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*Organ of the
Central Committee CPI(ML)*

NEW DEMOCRACY

7th All India Conference of IFTU

IFTU Call On May Day 2023

RSS-BJP Drive to Impose Fascism

Linkages and Character of Indian Big Bourgeoisie

All India Tribal Convention

Statement in Solidarity with Workers of France

Statement of Sudanese Communist Party

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**“WIN BACK JOB SECURITY, DEFEND
CLASS UNITY and ORGANIZE”**

7th All India Conference of IFTU at Tirupati Calls on Working Class !

It was late evening in Tirupati on 18th April 2023 by the time the Seventh All India Conference of IFTU drew to a close in Tirupati with resounding slogans by enthusiastic delegates. They were 400 of them, assembled together from Andhra Pradesh, Telengana, West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, Delhi, Punjab, Haryana and Tamil Nadu from 16th to 18th April for the Conference.

The Conference proceedings began on the 16th of April 2023 at 10.30 am with a huge march from Laxmi Puram Circle to **Nellimarla Martyrs Ground** (Padmawati Park). Led by members of the outgoing National Committee of the IFTU, several thousand workers and IFTU activists from especially local districts and also rest of Andhra marched along with the Delegates. The colorful procession, marked by the high participation of women scheme workers, was decked with red IFTU flags and banners. It marched behind the Arunodaya activists who performed at several points in the rally. The lead banner was borne by the members of



Workers Rally at Tirupati (AP) during the 7th All India Conference of IFTU.

the outgoing National Committee, who also carried seven flags soaring high above the rally and signifying the 7th Conference. Activists and leaders of fraternal organizations as well as well as leaders of several fraternal militant trade union centres walked in the procession.

Public Meeting

The public meeting was held at the **Nellimarla Martyrs Ground** and began with an inspiring song by ARUNODAYA.

Com. **Polari**, General Secretary of AP IFTU State Committee and NCM too, then took the mike and called the speakers at the meeting onstage.

Com. **Aparna**, President NC IFTU, presided. She briefly focused attention on the situation of the working class in the country, pointing that the new century had set itself out as one of temporary workers and decreasing wages, which situation we must turn around. Mentioning several ongoing workers' struggles, the communal fascist divisive challenge and the repression of democratic rights she said IFTU must focus on unionizing the working class, develop the IFTU method of work and unleash sharp struggles, both ourselves and by catalyzing joint activity. We must defeat anti worker pro corporate policies. She then invited the Chief Guest, Retd. Prof of Telugu Literature, democratic and women rights' activist Dr. Katyayani to address the gathering. Dr. Katyayani used to teach at Kakatiya University, Warangal.

In her half hour long address in Telugu, Prof. **Katyayani** touched upon a wide range of issues in the country. Beginning with the challenges before the working class including the Labour Codes,

privatization and contractualization, she touched on democratic rights, communal situation, caste exploitation, and women's rights.

Com. **B. Pradeep**, outgoing General Secretary, was the next speaker. In his 15 minute address, he spoke sharply on the challenges before the working class. He lashed out against privatization of public sector built on public money and being handed over to corporate, chiefly foreign, at throwaway prices, and about the attack of right of unionization and struggle enshrined in the Industrial Relations Code. He elaborated the communal fascist challenge to working class unity. He exposed the slogans of Achche din and showed status of workers in Amrit Kal. He ended with a rousing call for building struggles against the policies.

The fourth speaker was National Committee Secretary and AP IFTU Committee President, Com **P. Prasad**. He detailed the struggles of the working class in Andhra, the challenges before that AASHA and Anganwadi workers.

At this point, the audience was treated to an inspiring song performance by PALA cultural team from Tamil Nadu led by Com. **Kovan**, well known cultural activists who faced state repression by Jayalalitha Govt.

The last speaker from the National Committee, Com. **T. Srinivas**, NCM and President of Telengana IFTU State Committee detailed the challenges before the working class especially in the public sector.

The next two speakers were from the AP State Committee—Com Harikrishna, the Vice president and Com Bharati, Jt. Secretary. Com. **Harikrishna** spoke on many aspects, and he gave

an elegant, sharp but simple class message about the presiding deity of the city of Tirupati. He explained how though the pilgrim footfall has doubled from around 40,000 daily to 75- 80,000 daily since 1995 and temple earnings from 800 crore to 3500 crore annually now, the number of permanent workers of the temple establishment has fallen from 15,500 to 9000 in the same time and contract workers risen from around 1500 to 12,000 currently. He appealed that while workers pray to the Deity, it is only struggles which can defend their jobs.

Com. **Bharati** chiefly delineated the challenges and situation of the scheme care workers in the country- the AASHAs and Anganwadis. She also briefly told of the struggles taken by them in AP.

The next three speakers were Comrades **K. Subramaniam** (Gen Sec of Tirupati Dist IFTU Committee); **V. R. Jyoti** (President Chittur dist. IFTU and Gen Sec of the AP anganwadi workers and helpers union of IFTU) and **N. Surendra** (Gen. Sec. of Chittur Dist IFTU Com.)

Comrades **Venkaiah** and **Venkatraman**, both Dist. AIKMS leaders, graced the dais by their presence. One speaker, Shri **Bhooman**, President of Rayalseema Studies, came to the meeting but could not speak due to severe ill health.

The meeting concluded with a song by ARUNODAYA and stirring sloganeering.

The same evening, a **Cultural Evening** was held between 6 pm and 9 pm in which Arunodaya teams from Andhra and Telengana as well as PALA from Tamil Nadu participated.

Interaction of Militant Unions

In the course of the evening, IFTU NC had convened a discussion among the leaders of the fraternal militant trade unions whom we had invited to address our inaugural session. Thus Com. Sanjay Singhvi (President TUCI), Com. Gautam Mody (General Secretary NTUI), Com. Amitabh (WSCC), Com. Vijay Kumar (President of NDLF, SCC), Com. Chennama (Karnataka Shramik Sangh), Com Anand Loganathan (Gen. Sec., NDLF) took part. AIFTU (New) had informed they had another programme that day. Fruitful discussions were held and will continue. Concretizing issues and building joint struggles was agreed by all.

Inaugural Session

This session opened on 17th April morning with the **hoisting of the IFTU flag** by the IFTU President. The IFTU GS then inaugurated an **exhibition** set up in the same ground. All activities over next two days were in the premises of **Com. Satyanarain Singh Nagar** where the delegate sessions were also held and where the delegates stayed.

Immediately thereafter began the Inaugural Session, presided over by IFTU President. The session was very rich in content. Com B. Pradeep, Gen Secretary, called 4 members of Reception Committee including its chairperson on the stage and also the other speakers.

After a minute's silence in memory of martyrs, the proceedings began with the address of the **Chairperson, Reception Committee**, Shri KV Chowdhry. Copies of his address in English and Telugu had already been distributed.



Then **Retd. Prof of JNU and renowned Economist Dr Arun Kumar**, was invited to **Inaugurate** the 7th Conference. A summary of his address had been translated and distributed to the delegates in various languages. Speaking in Hindi, Dr Arun laid forth an engaging and provocative presentation on the Deepening Economic Crisis in India and the Challenges before the working class. He minced no words in questioning govt data and claims on growth of organized sector or on the links of corporate and the Govt. He exhorted the working class, that a systemic change is needed and they have to lead it. He extended greetings to the Conference.

The Inaugural Session was then addressed by leaders of six fraternal militant trade unions. **Com. Chinamma** from KSS, **Com. Sarvanna**, Vice President of NDLF, **Com. Gautam Mody** who is Gen Sec NTUI, **Com. Amitabh** the President of SWCC, and **Com. J. Jeevan Kumar**, Tamil Nadu State Gen

Secretary of TUCI, all expressed their solidarity and greeted the Conference. Messages of solidarity from NDLF (SCC) and International Miners Coordination were read out.

Messages of solidarity and greetings to the Conference were then conveyed by fraternal mass organizations in other sectors. Thus the Inaugural Session was addressed by Com **V. Venkatramaiah** President AIKMS, **Com. Jhansi** (President POW Telengana, convenor PMS- POW- IJM Coordination), **Com. Bhaskar** (Gen. Sec., AP state PDSU Com) and **Com. Rajshekhar**, President Arunodaya AP State. The session concluded by a rousing song by the cultural team.

Delegate Sessions

Post lunch and post registration of delegates by the NC Committee of Com. Animesh, Polari and Ashish, began the first session. Before the delegate proceedings began, **Com. Gurram Vijay Kumar** President AIFTU (New) delivered a message of solidarity to the Conference.

Outgoing General Secretary Com. B. Pradeep declared the outgoing NC as the **Steering Committee** of the Conference. He proposed a five member **Presidium** of Coms. Aparna, Patole, P. Prasad, T Srinivas and Kulwinder, which was accepted. The **minutes writing committee** of Coms. Raj Singh, Animesh and Ashish took their seats. And so opened the deliberations of the 7th Conference.

The **Draft Call to Working Class** along with list of official amendments was presented by Com. Aparna on behalf of the National Committee. The Draft had earlier been translated and



distributed over two months ago and also discussed in all state conferences. After the presentation, 29 comrades, either individually or on behalf of state committees came forward brimming with suggestions and amendments to strengthen the Call. The Steering Committee applied itself and accepted almost all suggestions in some form, giving clarification on two issues. The Draft Call with official amendments and accepted amendments was then accepted by loud clapping of hands and sloganeering.

In the same session, Com. Pradeep presented the **Report and Review** of the NC. This was to enable more time for discussion the next day and also to give delegates more time to think over the draft.

The next morning, i.e. 18th April, the session began at 9 AM and a lively discussion took place with 32 delegates speaking for

themselves or their committees. The Steering Committee sat through lunchtime and when the post lunch session began, Com. Pradeep accepted all factual additions to report and discussed all the other suggestions. The Draft Report- Review with amendments was then passed with clapping and slogan shouting.

The Agenda of election of **New National Committee** was now taken up. Com. Pradeep proposed the new team of office bearers and NCMs. Of the old NCMs, all were proposed to be re-elected except Com. Byas Tiwari who requested to be relieved due to age and ill health. He proposed that all three invitees should be elected as regular NCMs. In addition, Coms. MV and Bharati from AP, Com. Aruna from Telengana, Com. Chandan from West Bengal, Com. Rajesh from Delhi and Com. Joginder from Punjab were proposed to be added to NC.

Lively, comradely discussion took place as is necessary in a democratic and growing organization, in a country of differential development, with also different levels of organization. Ultimately, a new National Committee of 25 members with 22 posts being filled now was elected. The new leading committee with office-bearers were passed amidst loud hailing, clapping and sloganeering. Com. Aparna was re-elected as President, Com. Patole was re-elected Vice President and Coms. Pradeep, P. Prasad and Kulwinder will join him and thus the new NC has four Vice Presidents. Com. T. Srinivas is the new General Secretary of IFTU. Com. Raj Singh is re-elected and will be joined by Com. Polari as Secretaries and Com. Animesh was re-elected as Treasurer of National Committee. Besides Comrades mentioned above NC will

include Com. Sujan and Ashish from West Bengal, Com. Lalu and Suresh Kanojia from Bihar, Com. Pratap from Odisha and Com. Radheyshyam from UP. All the NCMs and Office bearers came to the dais before the cheering delegates.

Resolutions

The Conference passed Resolutions on

1. Withdraw 4 Labour Codes, Privatization, and Pro Corporate anti worker policies of Central Govt!
2. Reject New Pension Scheme. Implement OPS.
3. Save National Industry Jute!
4. Regularize All Contract, Outsourcing and Scheme Workers.
5. Welfare Boards be established for Hamali, head loaders, Auto workers and others.
6. Expose and Fight back Divisive Communal Fascist Agenda of Modi Govt.
7. For AP Govt. to ensure restarting of schemes under BOC Act, which boc workers in AP have been denied since past 5 years.

The Conference issued **May Day Call** to the working Class with the central slogan- **REGULARIZE ALL CONTRACT, OUTSOURCING AND SCHEME WORKERS IN THE COUNTRY!**

The deliberations of the Conference saw a lively use of several languages reflecting the multilingual diversity of India. There were quick translations in the proceedings by the Presidium for clarity of delegates.

General Secretary Com. T. Srinivas gave the vote of thanks to the AP State Committee and especially to the local IFTU committee, the local activists and all the kitchen staff for their immense contribution to the successful holding of the Conference. He vowed to the delegates that he would dedicate himself with all his strength to discharging the new responsibility.

The Conference ended to the strains of the Internationale.



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CPI(ML) Organs

New Democracy	English
Pratirodh Ka Swar	Hindi
Voice of New Democracy	Telugu
Biplabi Ganaline	Bengali
Inquilabi Sada Rah	Punjabi
Sangrami Ekta	Odia

May Day Call of 7th All India Conference of IFTU

- **Fight for Regularizing All Contract, Outsourcing & Scheme Workers !**
- **Fight for Repeal of four anti-worker labor codes and of Privatization of Public Sector Industries!**
- **Let's Resist the fascist, communal policies of the BJP Modi government !**
- **Let's Preserve the unity of the working class !**
- **Long live legacy of May Day !**
- **Johaar to Martyrs !**

The American working class fought for a 8 hour workday against the exploitation of workers who were made to work literally from sunrise to sunset. In the protests at Haymarket Square in Chicago in the first week of May 1886, some were shot dead by the police. Leaders of the workers were hanged after summary trials. IFTU salutes all the martyrs who fought for 8 hours working day.

Inspired also by the sacrifices of the Chicago Martyrs, the working class of India has long fought and won many legal rights. Today, we have to fight for the protection of these rights from the pro Corporate onslaught of the Modi Govt.

Modi government is selling all the public sector industries in the name of nationalism, patriotism and swadeshi. Spacecraft, Insurance, Railways, Roads, Oil, Coal, Power Generation, SAIL,

GAIL, BPCL, HPCL, BSNL are all public sector companies which are up for sale to corporate. There is not a single public sector enterprise in the country which is not to be sold to the private sector.

Corporate has been demanding labor law amendments as they are necessary to enhance the profits of their investments. The Modi government has attacked the rights of the working class by doing away with 29 hard won labour laws and bringing in their place four Codes during the Corona period. If these Codes are implemented, crores of workers will become victims of labour laws! Employers have been given powers to fire workers at any time. Already, public and private employers have reduced permanent workers and increased contract and outsourcing workers. Thus, these Codes are weapons for attacks by employers on the right to form unions and to undermine the power and right to collective bargaining. These 4 labor codes are like a death sentence for the working class.

Over 95% of the working class in the country is in the unorganized sector. Minimum wages are not implemented for unorganized workers such as Hamali, Motor, BOC, Asha, Anganwadi, KGBV, Midday Meal Scheme etc. ESI, PF, pension and other statutory rights are not being enforced. The assurances given by the Central and State Governments to make Gram Panchayat workers, Municipal workers, Scheme workers permanent have not been implemented. None of the unorganized workers except the BOC have welfare boards. Prices of all types of essential commodities have increased by 100% since the corona period. Prices of petrol, diesel cooking gas have increased and the minimum

wages are not being revised in line with the rising prices. The governments are not paying attention to the demands of the trade unions for a minimum wage of Rs. 27,000.

The BJP government has been in power for the past nine years but has not implemented the promises made to the people. Not a single law has been made in the Parliament which is beneficial to the workers, common people or farmers. But during this period, the Parliament has amended laws so as to hand over the country's wealth and natural resources to the corporate, chiefly foreign. It unleashes repression on parties, individuals and forces that oppose government policies. Activists are being branded urban naxalites and 'anti national' by NIA, being arrested under UAPA and being sent to jail. RSS and its frontal organizations continue to attack minorities, Dalits, intellectuals, Ambedkarists and social activists. Raising slogans of one religion, one language, one education, one food, one dress code etc, in a country of diversity, the regime is driving divisions among working class.

On the occasion of 138th May Day, in the spirit of Chicago Martyrs, let us resolve to build wide based and continuous struggle for protection of our rights, Repeal of four labor Codes, against privatization of public sector industries, for regularization of contract, outsourcing and scheme workers, for equal pay for equal work, for restoration of old pension scheme. IFTU urges the working class to come forward -for protracted and militant struggles.

National Committee

IFTU

RSS-BJP Drive to Impose Fascism; Challenges before the People

● **Aditya Prakash**

Drive by RSS-BJP fascist rulers to impose fascist system over the country is intensifying. However, resistance to this drive is also growing. Both of these are operating on the basis of deepening socio-economic crisis in the country and worsening conditions of the people. On the one hand ruling dispensation is increasing attacks on the workers and peasants and on the other contradictions among sections of ruling classes are sharpening. Intensification of these contradictions is leading to growing resentment of the people paving way for the outbursts of the people's struggles in different parts of the country.

Drive of the fascist rulers has reached a critical juncture. RSS-BJP represent the most reactionary sections of the ruling classes of the country. In the backdrop of deepening socio-economic crisis in the country and political instability of the coalition era of Indian ruling class politics, ruling classes particularly corporate brought RSS-BJP to power. This was to intensify exploitation and oppression of the people and disrupt and pre-empt people's unity to forestall growth of people's movements. Advent of RSS-BJP to power was paved by the need of the ruling classes to abridge the

existing democratic rights of the people and thereby pre-empt the eruption of mass movements by leading the people into blind alley of communal chauvinism.

While ruling classes of the country have hardly, and hesitatingly, respected the democratic rights of the people and fascist repression on the people's movements especially revolutionary struggles has been routine, they (ruling classes) needed to suppress the people more thoroughly and systematically. Hence they prepared the way for RSS-BJP to get clear majority in 2014 especially in view of growing resentment of the people against their worsening conditions and rampant corruption in high places. Having come to power RSS-BJP have been faithfully serving foreign and domestic corporate and other domestic reactionaries particularly landlords.

But the course of rise of fascism in the country has been marked by Indian characteristics. Fascism has different trajectories and also different features in different countries depending on special socio-economic and political conditions of different countries as was formulated by Dimitrov in his famous thesis on fascism. However, two aspects of fascism are present in all its forms and trajectories of its growth. Firstly it is terroristic method of rule of the ruling classes which involves negation of existing democratic rights. While ruling classes in countries like India routinely violate and scantily respect the Constitutional rights of the people, fascism denotes wholesale negation of these rights. This denotes the ruling classes would like the existing form of rule to be changed forced by either growth of the people's movements especially revolutionary struggles as was the case in Europe after First World War after victory of Great October Socialist Revolution; or by the need to

change the form of rule to facilitate intensification of exploitation and oppression which is the need of the ruling classes and which could and would bring about upsurge in people's movements, a sort of pre-emptive strike by the ruling classes. Second important aspect is that this terrorist method of rule is backed by and stand on the basis of chauvinist mobilization of the people. This chauvinist mobilization is aimed at whipping up national chauvinism and jingoism targeting imaginary enemies often targeting a section of the people of the country itself projecting them as responsible for the problems faced by the people. And this chauvinism is portrayed as nationalism thus embedding this chauvinism in the discourse of nationalism. It serves an important purpose of the ruling class sections backing fascism; that of obfuscating their increasing loot and plunder while projecting enemies against whom the anger of the people is to be directed. Selection of such imaginary enemies is made by distorting past and present, misrepresenting and misinterpreting the past and misdirecting the present. Thus the exploiters and oppressors of the people are projected as their benefactors and symbols of this new type of nationalism. These two aspects i.e. terrorist method of rule and chauvinist mobilization are generally present whatever may be other special features of fascism in a country depending on factors applicable and peculiar to a specific country.

It is the for the latter requirement i.e. of chauvinist mobilization that ruling classes backed RSS-BJP to make it "party of governance" in the period of deepening economic crisis and intensifying contradictions of the present system. While it has long been kept as a reserve force by the ruling classes and their political representatives, however in the context of deepening economic

crisis of imperialist system and that of the economy in India and the need of the corporate- foreign and domestic – to increase surplus extraction or simply loot and plunder of the resource of India that major section of ruling classes rallied behind RSS-BJP when Indian economic went into slowdown as the effect of great recession beginning from 2008 onwards and then ruling Congress led UPA was discredited due to exposure of major scams. However, it was just not replacement of one govt. by another but RSS-BJP getting a clear majority in Lok Sabha, a first since 1989. Thus the quarter century long era of coalition govts. was brought to an end. Before that RSS had been in power at the Centre when its political outfit – Jan Sangh- had been part of the ruling Janata Party immediately after Emergency (as a junior partner) or as BJP leading the NDA govts. from 1998 to 2004 (as a senior partner yet dependent on allies for its survival in power). For the first time in 2014, RSS through its electoral arm- BJP, had obtained a clear majority and thus full control over executive power.

Before outlining the systematic efforts by the RSS-BJP to abrogate whatever rights people have under the present system, and the stages traversed by their efforts, it is pertinent to note how their drive is being influenced by the developments in world imperialist system and in the socio-economic, cultural and political situation of the country. Unlike Germany and Italy, the fascist countries of Europe, India is a multi-national, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-religious and caste ridden society which RSS-BJP have to navigate to impose fascist system in the country.

India is ruled by big capitalists and big landlords. Indian big capitalists are dependent on imperialist capital and have forged close bonds with them. They together are the corporate which steer

the Govt. policies in their favour. India is also a country with large population (nearly 69% according to 2011 census, the latest census) with pre-capitalist relations preponderant in the vast countryside. A web of landlords, money lenders and traders and businessmen engaged in and dominating a number of activities relating to supply of inputs and processing, storage and utilization of agricultural produce dominate the vast countryside. Land remains a prime source of economic, social and political domination of the lives of villages. However this domination asserts itself in league with other forces controlling several levers of economic life with which these forces are in alliance. Corporate remain overlords operating through these sections dominating the rural life of the country. However, this double exploitation i.e. of landlords and rural elite and of the corporate has increased miseries of the people of rural India. Unemployment is rising to alarming level and poverty is continuing, and in certain regions and among some groups, increasing. This has increased the restiveness, even anger, of the people.

Another very important aspect is sharpening contradictions among imperialist powers which have impact on the RSS-BJP drive. This impact is rooted not only in the international situation in which this drive is unfolding but also in deep links and dependency that Indian corporate (big capital) have with foreign corporate and imperialism. Continuing war in Ukraine and rising tensions in South China Sea epitomize these contradictions which have brought the imperialist world order at an inflection point. While US and its allies wish to revive the uni-polar world, Russia and China are exerting for consolidating a multi-polar world bringing a situation of two camps but with a large number of countries straddling a middle

path. This sort of non-alignment, has taken the form of multi-alignment, at times aligning with both the camps. Indian rulers wish to straddle a path of aligning with both US and Russia in the main. While their hearts are with western powers led by US imperialists, their head tells them to tread cautiously given the geo-strategic realities of the region in which India is. RSS-BJP have been traditionally close to western imperialism, especially US imperialism, even going to the extent of mulling over sending Indian troops as a part of US led “coalition of the willing”. They could not do this because of division among ruling classes which were for closer ties with US but not alienating other imperialist forces. But that was the era of uni-polar world when other powers including Russia, China, France and Germany though opposing invasion of Iraq were not openly confronting US imperialism. During Trump Admn. period they drew especially close aligning their Hindutva with Trump’s white supremacism. Over this period they have drawn specially close to Israel, became more assertive of their participation in Quad i.e. an alliance with US, Japan and Australia and repeatedly supported US on Syria and also Iran. Indian rulers supported US military occupation of Afghanistan and opposed withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan. After withdrawal of US forces contradictions among imperialist powers have flared up in this altered situation affecting especially South Asia.

RSS-BJP Govt. has been forced to do the delicate balancing act (a sort of tight rope walking) maintaining close relations with both US and Russia, neither condemning Russian aggression nor opposing NATO expansion. But this balancing act is coming under increasing strain as evidenced by Russian opposition to Indian participation in Quad and Russia improving relations with Pakistan;

China obviously being an important player in these developments. While their stand is seen as pro-Russia US needs Indian Govt. to contain China. In this stand RSS-BJP has come back to ruling class consensus. This stance of Indian Govt. is born out of the contention among imperialist powers which is the source of their neutrality and of their bargaining capacity in general.

While RSS-BJP anchor their fascist drive on anti-minority especially anti-Muslim plank, worsening conditions of people are increasing both the necessity of the imposing fascist system and also the difficulties in this path. While they are condemning election promises made by the opposing ruling class parties terming them “freebies” they are forced to announce their own so-called freebies. Moreover with the RSS cadre machinery and their sway over official machinery they are electorally weaponizing the welfare schemes. But the growing restiveness of the people is much in evidence.

In this backdrop, RSS-BJP fascist drive has come to an important juncture, a sort of inflection point in Indian politics. We can see the two phases they have traversed in their journey and now they are embarking on the third and possibly final stage of imposing fascist system over the country.

With their advent in power in 2014 with a clear majority in Lok Sabha and thus monopoly over executive power of the Union Govt., RSS-BJP launched what can be broadly termed as a phase of fascist offensive. In this period they did not have control over all the organs of the state, not even on the legislative agenda having no majority in Rajya Sabha. In this period they suppressed people’s struggles, intensified their campaign of communal polarization and intensified attacks on the progressive sections killing many

progressive intellectuals. In this period they also concentrated on monopolizing control over educational especially historical studies & social sciences and research institutions specially targeting progressive students and teachers bodies. In this period they increased their strength in different states especially the most populous state of Uttar Pradesh, and thereby increasing their strength in Rajya Sabha. In this period, taking 2014 victory of RSS-BJP as an aberration, ruling class opposition parties waited for the parliamentary election of 2019. In that period, communist revolutionary forces and other progressive & democratic forces were in the struggle against this fascist offensive. For the main onslaught of the RSS-BJP was against the progressive forces. Bhima Koregaon became an important example of such attacks.

RSS-BJP whipped up jingoist frenzy on the back of their communal polarization utilizing Pulwama and Balakote. On the strength of this polarization, they came back to power with increased majority in Lok Sabha. Opposition parties of the ruling classes which had failed to stand with the people, but also with one another, underestimating the strength of fascist forces and their communal polarization, could not dislodge RSS-BJP Govt. led by Modi. Not only BJP increased its seats in Lok Sabha but also vote share which rose to over 37% from under 31% in 2014. In this scenario a number of regional parties of the ruling classes caved into RSS-BJP strength. State institutions also succumbed to RSS-BJP. This created a new situation. With its improved strength in Rajya Sabha and support to its agenda by some regional ruling class parties, RSS-BJP gained control over the legislative agenda. What followed was the fascist rule i.e. the rule of the fascist forces where they implement their fascist agenda. Soon after 2019 elections RSS-

BJP struck at J&K rendering Article 370 ineffective and abrogating Article 35A of the Constitution. They also dissolved state of J&K into two Union Territories. It was followed by criminalization of triple talaq, Supreme Court judgment on Babri Masjid awarding the whole of the land on which Babri Masjid had stood to Ram Janmbhoomi Trust. And then came the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) which coupled with NRC-NPR was to formally reduce the large Muslim minority of India formally into second class citizens. This fulfilled the postulate of RSS ideologues that Muslims have no rights in the country and should be content to live at the mercy of majority religious community. In between there were measures like changes in the environmental and forest laws and regulations aimed at handing over mineral rich land to the foreign and domestic corporate. There were regular attempts to sharpen the organs of repression- both in terms of strengthening the security forces as well as giving further teeth to repressive laws like extending the scope of UAPA to cover even individuals. Power and scope of NIA was increased infringing on the rights of the state govts.

The fascist rule was much in evidence as they crushed the movement against CAA-NRC-NPR. Abusing the condition of rapidly spreading Corona pandemic, which they used to create scare and panic, they stamped out the pockets of resistance in different cities e.g. Shaheen Bagh in Delhi which had emerged a symbol of resistance to Hindutva fascist forces. Vibrancy of the movement was replaced by silence of graveyard covering the cries of the workers forced to walk thousand of kms on foot. Fear was sought to instilled among the people with even Supreme Court saying that it was not the time to determine fundamental rights.

It was in this imposed eerie silence that fascist rulers came

up with their most fierce attacks against the people and in the service of corporate in the form of three black farm acts and three labour codes (one having been made in 2019). This attack on peasantry was vigorously resisted through historic farmers' struggle lasting for early one and a half years forcing the obstinate RSS-BJP Govt. to withdraw the black acts. Besides beating back this pro-corporate attack, the glorious movement opened up democratic space though RSS-BJP Govt. tried to close down this space. This movement also brought forth that people's movements are the biggest force against March of fascism. When the history of this period is written, especially if RSS-BJP fails to impose fascist system, then this movement will stand out as a shining star.

Faced with the growing resentment of the people, fascist RSS-BJP are embarking to usher in third stage to impose fascist system in the country. For this they have to abolish the present constitutional framework if not formally at least in practice. It is difficult for the RSS-BJP to get such huge mandate to abolish the constitution especially when the Constitution does not provide for convening Constituent Assembly; rather power to amend the Constitution has been given to the Parliament in the manner prescribed therein. This amending power of the Parliament has been interpreted by the Supreme Court does not entail changing the "basic structure" of the Constitution. This basic structure has not been defined and has been defined by the Supreme Court in different ways from case to case. To abrogate the present constitutional framework if not formally, in practice it is necessary to take control of the Supreme Court. Hence, the present attacks of RSS-BJP are directed to get control over this interpretation power i.e. over Supreme Court. They are attacking collegium system as

they want to get power to appoint judges so that they can appoint exclusively their own people. Compromising positions taken by the Court is one thing and having their own people in the Court is another. In the first case, situation changes when judiciary sees popular mood against the Govt. or some big struggle.

Another important concern for the RSS-BJP is their inability to rule over vast majority of the states. Today they rule over less than half of India (i.e. states representing less than half the seats in Parliament.) In several states they will take a long time to come to power. Full fascist system is antagonistic to federalism even to the extent it exists in India especially for RSS-BJP whose Hindutva has limited appeal in several starts/regions of the country. Even Indira Gandhi had dismissed the two opposition govts. in Tamilnadu and Gujarat while imposing Emergency in June 1975. So they are attacking the very rights of states reducing them to mere municipalities; enlarging power of the Union Govt. in the areas of law and order virtually monopolizing power of repression in the hands of the Centre so that majority in a state is not crucial to launching fascist suppression. Enlarging the operation of NIA and bringing larger number of offences under its ambit, enlarging areas under the control of Central paramilitary forces are some of the measures which have been taken to attack the rights of states especially in the area of law and order. These are besides blackmailing state govts. through withholding/non-release of the funds due to them.

Besides these two specific areas, a critical part in changing the Constitution is to change the electoral system. Fascists may come to power through elections but cannot fashion fascist system/state without abolishing election system or at least altering it in a way that it becomes quite different from what it is today. Holding a

Sengol may indicate their desire to abolish elections as they exist now but desire itself is not enough. It is not new Parliament Building but the new Parliament itself that is needed by them. However, these difficulties should also be viewed in the backdrop of rise of chauvinist movement in the country. Even without having requisite numbers, a situation may be created where parts of the state capitulate before fascists and they can change the system on the lines indicated above.

The present situation outlines the dangers facing the people of the country; the drive of fascist forces and resistance of the people; both the challenges and opportunities for the people's movement. Ruling classes or important sections of them impose fascism to crush the people's movements; hence the situation which impels the ruling class sections towards fascism is also at least a pre-revolutionary situation, a situation pregnant with the possibilities of intensifying the struggles of different sections of people. The ruling class sections have chosen RSS-BJP fascists as these are thoroughly opposed to pro-people legacy of the freedom movement of Indian people against British colonial rule. It has been repeatedly shown that RSS-BJP fascists have been continuously opposed to the people's principles which had crystallized in the course of anti-colonial struggle. These five principles have been anti-colonialism, democracy, secularism, social justice and federalism. Congress as the main representative of big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes then had been forced to reluctantly accept these principles and has been in their implementation, affirming in theory and violating them in practice. RSS-BJP which had opposed participation in anti-colonial struggle itself is opposed to all these principles. Standing in favour of the rule of domestic reactionaries and management of

Hindu upper castes in service of imperialism, RSS-BJP has taken systematic efforts to dismantle whatever was done in furtherance of these principles. They are attacking federalism undermining rights of the states, they are undermining whatever democracy exists by undermining existing democratic institutions and they glorify their service of imperialism.

Furtherance of these five principles in the concrete conditions of present can be the charter to unite the various people's forces for the struggle against fascist forces and also in furtherance of the struggle for new democracy.



Linkages and Character of Indian Big Bourgeoisie

(We are publishing here a report of an investigation by a New Democracy team into linkages of some of Indian big capitalists with capital of imperialist countries which influence and determine their character. The team has selected some big capitalists who have emerged over past decades and have grown speedily over this period. While linkages and character of old big capitalists of India like TATAs and Birlas are well known and written about, less has been written about the likes of Ambani, Adanis)

Programme of CPI (ML)-New Democracy terms India a semi-colonial semi-feudal society. The principal contradiction is defined between alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism on the one hand and broad masses of Indian people on the other. Imperialism is leader of this alliance dominating economic, political and military affairs of the country. The stage of revolution is defined as New Democratic Revolution (NDR) whose main content is agrarian revolution. State is controlled by big bourgeois, big landlord classes, overthrow of whose rule is necessary to complete NDR.

The principal contradiction is according to our programme is expression of two basic contradictions of our society i.e. contradiction between imperialism and nation and contradiction between feudalism and broad masses of the people. However expression of these two contradictions into one contradiction encompassing both means the integral relation between the two

basic contradictions i.e. their interconnection. They do not stand side by side but are integrated into one.

Debates in ML movement on principal contradiction have often involved understanding of Mao on principal contradiction within Chinese society. Reference has often been made to Mao's statement about principal contradiction in China. After discussing two distinct phases, Mao had this to say for alliance becoming principal contradiction: "When a revolutionary civil war develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic reactionaries, imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule, it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to help the domestic reactionaries directly. At such a time, foreign imperialism and domestic reaction stand quite openly at one pole, thus forming the principal contradiction which determines or influences the development of other contradictions." (On Contradiction)

We should see that alliance becomes principal contradiction when Imperialism comes to aid the reactionary ruling classes militarily i.e. directly. Second condition envisaged is when national front is disrupted i.e. when ruling sections go over the side of the imperialism. Mao gives an example of this "Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal in 1927 is an example of splitting the revolutionary front." In both these conditions imperialism and domestic reactionary classes i.e. big bourgeoisie and big landlords stand on one pole and people on the other. In both these conditions reactionary ruling classes make common cause against the people of the country and with imperialism.

We should see the situation in Indian context. In India transfer of power along with partition on communal lines with

accompanying widespread killings and migration of people falls into second category. This transfer of power was not victory of Indian people against imperialism but was a compromise between British imperialism which had been considerably weakened especially during Second World War and Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords who grew fearful of widespread wave of people's movements sweeping across the country in the wake of defeat of fascist forces at the hands of forces led by then mighty socialist Soviet Union. This sweep spread over the whole country and was rooted in the growing contradictions in Indian society. Naval mutiny and several incidents of open defiance in armed forces including air force, workers' actions including the famous post and telegraph strike and wide rallying of workers of Mumbai in support of Naval mutiny, spiraling student protests and most importantly peasant rebellions of which Great Telengana Armed Struggle was the biggest challenge to the ruling classes. It was the first armed struggle by peasantry in India consciously developed under the leadership of working class through its vanguard - the Communist Party. It is this fear of struggles of Indian people which in the context of rising tide of people's wars in different parts of the world especially in our northern neighbour China which forced both imperialism and domestic reaction represented by the leadership of Congress to reach a compromise on transfer of power. Through this transfer of power, imperialism and domestic reaction become allies against the Indian people and this alliance became the principal contradiction. This compromise was not the compromise of some individual leaders but wholesale and open desertion of a section of bourgeoisie i.e. big bourgeoisie along with big landlords to imperialist camp. This alliance was set in the then prevailing contradictions among imperialist countries and was conditioned by

then priorities of imperialist countries to first meet the challenge of working class among western capitalist countries which had suffered extensive damage during the Second World War (SWW). After the transfer of power India was transformed from a colonial, feudal and semi-feudal country to a semi-colonial semi-feudal country.

While the two basic contradictions involved imperialism and feudalism, the alliance that resulted from the operation of these two in specific conditions was an alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism. Comprador bureaucrat capitalism was earlier part of the contradiction between imperialism and nation, but becomes a constituent of the alliance when the principal contradiction is so changed. It should be viewed in the context that imperialism does not rule directly but rules indirectly through the rule of domestic reactionary classes. This also indicates that the big bourgeoisie though comprador to imperialism, has become powerful enough to be part of ruling classes. It is these comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie (CBB) who are faithful allies and protector of the interests of imperialism. Feudal forces on the other hand are subservient but their ties to imperialism are different from those of CBB. These two sections in power protect the dominant position of the alliance in society and sub-serve the interest of imperialism.

In this part we shall deal with CBB while in the next part we shall deal with semi-feudalism as it is at present.

British colonialist rulers crushed the productive forces in India especially in industrial sector which was in the form of backward means of production but was producing a large amount of industrial goods for the country. Textiles, metallurgy and products

there from, different products for the use of people were being produced in India and these were just crushed by colonial rulers. Economic basis of colonial rule was to finish off Indian industry and squeeze Indian peasantry both directly as well as through exchange of British industrial goods which had become the sole source. Most of the Indian bourgeoisie were crushed, some survived in the periphery of production. And a section emerged from them which was comprador. First it involved itself with sale and distribution of British industrial goods. Later as British industrialists set up some industries some Indian bourgeoisie became junior partners. Besides some Indian capitalists were permitted and helped by British colonial rulers (allotting huge tracts of land and providing loans from the Banks dominated and controlled by them) to set up industries with machinery and technical knowhow from imperialist countries and working according to their needs and plan. Thus Indian comprador bourgeoisie was engaged in production since a long time and was not confined to only sale and distribution of products of British manufacture. A section of the left in India had long been arguing to limit compradors to only sale and distribution of foreign industries' product. It was not so in China as well where four big industrial houses were engaged in industries and mining besides running banks.

Comprador is a wider term meaning those bourgeoisie whose businesses and industries are dependent on foreign imperialists for machinery, technical knowhow, capital, marketing, and in a myriad of ways. In a way they are bound with imperialism and their interests are intertwined with the interests of imperialist capital. After transfer of power, big bourgeoisie (comprador) came into power and started controlling the state along with big landlords. In

the immediate aftermath of Second World War, due to imperialist powers concentrating their capital on rebuilding in the capitalist countries ruined by SWW and impact of victory of socialist construction in Soviet Union and other people's democracies, ruling classes took to developing basic industries which involved large capital outlay and were longer in duration of execution in public sector while keeping consumer industries with low capital input and faster turn over for private sector. Public sector was built with the help of capital and technical knowhow from imperialist countries. It served the interests of private capitalists as well by providing input material for their consumer industries as well as bringing up market for the goods produced by them.

With being in power, CBB could and did utilize their power over the state to control banks and other resources like land and ports; mines and minerals. Moreover, the Govt. contracts and purchases emerged as a lucrative source of income. Besides state could be used as important lever for manipulating imports and exports through control over taxes and subsidies. This too became a very important source of aggrandizement of the big bourgeoisie and also for the rise of new one. CBB is comprador to imperialism and controls state resources (bureaucratic) the two characters intertwined and amalgamated into the same class of entrepreneurs. This is only possibly in a semi-colony. Under British rule, compradors did not have control over bureaucrat capital i.e. state resources including capital. CBB with their link to imperialist capital and power in the state machinery took over several small and medium industries many of them run by national bourgeoisie which faced bankruptcy due to policies of the state favouring foreign imperialist and CBB companies. Through their control over banks,

technical knowhow and markets, imperialists and CBB are able to extract most of the surplus from the small and medium industries. A large number of them are made to ancillaries or are relegated to low capital labour intensive sectors which suffer expropriation through control over market by imperialists and CBB.

Imperialism has undergone change over the period especially since dissolution of Soviet bloc and restoration of capitalism in China. To maximize their profits imperialism has shifted part of their labour intensive operations to third world countries to use their cheap labour while retaining research and financial operations in imperialist countries. This aspect will be dealt in detail elsewhere. India has not been the main recipient of this shifting of production. However, to increase their profits and seek profitable investments for their capital, imperialist companies have increased their FDI in India. As was initially expected these did not go to set up new industries i.e. green field investments. However, a large part of the investments of foreign firms have been portfolio investments i.e. investments in already existing companies. Secondly most of these investments have been to mop up Indian markets and profits generated by these companies rather than expanding their production profile.

One of the important thrust of imperialist capital has been to dilute labour laws in India. The main purpose of that to increase their ability to extract more surplus from Indian labour not necessarily by setting up companies but through providing finances, technical knowhow or their control over market. More open is a sector, more of its surplus becomes part of the general surplus appropriated by capital. Channeling of capital into hitherto reserved sectors compromises ability of these sectors to retain values

produced in them and brings down the prices of their produce.

Before going into statistics about FDI and other parameters, it is pertinent to state that most of the Start-Ups are in fact backed by capital of MNCs from imperialist countries. Most of these start-ups have a capital base of one billion US \$ or more which roughly means of nearly Rs. 8000 crores or more. Most of these companies are promoted to take advantage of concession in taxes and other facilities announced by the Govt. We can see that most of these start-ups are in the sectors which are used by MNCs for example as service providers.

Much noise is made about FDI from developed countries (imperialist countries) but this is meant to exploit resources esp. mineral resources of the country or to use Govt. money for example govt. contracts. Most of these investments are meant to serve the interests of MNCs of imperialist countries and to seek zones of profitable investments for imperialist capital. To maximize their profits and exploit cheap labour of India, imperialist capital has to set up units in India or invest in the existing units. The contradiction between the neocolonial exploitative policies of the imperialism and needs of independent development of India very much continues.

One important expression of this contradiction is continuous decline of the manufacturing sector in India. Manufacture contributes to only 15.5% of the GDP and has declined by nearly 4% over the last three decades. Manufacturing including engineering industries are instrumental in providing industrial employment but also providing a base for economic growth. This development has been continuously subverted by imperialist capital allowing only such development as is the need of developed countries. In the period of globalization this is being opposed in the name of

comparative advantage of imports. Indian rulers while subscribing to the paradigm of globalization, wish to attract foreign investments by offering different kinds of sops like tax incentives, free repatriation and labour reforms. Their Make in India campaign has also not been a success. Foreign capital comes to India to control Indian market and Indian govt.'s slogan of Make in India Sell Anywhere has not yielded much as foreign capital already has many countries which are their production centres. This thrust can be seen in stagnation in automobile industry and other sectors.

Indian ruling classes have been bending over backwards to attract FDI. Total FDI i.e. cumulative FDI in manufacturing sector between April 2000 to December 2018 has been US\$ 46.62 billion (billion is hundred crore, US \$ is around 76 Rs per \$). Investments by Private Equity and Venture Capital had reached US \$ 33.1 billion by Dec. 30, 2018. FDI in automobile industry is worth US\$ 20.85 billion between April 2000 to December 2018. Indian cement sector dominated by a few companies with 20 of them accounting for 70% of production have according to Dept. of Industrial Policy and Promotion attracted nearly US \$ 5.28 billion from April 2000 to December 2018. FDI in railway related components production was US\$ 904.92 million over the same period and in 2018 France based company Alstom decided to make components in India. Indian Metallurgy Industry principally steel production including finished steel attracted FDI to the tune of 11.18 billion US\$.

Total FDI in first nine months of financial year 2019 i.e. between April to Dec. 2018 was 35.5 billion US\$. Of this services attracted the highest i.e. 6.5 billion \$ and computer software and hardware 4.9 billion \$, telecom 2.2 billion US \$.

Indian external debt total up to Dec. 2018 has been US\$

521.2 billion. Long term debts are more. Of the debts multilateral (debt to international financial institutions excluding IMF) are 56.021 billion, IMF 5.666 billion \$, Export credit 9.390 billion, Commercial borrowings 123.315 billion, NRI deposits 1.205 billion. Of the multilateral debt 25.3% to ADB, 53% to IDB and 20.4% to IBRD by Dec. 2017. Of the debts from foreign govts. 79.7% from Japan, 10.9% from Germany, 5.3% from Russia, 3.3% from France and 0.7% from USA. Foreign debt has registered some increase over the last two years. Still the largest debt to the Govt. is public debt.

Of the FDI covering the period from 1991-2000, US topped the list with 20.4%, Mauritius 6.4%, Japan 4.0%, South Korea 3.9%, Germany 3.4% with other countries ranking lower. Mauritius investment is largely recycling. Sectoral distribution of FDI over the same period was Power and Fuels 25.7%, Telecom 18.5%, Services 6.2%, Chemicals excluding fertilizers 5 %, Transport 7.5%, Metallurgy 5.8%, Food Processing 3.5%, Electronic Equipments including software 10%, Textiles 1.4%, Paper Industry 1.3%, Industrial Machinery 1% besides sectors with smaller investments.

Of these investments proportion of portfolio investments i.e. in shares of existing companies is continuing to rise, growing three fold between 2015 to 2018. This investment is to mop up quick profits and not for increasing production base or improving technological standards of the Indian manufacturing. FIIs investments in Indian share market is growing and it is cause of concern as withdrawal from the share markets i.e. profit booking or withdrawal for any other reason like interest rate hike in the west esp. USA cause havoc in Indian share market causing serious losses to small investors.

Indian Govt. is taking recourse to raising debts and more importantly selling Public Sector Assets to raise money. Foreign debt on India is 483.005 billion \$ in 2017-18. Though it is not very high, it is only sovereign debt while main form of foreign debt is towards the corporate. Govt. is no longer the main conduit of inflow of foreign funds as was the case earlier.

An important development in recent past has been deep inroads made by corporate including foreign corporate as well domestic corporate aligned with them in retail trade. Though several attempts were made in the past but their success was limited and would have taken a long time. But Corona period has made it easy for foreign and domestic corporate to dominate retail trade. Delivery by corporate is reaching towns and even in some rural areas. Growth of corporate in retail trade has bankrupted a large number of small traders. On the other hand a very big section of workers as delivery boys and girls and gig workers has arisen who suffer severe exploitation.

While linkages of old industrial houses like Birlas and Tatas are well known and often discussed, let us take some new and rising industrial houses from different sectors namely Mukesh Ambani, Adani, Sunil Mittal and Mahindras.

Sunil Mittal is a promoter of Bharati Enterprises which along with Singtel (Singapore Telecom Ltd.) control Airtel which was once leading mobile service provider and now number three owing to emergence of Jio (Mukesh Ambani) and merger of Vodophone and Idea (Birla). Singtel owns 39.5% of shares of Airtel which operates in 18 countries in South Asia, Africa and Channel Islands. Airtel equipment is provided and maintained by Ericsson, Nokia and

Huawei and IT support is provided by IBM. Airtel has been a leading company being among the first private service providers. They had thrived at the cost of BSNL a public sector company whose network was used by private service providers at very cheap rates not even covering the maintenance costs. So while private operators like Airtel reaped in big profits BSNL suffered losses. Airtel strategy is to outsource all business operations except marketing, sales and finance thus exploiting cheap labour through outsourcing. Biggest shareholder is Singtel whose majority shares are held by Tomasek Holdings Pvt. Ltd. which is investment arm of Singapore Govt. Singtel besides partially owning Bharati Enterprises also owns Optus in Australia, Advanced Info Services in Thailand and main companies in Bangladesh, Philippines and Indonesia. Its linkages with Singtel and operational dependence on IBM, Ericsson, Nokia and Huawei show that it is dependent of foreign companies for capital, technical knowhow, operations, thus for survival and expansion.

Mahindra & Mahindra is an international farm equipment manufacturer. It is a leading tractor maker in the world and biggest maker of tractors and utility vehicles in India. Mahindra family owns over 17% of the shares of the company and another 9.98% by a trust of M&M together owning a quarter of the shares 26.47%. The firm is backed by Indian financial institutions like LIC (14%), GIC (1.5%) and New India Assurance (1.2%). Together with ICICI Prudential Life Insurance (4%) they own nearly another 25%. Foreign Institutions own 24% of the shares of the company. Mahindra originally a steel trading company formed in 1945 in Ludhiana by Mahindra brothers and one Ghulam Mohammed, developed technical collaborations with Renault (France) and Ford

(USA). Mahindras use engines of mostly Mitsubishi in their tractors. They also use TYM (Tong Yang Moolsan engines. Their financial firm is Kodak Mahindra and Tech Mahindra is their information technology services and consultancy company. M&M has manufacturing base in USA producing at five centres. Its family run group in USA has become a public ltd. company with majority stake from financial institutions like HDFC and L&T etc. It obviously depends on big foreign firms for engines and for technical aspects.

It is important to see the development of Mukesh Ambani Group (Reliance) and of Gautam Adani Group, the latter having developed recently i.e. mostly over last two decades. These two are richest Indians. Mukesh Ambani's wealth has crossed 100 billion US \$ while Adani has more than 88 billion US\$. Both have similar pattern of rise. Having initially gained wealth through Govt. patronage they later diversified into different sectors and developed international linkages. These two are prime examples of crony capitalism though most of the capitalists had been crony in origin i.e. thriving due to their linkages and support from the Govt.

Reliance growth is well documented. They earned big from petroleum refining having initially earned through trade in yarn besides polyester textiles. After earning big in petroleum refining, Reliance entered in a big way in telecom sector and their Jio has become the biggest service provider in the country. Now they are investing big in retail trade including in agricultural produce having started many years earlier. It is important that their initial accumulation was in import of yarn as well as sectors like petroleum refining which are exclusively dependent on govt. patronage. While the former is exclusively due to collusion of the govt. the latter

operates under administrative prices regime. Yarn import is also due to linkage with foreign yarn makers, big companies in western countries. Their ex-factory prices are determined by the Govt. So from their early rise, Reliance has relied on Govt. manipulation. It has also invested big in media and now controls large sections of electronic media. It also has big influence over print media through advertisement and say in the Govt. Even the latter dominance over telecom is also in a sector under administered price regime. Hence, its big earnings owed to the govt. patronage. Reliance has developed deep linkages with foreign capital. A few years back it contracted to sell nearly 20% of its oil and chemical business to Saudi oil giant Aramaco for nearly Rs. 1 lakh crores. This Saudi oil giant is aligned with western countries' capital and dependent on them for technical knowhow. Besides Aramaco, Reliance has investments from BP (British oil giant) of Rs. 42,500 crores, from Face book (Google) of Rs. 43,514 crores and from Brookfield of Rs. 38,215 crores. While entering into 'alliance' with some imperialist monopoly groups, Reliance has been party to growing competition among monopoly groups like its fight with Amazon for control over Future Retail outlets.

Adani owns integrated business conglomerate. It started with commodity trading (1998) and later entered it in coal trading (1999). It became a big player in resources, logistics, energy and agro. Its huge godowns for agricultural produce were frequently mentioned during farmers' movement. It has global footprints in agri logistics and operates in 50 countries. It came to lime light through Mudra port in Gujarat. It is today India's largest port developer and operator. In Joint venture with Wilmar International based in Singapore (started in 2000) it owns India's largest edible

oil brand 'Fortune'. In the second phase it started big infrastructure projects- ports, power plants, mines, ships, rail lines. Adani power owns largest private power producer in India. Adani group handles mines in India, Indonesia, Australia and supplies coal to China, Bangladesh and South East Asian countries. Its coal mine in Australia Carmichael is largest investment by Indian company in Australia. In 2006 it had become largest coal importer (accounting for nearly 60% of coal imports) selling coal to Govt. power plants. Mudra port is a joint venture of Adanis and Gujarat Govt. (then BJP Govt.) Adani developed a joint venture with Total (biggest energy company in the world). Total owns 37.4% of Adani gas and has invested US\$ 500 million in Adani Green. Adani also developed joint venture with Saab for defense equipment Adani Aero Defense Systems Technologies. It has collaboration with Elbeit ISTAR of Israel. For Australian mine Carmichael, Adani has collaboration with Softbank, a big Japanese bank. It has collaboration with Swan of Italy, a leading gas infrastructure company. It has also tie-up with oil firm Adnoc of UAE. Adanis have also developed collaboration with POSCO, a South Korea company with dominant interest from US. It also collaborates with Ballard Power and has developed collaboration with Flipkart for retail trade and agribusiness.

Both Ambani and Adani had accompanied Modi on foreign visit in 2015. In that visit they had signed a total of 18 agreements, 13 of them by Adani.

In brief, Indian big bourgeoisie has not only been comprador in its origin but also in its present working and operations. To increase its exploitation and extend it to new areas, imperialism does invest and lead to growth in some sectors, but this growth is

not geared towards national development. As noted above, contradiction between the neocolonial exploitative policies of the imperialism and needs of independent development of India very much continues. For the independent development of India imperialism and compradors are to be targeted. In fact, even those countries who had now joined the league and partake of this 'development' to any extent had to go through this struggle. Except small city states which were used as trading centres by imperialist countries, no large country has been able to advance in the shackles of imperialist loot and plunder. These chains have to be broken.

An important point of discussion has been investments of Indian monopoly groups abroad. Outward FDI from India really commenced after 1991. According to RBI data, India's FDI in equity, loan and guaranteed issues stood at \$ 11.33 billion during 2017-18. In February 2019, outbound investment was estimated to be \$1.69 billion. An important feature of the foreign investment data showed a shift during the last decade. While in the first half of the decade it was to resource rich countries like Australia, UAE, Sudan, in the second half it was to countries giving high tax benefits like Mauritius, Singapore, British Virgin islands, Netherlands. UK announced that India had become the third largest source of FDI for them. Indian FDI in tax havens has little to do with productive investments abroad. While several Indian companies have announced investments abroad, the biggest has been by the PSUs investment of \$ 15 billion in Russia's oil and gas. In 2018 while inward flows of FDI were to the tune of \$ 42.286 billion, outward flow of FDI including that to tax havens was \$ 11.037 billion.

This discussion tells us that Indian investments abroad are small in magnitude. Secondly of them a large part are investments

in the tax havens which means either these are to park the ill gotten wealth or for rerouting this to India. Further a large part of the flow is to imperialist countries. These may contribute to outward flow from these destinations to third world countries but only as a junior partner of the imperialist MNCs. In fact, large companies are themselves linked to MNCs from imperialist countries and hence their outward FDI is in league with and a part of the outward FDI of those MNCs. Further investments in developing gas and oil fields in Russia or even in some Arab countries does not partake the character of exploitative investments but mostly adjusted against import of oil and gas from these destinations. In fact, Indian investments in resource rich poor countries is quite small and that too in league with companies from imperialist countries. Moreover even this is showing a downward trend.

South Asia of which India is the most important part has been the worst victim of the imperialist exploitation. In fact this exploitation is getting worse. South Asia has become worst exploited region of the world where terms of exchange i.e. labour embodied in imports and exports has gotten progressively worse.

India continues to be subject of imperialist exploitation and a semi-colony. It is in no way an imperialist country as some circles are claiming. Fighting imperialism and comprador capital continues to be one of the principal task of the new democratic revolution in India.

22.3.2022

All India Tribal Convention

We, the Tribals, constitute an important part of our society. We constitute about 9% of our country's population (About 11 cores). We have been living in the lap of nature i.e. inside forests and hills for generations. From the beginning we have an inalienable right over our land and forest resources. But our existence is getting threatened due to corporate driven capture and loot of resources particularly of our land and forests. Imperialist corporate loot, aligned with that of Indian corporate, is threatening not only our existence but also the fragile ecological and environmental balance of the entire country. Apart from that, our nature-centered culture, language and religion are facing an existential threat today. Many of our communities like the Jarwas of Andaman or Mankadias of Odisha are facing extinction and disappearance.

Economically exploited, socially oppressed and developmentally neglected, we are forced to grow up under the burden of extreme poverty, neglect and backwardness. Initially, we were exploited and oppressed by the kings and landlords under the feudal system. However, after the arrival of the British, the level of exploitation and oppression on us had increased manifold. With the aim of looting the vast forest resources of our country, colonial rulers first formed the Forest Department in 1865 and deprived us of our traditional rights over the forests. Later, the Colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894 paved the way for our forcible eviction from our natural habitats. In order to bring our areas under their legal

and administrative control, the Britishers very cunningly promoted large scale infiltration of non-tribal sahumars and moneylenders etc. from the plain areas into the agency areas. Due to this, our exploitation and oppression increased.

However, while most of the country's feudal kings and landlords surrendered to the Britishers for their own power and vested interests, we had resisted their rule strongly from the beginning. Long before the beginning of the freedom struggle in the country, many armed rebellions of ours against the colonial rule had begun. These rebellions were intended to protect our traditional rights over our land and forests. Those were anti-colonial struggles. Between 1808 and 1942, in various parts of the country, various heroes of our community like Tilka Majhi, Birsa Munda, Siddu-Kanu, Aluri Sitaram Raju, Komram Bhim, Chakra Bisoyi, Rendo Majhi, Dharindhar Bhuyan etc. led many historic rebellions against the foreign rule. Large numbers of our people, women and men, have heroically participated in these rebellions and sacrificed their lives to save their inalienable right over land, forest and self-rule. These movements played a very important role in the freedom struggle of Indian people against colonial rule.

Even after the end of British colonial rule in 1947, no noticeable change has been seen in our condition. Despite immense sacrifices of our ancestors in the independence struggle, the new ruling class of our country continued the same policies of exploitation and repression against us. Our forest rights, which were once taken away by the Britishers, were not restored; rather the grip of the state over forests has been further tightened. Even the Forest Rights Act 2006 enacted by the Government as a result of the long struggle of Tribals and other traditional forest dwellers

failed to give us full rights over our forests. The collective and natural habitat rights of the indigenous people living in the forest lands are rarely recognized by law, and often the individual rights are only partially recognized. This is despite recognition of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the United Nations Declaration in its 107th Plenary on September 13, 2007. As a result, our people, who have been deprived of full rights over forest resources, are facing exploitation and oppression by the Forest Department as before. Our people particularly in Telengana and other states are not only deprived of their rights ensured in the FRA-2006 but also continuously facing eviction and repression in the name of afforestation program of the state Govt.

Even after 16 years of its enactment, FRA 2006 is not properly implemented in any of the states. According to the National Commission of Scheduled Tribes, till now only 10% of the total potential of FRA is completed. From the very beginning of its rule, RSS-BJP led Narendra Modi Govt. has been conspiring to weaken various Forest and Environment laws to facilitate the handing over of our vast forest land and resources to corporate houses. Its effort at removing the precondition of implementation of FRA-2006 for sanctioning change in use of forest land will lead to the eviction of lakhs of us along with other traditional forest dwellers from forest land and livelihood. The latest Forest Conservation Rules - 2022 are made to infringe our hard earned forest rights. To facilitate the transfer of forest land to corporate, the Environmental laws have also been amended and an Ordinance has been promulgated. Its Compensatory Afforestation Act (CAMPA) sanctifies, or creates justification for displacement of Tribals for deforestation of their abode by companies while lakhs of

us are being forcibly deprived of our rights due to planting of trees on our land. Similarly, attempts are going on to amend the Indian Forest Act-1927 to give unlimited powers to the Forest Department to carry out unchecked repression on us.

The ruling class of the country, instead of creating opportunities for us to develop, has tried to force their corporate driven 'development model' on us. This development model, based on the loot of natural resources has forcibly displaced us from our land and forests. Big dams, big industrial and mining projects set up by the ruling class in the past in the name of development have only benefited few people, but caused large scale devastation of our lives and livelihood. The benefits were taken by them leaving displacement and destitution for us. Though we constitute only 9% of country's population but more than half of the total displaced people are us, the Tribals. In the name of development, we were forcibly evicted from our homes and livelihood without proper, prior and adequate compensation. We are forced to live a life of uncertainty, miseries and hardship due to constant Govt. negligence and deception. Large number of our girls after being displaced from their villages and livelihood are forced to work in the houses in urban areas as maid servants. Due to this bitter experience of displacement and deprivation, from Kalingnagar to Niyamagiri our people boldly questioned this development paradigm and resisted displacement and forcible land acquisition. The Govt. is also planning to develop use of forests for tourism industry by increasingly developing Wild Life Sanctuaries, the numbers having been increased from 9 in 1970s to more than 564 now. While cheetahs are being imported, native Tribals are being uprooted.

Basic amenities like education, healthcare, safe drinking water, housing etc. have been only a dream for our people. Still today there are no proper roads and electrification of many of our tribal villages. Even after 75 years, most of our people are forced to live under extreme poverty, starvation and malnutrition. Due to poverty, majority of our people particularly women and children are suffering from anemia and malnutrition. The rates of illiteracy, dropout, malnutrition, starvation, anemia etc. are comparatively higher among our people. The Govt., instead of expanding the education facilities is reducing it under the NEP. Majority of the primary schools closed during the last few years are mainly situated in tribal villages.

Though most of our areas were included in the 5th and 6th Schedules of the Constitution, but still many of our villages are not included in the Scheduled Areas, depriving us of various types of constitutional protection. Even many of our tribes like Kol of UP and Kandhia Munda of Odisha are not included in the ST list. There is shoddy implementation of tribal reservation in academics and jobs.

It is true that many laws and schemes have been made in our name. But due to the lack of political will of the ruling class, these were not implemented. The ST sub plan is diluted by successive Govts and even the grants given for the Tribal sub-plans in the budget could not be spent on us for years together. There is complete failure to develop facilities for tribal development. There is no proper procurement system and MSP for our forest produce.

The economic, political and cultural development of Tribals is the constitutional duty of our state. But due to gross negligence our language, literature and culture are facing a serious crisis today. Our ruling class is seen to ignore and stifle our language and culture

instead of giving it an opportunity for independent development. They have steadily adopted the policy of forcefully integrating our indigenous culture with Hindutwa. Our language and literature are slowly assimilated into other dominant languages like Hindi, Odia, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati etc. No books or journals are published in our own languages! Many of our languages are facing extinction due to lack of scripts. But both Centre and state Govts have neither helped to develop new scripts for our tribal languages nor are promoting the development of existing ones.

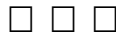
During the last few years of RSS-BJP rule at the Centre, on the one side our resources and livelihood are targeted in the interest of big capital, on the other side the Hinduization of our people is going on in full swing at the cost of our tolerant culture and cultural diversity. RSS and its frontal organizations like Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram and Janajati Parishad have been conspiring to bring division among us in the name of religion. Their recent attempt of mobilizing some section of our people and demanding de-reservation for tribals converted to Christianity or Islam is a pointer towards this danger. This is nothing but part of their Hindutva agenda.

In this background we are going to organize an All India Tribal Convention on 21st May 2023 at Vishakhapatnam. It is called on the initiative of important leaders and intellectuals of our community working in different states. This will be a mile stone in shaping the tribal movement of our country against exploitation, deprivation and to restore our rights over land, forests and resources. Let us make this Convention successful.

(Issued by the Organizing Committee of All India Tribal Convention.

It consists of tribal leaders and activists from different states.)

(Organizing Committee includes Kedar Sabara and Kanindra Jalika (Odisha), Darmula Suresh, Raghava, Rammohan, Somanna, Mallesh, Mutyala and Ganesh (AP), Mukti Satyam, Chinta Uday, Suvernepaka Nageshwarrao, Punem Bhiksham and Penaka Vikram (Telengana), Ramsai Soren and Nandalal Soren (Jharkhand), Dhananjay Oraon and Virender Oraon (Bihar), Bhagatbat Kisku (West Bengal), Bhim Lal (U.P.) and Chandan Soren (Delhi)



Solidarity Statement

France rocked by militant workers protests

[We are publishing a statement issued by National Committee of Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) on March 25, 2023]

The Trade Unions of France had once again called for protests on 23rd March against the Pension “reforms” being brought in by President Macron to increase the retirement age and pension eligibility age from 62 years to 64 years. This was the tenth in a series of nationwide protests in the last few months with increasing participation of workers. This time more than 35 lakh workers all over the country are reported to have come out on the streets. Even the French interior ministry admits over 10 lakh participants.

The protests were peaceful but the police deliberately resorted to brutal repression - water canons, lathi charges, mass arrests, etc. But this only angered the workers who retaliated militantly resorting to stone throwing and even molotov cocktails being used. Over 900 fires and multiple barricades were put up on the streets of Paris by agitating workers. In the city of Bordeaux the town hall was attacked by the workers. The govt. claims that over 400 police persons were injured. On the other hand the French Commission on human rights has criticized the police for surrounding protesters and trapping them. Such is the strength and militancy of the protests that the French govt. was forced to cancel the State visit of King Charles of UK which was scheduled for the 26th March.

After proposing the anti-worker pension “reforms” a few months ago, President Macron, ignoring the continuing protests, signed the law increasing retirement age on 16th March using special powers and bypassing parliament. Despite the severe repression, the workers remain undaunted and another countrywide protest has been called on 28th March.

The Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) salutes the heroic struggle of the workers of France and on behalf of the workers of India expresses its solidarity with their struggle against the attack on their pension rights at the behest of Corporate.

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Statement to our people, by the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party

The intense and violent armed military confrontation between the security committee generals and their affiliated forces places our people at risk and exposes them to the greed of the counter-revolutionary forces and further bloodshed. This conflict is a result of the deviation of the military and civilian forces that have been obstructing the leadership and governance of the country since the beginning of the revolution in April 2019 [*when president Omar al-Bashir was ousted*] until now.

The continuous violence and counter-violence victimize the resilient popular masses who have been struggling for the continuation of the revolution and the attainment of full democratic civilian authority. The path to return to normal life begins with an immediate and comprehensive cessation of gunfire exchange, and the withdrawal of the armies and militias from the cities, villages, and away from gatherings of citizens in rural areas.

What is happening now is a continuation of the conflict over power and the country's wealth, encouraged by some foreign powers, and executed by armed pockets of these external forces. The bloody beginnings and continuity of this conflict are what our party warned against, as it leads to confusion and intimidation of citizens.

In this context, the Communist Party sees the urgency in quickly resolving all militias, collecting weapons spread throughout the cities and rural areas, and reconstituting the unified national professional army.

The Sudanese Communist Party calls for the unity of our people, all national forces, radical change forces, and resistance committees around the goals of the revolution, restoring peace, security, and stability. This is the demand of the hour and the only way to emerge from the current crisis and to regain the revolution and establish the authority of the people. Freedom, peace, justice, and civilian rule are the people's decision.

In this context, the Sudanese Communist Party directs its message to our people to protect neighborhoods and residential areas. The Sudanese Communist Party also appeals to the peoples of the world, democratic and communist forces, to raise the flags of solidarity with the struggle of the Sudanese people and to restrain the hands of the counter-forces of the glorious December revolution.



Organ of the Central Committee, CPI(ML)

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