

## INTRODICTION

The 9th All India Conference, held at Raichur in Karnataka, of the party has marked greater advancement of political organizational consolidation and organizational growth to more states within the four years after 8th conference. It has advanced the political and ideological reorganization process further. The conference adopted four documents such as the 'Political Resolution', 'On Agrarian Sector and Peasant Front', 'Tasks in the Trade Union Front' and 'Political Organizational Report' that have articulated valuable aspects that are capable of propelling political organizational advance. The cardinal nature of the documents bear the sustenance of the political ideological break through attained in the 4th and 5th conferences of the party such as the rectification with regard to comprehending the main contradictions and the centrality of the contradiction between imperialism and socialism among the four main contradictions, the understanding regarding the path of revolution and the concept of party building and mass organizations.

Secondly, the documents comprehensively find it necessary to address the essential enhancement of the programmatic premise and related organizational growth in concurrence with the new challenges posed by the imperialist globalization and communal fascism.

The 8th conference positions regarding the international situation have got vindicated in all of its assessments as the gravity of the Third Depression that got aggravated from the level of the crisis ridden situation in Cyprus to that of the severe fall that Greece experienced; on to the spreading of the crisis to other Mediterranean countries in Europe and the widening rifts in the EU. This has further accelerated the polarization of right wing forces including far-right and neo-fascist forces and the polarization of left forces in a number of countries including UK, Spain, and Portugal etc. Besides, the waves of the Third Depression have travelled from the US on to Europe, Asia and other continents.

The realization crisis has aggravated in the capitalist countries further whereas PRC sustained in its advance in production sectors almost keeping on fulfilling more than half and quarter of global production in steel and power sectors respectively. In almost all the consumer

commodities PRC goes unbeaten as global champion in production. In the bank and finance sectors too PRC has taken lead. This has led to severe strife with US and eventually has triggered revoking of protectionism by US. This has led to trade war now. This has also clearly betrayed the self-contradictory character of this trade war with the declared Moto of free market and globalization heralded and held up by the proponents of imperialist camp till date from 1990s. It is marked spectacle of failure of Imperialist Globalization.

In Asian, African and Latin American countries the economic, social and political crises have further aggravated and derogatory political forces, inclusive of neo-theocracy in certain countries, have begun to take lead in bourgeois politics tending towards the strengthening of the fascistic tendency that has arisen from the epidemic of IFC crisis.

The inter-imperialist crisis has flung the shroud off and has got all the more sharpened clearing all the doubts cast by certain quarters that the inter-imperialist contradictions had been frozen for a while. The military conflicts that gone flagrant as ISIS attained diabolic growth and the whole area of Syria and Iraq got consumed by an infernal war among various factions and interventions by US, Zionist Israel and other NATO countries on the one hand and Russia on the other. This has exemplified the sharpening inter-imperialist conflict in vivid clarity. Various kinds of eastern European strife, specifically that caused by Ukrainian hostilities, have added on to it. The differences between US and the other European Nations also have come up in the open as the US backed off from commitments and forums regarding environmental protection, from the Iran Nuclear Deal, UN Human Rights Commission, UNESCO etc.

The initiative by DPRK for peace in the east and particularly in the Korean Peninsula finally gained ground as the ROK responded to it creating hopefully creating friendly atmosphere and has compelled US president to come to talks with Chairman Kim Jong-un and sign common statement declaring commitment to put an end to hostilities and establish peace and denuclearize the Korean peninsula. This has busted the mill of lies that was working overtime to tarnish DPRK to be rouge nation and was trying to pump up war mongering at nonstop rate. This has effected the defusing of the US plot for war in the region at this juncture.

In India the last four years since the 8th conference have witnessed drastic and negative shift in political arena that has further deteriorated economic and social situations. As we had assessed in 8th conference report the communal fascists utilized the popular discontent due to the continued implementation of imperialist globalization by the UPA government and came to office by acquiring comfortable majority as the opposition was miserably divided; though the BJP did not obtain more than 31.9% of votes. As we assessed, this was due to the aggravation of crisis triggered by Imperialist Globalization and Communal Fascism. Again, as we found at international arena, the imperialist forces and the domestic monopolies that exist in rapprochement with it, have resorted to promote communal parochialism triggered by neo-theocracy in our country too. That is how and why the RSS led BJP and the whole Sangh Parivar displaced Congress and arose to the principal place among ruling class parties. As the Modi government took over it accelerated Imperialist Globalization and Communal Fascism in much greater proportion and began to rabidly divide people on communal lines, unleashing the cow-vigilante like saffron militia to perpetrate terror-killings and targeted assassinations. This has stepped up the design and execution of RSS programme of Hindutwa Fascism. This is proving the disastrous and futile trajectory of alternatives and panaceas put forth by imperialist camp as remedy to imperialist crisis.

At the same time, the proletariat and peasantry have arisen in struggles and have shown greater unity among them. The three day parliament dharna by working class led by Joint TU movement was consolidated and conscious continuation of the struggles including the 16 National General Strikes with steadily upheld key demands. Actually this development has created ground for the conscious efforts for Left Unity that can put forth Left Alternative that necessarily will work as the core of policy based alternative. The worker peasant alliance that has to work as the class force and the axis of the national movement for the said aim also could be rallied with focus and vigor only with Left Unity and Left Alternative acting consciously at the helm.

We hope that the reiteration of our goal of Left Unity - Left Alternative with clearer elaborations and specific focus on development of programmatic premise, especially regarding Agrarian Revolution, shall

help our efforts quantitatively and qualitatively to build up party and mass movement; corroboratively helping the efforts to unite with all the fraternal left forces.

The party has resolved to educate the general membership to grasp the said situation and the achieved political advancement with a view to translating it into practice by way of effective propaganda among masses and orientated struggles according to the above said line.

# **POLITICAL RESOLUTION**

9<sup>th</sup> All India Conference Raichur 8th - 11th February 2018

## Introduction

**1.1** The global economic crisis that has become a deep phenomenon of 3<sup>rd</sup> depression that spreads wider now looks to be bewildering the Bretton Woods Institutions and economists as their usual parameters fail to give a clear analytical picture of it. Though the IMF measures that the cyclic recovery is picking up, dip in bank profitability, especially in Europe and decrease in product wages have been pointed at to be serious risk factors. Actually the dip in bank profitability is because of incessant increase in Non Performing Assets. Product wages are decreasing due to government policies.

**1.2** Actually, the above said could be seen clearly in the course of chronic crisis that the International Finance Capital is going on facing from 2008 till date with varied intensity. It goes on sharpening at different levels in different dimensions in all the continents. The fact that IFC feeds its profit fetishism with primitive accumulation of capital makes the gravity of the crisis clearer. The talk about recovery is all about the relative relief in the severity of this primitive accumulation. This rabid primitive accumulation has evidently shattered domestic economies. It goes on creating anarchy and chaos. Independent republics lose political and systemic coherence. In order to manage popular discontent and socio political dissent, all sorts of parochialism are utilized. Among these derogatory instruments, communal and raicist ideas are used the most by imperialist masters and the ruling classes in each countries that witness the sharpening of economic, social and political crises. As had been resolved by Comintern and proven by historic developments, the rabid profiteering drive by the most fetishistic sections of finance capital definitely turns to fascist methods to do all the above said. This we see from country to country and regions to regions.

**1.3** This shows that in the place of the old issue of bubble – burst a new problem of return- drain has caught the system as a chronic disease. At the same time the shadow of bubble-burst never has retracted. As the result of such bewildering mirage of pale recovery and aggravating unemployment and unrest, social crisis has got expanded and sharpened

in European countries. Actually world over a chain reaction of this economic and social crises are happening; resulting political crises from country to country. This has sharpened the four main contradictions at international level.

## 2

### **On Developments at International Arena**

**2.1** The global developments between 2013 and 2017 have emphatically proven the correctness of the analysis that we had in the ‘Resolution On International Developments’ adopted in our 8<sup>th</sup> All India Conference. The present scenario witnesses the sharpening of all the Four Main Contradictions at global level.

#### **The contradiction between imperialism and socialism:**

- (1) It still remains to be the central contradiction. The imperialist camp, mainly US imperialism is trying to manifest systemic integration of the socialist countries with the imperialist system by way of the tentacles and institutions of finance capital, military alignments and war threats. For this, the imperialist camp utilizes its advantageous position in the balance of forces that it got after the fall of Soviet Union and east European socialist countries.
- (2) The socialist countries mainly China and Cuba go on resisting this strangulating systemic integration. It is notable that China has come up to the top position in a number of sectors including industrial production at global level such as electricity (more than 1/4th of global production), steel (more than 1/2 of global production), minerals, coal, gold, electrified railway, ports, rice production etc.
- (3) The said advancement in production, especially being in state sector, has put China far ahead of all other global competitors. This advancement is functioning as the chief source of its strength to resist the said imperialist method of systemic integration.

- (4) Cuba has reformed its economy to meet the challenges that it faced after the temporary socialist setback. When comrade Raul Castro came to the leadership, global capitalists and the right wing media had propagated that the reforms will derail Cuba from the socialist path. Now we see that that negative prophecy has went wrong. Cuban socialism did not degenerate. Cuban socialist economy did not fall prey to US imperialist bullying and the imperialist embargo. Instead, socialist Cuba continued fighting all the odds. It went on enthusing other Latin American nations. The Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban state have so far successfully maneuvered the difficulties and have sustained in socialist path. They have made measured retreat as comrade Lenin had called it during NEP in 1920s in USSR. Class struggle continues to bring about newer challenges and opportunities where measured tactics have to be employed to safe guard and keep on the voyage to classless society in concrete terms. Communist forces must know to advance and retreat in battles to win the strategic war. The socialist countries at present face such situation.
- (5) The Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK) faces belligerent US bullying and war threats with an accompaniment of sinister embargo and a very vicious campaign against it. The global media never remembers that the war in Korea is not over. The US and its 16 allies are still at war with DPRK and only a ceasefire is declared. Global capitalist media never says that the US has always reserved first—nuclear-strike-option against DPRK and has positioned several missiles aiming at DPRK from the US military bases in the nearby islands. This had been the situation from the very day it signed the ceasefire agreement with DPRK. So, the contradiction that sharpens due to the threat that the imperialist camp raises tenaciously against DPRK is clearly part of the contradiction between socialism and imperialism.
- (6) US had unilaterally stopped peace talks and stepped up military exercises near DPRK borders. This prompted DPRK to go forth in its defensive military enhancements that have attracted sanctions. Thus, DPRK is facing iron curtaining from without in the form

of ever intensifying embargo. Still, with its experience of withstanding Gorbachev's betrayal, and the fall of USSR afterwards, DPRK continued and still continues the willful resistance to imperialist threats and embargo. Even in the face of such immense pressures, it has not retracted to market-economy-reforms. Though it cannot be appraised to be the scientific socialist model, it has to be reckoned that it sustains to be one of the few nations that provide cent per cent free and compulsory education up to higher secondary school. It is international socialist duty to defend DPRK against imperialist aggression. In our 8<sup>th</sup> Conference Resolution we had observed the amassing of war clouds there. The present situation has proven that evaluation and actually the contradiction has further got sharpened.

**(ii) Contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist countries:**

- (1) The class contradiction has sharpened in number of European nation starting from Greece and Spain. In Greece the contradiction erupted into popular rise and electoral victory of 'Syriza'. In Spain the 'indignados' movement gave birth to 'Podemos', in March 2014, which has united with the United Left and has become 'Unidos Podemos'. Unlike in Greece, it is not an outcome of acute crisis stricken chaos, rather, it is a positive effect of rallying and unification of left sections and left parties to face such chaotic situation. Spain being bigger a nation the galvanizing of left forces in conscious unity may help to go forth for alternative. In UK all the negative prophecies miserably failed. Though the rear ranks of proletariat voted for Brexit in desperate situation, they rallied to manifest the much awaited Labour resurgence in the election cutting the conservatives 10 votes shorter to absolute majority in the parliament. Jeremy Corbin revitalizing the Labour with a clear alternative manifesto that heralded reversion of privatization of education and railway, the protection of health care, retarding of NATO weapon programme, etc. really revitalized the trade unions and other natural quarters of Labour support.

(2) Whole of Europe experiences such articulate left gathering of political forces. In US Bernie Sanders gaining initial gains over Hilary Clinton in the presidential primaries, was a significant development of the left conscience from the Wall Street Movement.

(3) In the counter movement the fascistic forces also are coming to the fore ground. The golden dawn in Greece and the neo-Nazis and right wing political forces in Germany are gaining strength.

**(iii) Contradiction between imperialist camp and oppressed nations and oppressed people:**

(1) The ‘war on terror’ that the US championed after 9/11 has now arrived at a paradoxical turning point in Syria and Iraq as US supplies of arm and equipment went to the hands of ISIS. Thus, it escalated terror and the ‘war on terror’ got transformed into perpetuation of ‘terror war’. This malignant development of US policy intensified armed conflict in the whole region of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Kurdistan and Turkey. Then it spread to Africa too. The war in Arabia created a refugee exodus to Europe.

(2) Zionist Israel attacked Gaza with inhuman bloodbath. Its bombers targeted schools, universities and hospitals. The people of Palestine and Palestine Authority have put up valiant effort to defend against this marauding outrage. It has brought about international solidarity

(3) When Donald Trump became president, the Asian, African and Latin American people began to be discriminated in the US. The US protectionism continued to intensify.

**(iv) The inter-imperialist contradiction:**

(1) The inter-imperialist contradiction, that is, the contradiction among imperialist countries and between international monopolies, has intensified in the last four years was evident in the Syrian theatre of hostilities. The Russian military intervention that crippled ISIS and helped Assad to consolidate was really against US plans in the Middle East and central Asia. The US presidential Elections had been scandalized because of alleged Russian intervention.

The latest of the kind is the Russian clarification that it shall take it serious in case of DPRK being attacked from outside.

- (2) The EU countries have categorically said that they could not accept US position of retracting from carbon emission controlling responsibilities. They now consider that China could be depended for leadership in environmental protection. The old North-North alliance between US, UK even is not that well. Germany I not at all ready to follow US line anymore. The Ukraine crisis and resulted diplomatic and military tussles proved it. Turkey did a dramatic shift from the US camp to Russian friendly embrace suspecting US hand in the attempted coup. The unshakable NATO unity is not that compact now.
  
- (3) So, the post USSR theory that even some left thinkers used to nurse that ‘the inter-imperialist contradiction has got muted’ is not at all being substantiated by the global developments. Instead, the inter-imperialist contradiction is seen to be sharpening. It is true that it is not sharpening in the same intensity as the other main contradictions do. That really ratifies the law of contradictions as was evident in the imperialist era all along.

**2.2** Taking account of the above said we can see that imperialist forces do utilise religious fanaticism and neo-theocracy as new instruments in the course of facilitating the rise and growth of fascistic and far-right forces. In Turkey and Saudi Arabia it is Islamic kind of fanaticism that is utilised; in Iraq and Syria it is a fanatic terror outfit such as ISIS, in Palestine it is Zionist Israel, in African countries it is Boko Haram, in Germany it is far-right political polarization that goes belligerent against immigrants, in Myanmar it is Budhist religious chauvinism and in India it is Hindutwa communal fanaticism that take up the role of ideological piloting of fascistic drives. At the time of victory over fascism in 1945 itself world proletariat was not dizzied by victory. It had gathered forces in a meet at London to decide that it needs a world organization to guard against recurring attempts of fascistic take overs in countries that

get hit by crises. For this purpose World Federation of Trade Unions was formed in its formation conference in Paris and working class contingents all over the world were led by it in such duties. Historic course of IFC amassment and resulted growth in the threat of assimilation of economies and integration of nations into its system have actually magnified the objective basis for fascistic take overs. There is no classic kind of fascism as comrade Dimitrov had clearly taught us; and, any attempt by any kind of fascistic forces has not to be taken lightly. Instead, it should be faced determinedly by closing ranks and achieving unity on principled and concrete tactical resolve. We see positive gathering of forces in Greece , Spain, UK etc in Europe and Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua etc in Latin America where forces of utter reaction is fought and put at bay on every inch of the fight. Fascistic forces such as Golden Dawn in Greece and AfD in Germany are being fought on every inch by the left forces there . this will go on the increase as a new awakening of working class is clearly seen there. World over there is consolidation on both right and left. Actually the count down for American Imperialism has started ; for the north - north alliance (alliance between US and UK ) also the bell has begun to knell. Though the working class advance is surmounted by several challenges, brilliantly favourable objective condition do revamp the working class; promising a possible left surge.

### 3

#### **On Socialist Countries**

**3.1** By the disintegration of USSR, the fall of Eastern European Socialist countries and the course of systemic integration of those countries with imperialist system, a deterministic idea has come up that China and Cuba and other socialist countries shall also essentially be on the road to total integration with the capitalist system. Such deterministic critics never thought about Cuba surviving the collateral impact created by the fall of USSR. For them it was surely the fatal route for other socialist countries too. The main proponents of this deterministic line were generally from the followers of Cultural Revolution and the followers of Theory of Three Worlds within the Marxist Leninist camp. Both the above said sections' deterministic expectations shared common character.

Still, it is history that this determinism could not be proven in the course of time regarding Socialist Cuba and Peoples China.

**3.2** The source of the idea of deterministic criticism against existing socialist countries is the idealist perception regarding socialist transformation that disregards the material basis that is necessary for socialist transformation. Even though the theory of production forces is grossly erroneous, in the name of fighting the theory of production forces the above said idealist trend puts forth the idea of changing production relations with revolutionary political will. Thus, in the name of attacking mechanical materialism, this idea and its practice inaugurated the trend of idealist perception.

**3.3** Basically, said flaw is rooted in the perspective that the real models of revolutionary alternative to capitalist path in production to be of Dazhai (Tachai) in agriculture and Daqing (Taching) in industry; as were projected during Cultural Revolution. Now, in the midst of imperialist globalization, to fight it putting forth an alternative path in concrete terms becomes the real challenge. The difficulty in conceiving this challenge concretely creates a compulsion to revert to the perception of Dazhai (Tachai) and Daqing (Taching) models.

**3.4** With a view to overcome the said crisis of paradigmatic perception regarding socialism, concrete grasp of materialistic aspects of political economical, strategic and ideological positions and policies practiced by a system has to be objectively examined based on factual in puts.

**3.5** Concrete perusal of global capitalist crisis shows that there is a shift in the role of production. Now, PRC has a great share of global production. Realization of needs, especially of the Asian African continental people, largely depends upon PRC production. Lack of such role had been pointed at the USSR to be one of its fatal deficiencies at the time of its fall.

**3.6** The solid presence of PRC in Asia has a great role in keeping peace. It even had vetoed the US move to embargo the state of Zimbabwe. Similarly, PRC has played timely role without any ambiguity in clarifying its position that it will react defensively in case DPRK is attacked. Even when US forces goes belligerent in its deeds to trigger hostilities in

South China sea with false claims over Chinese sovereign land, PRC has stood ground but not helped the US provocations by any means. Strategic presence of PRC definitely helps to thwart imperialist aggression in Asia especially in South East Asia.

**3.7** At the same time, in 19th Congress, the CPC has declared its goal to be becoming modern socialist country by 2035. In its report, CPC has stated that it was continuing in the primary stage of socialism. It understands that it has to continue for a while in the primary stage of socialism and by conscious effort between 2020 and 2035 PRC could be changed into a modern socialist country. At the same time CPC Report recognizes that social inequality, inadequacy of poverty alleviation, corruption, complexity in ideological struggle, disparity between cities and villages and between regions etc is still to be fought out. Even when these introspections are measured with appreciation, irrespective of what CPC assays, the historic experience of international proletariat and the necessity of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions count CPC's omissions of dutifulness in spreading of Marxism Leninism in its basic literature and articulations, in aligning with fraternal toiling people and the global proletariat in the face of war and atrocious oppressions, in rendering active help to people falling in miseries of uniquely social systems and calamities and in holding red banner over narrow national interests in drawing foreign policies in general and in particular cases.

**3.8** Socialist Cuba plays a role of inspiration and active helping hand to Anti-imperialist Democratic people of the nations and people especially in Latin America. Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua etcetera continuously get positively charged by Cuban support and recent US attempts to isolate and even attack Venezuela had been defeated among Latin American nations. The role of Socialist Cuba in enhancing fraternal relations among the people of various countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia by extending helping hand like dispatching medical teams and humanitarian aids is excellent.

**3.9** Democratic People's Republic of Korea/DPRK is struggling against odds. The war waged by imperialist forces against it in 1950s is still clinging on a hair-thin-ceasefire truce; not a peace treaty. Heavy US

army contingent is stationed still along the cease fire line. In such a situation, even when DPRK and ROK came together to a great extent for peace talks, US had always sabotaged those attempts. Presently the Trump administration is consciously whipping up war jingoism and has declared that US has targeted DPRK with intent to deliver preemptive nuclear strike. DPRK is of the position that it has every right to defend its sovereign borders. It definitely is true. Even then it is notable that DPRK is not succeeding enough in winning the confidence of the global community for the cause of its defense.

**3.10** The fraternal unity in action expressed by the socialist block earlier in history is not effectively present today among the socialist countries. This is evident in the context of US war threats against DPRK.

**3.11** Political economical questions regarding the reforms being followed within the socialist countries and the strategic relations including foreign policies that they follow are of great concern to socialist forces all over the world. Regarding economic reforms and political ramifications of those economic reforms are to be examined. In the case of Cuba, it has gone through privatizing certain sectors especially after comrade Raul Castro had ascended to presidency. Many analysts branded this to be subjugation to the imperialist globalization and its project of political economical integration of free nations with it. None of such analysts have such argument in the case of DPRK; but this does not help DPRK to get the recognition as model socialist system. Rather everybody agrees about the inadequacy of material production in DPRK. The case of Cuban privatization is quite different from the usual meaning of privatization in the present practice of it as part and parcel of neoclassical prescriptions for reforms. In Cuba petit businesses of services like barber shops and bicycle stands were earlier stood nationalized. These are allowed to be run as private business now. Like that the businesses related to tourism also are privatized.

## On Developments at National Arena

**4.1** Imperialist Globalization inaugurated in 1991 could be stepped up only by subverting Democracy, Secularism, Federalism and Self reliance of the nation. So, the ruling classes that chiefly rely on the integration with finance capital find the BJP to be the most suited and the chief instrument to do this nefarious job. Sangh Parivar obtaining hegemony even when they lack majority vote share in the elections is no accident. ‘Fail in elections and form governments through horse-trading’ has become its pet motto. The reason for the dismemberment of bourgeois opposition also is the said one. In essence, at this juncture, the International Finance capital and domestic capital houses find communal fascism to be their chief instrument to run the system of exploitation and oppression without any hindrances.

**4.2** This is because of the reason that the ruling classes want to break the possible unity of the working class and to alienate the peasantry from the working class on the one hand and to undo the federal democratic structure of the republic on the other. Only thus the ruling classes can further the reforms of Imperialist Globalization.

**4.3** Along with this, the process in which the state governments lose power and the unitary centralization of power at the centre happens gathers momentum. Another important factor is the authority-raj-method that is used to bypass legislative bodies and the executive. This is the outcome of various commission reports and reforms recommendations made by those commissions. The decision making process has shifted from the democratic forums of peoples’ representation. This attack upon democratic institutions have got accelerated under the rule of Hindutwa communal fascists.

**4.4** The note ban and the GST have burst the bubbles like ‘make in India’ and ‘ache din ane vale hein’. It has become the political irony of the world as Modi’s frenzied global tours had spread this irony in print in global languages. The cruel fact that the integration of market and capital will necessarily demand the completion of integration of finance , banking, tax regime, and legal system ; and, all of these are being

done for more sell out and expedited hauling of natural resources is explicit today. Nothing of the sort of 'make in India' is on way instead 'unmake India' is on way. Imperialist globalization and IFC integration is for primitive capital accumulation; not for realization of manufactured goods or capital goods. In Asia , Africa and Latin America imperialist globalization looks for mining expropriation of natural riches cheap human resource and irresponsible industrial backyard for hazardous primary processing that leaves large and horrendous carbon foot print. Otherwise it has very little to manufacture or to sell. The present western civilization is an unmaking civilization that grow jobless and more war thirsty. It is having zombies of heaped up finance unrealized capital and impatient millions in employment queues.

**4.5** The state bank is in deep peril. Its attempt to save itself by swallowing subsidiary banks has fizzled out. NPAs got amassed as the governments had repeatedly written off corporate debts. Adding on to it the ever growing agrarian distress and dipping manufacturing have hit the system on the head. The social unrest has come out sevately in Gujarat like States. Peasants from Tamil Nadu to unravelled the shameful state at National capital. Through the course of the last four years woring class had went on national strike once, conducted Great Parliament Darna and has noticed the government for indefinite general strike in case if the government does not address the working class demands. The working class action is followed by a huge peasant march to Parliament. It is a clear sign that a count down of Modi regime has started.

**4.6** A national movement for unity of secular and democratic forces is necessary at this juncture. Still, the left unity based on minimum programme of left alternative plays the pivotal role to it. This is because of the erosion of bourgeois opposition losing the political essence of an alternative and its integration with the line of imperialist globalization policies and interests. Any attempt to try for an alignment of bourgeois parties to create opposition array gets repeatedly fizzled out. Congress's socio economic policies were the reason for BJP's victory and the congress still hold on to it. Because of thid Congress cannot be counted as chief or credible ally in such attempt of alternate political formation as such. Neither are the other regional bourgeois parties for, the said reason of integration of the interest with IG. This situation warrants

closing of ranks for left unity on minimum programme of left alternative as prerequisite for any broader unity of Secular and Democratic alliance. Having initiated such move and having connected it with the surging workers' and peasants' struggles, we can handle bourgeois opposition on better tactical edge. This course of conscious effort from core to breadth is the need of the hour; and left forces have to come forth without losing time for, the count down has begun.

## 5

### **On the Development of Programmatic Premise**

**5.1** The communist practice that had conceived Indian Revolution to be Democratic Revolution, of which the axis is the Agrarian Revolution, today faces programmatic obstacles of various kinds. The basic reasons of such obstacles arise from the adverse concrete developments due to the advancement of Imperialist Globalization.

**5.2** Along with the above said, the temporary setback of socialism and the resulted change in the balance of strategic forces created a negative shift in the political economy all over the world and it reflected in our country too. This gave impetus to the forces of Finance Capital in its drive to integrate economies in all continents.

**5.3** In India this got manifested in the form of LPG policies that were inaugurated in 1991 and resulted penetration of Finance Capital in all sectors. This has qualitatively stepped up the market integration and the same has created huge market pressure in all spheres of production and economic activity. The producers found this to be fatally swaying realization back and forth and ultimately becoming unpredictable and merciless. The integration of domestic capital interest with that of the finance capital forces has generated negative motion in industry and farming.

**5.4** This phenomenal change has necessarily increased the role of working class and organized movements of the working class in all spheres of struggles and activities. In essence, socialist content of the democratic revolution has evidently increased. This again has given room for dimensionally developed manifestation of worker peasant alliance that still constitutes the core of Peoples Democratic Revolution (PDR).

**5.5** In essence, the course of Imperialist Globalization process has made the working class and the peasantry has a common enemy in the main. The combine of global finance capital and Indian capital houses is that enemy.

**5.6 Industry and working class:** At same time, when the role of working class in struggles got increased and the socialist content of democratic revolution also got increased, it is empirical truth that the number of organized industrial workers is being steadily cut down by the steady implementation of neo-liberal policies and structural re-adjustments. This is done by way of PSU disinvestment, contractualization, out-sourcing, and overlooking of labour laws. Besides, robotization and artificial intelligence have accelerated the rate of unemployment. In essence, de-industrialization and demoralization of the working class is the chief weapons wielded by the class enemy to incapacitate the proletariat in its historic duty of leading the class struggle in increased volume and vigor.

**5.7 Increase in the volume and reach of proletarianization:**

(i) Even when the bourgeoisie goes on cutting down the number of organized contingent of industrial workers of permanency of work and union rights, it is not able to cut down the increase of the whole volume of the working class. SEZ workers, MNREGA workers, Accredited social health activists -ASHAs / community health workers, Anganwadi workers, miners, other kinds of migrating construction workers and adivasi forest workers etc have grown swelling in numbers and in their representation in struggles. This has resulted in a growing trend of proletarianization of rural population and thus, a growing extension of working class into the villages of this vast nation. The poorer sections of peasantry are being subjected to this proletarianization.

(ii) The said change is often negatively understood by even those with in the left camp. Simply counting on the disinvestment, contractualization, outsourcing and curtailment of labour laws, the TINA followers within the left camp go on pursuing the defeatist policy that, as the forces of socialism that is, the advanced proletariat, is weakened by imperialist globalization policies, the struggles in individual sectors or factory-wise struggles have no chance. So, this section took to the path of surrendering the rights of workers without any fight. This defeatist

tendency is always pulling down the vigor of working class in everyday action.

### **5.8 Agrarian production system and the peasantry**

(i) The agrarian sector faced severe issues by the advancement of Imperialist Globalization. Mainly, due to international agreements, beginning from WTO agreement, the market pressure methodically exerted by the forces of finance capital cuts the price down.

(ii) Whenever there occurs crop failures the merciless government policy refuse to make up with waivers; instead, the government cuts subsidies down in steady process. As both of these occur in recurrence, peasants commit suicide in hundreds of thousands. Now, this dark phenomenon has reached three and half lakhs even inflicting heavy toll in the segment of sugarcane farmers.

(iii) Banks have learned to brush aside the farmers' applications and pleas. The poor landless peasantry is alarmingly being metamorphosed into swarms of migrant workers as they flee the villages in search of bread; almost like the exodus in the US during the hard times in 1929-30s.

### **5.9 Financial Sector**

Financial sector is being liberalized. The new law : the Financial Solution and Deposit Insurance Act has been passed to regulate banks, insurances and cooperative banks. The central government, Reserve bank and insurance authority of India are to lose control over the financial institutions. This has severely affected the sovereign status of economy.

### **5.10 Social and Cultural Institutions:**

The above said changes have begun to clash with the decadent social institutions such as Khap Panchayats and caste / communal fencings in the villages and suburbs even. The remnants of feudal forces and the reactionary section of the rich peasant class utilize the said decadent social institutions to establish hegemony. It has become a venomous mixture of capitalist interest of expropriation of labour and archaic whip of caste hierarchy serving each other. The political superstructure of the ruling class goes in concurrence with the said admixture of exploitative

and oppressive interests. So, to organize the rural working class it comes essential to fight caste/communal segregation and, to fight caste / communal forces it is essential to organize the oppressed in proletarian class formation. This dialectical relation cannot be separated and dealt with obliterating any of the two cardinal duties.

### **5.11 Dalits' and Tribal issue:**

Discrimination of Dalits and Tribal people has become all the more severe by the implementation of imperialist globalization policies. As the disinvestment spree grew unbounded reservation rights dried up. The government does not heed to the demand for implementation of reservation in private sector. The MNC predators eat up the tribal habitat and their means of existence. Central India has become gruesome spectacle of it. So, tribal question has to be handled with dual task approach. On the one hand, their habitat and existence has to be defended against marauding encroachment and genocidal attacks even employing armed forces and mercenaries. At the same time, healthcare food security, education, cooperatives, self rule, advancement in production should be made attainable in sustained practice. Their forest rights must be fully enforced. The already proletarianized sections of tribal people should be organized to vanguard this process. The separatist and obscurantist elements should be deftly fought out. Great number of NGOs is working in this field. Their ideas and activities are substantially against comprehensive social change of revolutionary character. Tribal question has to be handled as part and parcel of Agrarian Revolution.

### **5.12 Women's emancipation and gender equality:**

The question of women's emancipation and gender equality has got new dimensional aspects as the imperialist globalization policies were implemented for decades and a large work force of women evolved out of it. SEZs, software industries, malls, hospitals, hospitality industries and many new services mushroomed and an army of women workers came up in that process. Besides, the rural women folk began to be proletarianized in MNREGA, ASHA etc. Their rights to get unionized and their gender specific rights are thwarted by the bourgeoisie. Besides, this large contingent of women workers are still facing gender discrimination and gender oppression at their work places, at home and

at all levels of social life. Their comprehensive fight against this heinous repression and dual exploitation is the mast in the general fight for women's emancipation. It has to be noted that the increase in the number of all sorts of working women had played important role in the Nirbhaya like struggles too. At the same time, the backwardness of rural life has made India a case of acute malnutrition among women even excelling sub-Saharan Africa. The condition of majority of children is the same. Increase in child labour goes unabated. Migration of workers due to agrarian distress and de-industrialization is the main social cause of it. Laxity in implementing Labour laws and women-protection-laws has aggravated the issue. Still prevailing feudal social institution of patriarchal family and male chauvinism are putting up repressive reaction to the necessary drive of women's emancipation being pushed ahead by the increase in the proletarianization of women. The goal of 33% representation in parliament and all legislative bodies is still kept a mirage. Representation in armed forces, judiciary and branches of executive are still very low. An all inclusive conscious move in women's front spearheaded by working women is needed greater than ever. Only emancipated woman can mother an emancipated generation that can surge the revolutionary advance.

### **5.13 Transgender and sexual minorities:**

The question of Transgender and sexual minorities' right of democratic inclusiveness in all walks of life is organic part of social revolution. So, the conservative notion that only two genders exist has to be changed through persistent conscientization because, this is the advanced consciousness that has to be championed by the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat expurgating reactionary conservatism from the ranks of the working class and the whole society. Accomplishment of employment opportunities and fight for freedom from institutionalized moral taboos are vital programmatic issues to be addressed. Stopping them being social outcasts is essential for the creation of new democratic society.

### **5.14 Education and student community:**

(i) Educational system is maliciously affected by the imperialist globalization policies and resulted drive for rampant privatization and

commodification. This has alienated education from its necessary placing as inherent component of healthy social development determined by the social needs. The spiraling market integration and the deformities that it has brought in regarding the paradigmatic concept of education has adversely affected the envisaging of socialist secular democratic republic and planned social development. Re establishment of secular, democratic, scientific, free and compulsory education is the lifeline of the fight for new democratic society. Supply of governmental funds, expertise and all inputs must be proportionally increased in this sector with enhancement of local governmental bodies' capabilities to helm it along with governmental machinery. Introduction of informal education in place of formal education, foreign university sponsored programmes, centres of excellence by capitalist interest and funds are reactionary steps promoted by imperialist globalization. Any attempt to accommodate this in the name of viable tactic is a sure path of capitulation. Instead, governmental investment and expansion of infrastructure for advanced education that are free from the profiteering spider web of the market is to be steadily fought for unwaveringly. Privatization of education must be fought against and beaten back.

**(ii)** The student community is being attacked upon by all systemic institutions including courts. Communal fascists unleashing attack upon the prestigious universities like JNU, HCU etc and attempting to stamp the student community to be anti-national is part of a v design to depoliticize campuses and to curtail the activities of students' union and students' organizations. Courts have gone to the extent of blatantly passing orders banning organizational activities of students. At the same time communal fascists and casteist forces work overtime to create caste and communal divisions with a view to establish communal and caste hegemony among students. Such inhuman discrimination had led to the institutional murders like that of Rohit Vemula. This is inherent trend of fascistic motive. Nationwide protest erupted from students and progressive forces against such atrocities. To fight this negative tide and consciously organize a national and democratic students' organization based on progressive secular values and socialist aspirations is must for the programmatic advance of NDR.

### **5.15 Unemployment and the issues of youth:**

(i) The question of irradiation of unemployment was discarded to be a necessary part of governmental duty by the proponents of imperialist globalization. Instead, unemployment was begun to be cited by them as a measure of advanced society. At present, the combined impact of de-industrialization and agrarian distress has accelerated unemployment; placing rural unemployment in the lead.

(ii) Actual rural unemployment has already hit two digits when included of disguised unemployment in the agrarian sector. A comprehensive policy regarding agrarian revolution and introduction of socialized forms of production relations in agrarian production and related rural industrialization can champion the cause of irradiation of unemployment. This will substantially reduce the exodus to cities and interstate migration of workers. Again, this will reduce the army of unemployed in general and shall better the bargaining power of the working class and enhance the employment opportunities in cities.

(iii) Disinvestment and de-industrialization has to be leashed and fought back. Responsibility of the governments to create employment has to be reestablished. Massive conscientization and organizational work has to be done among youth to rally them in all India youth movement. It should be remembered that among the Democratic issues that the youth faces unemployment is the chief one. Communal fascists are accelerating the draconian policies of economic reforms that the congress inaugurated that eat up employment. Along with that, they divide the youngsters according to caste and communal lines. Such divisive and negative tide has to be overcome through incessant struggle.

### **5.16 Fight against distortion of Science:**

(i) Communal fascist forces are time and again challenging the very foundation of the scientific consciousness of secular democratic republic. Even scientists are rallied by communal fascists with such ulterior motive. Obscurantism is being placed to be novel discoveries at arena of science at national level. It has become a matter of urgency to collect scientific logical quest and logical findings and put up effective fight against this reactionary attack upon the scientific conscience.

(ii) The rapacious exploitation of natural resources by finance capital and monopolies has gone escalating, resistance against such development paradigm and its execution has come up. This plural resistance has many different conceptual positions within. Some of these have idealist perceptions even rejecting comprehensiveness of scientific truth. Working class has to fight both these erroneous trends and guide the objective quest of science with the strength and correctness of dialectical materialism.

(iii) The vanguard of working class is duty bound to take concrete steps to materialize the said duty; including the forming and development of Science Forum.

### **5.17 Ecological destructions and necessary resistance:**

The finance capital penetration and the thirst of primitive accumulation have become highly hazardous to ecology. At global level US imperialists have openly flouted all the agreements and joint decisions to reduce emissions of green house gases and to reduce carbon foot print. In India also the rabid drive for reaping natural riches and dumping toxic residue in the rush for profit breach all limits of environmental destruction. At international level imperialist camp thrust the responsibility of environmental protection upon the oppressed nations and oppressed people. So, in the fight to guard environment, toiling masses should be consciously rallied by the working class and a broad movement should be built up for this. Environmental destruction by capitalist forces is no matter of non class character; instead, it has to be seen as part and parcel of class struggle at international level and at domestic level.

### **5.18 work on cultural front:**

As imperialist globalization intensified and resulted money laundering, speculative businesses, corruption, nepotism and mafia have together created degeneration of the four estates of the system, cultural decay began to loom large in total society. This anarchy, along with growing unemployment, has provided space for communal and caste wise polarization too. Khap Panchayat, vigilante attacks, crime against women etc have become systemic evil. This has to be fought with tenacity and patience. Only by gathering positive elements of the society and

consciously developing a progressive, secular and democratic cultural movement this negative trend could be abated. Organizational initiative and united activities are necessary to achieve this goal.

### **Conclusion**

The concrete situation does unravel that the laws of objective motion necessarily work advantageous to the proletariat; not the bourgeoisie. Both the crises at international and national situations are showing clear signs of this. By the wielding of correct tactic in every breath of struggles the advanced proletariat and its vanguard can progress in the fight for Left Alternative. For, this, unity of Left forces based on concrete minimum programme has become its life line. So, it has become the duty of revolutionary vanguard to meticulously follow it.

# ON AGRARIAN QUESTION AND PEASANT FRONT

9<sup>th</sup> All India Conference Raichur 8th-11th February 2018

**“The property in the soil is the original source of all wealth, and has become the great problem upon the solution of which depends the future of the working class.”**

**KARL MARX: The Nationalization of Land (1872)**

1.

## **Introduction**

**1.1** In the era of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolutions the stream of Democratic Revolutions and the stream of Socialist Revolutions decide the progress of Global revolution. The stream of Socialist Revolutions always leads the total revolutionary process. It is the Agrarian Revolution (AR) that is the core and chief content of the stream of Democratic Revolutions. As the stream of Socialist Revolutions holds the leadership of the stream of Democratic Revolutions at global level, evidently it guides the premise and practice of Agrarian Revolutions too. Thus, AR became the axis of New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. This was the essential programmatic path in the countries those were under colonial oppression. Even after attaining freedom from colonial yoke, AR continued to be the axis of New Democratic Revolution in those countries in which democratic social transformation could not be completed. This remained so mainly because of political power being grabbed by exploiting classes such as big bourgeoisie and feudal lords in such countries. That is, even after attaining political independence, democratic social transformation by breaking free from pre-capitalist production relations and feudal and other patriarchal social relations in a wholesome national scale had to be completed by way of New Democratic Revolutions, which the ruling exploitative classes discarded.

**1.2** The material reason for the Agrarian Revolution being the axis of New Democratic Revolution under Proletarian leadership is as follows.

The leadership of Revolutionary Course of social change has got historically passed from the hands of bourgeoisie on to that of the proletariat. This is because of the universal phenomenon which the capital has undergone. It is the phenomenon of monopolization and of an accentuating rapprochement with Imperialist Finance Capital. This caused the obliteration of all basic revolutionary character and national interest of the bourgeoisie. Due to this phenomenal change bourgeoisie became decadent and counter revolutionary.

**1.3** The said historical shift had caused a progressive transformation of the perception and paradigm of AR. This paradigmatic change has made the course of Agrarian Revolution simultaneously carry two aspects of revolutionary social change. One of these aspects is of socio-economic emancipation from all pre-capitalist production relations including feudalism, its accompanied primitive social institutions and its decaying culture. Another aspect is of getting emancipated from the malicious imperialist exploitation and neo-colonial strangulation. Freedom of market and commodification function as positive factors in the former aspect of the course whereas, freedom from the market play the emancipator role in the latter. This is because of farmers' produces being freed from rent bound consumption by the feudal lord in the former phase of the course of AR as the land-to-tiller policy is implemented by the abolition of feudalism and, because of this, the produces become commodity and get realized by being sold in the market. The reason for freedom from the market becoming the trait of the second aspect of the course of AR is because of the internationalization of market engineered by the International Finance Capital. This internationalization of market is a negative action which curtails value realization of farmer produces by way of integration of the domestic market of every nation. In each nation, the Monopoly Capital houses become part and parcel of this process.

**1.4** This means that, in the final, Agrarian Revolution is essentially bound to merge with the course of revolutionary change to achieve the aim of abolition of capital, all other forms of private property and the market. For this, Agrarian Revolution essentially will have to progress to the proletarianization of every stratum of the toiling masses in the agrarian sector and all kinds of production and activities associated with such

stratum. It is possible only by persistent implementation of planning in production resulting scientific development of production forces and hand in hand development of production relations. For this, all sections of the peasantry and other toiling people such as artisans and craftsmen are to be led through a democratic course of integration with the proletariat in a harmonious historic process.

**1.5** The vanguard of the proletariat is bound to materialize this historic goal of AR because, emancipation of proletariat is inseparable from the emancipation of peasantry and the whole of toiling masses from all kinds of exploitation and oppressions. This epic task has to be done with ever-vigilant guidance by the proletarian vanguard, which alone can provide apt leadership to the whole working class. This is the vital conscious process that can make the whole working class capable of the correct handling of its strategic alliance with the peasantry. This is vital for attaining uninterrupted and total social emancipation in countries that carry predominant existence of agrarian society.

## 2.

### **Historical Trait of the Programme of Agrarian Revolution**

**2.1** The historical trait of the programmatic envisagement of the Agrarian Revolution in the whole Marxist praxis started with the programmatic differentiation of AR's communist perception from that of the French Revolution / the bourgeois revolution. Marx himself did this differentiation right in 1872. In his paper 'The Nationalization of Land' presented at the 'Manchester session of International Working men's Association'. In his presentation he clearly stated:

“France was frequently alluded to, but with its peasant proprietorship it is farther off the nationalisation of land than England with its landlordism. In France, it is true, the soil is accessible to all who can buy it, but this very facility has brought about a division into small plots cultivated by men with small means and mainly relying upon the land by exertions of themselves and their families. This form of landed property and the piecemeal cultivation it necessitates, while excluding all appliances of

modern agricultural improvements, converts the tiller himself into the most decided enemy to social progress and, above all, the nationalisation of land. Enchained to the soil upon which he has to spend all his vital energies in order to get a relatively small return, having to give away the greater part of his produce to the state, in the form of taxes, to the law tribe in the form of judiciary costs, and to the usurer in the form of interest, utterly ignorant of the social movements outside his petty field of employment; still he clings with fanatic fondness to his bit of land and his merely nominal proprietorship in the same. In this way the French peasant has been thrown into a most fatal antagonism to the industrial working class.

Peasant proprietorship being then the greatest obstacle to the nationalisation of land, France, in its present state, is certainly not the place where we must look to for a solution of this great problem.”

It was very clear that Marx had pointed at two key factors regarding Agrarian production such as:

- (1) The ever increasing need of greater productivity and the due enhancement of production forces,
- (2) The corresponding necessity of collective social utilization of land, as land stands limited, and of all necessary amenities to the maximum.

So, these were the key reasons that led him to unequivocally herald the necessity of nationalization of land.

**2.2** At the same time, nationalization of land was never a secluded and segmented action in Marx’s paper in 1872. Instead, he saw it as part and parcel of the whole process of socializing all kinds of production in total. He said about it as follows: “There will be no longer any government or state power, distinct from society itself! Agriculture, mining, manufacture, in one word, all branches of production, will gradually be organised in the most adequate manner. National centralisation of the means of production will become the national basis of a society composed of associations of free and equal producers, carrying on the social business on a common and rational plan.”

So, according to Marx, the process of nationalization of land corresponds with the process of socialization of all means of production and, in

effect, the process of abolishing of private property in all of its forms. This process of change goes through essential transformation that passes concrete historical junctures of varying natures. There arises the necessity of concrete forms of this total process of change at every juncture in order to achieve it in its advancing progression.

**2.3** These concrete forms of both programmatic and tactical kinds were redefined by Lenin because of the changes in the political economical scenario of the twentieth century. These changes marked the beginning of a new era of imperialism in the epoch of Capitalism. By the closing years of 19th century and the opening years of 20th Century, capital grew into monopoly capital through cut throat competition. By the interpenetration of this monopoly capital with bank capital, a new phenomenon of Finance Oligarchy or Finance Capital emerged. This phenomenal change had been observed in its sprouts by Marx and Engels in the 3rd Volume of 'Das Capital' itself. Still, it was not brought out in detailed clarity until Lenin analyzed and explained its characteristics comprehensively. He proved that the said changes caused the beginning of a new stage of capitalism called Imperialism. Imperialism unleashed unprecedentedly fast and qualitatively magnified exploitation, especially of colonies by way of export of capital to such colonies. So, Lenin defined Imperialism to be the 'highest stage of capitalism' because, the imperialist era entered into the optimized spreading of class exploitation to every nook and corner of all continents. It began penetrating into all kinds of systems of production and social structure existed hitherto.

**2.4** This process of imperialist exploitation crippled the free growth of capitalist development everywhere. The capitalist development in every country became bound to be in a relation of rapprochement with IFC and the imperialist system. This caused the breaching of all national boundaries and the escalation of exploitation of masses, especially peasantry, to unprecedented levels. It generated a necessary objective situation for fraternal association of working class and peasantry in the colonies. Apparently, it was quite paradoxical to consider the necessity of fraternal action and alliance of proletariat and peasantry before this era-change; but, as the era got changed and Global phenomenon of Finance Capital penetration unravelled itself to be paramount form of exploitation, this became essential possibility. Thus, the immediate

possible form of transformation of land ownership, even though it all had to travel ultimately to the finale of socialization, got changed. Even at the earliest stage of formation of finance capital Marx and Engels had glimpsed it and mentioned it in the preface to the second Russian edition of Communist Manifesto as follows:

“Now the question is: can the Russian obshchina, though greatly undermined, yet a form of primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of Communist common ownership? Or, on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution such as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?”

The only answer to that possible today is this: If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development.”

This was definitely an intermediate programmatic step in the total process of advancement to nationalization of land and the whole process of production in the Agrarian sector.

**2.5** The programmatic premise of revolutionary programme further got modified concretely by Bolsheviks under Lenin’s leadership in Russia. This was done with the slogan: ‘Land to the Tiller’. Again, it prima-face looked to be in the opposite to the Marxist programme of nationalization via collectivization, which in the ultimate will merge with the complete abolition of capital and all forms of private property. Actually Lenin’s shift in programmatic preference was the truly scientific change in order to materialize the abolishment of the most degenerative archaic form of ownership: the feudal ownership. This had to be done by way of a revolutionary breakthrough by the peasant masses led by the proletariat. The peasantry became enthusiastic to do it only when land came to its ownership. At the same time, the proletariat and the rural working class had to rely on nationalization of land as their strategic programme. This was the dialectical programmatic sense that had to be kept at helm within the vanguard of the proletariat. Lenin’s writings on the agrarian programme had explained it lucidly; exposing and fighting the inappropriateness of the Menshevik slogans of ‘nationalization’ (which was raised only for the bourgeois amassment of land, not as part of the

*total abolition of all forms of private property*), ‘municipalisation’ etc. The essence of it was that the agrarian programme must discharge two duties without obliterating any of the two. One is to free the peasantry from the feudal yoke and make it the close associate and the main ally of the proletariat forming the core force of class alliance in the course of revolution, and the other is to ensure the independent action of the working class to facilitate the advancement to the social change that pursues the onward path of scientific socialism. The first duty had to result in creating new form of private property negating the old decadent form of private property that was the feudal estate. This caused the creation of petit-proprietary ownership of land by the farmers. Whereas, the second duty, was to resolve the private ownership of land by transforming the total sector into socialized production through transcending forms of land ownership.

**2.6** The second duty of the Agrarian Programme that is the resolution of private ownership on land was seriously undertaken only by the first Five Year plan in 1928. This was so because, as Lenin had explained it, just after October Revolution there needed a retreat. That was the New Economic Policy or NEP. In his speech at the Plenary Session of the Moscow Soviet on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1922, Lenin said that, the NEP had to be followed keeping in mind that new advancement of socialization had to be achieved successively. In 1923 he wrote in Pravda about the key importance of cooperative sector in that process: “Two main tasks confront us, which constitute the epoch to reorganize our machinery of state, which is utterly useless, in which we took over in its entirety from the preceding epoch; during the past five years of struggle we did not, and could not, drastically reorganize it. Our second task is educational work among the peasants. And the economic object of this educational work among the peasants is to organize the latter in cooperative societies. If the whole of the peasantry had been organized in cooperatives, we would by now have been standing with both feet on the soil of socialism. But the organization of the entire peasantry in cooperative societies presupposes a standard of culture, and the peasants (precisely among the peasants as the overwhelming mass) that cannot, in fact, be achieved without a cultural revolution.

Our opponents told us repeatedly that we were rash in undertaking to implant socialism in an insufficiently cultured country. But they were misled by our having started from the opposite end to that prescribed by theory (the theory of pedants of all kinds), because in our country the political and social revolution preceded the cultural revolution, that very cultural revolution which nevertheless now confronts us.

This cultural revolution would now suffice to make our country a completely socialist country; but it presents immense difficulties of a purely cultural (for we are illiterate) and material character (for to be cultured we must achieve a certain development of the material means of production, we must have a certain material base).”

**2.7** After Lenin’s demise, the said challenge had to be carried in the midst of acute global crisis of Great Depression that began in 1929 and continued to the close of 1930s. This was in the midst of sharpening of inter-imperialist contradiction later giving way for the birth of a monster - fascism. It became necessary that Soviet Union had to develop industry and agriculture very fast to cope up with the challenges of renewed imperialist threat; this time with fascist fangs. This criticality of time demanded necessary acceleration of collectivization via cooperative production and of state sectors to go hand in hand with it. As comrade Stalin clearly pointed at it in his speech delivered at a Conference of Marxist Students of Agrarian Questions (December 27, 1929) “Concerning Questions of Agrarian Policy in the U.S.S.R.”:

“New practical experience is giving rise to a new approach to the problems of the economy of the transition period. Questions of NEP, of classes, of the rate of construction, of the bond with the peasantry, of the Party’s policy, are now presented in a new way. If we are not to lag behind practice we must immediately begin to work on all these problems in the light of the new situation. Unless we do this it will be impossible to overcome the bourgeois theories which are stuffing the heads of our practical workers with rubbish. Unless we do this it will be impossible to eradicate these theories which are acquiring the tenacity of prejudices. For only by combating bourgeois prejudices in the field of theory it is possible to consolidate the position of Marxism-Leninism.”

He then stated the concrete solution by defining the way out from the bourgeois prejudices and from the actual problem of organizing agrarian production stating: “What, then, is the way out? The way out lies in making agriculture large-scale, in making it capable of accumulation, of expanded reproduction, and in thus transforming the agricultural basis of the national economy.

But how is it to be made large-scale?

There are two ways of doing this. There is the capitalist way, which is to make agriculture large-scale by implanting capitalism in agriculture a way which leads to the impoverishment of the peasantry and to the development of capitalist enterprises in agriculture. We reject this way as incompatible with Soviet economy.

There is another way: the socialist way, which is to introduce collective farms and state farms into agriculture, the way which leads to uniting the small peasant farms into large collective farms, employing machinery and scientific methods of farming, and capable of developing further, for such farms can achieve expanded reproduction.

And so, the question stands as follows: either one way or the other, either back to capitalism, or forward to socialism. There is not, and cannot be, any third way.

The theory of “equilibrium” is an attempt to indicate a third way. And precisely because it is based on a third (non-existent) way, it is utopian and anti-Marxist.”

Sure that Stalin was specifically handling the question in the premise of organizing agrarian production under proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction in the lead but, he did explicitly depict the desperate course of capitalist takeover of farming ‘which leads to the impoverishment of the peasantry and to the development of capitalist enterprises in agriculture.’ Thus the programmatic guide, as Great Marx had axiomatically set it, led the question of ownership and utilization of land necessarily tending towards the positive answer of collectivization and to the ultimate and essential socialization as part and parcel of socialist orientation that is ever pitched against all forms of private property including capitalist farming. This programmatic guide has to continue in

action in the course of revolutionary social change with respect to the change of advancement in production relations and production forces.

**2.8** The said course of history provides testimonial experience that, as the part and parcel of New/People's Democratic Revolution and as its axis, the Agrarian Revolution essentially has the socialist content in its lead. Actually, the socialist content in the lead is the force that pilots the whole NDR. Because of this necessary socialist content in the lead, the AR is characteristically against both the stagnant existence of petit-proprietorship and the centralization of land by monopoly capital. Monopoly capital attempts to collect and centralize land at its disposal by way of acquisition of land. This is laid out and enforced by the penetration of International Finance Capital into our national socio political and economical realm during the present day neoliberal regime. This shows that, scientific programme of AR is bound to fight all kinds of speculative businesses on land and its produces by the finance capital and its subsidiaries. So, as the Finance capital penetration into the socio political and economic realm of agrarian production gather epidemic speed in the above mentioned ways, the AR programme should unsheathe corresponding strategy and tactics. Only by placing the socialist content of democratic collectivization persistently in the lead, in various appropriate transitional forms of it, the strategic and tactical necessities of the programmatic premise of AR could be accomplished. Then only the fight against this new diabolic challenge by the Finance Capital Penetration and its malicious transformations could be successfully accomplished.

**2.9** So, in the final analysis, unlike in the days of the Soviet experience, the fight for AR has begun to prominently bear the said lead-socialist content irrespective of whether the political power has been captured and whether the socialist construction is started. The key issue that has made this shift is the growth of finance capital to gigantic amassment and its phenomenal penetration into every corner of the world expediting the integration of every genre of domestic capital and every layer of domestic market with the whole web of IFC. This is the phenomenal character of neo-colonial phase that had begun after the WWII and that had aggravated by the imperialist globalization process that gathered

greater momentum after the fall of the USSR and the temporary setback of socialism.

**2.10** However, the difference in the degree of manifestation, the quality of its effectiveness, modes of its practice and the speed of advance will vary before and after capture of political power. Similarly, the programmatic advancement of successive phases of AR is vital factor in enabling the toiling masses to get galvanized with the proletariat in the fight for political power. The above said dialectical relationship between the advancement of AR programme in praxis and the course of fight for political power is the inseparable fundamental elements of NDR. Taking this into account, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must strive to guide and practice the AR programme. It must do it skilfully changing its phases aptly according to concrete conditions. This is vital especially in the context of the penetration of IFC and resulted intensification of methodical extermination of the peasantry and the toiling masses. It alone will vouchsafe the emancipation of the people championed by the proletariat passing all through the course of Peoples' Democracy and the socialist transformation. Lethargic lingering on at any of its phases before and after capture of political power; and, any kind of hasty leaping over of any of the said phases will be fatal to the success of the means and goal of the whole course of social revolution.

### 3

#### **Praxis of AR During the Independence Movement**

**3.1** During the independence movement in our country, agrarian sector was facing immense pressure of blood-sucking exploitation by colonial plunder on the one hand and inhuman and discriminative feudal oppression on the other. Actually the colonial masters chose to reorganize feudalism forming it as the necessary tentacle of colonial expropriation and means of deliverance of oppressive measures. The peasantry fought against it whenever it was brought to the brink of unbearable extents right from the beginning of 19th century.

**3.2** A brief survey of the history of peasant uprisings will give us an account of a great saga of peasant struggles in 19th century as follows. In 1814 at Tuppen of Muneer (near Varanasi) Rajput peasants secured

the abolition of the sale of land by public auction of a large village community to a stranger. In 1817 the peasants of Orissa led by local feudal lords, rose up in protest against the introduction of taxation of their rent free service lands. Poona district witnessed the uprising of the peasantry from 1826 to 1829 when the authorities were obliged to cede to them holding subject to low revenue charges. In 1830-31 British troops were sent to suppress a peasant uprising in Bedsore district of Mysore State against the tax increase. In 1835-37 there was an uprising in Gumsur in Madras Presidency. In 1842 an uprising flared up in Sagar. In 1846-47 the peasants in Karnal rose up in revolt. In 1848 Rohillas in Nagpur took up arms. In 1844 in the Kolhapur and Santavadi State bordering Bombay Presidency, there was a large-scale revolt in protest against the British decisions increasing the land revenue to pay the princes' tribute. The peasants of Khandeth in Bombay Presidency rose up in protest against the land settlement which resulted in the increase of land tax. There were also innumerable uprisings of tribal people in this period – of the Bhils in 1818-1831 and Kolis in 1824 in Bombay Presidency, unrest in Kutch in 1815 and 1832 and revolt in Kittur in 1824-1829. In 1820, there was an uprising of the Mers in Rajputana, and of the Hos tribe in Chote Nagpur in 1831-32. In 1846 the Khonds rose up in Orissa and 1855 the Santhal revolted in Bihar. The Kurichya uprising and Moppila uprisings in north Kerala do add on to this valiant heritage of peasant struggles against British Raj. These heroic struggles culminated in the First War of Independence of 1857.

**3.3** After the military victory of colonial forces over the patriotic forces by the end of the First War of Independence and the subjugation of the whole nation under viceroy rule, the colonial forces transformed the defeated feudal order and reorganized it as a systemic element of the British raj. During the same period, a bourgeois class began to grow from within the womb of colonial system. Gradually, a new contradiction began due to this development and bourgeois national movement began along with the popular upheavals of anti-colonial struggles. As the bourgeois national movement began, it attracted the peasant legions to the cause of anti-colonial struggle by way of interfering in the struggles of farmers like in the Champaran where the indigo farmers took to struggle. It was almost Mahatma Gandhi's debut. Though the bourgeois

national movement interfered and, led the peasant movement against the British Raj to an extent, it did not raise a meaningful struggle against feudalism. Actually, it was by the formation of Communist Party of India and its involvement in the Congress Socialist Party that the formation and advancement of All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) became possible in 1936.

**3.4** All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) undertook the historic duty of anti-feudal struggles along with Anti-colonial struggles. The active participation and further the active leadership by the communist party strengthened the above said dual task of AIKS. In April 1935, noted peasant leaders NG Ranga and EMS, then secretary and joint secretary respectively of South Indian Federation of Peasants and Agricultural Labour, suggested the formation of an all-India farmers body and soon all these radical developments culminated in the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress on 11 April 1936 with Sahajanand Saraswati elected as its first President, and it involved people such as Ranga, EMS, Karyanand Sharma, Yamuna Karjee, Yadunandan (Jadunandan) Sharma, Rahul Sankrityayan, P. Sundarayya, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Bankim Mukerji. The main aims of the AIKS were:

- 1) To save the peasants from exploitation by any section of the society.
- 2) Abolition of Zamindari and Jagirdari system
- 3) To save the peasants from economic exploitation
- 4) Ownership of land by the peasants
- 5) Reduction in the rates of land revenue
- 6) Waiving of debts
- 7) Better arrangements of irrigation
- 8) To give recognition to Kisan Sabhas.

The Kisan Sabha started agitations against the landlords. In the 1937-38, they started a movement for the ownership of the lands by the peasants who worked on it and to bring about the end of forced labour. In 1937 itself AIKS decided that its flag to be red flag and abolition of Zamindari as its programme. Soon the organization was distanced by the Congress and when communist party became legal in 1942, it became the leading force of AIKS. Then onwards AIKS stood the ground with its demand of abolition of zamindari and finally for 'land to tiller'.

**3.5** The historic role of AIKS in the turbulent struggles of the freedom movement is glorious and indelible. Along with working class movement

it welled in the mass base of communist movement in India. The incessant fight put up by the peasantry under its banner played vital role in attaining national freedom driving the colonial forces away. Still, after the transfer of power, the bourgeois landlord classes, the new ruling class combine, betrayed this valiant segment of Indian freedom movement by discarding their cardinal demands like ‘land to tiller’.

**3.6** The Great Telangana Struggle was an epic experience of anti-feudal struggle, anti-nizam struggle and a struggle for the liberation of the people towards their unification as linguistic nationality. It was a grand struggle that liberated 3000 villages. Historic experience of this great struggle has to be evaluated further in the course of the communist movement in its multifarious dimensions.

**3.7** Like the Telangana Struggle, the Tebhaga Struggle and the Worly struggle also had added to the immense treasure of historic experiences of the Communist Party and the peasant movement. Obliteration of this brilliant inheritance will disarm our effort to march to future. This vast experience shall still work as a guiding force to handle the uneven terrain of the social reality in our country and the related multidimensional tasks of AR.

## 4

### **Post-independence Scenario and Land Reforms**

**4.1** After independence the bourgeois-landlord state did not implement comprehensive land reforms and related social reforms to complete the process of emancipation of the masses especially the peasantry and all the toiling sections of agrarian people. The bourgeoisie that held its class bond with the feudal land lords on the one hand and kept on its rapprochement with International Finance Capital ditched the cause of social change that would have broken the feudal shackles. So, communist movement and AIKS continued the fight for ‘land to tiller’ facing heavy repressions.

**4.2** The relentlessness of peasant struggles bore the continuum of Social Renaissance movement in camaraderie with working class struggles. This movement surged under red flag in some states like Kerala and

West Bengal. That did essentially lead to concrete forms of political advancement and consolidation of forces in these states. Land reforms, announced by the congress but left unaccomplished, were begun to be implemented in these states, especially Kerala, where communist led left forces came to office. This arrested eviction of tenants, stopped the feudal rent, and ultimately led to abolition of tenancy by giving title rights to tenants. The feudal system of land holding and production relations was severed at its roots. This had been an unprecedented experience of communist praxis within the bounds of constitutional limits set by bourgeois-land lord state. Anyhow, even such reformatory work by communist party had shaken the system top to bottom. So, the reactionary forces joined hands together to unleash an infernal attack upon the communist government in the name 'vimochana samaram'. It has to be noted that it was not the agrarian and land policy of the communist party that had been put to practice; instead, was the policy declared by the congress and its government at the centre. This was due to the constitutional obligation of a state government within the system.

## 5

### **Mixed Economy and Green Revolution: Its Impact**

**5.1** After independence it took time even to determine whether India would follow the path of a republic and what would be its political economic track. The working class and peasantry were keen on this matter. Communist Party was critical of the Congress Government for its role in conniving with British forces in the military suppression of struggle in Malaya and joining hands with the US war under UN banner in Korea. Communist Party saw the Last British Viceroy continuing as first Governor General and the colonial stakes continuing in India to be sheer mockery of independence. The party accounted the unabated existence of feudalism, continuation of Privy Purse to Kings etc to be total betrayal of the forces that fought for freedom of the masses.

**5.2** As a result of this empirical feel of developments, the Communist Party of India determined that it was sham independence and an immediate overthrow of the enemy state was essential for revolutionary

social change. Such misjudgement of historical juncture of independence had been fatal and it further alienated the movement from the masses. The extremist line resorted to by the communist party after 1947 and the state repression that it was subjected to had seriously affected AIKS and the worker-peasant alliance. At this juncture the Congress Party declared socialist motto in the Avadi Session of the AICC and Nehru Government followed nonalignment policy and Five Year Plan.

**5.3** The said shift of congress policy and its manifestations were utilized by the ruling class forces to lure the propertied sections of the peasantry to their side. The concept and practice of mixed economy and fixing of five year plan within its ambit suited the said approach of the ruling classes. Because of the practice of this policy a metamorphosis happened; mainly of the landlord sections. As part and parcel of this process, Green Revolution was imposed from above with a view to increase productivity. Due to these changes rich peasantry came up and largely that became the close ally of the bourgeoisie in the rural. This transformation led to hindering the process of comprehensive land reforms. This negative trend thwarted the progress of AR.

**5.4** Consolidation of the ruling classes in agrarian society and continuation of ruling class reforms in the place of comprehensive land reforms have created a malignant situation of formation of an upper crust in the rural class strata and the sustained impoverishment and alienation of the poorer sections of peasantry such as marginal and poor peasantry. Further, this process led to proletarianization of the last ranks of peasantry and this necessitated programmatic changes to AR.

## 6

### **Naxalbari Struggle and After**

**6.1** Lack of comprehensive land reforms and the uneven development due to the ruling class policies as stated above led to the impoverishment and destitution among peasant masses down the strata. Within two decades after independence and congress rule the situation of rural India had deteriorated to this pathetic low. All the benefits of five year plans

and green revolution petered out when it came down the social ladder. Food scarcity had developed into a famine in Bihar by 1966. This situation had proven the basic criticism by the Communist Party that the Nehru administration discarding land reforms and facilitating the landlords and rich peasants was fatal blow to the emancipation of the downtrodden; the poor and marginal peasants. The strengthening and upward movement of the land lords and rich peasants on the one hand, and the depletion of the poor peasantry on the other, had helped to reinforce the caste system and communal divide. So, the first two decades of the newly independent nation aggravated the agony of the oppressed. Caste killings, land grabs, communal carnages were repeatedly lashed upon dalits, adivasis and minorities. For them, none of the pillars of the republic were available to hold on to.

**6.2** The communist movement and the AIKS had lost the surge so that, could not rise to the occasion to handle this grievous situation. Ideological political issues such as revisionism and leftwing sectarianism, split and programmatic inadequacies weakened the movement. S.A.Dange's revisionist line that advocated national democracy by aligning with the national bourgeoisie was devastating to the cause and programme of AR. This revisionist betrayal had also havocked the vital class alliance, the worker-peasant alliance, to attain AR. Furthermore, the revisionist line had substantially obliterated the duty of anti-feudal struggle. It had obliterated the Statement of Policy of 1951 that had been articulating its guidance for worker-peasant alliance. Even after the split and formation of CPI (M) the cause of AR was not reinvigorated. This was evident from the self criticism in the resolution (On Work Among Peasant Front) by its CC meeting at Nurmahal in October 1966. That resolution had self critically noted that relying upon rich peasantry had been a revisionist deviation that had affected that party.

Again, it was observed by M Basavapunnaiiah in 'The Statement of Policy Reviewed' that it was kept in cold storage from 1951 to 1967. Even in the said review he was just claiming that some aspects had been reviewed. So, it is evident that the vital tactical approach regarding AR and worker-peasant alliance had not been subject to serious perusal,

detailed discussion and resolve for action in a positive and conclusive way. This had worked as vital part in triggering Naxalbari and the split in CPI (M).

**6.3** Naxalbari struggle was not just an eruption of peasant wrath. It was a revolutionary outburst that was necessitated by the said objective situation. True that it was surmounted by leftwing sectarian ideas that led to utterly anti-proletarian political organizational practices. While that has to be self critically acknowledged and taken as negative teacher, it must be grasped that it was Naxalbari struggle and the series of valiant struggles like Srikakulam, Birbhumi, Lakhimpur kheri, Gopiballavpur etc that followed it which had once again brought the question of AR to the forefront. It tilled the soil of Indian revolution; however unruly might be its course. Any attempt of criticism or self-criticism, from within and without, will compel to discuss Agrarian Revolution. In the present day intensity of imperialist globalization and agrarian distress this historic spectacle enables us to face it; unlike those who discarded it or repudiated to reckon it.

## 7

### **Impact of Imperialist Globalization Policies**

**7.1** Imperialist globalization policies inaugurated in 1991 had its retrogressive impacts in the agrarian sector as it insisted to cut down subsidies for fertilizers and pesticides, disallowed Low interest loans for farmers. Further, the Congress and BJP led governments made drastic shifts in agrarian policy. In 1980 Indira Gandhi ministry took first loan from IMF and that opened doors for IFC penetration into agrarian sector. As its continuation, in 1991, during the days of the Rao regime, agrarian policy shifted further. It followed the IMF proposal submitted in 1990 'A Country Study on India'. As a result, the Vajpayee ministry signed agreement with US in 1998 and in 2000 the Vajpayee ministry passed National Agriculture Policy. This whole development in accumulated effect shifted preference from food production to export oriented production and emphasis on to cash crops; and, thus, agriculture began to undergo a basic change into agribusinesses. Thus, congress and BJP governments opened up the banking sector, let loose the petrochemical

monopolies like reliance, accelerated fuel price-hikes, cut down the support systems such as procurement of crops and floor pricing, opened for speculative business in grains and grams, pruned down the PDS, relegated Public Health, commercialized education, downsized government machinery, signed WTO like agreements and turned face away from the rising numbers of peasant suicides. Deccan became a plateau of death for Indian farmers, Vidharbha became widow-land, central India turned into killing fields for Adivasis at the hands of central and state special police forces and mercineries, people of Odisha became grass-eating communities and this long shadow of deprivation and stifling of lives of millions was measured in its 'edifice of growth' in the share market. The credit crisis faced by the farmers due to the above said policies has to be seen in contrast with the writing off of the debts of big business. Speculation in crop market and resulted fluctuations in the market leads to baffling crop changes that completely discords the rhythm of poor / sharecropper peasant. Failure to realize the crops in the gambling of unpredictable market totally let loose by a spectator-like-government leaves the farmer at the mercy of the money lender / financier bank. Debt traps and drain of inputs duo pushes the farmer out of his livelihood; even dear life.

**7.2** This merciless process has virtually dried up the possibility of subsistence farming and petit-farming in strategic sense. Naturally, the eye of the vulture, the IFC, is now upon the land that these poor farmers used to till. IFC and monopolies are to take over that land for which government is making conducive land acquisition law.

**7.3** Capitalist development that happened in the field of agriculture has systematically created a new class of agribusiness. The economical and social distortions it has created consist of downsizing of work force and increase in disguised rural unemployment, servitude to market in the form of contract farming and leased farming, large scale interstate migration of cheap labour, increase in child labour and inhuman exploitation of women workers etc. Again, capitalist farming, being tied up with international market, affects crop selection and in effect discards food production to be the basic plank of agricultural production. This jeopardizes food security. In nutshell, capitalist farming that often comes

with the hood of farming companies is a socio-economic weed that has to be cleared by AR.

**7.4** The said maladies together constitute the phenomenon of Finance Capital Penetration and the extermination of peasantry as the largest producer in the nation. Because of the said freehand to the capitalist forces and the steady and determined withdrawal of the state, the problems regarding irrigation, procurement of crops and drought/flood relief etc are poorly attended. This destroys the possibility of structural construction that is much needed by the peasantry for its democratic development.

## **8**

### **Transformation of Forms of Farming**

**8.1** Transformation on to new forms of farming with newer and more scientific means must be done by pro-people planning that is free from monopoly capital interests. For this, role of research and scientific development related to agriculture and its hand in hand action with production has to be defined according to the needs of the people in general and peasantry in particular. It is only possible by active government intervention with wide consultation at national scale.

**8.2** Land preservation and land utilization with characteristics of socialization are the key factors that shall draw line of demarcation in the fight between the penetration of capitalist forces and the rights of the peasantry. It further shall galvanize the peasantry with the proletariat in order to materialise a positive transformation from that of a disunited social entity with private property mentality to that of an essentially united social entity that depends upon social mutuality for existence by way of step by step proletarianization. For this, land preservation for grain production and other edibles must be connected with the socialized utilization of land. This conscience and its practice would be possible only if it is convincingly proven to the vast majority of the peasantry that, the socialized utilization is a surer path for better realization of its labour and produces. Again, the socialized utilization must enhance the bargaining power in the market and must reduce credit pressure upon

individuals of the producing class. This transformation has various components in which rural industrialization dovetails with the agrarian production in both the roles of input provider and that of quality enhancer of the outputs of agricultural produces.

**8.3** The above said transformation could be effectively groomed to maturity only by envisaging and practicing a healthy and corroborative relationship between industry and agriculture. For this, we have a negative teacher before us; that is, Nandigram and Singur. Actually Marxist Leninist policy of grain and steel together was discarded and predatory capitalist theory of 'bring-in-industry-and-oust-farming' was adopted in West Bengal. The history of USSR and the first Five Year Plan was discarded. Sovkhoz and Kolkhoz that had surpassed global hard times of 1929-36 (Great Depression) were seen as a thing of the past. This was because of lack of conviction in socialism. We have to recall the sceptical predictions from Bengal that had pushed the possibilities for socialist victories for another 100 years!

**8.4** Any industrialization in India has to enhance productivity in total; that is, in industry and agriculture. Such industrialization drive must enhance immediate growth in employment generation in both the sectors with quality and dignity of labour on steady rise. This is very vital because of two important reasons: a) India has the greatest of agrarian labour-force b) India has 51% of arable land (possibly the greatest chunk in the whole Asian continent). So, realization of the said labour force in agricultural production in a democratic way, scientifically utilizing the arable land, is prefatory to and necessary part of the scientific programme of industrialization. It is only possible with well tuned planning of rural industrialization that serves agriculture and vice versa.

## **Forming Co-operatives and Development of Rural Agro-industries**

**9.1** Development of co-operative structure in the whole echelon of agricultural production to facilitate input supply, creating active units in production is of utmost importance. Such active units in industrial venture for quality enhancement of crops, in agro-based industrial production and in farmer marketing system are necessary. This is the concrete step of social creation of alternatives in order to put up defence against the individual devouring of the peasants by market forces; especially the peasants who do sustenance farming and petit-farming and fall prey to the market. This is the concrete step that can help us salvage the peasantry that is being ousted from production by penetration of IFC and Monopoly capital. Only by this concrete step we can facilitate development of production forces and correlative enhancement of production relations. Co-operative societies with banking and service operations have the edge of social trust and social accountability. It becomes easy for such cooperatives to step on to various phases of initiating collective production activities among farmers and agricultural labourers. Further, new co-operatives could be formed by agricultural labourers themselves and could be incorporated in production. Adivasi peasants and agricultural workers can have special co-operatives of forest collections and forest crops.

**9.2** We must grasp the importance of co-operative production in the fight against the IFC and the monopolies. The very credit system that the capitalist forces use could be used in active resistance against the IFC-monopoly capital forces by the labouring/toiling classes, by way of co-operative production. Great Marx had pointed this in Capital itself (Das Capital vol3 chapter27). This had been reiterated and prompted to put to practice by comrade Lenin in the period of NEP itself. It was in the leadership of comrade Stalin that it was implemented in grand scale in late twenties and all through the thirties. So, co-operative production is a proven form of production that helps the socialist transformation amplifying socialist production.

**9.3** Some may cite that in USSR it was clearly having the qualitative edge of political power in ushering in co-operative production. They often point out that this is not a workable tactic on universal scale. Such commentators fall short of holding on to the Marxist grasp that it was the systemic transformation that finance capital had ushered in which Marx had seen as the determining factor that made workers co-operative mills possible in England. So, even if it is true that it will be ideal for the producer co-operatives to flourish without monopoly threat in the course of systemic transformation under proletarian dictatorship, it is evident that it has become possible to begin co-operative production by the proletariat also before the accomplishment of political power. However, such initiation of co-operative production shall be part and parcel of class struggle in the face of IFC penetration. According to Marx, co-operative production became possible because of establishment of credit system by Finance Capital in order to attain universal evenness of profit and quicker transaction to expedite realization. In volume 3 of *Das Capital*, Marx had said that co-operative production was the natural outcome of industrialization and credit system that have become established systemic reality. He had stated that co-operative production was the natural outcome of this phenomena and that it bore the sprouts for future system.

**9.4** Affirming the importance of the forms of collective and socialized modes of production to be attainable goal, we must keep in mind that comrade Lenin had reminded of the chief hindrance in the path to accomplish the same is the cultural lag. In the present day India this is very important that any socialized action could be attained only by breaching the patriarchal, caste and communal barriers. Besides, the petit-proprietary ownership mentality has to be dealt with in the most non-antagonistic way. The contradiction between the peasantry and the IFC-monopoly capital driven expropriation policy has to be handled with utmost unity of peasant masses and in unity with the leading proletarian action. Immediate concrete slogans for survival have to be raised in this struggle. Simultaneously, the co-operative activity has to be incorporated in suited forms in services that shall lead to a blended operation into various kinds of co-operative action in production. This is a question of practice of friendly tactic that will help to overcome the

said lags step by step. This action is part and parcel of the building up of conscious worker-peasant unity in every day struggle against the class enemies. It is the conscious path of building up of Left Alternative.

## **10**

### **Representative rights in legislation and in the forms of local self government**

**10.1** Representative rights in legislation and in the forms of local self government by the peasantry could be bettered. This could be done by way of exclusive legislative sub committees that can incorporate with co-operative movement at various levels in action. Listing the organizing of agricultural production in prime place in the development plans of local self governmental bodies and legislative subcommittees will be another means. More means to achieve this goal should be evolved in order to materialize the said goal. The fact that the representation in the legislative bodies, including Lok Sabha, by billionaires is on the rise has to be seen in contrast with this goal.

**10.2** Synchronization with necessary transformation in educational system also is an important factor. Agricultural science is not at all included in schooling up to the needed level. We don't have sufficient institutional means to train and develop modern work force in agriculture. Technical knowhow also has to be steadily enhanced.

**10.3** Blending of apt social security system with the production and distribution system in agrarian production sector is the need of the hour. It alone can meet the necessary betterment of living conditions of the producing classes. Without ensuring standardized living scale for the producing classes in agrarian sector we cannot expect betterment of life at national scale.

## **Focusing on the development of women-farming-communities**

The women community is the most adaptable with agrarian production and modernization of agriculture by way of socialization. Agriculture in socialized form is the most suitable form to enhance emancipation of women. Better labour, better knowhow and better form of socialized production will better their attempt for social emancipation. This drive can go hand in hand with the already strengthening of proletarianization (MNREGA, ASHA) among women and the co-operative activity in production will make them the most active force of socialization altogether. This will comprehensively strengthen the force of Democratic Revolution.

# TASKS IN THE TRADE UNION FRONT

9th All India Conference Raichur 8th-11th February 2018

“As philosophy finds its material weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its spiritual weapons in philosophy.”

**KARL MARX:** *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law.*

## 1

1.1 As communist party was conceived to be the revolutionary party of the proletariat, in 1948-50 period, there was a sectarian perception within the undivided Communist Party the party leadership itself constitutes the entire proletarian leadership. This sectarian trend was rectified in 1951 with the help of CPSU (B).

1.2 The main obstacle in the path of revolutionary progress that was cited in the Statement of Policy-1951 had been the scattered state of working class that existed in various TU movements. The Statement of Policy pointed out that the united TU movement of the Indian Proletariat was essential.

1.3 Political leadership is necessary for the proletarian revolutionary party but, at the same time, the proletariat must be united in the practical front. Here lies the importance of TU organizations.

1.4 Bourgeoisie deals with class mass organizations as its feeder organizations. Unlike the alien class parties, the Leninist organizational principles do put forth specific class perspective with regard to the class mass organizations.

1.5 Communist party does find vital importance to the democratic working of the class and mass organizations.

1.6 The elemental basis of Left Unity and Left Alternative is with the worker-peasant unity. The workers' organizations and the peasants' organizations develop the workers' and peasants' mass struggles. Subject to this the communist party goes for united fronts and understandings with the other organizations. At the same time bourgeois parties consider their mass organizations as mere appendage to it. They just centralize mass organizations to make them do electoral work. Instead, communist party is rallying classes and different sections of masses, breaking away from caste and religious considerations, irrespective of political affinities, in order to achieve the interests of such classes and masses. The fulfillment of the democratic revolution pivots on the unity of the working class and the various sections of the masses.

## 2

### **Sub Committees and Fractions**

#### **2.1 Subcommittees**

The TU Subcommittees are specific form of organizational work division at Central Committee Level and State Committee Level with regard to the party organization. This is to helm the conscious efforts to envisage and execute planning for the development of TU front at All India level and at the State level at every state. This is essential for conscious organizing of TU front from the party perspective. In general, the CC Subcommittee for TU shall consist of the CC Members who work at the TU Front. At state level, generally, this will be consisting of SC Members who work at the TU Front.

#### **2.2 Fractions**

The TU Fraction is an organizational form to enforce discipline in the party work within the TU that is, to instruct and codify the work of the party members in the TU Front at various committee levels/ unions/ sectors of the TU. Members of different level committees of the party organization may be there in a TU Fraction.

The fraction is constituted to:

- 1) Fend off alien class trends and deviations within TU,
- 2) Develop political consciousness in the TU and to recruit party members,
- 3) Effectively exercise party control of the organization at critical junctures, without curtailing and infringing the democratic rights of the members of TUs.

### 3

## **Affiliated Unions and Independent Unions**

3.1 In general, TUCI must strive for affiliating the unions that are organized / led by its cadres. Still, at concrete situations, it may come up that certain sectors or segments may stay alienated from the organizational leadership of the TUCI; at same time showing affinity to the leading cadres of TUCI. It is true that we do not generally promote this trend, at the same time, if situation is so compelling we may show flexibility but, this must be thoroughly discussed at the subcommittees and respective fractions.

3.2 There is a widespread tendency to control the Class and Mass Organizations by way of mechanical relations between the party committees and those who work in the class and mass organizations. There must be equality regarding the rights of members in class and mass organizations irrespective of their membership in the party. The members should have the right for free expression of their opinions and fair discussions on it. If only millions of members of class and mass organizations do freely express opinions and discuss it fairly, then only the whole process can achieve its aim. It is erroneous to go ahead with a practice in which the leaders take decisions overlooking committees and General Bodies of class and mass organizations.

## 4

### **The Relationship between Party and Mass Organizations**

As the leaders of the Mass Organizations the party members must have total commitment to those organizations. The mass organization leaders should take into account many a factors including that of the passions of the non-party-member masses. Still, they should be able to rally the masses to follow the policies and the programs of the party. There are possibilities of conflicts between the above said. Then, the same should be reported in the party committees and directions should be sought.

## 5

### **United Fronts**

United Fronts bear the both the elements of contradiction and co-operation among classes. United front could be successfully formed if only a correct line is adopted with regard to the question of 'who the common enemy/enemies are, which are the friendly forces to be united and what are the areas of unity and disunity among such forces. Any kind of erroneous trend happens to occur will go against the united front and to split.

## 6

### **political changes at the national and international level**

6.1 The temporary socialist set back happened by the dissolution of USSR in 1990. The new economic policies were adopted in 1991. The Babri Masjid was demolished in 1992. These constituted a phenomenal departure from the old balance of forces. This however did not lessen the vitality of socialist change and the relevance if Marxism. Still, it

must be reckoned that Marxism is the beacon for revolution; not a dogma.

6.2 The above said shift in balance of forces and the three factors that made it happen had inflicted huge set back upon the working class in India. Firstly, as the ideology of new world order based on neo-classicalism in economics and neo-liberalism in socio-political realm, that the capitalist imperialist forces have pushed forth to replace socialism, the proletarian concept of socialist emancipation and advanced class struggle to achieve it got attacked head on. Secondly, as the LPG policies were relentlessly pursued, the rights of the Indian Working Class gained by way of epic historic fights were plucked away in the forms of draconian law making, rapidity of expansion of contract labour system, mechanization and atomization with a view to cut down work force and to increase work load. Thirdly, the inciting and inflaming of communal divide and communal pogroms seriously damaged the social secular unity of people that the proletariat had been consciously creating and guarding through decades, which had been a strategic plank for the growth and actions of modern working class.

6.3 The working class defiantly fought back against this negative tide through series of struggles including the 16 General Strikes. Participation and support went on increasing. Thus, the Indian working class led the toiling masses from social agony to social action of struggles. Now it has come up to a concerted struggle by the peasantry along with working class.

6.4 Increase in the number of the unemployed excels the increase in the number of workers. Casual employment, part time employment, intermittent employment, and under employment have increased.

6.5 What the working class needs as essential step of liberation at the concrete juncture is getting freed from the primitive accumulation of capital that the finance capital has unleashed by way of integrating the

Indian economy to its global system of expropriation. It must have the continuity of development as part of the harmonic development of industrial and agrarian sectors. For this, de-industrialization drive must be halted, nationalization of core industries, petroleum and power sectors and minerals, farming and small scale production must be reorganized with active governmental investment and implementation of production co-operative in scientific synchronization.

6.6 For this, Public sector and Co-operative sector must be renovated providing inclusive democratization and active labour representation.

## 7

### II

1 Our principal task is to enable our cadres and the working class to achieve the completion of revolutionary goal. For this the party should dutifully train them to wield suitable tactics and means according to concrete conditions so that they can do the day to day working class struggles.

2 Our present immediate target is to build up the broadest possible working class unity against the anti national anti-people imperialist globalization policies and the outrageous attacks of communal forces. In order to achieve this we have to wage uncompromising struggle against revisionism and left sectarianism. At the same time, we must strive to utilize all the possibilities of united front. The basic source of our strength is in the rectification process and party re-organization that had started from the days of 1982-1983 from which we began our political re-organization process. This developed into cardinal steps in our fourth conference in 1997 and fifth conference in 2000. Even after adopting new programme in fifth conference, the sectarian tendency lingered on. The programme of the party was carried by TUCI in concise form. This we rectified in the 2016 All India Conference of TUCI at Mumbai. The concise programme of the party being the programme of TUCI

was annulled and a new constitution for the TUCI was adopted to which a pilot passage regarding aims and objectives of TUCI was placed.

3 We are now trying to advance basing mainly on our trade unions and the independent strength of our party. Still our trade union activities are at the primary stage. If we advance, we have to broaden the mass base of it. It is very important to rally peasants under the leadership of working class. This is vital for completion of democratic revolution in India. In India, Where feudal and capitalist relations exist, only the working class can do the duty of smashing feudal and semi-feudal relations. This is what necessitates worker-peasant alliance. In the days of imperialist globalization the working class faces all the more complex problems.

4 Under Imperialist Globalization (IG) capital and goods move at global level. When capital makes its move at global level working class doesn't make its serious move for unity at global level. Especially after the temporary Socialist set back that happened in 1990-91, the international working class movement faces serious limitations. This is a challenge that has to be solved with at most urgency at the practical plane in the concrete juncture. Otherwise the globalization of capital shall weaken the working class. Now the octopus finance capital is snaring and strangulating even sovereign nations. In the days of neo-colonialism finance capital can easily topple the Governments of weak countries.

5 The reserve army of the unemployed goes on growing in connection with jobless growth. The existing job is being shared by the army of workers and the army of unemployed. This tendency is being strengthened by the increased trend of contract labour system and increased employment of casual labourers. When the existing labour laws are annulled in order to replace permanent workers with contract workers it weakens the strength of the working class. Such structural changes are phenomenal character of IG. For example, new industrial investments like SEZs, Industrial Corridors, IT, new genres of service industries, employment of artificial intelligence and robotics accelerate

the said structural change. Further strengthening of unification of working class and development of its class consciousness are the steps for the solution of the above said challenges. In the present situation workers have to be incessantly made conscious of the necessity of revolution in order to surpass IG and to achieve the revolutionary goal.

6 At the same time, the proletariat has its position regarding the necessity of utilization of the fruits of scientific inventions and resulted technological advancement and its role in the historic course of the phenomenal growth of Labour in all of its dimensions. This in particular manifests in alleviating physical strain of the working class and in its achievement of higher productivity of labour both in quantity and the quality of production. Further, this phenomenal aspect is vital in producing newer kinds of labour. Still, it becomes natural and elemental in proletarian action of resistance when and where the exploiting class employs technology in malignant way to suffice its rabid drive of profit fetishism because of its unbridled attack upon the working class to cut down the work force and to go rapacious exhaustion of natural riches grossly overlooking the ecological balance. That is, the scientific application of science and technology to enhance labour is a natural component of proletarian perception where as it goes in a self destructive contrast in the capitalist perception. The reason for this lies in the fatal flaw of capitalism that is profit fetishism. The rabidity of such fetishism manifests in wild expropriation of natural riches and human labour. State terror unleashed in the areas where barbarity of capital is flank-protected by means of military and mercenary ferocity is maraudingly repressing TU activity. Such glaring challenge has to be faced with political determination and prepared mass effort.

7 If communist party sits idle within its frame disconnected from the masses, in comrade Stalin's language, the party will be unbecoming the party of the Proletariat. So, the party should be inseparable part of the proletariat.

8 There occurs situations in which left forces and environmental organizations come at loggerheads. This problem has to be solved with a scientific approach to the issue of environmental problems understanding that the same is being triggered by neo liberal policies. As the ecological destruction is a result and part and parcel of capitalism, the working class should understand the struggles against ecological destruction in that grand meaning. The scientific perspective of environment is part of the critique against capitalism.

9 Even at the places where caste-feudal system is undone to a great extent by the revolutionary struggles, the capitalist and decadent feudal class forces are trying to bring back the fiends of caste relations. The oppressions and discriminations towards Dalits and tribal people have obtained newer and more intense forms. So, the proletariat must understand the class content of the caste, its inhuman nature and should wield necessary tactic to weed out this social disease.

10 The proletariat must take up the serious issues that women face under IG. The TU and the party should address the questions of equal remuneration being sabotaged, maternity benefits being overlooked and the question of domestic labour being disregarded and the social labour of women being unpaid. Trade union membership is not being given to millions of women in the sectors like mines. The ANGANWADI workers and ASHA workers are getting a meager honorarium. Women shop-workers are largely not unionized. Nurses under private sector are largely of the similar fate. Along with this, the working women are at the receiving end of several other oppressions too. Trade Unions must see to these burning issues with utmost importance.

11 All the marginalized sections must be rallied by the working class in order to forge grand unity for achieving the goal of Democratic Revolution.