goods. By virtue of their nature they did not see the war as an opportunity to bring down

imperialism but to help the British imperialists, and if necessary the Japanese imperialists and as a way to fulfill their interests by pushing the people into more poverty. The war showered gold for them. During this war India became an important base for the imperialists. This collaboration in war brought indescribable difficulties and misery to crores of people. It caused the death of lakhs of people.

Semi-feudal relations in agriculture: During the stage of finance capital agriculture became stagnant due to lack of growth. In the period 1911-1941 per capita agricultural production went on falling down by 0.72 percent on an average. During this period although the per capita non-food agricultural production raised by 14 percent the per capita food crop production fell by 29 percent. The reasons being – 1. Large scale cultivation of commercial crops like cotton, tobacco, jute, sugarcane and plantations like rubber, coffee, tea, indigo and opium, the existence of semi-feudal relations dependent on British imperialist sponsored market; 2. The feudatories instead of investing in agriculture earned money without difficulty easily by giving land to tenancy; 3. The tenants were exploited by many layers of landlords and so they did not have the opportunity to develop agriculture in modern methods; 4. The government did not at all help for development of agriculture but extracted heavy land taxes; 5. Money-lenders and merchants collected giant interests; 6. Although rich peasantry emerged in many areas (especially in Ryotwari areas) they too purchased lands with their earnings and either turned landlords or became money-lenders but did not invest in agriculture; 7. Prices of agricultural products fell down extremely due to famine, poverty and economic depression, the peasantry lost their little savings and could not invest in agriculture; 8. Land holdings always suffered fragmentation and became small.

Changes in classes and class relations during colonial rule: 1. British imperialism preserved feudalism in India and utilized it as its social prop. Agriculture and handicrafts fell into permanent crisis since the British imperialist rulers introduced capitalist relations according to their interests without fundamentally changing the feudal hold on the vast peasant masses thus affecting the self-sufficient rural economy, big independent

trading class was wiped out and there was no alternate independent capitalist growth. This led to large scale destruction of forces of production. Semi-feudal relations came into existence. We call this distorted development. 2. Several old feudatories too deteriorated. New feudatory class and landlord class developed. 3. Comprador Big Bourgeois class emerged constituting the feudal Kings, feudatories, diwans, comprador traders and money-lending classes that came forth to invest in commercial crops and industries corresponding to the needs and schemes of the British colonialists. This is a class that absolutely depended on imperialism for its survival and growth. This became a tool for colonial exploitation and oppression and played an important role in the colonial loot of natural resources of the country. 4. The agrarian crisis created by the colonialists intensified class division among the peasantry. Landless-poor farmers grew in large numbers. Middle class farmers and a section of rich farmers fell in critical situation due to the market dependent crises. 5. This crisis showed utmost impact on untouchable castes (Dalits) and tribal people. Although there was class division among them they mainly represented the oppressed classes. In spite of considerable changes in the caste system caste question had a strong place both in the base and superstructure. Patriarchy changed forms but women continued to be considered as secondary citizens and to face exploitation, oppression and discrimination. Priority was given to Brahmanic Hindu ideology and hatred between the Hindu-Muslim communities was revived thus degrading the religious minority Muslims into secondary citizens. 6. Semi-proletariat emerged in the commercial crops and plantations developed in the interests of British imperialists. With the establishment of few industries, railways, ports, post and telegraph, mines and other such sectors modern proletariat came onto the front stage of history of the country out of the peasantry that suffered extreme poverty. In 1919 the number of workers in heavy industrial sector of the country grew to 13, 65,000. In 1946 the number of workers that participated in strike was 19, 61,984. 7. A petty bourgeois section emerged from the modern educated as a result of growth of towns and the Macaulay education system the British introduced to fulfill their needs related to administration. This was not a single entity but put to intense class polarization.

During WW II when British imperialism suffered and it had increasing contradiction with the US imperialism a section of the Indian Big Bourgeois class developed close relations with US imperialism. The Indian Comprador Bourgeois class tried to gain some more subsidies utilizing the contradictions between the US and British imperialism. 'A brief memorandum outlining a plan of economic development for India' popularly known as the Bombay plan adopted in 1944 was a part of it. This plan was formulated by the representatives of the Big Bourgeois class like Tata and Birla but it came out according to the strategy of British and US imperialists to utilize India mainly for exports of their investments. As per this after independence it did not take up nationalization of foreign capital but invited more foreign capital. It permitted collaborated companies and foreign enterprises for capital, machinery and technical knowhow and facilitated the way for neo-colonial methods of exploitation.

Bombay plan did not make any proposal to eliminate feudalism, feudatories and to redistribute land. It suggested 'unification of holdings', 'forcible cooperative agriculture' as the solution for agrarian question of the country. Forcing cooperative agriculture without wiping out feudalism in a situation of severe variation in the size of land holdings and severe burden of loans on the farmers is nothing but leaving the peasantry to the mercy of the landlords and money-lenders. It was later proved that 'acquiring the land of landlords not interested in direct cultivation' also was only a reform for decoration. Also the proposal to 'wipe out the burden of loans of the farmers through cooperative associations' in the leadership of traditional money lenders is nothing but handing over the rural cooperatives to the money-lenders, landlords and the traders.

Thus as part of the Bombay plan the Indian comprador bourgeoisie established 'new kind of relations' with the British and US investments. It was prepared for joint ventures with imperialist monopoly enterprises. The agreements did not propose establishing any vital heavy industries. Power was transferred in 1947 only after the imperialist monopoly capitalists made such earlier agreements with the Indian comprador bourgeoisie.

The history of India since the beginning of British colonial rule is that

of unending struggles of the Indian people against the British imperialists and feudal exploitation and oppression, great revolutionary peasant rebellions, tribal revolts and proletariat struggles. The several peasant struggles and revolts that arose from the Santhal tribal revolt of 1854-1856 finally led to the first independence struggle in 1857. This spread like wild fire all over the country and shook the foundations of British rule. Anyhow it finally failed due to the betrayal of feudal leadership. But there were large number of armed peasant and tribal revolts against the British colonialists and their landlord compradors. But they too failed as by that time the proletariat was not strong enough and there was no revolutionary party. British colonialists brought forth the Congress party in Gandhi's leadership to divert the rising anti-British national liberation movement. But the increasingly horrible living conditions of the toiling masses due to imperialist crisis and World War provoked large scale revolts of the peasantry, proletariat and other toiling masses. Revolutionary section of the petty bourgeoisie also occasionally became part of armed heroic struggles, especially in the struggles in the leadership of Bhagat Singh and his revolutionary group. Gandhian leadership that was in close relation with the British and represents the comprador big bourgeois, feudal classes intervened in this great independent struggle and diverted it from the path of struggle and the path of revolution with theories of non-violence, inactive resistance and hunger-strike and put it in the path of surrender and bargain. In return colonial rulers provided certain economic and political subsidies to it.

Communist Party of India formed in 1925 with the inspiration of the 1917 October Revolution refused to realise the actual character of Gandhian leadership in the national liberation movement and failed to draw a clear mark of demarcation with it and fight with the Gandhian leadership and in adopting proper path of revolution – the path of Protracted People's War in the anti-British national liberation war by applying Marxist theory to the concrete practice of Indian Revolution. It tailed the Gandhian leadership. It failed in identifying itself with the heroic Indian people, especially the peasantry. It refused to learn from China.

The imperialists faced a difficult situation with – the horrible defeat of

the fascist forces by the Red Army of Soviet Union and the people of the world in the leadership of the great leader Stalin in WW II; considerable deterioration of imperialism after war; establishment of people's democratic states in the East European countries; China revolution reaching the verge of great success in the leadership of Comrade Mao; the emergence of World Socialist system in one third of the world; and the rising independent/national liberation movements in the colonies all over the world. Therefore they changed their old direct colonial rule and form of exploitation and adopted a new form – the neo-colonial form of a new style constituted of indirect rule, exploitation and control based on selected, trained agents.

In the Indian sub-continent too, a unique revolutionary situation emerged during this period. A powerful countrywide movement for the release of prisoners of 'Azad Hind Fouz'; powerful anti-imperialist demonstrations of the students; powerful anti-feudal movements in the feudatories of Kings along with Tebhaga, Bakast movements and the postal-telegraph strike; the great revolt in Royal Indian navy in Bombay and rebellious trends in the Army and Air force; police revolt in Bihar; solidarity struggles of the proletariat, the beginning of the historic Telangana peasant armed struggle – all these brought the imperialist rule in India to almost a collapse. In such a situation the Indian Comprador Big Bourgeois class betrayed the Indian democratic revolution. The British imperialists made conspiracies basing on their reliable comprador agents, the leaders of Congress and Muslim League, instigated them to religious massacres and divided the country on the basis of religion. They handed over the power to the Congress party and went backstage. It means the 'independence' of 1947 is in essence sham but nothing else. In fact it became a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society under the indirect rule, exploitation and control of imperialism.

Semi-Colonial, Semi-Feudal Relations of Production (1947–1990)

After World War II, US imperialism came forth as a strong force as the only superpower in the world. Britain and France that won the war and Germany, Japan and Italy that lost became economically very weak. In addition to this the upsurge of national liberation struggles as a result of the emergence of powerful Socialist camp much more weakened imperialism in global scale. It brought a change in the balance of forces in class forces. Imperialism almost lost the strength to form colonies through direct rule. Imperialists started unleashing indirect/neo-colonial kind of exploitive policy as a part of turning these unfavorable conditions favorable to them. Imperialist capital allied with the feudal forces on one hand and comprador industrialists on the other in the erstwhile colonial/backward countries. Its objective was to subjugate/mold Indian economy in the interests of world capitalist system. Therefore the British imperialists handed over power to the leadership of the Congress party, their reliable agents and representatives of the comprador capitalist, big feudal classes and went backstage in 1947. That is the reason the comprador ruling classes in the leadership of Congress who came to power after the transfer of power did not disrupt the semi-feudal relations and structures of the country. This resulted in the transformation of colonial, semi-feudal India into semi-colonial, semi-feudal under the supremacy of several imperialist powers.

Unable to handle the spate of increasing people's struggles in their colonial countries, Britain and France transferred power to the exploitive ruling classes in those countries and made agreements with them so as their investments are not affected and their exploitation continues ceaselessly. Since the utmost powerful US imperialism did not almost have colonies it started to bring the colonies of other countries through indirect/neo-colonial policies into its hold. In order to achieve its aim it stated that it would stand for democracy as if it was opposing colonial policy. It entered the markets of several colonial countries in the name of free trade, free competition and free market much before WW II and started to increase its hold on the economies. With the end of colonial rule after war US

investments gained supremacy in many old colonial countries.

The emergence of Socialist camp with the end of WW II made a considerable impact on the economic development of erstwhile colonies like India. These countries could, to a certain extent take the help of Socialist countries for the growth of their economies. The ruling classes of these countries could sustain to an extent. They could bargain more with imperialism. But it was for a short while. Socialist camp disintegrated and Soviet Union degenerated into a Social-imperialist country and these countries fell deep into the clutches of imperialism. In the bipolar world that came forth in the end of 1960s and continued until mid-1980s these countries surrendered to imperialism and could be loyal mainly to one of the two.

We see that in 1947-1990s the politico-economic control of our country was first mainly in the hands of Britain and the US, later in that of Soviet imperialists and again in that of the US. All through this period British imperialism was a weakened secondary level imperialist force and unleashed its influence (economic and political) on our country. The other imperialist forces also did the same basing on their relative strengths internationally. Therefore we see the hegemony of various imperialist countries in the economic and political spheres of our country at various levels. Consequently it still continues as a semi-colony under the indirect rule, exploitation and control of various imperialist forces. Therefore we say that India did not become an independent country on 15th August 1947 and that the 'independence' is nominal and sham. The form of colonial exploitation and oppression changed but the essence persisted.

The various models of industrial growth brought by the Indian comprador rulers were heavily dependent on foreign 'assistance' in the forms of foreign capital, technology, machines, loans and funds. They constantly depended on foreign investment and promised nonstop profits to the imperialists. Now let us briefly see the important questions in India at the time of transfer of power.

The First question—feudal oppression: Majority of the people were suffering from feudal oppression. Since there was no anti-feudal democratic revolution in the country the feudal classes were absolutely

not affected. The feudal forces that totally allied with the British after the 1857 revolt were an important force in the Congress party. They always opposed the demand for land reforms. After 1947 though the monarchic states were annexed to Indian Union and an Act annulling feudatories was made, the feudal lords were paid proper compensation. They were given the right to cultivate their land. The feudal rulers of the respective states were coopted into the new power structure. Their monarchic privileges were allowed to a large extent.

By 1947 the feudatory system held 40 percent of the land in British India. 57 percent was under Ryotwari system and the rest under Mahalwari system. In feudatory areas 70 percent of the land was in the hands of the feudal lords. In Ryotwari areas the landlords held 30 to 50 percent of land. The peasantry held the rest of the land but they were burdened with severe loans and fell in a situation of losing the land.

Feudal princes and nawabs were paid 5 crore rupees of 'privy purses' per annum. Their lands, palaces, forts, bank balances in foreign banks, gold, diamonds and other such things were left untouched. Nizam the feudal ruler of Hyderabad, the Kings of kingdoms like Gwalior, Indore and Baroda invested a part of their income in the companies in the form of shares. After the annulment of the feudatories the feudal lords were paid a compensation of 670 crore rupees.

The hegemony of feudal forces continued in the rural area. They had considerable power in the government. Their opposition towards land reforms and the continuation of feudal oppression made most of the rural population poor. The landlords and the comprador rulers were least interested in developing productivity of agriculture, in improving the products or in the surplus for further investment. They spent their surplus in consumption of luxury goods. They invested in loans or in shares in joint stock companies. As a result agricultural production suffered many limitations. This stopped the growth of purchasing capacity of the peasantry and there was no enough market for industrial manufactured goods.

The Second question—imperialist capital: At the time of transfer of power foreign capital was dominant in the industrial sector. There was

264 crore rupees of foreign investment in India in 1948. Three fourths of it belonged to the British. This was concentrated in mining and processing industries. The entire foreign investment was organised in managing agency system. Two thirds of foreign capital was invested in traditional activities like tea and jute (20 percent). This was half of Indian exports. Trade amounted to 17 percent, construction 12 percent, electricity and transport 12 percent and mining 4 percent. The rest 35 percent was invested in manufacturing and petroleum sectors. Two fifths of the foreign investment was in the manufacturing sector and one third in new industries such as textiles, food, drinks, transport material, machines, metal products, electricity goods and chemicals.

There was 85 percent foreign control in jute, 80 percent in wood and leather, 70 percent in coal and other mines, 100 percent in gold and magnesium mines, 80 percent in inland steamer services and 100 percent in overseas shipping. One third of the imports and two fifths of the exports of India were in the hands of foreign companies. While foreign transaction banks gave more than two thirds of the financial help for import-export trade, nearly half of the non-life insurance trade was in foreign hands. Thus we see that in 1947 foreign investment experienced supremacy in Indian economy.

The Third question—Upside down and distorted industrial sector that developed in the interests of British imperialism: By the time of transfer of power Indian industries were mainly agriculture based, repair shops, rice mills, cooking oil mills, ordinary engineering that amounted to half of the entire industry. There was no capital goods sector.

Indian Comprador Big Bourgeois class emerged from trade and with the background of banking. It was not much interested in production. It paid more attention to marketing and trade. It considered industrial capital helpful for their interests in trade and banking. Its entire growth took place with the collaboration with foreign investment and with the alliance of feudal rulers. Its disinterest in breaking away from the historic chains of feudal, money-lending and trade activities was expressed in its industrial activity for a long time. The big bourgeois class grew with the help of British imperialism and in the limits it imposed. Due to its background of

money-lending and trade, subjugation to British imperialism and alliance with feudal forces, it not only compromised with it but also played a reactionary role against the interests of the country and people. It could not lead anti-imperialist, anti-feudal independence struggle and betrayed it. After transfer of power this class turned to be the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class. So after the British left the country the issue of taking forth the nationalist program was nowhere seen in heavy industrialization.

The Fourth question—policy of capital accumulation based on foreign investment: The Indian big bourgeois class was not interested in independent, comprehensive accumulation of capital to industrialise the country and to develop agriculture. By nature it took up reforms subject to imperialist interests and followed the policy of dependence on foreign investment and technology in a large scale. Thus dependence of foreign aid, internal loans and deficit financing became an ordinary feature.

The Fifth question—mass poverty, deficiency of domestic market: For the first time the official criterion for poverty line was defined in 1960-61. Consumption less than 20 rupees per head per month in the rural area and 25 rupees in the urban area were defined to be poverty line. Expenditure on housing and education were not included. Apart from other private consumption, one needs to take 2400 calories of food. As per government official statistics the number of people below poverty line was 47.37 percent in the rural area and 43.5 percent in the urban area in 1961-62. Actual statistics will show more. Most of the poor were heavily burdened with loans and had to pay the loan and interest through very low incomes. The official number of the poor out of the total 44 crore population in 1960-61 was 19 crores 70 lakhs.

In such a situation industrial production was limited primarily to satisfy the demand for luxurious goods of the rich and for the needs of the world market. Semi-feudal relations of production in agriculture led to mass poverty. Three fourths of the population was dependent on primary agriculture. The landlords, comprador big bourgeois class and imperialists together exploited the surplus created by the majority of the rural producers.

Sham land reform

In spite of land ceiling acts in several states in the period of the Fifth Five-year plan in 1951-56 most of the land was transferred in the name of relatives and servants of the landlords. Thus the landlords could retain land to a large extent with false names. Moreover coffee, tea, rubber and fruit plantations, dairy, several kinds of plantation under sugar factories, lands cultivated through modern methods, lands under temples, churches and mosques were exempted. The landlords declared themselves as cultivators and rearranged their relations with the peasantry. Most of them removed their tenants or changed them and thus avoided the implementation of the rights to legal tenancy. Very little surplus land was shown for distribution.

The number of farmers shunted out of land after the introduction of land ceiling acts was very high. In Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Kashmir, Orissa, West Bengal and other such states land ceiling was imposed not on the basis of family but on the basis of individual. Taking this as a chance each landlord family could retain hundreds of thousands of acres of land. The government mechanism that was to implement the land ceiling act consisted of feudal forces and employees that were their agents. Thus the land ceiling act was to a large extent confined to paper.

In 1955 Mahalanobis Committee stated that there was 6.2 crore acres of surplus land and that it was available for distribution. But by the end of 1970 only 24 lakh acres of surplus was declared. And only half of this was distributed. This was 0.3 percent out of the total 40.7 crore acres of cultivable land in the country. It is clear that the land reforms were not to bring structural changes in land ownership but were only a consolation. By 1961 the property of 80 percent in the lower strata was equal to that of 5 percent in the upper stratum. The Mahalanobis Committee formed in 1960 to study the change in the living conditions of the people in the period between two Five Year plans mentioned thus in its report in 1964 – ‘Although land ceiling acts were formulated in 1953-54 and 1959-60 in a big way there is no considerable decrease in the inequalities among the people’. The land reforms implemented in the leadership of Nehru during the first three Five Year plans is sham. The imperialists, exploitive

comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord ruling classes are aware that if genuine land reforms and cooperative agrarian policy were implemented it would weaken their economic, social and political power.

This naked fact came into light even after 45 years in the Eighth Five year plan (1992-97). By the end of the Seventh plan, i.e. by 1990, 72.3 lakh acres of land (out of the total 40.7 crore acres of cultivable land) was distributed. The land distributed was lesser than 1.9 percent of the total cultivable land in the country. A considerable part of the distributed land was useless. As a result centralization of land in the hands of a few landlords was a dominant feature in agricultural sector. On the other hand majority of the rural population was either landless or had little land.

Lack of implementation of land reforms, increasing inequalities in income, mass poverty, decline of agricultural sector and such others allowed the supremacy of semi-feudal relations in rural area. The market of consumable goods of manufacturing sector was mainly limited to the upper classes of the Indian society. Moreover industrial growth was very limited that increased rush in the agricultural sector. It created additional rural poor. Market declined further.

Centralized Five Year Plans on semi-feudal basis

Indian economy took shape on semi-colonial, semi-feudal basis in the interests of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and landlord classes. So although the exploitive ruling classes took up industrialization in the country in the name of Five Year Plans the development was upside down and distorted. Moreover there were clear limitations in the mobilization of capital and resources and in people's demand. Development was done basing on western model, western technology and investments. This was absolutely contrary to the objective conditions of the country. There was no considerable technical development. The imported technology was not utilized according to the local conditions. Thus expenditure on production of several industrial goods rose and scrubbed out the resources of the country.

Bombay plan became a model for the Five Year plans in India. Keynes provided the theoretical framework necessary for a centralized plan and

interests of the state to the world. According to Keynes the government can indulge in heavy deficit financing for funds and to fulfill its necessities. In fact Keynesian theory came forth to bail out the western economies that fell deep in over production crisis from depression through creating an effective demand. In addition to nationalizing important industries in the capitalist countries government subsidies were given heavily for social welfare activities such as unemployment pension, education, health and medicine. These countries were termed 'welfare states'. In India imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and landlord class heavily strengthened deficit financing to finance their own industries.

Since the transfer of power the various Five Year Plans and the entire government sector strengthened nationalization and privatization that was only to serve the interests of the comprador big bourgeois class, landlords and imperialists. Whatever changes there were in these policies they reflected the changing necessities of the compradors and imperialists. Thus the strategy adopted in the Five Year Plans was only to develop the necessary primary facilities such as capital goods sector, transport, communication, electricity and other public utilities that did not exist before 1951. It was expected that the government capital in these sectors would spread domestic market for the capitalists without redistribution of land.

In 1951-1990 seven Five Year Plans were adopted and implemented. Community Development Program (CDP) for agricultural development and Family Planning Program (FPP) were started in 1952 in the First Five Year Plan. Multipurpose projects such as Bhakranagal, Hirakud, and Damodarloya were initiated. The government stated that this scheme was successful. The government announced that industrial development will be given importance in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61). Three important steel plants were constructed during this period – In Durgapur of West Bengal with the aid of the British, in Bhilai of Chhattisgarh with the aid of Russia and in Rourkela of Orissa with the aid of Germany. Due to the Indo-China war in 1962 and the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965 the Third Plan (1961-66) failed. Holiday was declared for the Plan in 1966-69. The Fourth Plan (1967-74) failed due to Indo-Pakistan war in 1971. The slogan

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'Garibi hatao' (eradication of poverty) was given in the Fifth Plan (1977-79). Indira Gandhi started the twenty point formula. The Janata government detained this Plan in 1978. It started a rolling plan. They stated that the Sixth Plan (1980-85) aimed at elimination of unemployment and poverty and the Seventh Plan (1985-90) also continued the same.

Four main resources provided financial help for these public sector plans. – 1. Additional taxes 2. Internal loans 3. Deficit financing 4. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Deficit financing and FDI together amounted to 50 percent of the expenditure on these schemes. All these economic resources squeezed the vast masses and the rich benefited out of the profits from these schemes. While the share of indirect taxes was 58.8 percent of the total tax income in 1953-55 it rose to 70.7 percent by 1966-68.

The central government had to give loan for short term and long term government securities due to deficit financing and so RBI had to print more money. This intensified inflation and real wages fell. Purchasing power of the people decreased. In this way while most of the people turned poor and had to reduce their expenditure on consumption for essential things the rich utilized most of the surplus value for consumption of luxurious goods and non-productive capital.

Both the private and the public sectors in India heavily depended upon the imperialists for machinery, machine parts, spare parts, industrial raw material, technology and loans thus giving rise to crisis in foreign exchange.

Public sector productivity capital was increased that affected the consumption of people and it ultimately led to the stagnation of market. In fact the utmost poor people were mostly affected due to indirect taxes. According to the indirect taxes enquiry committee 55 percent of the entire payment of indirect tax in the country was directly or indirectly paid by families that spent a hundred rupees or lesser per head per month in 1973-74.

Public sector mainly served the private sector through the plans and contributed to its growth. It helped the big bourgeoisie to increase their share of surplus value and to accumulate capital. It supplied goods and services at cheap price. Public sector intervened whenever there was a

problem for private capital. It took over sick textile mills and private units. The public sector left the most profitable sectors to private capital and took up only those sectors that do not attract private sector. In fact the reason for the losses of public sector lies in the large scale profits for the private sector.

The increasing trade deficit in the country was caught in the vicious circle of loans due to increasing foreign loan and loan services, once again increases of foreign loan, balance of payments crisis and 'planned' distorted development.

'Green Revolution'

By 1966 the Indian economy was in disorder. Every sector was affected with crisis. Industry faced intense crisis to sell its products. Several industries ran lesser than their actual capacity or else retrenched workers in big numbers. Agriculture fell in stagnation, the consecutive famines led to severe reduction in production of food crops. Trade deficits increased. There was severe crisis of payments. Indian government implemented the rigorous conditions that the World Bank and imperialists imposed for the sake of new funds. The Indo-China war of 1962 and the Indo-Pak war of 1965 led to severe shortage of resources and to severe inflation. There was stark rise in unemployment and mass poverty. The population below poverty line increased to 52.24 percent in the rural areas and to 44.15 percent in the urban areas. Prices of essential goods rose high. Peasantry rose in arms against the feudal forces. This is the Naxalbari peasant armed revolt of 1967. Agrarian revolts broke in ten states of the country. It spread to places like Srikakulam, Mushahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Debra-Gopivallabhapur, Birbhum, Kanksha, Budh budh and Sonarpur that shook the entire society. Armed Agrarian Revolution as an axle the New Democratic Revolution with the slogan of 'land to the tiller' provided the basis for this. At this time the Congress party in the leadership of Indira Gandhi strategically joined hands with the revisionist CPI and CPI (M) in order to wipe out the increasing influence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (now Maoism) in the leadership of the CPI (Marxist-Leninist) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC).

Apart from the cruel counter-revolutionary suppression with the

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deployment of lakhs of government police and Para-military forces to prevent Armed Agrarian Revolution, green revolution was an alternate strategy of the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters.

The objective of green revolution was two-fold – One is to work as an alternative to the red revolution that is coming up in the rural areas of the country; the second is to provide captive market for imperialist goods such as agricultural machines, chemical fertilisers, pesticides and HYV seeds that are flooding into the market.

‘Green Revolution’ strategy is the grand program of the TNCs of US. TNCs dominant in seed business created HYVs and also gained supremacy on mostly fertiliser and pesticide industries. Their only aim was to grow plants that provide enormous sale of chemicals and that offers them profits. It is to create an illusion that the major problems of hunger and malnutrition in the backward countries can be solved by implementing ‘green revolution’ techniques with the support of the imperialist governments. The imposition of ‘green revolution’ strategy on the backward countries was not to pay attention to solve the hunger faced by the people of those countries. It was to shed the heaps of fertilisers, pesticides and agricultural machines, increase demand for such of their products and create a forcible market for the same. US AID, World Bank and other imperialist agencies provided financial help for the implementation of ‘green revolution’ technique in the backward countries.

Rockefeller, Ford and Kellogg foundations played an active role in exporting ‘green revolution’ to our country and other backward countries. As a part of it they took up HYV (High Yield Variety) program in wheat, paddy, jowar, sorghum (a kind of grass), pearl millet (grass used as seeds and as cattle fodder) in India since 1966. ‘Package program’ based on HYV seeds was implemented initially in Punjab, Haryana, various areas of West Uttar Pradesh where lands are irrigated and later in one third area of the country.

The seeds said to be of HYV do not in fact give high yield on its own. They respond strongly only when large amounts of chemical fertilisers and pesticides are sprayed. They need certain water supply. If all the necessary things were not sprayed in enough amounts, crops will be

normally affected in a big way.

The so called 'green revolution' was limited to some parts of North India. It benefited the rich peasantry alone. Small farmers neither had the capital nor could access loan and so they could not multiply their incomes utilizing HYV seeds and fertilisers. Landlords and rich peasants utilized cooperative loan and took up HYV seeds and other kinds of products. They invested a little part of the surplus as capital. They pressurized the government to increase remunerative prices for products. Improvement in production and attractive prices increased the income of landlords and a section of rich peasants.

The government provided heavy subsidies and cheap loan facilities to the farmers, especially the landlords and rich peasants making surplus production in order to encourage 'green revolution' without even a little change in the existing land relations. Thus distorted capitalist relations developed in the entire semi-feudal rural economy.

The areas where HYV seeds were sowed were 1.2 percent in 1966-67 and increased to 20 percent in ten years. More than the production of food crops the imports of fertilisers, pesticides, agricultural machines and other such things rose. Production of food crops was 55 million tons in 1951 that increased to 130 million tons in 1981. This was a three-fold increase. The utilisation of fertilisers was 29,000 tons in 1951 and rose to 55 lakh tons by 1980-81, i.e. an increase of 55,000 percent. In addition to this prices of fertilisers grew by 150 percent in the first ten years of 'green revolution' and heaped profits for the fertilizer industry.

Imperialists, MNC, TNC, comprador capitalists, landlords and a section of the rich peasantry alone were benefited from 'green revolution'. 'Green revolution' destroyed not only the poor and middle class farmer but also the land. Farmers left large amounts of lands. The Congress government least hesitated to spend crores of rupees to purchase HYV seeds and fertilisers to yield riches to the MNCs of the US but did not pay much attention to irrigation in the country. As a result only 35 percent of the cultivable lands enjoyed irrigation. Two decades after the so called 'green revolution' there was a decline in the fertility of land and a decrease in the growth rate of agricultural production due to low irrigation and high

amounts of fertilisers and pesticides. Inequalities increased in the income of rural population and unemployment rose. There were more regional disparities. Water and air pollution went up.

Negative effects of 'green revolution':

1. Decrease in the growth rates of productivity: Although there was considerable growth in productivity in the first decade of the 'green revolution', the growth rate of productivity gradually fell. There was a high rise in the expenditure on agricultural equipment, machines, fertilisers, pesticides, seeds and electricity. The alliance of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and imperialist TNCs made enormous profits by selling these to peasantry at utmost high rates. On the other hand it procured agricultural products at cheap prices. Expenditure was more than the prices of agricultural products. This benefited the big landlord class and the upper section of rich peasantry the most and affected the poor, middle class and a section of rich peasantry. Underground waters started depleting speedily. This was one important reason for the peasant agitation in Punjab.

2. Growth in inequalities between the rich and the poor: The poor and the middle class farmers of irrigated areas of Punjab, Haryana and West Uttar Pradesh had to sell their lands, as using tractors and other machines on small lands was unaffordable and due to lack of cooperative associations and bank loans. Landlords took the opportunity. They purchased these lands at dead cheap rates and became rich.

On the whole there was a sharp rise in the number of land holdings in the country from 7,10,11,000 in 1970-71 to 9,71,55,000 1985-86. On the other hand the number fell considerably from 13,76,000 to 10,89,000 in the same period in Punjab. The number of poor peasantry fell to 2,56,000, i.e. half from 5,18,000, lower middle class to 2,08,000 from 2,60,000. The number of poor peasantry in the entire country rose from 3,56,82,000 to 5,67,48,000 and that of lower middle class from 1,34,32,000 to 1,78,81,000. In Punjab several poor and middle class peasants were affected and so the landlords and a section of rich peasants benefited. The number of landlords rose from 6,91,000 to 7,41,000 in Punjab. During the same period in the whole country the number reduced from 22,66,000

to 19,29,000. While most of the farmers of the country who took land for lease from the landlord were poor and middle farmers there was an 'opposite trend' in Punjab. The landlords and rich peasants took land for lease from the poor and the middle class farmers. Thus more than the rest of the country many poor farmers of the areas of 'green revolution' lost their lands and became poorer.

3. Rise in unemployment: With the extensive usage of tractors and other such agricultural machines in the areas of 'green revolution' unemployment rose steeply in the rural areas. This trend was more glaring in Punjab. Agriculture could not absorb the poor peasantry and landless laborers. There was no industrial development and so there was a considerable rise in rural unemployment. They were pushed to the verge of famine. These sections played a prominent role in the people's struggle in Punjab in 1980s.

4. Disparities between regions: 'Green revolution' considerably increased regional disparities. This strategy constituted of modern technology was implemented in just the irrigated one third of the area of the country. Its effect was partial in the rest two thirds. The government subsidies such as institutional loans and heavy subsidies on fertilisers to the rural sector were available to these selected areas and the rest of the rural areas were allotted very less funds. So they fell backward. The regional disparities that arose with the negligence of rural sector in areas other than 'green revolution' led to the growth of regional movements with demands like separate state and autonomy.

5. Environmental pollution: There will be no satisfactory yield in the land habituated to the usage of chemical fertilisers and pesticides unless they are increasingly used. Therefore chemicals must be used increasingly. Such excessive usage pollutes the entire atmosphere, water, air, land and also the crops sown in the land. The land gradually lost fertility and turned sterile. Crops acquired severe diseases. Pesticides too were of no use.

Semi-colonial system

As Comrade Lenin stated, the export of capital that plays a standard role in the stage of imperialism that is the highest stage of capitalism,

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imperialist monopoly enterprises work as lever in the hands of the governments of those countries to export goods at unprecedentedly high prices, outdated technical knowledge and technical experts. Export of capital inevitably creates a permanent market for spare parts, industrial raw material and half manufactured industrial goods.

The comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class has been playing a reliable role in the constant flow of these investments and foreign goods into the Indian market. The consequences after 1947 reflect the situation. The Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) that were 264 crore rupees in Indian industrial and financial sectors in 1948 June rose to 2,500 crore rupees (ten times) by 1981.

During the First Plan of India (1951-56) foreign 'aid' was mainly the capital from the US. In 1953 nearly half of the net wealth in organised sectors like mines, trade and banking were in the ownership or control of foreigners. At the same time the loan capital from World Bank started controlling basic services and primary infrastructure including Railways. FDI flowed in the form of new investments and collaborations of the Indian Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois class. For example diesel locomotives were introduced in the place of steam engines in the Railways. Petrol based technology took the place of Coal based technology. Such technological change also occurred in sectors like production of fertilisers and electricity. In fact there was lack of petroleum in the country. Coal was self-sufficient. This is the basis for trade deficit. The rulers obtained foreign loans to fulfill the foreign exchange agreements that arose from trade deficit.

The imperialists especially gave certain facilities to the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class with the fear about the impact of independence struggle in semi-colonial India, the worldwide strong nationality liberation struggles and the powerful Socialist camp. They made the Indian compradors collaborators in their new enterprises combined with joint ventures and direct investments. This was seen in the Second Plan (1957-61). It introduced the Nehru-Mahalanobis model said to be import substitution. Imperialists called this 'the non-capitalist path of development'. Khrushchevite revisionists (CPI in India) encouraged this path. With the increasing collaboration agreements the compradors

gained strength and there was more dependence on the imperialists. The Monopolies Commission mentioned in 1965 that the entire properties of non-government companies lie with mere 75 big trade enterprises and that Tata and Birla families own 20 percent of the stock of private capital in the Indian companies. Moreover 62 corporations out of the very big 112 of India were in foreign ownership or control in 1966. In the first two decades after the transfer of power, the capital of MNCs and TNCs increased six times from 265 crore rupees in 1948 to 1,543 crore rupees in 1968. According to an observation multi-national enterprises spread their influence on the size of trade in the private sector and in industrial sectors. While the share of multi-national enterprises was 26 percent of the total sales in the private sector in 1967-68 it rose to 30 percent by 1972-73. The share of their total profits rose from 36 percent to 50 percent during the same time. The foreign capitalists took away three times more investment from the country than they invested in the country in 1948-61. We can see that the FDI and 'aid' were twin weapons of the imperialists in those days to unleash supremacy on the economy of the country.

50 collaborations took place each year in 1948-1958 that increased year by year. While in 1959 there were 150, by the time the second phase of LPG began in 1991 there were 13,400 foreign collaborations.

They brought forth 'import substitution', i.e. foreign goods (with Indian names) produced by the TNCs locally or in collaboration with the compradors, in the place of imports.

There was more 'aid' from the western countries. In a bid to encourage this, the World Bank established Aid India consortium in 1958. Thirty percent of the total expenditure in the Second and the Third Plans (1962-1966) was foreign investment and most of it was from the US.

After restoration of capitalism in Russia and transformation of Russia into a Social-imperialist country by the end of 1960s (and later a superpower) the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class could bargain more with the western countries. So though there were many sanctions for western foreign investment, public sector started gaining supremacy on the economy with the 'aid' of Russia. During this time the Indian Patent Act – FERA (according to which the foreign companies will have to reduce

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their shares in Indian JVs and collaborations to 40 percent), Hathi Commission report (control of prices of medicines), growth of FDI, ban on investment from western countries in certain sectors and other such things came forth. These helped for the growth of comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Moreover these measures helped the TNCs taking up activities in the country be protected from competition. It brought forth certain sanctions on western investment in 1970s. Thus there was more control of Russian Social-imperialism on the economy. After the IMF loan in 1981 this process was set back in the decade.

In the 1970s western investment and Russian investment contended for supremacy. Though not in size, Russia gained upper hand in control. There was a heavy rise in the public sector. Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois class also grew. With the nationalization of banks, oil, coal, heavy industries and other such and the entrance of public sector into all sectors of manufacturing starting from textiles to hotels, heavy amount was accumulated out of the money from the treasury (the money raised from taxes on the people).

The easiest way these imperialist monopoly companies followed to keep the domestic market in their hands was to establish joint ventures together with the Indian bureaucratic comprador bourgeois class. Instead of hundred percent foreign investment enterprises, with the establishment of joint ventures, reliable local compradors did all kinds of work starting from obtaining licenses from the government to selling the goods in the country. The foreign monopoly companies established joint ventures before 1991 when the condition that foreign investments should not exceed 40 percent was imposed. The foreign monopoly companies enjoyed control on industry even with a share of less than 40 percent. The Indian big bourgeois class worked as compradors to the international monopoly enterprises in these joint ventures and enjoyed share in the profits.

Since the beginning of 1970s the international monopoly enterprises (MNC-TNC) introduced a new kind of international division of labor. They manufactured a product in more than one country and turned the entire world into their factory. The manufacture of a particular product was divided into many parts, these spare parts are manufactured in different

countries and finally assembled in another country. For example four thousand spare parts were manufactured and assembled to produce a car. They establish separate factories to manufacture each part in lakhs in countries beneficial to them and finally shift them to one or a few central areas according to market needs for final assembling. In this way these monopoly capitalist enterprises can produce lakhs of cars. It will not be beneficial if each company does not manufacture spare parts in a big way. The industries manufacturing spare parts were initially established in backward areas of various capitalist countries (where workers were available for low wages). Gradually these industries of spare parts and assembling shops started to be established in the third world countries. Goods like TV, Computer, radio, tape-recorder and VCR started to be assembled in the third world countries. Worker's wages were very low in these countries and so the MNCs could gain extreme profits. Production was done by establishing their own industries in various countries, through joint ventures with local compradors or through sub-contracting to local companies. Establishing such companies in several countries helped them change the companies easily from one country to another when conditions turned unfavorable (strikes, changes in government policies, changes in exchange rate of currency etc.). These industries were set up as a part of international division of labor of the international monopoly capitalist enterprises. They produced only to export. Therefore the development going on as a part of international division of labor in countries like India is not genuine capitalist development of the country. Indian ruling classes boast of speedy capitalist development but in fact this is semi-colonial economy and not an independent capitalist development.

Four kinds of investments such as foreign private investment, foreign loan investment, Indian comprador investment and government investment got entwined in an unprecedented manner and were established as industrial capital in the control of India. We see these four kinds of investments inseparably entwined in any big industry in India like chemicals, motor vehicles, electrics, fertilisers, medicines and machine tools. Hindustan Motors Company of the Birlas worked as the local comprador for the US monopoly company General motors. Maruti car

the product initially started in the public sector was made with parts exported by Suzuki monopoly enterprise in Japan. None of the heavy Indian companies produced absolutely with Indian capital, local technical knowledge and local machinery. The industries here only assembled the spare parts imported from foreign countries. This came to be known as 'screwdriver technology'. All that were established in the name of exports industry were mere assembly shops but not industries producing new goods.

Now let us see how foreign loans increasingly flowed into our country and their role. Foreign loan was just 32 crore rupees in 1950-51. It rose to 202 crores in the period of the First Plan in 1951-56, to 782 crores in 1960-61, 6,485 crores in 1970-71, 13,479 crores in 1980-81, 54,100 crores in 1989-90, 2,10,000 crores in 1991 June and finally to 3,50,000 crores by the end of 1996.

Lenin describes imperialist exploitation through these loans as that like 'tanning Cow's skin two times'. The loan lending developed countries imposed many conditions. The imperialist countries did many things such as – they imposed a condition that the loan receiver country must not only pay interest on the loan but also purchase imperialist goods however costly they might be from the company they decide and for the decided price (tied loans); the country must utilize only the transport enterprises that they suggested; the country is forced to make economic and military agreements; vital sectors of the country are brought under their total control through joint ventures; they export the machines and other goods to the country that are useless for them and outdated; they go on increasing the rates of interest; especially rupee is devalued and the amount of these loans is artificially increased; the political policies of the country are turned in their favor. IMF, World Bank and other international finance organisations did this work directly in India. For example in 1966 they devalued the value of rupee by 36 percent. In 1947 the value of transaction was one rupee per dollar and it fell to Rs.7.50 in 1966. This disturbed the Indian economy. There was extreme rise in prices in the country. Once again in 1991 June rupee underwent devaluation and fell to Rs.24.58 per dollar. There was a sudden hike in foreign loan from 1,

40,000 crore rupees to 2,10,000 crores. Moreover the shares of companies, land and other properties of India were made available for foreigners at dead cheap prices (earlier they could purchase shares with a value of 20 lakh rupees for one lakh dollars and later they could purchase 30 lakh rupees of shares for the same amount of dollars due to devaluation of rupee) thus leading to speedy acquisition of properties. The prices of foreign imports suddenly rose.

Loans constituting these regulations amounted to 82.5 percent of the total foreign loan in the Fifth Five Year Plan. As the foreign loan increased such developments further intensified. IMF and World Bank implemented the same policies that the British colonialists implemented earlier to 1947.

The US gave such loans and sold food grains to India at prices 200 percent higher than those in world market. Out of the 77 kinds of goods that the US sold only two were exception from the high prices.

In order to repay these loans backward countries like India can only export agricultural products and raw material that require minimum manufacturing. While the prices of goods of the backward countries rose by one percent that of the developed countries rose by ten percent.

Let us see the details of loans given by International Development Agency (IDA) to know how these loans are beneficial to certain sectors. IDA was formed in affiliation to the WB in 1960. The objective of these loans was to provide basic infrastructure to industries without any rate of interest or at a low rate. These loans are given with the finance capital of imperialist countries. These provide funds to roads, railway lines, electricity, educational institutions, drainage schemes, telecom, small industries, irrigation, production of fertilisers, rural development, fish culture, prevention of floods and other such things. Indian government took 1,253 crore dollars of loan from IDA from 1961 June to 1984 June.

IDA loans are only nominally interest free or with low interest. IDA decides many things such as the goods, the place of raw material and the prices to purchase with this loan. All these prices would be decided two or three times and at times even ten times more than the prices of the goods and services in the world market unquestioned.

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In order to understand the semi-colonial economic situation of India we need to know how it has been depending on various imperialist countries. Out of the total loan of 202 crore rupees in the First Five Year Plan (1951-56) three fourths was from the US. In the later period India depended mainly on six imperialist countries such as the US, Britain, Russia, Japan, Germany and Canada, the IMF, WB and other such international finance organisations for loans.

As mentioned earlier these loans rose to 3,50,000 crore rupees by the end of 1996. The utilized 'aid' was 1,16,652 crores. By 1996 March most of the loans were given by the WB and IDA, 22.2 percent and 20.8 percent respectively. Country wise loans were like this – there was 16.1 percent of loan capital from Japan, 8.7 percent from Russia, 5.1 percent from West Germany, 3.9 from Britain and 2.6 percent from the US.

The WB loan started with 34 million dollars in 1949 and by the end of 1990s 42 thousand million dollars flowed into India. India received 15 percent of the total loans that WB granted. The loans were spent for 16 sectors in the country. Large amounts were mainly granted to Railways, industrial imports, electricity and steel. It did not pay much importance to agriculture and irrigation. In a way agriculture was its last priority.

More than the riches that Britain looted from India during the colonial period these imperialist countries have been looting many times more in the form of interests in the later period (post 1947). Interest has to be paid increasingly day by day along with a part of the loan thus throwing Indian economy more and more in the vicious circle of loans. It is forced to take further loans for payments of loan and interest. For example the foreign loan in 1991-92 was 11,615 crore rupees and the paid loan and interest together was 6,656 crore rupees in the same period. By 1992-93 loan and interest together rose to 9,102 crore rupees. India had to take credit of 10,885 crore rupees to repay this amount. The country is in a situation of debt trap where it has to take loans every year to repay the earlier loans and interests. It is impossible for India to struggle out of this debt trap. IMF, WB and the various imperialist countries are keeping our country in semi-colonial situation and are not only squeezing the income of the people of the country like leeches but are also playing a decisive

role in formulating political, military and economic policies of the country.

The first phase of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) (1985-1991)

Since the beginning the Indian comprador ruling classes have been liberalizing the government policies time and again to fulfill the interests of imperialism and theirs. In 1957 March Indian government withdrew the '51 percent regulation' that mandated utmost Indian ownership in joint ventures. By 1971 MRTP Act according to which heavy industrial houses must take formal clearance to increase production was liberalized. In 1973 FERA was liberalized and 'new opportunities for foreign capital' were provided. In 1980 the Indian government took a five billion loan, agreed to the conditions of IMF and liberalized the export-import policy. In 1982 it took loan from IMF for the second time, gave some more subsidies to foreign investments, allowed 100 percent foreign equity for export and technical oriented units and adopted 'open door policy' for foreign capital. These led to a spate of new foreign collaborations.

This gradually enhanced the impact of the US on India. By 1985 Soviet Union fell in intense economic crisis and there was a decline in India's political and military dependence on it. Then starting from 1985 they consolidated the US sponsored New Economic Policies. By the beginning of 1985 many ex-employees of IMF and WB became advisers for the Planning Board, Finance Ministry and Prime Minister's secretariat.

The private corporate sector obtained more tax subsidies in the first phase of LPG. In 1985 tax rates were reduced by 5 percent at all levels of corporate profits. 50 percent tax exemption was provided on profits on exports. In 1988 their entire profits were exempted from tax. Property tax was decreased, there was a cut in welfare expenditure and estate duty was totally removed. The limitations for exemption of individual tax were widened. Individual income tax was reduced. The heavy budget deficit caused by tax subsidies was fulfilled through loans. Industrial licensing was liberalized. The limitations of Monopolies and Restricted Practices Act (MRTP) were extended up to a property of one hundred crore rupees. Electric machinery, electronic parts, machine equipment, industrial machines, dozens of bulk drugs, concerned drug formulations and other

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such 25 types of industries were de-licensed. 22 MRTP/FERA industries such as Pig iron, Air Compression, Internal Combustion engine were de-licensed if they were ready to be established in backward areas. They were allowed to expand capacity automatically one step per annum.

Exports were encouraged and hurdles to trade were lessened to modernize technology. Import of capital goods, raw material and technology was liberalized. Customs duties were reduced from 105 percent to 45 percent, prices of electricity to 25 percent and fertiliser industries were totally exempted from customs duties regarding capital goods for the sake of corporate projects. Import duties were lifted on many goods such as metal iron and cotton. There was 50 percent tax exemption on profits on exports.

In this manner the New Economic Policies either removed or liberalized controls and expanded the private sector; budget support was either reduced or removed for public sector; the process of planning was enfeebled; and contributed to enhance the role of market forces. The share of public sector investment fell from 53 percent in the Sixth Plan to 46 percent in the Seventh Plan.

Big business, foreign MNCs and TNCs benefited in three ways –

1. The fall in prices of agricultural products and rise in unemployment helped prevent the hike in expenditure on wages for industrial products.
2. Liberalization of controls and industrial licensing strengthened the control of monopoly enterprises on production market. This minted super profits for giant industrialists like Ambani (Reliance) and Chidambaram. While the properties of Reliance grew 12 times in a period of seven years from 1981 to 1988-89, that of Chidambaram grew 24 times.
3. The increasing collaboration with foreign investment lent additional strength and an opportunity for new products and technology.

As a result there was a steep rise in inflation and unemployment i.e. stagflation in the 1980s. Many industries went bankrupt. Economic crisis and trade deficit intensified.

The prices of industrial manufactured products increased at a rate of 9 percent on an average per year in the 1980s. There was a spate in the peasant movements with the relaxation of rules in the business of agricultural products.

While labor power increased 2.3 percent per annum, on the whole the annual growth rate of employment in the organised sector fell from 2.5 percent in 1973-78 to 1.4 percent in 1983-88. Bankruptcy of industries, closures and lockouts led to decline in the growth of employment in the organised sector. There was a rise in the number of casual workers in agriculture. Employment in manufacturing, construction, transport, storage and communication sectors shifted to unorganized sector. The employment share of the unorganized sector in manufacturing grew from 67 percent in 1972-73 to 76 percent in 1987-88 while the same in transport sector grew from 24 percent to 51 percent. To summarise, in 1980s the growth rate in employment slowed down. There was a shift in employment from agricultural to non-agricultural sector, from the organised sector to unorganized sector and from permanent to casual work. The number of bankrupt heavy units rose by 187 percent (from 409 to 1,172) in 1980 to 1988; bankrupt small sick units rose nine times (23,000 to 2.17 lakhs). Giant business enterprises indulged in several measures like shifting production to new areas, sub-contracting production, retrenchment of employees, voluntary retirement schemes and transfers in order to escape legal sanctions that led to more and more closures of industries. A government regulation of 1976 said that no factory with 300 or more workers should be closed without the permission of the state government. But the big business houses and foreign companies violated the rule and closed several factories. All these brought unemployment to a fearful stage. The 43rd round of National Sample Survey in 1987-88 assessed that there were 1.24 crore unemployed.

There was a sharp rise in the trade and revenue deficits also in 1980s. Until 1979 trade deficit was less than three thousand crore rupees. It rose to six thousand crore rupees from five thousand crore rupees in 1980-85 and though growth of exports was heavy, after 1985 it rose from eight thousand crore rupees to ten thousand crore rupees.

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In 1989-90 current account deficit was 11 thousand crore rupees. At the same time exports rose at 16 percent per annum in 1985-90 and at a high 35 percent in 1989-90. The severe growth in trade deficit was because of the stable fall down of exchange value of rupee and the speedy growth of imports. Rupee devalued from 12.36 to 17.50 per dollar in 1985-90. Trade deficit was aimed at 4000 crores rupees in the Seventh Plan but at the end of the Plan (1989-90) it reached 14 thousand crore rupees.

There are three kinds of reasons for the sharp growth in trade deficit –

1. Due to the policy of liberalization of imports in 1980s there was heavy growth in imports. The import of capital goods, components, spare parts and raw material, i.e. the non-bulk imports rose from nine thousand crore rupees (45 percent of the total imports) in 1985-86 to 21 thousand crores (60 percent of the total imports) in 1989-90. Liberalization policies led not to the growth of export products but to that of production of consumer goods for the rich that were dependent on imports. On the whole after 1985 both the liberalization policy and the industrial investment program led to capital intensive (mostly dependent on capital) and import intensive (mostly dependent on imports) industrial production. This led to the severe crisis of payments by 1990.
2. The burden of foreign loan also was a reason for trade deficit. Foreign loan payments rose from 18 percent of the income out of exports in mid-1980s to 30 percent in 1989.
3. The import account of the government accounts especially the account of arms imports grew heavily. 18 billion dollar worth military equipment was imported in 1985-88.

Revenue deficit in the central budget initially started in 1980 and went on rising every year. The reasons being, the heavy subsidies in corporate tax, property tax, individual income tax and other such things and on the other the severe rise in government expenditure on defense, management and payment of interest.

In this manner by the time of the beginning of the second phase of LPG in 1991, Indian economy transformed according to the needs of

accumulation of world capital. It was all set to absolutely sell away the interests of the country to the and imperialism.

Semi-feudal condition

Semi-feudalism means that although capitalist relations developed at various levels in the womb of feudal society they did not yet basically develop into capitalist relations at an absolute level and so this is a society where semi-feudal relations continue to exist.

We saw how the Indian exploitive ruling classes that trampled the land redistribution (land reforms) program took up and failed in programs to develop agricultural productivity in alternate ways such as community development programs, IADP, cooperatives and 'green revolution' without basically changing the semi-feudal relations of the British period in agriculture. However these programs helped them reorganize feudal hegemony from the level of village panchayat. New feudal forces and new forms of exploitation came forth from out of these. Apart from the transformed old feudal forces these new forces constituted the local leaders of parliamentary parties, the presidents and members of panchayat bodies, the directors of cooperatives, caste gentry, mainly of the higher castes and middle castes, gentry of social and religious organisations and so on. According to the caste composition of the respective areas of the country most of them are from oppressor caste background. However there are very few from a little or more of the backward castes and upper strata of the Dalits. Feudal hegemony is centralized in the hands of these old and new feudal forces. New forms came forth in the place of old forms of caste based-feudal exploitation and oppression.

Land was centralized in the hands of a few landlords unleashing/who took up old and new forms and methods of feudal exploitation and apart from this there were money-lending, crop business and political hegemony. These are the utmost important manifestations of semi-feudal relations in rural India apart from others. Caste based feudal system is the most important of these. The big landlords are normally from the oppressor castes and the landless farmers are from the oppressed castes. Caste system was utilized to make them landless. They did heavy work

for the landlords for nominal wages. In most of the occasions wages were not paid in the form of money. Their extreme labor was reciprocated with paddy/rice or a little food out of mercy.

After 1970s the new landlord forces made use of several resources and took up new forms of exploitation. On many occasions these new forces neither had land like the old landlords nor were land the main instrument of exploitation. However they owned more than 60 percent of the rural property. They obtained almost half of the loans from banks and other institutions. These new forces developed an intricate party-cooperative-panchayat-police network from the village level in order to unleash exploitation in several forms. Since land was divided into very small fragments among the poor and the marginal peasantry they take up agricultural activities based on family labor; land is taken for tenancy; surplus value was exploited through loans or by the landlords in the form of non-payable labor services from the peasantry and the landless; small farmers and tenants were constantly burdened with loans and the poor tenant could not avail the market; net capital in agriculture was obstructed by usury capital by preventing better use of instruments of production; surplus in agriculture was not re-invested; caste hegemonic system and moral order that obstruct the development of forces of production was in the form of traditional social categorization; there was also natural economy or the non-finance sector along with the production of ordinary goods; majority of the population had to inevitably depend on agriculture for livelihood – all these became hurdles to capitalism.

The effect of the onslaught of finance capital that increased in the first phase of LPG from the second half of 1980s showed a severe impact on agriculture. We see that land was centralized with the state and domestic-foreign corporate companies in a new feudal form. This led to a large scale rise in the numbers of agricultural labor and poor farmers. Agriculture based industries were more and more destroyed. Finance capital played a vital role in the development of new feudal forces out of the collaborated network of government and non-government 'party-cooperative-panchayat-police' in the villages. During this period seeds were sown for contract/corporate agriculture with the collaboration of these new feudal

forces with finance capital.

Let us see on the whole and analyse one by one how the semi-feudal relations in agriculture weighed down the people of India in the period 1947-1990 –

1. Centralization of land: Land is one of the important instruments of production. It is the source of living for crores of people. Land is the basis for development. While there was 16.21 crore hectares of total cultivable land in the country in 1970-71, it was 16.38 crore hectares in 1980-81 and 16.56 crore hectares in 1990-91. The government boasts of implementation of land reforms but most of the land is centralized with the landlords, rich peasants and in a new feudal form with the state and domestic-foreign corporate companies. 5.2 percent families of the rural families that are in the upper strata hold 56.6 percent of land. 41.6 percent of the rural families absolutely lack land (as per the National Sample Survey report, 1990, November 4th). These statistics show the inequalities regarding land and the centralization of land.

In 1970-71, 28 lakhs of rural families (3.9 percent of the entire agrarian families) held 5 crore hectares (12.5 crore acres) of land. In 1980-81, 22 lakh (2.4 percent) families held 3.77 crore hectares of land. In 1991, 17 lakh or 1.6 percent of the entire agrarian families held 2.89 crore hectares (7.23 crore acres) of land. There was no change in average large land holdings in a period of two decades. The size was on an average 18.1 hectares (45 acres) in 1970-71, 17.4 hectares (43.5 acres) in 1980-81 and 17.3 hectares (43.2 acres) in 1990-91.

These are only the official statistics of the government. The actual centralization of land is much more. These details itself reveal that there was more land with 1.6 percent upper strata families than the 59 percent lower strata families in 1990-91. While 17 lakh agrarian families (1.6 percent) hold 2.89 crore hectares, the lower strata 6.21 crore families, i.e. 59 percent of the agrarian families hold 2.46 crore hectares. It means they hold 43 lakh hectares less than the 1.6 percent upper strata families. The 59 percent agrarian families have one acre on an average. Another 7.46 crore rural families do not hold land at all.

The land holding method in India during 1990-91 is not much different

from that of pre-liberation China. For example a study in China in 1937 reveals that the poorest of the poor 57 percent rural families held 23.5 percent of crop land while the richest 2-6 percent families held 28.7 percent. According to the 1991 census 32.2 percent of the total cultivable land in India lies with 78 percent agrarian families. The 1.6 percent upper strata families hold 17.4 percent. If we consider the false land holdings of the big landlords who divided their lands we see that the centralization of land is much more.

If we see the families holding more than ten acres the 15.1 percent held 60.1 percent of the total land in 1970-71. In 1980-81 the 11.5 percent held 52.6 percent and the 8.8 percent in 1990-91 held 44.6 percent. The average size of land holdings of those holding more than ten acres was 12.1 hectares (30.25 acres) in 1970-71. In 1980-81 it was 11.71 hectares (29.3 acres) and 11.60 hectares (29 acres) in 1990-91.

2. Large scale loot in new forms with the collaboration of government and non-government networks: During this period there were considerable changes in semi-feudalism and so new forms of feudal hegemony took the place of the old. In the villages it took the wide-collective form of collaboration of government and non-government 'party-cooperative-panchayat-police' networks. This was not the direct hegemony of the feudal forces or its traditional family caste-feudal but indirectly preserved and unleashed the hegemony to the extent possible by utilizing the instrument of 'monopoly' of a popular political party (whichever parliamentary party it might be) or a modern organisation (government or non-government). The heirs of the old feudal families came to power either as party leaders, panchayat presidents or directors of cooperatives. This was expressed not as their birth right but as 'political support'. Therefore they were elected as the candidates for the political parties and representatives for important positions. This was very clearly seen in persons of 'low feudal value' in positions of power only with political support. They adopted the entire methods and hegemonic attitudes of caste based feudalism irrespective of political color, their own class and caste backgrounds. Oppressor caste Hindu landlords, oppressor caste Christians, Muslims and others unleashed this 'local monopoly'

separately or together. Political parties gained strength through mass organisations/associations in their control; through providing reservations to SC, ST and BCEs in parliament elections and to women in panchayat elections; through government self-help schemes such as 'cooperative association', 'cooperative bank', 'water consumers' association', 'industrial society', 'milk society', CDP (Community Development Program), IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Program), TRYSEM (Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment), DPAP (Drought Prone Area Program), CRSP (Central Rural Sanitation Program), CADP (Command Area Development Program), NREP (National Rural Employment Program), RLEGP (Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Program), formation of self-help groups like DWCRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas), CAPART (Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural technology), CRISP (Computerised Rural Information System Program) and 20 point program. Most of the members of these organisations come from the poor and middle classes. The old and the new landlords were direct and active in them. They enjoyed control over them. All these were organisations that represented the general interests of the landlords.

Cooperative bank is an important institutional form of combination of bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism. NABARD (National Agricultural Bank of Rural Development) is funding the bank. NABARD is funded by the World Bank. The surplus of the local exploiters mainly the landlords also has a considerable share in this. Thus we see that cooperative capital is the mixture of investments of the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic capitalists and the local-semi-feudal surplus. Only the local exploiters elected on behalf of various parties control this organisation. This was not only a source of easy credit for them but worked as a powerful instrument of power. Cooperative banks immediately increased the facility and availability of institutional credit. Thus new relations that are apparently modern took the place of traditional relations in the rural area.

These cooperative banks seized raw material in the name of paddy business on credit and gained heavy profits with low investment. This is no different from the business with the support of large scale interest

free credit from the cooperative banks. A share of the profit on sale of paddy went into the hands of the feudal forces controlling the cooperative bank. In this manner the directors of cooperative bank utilized cooperative capital to gain status and personal interests. They also used this status to establish and spread their social supremacy. On the other hand they gave free bonus to financially lure all the members. The board was thus reelected with considerable majority. Thus a new form of local hegemony and exploitation came forth on the basis of government properties/funds.

At the same time the easy, unorganized credit that the loan agents gave to the poor and the rich families at their door-step played an important role in relaxing the local traditional bondages of interest. The ultimate source of this credit was the semi-feudal usury capital. Interest reaches 120 percent and even more per annum. The most important thing is that this credit facility is mutually related and immediate.

In this process a new feudal class came into existence in rural areas utilizing local power. As a part of land reforms in 1970 surplus land was distributed to poor and landless peasant families in several areas of Kerala and West Bengal on the condition that they would become members of collective farm. But in practice their land ownership became formal. All the members of the Directors' board of these collective farms are from poor, landless peasants and families of backward castes and Dalits but they were not provided the right to sell or utilize the land as per their wish. In fact what came forth as land ownership in the name of collective farms was the corporate land ownership of the members of the Board that was in government control in several forms. They could gain this position with the support of the government and its capital. This feudalism is another form of comprador bureaucratic capitalist ownership. This is a new form in which the real owners utilized the power machinery and established oppressor caste hegemonic feudal relations on the real toilers. But there was heavy corruption in these. Therefore they faced certain limitations.

Thus capitalist factors became integral to modern methods in the patronage of feudal relations and values. The cooperative associations and their loan investments, panchayat and its services that are said to be

modern institutions and the politico-economic instruments of capitalism only contributed to sustain the old in new forms. These had the power to either grant or reject loans and to seize or postpone the mortgages through which the landlords and the local exploiters could impose relations of patronage on the poor and middle class peasantry. The panchayats with crores of rupees of budget from the central and the state governments also helped for their patronage. In this manner they could gain the hold of political parties on the people's lives in the rural society. Thus any funds granted by the government (for panchayat and cooperative association, for various schemes, projects and calamity relief) went into their hands. They owned ration dealership in the panchayats. Thus they could loot crores of rupees of people's money officially and unofficially.

3. Land distribution: The number of land holdings in agricultural cultivable land is increasing day by day. The large scale increase of small farmers with small holdings is the main reason. While in 1970-71 the entire land holdings were 7.1 crores it rose to 8.89 crores in 1980-81. In 1990-91 it was 10.53 crores. There were 3.62 crores of farmers with less than one hectare in 1970-71 and they increased to 6.21 crores in 1990-91. The number of small farmers with 1-2 hectares of land rose from 1.34 crores to 2 crores during the same period.

Most of the families producing for the market depending on their family labor are tied to the chains of trade and usury capital. Though there were certain changes in technique or net capital in agriculture they could not show enough impact. Therefore productivity remained in low levels. Due to lack of modern or better instruments of production, irrigation for the utilisation of agrarian techniques and investment they were pushed into acute poverty with consecutive famines. There were no alternate employment opportunities and they stuck to small holdings that obstructed the growth of capitalism in agriculture. It sustained semi-feudalism in a lively manner.

On this occasion let us see what Marx said – 'The fact that landed property is divided into small holdings means that most of the population are living in rural areas and instead of social labor separate kinds of labor are prevalent. Therefore in such conditions property or development of

reproduction that are the objective, mental needs of the people are impossible as a result of which the needs necessary for rational agriculture also cannot be fulfilled’.

4. Categorization of peasantry: On one hand most of the land holdings are menial or small, there was dependence on family labor and on the other hand land was not concentrated on capitalist basis. This makes it clear that there is no basis to divide the peasantry into two main classes such as rural proletariat and capitalist class. This division took place to an extent in the areas of ‘green revolution’ in the country in the end of 1960s. But this was not a prominent feature all over the country. We must keep in mind that this too developed only on semi-feudal basis.

The reality of India is that employment is constantly going down, the number of landless agricultural labor is rising and average work days are considerably falling down. In 1961 the total number of peasant laborers was 24.04 percent. This rose to 46 percent by 1991 and to 57 in 2001. In 1981-91 the number of woman laborers increased considerably to 38.15 percent.

The caste system in India decides which caste-class people must do physical labor, who must do which kind of labor and who must not do physical labor. 81 percent of the Dalits and tribal people representing feudal relations of production are working as agricultural laborers. This caste based society that exists all over the country is a severe hurdle to the general development of capitalism.

The feudal forces came in the way of implementation of the minimum wages act of the government in most of the rural areas. Agricultural laborers worked as bonded labor. As mentioned earlier most of them belong to the lower castes and especially are Dalits. They were paid very low wages. Although payment in cash as wage gradually increased they were given paddy/rice or a little food in many places. There was no strict rule regarding working hours of agricultural labor. In many places they worked for 10 to 12 hours per day. It is clear that lack of land is the basic reason for this miserable state.

Due to the existence of a large working army capitalist labor is facing limitations both in the industry and agriculture. When capitalism develops

in agriculture it must definitely build relations favorable to sell laborers' labor interminably. This depends on the stable development of capital investment. According to research in Indian agriculture there is no mutual favorable relation between the growth in number of agricultural laborers and capital investment in agriculture. Secondly we cannot see any kind of clear relation between the growth rate of production and the growth of number of agricultural laborers. On the contrary, rural India presents the picture of bonded labor along with various kinds of agricultural laborers. Presence of free laborers in capitalist sense in agriculture is not a prominent feature in the country.

5. Continuation of agricultural tenancy: There were acts to eradicate tenancy and other reform activities from 1947 to 1990 but almost none of them were implemented. Agricultural tenancy continued in a more naked and terrible manner in all the states of the country violating the rights of the tenants, sub-tenants and share croppers. Landlords evacuated tenants in the name of 'individual cultivation' that was a clear countrywide feature. The rent is high (in the form of paddy or cash) in extensively irrigated fertile areas. Gradually rents in the form of cash came forth more and more in several areas but mostly rent in the form of paddy continued. In fact the tenancy reform act mystified certain forms of tenancy. This 'mystified tenancy' much more disintegrated the rules and conditions of tenancy. There were many kinds of arrangements including share cropping in this mystified or the unorganized tenancy methods. But they were not registered as tenancy. These forms that apparently seem to cultivate through appointed labor, violated the legal rights of tenancy.

There are mostly ordinary tenants, sub-tenants and share croppers in the entire agricultural tenancy in the country. The unorganized or the indirect sub-tenancy took place through illegal share cropping. Thus share cropping continued to be a specific form of pre-capitalist, semi-feudal agrarian relations.

Although poor peasantry and a section of the middle class peasantry lost their lands are distanced from land and other instruments of labor they did not become agricultural laborers or rural proletariat. They were tied to the same land as share croppers. They owned certain instruments

of production such as plough. They distributed a part of the expenditure on production. This is a feature of pre-capitalist relations of property. Due to acute poor condition share croppers sold their crop much before or obtained food grains or money as advance from the land owners, traders and paddy dealers. With these new loans the peasantry had to leave their next crop also. They were caught in a vicious circle and it became impossible for them to come out of it. They were tied to their lands. They faced both the semi-feudal exploitation and trade-usury exploitation.

In some areas of India such factors like stable tenancy system also prevented the improvement of production. The landlord hiked the rent on any kind of improvement in the economic condition of the tenant.

A summary of the tenancy methods in the country at that time shows that most of the tenancy was above 50 percent. Surplus labor or surplus produce was totally exploited. Land was centralized, there was no land to the tiller and there were no alternate opportunities for employment. Therefore due to high pressures on land the real tenancy in the country was generally in a semi-feudal method. The reason, control on land was the source of exploitation.

6. Other forms of feudal exploitation: The feudal exploitation on the peasantry of India took various forms. There were other non-economic forms of exploitation such as bonded labor, method of wage laborer, other forms of tied labor or auxiliary labor, feudal rent in cash or kind (paddy), high interest on the loan from the merchant or the usurer, traders selling agricultural inputs (hybrid seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, agricultural implements and other such) to the farmers for high prices and purchasing the crops for very low price. The poor peasantry was tied to one or few landlords due to various reasons. They serviced labor to these landlords to repay loans. On many occasions the owners gave housing plots and at times land at nominal rent or without rent or on the basis of share cropping to the bonded laborers.

The landlord, merchant and usurer collaborated (mostly a single person played these three roles and emerged as new feudal force) and played with the lives of the peasantry.

Since the poor peasantry inevitably depended on lenders they sold their produce as soon as harvest was done. The local usurers of many areas worked as agents (dealers/distributors) for the domestic and foreign corporate companies. At the time of selling agricultural inputs they lent money on the basis of anticipatory contract that specified that the crop must be sold to them and for the (low) price that they decided. So the peasantry had to sell future crops also. In turn they had to take fresh loans with high rates of interest in the form of food grains or cash. They could not obtain remunerative prices for their produce and when the crops were not good they were unable to repay loans and gave away their lands to the usurers. Later they were forced to take up tenancy or entered into more humiliating feudal exploitive relations with another landlord.

The institutional credit from the national banks only contributed to more exploitation of the peasantry in the rural area by the rural elite through usury and trade activities.

7. Contract agriculture – The comprador rulers began commercialising agriculture in the first phase of globalization according to the imperialist schemes. Contract agriculture spread to several areas of the country. This gave the corporate companies total control on agriculture in the contract lands. They made prior agreement with the farmers. As per the agreement the farmers purchased agricultural implements/inputs mostly from the company. Though in the beginning the company paid attractive rates for the crops to attract the farmers they gradually considerably lowered the rates and exploited the farmers. Here too the new feudal forces acted as compradors between the corporate companies and farmers.

The Onslaught of Globalization on Semi-Colonial, Semi-Feudal India (From 1991 to Feb 2020)

1991 – Second stage of Globalisation begins

While the Keynesian theory was formulated to solve the imperialist crisis of the 1930s the Monetarist theory came forth to solve the crisis that broke in 1970. The Monetarists suggested decrease in expenditure and cut in subsidies but not to print currency in order to reduce budget deficit. They sermonized the ‘invisible hand’ principle of Adam Smith that states that market forces itself regularize economy. This was what Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the US brought forth.

The policies of ‘free market’ and ‘free trade’ said to be introduced by them in fact reflect the monopoly of trade and the control of monopolies over the market. The jargon of free trade and free market is merely a mask of the monopoly of International Monetary organisations and Multi-National Companies. To say that they apply the Adam Smith principle of the capitalist stage of free competition is only to delude the people all over the world.

Imperialists further speeded up the LPG policies of ‘globalisation’ and ‘neo-liberalisation’ that they formulated to address the crisis, on the platform of World Trade Organisation (WTO). This was the globalization strategy of the imperialists. It was to re-structuralize their economies so as to face the crisis. This led to bi-faceted onslaught of imperialism.

Firstly imperialists re-structuralized capitalism in their countries through implementing Reaganomics and Thatcherism. They created an unprecedented surge of Mergers and Acquisitions (M&A) to establish giant Conglomerates. They turned finance capital into a decisive force and a major specter dictating the economies of the countries all over the world. They brought all the forms of social production in the world into their control and made all the countries of the world surrender to the policies of imperialist globalization. They thus intensified the onslaught on the working class of their own countries and increased the rate of surplus

value (profits) being extracted from them. Secondly, with a new offensive on the backward countries they could further expand their markets and seize cheap raw materials of those countries. They intensified exploitation of the toilers manifold. Both of these are closely related and mutually dependent. The objective of globalization strategy is to re-structuralize the economies of the entire countries of the world as per the exploitive interests of the international monopoly finance enterprises and Multi-National enterprises, lift all the sanctions and all the tariff obstacles for imports-exports and for shifting profits to their native country, in a way to create a 'borderless' world where goods, technology, capital and labor can 'move around freely', to facilitate the exploitation of any country as per its wish according to their international monopoly. 'InfoTech revolution' helped the imperialists in their globalization strategy. The MNCs and the international finance enterprises speeded up their globalization strategy that creates 'borderless world' since the very close networking of the whole world through satellites and other modern information technology, remote control through computers and increased speed of transport facilities made possible trade transactions from places afar. They spread finance markets in haste, divided the process of production in heavy industries into small activities and shifted thousands of these to several countries.

The government and the ruling classes intentionally introduced large scale reforms in the policies, laws, rules, regulations and so on to aggressively spread imperialist markets to the backward countries and to strengthen their control on backward countries and several erstwhile Socialist countries thus facilitating this shameless exploitation.

In fact 'globalisation' is a beautiful name given to the cruel onslaught of international finance capital on the backward countries. Earlier the colonialists spoke about their cruelty as the civilized rule of the whites over the blacks. Now these neo-colonialists justify their banditry stating globalization is inevitable. They portray the advances in technology that bring the worldwide incidents to each and every home, create an illusions about the so called 'global village' through TV and internet and mystify their cruel onslaught of finance capital that they unleash all over the world.

94 Changes in Relations of Production in India-Our Political Program

The repressive fascist state machinery and state terrorism is being further strongly structuralized all over the world. This is integral to globalization. In the situation after September 11th the comprador rulers of backward countries obtain absolute support of the imperialists. This takes place in the name of democracy.

The onslaught of finance capital at the international level

The first aspect of globalization is re-structuralisation of capitalism. The imperialists are taking up large scale Mergers and Acquisitions and setting up giant conglomerates in their countries due to which small and feeble industries are affected. Upto 2016 they reached an extremely heavy amount of one trillion dollars per year. Earlier to 2008 there were 11,500 M&A per year. By 2018 this reached 30,000 per year. However, the fundamental contradictions inherent in capitalism were not solved through M&A. On the contrary it led capitalism into neck deep financial and economic crisis.

Anyway, through the M&A taken up due to the inevitable development in monopoly capitalism, the bourgeois class could temporarily overcome the impact of immediate crisis. Firstly it could spread the markets that failed to embed over production and were diminishing, by seizing the companies. Secondly the capital that accumulated heavily without any way to invest in new (or spread) production due to diminished market came into use at present with the acquisition of other company/companies. With the development in transport and communication sectors it could penetrate all the spheres of life. Thirdly organic composition in production was achieved through high technology and heavy cuts in workers' employment and mergers. Thus it revived the falling profits. In addition to this it re-structuralised their capital and production. It combined all the production areas of the world with centers constituting above hundred channels. Mergers too increased among them. Even now the semi-feudal relations of production that depend on this market do not come in the way of this organizational network. They conform to the interests of the imperialists. In fact these relations of production facilitate

the way for imperialism to go to the respective places. The size of this world market in the era of globalization reflects in the division of labor. Due to this there is a rise in the intervention of imperialist countries on the backward countries. On one hand the imperialist/capitalist countries unleashed several onslaughts at a time on the proletariat of their countries by heavy cuts in workers' employment, by bringing the wages to a standstill and by utilizing heavy part time and contract labor. It not only revived the falling profits through hike in working hours, outsourcing production to low wage areas, big cuts in government social welfare and so on but also attained heavy profits. On the other hand it brought forth various kinds of new inhuman forms and methods of exploitation to extract super and more super surplus value from the people, especially the workers of the backward countries. As a result the oppressed people of the world are living in a miserable situation with extremely low wages without even able to fill their stomachs.

The second aspect of 'globalisation' is the aggressive spread of imperialist markets and strengthening control over the backward countries and even several erstwhile Socialist countries. After the decline of Soviet Social-imperialism western (and Japan) imperialists occupied its markets in all the third world countries. Apart from the markets of the erstwhile Soviet Union East Europe also provided market for them. With the collapse of the Socialist government in China and the setback of International Communist Movement the Chinese markets were open to imperialist exploitation. An aggressive policy to unleash hegemony and dominate the backward countries of the world was adopted. As a result the MNC-TNCs eagerly swallowed up the private industries, public sector industries, finance enterprises, banking and insurance sectors, small scale industries, the natural resources, mining and also agriculture of the backward countries in the name of 'globalisation'.

The abundant growth of industrial working class in countries of imperialist oppression is the utmost important change in the era of neo-liberalization. This is one of the most important developments in the history of capitalism. The rise of working class in backward countries, the rise in working class in the imperialist countries with the migration from

the oppressed countries, women entering wage labor in almost all the countries and other such changes are part of this. Anyhow unemployed-semi-employed/unorganized reserve army is many times more in number all over the world especially in the backward countries. A change in this situation is impossible without the economies of the backward countries bringing out a breach in the semi-colonial relations of neo-colonial kind of exploitation.

However globalization policies did not produce expected results for the imperialists. The world economic system and international trade became more distorted. This led to large scale transfer of wealth in invisible ways to the imperialist countries, to heavy profits for the international stock traders by indulging in large scale misappropriation in finance markets and at the same time to the devaluation of non-dollar currencies especially the currencies of the backward countries and the devastation of stock markets. In the imperialist-capitalist system of the present era of globalization in fact the globalization policies are just one side of the coin. The imperialists adopted 'protectionism' to preserve their interests especially their markets and super profits. Cut throat competition that has been constantly going on among the imperialist international monopolies has been intensifying day by day due to the falling growth rate, crisis of overproduction, unemployment reaching new heights and other such long term problems. Any agreements between them provided temporary relief but did not solve the problem. There are relentless trade wars and currency wars. Globalization policies led to severe rise in socio-economic inequalities. 38.5 percent out of the total 230 trillion dollars of wealth in the entire world in 2012 was owned by 0.6 percent (4.56 crore) rich persons. The wealth of 50 percent poor people i.e. 380 crore people of the world reduced to 11 percent. The wealth of 62 rich of the world was equal to that of half of the world population.

Therefore in order to preserve the economic sector the state turned fascistic to gratify finance capital at the cost of people's interests. The rulers of all the countries are unleashing fascist repression on the oppressed nationalities and people struggling for their livelihood and rights. This intensified the fundamental contradictions between

imperialism and oppressed nationalities and oppressed people, between capital and labor and among the imperialist countries. As a result the imperialists fell into the mire of irrecoverable crisis.

But the modern revisionists are re-defining the fundamental contradictions of capitalism. They make new analyses of state, democracy, structure and role of Communist Party, revolution and scientific socialism. This ill trend in the assessment of capitalism is not a simple difference in analysis. It is related to theoretical perspective. In fact this revisionist theoretical perspective integrates modern revisionism and imperialism. It brings forth terms like 'ultra', 'super' and 'global' and preaches that imperialism is invincible, unchangeable, unbeatable and that history ends with the ultimate victory of imperialism. 'End of history' means revolutions will end and the development of society towards Socialism-Communism remains a dream. The sense of this is that capitalism transforms into a deathless system-into capitalism that indisputably established total success and into capitalism that wipes out all the classes and unites the entire world and not as capitalism on the 'deathbed'. This transformation starts with information society and information era and completes with technological revolution. The only thing left is to peacefully solve the entire present problems on the basis of reformism and to gradually improve the world with mutual cooperation to a full-fledged level. Therefore proletariat revolutionary forces must indefinitely shed class struggle and immediately surrender to this untruth. Imperialists comment that the world is free of boundaries and had changed into a town or a remote village.

There are lakhs of examples all over the world of the developments contrary to what imperialists and modern revisionists say. The world of the ruling classes always included 'invincible heaven' even in the slave society and feudal society. The ruling classes that benefited since the stage of civilization became the representatives of this 'heaven'. The imperialists now do not speak anything different. Those who own instruments of production feel that they have power over the entire wealth of the world and that they can run the world as per their wish. Development and progress in science and technology depend on their narrow interests and take place at the level they decide and in the way they decide but they

will not be according to the interests and needs of the entire humankind. This is only to unleash power, exploitation, oppression and suppression.

As Comrade Lenin stated, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. It is also the final stage of capitalism. We do not see change in the features of monopoly capitalism that the revisionist and reformist trends speak of in an extremely distorted manner about the world economic system. Anyhow it is a fact that there are considerable developments in not only communication, information and technological sectors but in all the sectors. These developments show an impact on the economy. But there is no fundamental change in the nature of capitalism, in the nature of imperialist world system or in the nature of class struggle.

One hundred years ago Lenin said in his book 'Imperialism-the highest stage of capitalism' that every market segment of the capitalist countries frequently and mercilessly suffer from Mergers and Acquisitions. This has been being proved very clearly all over the world. Generally M&A is one main index for concentration of wealth especially for monopoly (in market segment). Finance capital works as fuel for M&A activities. Thousands of crores of rupees are needed in big ticket deals (at times it is a total cash deal) where a company seizes another big company. Normally a company does not bring in all the money in its possession to seize another company. Since finance rules the present economic world the company normally extracts finance capital in the form of equity or in the form of loan.

Consolidation is vital for the maturity of any market segment. It facilitates the way to monopoly. Initially several forces exist in any market segment. As time passes on two or three companies grow bigger than the other companies owing to various reasons.

Lenin correctly said that competition always leads to monopoly. Few big forces inevitably eat away small forces through M&A. After a while few big forces will ultimately become monopoly forces in any market segment (at least in places where there is maximum level of regularization).

Even among the big companies of one market segment, there is merciless competition 24 hours and 365 days. They are in the vicious cycle of "If I don't kill you, you will kill me". Hence, whichever company succeeds

in cutting down the costs (by reducing the number of employees and their wages) and increasing the efficiency (by speedy implementation of latest technological developments/utilisation) it successfully accumulates more capital. This capital is then used against the contending companies to root them out and become the biggest monopoly by adopting various market tactics. Finally that particular segment is consolidated in the form of mergers and acquisitions. As a part of consolidation, the stronger company will kill its weaker competitor and eat it away. The stronger one acquires the weaker one as part of consolidation (i.e. M&A).

Western finance capitalists have developed high-level of sophistication in every market segment. They are not only modernizing all the segments of market but are also keen on controlling them. At the same time, they have increasing technological and financial hegemony. Digital economy works as a vital motive force for growth and development in the present economy. This is clearer from the 2017 UNCTAD world investment report. For the past five years we see that the prominence of technological and digital MNCs and along with it that of internet platforms, e-commerce and digital content firms is rising just like that of information and communication technology. These are also called asset lite model, aggregator model companies. In the ranking given by UNCTAD in 2010-2015, the average market capitalization of the tech and digital MNCs is nearly three times of the total market capitalization of the top 100 MNCs. By the end of 2015 ten tech MNCs had almost 26 percent of the total market capitalization of the top 100 MNCs. In comparison with the top 100 MNCs the properties of tech and digital MNCs is 65 percent more and their revenues and the number of employees working in those companies is 30 percent more. Although only 40 percent of its properties are in foreign countries nearly 70 percent of its sales are in foreign countries. Especially its sales are more than that of average top 100 MNCs. However these companies depend on highly skilled labor of their country for the main activities and so foreign employment through these is low. This has a negative impact on the economic growth of the world and is leading to severe unemployment.

The capitalists have created field-specific research and advisory

organizations to understand the specific situation and changes in the market segments across the world. Knight Frank or Cushman Wakefield in global real estate market; Gartner Research in global IT field and Brookings Institution in global defense etc. are a few examples. These research organizations make research in every market segment in a given country and publish reports for the capitalists so that they can take decisions about their investments basing on this information. Periodically, these research organizations also suggest the corporate companies how to maximize profits. They also create benchmarks and metrics to be followed for maximizing profits. These research reports are pivotal for the Western finance capitalists since they can gauge the requirement of capital and how they can take control of companies using the power of finance capital.

At the same time, Western finance capitalists have also created many economic research organizations to understand the economy of each and every country in detail. They study the micro and macro-economic conditions of every country and submit research reports. McKinsey (USA), Deutsche Bank Research (Germany), Economist Intelligence Unit (UK), Nomura Research (Japan), Altran (France) etc. are a few prominent economic research and advisory firms. In addition to the above, Ivy League (i.e. top-level) universities of the Western countries such as Harvard, Stanford and Oxford universities and London School of Economics etc. come out with their own research reports to help the capitalists understand the economic health of various countries.

In the initial stages of industrialization when electric machines were not widely developed various stages of the process of manufacturing raw materials into goods took place in one industry. Domestic workers contributed to this in large numbers. In the later hundred years the surge of mechanization brought forth concentration and specialization. With this the growth of more complex productive systems took place in the concerned country. In the past two centuries there were mostly both raw materials and final goods in international trade. The neo-liberal globalization spread links and value generation in the production chain beyond the borders of the country and brought a large change in this

condition.

The maximum number of TNCs and MNCs in the ownership of capitalists of the respective countries with imperialist countries as the centre worked as motive forces in globalization of production. A distinct feature of this is the outsourcing of spare parts (separate segments) and the process of production. However the role of backward countries is normally limited to stages of intense need of labor in the process of production and thus the relation between the mother enterprise and the affiliated enterprise in other countries took the form of relation between capital and labor, that between the capital of imperialist countries and the labor of backward countries. Backward countries do labor and the imperialist countries have the power and profits of production. Earlier to globalization the relative wages and job security of the workers of the imperialist countries depended on the preservation of market share of the owners of those enterprises as a part of the contention between enterprises manufacturing various goods. Technology obtained to save labor created fear of retrenchment and contained the productive capacity of the enterprise. Direct employees were concentrated in the domestic factories in numbers as large as the success and hegemony of the TNCs. In the present period of globalization the owners saw an alternate path to remove their employees and to reduce production costs through 'task trading', i.e. through outsourcing separate tasks to countries of very low wages. So now a TNC is said to be successful when it outsources production to low wage countries and produces as less as possible. For nearly half century industrialization with the perspective of export to poor countries with not enough natural resources was the only way. Nearly 80 percent of the world trade (in the sense of aggregate exports) was intertwined with the international productive systems of the TNCs. The workers' life was no more linked with the profits of their owner. The future of the worker now depends upon the owners' capacity of bringing cheaply available foreign workers in the place of their workers. Therefore the export business of manufactured goods between imperialist-capitalist countries and backward countries turned into a manifestation of globalization of production and into the exploitive relation between capital

and labor. Various imperialist enterprises contend for profits, market share and shareholder's value.

With the mergers or acquisitions of monopoly enterprises there was a rise in the number of international and transcontinental enterprises that intensified concentration. A handful of few monopoly enterprises control the entire world economy. Competition between these giant monopoly enterprises speeded up.

The important methods that the imperialist international monopoly enterprises brought forth in their productive activities during the period of globalization were –

1. Vertical integration method. In this method various spare parts are manufactured in different countries under centralised control.
2. Horizontal integration method – In this method the same product is produced in different countries simultaneously. They close down a factory in one country and continue in another as per their requirement. Manufacture of the same product in different countries makes export from one country to the other possible and to make huge profits. This is known as Transfer Pricing. Depending on the currency exchange rates MNCs export their products to their own industries in different countries. This became possible for the Multinationals by establishing subsidiaries under their control in various countries.
3. Subcontracting method – Here the manufacture of spare parts and other activities are given for contract to the local manufacturers (various ancillary industries) instead of manufacturing in their own factories.
4. Joint Ventures with comprador bourgeoisie - MNCs control the Joint Ventures. Whether in subcontracting or Joint Venture, the strategy adopted by foreign capital is to buy goods from the domestically established companies and sell them with the label of their trade mark.
5. Purchase of local industries - This is one more important method of exploitation by the MNCs. It is also known as Take-Over. There is no fresh capital flow in these take-overs. There is only a change in the ownership of the factories. The market of the local companies also goes into the hands of the TNCs. This is the most secure and easy way to enter the market of any country. Depending on the acquired share in the market it captures the entire national market with its global brand.

Global finance capital – various forms

Finance capital means earning money through money. By nature finance capital is of two kinds - ECM (Equity Capital Markets), DCM (Debt Capital Markets). Any capital investment that buys equity stake (buying shares in a company by investing capital in its operations) and any capital investment that totally goes into stock (share) market are called equity investment. Any capital that does not fall under the above is the DCM. ECM and DCM are in three formats – Inbound, Outbound, Cross border. Inbound ECM/DCM is that in which capital comes into the country from foreign capitalists. Outbound ECM/DCM is that in which capital goes from the country to foreign countries. Cross border ECM/DCM is that in which capital moves from one continent to another continent or among few countries.

Whenever finance capitalists introduce ‘new style of financing’ new forms of finance capital come forth. The main forms of finance capital are like this – FDI, FII, FPI – Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Institutional Investment (FII) (also called Foreign Portfolio Investments (FPI)) are part of inbound format. FDI investment is both in ECM and DCM formats. But FII is only in the ECM format. The FII are not given as loans to the companies, not invested in the share market and they do not directly enter into the activities of the companies like the FDI.

These finance capitalist enterprises are also in other forms such as Hedge Funds, Private Equity, Pension funds, Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWF), Mutual Funds, Insurance Companies and Investment Bankers. These collaborate to invest in a company or to take over them. In 2018 July, TPG, a Private Equity Company of the US merged with the second biggest SWF (ADIA of Abu Dhabi) to invest in an Indian Company.

These International finance enterprises started to control the economic, political and cultural spheres of India through heavy investments. There was concentration of capital accumulation in India too. So, although there were a few Finance Capital enterprises in various forms they were less in number and size and are not prepared to face high risk. They relinquish to the Multi-National finance enterprises.

These are a few more illusive policies of the finance capitalists and

their comprador governments to earn super profits - In connivance with the capitalists, the government reduced the rate of interest in fixed deposits in the banks and post-offices. It is giving low interest rates to pension funds also. Through this tactic, the government is forcing people to shift from safer investment options to high-risk equity shares or mutual funds. It is deceiving the people by depriving fixed income that provides relief from inflation. This is said to be equitisation of savings (it is the money in the form of finance saved not in fixed income deposits but in stock market). This is fraught with dangers as poor and middle-class people need regular income especially from fixed deposits for their daily needs. Now they are forced into market risks that do not pay them income. Moreover when people need money they have to sell the shares or mutual fund units even when the market is in downturn. They may even have to forego all the gains that they made in the last few years. The stock market or the mutual funds market is extremely intricate. The assessment of experts goes wrong many times. Common public have no clue about this subject and hence end up in losses by buying less-rewarding wrong shares or mutual funds.

Moreover, no capitalist in the world invests one's personal wealth in the company floated individually. They make large propaganda about their company and attract common public to buy the shares but they themselves do not buy even a single share of their own company. They lure the people to buy their shares. This is because it is a source cheaper than taking loans or to approach private equity to enhance capital. If the people buy the shares of their company, the value of the share goes up. The value of share goes as high as the demand. This fulfills many kinds of interests. They sell the shares (if they are in need of liquid cash) when the share value is high.

Usually, the media gives headline news about the performance of SENSEX. This is a sign of how bad or well the share market is doing. The BSE (Bombay Stock Exchange) Sensex is related to only 30 companies. This is the highest market capitalization (all these companies belong to the topmost corporate families of India). NIFTY that belongs to NSE (National Stock Exchange) consists of primarily 50 companies (they also index additional 50). So, when the media gives headline news

sensationalizing the SENSEX (Sensitive Index) it only means that the shares of either all or some of the 30 Sensex companies are booming, even though the shares of thousands of companies are traded on the BSE or NSE platform.

Finance business becomes the main trend

There were major changes in the international finance sector in the period of globalization. Global finance markets grew speedily. Most of the accumulated surplus value went towards speculation and non-productive sectors. International market did not mean goods and services market but mainly constituted of shares, bonds, securities, currency exchange, futures and other such things.

90 percent of the finance transactions of the MNCs are not for its economic needs but are entwined with speculative business. This speculative business boom started in America, Europe and Japan and extended to the backward countries since 1980. This speculative capital also known as 'hot money' did not become a fresh capital on primary, temporary, short term basis i.e. FDI into the new industrial enterprises in the productivity sector in the backward countries but went into secondary markets as speculation that purchases-sells shares and bonds and as foreign capital. It entered the capital market of these countries freely. In search of achieving speedier profits it immediately returned after gaining profits thus running overnight from one capital market to another and from one country to another with ample opportunities for profits. Its entrance into the capital market and the sudden withdrawal put the economies of those countries in disorder. It severely affected the values of the currencies through heavy sales. The crisis of entire South East Asia in the end of 1990s and the crisis in Mexico in 1994 were caused due to the toppling of international currencies and the misappropriation of the stock brokers. The junk bonds in America display the ugliest form of this speculative business. Factories are bought and sold for profits with these bonds. These international finance thieves and brokers encourage liberalization and globalization.

By 1990, 200 billion dollars were invested in junk bonds. They have

nothing to do either with the profits or with the production of the company. This speculative business is growing without any limits in foreign currency transactions and secondary markets. It is not an exaggeration to say that the MNCs, international banks and other service institutions are making profits on this gambling alone. The role of banks now is more in buying and selling of bonds and securities than in lending. Crores of rupees are exchanged daily in the purchase and sale of securities. The value of international bonds went up from 259 billion dollars in 1982 to 1.65 trillion dollars in 1991. Currency business is estimated to be at 900 billion dollars per day in 1991. The growth of green finance is an important development in the 21st century. Initially the green bonds were issued in 2007. These are invested in reproductive fuel sector (46 percent), fuel efficiency (20 percent), transport with less release of carbon gases (13 percent), companies producing pure water (9 percent), companies preventing waste-pollution (6 percent) and other such companies. By 2016 the green bonds attained a size of 100 billion dollars. A clear line of demarcation was drawn between the real economy (business, production, consumption and so on) and the finance sector in the international level. Finance sector started to control the real economy.

FDI is 'capital invested with the aim of gaining super profits through dominating an enterprise of a country or through establishing effective management control on it'. FDI is of four kinds according to the objective of MNCs. The first is 'efficiency seeking' FDI. Efficiency means reducing costs, mainly that of labor. The second is 'market seeking' FDI that seeks hegemony on market. Before the neo-liberal globalization this kind of FDI was the main form. Due to protectionism TNCs took production close to the markets. We see this even now in the car industries in the ownership of Japan and Europe in the US. This kind of FDI is still the important one. Like the 'efficiency seeking' FDI the 'market seeking' FDI does not divide the processes of production. It invests again in the country where FDI was invested. Since the important markets for goods are mostly in the imperialist countries the capital of the imperialist countries dominates 'market seeking' FDI. Or business based on international production takes place in equal scale mainly between the imperialist-capitalist countries.

The third is 'resource seeking' FDI that seeks hegemony on resources. This shows the foreign capital mainly in mining industries such as Hydrocarbons and minerals and agricultural products such as food material and material used in decorative equipment. The fourth kind of FDI is 'technology seeking'. This tries to obtain scientific or technical knowledge of another country. This kind of FDI is rarely seen in poor countries.

FDI rose heavily in 1983-1990. This increased with a speed four times more than global production and three times more than global business. It reached 1.5 trillion dollars by the end of 1990. The backward countries gained 464 billion dollars of FDI and the imperialist-capitalist countries 609 billion dollars of FDI in 2001-2012. 61 percent of the worldwide FDI came to backward countries in 2013. This was 33 percent in 2006 and 51 percent in 2010. While the FDI flow in the manufacturing sector was 145 billion dollars in the imperialist-capitalist countries in 2010-2012 it was 151 billion dollars in the backward countries. The FDI flow in the finance business activities in the imperialist countries was 1.37 trillion dollars in 2001-2012. This was two times the FDI into manufacturing sector in those countries. It was 509 billion dollars in the backward countries. According to the 2017 UNCTAD world investment report the global FDI that was 1.3 trillion dollars in 2014 grew well in 2015 and reached 1.8 trillion dollars. However its growth rate fell by 2 percent in 2016 and reached 1.75 trillion dollars. Especially the FDI into backward countries saw a severe fall down. It declined by 14 percent at 646 billion dollars. But in South Asia FDI increased by 6 percent and reached 54 billion dollars. FDI in imperialist-capitalist countries increased considerably by 5 percent than in 2015 and reached one trillion dollars. The report assessed that in 2017 world investments shall rise by 5 percent and go up to 1.8 trillion dollars and to 1.85 trillion dollars in 2018 but anyhow it shall not reach the zenith like in 2007.

The important thing is that the FDI among the imperialist countries is mostly in the form of M&A. M&A reflects the speedy centralization of FDI capital. The value of cross-border M&A increased speedily from 428.126 billion dollars to 735.126 billion dollars in 2014-2015. In 2016 it grew normally and became 8,68,647 billion dollars. The biggest Transnational

M&A agreement was the seizure of the Dutch ABN-AMRO Bank by the Royal Bank of Scotland for 98.2 billion dollars in 2007.

The banks only accumulate wealth and earn out of way but none of them produce goods. They gain strong hold on the backward countries by giving loans, through investments, in hedge funds, partnership in future markets, managing flight capital and other such things and indirectly through the TNCs that they finance. The second biggest M&A agreement in 2007 was the merger of Alcan a heavy firm in mining and packaging sectors by the British Rio Tinto from its Canadian owners. There were 65,000 employees in 61 countries in Alcan company. 28 percent of them are from countries other than Europe and North America. The third biggest M&A agreement is the acquisition of Endesa a Spanish giant company by Italian capitalists for 26.4 billion dollars. The same year Endesa established ancillary industries in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Morocco, Chile, Argentina, Columbia, Peru, Brazil, Central America and Caribbean. It earned 18 percent profits at 471 million Euros out of business in Latin America and Caribbean in 2007. There are many more such instances.

The heavy M&A FDI flow into the imperialist-capitalist countries earlier to the world crisis reflects the process of transfer and continuation of processes of production in low wage countries in the entire industrial sectors and the centralization in the TNCs and monopolies in the finance sector. The whole diversified process is said to be FDI. There are three totally different trends in FDI statistics – 1. Centralisation of investments of imperialist banks and finance capital 2. The process of centralization of actual production through the workers of ancillary companies in faraway backward countries by most of the prominent enterprises consisting of imperialist industrial capital and commercial capital 3. The process of decline of processes of production, shift to backward countries in search of maximum exploitation of labor.

There are three parts in FDI income – the repatriated profits out of investment in foreign countries, retained profits that were not distributed to the stock holders and payment of interest on loans given by the mother enterprise to the ancillary enterprises.

The properties of three first rank billionaires of the world were more

than the total GDP of the utmost backward countries (with a population of 60 crores) in 2002 September. We can see the amount of power of these corporate giants. The companies are as much arrogant and reckless as they are heavy in size. The GDP of India is very low compared with the annual expenditure on defense of the US (that is nearly 18 lakh crores). According to the 'Forbes' list of 2002 September there are nearly 400 first rank families possessing wealth worth 900 billion dollars that is two times more than the GDP of India.

The foreign ancillary companies/enterprises of the tech and digital MNCs are earning remarkable profits. These are heaping profits on their investments in cash on an average high. In 2015 the other MNCs earned an average of 45 billion dollars and the tech mega corporations earned nearly 75 billion dollars. The TNCs show the profits earned in foreign countries through outsourcing as those earned in their country. The mercilessness of finance capital that Lenin explained has been being proved for the past century.

The 2007 UNCTAD world investment report boasted that FDI would generate large scale employment. But in 2003 we see that mere 9.8 workers were employed per million dollars of FDI in the ownership of the US TNCs in the manufacturing sector in imperialist-capitalist countries. The same amount of FDI employed 23.8 workers i.e. 2.4 times more in the backward countries. As a result 281 billion dollars of the US FDI in the manufacturing sector employed only 2.76 million workers in the imperialist-capitalist countries. At the same time 88 billion dollars of FDI in the backward countries employed 2.1 million workers. Coming to quarrying and mining industries such as petroleum while 1.3 workers were employed per million dollars of FDI in the imperialist-capitalist countries 2.5 workers were employed in the backward countries. This assessment of the UNCTAD about the employment in TNCs did not count temporary, casual and sub-contract workers as employees.

Employment in foreign ancillary companies of the MNCs was 7.6 percent in 2010 and fell on an average by 4.9 percent per annum in the past five years. Thus although the employment in foreign ancillary companies was stable at 60 percent of the foreign employment of the

total MNCs in 2016, when compared with its foreign properties and sales it fell to 8 crores 21 lakhs and 40 thousand. Employment is affected mainly due to outsourcing. When economic growth was affected in the beginning of 2000 it led to new outsourcing agreements in electronic industries. For example Erickson of Sweden, Alkatel of France in Europe, HP and IBM of the US made outsourcing agreements. This resulted in a severe fall in the foreign properties and employment of these MNCs and they gradually vanished from the rank of top 100 MNCs.

12 million jobs were lost in the industrial sector of the US in 2000-2010 and the employment in this sector fell to 29.6 million. Their number fell to 16.7 percent of the total employed population in 2016. In 2000 it was 23.2 percent. The employment in US manufacturing sector much more worsened. In mid-1979 it went up to a maximum in the sector in history to 19.6 million and fell to 17.3 million by 2000. By 2010 it fell further to 37 percent and reached 11.5 million. By 2015 it gradually recovered and rose to 12.3 million. On the whole the US TNCs facilitated the way to casualization of the workers of backward countries. We can see it clearly in companies like Coca Cola. Similar situation exists in the TNCs centered in Europe and Japan.

Labor power of the backward countries grew in the neo-liberal stage. The IMF stated that export weighted global labor force increased by four times in 1980-2003. 'Economically Active Population' (EAP) rose by 63 percent from 1.9 billion in 1980 to 3.1 billion in 2006. This growth took place almost in the backward countries. 84 percent of the global labor force was in these countries in 2016. While 1.6 billion of them were working for wages the rest one billion are small farmers and a large number of other people are working in several kinds of 'unorganised economies'. The proletariat of the backward countries has not only been increasing in number for the past three decades, i.e. since 1991, but has also become more integral to the world economic system. The quantitative 63 percent increase in EAP of the world does not show the qualitative growth of wage workers of the backward countries. 1.47 billion workers became part of world toilers and doubled the global labor force.

Due to the Structural Adjustment programs all over the world in the

1980s and the 1990s there was a rise in poverty, unemployment and semi-employment in several countries and led to the spread of unorganized sector. In 1995-2005 the number of industrial workers of the backward countries rose at a fast pace in the world industrial working class and was quantitatively dominant. But its share of the employment in the backward countries rose only a little from 19.4 percent to 20.2 percent. According to the ILO report in 2002 at that time the new employment especially in the backward countries was mostly in the unorganized sector. The employment in the unorganized sector out of the total non-agricultural employment was 51 percent (40 percent of it was wage laborers) in Latin America and North Africa, 65 percent in Asia (41 percent wage laborers), 72 percent in Sub Saharan Africa out of which it is 81 percent (30 percent wage laborers) minus South Africa. There are a maximum of 83 percent in the unorganized sector out of the total employed especially in India. 48 percent of them are wage laborers. There is abundant employment in the unorganized sector in any country. Unorganized sector is the result of neo-liberal globalization.

Presently casualization of employment is going on at fast pace in the official and unofficial sectors all over the world. It means that there shall be no permanent jobs or long term jobs. The capitalist gives work for the workers for few days, months or few hours whenever necessary and pays wages according to it.

The giant corporate companies of India already started the concept of consultants. They are asking their employees to resign as wage employee and work as consultant. Such consultant is paid only wages on the basis of working hours without any other benefits. This has been in practice for a long time in the western countries. It is now speedily spreading in countries like India. It is clear that a big crisis of employment is looming in near future. This shall constitute unemployment and semi-employment (there will not be regular employment or there will be jobs with wages that can fulfill only the minimum daily necessities).

Casualization-very low wages is the main trend in the world. For example there were 41,000 employees in Ipod and the manufacture of its spare parts all over the world by 2006. 14,000 out of them were in the

US and 27,000 in countries other than the US. Works with low wages are given to other countries. The works in the US are given to engineers and managers of high wages and retail and non-professional workers with low wages. Out of the 13,920 workers in the US only 30 are production workers earning 47,640 dollars per annum. 7789 workers are 'retail and other non-professional' workers with an average of 25,580 dollars per annum. 6,101 are 'professional' workers, i.e. managers and engineers in research and development. Two thirds of the total expenditure on wages in the US goes to these managers and engineers. They earn an average of 85,000 dollars per annum. In China 12,250 production workers earn 1540 dollars per annum. This is just 6 percent of the average wages of retail workers in the US, 3.2 percent of the wages of production workers and 1.8 percent of the wages of professional workers of the US. Although workers are equal in number in the US and China in Ipod related activities the expenditure on wages in the US is 719 million dollars where as it is 19 million dollars in China.

On the other hand EAP in countries backward in agricultural employment fell from 73 percent in 1960 to 48 percent in 2016 and from one third to a mere 4 percent in imperialist-capitalist countries. ILO stated that the share of agricultural workers in total employment has been falling down but the number of workers in the agrarian sector is going up especially in South and East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

There was relative (in comparison with the increasing number of toilers) stagnation in the industrial employment in the backward countries in the first five years of the new century. According to ILO in 2006 in spite of large scale economic growth in world economy it has been failing to generate new jobs for those entering the job market. The economies of the backward countries grew more inefficient in absorbing the increasing number of toilers. This led to rise in heavy structural unemployment and poverty. Wages fell very low to those who obtained a little work.

In the present era of finance capital due to the severe shortage of jobs and/or semi-employment in the urban areas of the country educated men and women are increasingly taking up prostitution as self-employment. This exposes the hollowness of development.

This situation is seen not only in India. It exists in every country that has become part of globalization. Thailand has been a prominent hub for prostitution in the world since 1990s. It became part of globalization earlier to India. Now Indonesia exceeded Thailand. It turned as a world hub for sex tourism. Although the oil sufficient Dubai (part of UAE) is a part of Islamic country, with the depletion of oil and natural gas resources it now became known as the hub of sex tourism. The fact that distinguishes Dubai from other countries is that the sex workers here are not the citizens of the country. They are from more than 100 other countries. Turkey, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Russia, Brazil and Mexico have become world renown for sex tourism. All these countries became part of globalization 30 years ago.

Thus it was proved that the propaganda that there would be large scale employment during the period of globalization is a lie. Due to outsourcing in the countries where the TNCs established ancillary industries suppression of Trade unions, decrease in wages, pollution, unemployment and poverty are on the rise. Columbia the centre of the Empire of Coca Cola soft drink in Latin America is an example. According to Sainal Trainal the food workers' union of this company nine leaders and members of the worker's organisation have been murdered by murderous gangs since 1990. This situation made many workers' leaders go underground. 80 percent of the Coca Cola workers are temporary workers and without organisations. The wages paid to them are a mere quarter of those of workers in the organisations.

Export oriented industrialization, as a part of globalization, took place on the basis of women's labor. None of the backward countries hiked exports of manufacturing without women workers. The number of woman workers is increasing along with the increasing need of labor force on the whole. Women workers are more and more caught in the unorganized sector than the men workers. They are deprived of minimum legal rights and security measures. Very low wage works are mostly done by the women. Earlier the family could sustain through the earning of one man but now with the severe fall in wages in the period of globalization wife and husband, other members and children too have to work for

sustenance. At present men do the skilled jobs and women the unskilled. The said decrease in the difference of wages of men and women is very slight.

The UN socio-economic affairs department said in its report that 6 crores and 42 lakhs of people of the backward countries migrated to imperialist countries in 2013. This is double that of 2 crores 86 lakhs in 1990. An estimate of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) stated that nearly half of the people migrated from the backward countries obtained employment. They are 20th of the total labor force of the imperialist countries. 40 percent of them are working in the industries while 25 percent is the local labor force. It means that 9 percent of the total 14 crore 50 lakhs of industrial workers in the imperialist countries are from the oppressed countries. When compared with the local labor force they are three times more in number in the agricultural sector at 10 percent while the local labor force is 3 percent.

In the 1990s the US was more favorable for migration of people of the backward countries than the other imperialist countries. Migration rose by 70 percent in the past decade. In Europe it rose by 26 percent. In 2000-2013 it was the opposite. During this period the migration from backward countries to Europe rose by 65 percent while it was only 39 percent to the US. Together with the migration from Central Europe in this period it rises to 71 percent to Europe and falls to 37 percent to the US. Japan maintained restrictions in allowing migration. In 2013 there were 23 lakh migrants to Japan from the oppressed countries mostly from the Asian countries. If half of them obtained employment they would amount to 1.8 percent of the total 6 crore 50 lakh labor force in Japan. This is very lesser to that in the US and EU.

There is an interesting detail in the IOM 2003 world migration report. 1,42,000 people went to Japan on work VISA in 2001 out of which 1,17,839 (71,678 of them being Filipinos) were categorized as 'entertainers'. They are actors, singers, professional athletes and such others. Anyhow migrant workers are increasingly becoming important to the manufacturing industry of Japan. Industries normally do not provide stable employment but temporarily employ Chinese or Brazilians workers. They are paid low

wages and working conditions are poor. Japan not only took industries to cheap labor but also took cheap labor to the industries.

The condition of skilled workers is totally different. Initially majority of the utmost skilled workers of the backward countries became part of 'brain drain'. They utilized the opportunities to go to rich countries. According to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) of the rich countries emigration of skilled workers is more than the overall emigration. In 2010 one in every 9 graduates in Africa was in OECD countries. It was one in 13 from Latin America and one in 30 from Caribbean. The emigration of experts was twenty times more than that of the entire people from certain African countries. 46 percent of the experts of Jamaica lived in OECD countries. It was 43 percent from Zimbabwe and 41 percent from Mauritius and Guyana. A high of 90 percent graduates from Mauritius are living in the OECD countries. Emigration to non-OECD countries such as Brazil, China, India and Russia is lesser than 3.5 percent.

More than in any other sector emigration in the health sector showed a negative impact in these countries. According to a report concerning Africa most of the doctors of Malawi were working in Birmingham in the UK in 2005. According to a study in 2013 emigration of doctors from African countries started from mid-1980 and speeded up by 1990. This was the period of Structural Adjustment Programs of the IMF and WB. Due to the conditions imposed by these organisations the governments implemented severe cuts in health services. 78.3 percent doctors of Tanzania emigrated in 1995-2004. The number of doctors in this country fell from 4.1 per one lakh people to 0.69. There were 250 doctors per one lakh people in the US.

According to IMF the corporate loan of local non-financial organisations in the emerging main markets was 4 trillion dollars in 2004 that went up to 18 trillion dollars or in a way to 73 percent of the GDP of those countries in 2014. The increase occurred almost after the financial crisis of 2008. According to the Institute of International Finance (IIF) the corporate loan of emerging markets reached 23.7 trillion dollars or in a way 90 percent of the GDP of the emerging markets (countries) by 2015.

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Devastating effects of global finance capital

The finance capitalists are least bothered about the negative affect of a production or service in which they are investing on humankind or environment. They invested in wars (both in World War I and World War II) and earned billions of dollars of profits at a heavy cost of human lives. They continue to invest in arms industry (arms to massacre). They invest in gambling and liquor industry also. There are many industries they invest. The important negative effects of finance capital (including industrial capital) expose the hollowness of their false propaganda that capitalists alone bring growth and development.

Capitalists created severe crises in several sectors that bring devastation in near future especially to the majority people – Economic crisis, employment crisis, environment crisis, energy crisis, the crisis of forcible emigrants, socio-cultural crisis, political-military crisis.

Economic crisis: Intellectuals in support of capitalism themselves wrote research books and articles as to why economic crisis came forth. This crisis has been going on uninterruptedly since 2008. It spread all over the world and even a little crisis spread at the regional and inter-continental scale and attained a big/permanent characteristic .

When capitalists face economic crisis they transfer the private losses into public loss with the help of their governments (they make the government announce bail-out packages for their sake). As a result they need to impose more taxes to shift the deficit, the additional burden to the people already in misery.

Economic crisis is the utmost fundamental question of capitalism. It thrusts the majority people into terrible conditions and accumulates capital. It means a handful of capitalists control most of the wealth of the country or the world and shove the majority people in poverty.

The capitalists are always in a cut-throat competition, domestically and globally. As a result, the one who accumulates more capital will be the winner and will have the war-chest of finances to take over (on many occasions hostile take-over) weaker companies (through mergers and acquisitions) and attain monopoly. You can't expect capitalists in such

fierce competition to be humane. Hence one can definitely say that economic crisis will be never-ending.

Employment crisis: Capitalists do not bother to provide employment. They provide employment not out of moral or social responsibility but for a single reason. It is to only make the workers toil, to create surplus and accumulate capital/wealth. But if they employ more workers it increases expenditure and reduces profit margins. This invariably reduces the ability of the capitalist to accumulate more capital than the competitors. It makes this capitalist vulnerable to be eaten away by another capitalist who has accumulated more capital by reducing the workforce and cutting down costs. Hence, it is inevitable for capitalists to introduce latest technology in both manufacturing and service sectors so that they can lay-off people and thus cut down costs and increase profits. One cannot expect the capitalists caught in this vicious-cycle of cut-throat competition to generate employment in a situation where the technological developments enable the capitalists to reduce workforce day by day.

About a dozen technologies have come into the market in the recent time. They are: Driverless Vehicles (vehicles that move without a driver); Automation in IT sector and Robotics in manufacturing sector in the place of human-beings; Drone technology (unmanned aircraft or flying objects); IoT – Internet of Things (small or big electrical and electronic based products for connecting and exchanging data); SMAC (Social Media, Analytics and Cloud) technologies; Data Science; AI – Artificial Intelligence (that includes Machine Learning, Neural Networks, Computer Vision etc.); 3D Printing (also called Additive Manufacturing that does not require factory or workers in manufacture);

Vertical Farming (farms are not in fields but in multistoried racks in giant warehouse-style buildings); Block chain technology; GRAIN technologies (Genetics, Robotics, Artificial Intelligence and Nanotechnology are used in combination in Medicare); Mixed Reality (a combination of Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality); Deep Tech.

Although the above mentioned technologies temporarily create jobs for utmost skilled they are limited. If these technologies develop into much

higher levels these jobs too will be lost. Each of the above-mentioned technologies replaces human labor in places it is implemented. They are already being implemented and are directly or indirectly causing large scale unemployment in the educated and moderately educated. This is a growth does not generate employment. This growth is a growth without growth of real wages (although wages increase one cannot purchase goods to the necessary extent due to inflation). So they are called Unemployment-generating Technologies. These are pushing the society into the era of Un-employmentisation of Livelihood. These technologies shall become a normal feature in the coming less than a decade and will be taken up in a large scale. It is estimated that these technologies show a severe negative impact on jobs in the coming five years.

Environmental/Ecological Crisis: Atmospheric cycles are affected due to environmental crisis. This results in crop failures. Droughts are spreading to hitherto unknown geographical areas. A few lakes have dried up even in Switzerland's snow-laden Alps Mountains. Ever-increasing floods are another major threat. Agriculture is hit either by droughts or floods, thus making large swathes of the agriculture vulnerable to extremes.

Sudden down pour and pollution are major environmental concerns for urban areas. What environmentalists call 'heat island effect' (large amount of heat accumulated over the cities) is causing sudden down pour of rains drowning most of the city. This is causing damage worth hundreds or thousands of crores in a single day.

After prolonged discussion for several years Paris accord took place in 2015 that resolved to bring down the earth's temperature by two degrees centigrade, to see that sea water level does not rise and that there are no unfavorable changes in the atmosphere. 196 countries are involved in this accord. The US stepped out of it in 2019 saying that 'growth rate shall fall, living standards shall fall, unemployment shall rise, countries like China will benefit out of this'. The US is the second biggest pollutant country in the world with a share of 21 percent in the release of carbon gases.

We see that ecological crisis is spreading in hundreds and thousands of ways due to the profit hungry imperialists. It is affecting the maximum population. The means to contain the spread of this crisis by preventing

indiscriminate destruction are almost closed. However the capitalists are not much interested to take any kind of measures to prevent the loss to environment. Such measures affect their profit margins. They are mainly pouring unlimited products and services for their economic expansion to unprecedented heights. They thus wish to accumulate more wealth. Their policies took environmental decline to new levels. If an immediate alternative model of development is not taken up the entire environment will be devastated causing danger to the survival of the earth.

Energy crisis: Energy is at the heart of industrial development. There is an ever-increasing consumption of energy since the capitalists promote their products and services in order to expand the economy. Their profits are now at stake due to the impending energy crisis.

Conventional sources of energy are the hydrocarbons (such as coal, uranium, oil and gas). These resources are finite and hence the more they are exploited, the less is left for future generations. According to energy experts they have been exploited so much that we have now reached Peak Energy levels. It costs more and more to extract them as these resources are nearing depletion. The peak energy experts say that planet earth will not have coal beyond 100 years. Uranium will exhaust in the next 60 years. If oil continues to be explored in the present level oil resources will end within 40 years.

We shall be left with renewable energy sources. But there is a problem with these resources. By the time half of the world population shifts to solar energy for its present day needs, the two rare-earth minerals required to make solar panels will be depleted.

We have to look towards wind energy. But this cannot supply enough power for fuel needs. Wind is very volatile and is widely available in only few areas.

Whether it is from fossil fuels (hydrocarbons) or renewables certain amount of water is required to generate one kilo watt of energy. For example 5,000 litres of water is required to produce one kilo of paddy. Looking at production from the perspective of water usage is called 'Hydro-social perspective'. More and more rivers are drying up due to massive

deforestation caused by mining and logging etc. This caused limitations to the production of all kinds of fuels mentioned above.

With extreme changes in weather patterns coupled with polluted rivers, less and less water is available for human needs. Only 2 percent of the water is favorable for human-consumption mostly of which is either fast drying up or being polluted. Moreover much water is diverted to produce goods or services for consumption and little is left for human and animal needs.

Human efficiency in developing various energy sources has now reached its zenith. Those who are Panglossian might argue that the intelligent human-beings will invent some perennial sources of energy generation.

But the actual question is how much water is required to generate energy from a particular source? The situation is unable to solve this. The world of ever-growing water-crisis reached the maximum limits regarding energy generation. Water-crisis and energy crisis are closely related.

Capitalist system has been extremely exploiting water resource (just like all other resources) to expand its economy and thus wealth. Finance capital has no solution for the present water-crisis and the imminent energy-crisis.

Crisis of forcible emigrants: The US imperialist economy became a war economy and is mostly concentrating on wars. It is indulging in ceaseless aggressive wars on the oppressed nationalities and countries. Wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. We have to eliminate the entire capitalist imperialist system in order to wipe out wars.

In the twenty-first century the conspiratorial military coups of the US Army in Honduras, Ukraine and Egypt; Parliament coup in Brazil; military intervention of US allies in twenty countries led directly or indirectly to the death of 3 crore 20 lakh Muslims; in Africa, the secular and rich country Libya that once provided maximum shelter to the refugees of the world was destroyed and more than half of its population was displaced. The US indulged in such direct-indirect wars/interventions since the 1990s. As a result lakhs of people are dying, injured, lakhs of crores of rupees

worth properties are destroyed and the lives of the people in several war torn countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Syria, West Asia, African and Latin America turned miserable. Apart from this the emigration of crores of people from these countries to several countries of Europe and to the US has become an increasing trend in the period of globalization. But the imperialist countries that advocate 'humanity' do not at all demonstrate 'humanity' in providing shelter to these emigrants. These countries treat the emigrants like animals. They indulge in indiscriminate firing and murder of the people. They are detained in concentration camps, turned into slave workers and their labor mercilessly looted.

Five lakh people died and nearly twenty lakh were injured due to the attacks in the leadership of US imperialists for more than eight years to bring down the Bashar al-Assad government in Syria. One crore and twenty lakh people became refugees in this war and migrated to the neighboring countries and European countries. The secular society in which many ancient traditional tribes lived in peace and harmony was destroyed. Doors are opened for a new slave system with such war torn refugees in the 21st century. Deprived of all rights in the concentration camps they reflect the slave system.

Socio-cultural crisis (Vulgarization of culture): This is another negative impact of finance capital on the society. Capital, in its quest for super profits turns food, clothing, culture, traditions and customs into consumer goods. It is drowning and destructing the domestic economies in alien fantasy. As commodification increases in these areas there is more vulgarization of culture. The profits are as much as the vulgarization of culture. The increasing extreme anarchic imperialist culture is destroying patriotic values. It is encouraging heinous crimes, ugly sex, consumerism, narcotic culture, prostitution of women and men, woman-child-man pornography and other such vulgar values. This is resulting in high number of atrocities on women and minor girls. They are spreading on the basis of imperialist culture and outdated-regressive feudal culture. Racism, communalism and national frenzy are on the rise all over the world.

Political, military crisis – The present world scenario is constituted of

severe instability, turbulence and disorder. The intensifying long term economic-financial crisis further sharpened all the fundamental contradictions of the world. There is indiscriminate competition between the imperialists for hegemony on economic, political and military sectors. Their defense expenditure is on the rise. They are enhancing their military efficiency in a large scale. They are making new deployments. This is once again leading to more disorder and instability. As said earlier the wars/military interventions, tensions and threats by the US allies in 20 countries in this new century, the total acceptance of the US imperialists to the massacre of the Israeli Zionists on the neighboring countries like Palestine and Lebanon and other such things turned West Asia into an explosive situation and made it a centre of dog fight for the imperialist forces. Imperialism is finally indulging in wars for its profits and to divide and re-divide the world for world hegemony. It is earning super monopoly profits through war. It is spreading to the backward countries to unleash its exploitation and oppression in neo-colonial forms. It is a blood-thirsty devil regarding the oppressed nationalities and people of the present world. It is placing them in severe difficulties. This situation is leading to revolutionary struggles, nationality revolts, people's movements and resistance. This resulted in more intense, deeper and utmost intricate political-military crises in all the countries of the world. The stability of government administration and parliamentary system are affected. In addition to the parliamentary politics the naked forms of parliamentary ruling parties have been considerably exposed. As a result the fascist parties strengthened and are forming governments. Similar situation exists in South Asia and North Africa against the bureaucratic policies of the imperialists and their comprador fascist rulers. There is an upsurge of people's struggles in countries all over the world such as Algeria, Egypt and Sudan of Africa, Saudi Arabia, Kazakhstan and Hong Kong of West Asia, Ecuador, Chile, Haiti in Latin America, Spain, Czech Republic, Russia and France in Europe.

In this way the globalization policies chosen as a solution for crisis led to irrecoverable crisis. They intensified slavery and loot. Social, cultural, environmental destruction and decline rose in all ways on the earth.

Distribution of income took ghastly forms. There is rise in poverty, unemployment, hunger, lack of potable water, suppression of fundamental rights and civil rights and the rate of punishments and tortures. The number of deceased, injured and displaced due to wars and violent struggles is rising in big numbers. Statistics show that the situation is very appalling and has degenerated many times than the earlier. Due to these reasons the imperialist-capitalist system went closer to death. The world proletariat more than ever now has the immediate task of eliminating this order even before it destroys the entire mankind. It can fulfill this task by accomplishing Socialist Revolution in the imperialist-capitalist countries, New Democratic Revolution in the backward countries, Nationality liberation struggles and ultimately the World Socialist Revolution and advance towards Communism.

The phase of globalisation

Semi-colonial, Semi-feudal relations continue

As a part of globalisation strategy IMF, WB and later WTO together imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) on 80 backward countries like India in the name of 'loan' and 'aid' in order to facilitate international (MNC, TNC) finance capital. They launched large-scale programs such as education and literacy, beautification of cities, drinking water and cleanliness and development of infrastructure facilities such as roads, railways, tele-communications and generation of electricity. The comprador rulers of India completely restructured the country's economy as export oriented to repay these loans. They implemented frugal measures in the government expenditure for social welfare, cuts in subsidies for various sectors and other such things. They speeded up the sale of public sector units and other public assets.

They formulated a strategic scheme to 'mold the opinion of the people' of the poor and middle classes and intellectuals in favor of initially neo-colonialism and later globalisation policies by hook or by crook in the interests of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists and their compradors in our country. They set up several foundations such as Rockefeller foundation and Ford foundation and spent lakhs of dollars in

the sectors of education and art since 1950. They molded the teaching of political sciences in favor of imperialist ideology and are providing funds for student scholarships and for universities in courses such as 'international' and 'national' studies, 'development studies', 'people's studies', 'cultural studies', 'human behavioral sciences' and 'human rights'. 'Foundation favorable' students studying in the universities in the US and India obtained fellowships, research funds, grants and jobs. They gradually spread imperialist hegemonic ideology regarding various social, economic, political and cultural aspects. The US espionage and security bodies and Global corporation directorates are full of experts from among them. They became the Prime Ministers, Finance Ministers, Economists, officers of government banks and corporate advocates and opened the doors for global corporations. Azim Premji, Jindal, TATA, Reliance and other such Comprador corporate companies also established imperialist sponsored think tank institutions with this objective. These domestic and foreign corporate enterprises established monopoly on media too and are utilising it in their interests.

These foundations and their compradors TATA, Jindal, Infosys, Reliance and Vedanta companies are giving funds to artists, film directors and activists. They are molding the 'people's opinion' in the name of film, art and literary celebrations. Here are a few examples. The Vedanta Company that took up bauxite mining in the ancient Dongriya Kuvvi tribal area conducted film competition on 'stable development' with the sub-title of 'digging happiness'. The Jindal group published an art magazine and lent 'support' to prominent artists of the country. The ESSAR Company conducted 'Think fest' in Goa under the banner of Tehelka News Week in which there was an emotional seminar of prominent writers, social activists of the world including architect Frank Gehri. TATA Steel and Rio Tinto (British-Australia Mining Corporation) conduct Jaipur literary celebrations under the banner of Darshan Singh Construction as the 'biggest literary exhibition of the world' in which there are seminars on love, literature, politics, Suphi's poems, the banned book of Salman Rashdi 'The Satanic Verses' and such others. TATA, Jindal and Infosys companies are maintaining various kinds of 'best' schools, universities and hospitals,

give scholarships, prizes and fellowships to social scientists and to those working in sectors like rural development, elimination of poverty environmental education and moral revivalism. Imperialist sponsored think tank Observer Research Foundation that resembles Rockefeller foundation is provided funds by the Reliance Company.

The imperialists and comprador rulers enforced export dependent policy in our country during the globalisation period due to which the entire market of our country depended upon foreign trade, the capital on foreign investment, the technology on high-tech foreign technology, the finance on global imports and speculation business. International speculators control the indices of stock exchange prices. They decide the prices of goods including agricultural products according to international rates. They decide the value of rupees as to dollar and the rate of dollar flow into the country.

There was not a single law not amended in the country during the period of globalisation. There is a lot of noise in the Lok Sabha on trivial issues but in fact, several vital bills are passed at an unnoticeable pace in every session. In essence, the entire parliamentary parties are favorable for 'economic reforms'. The judiciary passes the utmost reactionary judgments on toilers, tribals, peasantry, small industrialists, Dalits, women, minorities, human rights and even on people's welfare and has become a cruel weapon in the hands of big capital. The government, Legislative Assembly and judiciary are acting like puppets in implementing 'economic reforms' under the dictates of the imperialists.

Global finance capital spread its hold like Octopus on every aspect of the country's economy. The foreign finance capital has a single objective. It wants to take the profits of its imperialist mother enterprise to the maximum extent. It is not bothered as to which path it would take - an ancillary company with total ownership, joint venture or a technical collaboration. However, the TNCs pay more importance to establish ancillary companies under their total ownership. They employ 'Indian' managers on their behalf and thus maximise profits. The wide network constituting of Prime Ministers, Chief Ministers, ministers, bureaucratic elite, political leaders, intellectuals and other agents is facilitating this.

This is irrespective of the parliamentary party in power. The governments under all the parties contended mutually and speedily implemented 'reforms'. They provided several subsidies to the imperialist international monopolies (TNC, MNC) to attract capital. They liberalised the regulations for the bonds and funds for the foreign capitalists and many such things. The comprador governments made hundreds of MoUs worth thousands of crores of rupees to exploit the enormous natural resources including bauxite and iron in collaboration with TATA, Adani, Jindal, Vedanta, ESSAR, Reliance, Sterlite and other such companies that emerged as very big comprador companies for global finance capital.

With this, there was a rise in the number of industrial corridors permitted for the TNCs. The comprador governments seized 90 percent of the shares in the joint ventures set up with them and tightened their hold. Basing on export-oriented technology the comprador governments allowed hundred percent foreign shares in joint ventures and companies. The TNCs benefit in two ways out of joint ventures. The first is they can seize the Indian markets and make super profits through exploitation of cheap labor. For example according to the value of rupee at the time of 1990s, the cost of manufacture of one lux soap is one rupee for Hindustan Lever Company in India it cost three rupees for its mother enterprise Unilever in Britain. Therefore, the TNCs gained many times more profits if they set up factories in India. The second is that since the good is produced in joint ventures with local compradors it gained a local or the 'Hindustani' brand. This avoided opposition from the people.

The TNCs thus swallowed the small and medium scale industries of the country. They penetrated and gained control in all the sectors of the economy. Thus Suzuki, DuPont, Good year, Seiko, Xerox, Westing House, United Technologies, Honeywell and several such TNCs flooded into the country. There were 15,667 Start Up companies by 2019 January established under the Startup India Act of the Modi government in 2016. The Act gave unquestionable powers to the finance capitalists over the Startup Companies in which they invest. The Modi government also brought forth the GST Act and brought the entire country into a unified market in their interests. It also made the Real Estate Investment Trust

(REIT) Act that gave unquestionable powers to the finance capitalists over the funds mobilised out of the domestic or the foreign finance capital to invest large amounts in big real estate projects and the Real Estate Regularity Authority (RERA) Act that guarantees their profits.

In this way, the service of the comprador governments to imperialists reached the highest during the globalisation period. A new rich class and new forms of exploitation came forth in the country. The three utmost beneficial sectors in the industrial sector of our country, telecom, power and finance are mainly in the control of public sector. Other income rising vital sectors such as tourism, mining and heavy industrial sectors are also mainly in the public sector. During the phase of globalisation the comprador ruling classes unleashed schemes to eliminate this sector. They opened the doors for international monopoly finance capital enterprises (MNC-TNC) wide open. They provided incentives and special facilities basing on the size of investment of the investors. They brought forth a special policy for every sector such as tourism policy, IT policy, animation policy, farm policy, startup policy and so on. They are privatising the public sector and are disinvesting it. They are selling off the public shares to the domestic and foreign corporate companies indiscriminately. They expanded the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) policy that privatises public resources so that the global finance capitalists easily accumulate wealth. As a part of the imperialist sponsored flagship programs initially the first train 'Tejas' and construction of railway stations were launched under PPP in the Railway sector. In the name of merger, the banks were forced towards privatisation. With this, many public sector companies were closed. Foreign investments collaborated with the 'Indian' comprador partners in various forms and gained hegemony over the industries in the organised sector. As a result high tech machinery and utilisation of technology increased. There was a rise in outsourcing. Lakhs of workers and employees lost their jobs. Casualisation/contract system increased. As a result, organised sector in the industrial sector is in decline. Unorganised labor power became the main feature. With handing over of the public and private sectors to the TNCs and their local compradors, their control over the country is gaining strength. They are gaining super

profits through extracting surplus value with very low wages to the workers and employees. The imperialist, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist companies gained 17.5 lakh crore rupees in 2014-2018. The imperialists are looting nearly 47.09 lakh crore rupees from our country every year. The country where large scale exploitation is unleashed can never achieve genuine development based on self-reliance.

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) (earlier small scale industrial sector) in the unorganised sector in the country is an important sector of the country's economy. After agriculture, this sector provides employment to crores of people. However, the comprador rulers do not pay attention to this sector. Their globalisation policies affect the sector. Casualisation reached the maximum extent in this sector. The comprador corporate companies have representation in hundreds of organs such as CII, FICCI, ASSOCHAM formulated by the government policies. But the MSME sector is not represented anywhere. No one is bothered about the grievances of the industries and enterprises in this sector. Although there are 6.34 crore industries in this sector their capital is limited and so they are scattered and unorganised. Moreover, as per the export-import policy-2000, the government lifted sanctions on the imports of 714 goods and all of the rest 715 goods in 2001 and destroyed the independent market of this sector. In this way on one hand the sector is flooded with cheap imports, the reservation given to this sector to produce certain goods was annulled (the government de-reserved 14 vital products such as ice-creams, biscuits, rice/gram mills intended for this sector as per the recommendations of Abid Hussain committee in 1997. Later it removed the heavy cloth-manufacturing sector from the reserve list in this sector as per the new textile policy-2000. The maximum limit on FDI in this sector was hiked from 24 per cent to 100 per cent. With this, foreign capital took over the cloth-manufacturing industry. By the time, a US TNC Corels Overseas Limited entered the sector). Multi National Corporate companies, especially foreign capital is permitted. All these are affecting the sector. On the other hand outsourcing (both in production and service sectors) by giant business enterprises is encouraged in this sector and its independent existence is destroyed (or giant business enterprises seize

it) and is made an ancillary sector. This brought a fall in the growth rate of this sector. Demonetisation and GST made 40 percent of the micro industries sick. The statistics of the Reserve Bank show that 4,86,291 micro, small and medium kind industries were closed all over the country.

The comprador rulers agreed to the globalisation policies and surrendered to the World Trade Organisation that lead to the following consequences causing crisis in agriculture – a. Indian market was opened to agricultural imports; b. Capital investment that reached the utmost low level by the time lowered further; c. ‘Food security’ policy that was in slight existence in agricultural production since 1970 was liquidated and public sector procurement policy was privatised, there was grand propaganda but measures to provide remunerative prices were nominal, Public Distribution System (PDS) was weakened, the agricultural goods cheaply produced in the imperialist countries in a large scale with high subsidies were dumped into the markets of backward countries like ours and agrarian sector was pushed into crisis.

According to the report of Arjun Sen Gupta report, 77 percent, i.e. 80 crores of people in our country are living Below Poverty Line (BPL) living on less than Rs.20 per day. On the other hand, Ambanis, TATAs, Birlas, Mitals, Jindals, Ruyiyas, Infosys Narayana murthy, BMR and such others became part of global billionaires. In 2000, the ten percent super-rich owned 36.8 percent of the property of the country that reached 65.9 percent by 2015. By 2017 one percent rich owned 73 percent of the country’s wealth. In 2018 the wealth of one percent rich rose by 39 percent while that of the 39 percent in the low strata rose by a mere 3 percent. While ten percent of the rich in the country owned 77.4 percent of the country’s wealth, the above one percent owned 51.53 percent. The lower 60 percent had only 4.8 percent. The wealth of top nine billionaires is equal to that of 50 percent of the people. According to the ‘Time to care’ report released by OXFAM on the occasion of World Economic summit in 2020 January in Davos, the wealth owned by the one percent (1.32 crores) rich is four times more than that of the 70 percent (95.3 crores) of the country. The property of top 63 billionaires of the country is above the 2018-19 budget (24.42 lakh crore rupees) of the country. A software Chief

Executive Officer (CEO) is earning the same amount of money in ten minutes that an ordinary worker earns in one year.

Due to globalisation wealth rose. There was a tremendous rise in the inequalities between the rich and the poor. The Davos report, 'Public good or private wealth' of 2019 January says that the Gini coefficient of India rose from 81.2 percent in 2008 to 85.4 percent in 2018 (the Gini Coefficient is the criterion that measures economic inequalities in a country. Italian social scientist Korrado Gini formulated this in 1912. The rise of the percentage is equal to the rise of inequalities. If it reaches zero it means there are no economic inequalities). The true face of the theory of 'wealth drops as dews' and the wrong propaganda that 'India shall achieve 8 percent growth rate with foreign capital', 'relations of production shall be modernised' and 'unemployment shall end' propagated by the bourgeois intellectual world in a big way is exposed.

Semi-colonial condition

Foreign Finance Investments

We saw that the Foreign Finance Investments are basically in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Portfolio Investment. The Portfolio Investments constitute financial means such as Foreign Institutional Investments (FIIs), Global Depository Receipts (GDR), American Depository Receipts (ADR) and the NRI deposits. The foreign investments also come in the form of 'aid' and loans. They are part of foreign loan. In the 1990s 'aid' was a weapon for neo-colonial type of control and the wide system of controls such as FDIs, FIIs and misappropriations in exchange value added to it.

FDI: International monopolies are mainly bringing FDI into the country. They invest FDI to set up business/company/or to take-over. These investments are seizing the markets and natural resources of the country. These are looting the wealth of the country in heavy amounts through various betraying means such as directly through interests, dividends, technical and other fees, high prices/dead cheap prices and indirectly through payment of bulky salaries to foreign directors and technical experts of the companies.

When we see the growth rate of FDI in the central and the state levels we can clearly see that the policy of finance capital of the comprador governments of the backward countries is absolutely in the dictates of the imperialists and their international monopolies and that the comprador governments are working only as a rubber stamps.

In fact 70 percent of the FDI into the country is invested in purchasing the existing businesses and a small amount is spent on new enterprises. To put it in another way such investment will not create employment. It is actually imported to India through modern machines and inflation rates. It affects jobs in a big way.

Even in the first phase of liberalization in 1985-1991 on an average only around 200 million dollars of FDI came into the country per annum due to existing sanctions. FDI grew unimaginably in the second phase of liberalization. In 2001 when the global FDI fell by half (biggest fall in three decades), FDI into India grew by 47 percent. The reason being, since the imperialist economies were in crisis they attempted much more aggressively for more hegemony on the economies of the backward countries such as India.

FDIs penetrated into every sector of Indian economy. We can understand the strategy of the TNCs from the difference between the permitted foreign collaborations and the actual FDI into the country. The TNCs obtain permissions to invest in various countries of highest benefit. Therefore, only 21 percent of the above agreements were implemented. Chemicals, electrical and transport sectors also witnessed wide penetration of FDIs.

Coming to the FDI in the country, most of the FDI from 1991 to the end of 1999 was from the US at 22 percent (46,184 crore rupees), followed by Britain at 7.6 percent (15,977 crores), Japan at 4.3 percent and Germany at 3.8 percent. The rest of the 30,683 crores came from Europe. Mauritius, the tax haven invested in large amounts. 35 percent of the FDI was brought from Mauritius to escape taxes in India.

FDI initially came as minority shares in joint ventures with the Indian capitalists. Shortly later, it demanded the majority 51 percent shares along with control on management in the respective company. Presently it is

seizing one hundred percent ownership and is affecting small and medium scale capitalists. In the first nine years of liberalization one third of the FDIs with total ownership gained permission. The government by the time allowed FDI in insurance, banking, mining, defense production, media and even in prominent sectors like the small scale sector, agriculture and handicrafts.

In 2005 the government further liberalized FDI policy and allowed one hundred percent FDI in ventures and construction sector. These reforms were extended to defense, telecom, oil, retail, airways, and other sectors in 2012-2014. Thus 178 billion dollars of FDI entered the country from 2000-2010. Basing on this international monopolies looted super profits in prominent sectors such as telecommunication, information technology, automobile spare parts, chemicals, clothes, pharmaceuticals and jewelry. In 2012 the government allowed 51 percent FDI in multi-brand retail sector and 100 percent in single-brand retail sector. In this way, the government allowed 100 percent FDI in all the sectors and even in the vital defense and insurance sectors in 2016-2017. According to the statistics in 2019-20 budget 20.30 lakh crore rupees of FDI came into the country during the first five years of NDA rule under the leadership of Modi. However though FDI rose in count in these five years, it was low when compared with GDP. It was because FDI did not rise as much as the GDP. This is nothing but because investment in India is not beneficial and since it is deep in the mire of global economic crisis.

Since the launching of Make in India majority of the FDI is coming into the service sector. From 2016 to 2017 the FDI that came to service sector in India is 60 percent. The FDI in automobiles, power, medicines, chemicals, metals and such other sectors was a mere 14.66 percent, i.e. 22.97 billion dollars. It contributed little to capacity building.

The Indian comprador corporate companies entered into agreements and spread to foreign countries since 2000. They are working as a bridge for the exploitation by the various imperialist Multi-National Companies through investing FDI in the US, Europe and African countries. They invested 1.34 percent FDI of the GDP of India in 2006-2010. For example, they invested in 140 projects in Germany. There is a free trade agreement

between India and Thailand since 2010. There are investments in IT, pharmaceuticals, energy, agri-business, mining and engineering sectors in Brazil. The TATA company purchased the Jagaur land rover and chorus company of Britain for 14.3 billion dollars and is working as the manufacturing company providing employment in the private sector. In 2010 January the ADA group company Reliance media works limited of Anil Ambani seized the properties of llab UK limited of Britain. The United Phosphorus Limited Company of Rajju Shroff who recently turned a billionaire owns companies in more than 30 countries.

According to a study by a research group in Switzerland, almost all the heavy corporate enterprises of the world are in the control of a mere 20 imperialist TNC Finance Corporate enterprises. Whichever number of companies the TATAs and the Ambanis purchase in the imperialist countries and even if more than half of their income owes to their global activities, they remain to be comprador companies when compared with these heavy enterprises.

FII: The FII or the Portfolio Investments are more dangerous than the FDI. They exploit the wealth of the country without reciprocation. The FII or the Portfolio investments are mainly speculative investments that invest-withdraw and constantly change schemes to buy-sell equities/present derivatives through speculation formed out of Indian stock markets, exchange value of rupee and real estate business. In fact, they control the stock prices. They make purchases at a time or sell overnight, bring down the prices and gain super profits. Indian government does not tax most of these companies. The government imposes new tax rules time to time on ordinary middle class people. However, it allows these FIIs to loot thousands of crores of rupees from the country even without paying a penny of tax, through providing the facility to register in Mauritius where the tax is nominal. Indian government made a 'double taxation avoidance agreement' with Mauritius to escape this tax. Dozens of FIIs out of the hundreds of FIIs taking up activities in India are registered in Mauritius. Normally powerful investment banking companies like Morgan Stanley and Meryl Lynch and traditional foreign bank investment banking departments carry out this work. These have enormous amounts of

investments and hold actual control on the stock markets and variations in prices that guarantee super profits. These companies are rarely affected with losses in countries like India.

The US dominated heavy investment banking companies hegemonise the global finance markets. They make trillions of dollars of transaction in the form of speculative capital in the markets every day. They create havoc in the stock exchanges, exchange rate of rupee, prices of sales goods (including agriculture) and other such things. All these are speculated in the form of 'derivative trading' (future alternatives and other such things).

There were no FIIs to India prior to 1990. Even at the international level, this kind of capital started to hegemonise the global finance markets only in the end of 1990s. With constant liberalization of controls, the consecutive governments, mainly the then BJP government facilitated this penetration. Firstly, the Congress government allowed the FIIs to invest capital (paid up capital) to the extent of 24 percent in any Indian company. The 24 percent share that provides control to the foreign capitalists is a severe shock to the small and medium scale investments. However, the imperialists are not content with this. They asked for more control. Chidambaram of the UF government raised it to 30 percent in the 'dream budget' in 1997-98. Later the BJP government first raised it to 40 percent and to 49 percent in 2000 December. In 2001 September, the RBI allowed the FIIs to invest equity capital equal to the FDIs as per the instructions of the finance ministry. In certain sectors, it raised these from 74 percent to 100 percent. In 2002 the government allowed one hundred percent FIIs in the Indian companies. However, the heavy (FII) amounts that come into the country and go out are flooding the finance markets of the country and have a strong hold on them. In fact, they make profits only through speculation. There is a rise in the share of foreign investments in the capitalization of the entire Indian market. The FIIs gained hegemony on the stock exchanges of the country.

The international monopoly companies not only invested FII but also GDRs in large amounts. They are mainly the shares sold in the European finance markets and are in the hands of the foreign companies. These receive dividends in the form of foreign exchange.

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By 2002, the BJP government opened sectors like insurance, banking, mutual funds and other such things thus facilitating the way for the entire finance sector of the country to go under the control and hegemony of the international finance capital. With this the amount of various kinds of foreign Portfolio investments rose from 1,05,000 crore rupees in 2004-2005 to 2,48,154 crore rupees by 2019 March.

NRI deposits: This is the money of rich business families of Indian origin residing in foreign countries. The Indian government is giving heavy interest when compared to the nominal 2 percent rate of interest in the international market. The government provided absolute freedom to the NRIs to send interest and capital in heavy amounts to the native country. With this NRI deposits are flowing into the country. In 2009-2010, the Indian NRIs sent the world highest amount of 2.5 lakh crore rupees to the country. By 2015, such money into our country amounted to 3.32 percent of the GDP. They sent 5.7 lakh crore rupees in 2018.

The net of foreign loans: India is the greatest receiver of foreign 'aid'/loans among the backward countries. Foreign 'aid' increased highly during 'economic reforms'. After 1996, the 'aid' involved more expenditure. Out of the total 'aid' the amount of grants fell by 15 to 9 percent. In 1996-97 the foreign 'aid'/loan was 10,892.9 crore rupees while only 1085.6 crore rupees of grants were given. This 'aid' rose to 60,434.4 crores by 2018-19 and grants fell to 816 crore rupees.

In 1990, the over-all foreign loan was 98.3 billion dollars while it rose to 85 billion dollars in 1992 and to 110 billion in 2002. When compared to the constant devaluation of rupee it is three times more by 2002. In the decades of 1990s and 2000, the World Bank gave 'aid' in heavy amounts to the so-called 'rural projects' in Andhra Pradesh to the TDP and Congress governments. In fact, this money was to distance the people from the intense Maoist movement in the state. The World Bank imposed stringent conditions for these funds. It dictated Structural Adjustment Programs. The 'vision plans' that the governments took up at the time were nothing but the reforms dictated by the World Bank. These foreign loans rose to 444.2 billion dollars in 2015, 471 billion dollars in 2017 March and to 521 billion dollars by 2018 December.

In addition to this, rupee has been devalued constantly and so the actual rates of interest are much more than the market rates. Therefore, much larger amount in rupees was needed to repay the loan in dollars. Loan service charges (payments and interest on foreign loans together) amounted to 4,283 crore rupees in 1990-91 and rose to 16,373 crore rupees in 1999-2000. In fact, the situation was so horrible that the entire new loans since 1995-96 are not enough to repay the loan service charges. The ratio between foreign exchange reserves and total foreign loan rose from 68.2 percent in 2014 March to 75.5 percent in 2018 December. Therefore, the short-term loans for foreign exchange reserves to repay the loans reached 25.1 percent thus bringing India to the 5th place among the maximum loan receiving countries of the world. In 2012-13, the payment of interest on the entire loans of the government was 4,28,387 crores, 5,43,267 crores in 2013-14, 6,43,301 crores in 2014-15 and rose to 4,56,145 crore rupees in 2015-16. It means that 43.7 paisa of every rupee of the government expenditure is spent on the payment of interest on loans. To put it in another way the entire new loans are spent to repay the international lenders. This is nothing but the net of loans.

Micro-Finance Institutions (MFI) - Micro loans: Due to rise in prices, falling of real wages and unemployment-semi-employment in India, the purchasing capacity of the people fell, market shrunk and financial crisis intensified. The poor people cannot avail even these small amounts to fulfill their needs. In the name of solving this problem through micro loans, global finance capital penetrated this sector. As a part of it, several Micro-Finance Institutions mushroomed to loot even the small savings of the poor. These work under the Non-Banking Finance Companies (NBFC) category (and do not have banking license). These companies make a big propaganda about Micro Financing (normally 500 rupees or so) and create illusions. For example, Mohammad Yunus of Bangladesh utilized Micro-Finance as an instrument through his Non-Governmental Organisation and showed efforts to eradicate poverty for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This is part of creating a human face to the idea of micro-finance. However, later the billionaires over the world targeted very poor people and invested large amounts on highest rates of interest in

Micro-Finance Companies. This trend spread like wild fire all over the world.

The Ford Foundation that said 'objectives for the future of humankind' included the aspect of intervention in the local and international downtrodden political movements as an aspect in its declaration. The finance capitalists gave loans with 'low interest' for working people and provided large scale market for consumer goods; announced Nobel Prize for those who brought forth this policy; forced the people constantly in loans; pushed their life style into a rush for enough earning. They fulfilled two objectives – one was, with the thousands of crores of dollars of turnover, a new finance market was formed that gave them super profits. The second is, they could distance the people from political movements with the rush to earn.

By 2018 May the total equity funding in the Micro Finance sector rose by 39.88 percent and reached 9,631 crore rupees. These micro loans not only looted the savings of the poor but also showed horrible effects on the economies of the backward countries. In Bangladesh, the agricultural laborers that took micro loans through the rural bank suffered from hunger deaths. In India thousands of poor and middle class farmers committed suicides. For example, in Andhra Pradesh alone, 200 farmers committed suicide in 2010. In 2012, an 18-year-old girl committed suicide due to threats of the employees of Micro Finance Institution. She paid Rs.150 that she saved for her fees and said in her suicide note, 'work hard and earn money, do not borrow', that created sensation.

Extreme poor people are paying above 200 percent interest rates to these Micro Finance Institutions. At the same time, the rich that became millionaires are paying zero rate of interest for their luxurious cars and a mere 5 or 6 percent rate of interest to purchase luxurious residences. Infosys Narayan Murthy invested in a MFI. This MFI extracted unjust interests from the poor. Due to this reason, many poor people who took just five thousand rupees of loan or more, committed suicide.

Takeovers of International Monopolies that largely stepped up in Indian industry-its hegemony

Due to globalization almost all the market sectors in western capitalist countries came into existence in India also. However, since they collaborated with the feudal basis they did not yet form like in the western countries. In fact, during the globalization period the feudal basis has been fulfilling the interests of the western capitalists and is contributing to more profits.

During the first twelve years of globalization (1991-2002), foreign capital swallowed up the extensive fields of Indian industry, commerce and finance. After 2000 during the period of 'second generation reforms' and especially during the Modi rule foreign finance capital gained more hold on the country through utmost important laws – IBC (bankrupt companies) Act and important changes to the Companies Act. In 2008-2018, the rate of Mergers-Acquisitions reached an extra-ordinary level. Especially, the finance capitalists who invested in the bankrupt industries (although owned by prominent Indian industrial investors) are transforming loan into equity (i.e. the lenders turn the loan into equity) through the IBC Act. Thus M&A are going on easily and at a fast pace.

Because of globalization, the onslaught of the international monopoly companies in collaboration with the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois corporate companies of the country for the past three decades became a giant specter to the Indian economy. Half of the Indian economy is in the hands of one hundred prominent US companies. So, the domestic companies are ousted much before entering into competition. The market is more and more centralized in the hands of a few.

At this stage, the Indian government gradually lifted the FDI and FII controls and ultimately adopted the policy of transforming it into 'automatic means'. The constant relaxation of 'takeover code' by the government is the utmost important aspect. This liberalized it first in 1990 and later in 1994. They finally opened it to the TNCs as per the recommendations of the Bhagavati Committee. Moreover, the government made many other laws. It provided financial subsidies. It

entered into agreements. All these facilitated the takeovers in 1990s. The new patent act is one such important one. The act allows the transformation of process patents into product patents. This not only destroyed the market of agricultural commodity and small-scale sector but also led to the closure of twenty thousand units in pharmaceutical sector alone. The local Research and Development was namesake thus making the medium kind companies prone to the onslaught of the TNCs. The Indian exploitive ruling classes are doing all this in the name of the inevitability of globalization. This is called 'TINA' (There Is No Alternative to Capitalism).

Info-tech sector is one example. This is said to be the future golden duck and 'the great knowledge economy' utilizing Indian intellect. The entire info-tech sector is filled with software exports. Earlier most of the exports constituted labor services in the imperialist country. Now the trend is to utilize the cheap labor in India through outsourcing. Twenty top software companies of the country make more than half of the software exports. The entire money they earn come out of outsourcing of the TNCs. Due to increasing competition in this sector high rank tech and digital TNCs act like labor contractors, give contract to the Indian companies at much more dead cheap rates and gain super profits. Thus, the wages of computer operator are going down day by day. These foreign TNCs exploit the toilers of our country at rates dead cheaper than those in their countries and gain super profits. Info-tech industries are favorable to the FII's heavily investing in this sector. They are heavily investing in Vipro, Satyam Computer services and other such. Companies involved in hardware sales have heavy agreements with foreign manufacturers.

This sector that grew by 8.4 percent in 2017-18 was assessed to grow from 167 billion dollars to 181 billion dollars in 2018-19. However, this is the most dependent economic sector on imperialism. In 2017-18, there was only 29 percent software-hardware production in this sector. The IT service sector occupied the rest 70 percent. The entire companies of the IT sector do body shopping in the software sector and work as compradors to the foreign spare parts in the hardware sector (they are later assembled in the country) and nothing else.

The comprador rulers do not reveal the facts about the extent to which the foreign companies seized the Indian companies, especially the way they took over small and medium scale companies. Their comprador corporate media does not cover these facts. In the period of three years from 1997-98 to 1999-2000 there were takeovers worth 11,600 crore rupees. Foreign companies took over 80 percent of these. By 2000, the TNCs more aggressively increased its share from 90 percent to 100 percent.

In the beginning of 1990s, Harbans Lal Malhotra (HLM) was the market leader in shaving products. The world market leader Gillette owned only 10 percent of the market together with the Indian partnership company Indian shavings projects limited. Prior to liberalization Gillette did not have majority share. Later it could raise its share to 51 percent. Then it could acquire Viltech India of RPG group and was able to merge HLM.

Quality Company had 50 percent of the Ice-cream market in India. Brooke Bond Lipton India (BBLI) of Unilever group seized the quality market in north, south and west India. Although Quality owned the manufacturing unit, it can manufacture only for BBLI. BBLI purchased another ice-cream company Milk food (Jagjit group).

Indian comprador companies such as Godrej in the soap and detergent industries, TOMCO, TATA Oil Mills Company and Nirma are competing with Multi-National Companies such as Hindustan Lever, Proctor and Gamble (P&G) for a long time. However, since the government permitted mergers they had to either surrender or merge. The TATA group decided to withdraw its ownership on TOMCO and merge in Hindustan Lever. It agreed to sell 51 percent of its shares to Unilever at a cheap price. Another TNC, P&G made an agreement with its contender Godrej Soaps Limited. They decided to form a new company with 51 percent and 49 percent shares. As a part of this agreement, Godrej Soaps Limited consented not to introduce another soap contending with the soaps produced by the company in the control of P&G.

Bajaj Electricals that was playing an important role in home appliances goods market established a joint venture with the US TNC Black and Decker and withdrew its products. Bajaj is marketing the products of this new company. Swedish enterprise Electrolacs purchased 51 percent shares in

another home appliances company Maharaja International.

We can understand the danger of these takeovers through the methods adopted by the world biggest Electrical Company Asia Brown Bovary (ABB). It took-over the sick ABL Company. Later it totally took-over SAE India, powerful electric transformer line production factory and an ancillary industry.

French Company VIS established a joint venture with Godrej Company to produce photographic and duplicating equipment with 50 percent partnership.

The biggest market research group ORG-MARG worth 310 crore rupees acquired the Dutch Company VNU in 2000. In 2002, TNCs took over 8 market research agencies that owned 66 percent of the trade.

TNCs have 62 percent market share in refrigeration. They have almost the whole share in cold drinks. By the end of 1994, the investments of TNCs in various consumer goods are like this – 90 percent in instant milk foods, 87 percent in malted milk foods, 42 percent in bread (with the public sector Company Modern Bread being sold to Hindustan Lever this stepped up), 17 percent in biscuits, 41 percent in sweets, 97 percent in cigarettes, 26 percent in slippers and shoes, 25 percent in pharmaceuticals, 97 percent in medical dressing, 29 percent in paints, 44 percent in soaps, 39 percent in detergents, 20 percent in cosmetics, 78 percent in dental care, 47 percent in audio equipment and 43 percent in cassettes. The rest of the market share was almost seized by collaborated companies. TNCs enjoy control on these companies. These shares are on rise after 1994.

Modi Xerox (this is a collaborated company) of the photo copying machines raised its market share to 68 percent and took over the management of the Company. TNCs acquired four units of the Escorts Company in 2002 July. It firstly sold all its shares to Yamaha with which it established a joint venture. It sold its shares in Escorts JCB Limited to its partner JC Bamford (Britain) and its shares in Escorts Class Limited to its another partner Class (Germany). It sold 50 percent shares of Escorts Mahale Limited to Goetz India Limited (the US Federal Moghul controls this).

The same situation prevails in automobiles, electronics, two-wheelers and so on. The TNCs dictate and control the companies even with 20-25 percent shares.

Coming to media, it is in foreign control even before 26 percent share of FDI in print media and 75 percent share in the non-news sector were allowed. The TNCs hegemonise advertising agencies and advertising companies. Except four (Dabur, TATA, Bajaj, Videocon) of the top 15 advertisers at 75 percent, the rest are TNCs. 55 percent of the income in media is out of advertising (few decades ago it was 30 percent). In 2002, March central cabinet decided 100 percent FDI in Cinemas and advertising through automatic approval route. Global conglomerates such as WPP, TWT, O&M, BBDO, DDB-Needham, JWT gained the main control in Indian advertising and the major share of the market.

On the other hand, media enterprises are entering corporate business. For example, Dainik Bhaskar, the prominent daily of India owns 69 companies in sectors like electricity generation, real estate and textile industries. Such comprador corporate magazines play an important role in molding the people's opinion regarding establishment of corporate companies. Coming to TV, Murdoch and other such foreign companies already play a big role.

A number of collaborations in mining handed over one main natural resource of our country absolutely to the imperialists. SHELL and Exxon entered the oil sector. ONGC was handed over to the private sector. Apart from Reliance and ESSAR, TNCs also entered this sector.

We see a rise in foreign collaborated Venture Capital Funds (VCF) from 1998 in addition to the existing 25. Its joint capital base rose from 8000 crore rupees in 1998 to 20 thousand crore rupees in 2000. The existing 25 VCFs are also the entrance of foreign capital into India big business KVP ventures (Kerry Paker, Ketan Parekh, Vinay Malu of HFCL) or e-ventures (News core, Mittal).

With the entrance of 26 percent foreign investment into the public banking and insurance sectors by 2002, all the main insurance companies made agreements with the Indian big comprador companies.

Due to globalization contention between the telecom companies was confined to three companies in the last three decades. Earlier there were three companies in every circle. At present, there are three mobile companies in India. The entire petroleum market is in the hands of three public petrol companies. While in 2015, the Indian market was in the hands of more than a dozen e-commerce companies it is presently in the hands of two US companies. The US global retail shark Wal-Mart acquired the biggest e-retailer company Flipkart. Now Wal-Mart and the biggest Company in e-commerce, Amazon contend. Amazon exists in India since earlier. It means that it does not take much time for the domestic e-commerce companies to be destroyed. The App based taxi-service sector that exists as light asset model sector is in the hands of only two Companies. The Jet Airways was closed within a short time and three (two private and the public Air India) companies gained monopoly on the major part of Air service sector. Recently Air India invited 100 percent private/foreign investment putting its shares on sale. Major share in steel, two-wheeler, raw plastic, Aluminium trucks, buses, cargo, Railway, coal, road transport, oil production, electricity generation and certain prominent sectors are centralized in the hands of one to three Companies (private or public). Cars, computers, pharmaceuticals and mobile market also were acquired by international giant monopolies.

The comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal forces that collaborated with the MNCs are almost controlling the cinema field, media, real estate sector, higher education-professional education and most of the private healthcare enterprises. Global private equity firms that collaborated with the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal forces that set up and are running most of the corporate hospitals took over those.

The Companies in the mire of bank loans are selling its properties. Nearly 34 private electricity companies are in the bog of loans. If the loans are repaid these companies will have to be closed or sold. It means that even in the electricity market only a few companies will retain. In 2017, companies worth 3.2 lakh crore dollar worth investments were sold and purchased. This is estimated to go beyond 3.58 lakh crore dollars. Employment fell in mobile services, steel, e-commerce and air service

due to mergers-acquisitions.

The hegemony of foreign investment is rising at a fast pace in the financial sector. Few examples – two Indian primary investment banks – HDFC, ICICIs are in fact in foreign control. By 2018, while the foreign investment in HDFC was 72 percent, it was 49 percent in ICICI. Foreign mutual funds raised its market share from 2.1 percent to 14.3 percent. Sundaram financial limited, the finance department of TVS has various collaborations with various FIIs for its mutual fund, General Insurance and car finance business. The government is gradually reducing its control on mutual funds. It decreased its share to 33 percent.

Growth in mutual funds gained momentum from 1990-91. These were 37,480.20 crore rupees in 1990-91 and reached 23.5 lakh crore rupees by 2018 August. Presently there are 38 companies in mutual funds business while only four of them hold 47 percent investment.

Restructuralisation of market speeded up due to rise in competition, inflation, new technology, search for new opportunities and lack of investments. Merger and Acquisition of companies is going on in a large scale. Vodafone-Idea, Wal-Mart-Flipkart, Adani-Reliance Energy, Mintra-Jabang, MTS-Reliance Communications, Reliance-Airtel, Kotak-BSS Micro Finance, Flipkart-E-bay, Birla Corp-Reliance Cement..., the list is long.

Comprador bureaucratic capitalists as the servants of foreign finance capital

Direct and indirect collaboration of the Indian comprador big bourgeois class with foreign investment and TNCs rose in several ways many times during globalization period. Since the government policies are totally favorable for the TNCs regarding relaxation of take-over code, reduction in import duties, tax subsidies, lifting of sanctions on foreign investment, issue of free facilities and several such things, the local companies are more dependent on foreign investment or else are selling its companies. The comprador enterprises/companies that stuck to the imperialists retained.

The AT&T and TATA-Birla telecom combine of India is one example. By 2001 while the sales of the entire TATA empire (84 companies) was 35.95

thousand crore rupees, that of the two Birla brothers was 20.61 thousand crore rupees. The sales of AT&T company was nearly 3.02 lakh crore rupees. This is six times more than that of TATA and Birla. Bajaj had to withdraw from its home appliances manufacturing sector and confine to business. Most of its business involves the products of US Black and Decker. The extent of dependence of the Indian companies depends on the share of foreign investment, dependence on foreign markets, technical collaborations and the existence as mere outsourcing units for the TNCs and other such things.

Along with companies like the RIL of Mukhesh Ambani, Mittal, Birla, Adani, Ruyaya, Jindal, TATA, Vedanta, Infosys, ESSAR, Anil Dhirubhai Ambani Group (ADAG), TVS Ayyangar, Thapar, RPG, Bajaj and Mahindras; the FMCG company of Patanjali and several such companies, shark companies like the Unicorn that are formed with joint ventures due to domestic and foreign investments and technologies and Assetlite, Aggregator type startup companies joined the list during globalization period.

During globalization period, foreign finance capital was much more facilitated and thus the Ambanis emerged as the biggest and powerful comprador bureaucratic industrial giants. Therefore, they enjoy the total support of the imperialists. While by 2012 Mukesh Ambani had assets worth 2000 crore dollars, it reached 3 lakh 80 thousand 700 crore rupees by the end of 2019 September. Mukesh Ambani gained the first place in the country and the 15th place among the world rich. By 2012, the Reliance Industries Limited (RIL) owned 2.56 lakh crore rupees. By 2019 September the Mukesh family had 43 percent shares in the company. It had partnership in petro-chemicals, oil, natural gas, polyester fibre, Special Economic Zones (SEZ), food shops, higher schools, scientific researches, root cell storage, power generation-distribution, finance and business. It entered the retail market in 2006. RIL purchased 95 percent share in Infotel. Infotel owns 27 news and entertainment channels in almost all regional languages such as CNN-IBN, IBN live, CNBC, IBN, Lokmat and ETV. Infotel is the only company with countrywide license in 4G broad band. Its Jio product in 2016 brought a big change in the tele sector. RIL also

owns a cricket team. RIL has several agreements with giant imperialist companies in petro-chemicals, oil, natural gas sectors. It depends on crude oil and other material that it imports as per these agreements. For example, the world biggest Patalaganga refinery in Gujarat receives technology and licenses from the UOP of the US, technology for recovery facility from Black and Veatch Sulphur and Hydrogen manufacturing facility from Linde. John Brown provides the Unipol Polypropylene facility and Foster Wheeler the cooker facility.

The TATAs is the biggest industrial comprador big bourgeois enterprise. Their turnover had the 2nd place by 2001 with 37,197 crore rupees. At the time, the TATAs had 84 companies out of which 34 companies were joint ventures with TNCs. They own the most ancient and biggest private sector power company in the country. They own mining, oil fields, steel factories, car and truck manufacturing companies, telephone, cable TV and broadband networks. They own Taj hotels, Jaguar, Land Rover, Dewan, Tetly tea, a publication house, a chain of book shops, the biggest brand of iodised salt, the Lakme empire of cosmetics and the TATA-Honeywell factory of Poona. They control few towns. They had many collaborations prior to globalization in the 1990s. During globalization, in 1993 Titan watches collaborated with the US Titan time products; in 1994 TATA Engineering with Cummins Engine Company based in the US; in 1995 the TATA group in the insurance sector collaborated with the American International Group, USA; TATA electric with the US Leebert Corporation; in 1996 with Ureka Forbes and Nilfisk for the cleaning systems; the TATA Industries with Bell Canada International for the telecom services in AP; TATA Steel with the US enterprise Inland International; in 2000 TATA, Birla and AT&T made joint ventures/agreements with Cellular properties in telecom sector. Moreover, in addition to Indica car said to be the local brand a new car Magna entered the market. This is the product of joint venture of TELCO and Peugeot Citroen. In 2009 June the Japan mobile Company purchased 26 percent of shares worth 13,000 crore rupees from the TATA tele services company. There are several such. In 2019, TATA Consultancy service, TATA motors, TATA steel companies gained position among the 'most respected top-250' of the Forbes. By 2018, its

investments spread to Europe, Middle Asia, Africa and Latin America as a part of several agreements with the Multi-National Companies. For example, the TATAs own more than one hundred companies in 80 countries. We see that the TATAs are totally intertwined with the TNCs, especially with the US TNCs.

Birla family is divided into three groups. In 2002, the joint sales of AV Birla and BK Birla had the 3rd place with 21,517 crore rupees. The Aditya Birla Group established a spinning mill in Thailand 50 years ago. This group is working in garments, carbon black, chemicals and other such sectors. It is at present one of the biggest companies working in various sectors in Southeast Asia.

AV Birla group is the biggest of the three. Its owner Kumaramangalam Birla made several agreements with foreign investment. In 1996, this group formed joint ventures with Power gen of Britain for construction of two coal power plants, with AT&T together with TATA in the telecom sector and with the capital group in the banking sector. In 2002, it invited shares through GDR and brought in heavy amounts of foreign investment. Thus by 2002 it accumulated 2,080 crore rupees. By 2016 September Kumaramangalam Birlas's properties reached 38.43 crore rupees.

BK Birla group set up joint ventures. Its utmost important company, Juwari Agro chemicals with the US USX Corporation, the Juwari Company in project consultancy with Simon Corps Company of Britain in service sector with 50 percent shares.

The CK Birla group set up joint ventures through its utmost important company Hindustan Motors with Mitsubishi Motors Corporation and General Motors to produce Opel Astra (that assembles spare parts and manufactures products) and its Orient Papers and Industries with LG Electronics Incorporated to manufacture white goods.

The heavy Engineering and Construction Company L&T in the control of the Birlas set up joint ventures with TNCs in 2001 and 2002. It also set up joint ventures with Sargeant and Lundi of US and Chiyoda of Japan in engineering, with the US Casecorp and Komatsu of Japan in construction equipment, with Ramboli of Denmark in Port and Highway development,

with Samsung of South Korea in telecom sector and with the US Diere in the manufacture of tractors.

When compared with these the other comprador enterprises are very small. In 2001 the TVS Ayyangar Company is in the 4th place with 7,768 crore rupees. It is followed by the Thapar group with 6,560 crores, the RPG group with 6,667 crore, the Bajaj group with 6,155 crores and later with the Mahindras with 6,045 crores, Sterlite with 4,526 crores and the Jindal group is in the 10th place with 4,484 crores.

Bajaj motorcycle set up a joint venture with Kawasaki of Japan, Bajaj Electricals Unit with the US giant Company Black and Decker, Bajaj Steel Company Mukund with Japanese firms Kawasaki and Mitsuyi. By 2016 September, its owner Rahul Bajaj's properties reached 15.12 thousand crore rupees.

In 2002, the Mahindra group set up joint ventures with Ford, Singapore Network Service, Mc Kon Erickson, AVL (Austria), British telecom, US tractor Company Case, Sea land Services Incorporated, the US Ovens-Corning and with the main power company Akers International of Canada. It also made agreement with Mitsubishi Motor Corporation and Samcore manufacturing for the manufacture of mini vans. M&M that had joint venture with a heavy investment of 2.94 thousand crore rupees with Ford with 50 percent shares sold most of its shares to Ford in 2002. The properties of Anand Mahindra reached 6.93 thousand crore rupees by 2016 September.

Godrej group has new agreements with General Electric, Pillsbury division of GRND met, Sara Lee and Photo Mee. By 2016 September the properties of Smita Godrej, Adi Godrej, Jamshid Godrej and Nadir Godrej reached 13.86 thousand crore rupees each.

The Crompton Greaves Company of Thapar group set up joint venture with Maercks Data of Denmark in software development. It made agreement with Exide Electronics Group for the manufacture of UPS systems.

The captive power plant of Vijayanagar Steel Plant of the Jindal group set up Jindal Tractabel Power Company together with the Tractabel of

Belgium. Jindal Proxpire established oxygen plant with Corex Module. This is a joint venture of JISCO and the US Proxpire. By 2016 September the properties of Savitri Jindal reached 22.05 thousand crore rupees.

Mafatlal textile Company has a technical collaboration with Sheisser AG. It has a joint venture with Silvia apparel of Italy and Eminence of France, a joint venture with 50 percent shares with the US Berlington for the manufacture of indigo jeans textile (Denim). Mafatlal's Gujarat Gas Venture has a minor share in the UBI Meter of the Handsome Group of Britain.

The UB group of Vijay Malya (infamous liquor mafia) has hegemony in liquor business in the country, had collaboration with the foreign manufacturers and is marketing their brands. In 2002, its beer manufacturing Company United Breweries made a strategic agreement with the Scottish Company New Castle. The Cronenberg brand started beer import with the joint venture with Foster and Castle Logger.

Also, by the end of September 2016, the properties of comprador bureaucratic capitalists Dilip Singhvi, Azim Premji, Siv Nadar were 1.05 lakh crores, 94.50 thousand crores, 69.93 thousand crore rupees respectively while the joint properties of Sashi Ruyiya and Ravi Ruyiya were 31.50 thousand crore rupees and Goutam Adani's at 22.05 thousand crore rupees, Harsh Goyenka's at 8.19 thousand crore rupees, Balakrishnan Goenka's at 8.82 thousand crore rupees, Radheshyam Goyenka's at 8.19 thousand crore rupees, Sanjeev Goyenka's at 6.93 thousand crore rupees. Anil Ambani's properties reached 15.75 thousand crore rupees.

By the end of 2019 September, the property of the founder of Vipro Azim Premji was 1,17,100 crores, Goutam Adani's properties reached 94,500 crores, Uday Kotak's 94,100 crores, Syrus S Poonawala's 88,800 crores, Syrus Palloji Mistri's 76,800 crores, Shapoorji Palloji's 7,56,800 crores and Dilip Singhvi's to 71,500 crore rupees. Infosys Company achieved the 3rd place in the Forbes 'utmost respectable top-250' of the world. The property of Anil Ambani fell to 1000 crore rupees.

NRIs: There are very powerful Non-Resident Indian Groups with dual citizenship in the foreign countries. Especially the Mittals and the Hinduja

have heavy conglomerates. They are playing the main role in Indian industry since the 1990s. They are pro-imperialists. The Mittals worked as compradors to the Suharto Company in Indonesia and earned money while the Hinduja made money mostly as arms dealers. They are mainly mafias. Apart from them there are big NRIs like Swaraj Paul.

Out of the three Mittal brothers, Lakshmi Mittal, the Chairperson of Arcelor Mittal has a giant steel empire all over the world. He owns the Steel International Holding Company in Netherlands. According to the 2002 Forbes list he is the richest Indian in the world (8,800 crore rupees). He has sales worth 20,000 crore rupees. His properties reached 52.92 thousand crore rupees by the end of September 2016. By 2019 September end the property rose to 1,07,300 crore rupees.

His two brothers Sunil Mittal and Lakshman das Mittal in India invested in several sectors such as telecom, shipping, textiles and power together with the famous Japanese Company, Nippon Denro Ispat. Their textile industry in Himachal Pradesh is entwined with the Toyada group of Japan. The heavy power plant in Chandrapur of Maharashtra has agreements with Alstom of Britain and Electricite De France of France. By the end of September 2016 Sunil Mittals' properties reached 35.91 thousand crore rupees and that of Lakshman Das Mittal to 10.71 thousand crore rupees.

Mittal has a heavy telecom network in the country and is playing the main role in this sector. Bharti tele ventures and other Bharti Companies spread their tentacles all over the country. In 2002, the Bharti Company had 49 percent FDI and one billion dollar foreign equities. By the time this is the biggest foreign investment in the telecom sector. Warburg Pinkus and Singapore telecom invested in equity funds. Moreover Bharti has joint ventures with British Telecom (BT), Telecom Italia (TI) and Siemens telecom. The name Bharti does not mean that it is an Indian Company. The owner of this Company is half-foreign and the money is foreign. Undoubtedly, profits too, go to the foreign countries.

The Hinduja have 20 companies in the country worth 3,225 crore rupees. Its turnover with the broad network of international corporate relations reached nearly 20 thousand crore rupees by 2001. Ashok Leyland is the joint venture it formed with Italy Fiat. It made an agreement with

Shinavatra Corporation in telecom sector. Moreover, the Hindujas are making enormous profits as the agents of TNCs. By the end of 2019 September, the assets of SP Hinduja family reached 1,86,500 crore rupees.

Voluntary Organisations/NGOs: Lakhs of voluntary organisations emerged all over the world during the period of neo-liberal reforms. By the end of 2020, there were more than 31 lakhs NGOs in the country. Most of them were Corporate sponsored. Its objective is to encourage globalization. The reforms they take up play a vital role in molding the opinion of the people. The reforms mystify the relation between firms like Bill Gates foundation, Lilly endowment and Ford foundation and corporations and create an opinion that they are working for the welfare of the people.

Voluntary Organisations entered the welfare sectors due to the cuts in government budgets. Since jobs and livelihood is fading out, voluntary organisations became the main means of employment. Like buying the shares to control the company from inside the MNC/TNCs are utilizing voluntary organisations to penetrate in the resistance movements. They are providing funds directly or through various foundations. The number of voluntary organisations is as many as the resistance struggles of the respective area.

They are pouring crores of rupees to transform the persons who might become revolutionaries as activists working on wages. They are providing 'funds' to artists, intellectuals and film makers and are diverting them towards discussions regarding existential politics such as multi-culture, gender and people's development so that they do not question the government. They are playing a vital role in splitting the sectional movements such as the civil rights movement, women's movement and in bringing forth the wrong argument that those movements do not need social, political, economic and class perspective. The voluntary organisations created a post-modern world of their own that does not have a color, form and character. Each of this became a different, special interest and professional aspect. It described each aspect such as people's development, development of leadership, human rights, health, education, reproductive rights, AIDS, orphans of AIDS victims and other

such things as mutually irrespective of each other with an individual existence. The voluntary organisations brought forth different solutions to all these problems in the purview of imperialist finance capital system. They are easily able to buy the various resistance movements that they could not suppress through repression by providing 'funds'.

National bourgeois class

This class invests in wholesale business, transport of goods, public transport, education, health sector, hotels, tendu leaf business and other such business and service sectors along with small and medium scale industries. This is oppressed by imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalist policies and is tied by feudalism. Due to this reason, its market is constantly suffering from their offensive. Growth of their industries is limited. Lakhs of industries are becoming bankrupt. Thus, this class is in contradiction with the three big mountains.

Industrial sector

The comprador rulers brought forth de-industrialisation and deregulation policies in a big way in the industrial sectors in order to eliminate the organised sector in favor of the WTO agreements. As a result, the foreign investments coming into the country in a big way took up outsourcing in the ancillary organisations and joint ventures under their total control and brought into use modern technology and machines. Thus, the industrial sector declined much more and employment was affected. The public sector enterprises and banks faced more and more losses. The comprador rulers are privatizing and closing important institutions such as Railway, Air India, MTNL, BSNL, BBCL and all the public sector enterprises. In the name of merger, they are pushing the banks towards privatization. This resulted in the decline of organised sector. Casualisation and contracting of workers rose in a big way.

Ninety percent of the Indian economy changed into unorganized sector. The unorganized sector is four kinds – 1. The sector based on management of work 2. The sector classified according to the nature of work 3. The sector constituted with especially the work of people of the backward and Dalit castes 4. The sector classified based on services. For example,

care taker, maid servant, fisher-folk, women, barbers, vegetable vendors, paper boys come under the unorganized sector. Apart from these four kinds of workers, barbers, weavers, producers of utensils by hand, women, tailors, self-employed handicapped, rickshaw workers, auto workers, carpenters, power loom workers, urban poor and other such people and self-employed workers also come under unorganized workers.

We see that more than ninety percent of the workers are in self-employed or unorganized sector. Out of them, the share of self-employment reached 60 percent of the labor force by 2012. Its share in the GDP of the country is 45 percent. The share of agricultural laborers in the unorganized sector is nearly 52 percent at the maximum. Nearly 65 percent of the unorganized sector is in agriculture. According to an estimate, by the time the Modi government imposed lockdown with the Corona pandemic in 2020, nearly 16 crores of agricultural laborers and poor farmers of the country are working as migrant laborers. Presently workers are 44 crores out of the total population of 136 crores in the country while organised workers are just 5 crores. The number of unorganized workers rose in a big way and reached 39 crores.

The working conditions in the unorganized sector remind one of the middle-ages. The wages are pathetic and not enough to live. The relation between the workers and the owners is like that of the slave and slave owner. The owner has the final say in all the things. Caste, religion and patriarchal relations (where women work) are normally in control to gain more control and to exploit to the possible extent. No acts apply in practice or they have been amended. Without the least democratic atmosphere, life is becoming unbearable. The activities of the Union are cruelly suppressed. Insecurity of employment and life turned to be a normal rule.

Labor laws are made stringent, their rights that they achieved through struggle are violated and they are put in conditions like in the 19th century. The government openly annulled four and a half lakh jobs. It is constantly making secret phase-wise cuts in jobs. 8 hour work is extended to 12 hours. Night duty for women had been made legal. The owners of factories achieved powers to employ around 300 workers, to remove them, to lock out the Company and to do other such things. Earlier 7 workers could

register the Union. Now it is increased to 30 percent.

In 2017-2018, while the share of agriculture and industrial sectors that create maximum employment fell consecutively to 14 percent and 31.5 percent, that of service sector that created 31 percent employment rose to 54.1 percent. The second half of the fiscal year 2019-20 witnessed a fall of minus one percent in the growth of industrial production. Industrial growth rate fell by 1.3 percent in 2019 June and by 5.2 percent in September. This grew very slightly in November. The crisis in Micro, Small and Medium scale Enterprise (MSME) led to the closure of 6 lakh MSME industries. Its growth rate rose from 15.27 percent in 2012-13 to 7.62 percent in 2015-2016. Its share in GDP fell from 29.57 percent in 2011-12 to 28.77 percent in 2015-16. Unemployment that decreased from 9.65 percent in 2016-17 to 4.03 percent in 2017-18 once again severely fell to 5.14 percent in 2018-19, to 7.05 percent in the first six months of 2019-20 and to 8.5 percent by 2019 October. The growth rate of GDP in the consecutive six quarters from 2018 to 2019 July was 8, 7, 6.6, 5.8, 5.5 and in the first quarter of 2019 it fell to 4.5 percent. This is the lowest in the past six years.

During the globalization period the exploitive Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) policy is extensively implemented. PPP is the monopoly of international monopolies and comprador bureaucratic capitalist enterprises. As a part of it, flagship schemes (Bharatmala scheme, Sagarmala scheme, special transport corridor schemes and other such) are taken up. This is part of the international concept of transport-centralized development that the global finance capitalists created. Therefore, the private companies in PPP projects became government sponsored monopolies in this sector. They do not face competition. With this deceptive PPP model all those opposing privatization of government resources are suppressed. The reason being, the government also is a shareholder in this. As per the policy they implement, they do not take any project into absolute private control but transfer dangers to the government and rewards to private account. Until now, all the services under the control of the government are gradually brought into private control utilizing the PPP model. For example, Airports, Shipyards, High

Ways, urban transport, utilities (water, electricity), hospitals, defense manufacturing and many such sectors under the control of the government are being handed to the private companies for 30 to 40 years. They act as monopolies in those sectors, push the people into terrible situation and are accumulating billions of wealth. The governments itself destroy the public sector enterprises/companies in those sectors. For example, RTC in Telangana and Port in Mumbai. The PPP model only destroys the forces of production but do not help to improve the worker's skills and develop technologically so as to progress and achieve self-reliance.

For example, apart from the Reliance of the L&T that obtained metro Rail projects under the PPP model have monopoly in urban transport in big cities. The Hyderabad metro rail is one more example of looting government resources in the name of PPP project. All the metro rail projects taken up by the private companies only increased the cost of urban transport for the majority people. In a bid to avoid questioning of their rights, these projects employ workers from other states. PPP guarantees super profits and so the domestic and global finance capitalists are encouraging this model. Moreover, if they come across any difficult problems in PPP project they simply leave it to the government. Government takes the responsibility for land acquisition, compensation, rehabilitation, losses due to unexpected conditions and due to delay in the construction of the company, labor and security dangers. It is untrue that they explore skill through the PPP model and prices becoming cheap. Government privatizes in the name of lack of capital. But this is absolutely false. According to the annual budget documents of the government it is exempting lakhs of crore rupees of tax for the various comprador corporate companies and is giving away the wealth of the oppressed people. In fact, how should capital be created to industrialise the country? Human capital, i.e. the extensive store of human resources of the country must be explored; industrialization and agriculture must be developed following the principle of 'base on agriculture in the leadership of industries' and the consecutive policies of 'walking on two legs' basing on local resources and technology; for this purpose land reforms must be implemented,

cooperative agriculture must be developed through cooperative methods and the purchasing capacity of the peasantry must be enhanced and thus more industries with large number of workers must be established and industrial production be developed. The wealth of the country must be totally held from leaving the country. It means a self-reliable economy must be developed. But imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes are obstructing this path. Four ally classes – workers, peasants, middle class and national bourgeois classes, oppressed social sections – Dalits, tribals, women and religious minorities must integrate in the leadership of the proletariat and eliminate them and New Democratic Revolution must be accomplished with the ultimate objective of establishing Socialism-Communism. Only thus it is possible to establish New Democratic and self-reliant economy. Only thus genuine development is possible.

At present the asset-lite model companies under total private/foreign investments/ownership are gaining monopoly in all sectors. For example, Obar and Ola are the App companies that lend taxi. Obar Company is totally under foreign ownership. Ola is an Indian Startup Company but majority of the shares are foreign private equity shares.

During the phase of globalization, especially in the past ten years, several kinds of new forms such as asset-lite and aggregator companies of the startup companies came forth. The ride-hailing apps (taxi lending) sector is an example of asset-lite (without any instrumental wealth) model. There are no cars for either Obar or Ola. Taxi owners who enrolled themselves in the Obar or Ola companies work as taxi drivers. It means they are both the drivers and owners also. Moreover this app companies do not pay wages or other benefits. There is no monthly expenditure. The drivers-owners pay for the maintenance and also for oil. To put it briefly, Obar and Ola taxi-lending apps are not taxi companies. It is only a software company. They do not have anything but software. Oyo roomulu is a company that runs hotel booking app. It does not own a single hotel. Zomato, Swiggy, Obar Eats companies run apps that supply food. But these do not own a restaurant. There is a housing.com app for real estate market but it does not have a single house or flat. This kind of companies are

called asset-lite model.

The Aggregator companies are another new form of startup companies. It shows a specific market related to startup companies that can be put together. This brings thousands of sellers related to production or service on a single platform. These are also asset-lite model companies. Amazon and Flipkart aggregator retail sellers use the platform of Amazon or Flipkart to sell their products. Housing.com, Musicbricks.com and such others are real estate market aggregators. All the real estate sellers use these platforms. Airbnb is an aggregator related to individuals or companies all over the world. Those who wish to lend their premises daily wise or monthly wise utilize it. Swiggy and its contenders are food aggregators. Call health and its contender Procto are aggregators of doctors, hospitals and medical shops.

The startup companies that develop technology (software, hardware or both) for health care (medical field) are called med-tech startup companies. Those that develop technology for BFSI (banking, financial services and insurance) sector are called fine-tech startups. If the companies do the same in education sector they are called edu-tech startups. Those related with Artificial Intelligence (AI), Machine Learning (ML), neural networks, computer vision, robotics and other such sectors are called deep-tech startups. Those working in the defense sector are called defense-tech startups. Now finance capitalists are investing mostly in asset-lite and aggregator model companies. Such startup companies do not need much expenditure.

Although backward countries like India have sufficient natural resources the startup companies are working as the instruments of the global finance capitalists. Insecurity of jobs and income in the startup companies reached its peak. The startup unicorn companies severely exploit the Indian labor power and emerge as billion dollar companies. Obar, Swiggy, Zomoto, Flipkart and Amazon are such kind of startup companies.

Micro, Small, Medium scale Enterprises (MSME) sector: The small scale sector of the country provided employment for 1.8 crore people in 3.3 lakh units with an investment of less than one crore rupees in 2000-2001. Ninety-six percent of these units produced goods worth 66,250 crore

rupees. This shows the size of this sector. The Small Scale Sector (SSS) has 40 percent of the aggregate production and 34 percent of the exports of the manufacturing sector. This does not include Handicraft and Village Industrial Sector (HVIS). Fifty-eight lakh people obtained employment in this sector. The production amounted to 5,113 crore rupees. SSS and HVIS suffered from constant onslaught during globalization. Provident Fund, DA, Bonus, ESIS and all other such social security schemes were exempted from this sector that provides cheap labor power and confined to big business enterprises, TNCs and public sector.

At present this is called MSME sector. If we see state wise the present number of MSMEs are higher in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. These are followed by Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh. According to the Indian MSME ministry's 2017-18 annual report production in this sector rose from 25,83,263 crore rupees from 2011-12 to 39,36,788 crore rupees in 2015-16. It has 32 percent share in manufacturing sector, 35 percent in trade sector and 33 percent in other sectors. The 73rd survey of NSS in 2015-16, the sector provided 45 percent and 55 percent employment for 11.10 crore people in 6.34 crore industries in the rural and urban sectors consecutively. Out of this 10.76 crore people obtained employment in the 630.52 lakh industries in the Micro sector i.e. it obtained 97 percent of the total employment in the MSME sector. In 2019 the number of MSME rose to 6.5 crores that provided employment to 12 crore people. However, its share in the GDP fell from 29.57 percent in 2011-12 to 28.77 percent in 2015-16. The growth rate in this sector rose from 15.27 percent in 2012-13 to 7.62 percent in 2015-16 and later to 6 percent. Now there is no growth for the past few years.

De-reservation of this sector, 100 percent FDI, 3000 kinds of foreign products in 'liberalisation' by 1999 and the flood of 8000 kinds of foreign products in the Indian market as a result of exim policy led to the closure of the industries in this sector in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamilnadu. A mere 16 percent industries in this sector obtain bank loans. The products lack market facility, demand, shortage of electricity, lack of raw material and machinery and so the sector was affected.

There are many schemes in the country intended to fulfill the needs of loan. The Prime Minister Employment Guarantee Scheme, Mudra, Traditional Industries revival fund (Spurti), coir board schemes, Micro, small Industries loan guarantee scheme (CGTMSE), loan based capital investment scheme are included. There are no enough government allocations for these schemes. In fact according to the recent study of International Finance Corporation (IFC), these MSMEs need 16.66 lakh crore rupees of loans. The Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes are not bothered about these needs or to provide the necessary technology to this sector. Due to the pro-imperialist policies the forces of production in this sector are constantly destroyed. The crores of people working in this sector are falling in the mire of poverty. The national bourgeois class that owns these industries also is being constantly affected.

Rating agencies: After 2000 the global finance capitalists developed a strategy to pressurize the governments of the backward countries to decrease the financial deficit of the government. Global finance capitalists, rating agencies, the private enterprises such as MNCs, World Economic Forum, Secretive builderberg group, policy advisory enterprises such as various think-tanks are dictating the world economy. The ratings these give became an utmost powerful instrument to either build or destroy a country. Three such rating agencies – S&P, Pich, Moodies are in the US. These are owned by private corporate families. These rating agencies, the IMF, WB and other investment, economic research enterprises and several such enterprises are setting the ratings basing on the level of financial deficit of the government of a country, the level of revenue deficit, the level of current account deficit, the level of reforms to continue privatization, the level of facilities for the corporate companies to continue business and many such standards. The rating is decreased if one or more such standards do not conform with the objectives even after being warned. After the rating decreases if the government or the domestic corporate companies sell their sovereign bonds to obtain loans for which they go to foreign countries. Then the investors (global finance companies) do not show interest to purchase those bonds or demand high interest

rates. This is the horrible form related to junk bond. As a result there will not be proper demand to purchase these bonds. Most of the comprador governments caught in this vicious circle do not have any alternative except to follow the rating agencies. One of the three rating agencies reduced the rating of India in 2018. It pressurized the government to reduce finance deficit. Immediately the RBI (just like the IMF and WB) also suggested cost cuts in education, health care, eradication of poverty and such other social sectors, agriculture, industries and such productive sectors and research. So the Modi government is announcing more subsidies for finance capital and privatizing people's welfare sectors with cuts in the budget. These measures are not only affecting the employment much more, but also are pushing the Indian economy more and more in financial deficit.

To put it briefly, the planned onslaught of international finance capital all over the world through globalization reached a severe level in the backward countries in the past three decades. Since the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes are dependent on imperialist finance capital and its interests entwined with their interests, the collaboration reached unprecedented level. India is depending mainly on imports for oil, nuclear energy, arms and war material. Important economic activities such as construction, infrastructure, extraction of raw material (mining), software, imperialist manufacturing goods spare parts assembling and service sector activities are going on in the country. It changed into an economy of exporting raw material, few important agriculture related labor and services. Brain drain, unskilled labor, semi-skilled labor migration is high from the country. Several kinds of manufacturing goods and technology, mainly capital goods are imported from the imperialist countries. In the hunt for super profits foreign investments are dependent on new technology and established several startup companies in the country that made several new forces part of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes. As a result the hegemony of international monopoly capitalist enterprises on the economy, the exploitation of natural resources of the country, the exploitation and oppression of the labor power of the oppressed people

and destruction of environment grew many times. The economy of the country fell neck deep in the mire of foreign loan capital. The situation of the semi-colonial country declined further. Dependence grew. Since this is the neo-colonial kind of semi-colonial country there is no chance for total development of the industrial sector. Therefore, the changes are according to the needs of the imperialists, the capital of comprador ruling classes, raw material and market. There is no change in their reactionary character.

Semi-feudal condition

Globalization policies further pushed the rural economy of the country in the vicious circle of global finance capital for the past three decades. Led by World Trade Organisation (WTO), the imperialist countries, especially the US imperialism further imposed neo-colonial kind of agreements regarding agriculture, service sector, intellectual property and such others. Thus the agriculture sector of our country became more entwined with international markets. The nominal sovereignty shrunk further. Uncontrolled global finance capital into the country institutionalized the hegemony of Multi-National Corporate companies on the agricultural sector. Agrarian sector fell in severe crisis due to all these policies. The origins for this lie in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system constituted with outdated Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology. Therefore our country yet laments mainly as semi-feudal country. Semi-feudal relations are continuing in new forms. Let us see how the semi-feudal relations depress the Indian people during the globalization period

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1. Centralization of land: (According to the agriculture statistics of 2010-11, the spread of big land holdings reduced from 37.2 percent to 20 percent in 2000-01. In hectares this is 2.11 crores to 1.69 crores). According to the 70th round National Sample Survey in 2012-13, the 7 percent rural rich households owned almost half of the land. According to the 2015 Socio-economic survey, 55 percent of the land was centralised in the hands of the 10 percent landlords. In fact this concentration will be much more.

According to the 2017 statistics of NABARD, the number of landlords in the rural area is 5.76 percent. It is true that the number of landlords

fell and the extent of big land holdings reduced. However, if we see how feudal hegemony yet continues in the economic, social and political sectors and superstructure we understand that it is a change in form but not content. In the rural areas apart from hundreds of acres of land the oppressor caste landlords also have political hegemony. During globalization some of the upper strata in the middle castes also became part of this class. There are thousands of acres of lands under religious institutions and temples.

According to various studies there is a rise in the centralization in the income on lands, other agriculture related properties and agriculture-non-agriculture aspects in rural India. Even now caste is decisive and these are centralized mostly in the hands of the dominant castes. They have hold not only on land but also irrigation, ground water, loans, business, money-lending, paddy mills, brick kilns, cattle raising, food grain speculation, agricultural implements, rural productive sector, real estates, construction sector, cinema theatres, petrol pumps, transport sector, rent on agriculture implements, educational institutions and other such things. Mainly land is used as an instrument in the hands of the landlords to exploit the surplus value created by the oppressed castes basing on the hierarchal caste system and to make them slaves. They still have clear prevalent feudal characteristics such as, they do not allow the poor, especially the Dalits and the tribals to own land, force them to work for low wages and to do humiliating professions, affect their self-respect, are aggressive and merciless in every aspect and insult the self-respect of poor women. Due to superstitions, discrimination and violence women and people of oppressed castes are unable to obtain equal and independent partnership in social, economic and political life.

They utilize the loopholes in the laws to control lands. They are able to occupy the land distributed under land reforms. Feudal exploitation continues in the form of making the displaced farmers to work as regular agricultural laborers or as tenants.

In the political sector a considerable number of the reactionary leaders starting from the chair-person of the village panchayat to the President of the country are from landlord background. Feudal exploitation is in

various methods. The agricultural labor are made to work for low wages. These crops are the main exports. They seize a major share of the surplus value out of production and export of the crops. They obstruct the industrialization of the country and unleash imperialist neo-colonial kind of hegemony on the country.

They also exploit middle class farmers and collect high interests. They rent their land. Few landlords cultivate the lands of helpless poor farmers with dead cheap 'reverse' rent and gain profits. They extract bonded labor from agriculture laborers and tenants. They acquire the lands of bankrupt farmers and the government. They charge more rent for tractors, cutting machines, other agricultural implements and go-downs that store food products. They enhance their properties through paddy mills, milk centers, food grain business, plantations-forests, manufacture of goods, real estate, construction sector, cinema theatres, petrol bunks, guest houses, transport, sale of agricultural machinery, giving them for rent, beneficial educational institutions and wage employment. They swallow the funds for all the government schemes in the rural area. All these are semi-feudal forms of exploitation.

During the period of globalization, the important development is to forcible acquire lakhs of acres of cultivable and forest lands of the farmers and tribal people. Various MNCs, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes, government institutions, religious organisations, non-governmental organisations, stock market brokers and several kinds of mafias grab the government lands around the metropolitan cities and the cultivable lands of the farmers. They centralize large estates in their hands. Government officials, NRIs, high salaried corporate employees and big traders are seizing agricultural lands for dead cheap prices. Governments are setting up National Parks and green belts. Lands are being handed over for mining minerals and natural gases, coffee, rubber and other such plantations. Cultivable lands are allotted for corporate industries, startup companies, industrial parks, Special Economic Zones, Export Processing Zones, Industrial corridors, economic corridors, defense corridors, coastal corridors and other such industrial needs. Corporate agricultural companies set up farm houses and agri-gardens to cultivate

commercial crops in such lands. Lands are allotted for high tech cities, smart cities, trade-commerce communities, guest houses, tourist/environmental parks, urbanization, formula one racing, real estate share business, five star hotels, colonies, gated communities, function halls, amusement parks and beautiful buildings. Land is allotted to drinking water projects, thermal-nuclear power plants, aerodromes, ports, four lane-six lane express highways, land banks and other such infrastructure projects. The comprador bureaucratic state takes the responsibility to acquire the necessary land in the name of 'development'. In 1951-2010 they acquired 4 crore acres of land and displaced six and a half crore farmers without proper compensation and rehabilitation. The problem of displacement became an important aspect of the land question in the country.

This counter-revolutionary alliance of imperialist enterprises/companies, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal forces make all direct and indirect attempts to escape from punishment by the courts in their offenses by freely utilising the government machinery in order to maintain and strengthen their hegemony on land. They make cruel attacks not only by deploying lakhs of armed forces but also form and make armed deployment of several kinds of counter-revolutionary armies and gangs. They make several kinds of attacks on people who demand a hike in the wages of agricultural laborers, reforms in tenancy, farmers' rights, land reforms, land to the tiller, compensation for the displaced, those who demand the rights of the oppressed castes, especially the Dalits and the minorities and those who fight against patriarchy. Human rights are being violated in an utmost cruel manner. They make vain attempts to sustain semi-feudal system through several massacres, fake encounters, atrocities on women, putting the houses ablaze, loot and destruction. This counter-revolutionary alliance is obstructing the development of the forces of production in the country.

2. Large scale loot in new forms with the collaboration of several government and non-government networks: During the globalization period, the old and the new feudal forces of the dominant castes in the rural areas were the social prop in every step that the state took up in the

interests of imperialism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Along with the foreign corporate companies and domestic comprador companies, the new feudal forces, parliamentary party leaders and several kinds of mafias benefited through the agrarian, rural exploitive policies. The collaboration of global finance capital enterprises, the several networks of government and non-government networks, parliamentary political parties and several kinds of mafias increased much more and semi-feudal relations led by the old and new feudal forces continued in new forms. There are a few rich peasants a few upper middle class peasants that participate in agriculture among the new forces. Few are from the traditional hegemonic castes and very few are from the oppressed castes. They brought forth new forms in seizing and accumulating surplus value. The process of their development is also different. They transformed into landlords by acquiring few lands, gaining several kinds of other agricultural and agriculture based properties and other such several beneficial activities. Educational institutions contribute a lot to them to achieve social hegemony. They entered the panchayat raj, Legislative Assemblies, bureaucracy, police and judicial machinery and strengthened. The characteristic of these new forces is to have political power through gaining hegemony in the rural areas and in various prominent parliamentary parties in the towns. At present these old and the new forces is the pillar for state in the rural areas. The schemes that the global finance capital took up in restructuring the rural system through government and non-government institutions are in the hegemony of these forces. Thousands of crores of rupees allotted for these schemes are exploiting the savings of crores of people. On the other hand there is intensification of the inhuman exploitation of the cooperatives and micro-finance institutions. These old and new feudal forces directly exploit the oppressed people in many ways through wage exploitation, exploitation of rent, high interests, maintenance of paddy go-downs, business and other such things.

3. Spread of land holdings reduce and small holdings increase:

According to the 70th round NSS statistics in 2012-13 the total estimated land reduced to 9,23,69,000 hectares and the average land of the agrarian

families reduced to 0.592 hectare. These figures were at 10,72,28,000 hectares and 0.725 hectare respectively in the 59th round of NSS in 2002-03. The number of small land holdings reduced from 69.63 percent in 2002-03 to 75.42 percent in 2012-13 and the size of land under these increased to above 6 percent. This is the result of the pressure of rise in population dependent on land. Thus the livelihood of families dependent on agriculture fell in danger.

According to the agriculture statistics of 2010-11, there were a total of 12.92 crores of land holdings in 2005-06 that rose by 7.06 percent by 2010-11 to 13.84 crores. The extent of cultivable land rose slightly by 0.80 percent from 15.83 crore hectares in 2005-06 to 15.96 crore hectares in 2010-11. Average size of land holding was 1.23 hectare in 2005-06 and reduced to 1.15 hectare in 2010-11. It means the extent of land holding went on reducing. The number of landholdings cultivated by woman farmers rose from 11.70 percent to 12.78 percent and the cultivable land they owned increased from 9.33 percent to 10.34 percent.

The number of small land holdings (less than five acres) rose from 83.29 percent to 85.01 percent, i.e. from 10.76 crores to 11.76 crores. Cultivable land that they owned rose from 41.14 percent to 44.58 percent, i.e. from 6.1 crores to 7.11 crore hectares.

The share of Dalits in the total agricultural land holdings all over the country was 12.36 percent and that of tribal people was 8.68 percent according to the agriculture statistics of 2010-11. Their share in the extent of agriculture land holdings was 8.60 percent and 11.42 percent.

The number of land holdings in the hands of the Dalits (of all classes) out of the total agriculture land holdings rose from 1.61 crores in 2005-06 to 1.71 crores in 2010-11. The extent of their land holdings rose from 1.33 crore hectares to 1.37 crore hectares. On the whole, the average land they owned reduced from 0.83 hectares to 0.80 hectares in 2010-11. The number of land holdings of less than one acre was the highest at 1.32 crores in 2010-11 but the land they owned was mere 0.49 crores.

The number of land holdings of the tribal people (of all classes) out of the total agriculture land holdings rose from 1.03 crores in 2005-06 to 1.20 crores in 2010-11. The extent of all their land holdings rose from

1.69 crores to 1.82 crore hectares. On an average the land they owned reduced from 1.64 hectares to 1.52 hectares. Land holdings of less than one acre were the highest at 0.65 crores in 2010-11 but they owned a mere 0.31 crore acres. On the whole, although there was a slight increase in the number of land holdings and the extent of land that the Dalits and tribal people owned, their average land ownership decreased. There are more landless poor farmers in the Dalits than in the tribal and non-tribal people.

On the whole the agriculture in the country is mainly done by the poor peasants dependent on small holdings. The peasantry lives on these small pieces of land without any other livelihood. The number of small land holdings constantly rose and gained importance in the agrarian sector. This is one important criterion for semi-feudal relations. The growth in organised industrial sector came to a standstill in generating additional employment. It destroyed the small cottage industries. Due to this reason, the standard transformation of surplus people in agriculture into 'workers' did not take place. The characteristic of the development that is taking place in a prevalent manner is that the rural labor is becoming semi-proletariat. This 'displaced reserve army' is forced to take up indefinite activities in the much unorganized sector.

Even now organised industries are holding only 2 percent of the activities. There is no growth in the capital wealth of the unorganized/small industries that create the utmost employment. The industries do not obtain enough bank loans. The governments deceived those. So they were mainly confined to the production of ordinary goods. Industrial growth declined. Due to agrarian crisis the surplus farmers (agricultural labor and poor farmers) that became surplus human beings are unable to go to the towns and transform into workers. Ultimately most of them borrow from the landlords and money-lenders and are caught in the mire of loans. They do bonded labor in the fields and houses of the landlords in order to repay the loans. This trend is seen even in the villages of the 'green revolution' areas of Punjab and Haryana. The landlords utilize such bonded labor and share-croppers and are able to obtain surplus value without any investment. Or else these surplus farmers take up agriculture

on their small land holdings and are dependent on wage labor, production of small scale goods and trade in the urban areas. When compared to the capitalist countries production in big land holding is less in our country. The reason is the semi-feudal mode of production. Capitalism does not develop through this. As Lenin said, no such process as to socialize the scattered labor is seen in our country. This is nothing but a semi-feudal feature. Such surplus farmers strongly hope to obtain land.

4. Classification of peasantry: According to the 2011 socio-economic survey of the Indian Rural Development Ministry released on 3rd July 2015, in fact 60 percent of the population of the country are still dependent on agriculture.

Landless, poor peasantry: Landless families are the pillar for agriculture labor. One important aspect to understand the rural class framework is the lack of land. The number of landless (those with less than one acre) rose highly for the past few decades. The number rose from 60.1 percent in 2002-03 to 66.1 percent in 2012-13. The number of landless is very high in certain places. Even among the OBCs there are more than 60 percent landless and above 25 percent (in certain places 40 percent) in the oppressor castes. A major share of their income is through wages. As wage labor rose and took an exploitive capitalist form, this apparent change is a part of the existing semi-feudal exploitation. It is because the wage labor contract between the dominant caste landlord and Dalit landless laborer is of semi-feudal origin. At the same time it is the basis for economic and non-economic exploitation and oppression. This caste-class oppression is yet prevalent in the rural areas.

According to the 2003-04 NSS 31 percent of the rural families are landless. Thirty percent own just 0.4 hectares. Landlords, non-cultivating landlords, real estate business persons and private companies grabbed the lands. This development further speeded up due to corporate agriculture.

According to the 2003 NSS data, the number of Dalits without land except house plots is high in Punjab, Kerala and Haryana at 80 percent. In West Bengal 46.5 percent of the Dalits have house plots but not land. In 1993-94 and 2004-05 the number of landless poor rose to 10.6 percent

in the country. Except in Kerala, Jammu-Kashmir and Asom there is a rise in the number of peasantry without agricultural land in all the states. Basing on the rise of population from 1992-93 to 2004-05 in Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, landless farmers rose by 11.6 percent out of which the rise in Scheduled Tribe families was 10.4 percent and that in Dalits was 8.7 percent. Especially the SCs and STs face acute problem in holding and cultivating the land distributed through land reforms. The landlords re-acquired most of those lands. This shows that the situation of landless poor in the rural area further declined.

According to the 2015 socio-economic survey there are 6 crores 87 lakhs of landless families out of the total 17 crores 94 lakh rural families that amounts to 38.3 percent. Out of the total 3.30 crore Dalit families, 1.80 crore, i.e. 54.6 percent are landless families.

According to the Financial Inclusion Survey of NABARD of 2017 Jan-June, 87 percent of the rural Indian families have less than 5 acres (2 hectares) of land. It means 12 crore 60 lakh families (50.1 percent). 9 crore 18 lakh families (50.1 percent) are living on daily labor. Out of the rest of the families 2.4 percent do domestic work, 0.23 percent rag pickers and 0.37 percent beggars. This shows that 54.38 percent families live on single meal a day. The vast labor power dependent on agriculture is caught in stagnation.

Landless toilers are more in the populated plain areas than in the densely populated mountain areas. However, it is difficult to demarcate between the agricultural laborers and poor farmers. Most of the agricultural labors are Dalits. A section of the oppressor castes became part of the other oppressed castes. Half of them are women. Apart from the agricultural works women laborers are in considerable numbers in brick making, construction sector and other such non-agricultural works. But their wage is yet low when compared with men laborers. Wages in kind (paddy, meals) prevail in several areas even now.

There are three kinds of agricultural laborers – 1. One kind of laborers sells a part of their labor power as seasonal agricultural laborers to fulfill their deficit. A section of them possess ordinary agricultural instruments and cultivate small holdings and plantations. They are marginal farmers

and take up tenancy. 2. Farmers without land and instruments sell their labor power to live. 3. Those who do not obtain work and the poorest of the poor gradually migrate to the urban areas for casual works.

The usage of machines rose highly due to several changes in the methods of cultivation in several areas in the agrarian sector. Due to lack of irrigation facilities there is yet a single crop per year. Therefore the agricultural laborers find it difficult to obtain employment. There are more contract works. There are no enough opportunities for employment even in the non-agricultural sectors. Men get hold of the little opportunities and women get less. Annual working days are an average of three months per annum for men and 70 days for women. Although the government employment guarantee scheme – MNREGA is implemented it has low allotment in the government budget, the total allotted amount is not released and spent. So, it is unable to solve the crisis in employment in the villages. The scheme has to pay more than 25,000 crore rupees of debts to the toiling people. The wages decided under the employment scheme are lesser than the minimum wages act. The feudal forces in the villages are obstructing the hike in these wages and the implementation of the scheme. The scheme provided employment for 100 days only to 10 percent families. Even with the 100 day work the agricultural laborers cannot fulfill the needs of their livelihood. They need employment for a minimum of 300 days per annum if they were to cross the Below Poverty Line. This became impossible.

Some of the rural poor obtained livelihood through government schemes, mainly the Integrated Children Development Scheme (ICDS), afternoon meals scheme and other such things and are working as Anganwadi workers, assistants and aasha workers under the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM). Women are in considerable numbers in this scheme. They are mainly part time employees. However, few in the rural areas caught in the crisis of employment are benefited out of this. But we see that all over the country they are constantly suffering from very low salaries and are taking up struggles against the government. Their problem is mainly entwined with land question.

The wage laborer system is not yet dissolved in the rural areas. The

vast 'rural unemployed army' guarantees this. Bonded labor are secretly employed in agricultural, non-agricultural works and domestic works. However bonded labor does not exist in old forms.

The 'demand for land' is growing among the landless (including agricultural laborers) and poor farmers. The feudal forces control land, clout, market, productivity and crop and exploit a large amount of surplus value from the landless and poor farmers.

Lower middle class farmers: Lower middle class farmers are 5 percent of lower middle class farmers. They do not have enough instruments of production. The class is caught in the pangs of feudal exploitation. It severely suffers from the onslaught of foreign monopoly capital and domestic comprador capital. The income of the farmers of this class out of agriculture is insufficient. On the whole it is a fact that except for the landlords and rich peasants most of the families lack the power to accumulate surplus out of agriculture. The bankrupt farmers increasingly migrate to the urban areas for livelihood.

Upper middle class farmers: Upper middle class constitutes two percent of agriculture. They have enough instruments of production. A section of them accumulates surplus out of agriculture. Its income is stable to an extent. A considerable number of this class is in decline due to globalization. It is losing lands and is joining the landless and poor peasantry. A considerable number of this class commits suicide due to agrarian crisis.

Rich farmers: They constitute 0.24 percent of the peasantry. This class owns instruments of production, especially land and other productive properties. A section is gaining from globalization policies. It utilizes the resources, gaining control over the markets, decides better prices and earns super profits out of agricultural products. A section of this class earned properties through manufacture of small and medium scale goods, agricultural products, real estate, construction sector, business, service sector, rents and other such things in the villages and small towns. They unleash power together with the feudal forces. After globalization this class obtained direct benefit through government schemes, contracts and subsidies. With the farmers not able to avail the institutional loans much

during the globalization period, a section of them emerged as money-lenders through Micro Finance. However, they lack the characteristics to achieve capitalist change as rural bourgeoisie. A small section of this class also is caught and suffers from globalization. The growth of ugly capitalist relations pushes this class to the lower level.

5. Exploitation by money-lenders: Since 1997 several rural banks were closed on the basis of profits and losses, discarding the weaker classes in the rural areas. As a result, the corporate agrarian sector, landlords, rich peasants and a few middle class farmers obtained bank loans but small, marginal and the majority middle class peasantry could not avail them. Thus farmers growing commercial crops are suffering from the exploitation of the landlords, market traders and private money-lenders for costly inputs. According to the data released by the NSSO in 2016, out of the total loans of the agrarian families, 58 percent are institutional (42.9 percent from the banks and 14.8 percent from the cooperatives), 42 percent loans were obtained from the landlords, money-lenders and paddy traders. While families with less than one hectare land could avail only 15 percent of bank loans, farmers with more than 10 hectares (25 acres) of land obtained 79 percent. Poor farmers obtain 85 percent loans from landlords, money-lenders and paddy traders. Therefore loan waivers do not apply to them. According to the NABARD data, 52 percent of the agrarian families fell in the mire of loans. These families have a loan of Rs.1 lakh on an average. Coming to crop insurance, 90 percent of the agrarian families cannot avail insurance scheme even to the minimum extent. In the insurance scheme already under implementation they are exploiting 75 percent premium. Due to this insurance scheme the landlords and rich peasants who could obtain bank loans gained more benefit. On the other hand the extremely high rates of interest on institutional and private loans are extracting the poor farmers to the core. Most of them pay interest double the amount of the loan but they are unable to repay the loans. Thus a major part of the surplus out of agriculture is in the bureaucratic control of banks/cooperatives, money-lenders and traders. This is obstructing the accumulation of capital in the productive sector. There is no talk about the implementation of the conditions for capitalist

reproduction.

6. Large scale exploitation through tenancy: During the period of globalization a section of the farmers who turned surplus people became tenants for livelihood. We see that ordinary farmers too mutually take lands for rent in various conditions. However, since the 'surplus labor power' in agriculture is mainly unskilled labor, neither the related sector of agriculture nor the unorganized sector of the manufacturing and service sectors in the urban areas can embed this labor; urban poverty rose; and so it became inevitable for the rural migrants to return to their villages. In this situation the agricultural laborer families and poor farmers had to take lands from the landlords and rich farmers on high rent. Tenancy is one example to say that semi-feudal exploitation is prevalent in the rural areas in the country. They obtain nominal loans from the banks. Tenants are the most affected due to the exploitation of money-lenders and traders in the market. Most of the farmers committing suicide are tenants.

Globalisation brought changes in the forms of share contract. New forms came into existence. Exploitation through tenancy is severe in areas of utmost productivity and mechanization. The poor peasantry, especially the Dalit and other sections are suffering from exploitation not only from the high rent but also from the unequal exchange machinery formed due to the internal relation between production, clout and input market. Although the landlords and rich peasants also take up tenancy they obtain lands on relatively easy conditions. Especially the poor farmers lack own instruments of production, capital, technical knowledge, canals and depend on bore wells. Unable to spend more on irrigation they give lands for possible rent. Landlords and rich peasants earn super profits out of this 'reverse rent'. This shows that the poor peasantry suffers from feudal exploitation not only as tenants but also through 'reverse rent'.

According to a study in Bihar in 1999 tenancy was 12 percent and fraction cropping was 40 percent. According to the 70th round of NSS in 2012-13, the land under tenancy was 12 percent of the total land. It fell to 7 percent in 2003 but considerably rose to 12 percent in 2012-13. In 2012-13, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and other such states recorded above 25 percent of cultivable land under tenancy and Odisha, Haryana,

Tamilnadu and West Bengal recorded more than 15 percent. The rural studies made by several academicians also proved the same. Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh recorded a low of 3.51 percent and 4.18 percent land respectively under tenancy. Landlords do not wish to realise the rights of tenancy. The tenants too do not reveal the facts to the official surveyors. They fear they would be deprived of the land if the landlord comes to know of this. Therefore it is a fact that the actual number of tenants is not available.

A concrete look into the 70th round of NSS data shows that there are 57.7 percent landless families, 34.91 percent marginal and small farmers and 7.39 percent middle class families among the tenants. It means that mostly the 92.61 percent landless, marginal and small land holding families are suffering from exploitation through tenancy. Out of the total land given for rent (98,53,649 hectares), these families took 15.10 percent land for rent in 2012-13. This was 3.04 percent in 2002-04. These were called 'pure tenant' families. Marginal and small land holding families took 22.37 percent and 24.94 percent land for rent respectively. Therefore, on an average nearly 63 percent of the land given for rent was taken by families with marginal or small land holdings. This shows the extent of the dire need of land of the landless (including agricultural laborers), marginal and small land holding families. The middle class farmers with 2 to 4 hectares of land holding took up tenancy of 19.64 percent land out of the total land taken for rent. Interestingly, the middle class farmers with 2 to 3 hectares of land holdings took up tenancy in nearly 70 percent of the total land taken for rent. On the whole we see 'revival of tenancy method' in the agricultural framework, especially in the post reform period.

The poor farmers are taking land on rent in two ways – for contract and for share. They are followed by the middle class farmers who have 30 percent share in the contracts and the same amount of share in rent. Among the rich peasant families only 7.14 percent families are taking around 15 percent land for rent. At present most of the landless and poor farmers in most of the areas take land for contract on oral basis and cultivate. They are not the owners, partners or even shareholders of the land according to the government statistics. They can be said to be bonded

slaves.

One more important development is that the 'Non-Cultivating Peasant Households' (NCPH) gained importance in the tenancy market all over the country since 1980s. NCPH are 19.1 percent of the total non-cultivating families in 1981 that rose to nearly 37 percent in 2002. At the same time land under NCPH rose from 3.8 percent to 9.8 percent. They give land to rent. Thus with the growth of NCPH families, tenancy gained and is gaining importance.

The earlier and the new tenancy acts did not benefit the tenants. The landlords can chase away the tenants any time. The tenancy Act that said the rent should not go beyond $1/5^{\text{th}}$ or $1/4^{\text{th}}$ of the total crop produced became nominal. No one is bothered about the violation of tenancy act and the rise of tenancy rates by $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ to $2/3^{\text{rd}}$. In fact no tenancy agreement is legal and in writing. These agreements are implemented by the landlords or rich peasants by setting up slave owner-slave relations. With this the tenant farmers are forced to work as bonded slaves. The state agencies are privately stealing a part of the surplus exploited from the tenants. This is more than the funds the state gives to these agencies. The agents of the state directly apply force and unleash cruel exploitation of surplus. Such examples prove the collaboration of the dominant feudal class and the organs of the state in the village. It is clear that the state power in semi-feudal system is entwined with the feudal forces and the government-police-judicial organs of the village.

7. Accumulation of capital is less in agriculture: When compared with the total investment in the economy, there is a considerable fall in the investment by the central and the state governments in agriculture since 1980s. Its share of accumulation of capital in the economy fell from 18 percent to 6 percent by the end of the 20th century. The comprador rulers on one hand said farmer was the backbone of the country and on the other reduced the investment in agriculture to 5 percent in the 11th Five Year Plan from 16 percent in the 5th Five Year Plan. The total investment in agriculture and its related sectors fell from 16.5 percent in 2012-13 to 15.2 percent in 2017-18. One main reason for this is the wrong financial policies of the central and the state governments. This affected the growth

in private investment and in the total investment.

The landlord and rich peasant classes reinvest only around 10.5 percent on an average of the total surplus value they exploited. It means that the whole surplus value is not reinvested in agricultural production. The major part of surplus value is re-invested in non-productive sector such as money lending and trade of crops. Similarly money-lending and commercial capital seizes the agricultural products/commodity of the peasants but not the process of production. This process binds the peasants in semi-feudal relations. It does not gain control on their labor power and turn them workers.

Another aspect is, in view of the labor done by the agricultural workers, marginal, small and middle class farmers, it is understood that earning surplus value through exploiting the workers' labor in agriculture has become the main means. Wage labor might be a capitalist feature. But it is not the only decisive factor in capitalist mode of production. According to the statistics of NSO, the size of the labor of agricultural laborers of the total agricultural labor decreased. The size of family labor rose to 64.2 percent. Since agriculture is not remunerative to the farmers, they had to reduce the expenditure on agricultural laborers and increase the size of family labor.

The pressure of population on land, remunerative agriculture and the inability to invest together led to the fragmentation of land holdings. Agricultural production started being affected from the beginning of the 1990s. For the past three decades growth in production also fell in stagnation. Increase in the fragmentation of land holdings shows that accumulation of capital is low. We also see a rise in small scale agriculture in the agricultural economic framework, the prevalence of non-farm small scale production and the tireless shift of agricultural labor to various works. This is obstructing the growth of capitalism in agriculture.

In fact if we see in terms of the share of surplus sold in the market, small scale agricultural production has hegemony on the market. However the average income of the farmers out of agriculture, wages, cattle, small scale products and all such sources, it is lesser than the average consumption. This is the result of semi-feudal relations. Capitalism cannot

rise in such a situation.

8. Other forms of feudal exploitation: The Indian economy is of semi-feudal nature with an inclination towards Brahmanic Hindutwa. Poverty is in a severe level. Therefore, several forms of bonded labor, non-economic social exploitation, suppression, oppression, caste, gender, regional discrimination and other such things prevail in a severe level in agriculture, non-agricultural sectors and also in the entire aspects of base and superstructure. Globalization policies further increased class, caste and gender discrimination. These took a more ugly form.

The hegemony of feudal forces on the oppressed classes-castes is going on in socially new forms in the semi-feudal system. So, feudal and semi-feudal relations continue. The landlords yet extract surplus in a large scale through rent, interest, bonded labor, semi-bonded labor, neo-bonded labor and other such forms. For the past three decades of globalization, bonded labor did not disappear in places of modern agricultural methods but is continuing in various forms. Apart from making the Dalits and landless agricultural laborers in the backward areas do bonded labor, landlord's snapping, direct force are still playing an important role. In areas where relatively modern methods are implemented in agriculture, the poor farmers with the necessity of a big amount of money and without any other source of loans, borrow money prepared to do bonded labor. Relatives among the migrant agricultural laborers and poor farmers are made to do bonded labor. Especially we see the entire Dalit family, the men, women and children doing bonded labor in the landlord's fields.

Bonded labor is seen in big agro-business industries where labor power is utilized in an excessive level such as brick kilns, sugarcane industry and paddy processing units. Bonded labor is the cruelest form of utilizing maximum labor power with low cost. With the influence of imperialist culture, consumerism transformed the life style. The toiling people made agreements with the contractors and supervisors who are the recruitment agents and recruiters to do bonded labor to fulfill their consumer needs and the needs for education, medicine, marriage and so on. They take money in advance and fall in the mire of loans. The whole country is a witness of this kind of debt bondage. Not the large scale migration from

the rural areas to the urban areas, but the urbanization due to circular migration (migration to urban areas, returning to the villages and again migration to urban areas) is contributing to this. For example the paddy processing units are constantly locked like concentration camps. All the labor laws regarding bonded labor are confined to paper. This mainly depends on semi-feudal relations.

Brick making and sugarcane harvesting are the normal forms of bonded labor. Wages considerably fall due to loans. The wages in brick kilns fell by 30 percent and by 45-80 percent in sugarcane harvesting. In 2004 the semi-proletariat in both the works was circular migrants. The annual income of these families ranged from 10,000 to 30,000 rupees. The daily wage was nearly 40 to 50 rupees. The brick making semi-workers work for 12 to 16 hours a day. Half of the working hours are in the night. The semi-workers in sugarcane harvesting work 15 to 18 hours a day. Their wage amounts to 2 to 4 rupees per hour.

Most of the semi-workers work 6 days a week. Coming to the brick making semi-workers they work in dust and heat. They lack drinking water and nutritional diet. They fall ill with various diseases. Especially they suffer with vomiting, motions, allergy, skin diseases, fevers and muscle pains. Not only the working conditions but also the living conditions of the semi-workers in sugarcane harvesting are terrible. Most of the semi-workers live in crowd in temporary tents without any cleanliness.

Production is seasonal and continues for around six months per year. The workers do agriculture labor works and marginal agricultural works for their livelihood. By 2000 there were 45 lakhs of semi-workers all over the country. The growth rate of labor power in this sector is the highest at 7.51 percent. India is in the second place after Brazil in the production of sugarcane. 3 crores 50 lakh farmers and semi-workers participate in sugarcane growing in 40 lakh hectares of land.

Paddy processing in the rice mills is the utmost severe form of exploitation. Like sugarcane, paddy industry is also one of the important products in India. It is grown in more than 20 percent of cultivable land. All the semi-worker families stay in the sheds in the place of production. There are no compradors or sub-contractors. There are a kind of

patriarchal relations between the agricultural laborers and their ownership. The semi-workers that are severely exploited consider their owner as their 'protector' and express loyalty towards him. The places of production are antagonistic and insecure. The semi-workers process paddy the whole day. They will have to work all the 24 hours. These semi-workers are the earlier migrants but they cannot go home. The owners throw them in the mire of loans. The semi-workers are locked inside the production sheds. They are not allowed to go out of these sheds and are cut off from the society.

Both these forms are called 'neo-bonded labor'. Both of these involve migrant and seasonal agricultural laborers. The local compradors bring laborers from their caste but do not employ the local migrant laborers. Advance wages attract agricultural labor. These mostly become the ultimate wages. There are no wages for the labor done. Most of the agricultural laborers are Dalits. This bonded labor seen in the agri-business industries is going on in various levels. These are new forms of semi-feudalism and nothing else.

9. Corporate agriculture: The MNCs brought forth contract-corporate agriculture and group agriculture with the aim of earning super profits in this field in agriculture based India. They take the farmers' land for contract and grow crops with ultra-modern technology. Potato in West Bengal and Punjab and Soya beans in Madhya Pradesh are the examples. They send them directly to malls or produce various kinds of food material out of them in the factories. They sell them for high prices in the market. The acts in the way of the agrarian market were amended in the interest of these corporate companies. They were facilitated so that they receive raw material cheaply. Thus ordinary farmers become laborers in their own fields. MNCs and comprador bureaucratic companies such as Ambani and TATA in the country mint super profits.

Group agriculture does not bail out the farmers from difficulties. The measure is taken up to collect bank loans without fail. If loans are given individually, there is not guarantee that they would be collected. Therefore the loan is given to the farmer's group. Finally production is done basing on all. This experiment that helps to collect individual loan does not solve

the fundamental problem of agriculture but pushes the farmers en masse towards bankruptcy on the whole and mass suicides.

An amount of 850 crore rupees is going to be invested in the mega food parks. This is in the interest of Adani, ITs and Future that are the economic pulse of BJP. Big farmers and corporate companies penetrate floriculture, fish culture, poultry farms and other such things. There are large number of farmers by tradition in milk production. But corporate companies penetrate in these too. The price of milk is not in the proper ratio with the cost. The angry farmers are throwing away the milk. Ordinary farmers cannot produce Basmati GW-322, GW-366 of the export kind. Rich peasants and landlords that built agrarian companies and are part of the value added chain can produce them. On the whole the small fish lives on the mercy of the big fish.

These crops need more investment. Since the small farmers cannot grow them and seize the lands with profitable shares in contract-corporate agriculture. Thus contract-corporate agrarian method is destroying the small and middle class peasantry. Agri MNCs and a few comprador companies such as Reliance gain the benefit.

On the whole imperialism is unleashing control on social, economic, political, cultural and all the sectors on the semi-feudal base in the country historically and in the present phase of globalization. The main intention of imperialism is to develop the country industrially but not to change it into another capitalist contender. It wants to sustain it as the supplier of raw material and as a market for imperialist products. The comprador rulers brought forth several laws, rules, regulations, directives and other policy measures to bring changes in rural India favorable to the imperialist MNCs, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes. They set back the land reforms. They unleashed severe exploitation and oppression on the peasantry, women, Dalits and the tribal people in new forms of exploitation. Lands were centralized in the hands of the old and new feudal forces. The comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal forces collaborated further. They collaborated with the various parliamentary political leaders, the representatives of those parties in judicial institutions, the leaders of its Mass Organisations/institutions, the top officials of the

government, judiciary and police and the several non-government economic, social and political institutions and are unleashing socio-economic power as the rural landlord class.

In this stage global finance capital is playing a vital role in the utilisation of cultivable land in the agricultural sector, utilisation of land, food security, loans, domestic and foreign commerce, government schemes and programs. The central government recently decided to change the nearly 90,000 cooperative banks as the ancillary banks of the central commercial banks. This strongly affected the loan facilities to the farmers. Since the beginning of liberal policies all the sanctions and bans were lifted in the name of free commerce that facilitated the exports and imports of agricultural food products to the MNCs and domestic comprador corporate companies. There were considerable cuts in import duties. There were new incentives and support to the exports of agricultural products and encouragement to the private sector for exports. There were changes in the policies that control the prices of fertilisers and agricultural products. Exports decreased and imports doubled. The agricultural products of countries with highest subsidies flooded the domestic markets and so the domestic agricultural products could not contend. With the large scale imports, the livelihood of crores of farmers, artisans, milk producers and small scale poultry and fish industries were affected and the livelihood of the workers and employees fell in danger.

With the spread of imperialist sponsored modern agricultural methods, self-reliance in agriculture was almost totally destroyed. Cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, rubber, coffee, Eucalyptus, Jatrofam, commercial timber, silver oak and other such commercial crops grew important. Monoculture in which food crops are grown in considerable amount only for market spread in a large scale Ghorkin, red jowar, juicy tomato, flowers and other such market favorable crops were encouraged at the cost of food security.

In the name of 'second green revolution' agricultural mechanization and Genetically Modified (GM) crops with technical knowledge were brought forth. Policies were formulated in view of imperialist companies like Monsanto and Wal-Mart. Nineteen countries in Europe including France and Germany imposed ban on GM agriculture. GM labeling was

made inevitable in the US. Many developed countries banned BT seeds. India imports these seeds and calls it development.

In fact agricultural sector became bankrupt due to the corporate sponsored 'development'. Agricultural sector fell into irrecoverable crisis. By 1994 the country was self-sufficient in cooking oil and lifted the 300 percent import duty on it. Now foreign companies import 67 percent cooking oil into the country for which India has to pay a heavy amount of 70,000 crore rupees every year. Moreover, several cooking oil processing units were closed in the country. Since it was not remunerative, farmers considerably reduced cultivating cooking oil seeds. Similar situation lies for wheat, pulses, onions, fruits and vegetables. New technology brought forth seeds, fertilisers and insecticides that increased the cost of cultivation. Lands became non-fertile. Bad quality of seeds and duplicate insecticides caused further loss. Agriculture is yet mainly rain dependent. Irrigation is limited to 40 percent lands. The governments neglect small and medium water resources and cultivation. Electricity cut is a big problem for agricultural wells and bores. There is decrease in the investments, government allotment and subsidies in the agricultural sector. Marketing and infrastructure facilities for storage of agricultural products were privatized. The farmers are unable to avail enough government loans for low rates of interest and so they are suffering from severe exploitation with high interests of the public and the private banks, the Micro Finance Enterprises and money-lenders. Compradors and markets (forward or future trading) are increasingly gaining prevalence in the markets and there are no remunerative prices for agricultural products. Due to all these, farmers' income from agriculture is declining day by day and they are becoming indebted. Agricultural production needs such as HYV seeds, chemical fertilisers and insecticides, implements/machines and markets are in the control of the MNCs. Therefore the farmers are forced to depend on them to purchase the material and to sell their products. Bio-diversity is affected with the modern agricultural methods. Ground water levels fell. Natural calamities, i.e. heavy rain, lack of rain and floods became a normal feature. For the past three decades environment was further affected that made a negative impact on agriculture. Fall in

humidity, increase of pests and weeds, low quality of crops/decrease of nutritional features, increase of harmful factors and decrease in production made agriculture burdensome.

These apparently seem to be the features of capitalist agriculture but they are actually not. When compared with the capitalist/imperialist countries productivity is very less in our country. Let us take the example of cotton crop. In 2018-19, the production of cotton was 502 kilograms on an average per hectare. This was 1,751 kgs in China and 1,597 kgs in Australia. In 2015, the average production of paddy in our country was 3.6 tons per hectare. This was very lesser to that of several countries such as 6.89 tons in China and 9.8 in Egypt. The production of wheat was 7.7 tons in England and 3.1 tons in our country. Production of maize is 10.5 tons in the US and 5.89 tons in China while our country produced just 2.6 tons. Our country produces 1.49 tons of groundnut while China produces 3.56 tons and the US 4.44 tons. Our country produces 647 kgs of grams while China produces 1.74 tons and the US 1.81 tons. All the modern agricultural methods said to be capitalist in several areas of our country are in fact dependent. Foreign MNCs and domestic comprador corporate companies that collaborated with the local new landlord forces constituted with the government and non-government systems possess hegemony on the modern agricultural methods and on the entire mode of production. Therefore those only serve the interests of the foreign MNCs, the domestic corporate companies and the big landlords that collaborated with them.

It means when the farmers obtain the crop, market prices shall fall and when the traders purchase those crops the prices will increase. This shows not the capitalist relations but semi-feudal relations. When the farmers receive the crops, the prices are not decided according to the rules of capitalist market. The traders of fertilisers, insecticides or various agricultural implements, crop traders or money-lenders decide the prices. The Minimum Support Price announced by the government is not at all in proportion to the investment of the poor and the middle class farmers for crops in most of the states. It is much below the level the National Farmer Commission proposed. In addition to this the government weakened the mechanism of procurement of paddy and shrunk the

procurement. It reduced the crops that come under the purview of the support price. All the governments kept the recommendations of Swaminadhan Commission aside. Comprador traders rule the National agriculture market portal (e-naam) that the Modi government brought forth. The soil health card program and the 'scheme that doubles the income of farmers by 2022' proved to be a sham. Four lakh crore rupees are needed to complete the held up irrigation projects in the country. But there are no enough allotments in time and every government is eating away the allotted budgets.

According to the 2015 NSS, most of the farmers do not have stable income. 51.14 percent of the agricultural families are dependent on physical labor in casual form while 30.10 percent including tenant farmers are dependent on agriculture. Nearly 60 percent of the families having land distanced from agriculture since it was not remunerative. Therefore, in several areas, middle class farmers also have to work as agricultural laborers along with the agricultural laborers and poor farmers to sustain the family. Landlords and corporate companies grabbed the lands of the poor and middle class farmers due to which they become agricultural laborers.

In the rural areas, while the landlords and a section of the rich peasants are earning considerable income, the average monthly income of the majority poor and middle class farmer families is very lesser to the minimum wage announced by the government. While the landlords and rich peasants took hold of land and other instruments of production they need not spend much on cultivation. But the poor and the middle class farmers have to spend more on fertilisers, tenancy and machines. In addition to the efficient use of fertilisers and others the landlords and a section of the rich peasants benefit through the available market opportunities. There are 65.9 crores of poor and middle class peasants with a monthly income of less than Rs.5000 in the villages. The cost of average monthly consumption of these families is Rs.6,223 (only for food, health, clothes etc.). Together with the other costs there was a deficit of a minimum Rs.856 per month per family. Therefore 70 percent of the families cannot live without loan.

By the end of 2018, more than 3 lakh 30 thousand farmers committed suicide. In 2019, 13,149 self-employed, 12,936 unemployed and 10,349 farmers committed suicide. This large scale destruction of the forces of production shows the prevalence of semi-feudalism in the country. There is deep relation between the suicides of the farmers, the extreme merchantisation of agriculture with the help of neo-liberal economic policies and the relations of production in the rural society. The number of farmer's suicides is more in areas where commercial crops spread (69-81 percent). In fact the gradually increasing penetration of imperialist capital and the exploitation of money-lenders and the business of crop traders with interest are not mutually opposed. One supports the other. The joint onslaught of the both pushed the farmers in a more merciful state. During the neo-liberal period, government investment and loans to the agricultural sector are going down. This gave new momentum to money-lending.

Agrarian crisis led to a rise in migration to urban areas thus reducing the rural population by 10 percent, farmers by 15 percent and agricultural laborers by 17 percent from 1951 to 2001. The past decade saw a decrease of 90 lakhs in the number of farmers. One hundred farmers leave agriculture every day. Migration to the urban areas is more in numbers in East Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and North East states during the globalization period. We see more migration from Punjab and Haryana in the 1990s because of lack of employment due to crisis in agriculture. Migration rose in Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in the recent years. These migrant laborers are working on daily wages in the construction sector, mining, manufacture of goods and service sectors or else are engaged in self-employment. However, a major part of migration is temporary. It is because the industries in India are not yet developed so as to embed the migrant workers permanently.

The impact of globalization is severe on handicrafts, professions by caste and also the related sector of agriculture that stood in support of the rural area. The number of people of the castes of traditional service such as carpenters, masons, weavers, toddy tappers, goldsmiths, potters

and tanners decreased. People engaged in small business on self-employment, in selling food material, in repairing cycle, motor cycle and other such vehicles, in milk business, poultry farms and other such small scale producers are dependent on rural markets. With the agrarian crisis in the rural areas, the purchasing power of the people fell and this also showed impact on them. They got very few loans from the cooperatives and government. There is no growth in production and sale. There is no stable market. This led to fall in employment. With no alternative most of them become agricultural laborers, unemployed, skilled/non-skilled workers and semi-workers.

The all India weavers' survey in 2009-10 showed that there were 43.31 lakh people out of which the rural people were 36.33 lakh in this profession in Asom, Madhya Pradesh, Paschim Bung, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Bihar, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh and other states. However the 2017 survey showed a decrease of another 40 percent. In the name of hand woven cloth the textiles from mills are flooding the markets. There is no rise in the prices of weaver products. This led to a decrease in the products. There is no support to the weavers from the central government. The sector lacks research. Budget allocation reduced from 710 crores in 2016-17 to 386 crores in 2018-19. GST further affected the weavers. The weavers suffering from the burden of loans, ill health and hunger are committing suicides.

Only the 9.68 percent rural middle class families have wage income in the rural areas. Five percent of them are government jobs, 1.11 percent public sector jobs and 3.57 percent private jobs. They face severe problems in the respective sectors.

The tribal question is an important aspect of the semi-feudal system. There is severe exploitation and oppression of the forest department on the tribal people. The forest rights act and PESA is not implemented. The revenue officers exploit them in the various social welfare schemes, the traders exploit in procurement of agricultural and forest produce and in sale of daily necessities and the contractors in various works. Although food gathering, the old form of production continues in these areas, the mode of production mainly constitutes of semi-colonial, semi-feudal

relations of production. Due to lack of irrigation facilities agriculture is rain dependent. We slightly see modern agricultural methods in a few places. A small section of the tribal gentry are landlords. There are various feudal forms of exploitation including money-lending. Even now in areas where there is no revolutionary movement or where it is weak, the tribal gentry utilize the tribal traditions for bonded labor. Rich peasants are less in number. Middle class farmers are more in number. There is yet hill slope agriculture and food gathering in some places. The lands are not fertile, the mode of production is backward and productivity is low. Thus poor farmers are more in numbers among the tribal people.

Due to globalization foreign MNCs, domestic comprador corporate companies, government mining, various kinds of plants, roads and other such activities heavily deprived the tribal people of their lands. They are displaced and turn wage laborers. Except for the landlords and rich peasants, the middle class and the poor farmers live in acute poverty dependent on the forests and other collective resources and migrate for 4-5 months in search of various kinds of labor work to fulfill their daily necessities and for wages. The migrant laborers face severe exploitation and oppression. As globalization spread, there are more and more hotels and private colonies in the tribal areas and on the High Way. There is penetration of various religious institutions. There is a rise in the unorganized semi-workers. A small section of the tribal people is rising as a petty bourgeois force. They are working in shops, as wage employees in the service sector, small traders and as temporary employees in the public sector. Although their number is less they have a lot of social importance. They play a main role in the tribal life.

Although women increasingly come into all the sectors exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination towards them increased. The women continue to have the main role in family labor in the villages in agriculture, in the brick kilns, other construction works and non-agricultural works as migrant semi-workers. Since the men migrate for labor the women are forced to do bonded labor in the fields of the landlords. Due to modern methods in agriculture investments in agriculture are less. In the sectors where women worked in large numbers

earlier, machines took the place. Non-agricultural sectors lack enough employment. Due to all these the women agricultural laborers cannot obtain enough work and most of them are living in hunger. Brahmanic Hindutwa customs are strong and discrimination in the labor of women and men and severe limitations for women in the available work continue to exist. Women still do the house-work. Difference between the wages of women and men still continue. Women obtain 30 to 50 percent of the wages of men. Women are facing more difficulties due to Brahmanic Hindu traditions. Woman is commoditized in various forms due to globalisation that further degraded their social status. With the combination of imperialist culture and feudal culture the atrocities on women took an uglier form. The Congress and the BJP governments discarded the recommendations except for one or two of Justice Varma commission after the Nirbhaya case.

As a result of these developments in the rural areas, especially the agrarian sector, the share of crops in Gross Value Assets (GVA) fell from 11.5 percent in 2012-13 to 8.7 percent in 2017-18 and there is no growth in cattle raising, forests and fish culture sectors during this period. The investments in agriculture and its related sectors fell from 16.5 percent in 2012-13 to 15.2 percent in 2017-18. The growth rate of employment in agrarian sector fell from -1.9 percent in 2011-12 to -3.6 percent in 2015-16. Land question, tenancy, displacement and the question of related sectors of agriculture show the intensity of agrarian crisis in the country. As a result the forces of production are being destroyed. Growth in economy came to a standstill. This is the result of the old semi-feudal relations. Revolution means to break these chains.

On the whole the exports of the country are in further decline and imports are on the rise. Productivity is going down and the process of reproduction is affected in the industries. Due to the constant imperialist crisis the lakhs of MSME under the ownership of small and medium kind national bourgeoisie are being closed. The wages of workers and employees are in speedy decline. So, the payments for their salaries are on the decrease. There is more dependence on foreign investments and technology. The traditional self-reliant/native methods in agriculture are

destroyed in several areas. Industrial and agricultural growth declined and unemployment rose severely. The farmers and tribal people being displaced in large numbers in the rural areas are not transforming into workers in any modern industry. They are part of unorganized works such as domestic servants, gatemen, watchmen and small traders and suffer due to semi-feudalism in another form. With the fall in the purchasing power of the people the demand for goods and service is in decline. In a country where the home market is in decline there will be no considerable development.

There is a rise in cell phones, vehicles, TVs, refrigerators in the rural areas but not in literacy. The poor are in the same number. Majority of the rural people do not have proper housing facility to live healthily. The Public Distribution System weakened. Hunger and ill health shadow them. According to the official statistics in 2014-18, there were 56,000 hunger deaths in the country. Many people died due to lack of ration from the government ration shops out of which most were poor women, Dalits, tribal and Muslim people. Although the production of food grains is 275.7 million tons in the country 82 crore people are in the pangs of hunger. This is the real picture of the food security and antyodaya schemes of the Modi government and the various state governments. There are no enough go-downs and cold storages and so food grains worth 92,651 crore rupees and vegetables worth 31 crore rupees are destroyed every year.

There is a cut in the budget allocation for education, health, family welfare, housing, drinking water, eradication of urban poverty, women empowerment, Integrated Child Development Scheme, development of SC, ST and other such welfare schemes every year. The subsidy on food, fertilisers and petroleum was reduced by 10 percent and the people had to face crores of rupees of burden. The prices of essential goods rose. Annual inflation rose from 3.6 percent to 5.8 percent in 2014-18. More than 67 percent of rural families do not have proper houses. There is 40 percent illiteracy in the country. The allocation for education in the GDP of the country reduced to 0.45 percent and that for health to 0.30 percent. Around 24 lakh people die every year with cold, cough, diarrhea, dengue, malaria and typhoid. Sixty crores of people face severe shortage of water.

In the rural areas 84 percent of the people do not have access to pipe water. The SC and ST sub-plans were cancelled. Thousands of crores of rupees were cut in the SC, ST special component plan. The 294 schemes for Dalits were reduced to 256. The 307 schemes for the tribal people were reduced to 201. The share of the centre in the funds allotted for 24 schemes implemented by the states came down. It totally stopped allotment of funds for 8 schemes. Two crore 30 lakh families of 14,700 villages do not have electricity. BPL families who cannot afford gas cylinders were sanctioned gas connections. Forty-four percent of the people of the rural areas defecate openly. Only 140 villages were declared Aadarsh villages under the Aadarsh gram scheme in five years. We saw that the environment of our country and the world is severely affected due to the 'growth' through production, destruction of resources and expansion of consumption by imperialists and comprador rulers for super profits. The year 2017 witnessed the death of 12 lakh people due to air pollution in our country. Our country is one of the most unclean countries in the world. 14 out of the 15 utmost polluted cities of the world are in India. Due to the burning of plastic bags, rubber, tyre and Styrofoam in the place of firewood to keep warm during winter, the amount of dangerous chemicals in the air rose by 20 times.

By 2018, India had 143rd place out of 186 countries in economic freedom ranking. It is in the 131st place among 188 countries in human development, 122nd place among 155 countries in world happiness index, 136th place among 180 countries in press freedom, 175th place among 223 countries in the world index of infant mortality rate, 103rd place of 119 countries in hunger index, 50th place of 113 countries in protected food index-2018, 145th place among 197 countries in education and in 185th place of 195 countries in health. 'Swach' Bharat is in the lowest 177th place of 180 countries in environment performance index.

Changes that took place in the social system of the country after the transfer of power

Since the beginning of the 1970s, imperialism fell in general crisis all over the world, in 1980s more intense globalization policies were taken up and it put the burden of its crisis on semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries like India. Thus the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people went on intensifying. As mentioned extensively in this document, due to the policies unleashed by comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal ruling classes in the dictates of imperialism in our country before and after 1990s, economic crisis reached an intense state. Exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination on oppressed classes of workers, peasants, middle class, national bourgeoisie, women, Dalits, tribal people, oppressed sections like religious minorities and the nationalities of Kashmir and North East took a severe form. Due to the changes that took place in Indian economy for the past seven decades, briefly these are the changes in the situation of the forces of production, in the relations of production, in the relations between different classes and in class contradictions –

1. According to the Bombay plan the comprador governments in the centre and states took up several plans and policies favorable to imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes. These policies were institutionalized during the period of globalization.

Global finance capital created seven severe crises that destructs the oppressed nationalities and people living on the earth in several sectors – economic crisis, employment crisis, environment/ecological crisis, fuel crisis, the crisis of forcible migration, socio-cultural crisis, politico-military crisis. The dependence, slavery and loot of the backward countries intensified. Economic inequalities reached the peak. Poverty, unemployment, hunger, lack of clean air and water, violation of fundamental and civil rights, punishments and tortures are on the rise. The number of deceased injured and displaced due to wars and violent conflicts rose to scores of lakhs.

As a part of it the country was made more dependent by allowing complete foreign partnership in domestic industries, the uncontrollable exchange of global finance capital and control of imperialist MNC/enterprises on these and by dependence on foreign technology. Imperialist international monopolies and their comprador companies in the country constantly loot the labor power, products, services, especially the raw material in the export based, import based industries, especially in the outsourcing industries and agri-business companies. Joint ventures with the MNCs and TNCs of various imperialist countries, foreign ancillary industries, foreign investments, 'aid', grants and loans grew. Rupee severely lost its value.

The exploitive policy of Public-Private partnership (PPP) was further expanded and implemented. This constitutes the implementation of flagship projects (Bharatmala scheme, Sagarmala scheme, special transport corridor scheme and other such). This is part of the concept of transport oriented development created by the global finance capitalists. The international monopoly enterprises and its comprador companies are severely exploiting the workers and earning super profits by establishing startup companies and light asset model companies along with the PPP project companies.

Large scale de-industrialisation and de-regulation in the organised sector and disinvestment in public sector are putting these sectors in decline. Unorganized sector and private sector became important. The real wages of workers are witnessing severe fall. The rights they achieved through struggle are violated. Casualization and contractisation of workers rose in a big way. A large number of them are working as bonded labor in medieval working conditions. Although statistics show that more than 50 percent obtained self-employment, in fact all of them are suffocated with semi-employment.

After the transfer of power the share of agriculture and its related sectors in GDP fell from 50 percent to 14.4 percent and it suffered heavy structural changes. At the same time the share of manufacturing sector in the GDP of the country is the lowest in Asian coun-

tries at 31.4 percent. Even without adding the agricultural laborers coming from rural areas in the GDP, the service sector extremely swelled, its share rising to 54.1 percent in GDP.

Agricultural products, half completed goods constitute a major part of the exports from the country. Imports mostly include completed industrial products from the US, Russia, Europe, China, Japan and other imperialist countries.

2. The land in the rural areas is much more bound in the hands of these. Although there is change in the earlier forms related to centralization of land, it rose in new forms. This is clear from the official statistics of the government. In 1970-71 the 3.9 percent landlord families out of the total agrarian families owned 5 crore hectares or 12.5 crore acres of land. As per the 70th round NSS in 2012-13, 7 percent rural elite own nearly half of the cultivable land. According to 2015 socio-economic survey, 55 percent of the land is centralized in the hands of the 10 percent landlords. Various studies prove that during the past seven decades, the old and the new feudal, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois ruling classes grabbed uncountable crores of hectares of land in new forms. These three big mountains are obstructing the development of forces of production in the country.
3. When compared with the British period, capitalist relations took uglier form in the past seven decades. There were considerable changes in semi-feudalism. Government reforms and various revolutionary, democratic struggles brought a change in feudal exploitation, forms of exploitation and the rural class composition. New forces became part of the feudal forces that brought a change in the feudal hegemony. Government, Non-government 'party-cooperative-panchayat-police' networks collaborated and took a new feudal form. New forms of exploitation came forth.
4. As a result of the imperialist sponsored economic policies adopted by the comprador ruling classes after the transfer of power, before and after 'green revolution', agricultural and the related sectors of agriculture fell in severe crisis. Modern agricultural methods came

into practice in considerable areas in the past seven decades. The utilisation of machines increased. As a result of all these, the exploitation, oppression and suppression by the imperialists and the comprador rulers rose further basing on the semi-feudal relations in agriculture. The country became more dependent due to the increased hold of imperialism. Agriculture fell in irrecoverable crisis. This led to increasing fragmentation of agricultural land holdings. In 1970-71, the total land holdings were 7.1 crores that increased to 8.89 crores in 1980-81. In 1990-91 it rose to 10.53 crores. The 59th round of NSS in 2002-03 showed the total land at 10,72,28,000 hectares and average land holding at 0.725 hectares. According to the 70th NSS in 2012-13, the average land of agrarian families to the assessed 9,23,69,000 hectares of total land decreased to 0.592 hectares.

The number of small land holdings and production of ordinary crops in the agricultural sector is growing. When compared with the capitalist countries productivity is very low in big land holdings also. This is the main criterion for semi-feudal relations and backward semi-feudal mode of production. It is not possible to transform into capitalism. As Lenin said, there is no such process in our country for the growth of capitalism so as to create big land holdings and to socialise the scattered labor through those.

5. There were considerable changes in the class composition in the peasantry in rural India for the past seven decades. In 1961 the total landless agricultural laborers of the country were 24.04 percent. This number rose to 46 percent by 1991. After globalization, the number of peasantry that lost lands due to imperialist onslaught and transformed into agricultural laborers, migrant semi-workers and 'rural reserve of unemployed' is on the rise. This reached 57 percent in 2001. It rose from 60.1 percent in 2002-03 to 66.1 percent in 2012-13. Landless farmers were high in number in few places. According to the socio-economic survey in 2015, 54.38 percent families have one meal a day. Their immediate demand and war slogan is 'land to the tiller' even now. Poor and middle class tenants are in

the front line in this.

We see a rise in wage labor in agriculture and agriculture related sectors in the past seven decades. The number of agricultural wage laborers and semi-workers rose. Some think apparently that feudal exploitation took capitalist form in the rural areas. In fact the wages of the semi-workers and that of the modern proletariat in the industries are absolutely different. No recommendations of wage board apply to the wage laborers/semi-workers. Therefore, this change cannot undermine the present semi-feudal exploitation. The wage labor contract between the hegemonic caste landlord and the Dalit landless laborer is of semi-feudal origin. This is at a time a base for economic and non-economic exploitation and oppression. This caste-class oppression is still prevalent in the rural areas.

Various kinds of semi-workers working in agriculture related sectors, professional experts and self-employed persons also were affected with the domestic market crisis and face severe problem for employment.

As toilers and farmers women, Dalits and tribal people face severe exploitation, oppression and discrimination from these three big mountains. At the same time they even now face several severe social problems. They are entwined with class struggle and New Democratic Revolution.

The policies of the comprador rulers in the past seven decades after transfer of power fulfill only the interests of foreign MNCs and the domestic corporate companies and big landlords that are in collaboration with them. Food crops became less in number and commercial crops became more. Thus the exploitation of the imperialist MNCs, agri-business companies and its comprador companies, the prevalence of forward or the future trading in agriculture markets, comprador exploitation took a severe form. The rate of crop is less when the farmer obtains crop and it is many times high when it goes into the hands of the traders. Land question, tenancy question, question of remunerative prices, forcible displacement question and the question of agriculture related sectors pushed agricul-

ture into irrecoverable crisis. The average monthly income of the poor and middle class peasant families is lesser than the minimum wage set by the government. This is leading the middle class peasantry to bankruptcy and their number is dwindling day by day. The rich peasants are also severely affected from agrarian crisis. So, the growth of the forces of production came to a standstill and they are destroyed in a big way. There is more number of suicides of farmers in places where commercial crops spread more.

According to the 2015 socio-economic survey rural population constitutes 74 percent of the total population of the country. Sixty percent of the population is dependent on agriculture. Farmers, agricultural laborers and semi-workers are the majority of the producers and industrial workers the minority; the present forces of production are being destroyed (closure of industries, agrarian crisis especially the suicides of farmers); that clearly shows that Indian economy is yet in the backward semi-feudal condition.

The schemes the comprador rulers took up after transfer of power to revive the small scale industries, cottage industries and other such things that were destroyed during the British imperialist rule are limited to superficial changes. The handicrafts that have been providing employment in the rural economy and playing an important role reached the stage of extinction in the past seven decades.

6. The acts to eradicate tenancy and other reform programs after the transfer of power did not achieve anything. The earlier forms of exploitation of direct tenancy prevail. Few changed in form but not in content. Especially we see the 'revival of tenancy policy' in post reform period. The poor and the middle class farmers that are forming into the 'rural reserve of unemployed' day by day depend on tenant cultivation for livelihood. The inevitability to do tenant cultivation and the entwinement of the state power in the semi-feudal society with the feudal forces of the village and the government-police-judiciary organs allows the cruel feudal exploitation and bonded labor. On the other hand the 'reverse tenancy' of lands by the landlords and rich peasants is widely practiced as a new form of

exploitation of the poor peasantry.

7. The feudal non-economic forms of exploitation unleashed on the peasantry earlier to globalization are still in practice. Especially bonded labor, semi-bonded labor and neo-bonded labor of Dalit people are continuing in various forms. Caste based Brahmanism is yet alive in the rural areas and especially the Dalits suffer from severe exploitation and oppression.

Intense exploitation of money-lending is going on in various forms. In the name of loans not only the landlords, money-lenders and market traders, but the various government and non-government finance institutions and other such things severely exploit the peasantry. During the period of neo-liberalisation the investment and loans from the government to agriculture is going down. This gave new momentum to money-lending.

8. Contract-corporate agriculture is gradually spreading. The imperialists and their comprador agri-business companies grab the entire lands of the peasants and transform them into agricultural laborers in their own lands.
9. Brahmanic Hindutwa communalism spread in a big way in the country in the past seven decades. Starting from the massacre of lakhs of Muslim people during partition in 1947, it unleashed several massacres, atrocities, putting in flames, destruction of properties and loot in Ahmedabad (1969), Bhivandi in Maharashtra (1970), Tellacheri in Kerala (1971), Jamshedpur in Jharkhand (earlier Bihar) (1979), Bhagalpur in Bihar, Meerut in Uttar Pradesh (1980), Tamilnadu (1982), demolition of Babri Masjid (1992), Gujarat (2002), Kandamal of Odisha (2008), Uttar Pradesh (2013), Hindutwa forces coming to power for the first time in 2000, second time in 2014 and the third time in 2019, inhuman mob lynching murders on Muslims, Dalits and tribal people and the judgment of the Supreme Court in favor of construction of Ram Mandir in the site of Babri Masjid in 2019 November. These frenzy violent attacks mainly affected the Muslim religious minorities. Dalits, tribal people and women and also the Christians faced severe losses. The Congress and the BJP

governments put aside the report of Sachar commission regarding the conditions of Muslims. The Hindutwa forces went much ahead with the objective to transform the country into a Hindutwa state. We have to remember that all this is dictated by the global finance capital. The aim of finance capital is to facilitate the way to its exploitation by strengthening fascism in the country and by establishing fascist ideology and its hegemony in all the sectors of the country.

10. The hierarchical caste system based on the Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology is integral to the semi-feudal relations in India. The oppressor castes unleash Manudharm in the rural and urban areas under the leadership of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal forces. Suppression, oppression, discrimination, untouchability, forms of social boycott, direct violence, massacres, setting ablaze alive, sexual atrocities on women, burning the houses, destruction of properties and loot of the oppressed/Dalit caste/tribal people has become a normal feature. Belchi (Bihar), Keelavenmani (Tamilnadu), Bathanitola (Bihar), Karamchedu, Neerukonda, Chundur, Sompeta of Andhra Pradesh, Khairlanji, Jeevkhedda and other incidents in Maharashtra, the massacres before and after Bhima Koregaon, Oona atrocity in Gujarat are a few examples of this situation. Brahmanic forces unleash hegemony in educational institutions of the primary level to the highest level and in the Universities. The syllabus is Brahmanised. As a result students are murdered, they are committing suicides, there are threats, murders and attacks on Dabholkar, Pansare, Kalburgi, Gowri Lankesh and other such progressive, secular beings. The countrywide protest after the suicide of Rohit Vemula and several such protest demonstrations expose the barbarity of Brahmanic Hindutwa.
11. Discrimination in education, health, residence, division of work/labor, social status of oppressed castes, ownership of property and other such things and patriarchy towards women is still glaring. In the name of 'Ek Bharath, sresht Bharat' to transform the country into Brahmanic Hindutwa state and establish 'Akhand Bharat' there

are relentless attacks on the religious minorities, especially the Muslims and Christians and on the nationalities in Kashmir and North East fighting with the aspirations of nationality liberation. This is a part of the same. The frenzy violent attacks of the dominant caste feudal forces out of intolerance towards the rising progressive, democratic consciousness among the oppressed/Dalit castes/tribal people, minorities and oppressed nationalities against the hegemony and atrocities of Brahmanic Hindutwa led to severe suppression, oppression and discrimination on several occasions.

Changes due to class struggle

There were certain important changes in various sectors of the country after transfer of power in 1947. Also, there were considerable changes in the various states/areas of revolutionary movement as a result of intense anti-imperialist, anti-government movements in addition to the anti-feudal class struggles in the leadership of our Party in the past five decades. The countrywide anti-feudal armed peasant struggles that took place as a part of the surge of Naxalbari Armed peasant rebellion in the second half of 1960s and the first half of 1970s showed intense impact on the social order of the country. Later another such wave of armed peasant struggles took place in the end of 1970s. The nature of the class struggles that took place as a part of it and the resulting changes in Bihar, in few areas of Jharkhand, few areas of Telangana, Rayalaseema, the north and south coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Odisha and Maharashtra where feudal relations are strong, is almost similar. Similarly the social condition, terrain, the nature of the class struggles and the changes in the tribal areas in Jharkhand, Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra), Visakhapatnam, East Godavari Manyam agency of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, West Bengal and Odisha are fundamentally alike.

A new landlord class took birth from the anti-feudal class struggles in areas where the feudal relations are strong. The old landlords shifted their properties and investments to the urban areas. Many of the old landlord families settled in government and private top

posts in urban areas. The number of landlords dependent on agriculture and their role in the rural life gradually decreased and the hegemony of cultivating and non-cultivating rural gentry took the place in these areas. Land was mainly concentrated in their hands. They brought forth several new methods/policies of exploiting the peasantry. Earlier, in addition to many kinds of non-economic forms of exploitation, the landlord class gained surplus by exploiting the peasantry through collecting illicit taxes, seizing several kinds of lands and other such forms. As mentioned above, due to the changes in conditions that took place in the society and as a result of the class struggle, the above forms weakened and many new forms of exploitation came forth. There are considerable changes in the class composition in the villages and distorted capitalist relations are spreading in production. Semi-feudal relations relatively weakened. Earlier to 1990s, class struggle took place normally between the landlords of the oppressor castes, one or two big landlords, few families of the oppressor castes propped by them and their compradors on one side and the broad masses on the other. We almost do not see this condition in the later period. Few of the earlier landlords and the rich and middle class peasantry developed into new landlords and are unleashing hegemony in the villages. They are looting the surplus of the rural economy together with the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic capitalists with the support of the state. Today we need to aim the class struggle against this alliance.

We seized forest lands, we seized the surplus lands in the possession of non-tribal, tribal landlords and evil gentry, we suppressed a few landlords, heads of evil gentry, hierarchs and informers who were anti-people, class enemies and anti-revolutionary movement and gave a blow to the exploitation and oppression of the forest and revenue departments in the tribal areas where revolutionary movement is strong. People doing bonded labor for the tribal heads and gentry had stopped. Money-lending and the exploitation of traders in the weekly market was contained. The exploitation of landlords

and tribal heads was lessened. The method of wage laborer is almost not seen. On the other hand, during the same time, there were struggles against the imperialists, the public and private capital, state and their compradors in various such areas in the past two to two and a half decades. As the Revolutionary Peasant Committees/Agriculture labor organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees were being formed, consolidated and spreading, these stopped and controlled the exploitation and oppression of landlords, money-lenders, rich peasants and other such exploitive forces. Thus there were certain considerable changes in class composition in these areas. As a result of class struggle and the economic and political policies that the RPCs implemented, there are no landlords or their number considerably lessened in the areas of strong revolutionary movement. A new counter-revolutionary alliance entwined with old and new landlords, imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie emerged with the support of the state. The numbers of poor peasantry decreased and that of middle class peasantry increased in the rural economy. However, poor peasantry is yet the highest in class composition. As a result of globalisation policies and due to the implementation of class struggle-people's state power, a petty bourgeois section constituting middle class-student-employees rose. On the other hand, migrant workers and unorganised workers are rising. The exploitation of traders is increasing. The exploitation and oppression of imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalists are rising.

We cannot separate the changes that took and are taking place in all the areas where the imperialist capital penetrated the social system of the country, especially the changes after the globalisation policies were introduced and the changes that are taking place as a result of class struggle. However, in places of intense class struggle, it showed vital impact on the changes in various sectors of the social system. Revolutionary movement temporarily weakened in areas of earlier intense class struggle because of our shortcomings in taking up class struggle with appropriate tactics due to the counter-

revolutionary offensives unleashed by the central and the state governments and the change in social conditions. We witness a speedy process of rise and growth in new landlord class and new exploitive forces and in establishing their hegemony in such areas. Therefore it is immediately necessary to formulate and implement a concrete program of class struggle with proper tactics in the present areas of the revolutionary movement against the old and the new exploitive forces, keeping in view the changes in the social conditions in the past 7 decades and especially the changes that took place as a result of class struggles in the leadership of our party.

The immediate task is to eliminate the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and establish New Democratic system

Before synthesizing the mode of production in India, let us see what the document on 'The Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' that the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress (2007) passed, said about the three great mountains, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes –

"Imperialism plunders the country's land, labour, raw materials, and other natural resources. It earns super-profits through ruthless exploitation by various means. It subjugates the entire economy, polity, military and culture of India; destroys indigenous industry particularly the small and medium industries, throws out millions of workers into the streets and hinders the free and independent development of the national economy.

Comprador bureaucrat capitalism collaborates with imperialism and allies itself with feudalism. It destroys the small and medium industries, oppresses not only the working class, peasantry and other toiling masses but also the national bourgeoisie.

Caste-based brahminical feudalism acts as fetter on the development of the productive forces by holding down the vast majority of the Indian people under backward relations of production. Economically, it keeps the overwhelming majority of the people in dire poverty and destitution, and depresses their purchasing power. It thereby, restricts the growth of the home market, retards industrial development and leads to massive unemployment and stagnation of the economy. Politically, it suppresses

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the democratic rights of the masses and in some places, even creates a 'state within a state' i.e. a parallel landlord raj in the rural areas with their own private armies or with the support of state-hired armed mercenaries. It keeps the peasantry in perpetual subjugation and bondage. Socially and ideologically, Brahminism and the caste system brings an added oppression to the lower castes and dalits. With Dalits it takes the inhuman form of untouchability. These also act as measures for extra-economic forms of extracting surplus by the feudal interests.

These three big mountains that are weighing down the backs of the Indian people should be smashed in order to build the new democratic society".

The present document detailed the changes that took place in the social system of the country, especially in all the sectors in the rural agrarian sector after the transfer of power, especially from the 1990s to the present time. A synthesis of these developments and changes makes clear that the above statement is totally correct even now.

As per the changes in the past seven decades, it is undoubted that Indian economy is neither capitalist nor in the path of transformation into a capitalist society, that there is no such democratic trend in the country and that on the contrary semi-feudal relations relatively weakened. Land question is still the main question in the vast rural areas and revolutionary land reforms on the basis of land to the tiller is yet the most important and relevant issue. The average agrarian statistics and the village surveys of academicians reveal these aspects. The peasant struggles that took place/are taking place extensively in most of the states all over the country in the leadership of the revolutionary and democratic forces for land is a clear example for this. The experience of West Bengal shows that even if land reforms and tenancy reforms are done, without the elimination of the exploitation of the three big mountains and establishing New Democratic system under the leadership of the oppressed classes in the dictatorship of the proletariat, they will not be of much help.

Imperialism has been obstructing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal economic system in our country from developing independently for the past seven decades. It transformed our country further into an ancillary

economy to the imperialist economy. The colonial, financial economic relations of our country with the imperialist countries before the transfer of power further spread. Imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes collaborate to exploit the natural wealth and the labor power of the oppressed people of our country in a big way. Imperialist finance capital grew like a big spectre. It is grabbing a major share of the surplus in the industrial, agrarian and service sectors. Especially it is maintaining its control on the economy through unequal trade, direct investments and loans in the agrarian, industrial and service sectors. The foreign MNCs and comprador ruling classes are earning super profits not only out of the cheap labor power of the workers and employees in tea, coffee, rubber, sugarcane and coconut plantations but also from the export of raw material, the sale of the imports from imperialist countries and through giving their agricultural lands for rent. Except for a few big light manufacturing companies, all the transactions of these companies are centralized in trade related aspects and not in manufacturing. These light manufacturing industries are also not 'make in India' industries but 'assembled in India', i.e. import based industries. All these objectively prove that like during the British rule India is yet an imperialist market. All these are semi-colonial, semi-feudal characteristics.

The bureaucratic control of banks/cooperatives, money-lenders, traders and various finance enterprises on the major part of the surplus created in agriculture is obstructing the accumulation of capital. There is no question of fulfilling the condition for capitalist reproduction. The semi-feudal relations obstruct capitalism to grow from the lower level. Money-lending and commercial investment grabs the agricultural products/goods of the farmers but not the process of production. This process binds the farmers in semi-feudal relations. It gains control over their labor power and neither transforms them into workers nor gives the opportunity to become capitalists.

There is no truth in the propaganda of the comprador ruling classes that they are developing capitalism in the country, that the large scale foreign investments are considerably developing the economy of the country and that the Gross National Product of the country raised very

high. Capitalism keeps the entire wealth of the society in the hands of the capitalists and extracts surplus value to the maximum extent from the rest of the toiling people and earns super profits. It does not bring any kind of progress to the worker, peasant, middle class and other oppressed classes but gives only difficulties, tears and utter poverty. This is the history of capitalism. Therefore, however much capitalist growth is shown by the comprador rulers, however ugly its form might be, it fulfills the interests of the capitalists but not the toiling masses.

Lenin formulated two chances related to capitalist transformation. Capitalist transformation takes place as a result of the transformation of feudal economic system (capitalism from the above) or through the elimination of feudal estates (capitalism from the below). But in India capitalist transformation took place in none of the two ways. Therefore the argument that 'capitalism developed from above' in India, that the Indian ruling classes are independent, they adopted the method of 'compromise, bargain' with the imperialist countries and are gaining hold on the economy of the country is not at all an objective reality. It is an objective fact that global finance capital is thousand times more powerful than the Indian comprador ruling classes. Their historic collaboration with global finance capital is an undisputed fact.

British colonialism preserved feudalism in India according to its interests and utilized it as its social prop. It did not fundamentally change the giant hold of feudalism on the vast peasant masses but it also squeezed them and introduced capitalist relations. This resulted in the formation of semi-feudal relations of production. Even after the end of direct colonial rule these semi-feudal relations of production continued. Imperialism is utilizing both comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism to unleash its neo-colonial kind of direct rule, exploitation and hegemony on India. It destroyed the domestic market and pushed the country into economic crisis. If we synthesise the developments and changes in the past seven decades, it clearly shows that the exploitation of the landlords, money-lenders and merchant classes on the vast people in the extensive rural area is going on unceasing due to these three big mountains, the enemies of the people of the country.

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It is not correct to hypothesise that Indian economy is 'on the verge of capitalism', that it is 'semi-capitalism' and 'capitalism under transformation'. Such a hypothesis will understate the semi-feudalism that is still unleashing state power in our country and is strong and decisive. It will also understate the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks of the national democratic revolutions in the era of imperialism and proletariat revolutions. It will ultimately push into confusion about the path to be followed by the struggling revolutionary forces and the tactics to be adopted for a total change in the system. So these hypotheses are not correct. They do enormous harm to the New Democratic Revolution of India.

The hunt of global finance capital for super profits is destroying the lives of the entire proletariat, peasant, middle class and national bourgeoisie and other oppressed classes, sections and nationalities and is making a cruel attack on them. For this purpose it is bringing fascist parties to power in the backward countries. In this background the Narendra Modi government under the leadership of the fascist BJP with Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology took up power in the centre in our country and is unleashing severe fascist offensive on the people for the past six years. It is spending crores of rupees to arrange CCTV surveillance cameras all over the country for several surveillance products in the name of providing security for the people and their properties. It is mobilizing all kinds of data. It is monitoring communications. Imperialists and their comprador rulers are bringing forth undemocratic, anti-people acts to suppress revolutionary movements, democratic movements and protests of the people. They are militarizing the police forces. They are deploying police, Para-military, Commando and Military forces and are making inhuman attacks on the movements. The police firing on the people's agitation against the sterlite plant in Tamilnadu, the transformation of Kashmir into a concentration camp, firing on Dalits, farmers and students in several areas of the country are recent examples. There are more attacks on the Dalits in Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh and on the tribal people in the North eastern states, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Telangana, Maharashtra

and Madhya Pradesh. The oppressed people of the world and our country are taking up large scale protest against the imperialists and their comprador fascist rulers. Liberal democrats unable to understand the relation between the politics of globalization and economy preach post-modernism and look them separately. The NGOs bring forth legalism, reformism and economism and liquidate the struggle spirit of the people. Various kinds of revisionists see the form and not the content and divert the people politically. They liquidate the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles. They conceal the necessity of a total change of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society.

In fact the four major contradictions in our country further intensified in the past seven decades – 1. The contradiction between imperialism and Indian people 2. The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses 3. The contradiction between capital and labor 4. The internal contradictions among the ruling classes. The first two contradictions are still the fundamental contradictions out of which the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses is yet the principal contradiction. Caste question, women's question, tribal question, the question of religious minorities, especially the question of Muslim people and nationality question are the other contradictions in Indian society. Other major questions include environment question, the question of small industries, the question of contract labor, of child labor, of unemployment, of reservation, of education and health, of backward areas, of civil rights, of the old-orphans-physically and mentally handicapped and those with other defects, the question of share of river waters and border question. The decaying semi-colonial, semi-feudal system cannot solve these contradictions or the vital questions. It cannot develop the country.

Therefore, in order to accomplish the tasks of the incomplete national democratic revolution in India, to establish New Democratic system with the objective to establish Socialism-Communism, we have to depower the outdated semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and definitely end the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the three big mountains – imperialism,, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes that stood as the burden on the shoulders of the Indian masses. New Democratic

Revolution with the axle of Agrarian Revolution on the basis of land to the tiller is the only way. It follows the path of Protracted People's War. Proletariat will lead this revolution. Peasantry shall be the main force in this revolution. Middle class (petty bourgeoisie) shall be a reliable friendly force. National bourgeoisie shall be a vacillating friendly force. India achieves liberation from the exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic big capital only through this revolution.

Our Political Program

We have until now discussed in detail the changes in the Indian society and the present concrete situation. We saw that although there were several considerable changes in social, economic, political, cultural, environmental and other such aspects in the past 72 years, there is yet no fundamental change in the framework of semi-colonial, semi-feudal class relations in the country. The utmost vital issue is to clearly understand who shall become our friends and who the enemy classes in the Indian New Democratic Revolution owing to these changes. If we view the changes that took place in the mode of production in India in the past 72 years, we see clearly that there is no fundamental change in the revolutionary character of India or in the friendly classes and enemy classes and that, the major aspects the documents 'Party Program' and 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' enriched by the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our party mentioned regarding the fundamental aspects related to Indian Revolution, are yet fundamentally correct.

However, in the overall imperialist era, especially in the neo-colonial period and especially during the period of globalisation, several considerable changes took place at a fast pace in various sectors in the international and domestic level. These changes led to transformations and polarizations in class relations all over the world in varied levels. Since the global economic/financial order is more centralized in the hands of a few imperialist institutions/countries and wealth and political power is centralized in the hands of their big compradors, the number of oppressed nationalities, classes and sections rose very high. There were polarisations in these and the exploitative classes also. With modern technology and modern instruments of production taking the place of the old processes

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of production in the industrial, agrarian and service sectors in many places, various kinds of new professions, and workers, semi-workers, employees, operators, technologists and officers working in these sectors came into existence.

When we observe these changes, we understand that these do not fundamentally affect the general political line and the line of Protracted People's War that our Party formulated basing on the social changes during the era of imperialism, especially during the neo-colonial period all over the world and as a part of it, especially those until the great Naxalbari revolutionary spate in our country, enriched by the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress in view of the changes in the later period, but shall further intricate the implementation of our line. We also understand that we will have to creatively implement our politico-military line according to the social changes that took place in our country and learning from the experiences of social revolution, that it is necessary to adopt our strategic plans so as to fulfill our tasks of politico-military tactics according to these changes and formulate our strategic plans and that we will have to considerably develop new tactics according to the changed conditions. Only if we unite entire friends against the common enemies corresponding to these changes, it will be possible to isolate the enemy forces from the friendly forces and defeat them.

Comrade Stalin said thus about Strategy-Tactics –

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution. (*The Foundations of Leninism, VII-Strategy and Tactics, point no.2*).

'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution', the document ratified in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our Party said that – 'The Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution should be formulated by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism Maoism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country (*P 1*).

"The political strategy for the Indian democratic revolution arises from

the concrete class analysis of the present-day Indian society. It is the task of political strategy to distinguish real friends from real enemies of the proletariat in the present stage of the Indian Revolution (*P 2*).

"The military strategy has to be formulated basing on the specific characteristics of the revolutionary war in India. These characteristics determine the military strategy to be one of protracted people's war, as enunciated by comrade Mao-of establishing revolutionary base areas first in the countryside where the enemy is relatively weak and then to gradually encircle and capture the cities which are the bastions of the enemy forces (*P 3*).

"The principal characteristics of India's revolutionary war are - 1. India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with uneven political, economic and social development, with favourable terrain for guerrilla warfare, that has witnessed a long period of armed struggle by the peasantry and also now witnessing the ongoing agrarian revolutionary guerilla struggle in which the peasantry is playing a heroic role. 2. Our enemy is big and powerful having centralized state machinery and a well-equipped modern army. 3. The Communist Party, the guerilla army and the agrarian revolutionary movement in India are still weak. 4. Our country is a prison-house of nationalities where some nationalities are engaged in bitter struggles against the Indian state to achieve their right to self-determination. Since it is the above principal characteristics that determine the line for guiding India's revolutionary war as well as many of its strategic and tactical principles... (*P 20*) "The above four principal characteristics determine the line for guiding India's revolutionary war as well as many of its strategic and tactical principles. It follows from the first and fourth characteristics that it is possible for our Party and People's army to grow and defeat the enemy. However, it also follows from the second and third characteristics that it is impossible for our Party and our People's army to grow very rapidly or defeat our enemy quickly. Hence the revolutionary war in India will be of protracted nature (*P 23*).

"There is relatively more industrial development, capitalist relations in agriculture and better transport and communication facilities, and because the Indian government has a strong centralised administrative

system with a very big modern army when compared to pre-revolutionary China. These arguments are wrong. However strong the enemy's military power may be and however weak the people's military power, by basing ourselves on the vast backward countryside-the weakest position of the enemy-and relying on the vast masses of the peasantry, eager for agrarian revolution, and creatively following the flexible strategy and tactics of guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war, - as a full meal is eaten up mouthful by mouthful, exactly in the same way, - by applying the best part of our army (a force few times stronger than that of the enemy) against different single parts of the enemy forces and following the policy and tactics of sudden attack and annihilation, it is absolutely possible to defeat the enemy forces and achieve victory for the people in single battles. It is thus possible to increase the people's armed forces, attain supremacy over the enemy's forces and defeat the enemy decisively (*P 23-24*).

"While taking into account factors favourable to the enemy, we must, in the course of carrying out the protracted people's war, take many more precautions and we should establish liberated areas by developing guerrilla zones keeping in mind that it is not possible to build liberated areas in quick succession... Thus the factors favourable to the enemy cannot change the protracted nature of the Indian revolutionary war which ensues from the principal characteristics of our country, as well as from the lessons drawn from the Chinese and Russian revolutions, and mainly from the Chinese Revolution (*P 24*).

"Whereas the Strategy of the Indian Revolution remains the same throughout the country, the uneven economic, political, social and cultural development in the country the fighting zeal and the level of consciousness of the people and the ebb and flow of the movement underscore the need for different tactics, which are obviously subordinate to strategy, to be pursued in different region at any given time. The intensity of class struggle in various regions and the uneven economic, political, social and cultural development should be concretely analysed in the respective areas and basing on that analysis, tactics (i.e., forms of struggle and forms of organisation) should be formulated. Along with these different tactics for

different regions, common political tactical slogans for the entire country should also be formulated from time to time to mobilise the entire people of the country on specific issues (P 3).

The quote of Comrade Stalin on strategy and tactics and the quotations mentioned from our document are correct even now. However, certain unfavorable conditions have been coming forth in the past 14 years due to the intense offensive of the counter revolutionary exploitive ruling classes on all sectors of the revolutionary movement, especially on the strategic areas with strategic plans like the 'Operation Green Hunt' and 'SAMADHAN' all over the country and also due to our subjective mistakes. The enemy understood the role of leadership of the Party in revolution and is concentrating on making constant attacks to give a blow to the leadership and the activists of the party and to divert the people from the revolutionary movement. Nearly 6 lakhs of mercenary armed forces are deployed in all the areas of the movement for their reactionary war. This is leading to complex conditions in the revolutionary movement of our country. Certain new problems are coming forth. In view of these factors there is a dire need to immediately develop appropriate politico-military tactics to lead Protracted People's War successfully.

'Uneven economic and political development and the semi-colonial, semi-feudal character of Indian Society is the most important characteristic that basically determines our political strategy and tactics as well as our military strategy and tactics' mentioned our Party document on 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' (P20). As we observe the changes in relations of production, we also need to observe the changes occurring in the above mentioned first main characteristic feature of Indian revolutionary war. As a part of it we have to observe the fascising Indian state and also the changes taking place in the terrain.

The Indian comprador ruling classes has been unleashing counter-insurgency and counter-revolutionary operations to suppress the communist revolutionary movements and the nationality liberation movements since the transfer of power. They formulated the theory of sub-conventional warfare during the period of globalisation by applying the imperialist sponsored LIC that is the theoretical framework to the

concrete conditions of our country. They know that the people would protest, resist, rebel and make nationality liberation and revolutionary struggles against their anti-people, traitorous policies and established and is daily expanding and modernising civil, police, intelligence and military systems with the strategic view to nip them in the bud. There is vigil on the daily activities and movements of the people of the country and the enemy is developing surveillance and intelligence systems to control civil life with a strategic view to suppress the people's struggles even before they develop/in the process of developing into an organised force. Infrastructure such as road, rail, transport, communication and information networks are strengthened even in the rural areas in their and the imperialist economic, political interests. This is leading to several changes in the terrain in the strategic areas. These are strategic factors.

The fascisation of the Indian state and the changes in the terrain are also affecting the characteristic features of the Indian revolutionary war. It is essential to make appropriate changes in tactics with a strategic view according to these changes. It is essential to develop tactics to make class struggle-guerilla war according to these changes. Therefore it is essential to build and strengthen a secret Party invincible to the enemy in the urban, plain and forest areas so as it provides efficient leadership to the revolutionary movement as per the changed conditions, enhance our effort in the United Front so as to mobilise and consolidate the people in class struggles and to develop PLGA so that it can continue extensive and intense guerilla war corresponding to the changed conditions.

The positive experiences in People's War in the past 14 years and especially in the past 10 years of the difficult situation prove that although the revolutionary movement is in a difficult situation, it is possible to unite the oppressed classes and sections and oppressed nationalities and take up revolutionary, democratic and nationality liberation movements on a broad basis basing on the experiences of our party in participating and building various people's agitations and movements all over the country and it is also possible to develop the tactics of guerilla war basing on our subjective strength, formations and terrain in the areas of the movement. Our Party, PLGA and United Front are tempered with several experiences

in the political, military, organizational and cultural effort. Such tempered party committees, commissions and commands are leading the People's War. Similarly the domestic and international political and economic crisis; the spate of people's struggles going on all over the world; and the upcoming spate of worldwide revolutions shall pose the utmost severe challenge to the imperialists and their compradors although the Maoist revolutionary parties and forces in the world are weak. These are severe unfavorable factors to our enemies and very favorable for us.

We must develop tactics keeping in view these objective and subjective favorable and unfavorable factors and make political, military, organizational and cultural effort in the party, people's army and among the people. We must unite and consolidate politically in class struggle – the vast peasantry that are unable to live on agriculture and or to obtain work in the urban areas and suffering from severe discontent; the workers, semi-workers, student-youth, intellectuals, poets and artists; the Dalits and tribal people that are losing their survival, identity and self-respect due to displacement; the government and private employees and other middle class sections that lack security of life due to the policies of imperialist globalisation; the women suffocated with the chains of feudal and patriarchal shackles – that are facing the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the three big mountains – imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes that are taking the country towards heavy devastation. We have to support the nationality liberation struggles fighting for the right to secession including the right to self-determination, become part of those and lead them in the leadership of the proletariat. We have to mobilise the entire secular, progressive and patriotic forces of the country including the religious minorities against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism that the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes are unleashing in order to continue their exploitation and oppression, against the militarization of the country and the state violence, against the bureaucratic and cruel laws, against the inhuman, cruel massacres and atrocities on the Muslims, other minorities, Dalits and the tribal people and against the massacres and atrocities on Maoist revolutionaries and struggling nationalities. We have to organise the

oppressed people on a broad basis for the preservation of environment. We have to unite all the oppressed people including the women against the ugly imperialist, feudal vicious culture and take up struggles. We have to become part of several such people's movements of our country, build them in several areas in the leadership of broad United Front and enhance broad, organised, militant mass base. Depending on this mass base we can develop the broad areas into red resistance areas, red resistance areas into guerilla zones, the PLGA into PLA and the more favorable guerilla zones into liberated areas in a process working with the strategic view depending on the favorable and unfavorable conditions in the objective and subjective conditions. Thus we can certainly overcome unfavorable conditions and also advance the Protracted People's War.

So, we see that India with a population of 136 crore that is 19 percent of the world is expressing its anger and protest and is like a volcano ready to burst. The revolutionary (Maoist) forces that should utilize the favorable condition in the country and lead the revolution are still weak. In such a condition the comprador ruling class parties, various kinds of revisionists, post modernists and the NGOs that bring forth the argument of legalist struggle, the reformists and the economists are trying in all ways to reduce the heat and postpone this blast. However India has the potentiality to create thousands of new Bhagat Singhs and Chandrasekhar Azads. We see many such persons who joined the CPI (Maoist) and became martyrs working in various sectors denying death. The workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and other oppressed classes, sections and nationalities also have such latent potentiality to fight against the imperialists and comprador rulers.

Today, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class is working as an instrument to slave imperialism in our country. It makes use of the broad semi-feudal social basis to keep the people in bondage and unleashes its hegemony. They are traitors, disrupters and cruel enemies of the people. They are deceivers, liars and corrupt. They massacre the people, they are rapists and are absolutely useless. But they have the power and the instruments of production. They are ruling the country. Therefore our party has to provide efficient leadership to the revolution to firstly bring down

these traitors out of power in order to liberate our country.

New Democratic Revolution with the axle of Agrarian Revolution on the basis of land to the tiller is the only way for the peasantry

The comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and the big landlord classes that collaborated with the imperialists came to power in the name of fake independence on 15th August 1947. These three big mountains utilized the broad semi-feudal social basis and kept the people in bondages and they preserved and continued the hegemony of feudalism in the country. Therefore the comprador exploitive ruling classes could not develop industries in the country. They turned it into an indebted country and made the economic life of the country a centre of indiscriminate exploitation for the imperialists. These classes also became a hurdle for the development of agriculture in the country. Although agricultural production grew to an extent most of it reaches the go-downs of the landlords. It put the broad oppressed masses in the pangs of hunger. So, none of the following tasks of democratic revolution had been fulfilled –

- Seizure of land from the landlords without any compensation basing on ‘land to the tiller’.
- The redistribution of the lands of the landlords to the agricultural laborers, poor peasants and lower middle class peasants.
- Enhancing production to the maximum level utilizing modern machines and modern scientific knowledge in agriculture without harming the interests of the people.
- Industrialisation of the country basing on the principle of ‘basing on agriculture and keeping the industries in the leadership’ and the policy of ‘walking on two legs’.
- Encouraging and developing cooperative agricultural movement and agricultural cooperative organisations.
- Nationalization of imperialist institutions, companies, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class companies and government lands.
- Elimination of unemployment.

These tasks were not fulfilled because the big bourgeois class betrayed

the democratic revolution. History proved that 15th August 1947 is not the success of democratic revolution but it is the conspiracy of the comprador big bourgeois and feudal classes that collaborated with the imperialists. Therefore in order to liberate the oppressed people from the misery of intensifying poverty in the country we have to successfully make the New Democratic Revolution that can fulfill the above tasks. However the national bourgeois class lacks the strength to lead this revolution. Although this class is worried whenever it is hit by the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class, it does not have the strength. The proletariat alone can lead the revolution till the end. So the agricultural laborers and poor peasants that constitute 70 percent of the rural populace must unite under the leadership of the proletariat party.

Our party must mobilise the oppressed peasantry of the rural areas and make a concrete and clear study of the centralisation of land in each village and understand the concrete situation of class relations-class contradictions. The changes in the concentration of land in the past 72 years must be kept in mind. The rural population of our country has been depending on land for living even after 72 years. Even after 72 years, 54.38 percent of the rural families are suffering from lack of food and clothing. The main reason is because the landlords took away their lands and all these families lost their minimum livelihood. The centralisation of land might differ. But the families suffer deep poverty since the land is centralised in the lands of very few landlords in various forms. The government also did not dare to deny this. The Mahalanobis Committee stated in 1964 that in spite of the land ceiling acts there is no considerable decrease in the inequalities in the rural area.

A look into the past 72 years clearly shows that although there are quantitative changes there is no qualitative change.

So, there is no other way to change this horrible situation except for redistribution of the entire land on the basis of 'land to the tiller'. For this purpose, all the oppressed people must unite with the slogan of land to the tiller by eliminating feudalism. We must organise the agricultural laborers, the poor and the middle class peasantry and the friendly section of the rich peasantry of certain areas such as Punjab, Haryana and West

Uttar Pradesh where capitalist relations developed more, occupy the agricultural farms of the imperialist Multinational/Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois/government institutions and develop cooperative agriculture.

However, such redistribution of land and development of cooperative agriculture is not possible simply. The landlords who squeezed the blood of the oppressed people and accumulated the lands will not easily leave their lands. Moreover, the governments of various parties representing the landlords and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class support them with their lakhs of armies and protect the exploitation. The Telangana, Tebhaga, Naxalbari peasant struggles, several peasant movements, the present Bihar-Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh-Telangana, Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra), West Bengal, Odisha, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Kerala and other such armed peasant revolutions reveal the same. Therefore if all the oppressed people, especially the broad peasantry mobilise under the utmost revolutionary proletarian leadership of the society and take up armed struggle daringly and make the agrarian revolution successful, they can obtain land. History proved the fact that there is no other way. Therefore the entire rural peasantry must realise this historic necessity and come forth with arms. They have to build a people's army of their own. The oppressed of all castes must overcome the differences of caste created by the landlords and their government and unite. Every farmer and every laborer must be prepared to fight with the dare that it is better to die in struggle than out of hunger.

Similarly intellectuals who dream of genuine democracy, democrats having progressive ideas, revolutionary students and youth must shed revolutionary imagination and get down to revolutionary practice. Genuine democracy is not possible in any country where the 54 percent rural oppressed and the 80 crore people of the country are suffering from poverty. Therefore each and every one who dreams of democracy, all those against comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal classes must play their role successfully in making this agrarian revolution that is vital to the democratic revolution in India successful. Intellectuals, poets, singers, students and social activists must go among the rural oppressed people

and ignite revolutionary fire among them. They courageously come forward and turn the revolutionary fire of the oppressed peasantry all over the world into a wild fire to destroy feudalism that is in the way of the progress of the country. The path is tortuous but there is no other way.

We have analysed the changes in the relations of production in India in the past 7 decades. Basing on this analysis we need to develop the program of anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureraucrctic bourgeois, anti-feudal class struggle as per the changed social conditions and intensify it. As a result of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal policies that are being taken up for the past 73 years, with the impact of the class struggle that has been going on in the leadership of our Party for the past 52 years and especially due to the policies of imperialist globalisation that have been being unleashed especially for the past 3 decades, all over the country, semi-feudalism relatively weakened and in many areas distorted capitalist relations relatively rose. As a part of it in addition to the changes in economic, political, social and cultural aspects, the government machinery is gaining hold and expanding in the interior rural areas also. We must understand the unequal development of our country keeping all these in view. These changes will not qualitatively or fundamentally change the social nature of our country. Therefore ours is yet a semicolonial-semifeudal country. The fundamental nature of this system shall change only through New Democratic Revolution. In view of these changes we need to include two more categories in addition to the 5 categories mentioned in our document on 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution'. The 7 categories are -

1. Areas with hills, hillocks and forests.
2. Areas where semi-feudalism is yet relatively strong due to intense class contradictions struggle.
3. Areas where class contradictions are intense and semi-feudalism is relatively weak due to the globalisation policies and intense class struggles in the leadership of our party.
4. Areas where distorted capitalist relations are relatively strong.

5. Areas on the Sea-coast.

6. Suburban rural areas that are inseparably entwined with the economic life of the city.

7. Areas where there are mainly plantations.

(Out of these, the rural areas of the 3rd and the 7th categories are newly included).

This categorisation applies to the entire country, to all states and the border areas of states. Therefore the CC, SAC/SZC/SC must make a concrete observation into the above categorisation and adopt appropriate tactics with a strategic view. Changes must be made in tactics according to the changes in the respective areas. Therefore these strategic leadership committees must categorise the areas in each state and the border areas of states as per the level of development of forces of production, the condition of relations of production, the impact of class struggle, the impact of globalisation, caste oppression, terrain and the hold of the government machinery. As per this categorisation we have to adopt the program for class struggle and Agrarian program against imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal classes and against the government. We have to adopt appropriate tactics (forms of struggle and organisation) to achieve this.

Since the Indian economy and as a part of it the rural economy turned complex, we must keep these changes in view and we need to concentrate our fight in the respective areas on the main slogan (land to the tiller, all powers to Revolutionary Peasant Committees/Agriculture labor organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees, transfer the agriculture farms and plantations of imperialist Multi-National Enterprises, capitalist landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists to the people, fight for jal, jungle, zameen, ijrat and adhikar). We must also fight against all kinds of forms of exploitation and oppression of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes according to our strength. We have to develop appropriate forms of struggle and organisation and must strive to intensify and expand class struggle not only in the present areas of our movement but all over the country by utilising the positive experiences that we have gained in practice. Therefore we have to mobilise

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the peasantry and friendly forces in the anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-feudal class struggle with the following demands -

- Feudal hegemony must be brought down and people's political power must be established under the leadership of landless agricultural labor and poor peasants.
- The surplus lands of the old and the new landlords, religious institutions, money lenders/owners of finance institutions that unleash feudal exploitation and hegemony, liquor traders, crop traders, big business persons, owners of private go-downs, owners of paddy mills, owners of rural industries, real estates, cinema theatres, petrol pumps, transport companies and education institutions, the mafias such as of sand and granite, the Multi-National Companies, comprador corporate companies, NRIs, NGOs and other such persons, the lands the government acquired in the name of mining, industries, SEZs, plants, corridors, plantations, farm houses, fly overs, express ways, bullet train, metro rail, airports, shipyards and other such things must be seized without any kind of compensation and be distributed to the agricultural laborers and poor farmers. Class struggle must be built against the landlords who hegemonised the lands improperly occupied from the farmers and those distributed under land reforms and hand them over to the proper owners (concerned agricultural laborers, poor farmers and middle class farmers).
- In certain areas where capitalist relations are more developed in agriculture, the agricultural laborers, poor and middle class peasantry and the friendly rich peasantry must be organised, the agricultural farms of imperialist multi-national/comprador bureaucratic bourgeois/government institutions must be occupied and cooperative agriculture must be developed, or those agriculture farms must be nationalized by the revolutionary people's governments.
- Forest belongs to the tribal people and oppressed people. We must prevent the loot of forest wealth by the imperialists, comprador

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bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes and big contractors.

- We must arm the people and build armed people's militia on a wide basis.
- We must stop paying taxes and levies to the government.
- We must not allow the conspiracies of the landlords and comprador governments that try to split the oppressed people by instigating caste and religious differences.
- Ninety-five percent of the Dalits and majority of the tribal people and people of the backward castes are agricultural laborers and poor farmers. Therefore we have to take up struggles for hike in wages and against long working hours. We must demand just wages. Agricultural laborers and poor farmers must unite to achieve high wages of wage laborers who exist in various forms, to avoid the social injustices and insults to the Dalits, tribal people and people of other backward castes, especially untouchability, bonded labor and other such non-economic coercion, oppression and suppression, for decrease in tenancy rates, to prevent the ousting of tenants from the lands in the name of 'individual cultivation', to stop the feudal exploitation, oppression and bonded labor unleashed on them, to ban the reverse tenancy of land to landlords and rich peasants and other such demands. It means the Dalits, tribal people and people of backward castes must unite against the landlords.
- We must develop agriculture and cooperative movement, develop production and achieve self-sufficiency in all sectors.
- We have to formulate special forms of organisation and struggle and build class struggle against the exploitation and bonded labor unleashed by the feudal forces on the workers/semi-workers in various works such as non-agricultural sectors, brick kilns, construction sector, sugar-cane industry, paddy processing units. We must fight against the feudal forces that prevent the employment guarantee scheme. We must take up struggles against the several kinds of exploitation and oppression faced by the

seasonal laborers.

- Most of the people of the so called oppressor castes are also poor farmers and middle class farmers. The farmers are losing their land day by day and are forced to do menial labor work. Their number is on the rise. They are prone to the danger of falling in the conspiracies of the landlords under the influence of caste superstitions but agrarian revolution is the only way for them. Therefore they must realise the truth and unite with the agricultural laborers and poor peasants of the Dalits, tribal people and people of the backward castes. We have to unite them in each and every issue. The landlords make all attempts to prevent them to unite with the agricultural labor and poor peasantry of the Dalit and the backward castes by enforcing caste chauvinism and relation. In such conditions we must deal them so as they understand the facts and try to unite the laborers and poor farmers of all castes against the landlords. Unless we win in this attempt we cannot make agrarian revolution successful. Therefore we have to work patiently.
- We have to build agriculture labor organisations of the agricultural labor of all castes including semi-proletariat in places where distorted capitalist relations expanded. We must also build farmers' organisations with farmers of all castes. We must not in any condition join landlords in the farmers' organisations. If we do so, landlords' organisations will be formed in the name of farmers' organisations, like the revisionist organisations. Farmer means poor farmer and middle class farmer. They constitute 90 percent of the farmers. We must build farmers' organisations in their leadership. We must make efforts to mobilise the rich peasants also in these organisations.
- We have to stop paying loans and interests to the landlords, money-lenders, crop traders, owners of paddy and other mills. We have to fight against the new forms of exploitation that the old and the new landlords brought forth. We have to fight with the demand to give loans without interest/low interest to the farmers. We have to organise the four revolutionary classes, build and develop class

struggle for the power of the oppressed people against the feudal hegemony on village lands and properties, panchayats, heavy corruption scams in grabbing government funds panchayat funds, the funds of government schemes, government and cooperative banks, on public and private contracts, on natural resources (such as sand, granite, color stones and other minerals, timber, herbs and forest produce) and government ration shops, against collecting high rents on the instruments of agricultural production. We have to take up various struggles to control feudal exploitation in real estate, transport, finance, liquor and business transactions in the rural areas.

- We have to build class struggles against the exploitation and oppression of the alliance of Multi-National and comprador companies and landlords.
- We must take up struggles for the protection of the rights of the Dalit people, women and religious minorities. We must fight against the exploitation and oppression of Brahmanic Hindutwa feudal forces on them.
- Any parliamentary political party in power is bringing forth fake reforms in the name of land reforms, uplift of Dalits, several schemes and reforms for the farmers. The noise of the slogans and propaganda of these fake reforms is nothing but to raise false illusions among the oppressed people, divert them from the path of revolution and suppress them. We have to illustrate to the broad masses that the improvement of the conditions of the oppressed people and the betterment of the people of backward castes in these reforms is only sham. This is the task of genuine democrats. Those who do not realise this truth and do not tell the people remain to be the servants of the landlords and comprador bourgeois class but can never become genuine democrats.

New Democratic Revolution is the only path to liberate the country from the chains of imperialism

Our independence has been stolen for the past more than two and a half centuries. A country with sufficient nature and human resources has

been destroyed. While the people are living in inhuman condition the imperialists looted our minerals and crops. Our land and natural environment were destroyed. Our indigenous and tribal people are ruined. Forests were disrupted.

During the period of globalisation the neo-colonial kind of exploitation in the country reached new heights. Devastation rose many times. The imperialists unleashed direct exploitation and oppression or through the Kings. After the transfer of power they took up new forms of indirect rule, exploitation and hegemony through the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and the big landlord classes. This is the neo-colonialism. The comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class is yet the instrument that slaves imperialism in our country. Therefore it is against the industrialization of the country on the basis of self-reliance. It turned the country into debts and made it a centre of indiscriminate exploitation for the imperialists.

Self-reliant economy

The entire oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities severely affected due to the new offensive of 'globalisation' in the country will be the main forces in the struggle against the three big mountains for a New Democratic self-reliant economy. These forces constitute workers, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeois classes, i.e. the four oppressed classes, the Dalits, tribal people, women, religious minorities and other such oppressed sections and other oppressed nationalities like Kashmir, Naga, Mizo, Manipuri and Asom. We must mobilise them on their demands through the process of propaganda, agitation and class struggle. We have to coordinate the legal-illegal, open-secret forms of struggle and organisation and create a spate of people's struggles and resistance struggles.

We have to take lessons from the betrayal of the leadership of the Congress and the CPI in the struggles earlier to 1947 and build a genuine struggle for independence. Liberation from the tentacles of imperialism, from the entire reactionaries, especially from the semi-feudal stagnation in the broad rural areas that is protecting reaction in the country will be achieved only through the New Democratic Revolution that is the axle of armed agrarian struggle in the path of Protracted People's War.

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The talk of self-reliant economy in the place of globalisation might appear utopian. Globalisation looks like a fierce power encircling the globe. Many people cannot believe that another system can be established in its place. The large number of anti-globalisation groups wishes reforms in the purview of globalisation and to give it a human face. The revisionists also speak about bringing reforms in it but not to bring another one in its place. In essence all have become slaves to the theory of 'history ended' that states that there is no alternative to the existing system.

In fact globalisation is the offensive of finance capital on the backward countries of the world. It is entwined with the restructuring of capital in monopolies. Since capital fell into permanent crisis since 1973, this is part of its strategy to overcome the crisis. At present it fell into further crisis since 2008. Therefore the chances to make reforms are less. Normally there are a few phases of development in this system. Finance capital easily and cheaply buys the discontent in it. However there are no such opportunities in the stage of crisis. In this stage it turns more aggressive. It cruelly suppresses discontent to enhance profit on capital to the possible extent. The entire 'land summits', 'food summits', 'water summits' and other such things are consolation measures to deceive the people. It is only to state that they are alert towards the loss.

Therefore, when capitalism/imperialism is in crisis hoping for reforms or a human face is practically impossible/utopian. Although human face is given to the fearsome animal like globalisation, it is only to cover its blood thirstiness. It can undoubtedly gain certain subsidies through developing resistance against it. It can achieve certain victories through severe struggle. But fundamental reforms are not possible.

Some feel that there are no chances for the immediate implementation of self-reliant ideas. However difficult it might be, this is the only solution for the problems in the country. There is no shortcut. The change in 1947 did not bring any kind of genuine difference. The condition of the country further degenerated as a result of the suffocation under the three big mountains in the past 72 years. But the establishment of self-reliant economy in the country is not utopian. It can be transformed into practice. The problem is to build a force (Party, People's Army and United Front)

with enough strength in order to defeat the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlord alliance. Without destroying the present systems of political power unleashing exploitation, oppression and suppression, the ruling classes shall never allow the formation of such an economy. In order to form a self-reliant economy, it is necessary that the entire anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic forces to make armed struggle on the basis of worker-peasant alliance in the leadership of the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, against the reactionary semi-colonial, semi-feudal politics, economy and culture, bring down the semi-colonial, semi-feudal state, seize the political power and establish the democratic state of the entire anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces.

This people's democratic state seizes all the industries, banks and other institutions of the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class. It annuls all the loans to be paid to the imperialists. It seizes all the lands of the landlords and distributes them to the poor and landless peasants. It ends the exploitation of money-lenders and traders on the peasantry. It thus facilitates the path of liberation of the entire oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities including workers, semi-workers, peasantry and urban middle class.

Today Revolutionary People's Committees (locally new democratic governments) were formed in several strong areas of the revolutionary movement in the country and are primarily implementing alternate political, economic and cultural program. This kind of effort alone establishes genuine independent, progressive, all round, self-reliant, secular and democratic system and will be strengthened in a planned manner. Such a country shall be genuinely secular as a voluntary federation of various nationalities. Self-reliant economy shall constitute two fundamental aspects contrary to the present exploitive system –

Firstly, by spreading the domestic market for products, it facilitates the path of industrialization of the country in the basic level. It is possible only through enhancing the purchasing power of the broad masses. Most of them live in the rural areas. It is possible only by destroying the outdated, backward semi-colonial, semi-feudal relations of production in the rural areas. These old relations of production are the main reason for

the poverty of the people. Once the people are emancipated from this backwardness, the new democratic government shall heavily invest in agriculture. This shall be an inspirational force for the Indian economy. There is no need to depend on exports. There is no need to depend on the forms of consumption of the rich class for market.

The second major measure is to end the heavy investments from foreign countries. As we saw, when 20 percent of the national income of the country goes to foreign countries every year, how is the growth of the country possible? Many say that foreign investment must be invited in heavy amounts but none speak of avoiding it. There is a big propaganda that 20.30 lakh crore rupees of FDI came into the country during the first five years of NDA rule under the leadership of Modi. But the imperialists are looting away nearly 47.09 lakh crore rupees of wealth from our country every year and so this is not considerable.

If we seize the entire foreign/comprador investment, there shall be no major calamity to the country even though new investment shall not come into the country in future. On the contrary it shall end the entrance of large scale investment. Later, this essential investment can be utilized to develop agriculture and small scale industry that serves it.

In addition to this, by imposing cuts on the entire waste expenditure on defense, police departments, officers and political leaders, more funds can be released.

Such an economy shall be independent and achieves growth independent of foreign funds and exports to foreign market. This does not mean that we achieve self-sufficiency by divorcing from the world markets. It means that we have to act not in favor of the imperialists but as per the interests of the country. India is a big country with a population of 136 crores. It has enormous natural resources and fertile lands. If the people of such a big country are released from the bondages of the present system, there shall not be any problem to achieve growth. Then India shall not be a poor and backward country that accepts each and every direction of the imperialists with great loyalty but a country free of exploitation, oppression and suppression. It shall develop speedily.

Program for genuine independence –

- WTO agreements must be cancelled. The people of the four oppressed classes, oppressed sections and nationalities must be organised in the leadership of the proletariat to develop self-reliant agricultural and industrial policies.
- The investments, banks and properties of the entire foreign companies/institutions, comprador big bourgeois, feudal ruling classes, and of their governments must be seized. Multi-National companies and institutions must be driven out. Its properties must be seized. Foreign economic/technical and other such collaborations and joint ventures must be dissolved. The outsourcing policy of the Multi-National Companies must be terminated. Export dependent, import dependent policies must be ended. The dependence of domestic products on foreign markets and foreign technology must be ended. Domestic markets must be protected from foreign goods. The tourism policy, IT policy, animation policy, pharma policy, startup policy and other such things must be dissolved. Make in India, Skill India, Smart cities project, prestigious schemes (Flagship projects) such as Bharatmala scheme, Sagarmala scheme, special transport corridor schemes under the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) must be dissolved. All these are imperialist sponsored schemes. We must prevent the loot of the wealth, resources and super profits by the MNCs and TNCs.
- All kinds of foreign loans must be dissolved.
- We must expose various imperialist sponsored foundations such as Rockefeller foundation, Ford foundation, Bill Gates foundation and various imperialist funded NGOs. We must boycott its programs in the name of 'studies', 'courses', 'awards', 'welfare', 'aid', 'social service' and so on. We must chase them out of the country.
- We must protect domestic industries and small scale sector.
- We must oppose imperialist, feudal culture and values. We must build new democratic culture constituting new culture and new values basing on genuine democratic values and principles. Religion

must be strictly an individual affair. We must severely oppose patriarchy and casteism in all forms. We must build human relations based on justice, equality and mutual respect for all, irrespective of caste, religion, economic or educational status. We must stand for the principle of opposing all the economic and social forms of exploitation.

- The purchasing power of the people all over the country must be enhanced. Thus industrialization must be encouraged. We must go for genuine modernization and the development of the entire country (not like the present situation where the rulers fill their pockets). Self-reliant economy must be established. Special plans must be formulated to eliminate the inequalities between the rich and the poor.
- We must fight against high taxes and high prices. We must dissolve the taxes on the 80 crore poor people living below the poverty line. Welfare programs must be formulated to enhance their living standards and must be implemented without any chance for misappropriation. Food security must be provided for them. The government alone must take up the procurement of food crops that were given to the private sector. Public Distribution System must be strengthened. Essential goods must be provided to the poor people in considerable size at minimum prices.
- Struggles must be taken up so that the people of the country are guaranteed food, shelter, clothing, employment, pure air, water, fundamental rights, civil rights and other such things.
- Federal Democratic People's Republic of India must be formed as the first step to bring socialist transformation in the country. Socialism alone efficiently liberates our country from the tentacles of imperialism.

Enemy is merciless, cruel and violent in trampling the anti-imperialist struggles going on for self-reliance. They indulge in any kind of atrocities to continue their exploitation. They go to any extent to preserve their unjust system like we see in the struggles in Indo-China, Latin America

and Africa. Massacres on people have become an ordinary feature. Any efficient struggle against these cruel animals is possible only by mobilizing and uniting the 90 percent people affected by these destructors. Workers and toilers of various sectors facing increasing exploitation and oppression are taking up militant struggles day by day on their economic and political problems. However 74 percent of them are farmers and live in the rural areas and so any struggle against the imperialist/comprador clique will not be successful without their partnership. We must unite the 70 percent agricultural laborers and poor farmers residing in the countryside in the leadership of the proletariat. As some feel it is not correct to think that the anti-imperialist struggle is limited to the urban areas. A section of the peasantry is actively participating in the ongoing struggle against the WTO policies.

Petty bourgeois class, especially students, teachers and intellectuals are an important force in these struggles. They not only have a militant character but also play an important role in molding the opinion of the people against the people's enemies.

National bourgeois class – Many of this class are from the small scale industrial sector. This class is a vacillating ally. They are oppressed by the MNC-TNC, comprador big capital with the open encouragement from the government policies and government policies such as demonetization and GST. Although they do not openly join the movement in the first phase of struggles a section of the class supports the movement in utmost useful ways.

We must mobilise broad sections among the Dalits, tribal people, women and the minorities facing additional oppression of caste, patriarchy and communalism in these struggles. The rising Hindutwa religious chauvinism through the saffron brigade with the direct and indirect support from the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist state after the Modi clique of the RSS-BJP came to power works as a catalyst in making the minorities, especially the Muslims a part of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles. Certain Muslim organisations gave a call to boycott the products of the TNCs.

The formation of United Front with the oppressed nationalities,

especially the nationalities taking up armed struggle against the Indian rulers and building a strong movement is a very important aspect.

Petty bourgeois parties – There are many ML parties and small Dalit Bahujan parties inside and outside the Parliament. They are basically of petty bourgeois character. We must unite with them and jointly fight against the globalisation policies in the country. However much vacillating these forces might be and how less time they come along, we must strive to mobilise them in struggle on the basis of issues. These organisations might come forth with issues such as environment, oppression on women and unemployment. But they must mobilise the people in a genuine manner. They might be Trade Unions or workers' and farmers' groups that wish to resist offensive on them.

Various organisations and individuals – Individuals playing an anti-imperialist role that are not part of any group or organisation must be mobilised into this struggle. We must encourage them to identify themselves with this organisation. Such intellectuals will come forth to the extent the imperialists/compradors turn destructive. If they realise that they are not alone but a part of the spate of rising progressive forces, they will be more confident.

The contradictions among the ruling classes is especially an important aspect in New Democratic Revolution – as the crisis in imperialist economies rises, it affects India. The contradictions among the ruling classes intensify. These contradictions are already arising. We can skillfully use these contradictions to organise the democratic forces in a strong anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle in order to further isolate the enemy.

There is no fundamental difference between all the main parliamentary parties in the central and the state levels regarding 'economic reforms'. When in power they do not abide to what they said while in opposition. They compete to fulfill the demands of the imperialists. The regional parties act as reliable agents in implementing imperialist dictated reforms not only in the state but also in the centre. They opportunistically surrender in Congress and BJP ruled states. The attitude of all the other parties also is no different. Whatever little opposition these comprador, revisionist parties have regarding a concrete policy or take up a measure,

it shall only be a tactic for votes or support to one business lobby in opposition to another. Therefore the concrete positions of these ruling class parties on various occasions are intended to utilize the discontent among the people and to divert them.

We can utilize the contradictions among them in the interest of the movement but should not take them to be anti-imperialist forces. We are aware that we can utilize the contradictions among them to the extent of the strength of the proletarian forces. The important task is to totally expose these parties and to bring the cadres of those parties on our side basing on stable program against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlords. We have to especially expose that all these parties are traitorous parties. They are working in the interests of foreign forces. These parties are collaborating with foreign forces. If the people understand this, they shall rise like a storm and drive away these parties. If we develop this consciousness among the people we can mold the spate of struggle against the new imperialist offensive in India.

However much objective the class analysis and social investigation might seem to be, if they are not related to our daily activities, if there is no active support and strong participation of the peasantry (especially the poor and landless) that is the utmost majority of Indian population, the firm and utmost reliable ally of the proletariat and the main force in revolution, revolutionary war in the real sense and none of the instruments of revolution, the revolutionary party, people's army and United Front in the real sense can be formed. Without being mobilised in the innumerable struggles and without being developed the political consciousness in the process of those struggles, proletariat, peasantry, youth, students, employees, women and other such people cannot realise the necessity to destroy the state power of the exploitive classes. They cannot accumulate the necessary consciousness and collective will to bring down the oppressive state machinery.

It is imperative to draw a clear line of demarcation with the people's movements and mass organisations led by the revisionists. The forms of organisation and struggle change according to the conditions of the areas. People's struggles contribute to armed struggle and people's war. Armed

struggle and people's war contribute for the further advancement of the people's movement. Such is the dialectical mutual relation between the people's struggle and armed struggle. If we do not coordinate armed struggle with other forms of struggle we cannot achieve the success of revolution. Therefore both the armed struggle and struggles in other forms are necessary.

Workers' struggles, the struggles in slum areas, those of the youth, unemployed, students and women contribute to the political mobilization of the broad masses. We must not forget the important aspect of the political mobilization of masses against the various policies of the ruling classes.

Our party must organise the various oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois classes and must take up the following program on the important issues that are oppressing the country -

Proletariat

The imperialist neo-liberal policies weakened the organised struggles of the proletariat. Outsourcing, exploitation and oppression of the various Multi-National companies and its ancillary comprador companies intensified. There is no guarantee for the jobs and income in startup companies. They are the centre of severe insecurity. Discontent is reaching the peak stage among the workers. Revisionist CPI, CPM and other kinds of revisionists-economists are binding them in legal framework. The leaders of these organisations became the labor aristocracy in all places. These are the protectors from among the proletariat that serve finance capital. In addition to them the reactionaries created a clique in the proletariat that is drowned in Brahmanic ideology. They are the basis for the fascists among the proletariat. New technology reduced the size of the companies. Workers' force is mostly unorganized. We have to basically transform the old methods and must initiate to organise the proletariat politically right from the beginning.

- The proletariat must make efforts to unite with the various proletarian parties, organisations and groups in all the countries of

the world with the objective to root out the imperialist economy that does not have permanent solution to economic, employment, environment/ecological, fuel, forcible migrant, socio-cultural, politico-military crises and is permanently indebted, from the earth and to establish Socialism-Communism in its place in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The proletariat must take up united struggles in the international level against the policies of divide and exploit the workers and reaction that is ruining the lives of not only the crores of oppressed people of the backward countries but also those of the capitalist countries since the imperialist Multi-National companies made the production units of various countries part of a single exploitive chain as a part of globalisation. There is tremendous power in the objective condition all over the world. We have to explore it totally according to the present conditions and advance the international communist movement against imperialism. This task is beyond the subjective capacity of the individual parties. Therefore we must make united effort with proletarian internationalist perspective and help organise the proletarian parties all over the world. We have to thus advance the anti-imperialist struggle. We have to win over a broad section of the world people towards Communist objective.

- We must enlighten and organise the proletariat against the imperialist Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation policies and the Structural Adjustment Programs that have turned into a life and death problem for the workers. We must build workers' movements with the objective to eliminate the imperialist indirect rule and neo-colonial kind of exploitation and hegemony. We have to unite the oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities on various demands against the three big mountains and build people's movements in the leadership of the proletariat.
- The workers must be organised and made to struggle against the policies implemented by the imperialist Multi-National companies, various governments, especially the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist clique in power in the centre. The workers in several Trade Unions

all over the country must be brought under united forums and be organised and united struggles be developed –

- Workers and employees must be organised against the exploitation and oppression of prominent sectors such as construction, infrastructure, mines, software, assembling of spare parts of imperialist manufacturing goods, the Multi-National/ancillary/comprador companies in the service sectors, startup unicorn companies, the government and the PPP companies. The workers must be made to struggle against heavy retrenchment in employment, lay off/lock-out of companies, caste discrimination in employment and outsourcing of production/services for low wages. They must fight for guarantee of employment.
- We must fight against the hike in working hours, severe exploitation of the semi-workers in industries and bonded labor, for better working conditions that prevent pollution and for provision of security.
- We must fight against low wages, decrease in real wages, discrimination against women in wages and stagnation of wages.
- We must fight to solve the problems of migrant laborers (semi-workers) facing terrible poverty in medieval kind of indefinite conditions. We must fight against the caste oppression and patriarchal oppression of women by the owners. There must be a guarantee for employment, wages, welfare and other such minimum rights.
- We must discourage brain drain, migration of unskilled, semi-skilled labor from the country. We must take the revolutionary democratic political message of achieving proper employment in the country, the fulfillment of democratic revolutionary tasks of the country into the migrant employees, workers/toilers who are striving for the development of the country.
- We must protest child labor system and the inhuman exploitation and oppression on them.

- We must fight for the withdrawal of the policies of elimination of organised sector, the privatization of public sector companies that are increasing the most non-secure unorganized sector, the policies of de-industrialisation and de-regulation and the policies of employment of large scale casual/part-time (daily wage system) that is turning the industrial/agricultural/service sectors into unorganized sector.
- We must take up struggles on the problems of the organised and unorganized workers/toilers.
- We must fight for ban on heavy cuts in the social welfare schemes of the government such as education and health. Enough funds must be released for worker welfare schemes.
- We must fight against the forms and methods of inhuman exploitation of sweepers and others.
- We must fight against the policies of annulling 47 labor laws achieved through struggle including the primary right to form Union, and amending them as 4 labor codes in favor of the imperialists and compradors, the suppression of workers' organisation and fascist judgments of the courts regarding the activists of Trade Unions.
- We must fight against the globalisation policies leading to the growth of unemployed, semi-employed-unorganised reserve army, the introduction of 'technologies that create unemployment' and give super profits to the imperialists such as robotics, 3-D printing, Artificial Intelligence. We must organise the unemployed educated, non-educated youth and semi-employed for solving the unemployment problem and take up struggles. We must fight for the protection of MSME that create large scale employment.

Peasantry

We are organizing the peasants, especially the tribal peasants in the areas of our movement and are building struggles. However we are not part of the peasant struggles in other areas. The reason being, the continuing peasant struggles are in the hands of reformist, parliamentary

individuals. With the struggles turning out non-beneficial, the despaired farmers are committing suicide. We have to become part of the countrywide struggles. We must have the initiative to build our organisation. We must make the democratic forces of the present organisations part of revolution. Few of them are friends to revolution. Few come along for a while. We have to mobilise all such forces as a part of the agenda of agrarian revolution.

Keeping these changes in the socio-economic order of the country in view we need to concentrate our fight in the rural areas on the main slogan (land to the tiller, all powers to Revolutionary Peasant Committees/ Agriculture labor organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees, transfer the agriculture farms and plantations of imperialist Multi-National Enterprises, capitalist landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists to the people, fight for jal, jungle, zameen, ijrat and adhikar). We must also develop appropriate forms of struggle and organisation to fight against all kinds of forms of exploitation, oppression and suppression of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalist, feudal classes and state according to our strength and must strive to intensify and expand class struggle not only in the present areas of our movement but all over the country by utilising the positive experiences that we have gained in practice.

- We have to mobilise the farmers on immediate demands centering land struggle. We must become part of the agitations and lead them. We have to mobilise the entire democratic, pro-people forces in support of the farmers' agitations. We have to build united struggles and intensify them.
- We have to end the influence of forward or the future trading in agricultural markets. The average monthly income of poor and middle class farmers is lesser to the minimum wages decided by the government. The rate of the crop is less when the farmers obtain it and many times more when it goes into the hands of the traders. We must expose the bankrupt policies of the central and the state comprador rulers that cause this situation. We must expose the policy in which Government MSP is very less than the MSP proposed

by the National Farmer Commission and the fake schemes like 'farmers' income doubled'. The farmers must take up countrywide united militant struggles on a broad basis for MSP for farmers' crops, C2 (tenancy rate, agricultural investment and interest) +75 percent.

- We must politically mobilise the peasantry against the policies of the comprador rulers that fulfills the interests of the imperialist, comprador companies, the 'green revolution' model that encourages commercial crops and destroys food crops, the contract/corporate/group agriculture, forcible seizure of fertile agricultural lands for non-agricultural purposes pauperizing the farmers and other such policies of the comprador rulers. We must build and strengthen cooperative movement for the development of agriculture basing on self-reliant methods. We must destroy the backward and reactionary semi-colonial, semi-feudal relations that collaborated with imperialism, and democratize the social order of the country. We have to establish people's democratic power.
- We have to take up mass work, public relations, political propaganda-broadcast activities and people's consciousness rallies widely and in various forms to transform the peasantry into an organised revolutionary force.
- We must conduct regular practical classes, commentaries and seminars among the farmers and farmer's activists on 'agrarian question, its immediate and protracted solution'.
- We have to develop the understanding that suicide is not the solution for the problem, that they have to be organised with revolutionary ideas and become firm human beings and that fighting for a toilers' state is the only way.
- We have to form various organisations such as open organisations, forums, committees, United Forums, cooperative organisations, management committees, training-aid committees, cooperative financial organisations, cultivators' cooperative organisations, cultural organisations, oppressed farmers' organisations, project victims' organisations, deceased family welfare fund organisations,

morale giving organisations, medical aid organisations, tenants' organisations, crop affected farmers' organisations, seeds-fertiliser cooperative councils, native insecticide production organisations, cooperative agriculture instruments organisations and so on, according to the conditions of the farmers, the area and situation. All these organisations must bear the perspective of advancing the peasantry towards agrarian revolution. We can form one such organisation combining many tasks according to the condition and preparation of the farmers or else form various committees for various tasks in an organisation.

- We must develop the understanding that although the farmers are in some or the other form of struggle and organisation, without the formation of revolutionary farmers' organisations and militia in future we cannot advance the farmers towards liberation. We must have the initiative to form such an organisation. We must also provide them a concrete program to take measures against the middlemen that come to collect traders' and bank loans and the evil forces that do not agree to give the necessary articles to the farmers from the village. For this purpose we have to form self-defense squads from among the peasant youth to resist forcible collection of loans, to control the traders, to control calamities, to do counselling to the peasants who are worried, to oppose destructive ideas and to oppose state violence.
- We have to build struggles with demands such as total waiver of loans to agricultural labor, poor farmer classes, other toiling people and middle class farmers, implementation of tenancy acts, subsidy for seeds, fertilisers and insecticides, poor and middle class farmers' management committee in agriculture markets, to implement the promise of enhancing the number of government agriculture markets from 7 thousand to 22 thousand, guarantee to purchase goods without any hurdle or registration, free electricity for 24 hours, reality native agriculture, ban on terminator and Genetically Modified (GM) seeds, free distribution of the necessary equipment to utilize the drip technic for irrigation to all the farmers, provision

of irrigation, handing over the irrigation system and irrigation project schemes to the Kisan committees, action on ministers, officers and contractors that are part of irrigation scams, construction of government cold storage buildings, government milk storage system, food gains to entire poor farmers for low prices, provision of essential goods and free education for the children of poor farmers. The farmers are caught in many problems like seeds, fertilisers, insecticides, irrigation implements, crop insurance, social security, interest free loans to poor farmers, food security, employment, cooperative societies, infrastructure for agriculture and market. We have to especially mobilise agricultural labor and poor farmers and take up militant agitations demanding more importance to employment guarantee scheme and immediate employment for unemployed rural people. We have to raise all these issues regarding farmers in severe agricultural crisis due to the outdated semi-feudal system and mobilise them on immediate demands with the agrarian revolutionary slogans of 'land to the tiller' and 'entire power to the Krantikari Kisan Committee'. We have to make the farmers active participants in the struggle.

- We have to save the farmers from reformists, revisionists, post-modernists and Gandhians. We have to become part of issue based joint struggles. We have to bring certain of these forces on to the correct line and take up unity-struggle with the rest of them. Those on the opposite side change once they come to power. The centrist leadership is serious in analyses and speeches. But they do not think about the liberation of farmers. They lack direction or the courage to fight against the state. They speak about revolution in an opportunist manner but hesitate to continue in the path of revolution. They are inspired with the farmers' anger and say that they must become Maoists but fear to hold weapons against the state. They do not see the state policies behind the pathetic condition and suicides of the farmers and do not fight for the solution of objective reasons but search for a solution from psychological reasons. There are several farmer leaders, activists,

commentators, coordinators and conveners all over the country that are simple without a wrong view. Knowingly or unknowingly they work as safety valve for the system. Some of them become MPs, MLAs or Ministers, some gain the status of presidents of committees, chiefs of organisations and scientists and gain money. Some are content that they magnificently expose the problems. They cannot show any path for the liberation of farmers. Some of them are rooted as farmers' leaders also. However, the constant struggles of the farmers without any direction will not contribute to a change in the system. We must take up unity and struggle with such reformists, revisionists, post-modernists and Gandhians and make efforts to bring most of them in some or the other form on to the side of revolution. We must also constantly mobilise the rest of them in vast struggles.

- We must have struggle-unity with certain farmer leaders who search for a solution for the peasant question in the parliamentary framework. We must severely oppose those who become leaders and disrupt the movement. We must unite in mobilizing and fighting for the immediate demands of the farmers. We must criticize those who tail the political parties and confine the agitations in a deceptive manner.
- We must build peasant struggles also on issues such as environment, forests, protection of water resources, live-stock raising, poultry, fish culture, plantations, fruits and vegetable cultivation, nursery, medical and flavored plant cultivation.
- With the ban on cattle business since the Brahmanic Hindu fascist Modi clique came to power, the peasantry lost the right to sell cattle not useful for agriculture or purchase cattle useful for agriculture. We have to mobilise the peasantry against this. We have to struggle for the right to sell and purchase cattle.
- We must widely propagate about the struggle in the leadership of the Krantikari Kisan Sangathan and its successes among the farmers of plain areas repeatedly in their local languages.

- We have to mobilise collective support to the farmers absolutely in a terrible situation. We must transform this into a normal tradition.
- We must utilize struggle forms like gaonbandi (confining them to the village) on the ruling class political leaders and government employees as the occasion demands.
- We must provide all the facilities for the growth of agriculture. We must provide remunerative prices for agricultural products.
- We must organise the school teachers, employees of panchayat raj, anganganwadi workers, sahayaks, aasha workers and other such organised and unorganized employees of the rural areas on their problems and become part of their relentless struggles. We must develop those into united struggles and make efforts to lead them. Since most of them are unorganized employees we have to work to organise them in the anti-feudal struggles on their important land question.

Petty bourgeois class

- The petty bourgeois class is severely suffocated under the influence of economic crisis, high prices and the burden of taxes. Artisans of small scale production, petty traders, students, school teachers, college lecturers, professors in universities, clerks in offices/banks/companies, non-gazeted officers, the lower and middle rank gazeted officers and other such third and fourth class employees, people like engineers, doctors and lawyers are facing severe problems for a long time. Most of them are organised in the Trade Unions, organisations and associations. Most of them are unorganized. We have to become part of their struggles. We have to raise their consciousness with revolutionary politics and enhance the influence of revolutionary forces in those organisations.
- **Students-Youth** – The students are a revolutionary force. They are facing severe injustice due to the unscientific and undemocratic education system. Their future is bleak. We must organise them and build struggles for free education to all, scientific education, against the saffronisation and privatization of education, culture

and history, against the cut in the budget for education and against hike in fees, for the withdrawal of higher educational institutions of foreign MNCs and for the annulment of the post-modernist syllabus and researches prepared by the imperialist/comprador ruling classes and against the New Education Policy that the Modi government brought forth transforming all these into a policy.

- We must support, participate and lead the ongoing struggles for 'common school system' in the country.
- We must fight against the evil attempts of the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascists to gain hegemony in the educational sector and impose feudal education based on Manudharm and Koutilya's ardhshasht of the medieval ages.
- We must constantly take up struggles against the foisting of cruel laws such as UAPA on revolutionary, democratic activists and imprisoning them to suppress the struggles of students, youth and intellectuals.
- Students are making militant struggles against hike in fees, for a rise in scholarships and for the preservation of their rights. We have to organise the students of rural and urban areas. We have to send them to the backward rural areas to identify themselves with the peasantry and the tribal people.
- We must mobilise the youth to solve their problems. We have to build struggles of the unemployed youth of the vast rural areas, towns, cities and those residing in the slum areas.
- **Intellectuals** – Most of the intellectuals are in severe social insecurity due to privatization policies. Professors are taking up struggles against Hindutwa fascist offensive. We have to organise their struggles on a broad basis.
- **Employees** – Privatisation led decline of the public/organised sector resulted in reduction of organised employment and rise in casual employment. As a result permanent-part-time teachers, employees, Anganwadi activists and sahayikas and other such people are facing problems such as insecurity in employment, improper wages and

family welfare for a long time. Lakhs of them lost their jobs and are on the streets. They are pushed into the proletariat or into the ranks of the unemployed. They have been taking up several militant struggles for a long time. But since their unions are in the leadership of revisionists and parliamentary political parties, and the union leaders acting as compradors of the government, their struggles are facing betrayal. We must mobilise them in militant struggles on their problems, guide them with New Democratic Revolutionary politics and constantly make efforts to expose the comprador Trade Union leaders. We must gradually develop the employees as a strong struggle force in united movements.

- **Traders** – Artisans, small and medium kind traders are suffering from the offensive of imperialist globalisation. With the entrance of hundred percent FDI into retail trade, artisans and small and medium kind traders are deprived of concrete markets and incomes. They are turning paupers/unemployed. They are exploited by big traders and money-lenders. They are facing severe difficulties from GST. However, they too exploit the people in various forms. They are reliable friends of the proletariat in revolution. Therefore we must try to solve this problem in various forms and organise and mobilise them in struggles regarding their problems. We have to take up struggles against rise in prices, especially diesel and petrol, for a guarantee of their livelihood and for family welfare.
- We must organise small shop-owners and traders to agitate against the government policy that allows the goods of Multi-National and domestic comprador corporate such as Wal-Mart, Amazon, Reliance retail, TATA Chrome, Adani enterprises and D-Mart into the retail market.
- **Lawyers** - We must organise the lawyers against the corruption of the judiciary by the big lawyers' forum and their judges. We must organise the lawyers against unjust things such as police intervention in judicial process, threatening the lawyers and foisting false cases.

National bourgeoisie

Small and medium kind industrialists who take up industries/trade with a capital of 50 lakh to 5 crore rupees, small and medium kind contractors, transport owners, owners of various heavy machinery (like earth movers, JCB), small and medium kind hotels and lodges come under National bourgeoisie. As said earlier they are affected with the policies of the comprador rulers. The truck owners' strike and their agitation against GST are clear examples of the same. While on one hand the imperialists and their compradors obtain various resources at dead cheap rates, the National bourgeoisie is forced to pay high rates for the same. This is increasing production costs and they are falling into the mire of losses unable to sell them for remunerative prices. This is resulting in the bankruptcy and closure of lakhs of industries. We must support and become part of their agitations for allotment of resources, subsidy prices, tax subsidies, electricity subsidy, issue of licenses, provision of facilities and other such things.

- We must continuously encourage them to fight against the hike in prices of petroleum products and automobile spare parts.
- We have to establish relations with them, explain the policy of our party and provide protection for their business, industries, economic interests and properties.
- We must utilize various occasions to constantly take the political message among them that the permanent solution for their problems lies only in the establishment of a genuine democratic system in the country by ending the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.
- We have to deal with them so as not to violate the interests of the workers through unity-struggle. The workers in their industries must struggle against them on just demands.
- We have to establish strong alliance with a section of them and make efforts to bring them into the revolutionary movement. We have to obtain their support for the ongoing people's war. We have to neutralize a section and isolate the diehards.

Various social sections

Dalit question

- We have to build anti-caste struggles in all the sectors with the objective to create the objective condition favorable for the total eradication of caste system through bringing down the caste based feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism that are in the way of development of forces of production, that are the main cause of exploitation, oppression, poverty, misery, inhuman untouchability and caste oppression of the majority people, that are a major obstacle for genuine independence, democracy and sovereignty and economic, political and cultural progress of the country and making New Democratic Revolution successful.
- During the period of New Democratic Revolution we have to non-compromisingly fight against the Brahmanic caste based feudal ideology and culture in the guidance of the great proletarian theory, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the heinous attitude towards certain professions of oppressed castes, the people's traditions of eating cow, buffalo, pig and other animals and against the superstitions and its various expressions. We have to expose the casteist ideology of Manusmriti, Vedas, Ramayan, Mahabharat and such other epics. We have to oppose symbols and language that reveal and insult caste background and casteist culture. We have to make efforts to bring the necessary change in language and culture with a democratic view. We have to fight for equal participation of the oppressed castes in social celebrations. We have to try to develop the attitude of social mingling of the people of various castes participating in class struggle. We have to encourage joint dining of people of various castes. We have to shed the wrong consciousness and illusions among the poor people of the oppressor castes that they are socially equal to the rich of their castes. We have to support and encourage inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. We must demand that the children of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are qualified to obtain the facilities of either of the parents. We have to propagate and develop genuine democratic, socialist culture

without any way to caste oppression and untouchability among the broad masses. We must fight against the casteist leadership forces of the oppressed castes that prevent the unity of the oppressed people and the people of oppressed social sections. We have to target our attack on the oppressor caste hegemony and also oppose the sectarian trends that arise among the oppressed castes.

- We have to develop the conscious and active role of the Dalit and other oppressed sections in the revolutionary movement, arm them with MLM and mold them into best proletarian fighters and leaders.
- With the objective of eradication of caste, our various class organisations and sectional organisations have to widely mobilise the people of Dalit and other oppressed castes and democratic forces against caste oppression, in self-respect struggles, against all kinds of discrimination, suppression, humiliation, physical attacks, massacres unleashed by the oppressor caste feudal forces, against the repressive laws and repressive measures that the government is implementing in support of the landlords to violate the rights achieved by the Dalits, must build struggles and develop them to a higher stage. These struggles must be coordinated with agrarian revolution and anti-imperialist struggle and led efficiently.
- We must fight for the proper implementation of reservation policy.
- The Dalits are fighting militantly against the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist offensives. We have to lead the struggles in the proper direction. Many are independently initiating with Ambedkar ideology. The Dalit people and various Dalit struggle organisations in a considerable number consider our party as a friendly organisation. We must work in the Dalit masses and build the movement for eradication of caste with the view of building a countrywide strong movement on a broad basis.
- We must build tactical United Forums with the ML parties close to our understanding regarding the question, with their mass organisations, other democratic organisations and individuals. On certain occasions we have to work temporarily with revisionist

parties, ruling class parties, its mass organisations and individuals basing on issues and temporarily. When we enter into issue based temporary front with the parliamentary parties we must see that the people do not fall into illusions about those parties.

- Apart from the class struggle against the Brahmanic caste based feudalism in the ideological sector we have to intensify it in the political sector also. Especially the governments, Brahmanic organisations, Hindu religious chauvinist organisations utilize the Indian Constitution and state machinery favorable for the Brahmanic oppressor caste in various ways and take up ideological, religious and cultural propaganda and activities. We have to expose these among the people and fight them back. We must expose the Hindu religious, oppressor caste favorability of the Constitution and the state.
- We have to support the genuine movements for identity that are part of democratic revolution and at the same time theoretically point out the influence of post-modernist theory on various movements. We must make efforts to see that they go in the proper direction and to make them part of the revolutionary movement.

Tribal question

- We must concentrate on building class struggle in the tribal areas on the basis of land to the tiller, to seize the lands of landlords, non-residential landlords, evil gentry and anti-people elements, occupy the forest lands used for non-agricultural purposes such as for coffee, rubber, tea and other plantations, the additional lands of religious institutions, fruit plantations and waste lands and distribute it among the landless, poor and middle class people as per priority.
- In places where is severe land problem and enough forest lands we have to mobilise the peasantry so that they cut and cultivate the forest lands in the specified purview.
- We have to support the peasantry in places where hill slope cultivation is taken up. We have to formulate a special program

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and make planned efforts to develop stable agriculture.

- Irrigation, 24 hour free electricity and interest free loans must be provided for agricultural development.
- As per the Forest Rights Act-2006 we have to provide pattas (certificates) for all the lands the tribal people cultivate.
- We must take up struggles for marketing facilities for forest products and for remunerative prices.
- Since there is only one crop in the tribal areas we must take up struggles for employment guarantee in the rest of the period.
- We must discourage the migration of tribal people in search of labor work. We must build migrant laborer organisations in the supervision of which people must go in groups for labor work, exploitation of the agents controlled, wage rate and working hours specified, additional wage for additional labor, guarantee of payment, workers' welfare (shelter, food and medicine). Appropriate struggles must be taken up on these issues. We must fight against social oppression (humiliation, insult, beating). We have to control the atrocities, theft and selling off the women migrants.
- We must build broad United forums with the slogan of 'jal, jungle, zameen, ijjat, adhikar' to stop the construction of mines, dams, roads, railways, National parks and Industrial parks that the Multi-National companies and their compradors take up displacing the tribal people, the construction of firing ranges, barracks and helipads for the government armed forces and take up struggles.
- The tribal people constituting eight percent of the population of the country have special economic, social system and culturally characteristic features. As a result of the tribal struggles the comprador ruling classes incorporated the Fifth and the Sixth schedules in the Constitution and made the Forest right act and the PESA. However the tribal people are displaced from the forests. We have to build broad based 'pathalgarhi' kind of struggles against the forcible displacement that is trampling the powers of the gram

Sabhas in the tribal dominated areas and develop the same. We must develop these into anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-state struggles.

Woman's question

- We must mobilise the women in anti-comprador bourgeois, anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-patriarchal class struggle. We must mobilise the women in a large scale in theoretical, political, economic and cultural spheres on a broad basis for proper education, health, residence, work division, equal pay for equal work, equal working hours, social status, ownership of wealth, equal opportunities for development, against exploitation, oppression, discrimination, bonded labor and the patriarchal ideology that degraded the women into the status of secondary citizen stating that they lack strength.
- The Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist comprador rulers are on one side binding the women with Manusmriti and crying for death by hanging to those who commit atrocities on women. On the other hand they encourage imperialist culture. Pub culture, degenerated values, choosing prostitution as a solution for unemployment, forcible sale of girls to prostitute homes, the infamous rape drug parties for committing atrocities on women, trading women as a commodity in various forms, selfishly degenerating to any extent to accumulate wealth indulging in heinous methods, liquor business, opium chocolates, consumption of synthetic drugs, cinemas, TV serials, porn videos, making the video of an atrocity viral in social media and other such things are encouraged in a big way and an atmosphere favorable for atrocities on women inside and outside the house is under the making. There is a rape once in every ten minutes. 90 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women of our country believe that wife beating is not wrong. In the place of equality, respect and love marriages involve caste, dowry and superstition. Cinemas that show strong patriarchal ideas are block busters. Human trafficking involves 71 percent girls and women. Child marriages, forcible marriages, marital rape, dowry deaths,

murders out of prestige, murders out of blind beliefs, acid attacks, and natal deaths are haunting the women. The acts of the comprador governments work in favor of the rich classes. Patriarchy and male dominated ideology rose to a dangerous level. There is severe anguish against all these among the women. We must transform this into a powerful blast and mold it towards this semi-colonial, semi-feudal system. We must build a strong countrywide women's movement against the feudal, imperialist consumer vicious culture.

- We must mobilise women especially from the poor and landless peasantry in the armed agrarian revolutionary struggles against imperialism and feudalism and the struggles against social inequalities, suppression and patriarchy.
- We must awaken, mobilise and organise the women with the Marxist understanding that women will be liberated only through New Democratic Revolution of the society and later the Socialist transformation. We must make the women part of various struggles regarding social, political, economic and cultural problems along with the women's problems.
- We must develop the participation of women in revolutionary women's organisations and people's war and must concentrate on developing firm and fore-sighted communist leaders from among them.

The question of religious minorities especially the Muslim people

- Brahmanic Hindutwa communalism is ruling the country in the veil of secularism. All the ruling class parties are utilizing the state machinery for this purpose. The pro-Hindutwa attitude of the Indian state is openly expressed. The recent judgment of the Supreme Court regarding the dispute of Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhumi is a clear example. The ruling classes are encouraging religious blind belief that Indian means Hindu, thus degrading the 15 percent religious minorities into secondary level citizens. We must take up large scale struggles on a broad basis against the exploitation, oppression, discrimination, harassment, cruel suppression on the

minorities, the massacres unleashed on them since the partition of the country to the present Delhi incidents against CAA, the murders of progressive, secular individuals, the threats to them, the mob lynching, the destruction of worship places of religious minorities such as Masjid and Churches and against the exploitive class policy of dividing the toiling masses on the basis of religion.

- The BJP government brought forth the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) in the name of preventing illegal migrants with the conspiracy of establishing Hindu nation. The act awards citizenship to the Hindu, Sikh, Boudhs, Jains, Parsis and Christians who migrated from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh to India due to economic, political and social reasons. The BJP government conspired to prepare the first National Population Register (NPR) including these 'new citizens' and then the National Register of Citizenship (NRC). The acts have the dangerous motives to drive away the Muslim religious minorities that migrated from countries like Bangladesh to India, in the name of illegal migrants or to transform them into Hindus. We must fight for the annulment of CAA.
- We must mobilise the religious minorities on a broad basis for their social and economic development and take up struggles.
- The real motive of Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism is to divert the people from the spate of rising struggles, divide them, blunt their consciousness and cruelly suppress their struggles. Therefore we must concentrate on advancing the real class struggle – Protracted People's War that can ultimately end fascism.

Nationality question

- The country is a prison of nationalities. Only by making the New Democratic Revolution successful, we can root out imperialist slavery, its exploitation and hegemony and achieve national freedom and we can destruct feudal bureaucracy and establish people's democracy. We must lend support to the just struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Kashmir and also Nagas, Manipuris, Asomese and of the North East for the right to self-determination including secession. We must build solidarity movements in support

of these movements. We must fight against the repression on the movements. We must expose the conspiracies of the Indian expansionist state that describe these movements as separatist and try to instigate bourgeois national chauvinism and Brahmanic Hindutwa communal frenzy among the Indian people. We must expose the conspiracies of the Indian exploitive ruling classes that are creating disunity among the several nationalities, emergent nationalities and national minorities and strive to unite them for the common cause. We must become part and lead the nationality liberation struggles. We must coordinate these movements with the armed agrarian revolutionary class struggle.

- We must lead the nationality liberation struggles towards the destruction of the three big mountains that are degrading the oppressed nationalities of Kashmir and the North East and are coming in the way of their social, economic, political, linguistic and cultural development.
- We must fight for the establishment of a voluntary federal democratic republic of the nationalities that realises the right to self-determination and equality of all languages and is based on equality. We must make New Democratic Revolution successful with this aim.
- We must fight for each and every democratic demand of the national minorities and emergent nationalities such as equal status, separate state, autonomy and against the political, economic, social, cultural and other forms of oppression and discrimination of one nationality on another. We must fight for the cultural development of national minorities and for democratic rights such as education in their language. We must support the movements for separate state such as Gondwana, Vidarbha, Kosala, Gorkhaland, Bundelkhand and Purvaanchal. We must place the program of struggle for Democratic Autonomous Councils for the small nationalities of North East. We must take up appropriate forms of struggle and organisation.
- We must preserve the rights of minority nationalities and fight for

the overall economic, political, linguistic and cultural development of all the nationalities including emergent nationalities.

- The right to self-determination/autonomy of various tribes of the country must be guaranteed. We must organise them on problems such as political, economic, social, culture, language and education. We must lead their struggles for total emancipation.
- We must bring the people of various nationalities out of their isolation and develop the idea of national integration and international brotherhood.
- We must mobilise the people on demands such as equal status to the languages of all the nationalities, that this be recognized as the primary right, that no language must be imposed on other languages in the name of national language, linking language or any such, that the trilingual principle be dissolved, that free education be provided in mother tongue, that right to take up official activities in their languages be given, that script be developed for those without script.
- The privatization of education and health as a result of imperialist globalisation is putting the development of the communities of oppressed nationalities in decline and so we have to fight against the privatization of these sectors. We have to support, become part and lead the struggles for 'common school policy'.
- CAA, NPA and NRC are going to severely affect the economic, political and cultural interests of the oppressed nationalities of the country, especially the North East and East and their existence is going to fall in severe danger. Therefore we have to fight for the dissolution of CAA, NPR and NRC. We have to mobilise the people on the demand to solve the problem of migration in South Asia basing on the UN charter on the question of migration. We have to mobilise the people of South Asia including those of India against the expansionist policies of the ruling classes of South Asia, especially India that are causing migration problem in South Asia.
- We must fight against the bourgeois national chauvinism,

expansionism, fake patriotism, and fake integrity of the country instigated by the Indian reactionary ruling classes. We must unite and fight back the Brahmanic Hindutwa religious fundamentalist/religious chauvinist conspiracies that the ruling classes are conspiring to establish fascist rule in the country to build Hindutwa nation by destroying the rich culture and languages of the nationalities, making unceasing attacks on the religious minorities and imposing Brahmanic culture, Hindu religion and Hindi and Sanskrit languages.

- We have to establish special organisations in the areas of the respective nationalities with the aim of national, democratic revolution. These organisations must mobilise the people on each and every issue concerning the respective nationalities as a part of building the nationality liberation movement. These organisations must fight against the divide and rule policies and suppression by the imperialists and Indian ruling classes and also support all the nationality movements and build solidarity movements. We must expose the traitors that backstab these movements.
- We must form a strategic united front based on a common program with various revolutionary parties, with the armed organisations of various nationality liberation movements and the democratic organisations and individuals that support these movements basing on the equality of nationalities with the objective of establishing genuine, democratic, federal republic. In its leadership we must lead the people of various nationalities of the country regarding nationality question towards national democratic revolution. Basing on the preparation of the people of the respective nationalities we must form tactical united forums for struggle. All these united forums must fight for the common cause of the nationalities.

Environment question

- We must take up struggles to build a broad people's movement with a common minimum program with all the friendly forces against the daily intensifying environment question and the increasing danger of greenhouse gases for the humankind.

- We must pressurize the exploitive governments through large scale movements so as to immediately take up an alternate development model.
- We must widely propagate among the people of the country that without toppling down the three big mountains and establishing a people's democratic system no alternate development model can be implemented. We must mobilise the people towards New Democratic Revolution.

Against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism

- The Indian compradors are unleashing utmost cruel policy – Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism in the service of the imperialists in order to overcome the economic crisis and to continue their exploitation and oppression. Muslims, Dalits, tribal people and women are fighting against this. Intellectuals are fighting to preserve history, culture and democracy. Our party must become part and lead these struggles.
- Fascism is establishing its base in the rural, urban middle class, petty bourgeois class and lumpen proletariat with large preparations. In view of this we have to make preparations to work practically in the ideological and cultural sectors among the people of these classes.
- We must take up propaganda and agitation continuously through our class organisations and other organisations against fascism.
- We must have the initiative to establish a place among the religious minorities especially Muslim people. We must explain the benefit out of New Democratic Revolution to the broad sections of middle classes and have the initiative to mobilise them in the struggle against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism.
- We have to build broad based people's movements against more than a score anti-people decisions and policies such as the ban on 'cow slaughter', ban on eating beef, ghar vapasi, love jihadi, demonetization, Goods and Services Tax, cuts in reservations for SC, STs, Bhima Koregaon case, the merciless and cruel suppression

of difference in opinions, sanctions on food and clothing, bureaucratic annulment of triple talaq, NIA amendment bill-2019, UAPA amendment bill-2019, Human rights preservation amendment bill-2019, RTI amendment bill-2019, the annulment of Article 370 and 35A, judgment on demolition of Babri Masjid, CAA and mob lynching.

- We must build broad based tactical united front against Brahmanic Hindutwa communalism together with religious minorities, especially the Muslim religious minority organisations and associations, with the organisations for eradication of caste, various Dalit, tribal and oppressed nationality organisations and women organisations of democratic nature, secular forces, friendly ML forces and individuals. We must give a proper direction to the movement and organise it politically. This must not be confined to propaganda activities but must also take up agitation activities. We must strengthen it quantitatively and qualitatively.
- We must work together with the revisionist parties, bourgeois parties and its mass organisations tactically only on the basis of issues in the All India joint activities. In this process we must constantly expose the attitude of these parties so that the people do not fall in illusions about them.

Displacement

- This is an intense problem in the country. Various organisations in the country are fighting against this problem. Apart from revolutionary forums there are organisations and individuals of democratic, NGO, reformist, revisionist, Gandhian, legalist and other such ideologies. The tribal people, farmers and fisher-folk are the most affected. We must expose the ideas that dilute class struggle such as, all such people must be provided rehabilitation and legal compensation, first rehabilitation and later displacement. The intensity of the problem gives the struggle a militant character. In some places utilising it, militant economism also is coming forth out of which people supported leaders are emerging. They are giving themselves away. We have to organise all such struggles against

displacement against imperialism on a broad basis depending on a minimum program. We must coordinate these struggles with the revolutionary movement.

- We have to go forth on the basis of struggle-unity with the ideologies that divert the people and bring maximum possible forces towards revolution. The leadership of our mass organisations must take the maximum possible initiative.

MSME question

- We must take up struggles against the pro imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie discriminative policies that are leading to the bankruptcy and closure of lakhs of cottage, small and medium scale industries. We must demand free/subsidized electricity, free water and other such infrastructural facilities and exemptions from taxes for these industries. We must see the MSMEs in two ways. The first kind produce for the local market. The second produce for the companies of the compradors and imperialists. Presently the Modi government changed the definition of these MSMEs so that these comprador and imperialist companies enter into those directly and through financing. In these conditions, there must be a ban on bringing the goods of comprador and imperialist companies into the market so as to protect the declining MSMEs. Or else those companies must be heavily taxed. The government must pay the wages to the workers in the MSMEs producing for the local market. The demand must be 'the government must take the responsibility of security system at work place'.

Fisher-folk question

- Our country has 7500 kilometer long sea coast, several reservoirs, rivers and canals and fish industry provides livelihood to one crore forty lakh people. The country is in the third place in the world in sea fish hunting and in the second place in the production of fresh water fish. There was an income of 49 thousand crore rupees of foreign exchange last year through fish exports. The fisher-folk are serving in intelligence too as soldiers without uniform. But the fisher-folk who are a support for food and economic security and

defense do not obtain employment that is leading to their increasing migration. The reason being, environment is affected, seas are polluted and fish hunting is not remunerative. Due to the construction of shipyards and ports and the deep-sea fishing of the big comprador companies in 'trawlers', the fisher folk are displaced in large numbers. They are languishing in the jails of foreign countries. They are agitating for reservations in education and employment. The question of fisher-folk is part of the land question. We must organise them in the agrarian revolutionary class struggle. We must take up various forms of struggle and organisation on their life and death problems.

- We must demand the government for measures for the betterment of bio-diversity in the sea coast and for the allotment of enough funds for environment protection and to ban deep-sea fishing by the trawlers. We must fight for the implementation of employment guarantee scheme. We must support their agitation for reservations.

Micro Finance question

- By the end of 2015, 17.5 crore people of the world were caught in the net of micro financing that runs with foreign finance capital/comprador capital. Since unemployment reached the utmost severe stage and the means of income are closed for the poor and the middle class, crores of people are caught in the tentacles of micro credit. We must take up various forms of struggle and organisation against the Micro Finance institutions that run with foreign finance capital/comprador capital and exploit the poor and middle class people with very less loans for utmost high rates of interest. We must organise the victims and the rest of the oppressed people on a broad basis against this vicious social evil. In places of mass base we have to seize the properties of these institutions. We must utilize them in the collective responsibility of the people. We must demand the government for compensation for the victims.
- We must mobilise the people in militant struggles against the cruel, ugly actions of the micro finance traders, the atrocities they commit

on women, against the government, the police officers and political leaders that support their illicit trade.

- We must demand interest free loans to the poor people to the necessary extent.
- We must expose and chase away the fake finance institutions. We must develop people's financing methods on cooperative basis.

The question of unorganized, contract labor

- The government divided the unorganized sector into four kinds –
1. Basing on work – small and marginal farmers, landless, agricultural laborers, tenants, fisher-folk, live-stock raising, manufacture of beedi, packing, labelling, construction laborers, workers in poultries, weavers, salt industry workers, brick kiln workers, stone crushing workers, workers in weaving and oil mills and so on. 2. According to the nature of work – agricultural workers, bonded and migrant labor, contract workers, casual workers and such others. 3. Especially those of the backward castes – those who eat dead cattle, sweepers, those who pull a cattle cart, workers in loading and unloading 4. Service based – care taker, domestic woman servant, fisher-folk, vegetable sellers, paper boys and other such. Apart from these four kinds of laborers there are barber, weaving workers, those who make utensils by hand, tailors, self-employed handicapped, rickshaw workers, auto workers, carpenters, power-loom workers, urban poor and other such self-employed workers come under unorganized sector. All of them live on their labor. They work as the utmost important motive force in the revolutionary movement.
- We must take up various forms of struggle and organisation regarding the problems of unorganized/casual and contract workers. We must prepare the workers already in the organised Trade Unions in the respective sectors for united struggles basing on issues. We must lead struggles by strengthening the unity of workers. We must expose the leaders of the bourgeois and revisionist unions who disrupt the unity of the workers.

- We must dissolve the casual, contract system for employment guarantee in the place of hire and fire in the unorganized sector and for permanency to all. We must take up constant struggles for wage board, various allowances, PF, holidays and other such benefits.
- We must build struggles for the right to form Union, for 8 hour working day, implementation of minimum wages act, additional wage for additional labor and against bonded labor.
- We must fight against the harassment of those who fought for demands and sanctions on the formation of Union.
- Security must be provided at the work place, for health and for residence. We must make the owners to inevitably provide them.
- Contract labor system must be dissolved and those workers must be directly recognised as the workers of the concerned company.

The question of child labor

International organisations assessed that there are 33 percent child laborers in our country. We have to fight with the following demands for them –

- Total ban on labor of children below 18 years.
- Provision of rights to rehabilitation, education, health and nutritional diet for child laborers.
- Compulsory education for girls and boys of 6-14 years of age.
- Annulment of Child labor (ban-prevention) Act-2015 that allows the children below 14 years to work.

Unemployment question

- Unemployment/semi-employment is increasing day by day in the country due to the globalisation policies of the comprador rulers. Self-employment involves half of the employment. There is utmost favorable atmosphere to take revolutionary politics among the unemployed youth and mobilise and organise them into the revolutionary movement. We must take up various forms of struggle and organisation to organise the unemployed/semi-employed, self-

employed youth.

- We have to oppose giving to contract for placement companies for outsourcing to appoint employees from outside the firm. The method of outsourcing must be ended. We must demand importance to the local youth.
- We must demand immediate filling of vacant posts. We must discourage recruitment into the armed forces that squeeze the blood of the oppressed people. We must expose the policies of the comprador rulers taking up large scale recruitment only into the armed forces.
- Until given employment/job, all the unemployed youth must be given unemployment pension equal to minimum wages.

The question of reservation

- We must fight for the proper implementation of reservation policy. We must fight back the attempts of the NDA government led by Modi to lift the reservations as per the agenda of the Sangh Parivar.
- We must fight for free education by the government to the poor children of other castes.
- We must mobilise the people of SC, BC and ST and also the poor people of other castes, especially students, youth, unemployed, teachers, Trade Unions, employees, democratic academicians and take up struggles against the policies of the central and the state governments that are liquidating reservations by weakening public education, corporatizing education and privatizing the public sector institutions.

Education

- We must mobilise students, youth and the vast masses against the government New Education Policy that deprives the children of Dalit, tribal, backward and poor people to education.
- We must build movement against the attempts to remove education from the definition of the service sector and to include it in the category of goods, market and trade.

- We must fight against the degradation of educational standards in government education institutions in order to encourage the private educational institutions, against the cancellation of government educational institutions, the cut for educational sector in budget, the temporary appointments of teachers and other such things.
- We must build continuous agitations against marketisation, privatisation and saffronisation of education.
- We must mobilise the people against each and every attempt to bring foreign educational institutions into the country and turn education into a market commodity.

Health

Lakhs of rupees are being spent on an average per family towards treatment and medicines. Five and a half crores of people are falling in the mire of poverty unable to bear the expenditure. They have to stay without meals for two days to buy antibiotics. In rural health, 79 percent is spent for medicines most of which is spent by the patients. While on the international scale 18 percent per average is spent per individual for health, 68 percent is spent in our country. This makes clear that there are no proper medical facilities in our country. The central government is spending only 1.5 percent of the GDP for health. With the privatization of health sector 43 thousand crore rupees of FDI came to the hospitals and diagnostic centers in the past decade. The foreign institutions that made heavy investments are making business out of patient's lives. This is raising expenditure of medicine. We have to fight for medical facilities with the following demands –

- We have to fight against the privatization and handing over of every sector of health to MNCs/Startup companies/comprador companies. The government has to bear the highly rising expenditure on medicine due to the indiscriminate exploitation by the corporate companies. We must expose the fake health schemes of the comprador governments.
- We must oppose the cut in budget for health.
- We must demand free treatment for poor and middle class people.

- The vacant posts of doctors and medical personnel must be immediately filled. We must dissolve the casual system and provide security for their jobs. We must solve their problems and look after their welfare.
- We must fight for the ban on chemical food material that is degrading people's health in an unprecedented manner.
- We must take up struggles exposing the negligence towards public health by taking up consolation schemes such as 'Ayushman' and propagating those in their political interests.

The problem between the centre and the states

- We must demand legal rules concerning relations between the centre and the states so as to contribute to the overall development of all the nationalities and the whole country, that the central government continue democratic relations with the states and autonomous areas regarding political, economic resources, language, culture and other such things. We must mobilise the people against the monopoly and bureaucratic decisions of the central government that acts against the same.
- We must support the demands of the people of the states to withdraw unequal relations between the centre and the respective states. We must support the demand for hike in the share of the states and the local bodies in collection of taxes and that for the development of backward areas, for special status and special development packages.
- We must mobilise the people against the deeds of Modi who is centralising power in the centre violating federalism through policies such as 'one country-one law', 'one country-one tax'.

The question of backward areas

Many areas of many states of the country are backward for a long time due to the discriminated caused by the anti-people, reactionary policies of the central and the state governments. We must support the just struggles of the people of such areas for their rights.

The question of civil rights

Fascism being the main trend in the country and all over the world civil and human rights are cruelly trampled. We have to fight with the following demands –

- AFSPA, NIA amendment bill-2019, UAPA amendment bill-2019, Human rights protection amendment bill-2019, RTI amendment bill-2019, annulment of Article 370 and 35A/Jammu-Kashmir reorganizing act, CAA, NPR, NRC and other such draconian laws must be annulled. Entire human and civil rights must be implemented.
- The forest rights act, PESA, the Fifth and the Sixth schedules that were formulated due to the tribal struggles must be implemented.
- We must revive the rights acts that the workers achieved through struggle.
- The reactionary judgments of the judiciary regarding workers, tribal people, peasantry, small industrialists, Dalits, women, minorities, human rights, people's welfare, the Babri Masjid judgment-2019 must be dissolved.
- We must mobilise the people against the government mercenary armed forces that are indulging in attacks by murderous gangs, several massacres, fake encounters, atrocities on women, burning houses, looting properties and destruction on those fighting for higher wages for agricultural laborers, tenancy reforms, rights of farmers, land reforms, land to the tiller, compensation for the displaced, rights for the oppressed castes, especially the Dalits, tribal people and minorities and those fighting against patriarchy.
- We must fight against state sponsored attacks on human rights' activists, social activists, secular and progressive forces.
- We must fight against the imperialist sponsored institutions, their comprador organisations and NGOs encouraging reaction in the name of human rights.
- We must fight for the unconditional release of the revolutionary, democratic, progressive political prisoners and social activists

belonging to Dalits, tribal people, Muslim religious minorities that are illegally imprisoned. We must oppose narcotic tests on the revolutionaries in a conspiratorial manner by the government.

- We must enlighten the people and fight against the government for its implementation of Aadhar card and the utilisation of digital technology to rob the citizens of the country of their privacy.

The question of media and journalists

- Print, electronic and social media gained manifold importance during the period of globalisation. The imperialists and comprador rulers are utilizing the corporate media in their exploitive interests and are stamping the rights of freelance journalists, camera persons and other media personnel in fascist methods. We must organise the journalists having secular, progressive, patriotic, democratic and revolutionary ideas of the corporate media and independent media. We must fight for the solution of their problems and for their rights.
- We must fight for the withdrawal of false cases under UAPA, AFSPA and other such cruel laws on democratic journalists.
- We must educate them to expose the cruel imperialist exploitive policies and the imperialists and the traitorous, reactionary comprador rulers on every occasion and highlight secular, progressive, patriotic, democratic and revolutionary politics.

The question of the old-orphans-those with physical, mental and other defects

- The protection of the old (senior citizens) is the responsibility of the society. They cannot at all meet their needs with old age pension. We must fight for the full-fledged welfare of the old.
- The protection of orphan girls and boys is the responsibility of the society. We must fight with the demands such as education to them until they are qualified, provision of proper employment and other such things.
- We must fight for free health services and rehabilitation of the persons with physical and mental defects (handicapped).

- Widow pensions will not at all fulfill the needs of widows without any base. We must fight for their full-fledged protection and appropriate employment.
- We must take up the responsibility of people with other kinds of problems in a similar manner.

The question of share of river waters and border

- We must mobilise the people to solve the disputes regarding the borders of different states, nationalities and tribes, river waters and other such natural resources and environment without any harm to mutual interests through mutual consultations.
- We must oppose, expose and fight back the hierarchical intervention of the central government in such disputes and the conspiracies of the political parties/governments of the concerned states that try to instigate the people against each other for their narrow interests. We must work to sustain the unity among the people.

The politics of seizure of state power

Like in all the countries the central question of the revolution of our country is to seize power through armed strength. If we wish to implement the path of Protracted People's War against the outdated semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and accomplish New Democratic Revolution, we will have to efficiently utilize the three magic weapons to enlighten, mobilise and organise the people and to defeat the enemy. The first weapon is the vanguard of the proletariat, the Revolutionary Communist Party. It leads the rest two weapons, the People's Army and United Front – the broad mass movements. These are meant to bring down the reactionary state and to establish people's democratic government. It very skillfully brings forth various kinds of United forums to mobilise lakhs and crores of people in the leadership of the proletarian party into the revolution, to isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy in the revolutionary war or the patriotic war against the aggression wars of the imperialists. The formation, consolidation/strengthening, expanding of people's army and united fronts by the revolutionary proletarian party that is armed with the path of

Protracted People's war in the light of MLM to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in the country cannot take place isolated from the armed agrarian revolutionary war or the PPW. Also, it is not possible to establish area wise people's state power in the strategic areas by facing many ups and downs and twists and turns in the path of PPW and to seize countrywide power.

Today we have to invite, support and encourage however small and limited the struggles against the pro imperialist policies and the measures of the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord alliance. We must support all such struggles as long as they are not fake and in fact overcome the limitations of the leadership of those movements and advance them. Such successful struggles against these policies shall not only provide temporary relief to the people that became part of them but also contribute to develop anti-imperialist consciousness in the whole country. In addition to this, such thousands of small struggle streams became a great anti-imperialist stream of movement and join the democratic revolutionary stream.

Globalisation entered our country and took the exploitation of the people to new heights. Taking chance of the setback of communism all over the world and the stepping back of nationality liberation struggles, the imperialists and their comprador agents became chauvinistic and turned cruel. It rose further after the collapse of the contending super power the Soviet Social imperialism after 1990s. Especially the US imperialism and its pet dog Israel are making severe attacks on the people, especially the people of Arab. After September 11, these attacks turned into frenzy war and became a danger to one and all. They indulge in aggression offensives always. Initially Afghanistan, later Iraq, Libya and again another country such as Syria that surrender to the US super power – the aggression wars continue. After the Indian comprador rulers developed close relations not only economically but also militarily, they are also unleashing massacres on the Indian people. They are instigating anti-terrorist frenzy in India like the US and Israel. The Indian comprador rulers are gaining support from this war frenzy and are unleashing cruel repression even on small struggles. They are becoming more fascist and

are, and will trample the protest in all forms to them and their masters in a cruel and forcible manner.

Because of state terrorism peaceful forms of struggle are soon becoming unimportant. The influence of armed struggle is seen in the people's struggles in all the sectors in the forests, plains and urban areas of the country. The atrocities on the Muslim religious minorities are making every Muslim hold a weapon to protect them. The cruel attacks on the peaceful struggles of the workers, farmers, students and public sector employees and others are bringing new thoughts in them about new, more efficient methods of struggle.

In this background the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movements shall gain the support of the ongoing People's War in the leadership of the CPI (Maoist). Since the revolutionary movement is stably fighting against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism any anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement cannot sustain and develop without strong relations with the Maoist people's war. In fact the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movements can achieve success only under the leadership of the Maoist party. They can step forward towards the creation of India with genuine freedom and self-reliance. The area wise seizure of power and the establishment of liberated areas can become the utmost strong foundation for the advancement and polarization of entire genuine anti-imperialist forces in the country.

Similarly the anti-globalisation movement is constantly growing all over the world. The movements generally targeted imperialism that is its common enemy and its multipronged institutions, especially US imperialism and its fascist pet dog Israel. The unity of the anti-imperialist/comprador movements of India and the international movements shall strengthen those mutually. Thus many streams of anti-imperialist/comprador movements shall develop and strengthen, establish mutual strong relations and unite with the armed struggles of the nationalities. They establish relations with the Maoist people's war. They transform into a strong wind and wipe out these fearsome cruel animals in the nook and corners of our country.

Political tactical slogans

- Fight against the old and the new landlords in the rural areas. Fight against the old and the new exploitive forces.
- Land to the tiller.
- Fight for jal-jungle-zamen-ijjat and adhikar.
- Annul casual, contract system in public and private sectors. Everyone must be made permanent. All the unemployed must be provided jobs.
- Expand and intensify anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal class struggle.
- Fight against the privatisation of education and health sectors.
- Condemn the attacks on religious minorites and Brahmanic Hindutwa communalists. Fight against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism.
- Resist attacks of the oppressor castes on the Dalit people. Fight against all kinds of caste discrimination and caste oppression.
- Fight against patriarchy and against all kinds of attacks on women.
- Fight for freedom, equality and right to self-determination of nationalities.
- Fight against all kinds of exploitation of domestic and foreign corporate companies.
- Fight against the betrayal of BJP Modi government that is selling away the country to imperialism in the name of nationalism.
- Fight against the traitorous policies of the central government.
- Expand-intensify Armed struggle.

