

(Only for CCMs)

**The stand of our Party towards
Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie
in India –
Political Program**

**Draft
2024 December**

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

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1. Introduction

The Central Committee of our Party decided to take up the study of the Indian Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie (CBB) at the time of the Unity Congress in 2007. Since the Congress, in the unceasing attacks of the central and the state governments in a bid to eliminate the Indian revolutionary movement, a considerable number of our CC members became martyrs or were arrested. So the CC could not formulate the document on Indian CBB. Seventeen years after the Congress it is releasing this draft document, 'The stand of our Party towards Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie in India – Political Program'. Let us first briefly look into the discussion on CBB in the history of the Indian revolutionary movement and our Party.

The erstwhile CPI (M-L) rejected the revisionist and the neo-revisionist arguments of the CPI and the CPM that understood the Indian bourgeoisie as National bourgeoisie and independent and formulated the Strategy/the fundamental line of Indian Revolution in the Eighth Congress held in 1970. Until 2001 the CPI (M-L) [People's War] of the CPI (M-L) stream had been of the understanding of four major contradictions in the Indian society thus – The contradiction between Imperialism (when the US and Russia were super powers, these two were dealt together) and the Indian masses, that between Feudalism and the broad masses, that between Capital and Labour and that between the ruling classes. All through it did not state the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses as a fundamental contradiction or a major contradiction. It was of the understanding that this contradiction is inherent in the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian masses and in the contradiction between capital and labour and it does not need a separate mention. The erstwhile CPI (M-L) Party Unity held a Central Conference in 1987 that discussed that CBB has a separate status; it is not just

a mechanical puppet of imperialism; it is the main vehicle of imperialist exploitation in the country; and that it is one of the targets of revolution. It included the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses as one of the main and fundamental contradictions in the Indian society. The over emphasis of Party Unity (PU) about the manoeuvring ability of CBB and its relative independence led to doubts about the understanding of PU towards the Indian state among the communist revolutionaries. This had been a main difference among the erstwhile PU, PW and MCCI. PU considered the importance of the unity of revolutionaries and decided to be flexible in this regard. PU agreed to the proposal of PW to drop this contradiction in the unity talks between PU and PW in 1998 August.

There were deep discussions about CBB in the Ninth Congress of the erstwhile People's War Party in 2001. The Congress resolved to include the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses in the fundamental contradictions that decide the character of Indian society. The Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalism that is in alliance with Feudalism and Imperialism decides the essence or the character of the Indian society and the Indian state. We need to target it during the present stage of revolution. The Congress stated that according to the definition of fundamental contradiction given by Comrade Mao it needs to be included as one of the fundamental contradictions and resolved thus – "...to say that the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses of the people is implicit in the two contradictions – the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people and the contradiction between the capital and labour will not be sufficient to explain the importance of the CBB as the leading element in the ruling class alliance in India and its reactionary role in selling out the people's interests to imperialism and blocking the country's progress. The Indian CBB is expansionist in character and, in alliance with imperialism, it is seen as the direct oppressor of the various nationalities not only in India but in the entire South Asian region. Despite its subservience to imperialism, the CBB of India exists as a distinct class and is not a mere puppet. By serving imperialism, it also serves its own class interests. In its thirst for establishing regional hegemony in South Asia, it has emerged as the greatest threat to the oppressed nations and people of the region. It is very much necessary to isolate and target the CBB along with imperialism and feudalism..."

In the process of unity talks between the CPI (ML) (People's War) and the MCCI in 2003, on the occasion of making bilateral agreements, the MCCI

opined that if the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses of India is included in the fundamental contradictions, there is a danger of forming a United Front with a section of the ruling classes against imperialism; that this section would represent CBB; and that mention of this contradiction would lead to mistakes in formulating strategy and tactics of Indian revolution. It stated that the contradiction between the CBB and the broad Indian masses should not be included in the fundamental contradictions and that it is their basic difference. Unanimity was achieved in several other aspects and in view of the importance of unity, the People's War delegation agreed to withdraw this contradiction.

The Central Committees of both the parties made notes, sent it to the cadres and held discussion in the lower level Conferences so as to solve the differences on CBB and other few in the Unity Congress to be held later. There were deep deliberations in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress held in 2007 on these subjects. The deliberations were followed with a detailed resolution in regard to the CBB. The resolution stated that both the CBB and the big feudal classes are the main instruments for imperialist exploitation in India and that the Indian state is the joint dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big feudal classes loyal to imperialism. It decided to make a deep study about the CBB.

In the period after the Congress there were politico-economic developments in the country that brought forth the need to realise that the CBB is the main vehicle for imperialist exploitation in the country and the leading role of CBB in the Indian state comprised of the CBB and the big feudal classes. In view of the ongoing politico-economic developments in the country for the past 17 years after Congress; in view of the exploitation and oppression of the Indian people by the CBB; the need to widely mobilise the people suffering from its exploitation and oppression against it in class struggle; the situation where we need to widely and immediately mobilise the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie and the National bourgeoisie against it in the tactical and strategic Fronts, the need to target the CBB and to include the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses as one of the fundamental contradictions came forth.

Keeping this in view, the Sixth meeting of the CC held in 2018 October decided thus – "The Unity Congress-Ninth Congress made a decision according to the opinion of the majority about the Indian CBB. We have been implementing this decision for the past 12 years. However few comrades of various levels requested the CC to rethink about CBB in view of the ongoing

changes in the country. In the present occasion of review of 12 years the CC discussed and made the following decision. We must write a note (draft) about the role of Indian CBB. Comrade DN must write and complete it in six months. The PB centre must see and finalise the document and send it to the CC comrades. It must prepare study material and send it to the CC comrades. This note must be finalized along with the draft of central POR”.

The central and the state governments took up various reforms in the process of implementing the Liberation-Privatisation-Globalisation (LPG) policies in the interests of the world Finance Capital and the domestic CBB; there were many economic, political and cultural developments in the world; these considerably effected our country; feudal relations weakened to an extent; capitalist relations gradually grew-spread; these and other such factors intensified the social crisis and there were considerable speedy changes in the Relations of Production in India. Urbanisation is on the rise. There are changes in the classification-class composition of the people. The reserve army of the unemployed is rising. Agricultural labour is migrating more and more in the rural areas. Permanent employment is on the decline. There is a rise in the numbers of non-productive, casual, seasonal workers. Rural characteristics of the peasants are decreasing and semi-proletariat characteristics are increasing. There are changes in the nature of the strategic forest and mountainous areas in the hunt for natural resources. The people of all the classes in the country are increasingly dependent on market, government administration, state and judiciary at varied levels. The upper middle class is under the influence of imperialist neo-liberal (globalisation) ideology. The people of the country are increasingly suffering from the exploitation and oppression of the Finance Capital of the world and the alliance of the Indian CBB and the old and new feudal forces serving it. The people are highly discontented with the policies of the exploitive governments leading to spontaneous, organised people’s movements. It is the present task of all those who wish a transformation of the Indian society to understand the changes deeply, to make corresponding changes in the tactics and to concentrate the entire strength to implement these.

The Polit Bureau made a study of the teachings of the great Marxist teacher Comrade Lenin on imperialism, the teachings of Comrade Mao on CBB, the various documents of sister parties in Philippines, Peru and Nepal and the documents of our party – CPI (ML) (People’s War), MCCI, CPI (ML) Naxalbari and the CPI (Maoist) and formulated a draft document on CBB and is releasing

it in 2024 December for the members of the CC. The document is to be discussed and finalised.

2. The Highest stage of Capitalism – Imperialism – The era of Proletarian Revolution

Historically speaking, capitalism played a progressive role in the initial stage of ‘free trade competition’. In order to destroy the decadent feudal social order, the bourgeoisie mobilised the peasant and toiling masses with the slogans of freedom, equality and sovereignty and led the bourgeois democratic revolution. It established nation states and free market. Feudalism was totally wiped out in the customary capitalist countries. Monarchy became a formality in countries like Britain. Capitalism came to be dominant in Europe and North America.

The historical development of capitalism passed from the stage of free competition to the stage of capitalist hegemony in the beginning of the 20th century. Comrade Lenin defined it as the imperialist stage. Explaining it further, he hypothesised it as “Imperialism is the distinct historical stage of capitalism. As per its distinct characteristic it is of three kinds – Monopoly capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism and capitalism on the death-bed”. He hypothesised it as, “the era of imperialism – the era of proletarian revolution”. This is correct even today. The era will not change until imperialism is totally wiped out from the earth through World Socialist Revolution in the leadership of the proletariat. Comrade Mao said, “No new bourgeois state can emerge in the era of imperialism, the era of proletarian revolution”. “In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China’s petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed.” said Comrade Mao (MSW – 4, On the People’s Democratic dictatorship, 1949, June 30).

The stage of imperialism brought forth the principle of unequal politico-economic development. Imperialist forces formed various alliances and were in severe conflict, to expand all over the world and to redivide the entire world. These led to two World Wars. The first part of the 20th century suffered from serial wars. There were socialist revolutions and New Democratic revolutions one after another. After World War II, Socialist camp was established. This intensified direct competition between capitalism-imperialism and socialism. Capitalist-imperialist order continued with deadly problems. The crises created by World War II and the success of New

Democratic Revolutions weakened imperialism to a large extent and US imperialism emerged. In view of the struggles for national independence and revolutions, imperialism changed its old colonialism in the backward Asia, Africa and Latin America, adopted neo-colonialism and is continuing indirect rule, exploitation and hegemony. After the demise of Comrade Stalin, Soviet Union turned into state capitalist and emerged as a Social-Imperialist country within a decade. All through the decades of 1970 and 1980, world politics were engaged in intense contention and collaboration and proxy wars between the two super powers, for world hegemony and redivision of world market. When 'Soviet' superpower collapsed in 1990, US imperialism became the only superpower and continued to be the biggest danger to the people of the world.

The general crisis in capitalism passed through three stages – the first stage began with World War I and continued until 1923, the second stage began with World War II and continued until mid-1950 and the third stage began in 1973 that continues to date in prolonged economic recession and crisis. After World War I, there was temporary stability in the world capitalist order from 1923 to 1929. After World War II, there was partial stability for nearly two decades from mid-1950 to 1973. World capitalist order entered into a prolonged crisis since 1973. This shattered the illusions that the capitalist-imperialist economy constantly develops. The concept of welfare state brought forth by Keynes in the name of solving the inherent contradictions and crises in capitalism utterly failed. On the whole, crisis in world capitalism is permanent and absolute. Recovery is temporary and relative.

Neo-liberal economic policies or the monetarist theories came forth as the solution for the severe crisis that arose in the world capitalist order since 1973. In practice, imperialism started Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) all over the world by the beginning of 1990s. It adopted neo-liberal policies and took up Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation (LPG). This was a new onslaught of the imperialist Finance Capital on the worker, farmer, middle class and other oppressed people, oppressed countries/colonial, semi-colonial countries. It was possible through the development of information satellite system and in the tremendous progress in the technological knowledge about broadcast of information. The onslaught is continuing for the past three decades.

The economic and financial crisis that started in the US in 2008 spread all over the world including Europe, turned as world-wide crisis and continues today. After the demise of Comrade Mao in 1976, capitalism was restored in

China and it became a Social-Imperialist force by 2014 and became integral to the world capitalist-imperialist order. On one hand there is contention among the imperialists and on the other, there is the resistance of the worker, farmer and other oppressed people and oppressed nationalities of the world. Consequently, the US lost its status of unipolar super-power by the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. Multipolar world came into existence. However, US imperialism continues to be the number one enemy of the oppressed people and oppressed nationalities of the world.

Although the world Socialist revolutionary camp suffered temporary defeat and strategically retreated, as Comrade Lenin taught, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions continues. The prolonged crisis in imperialism, the destructive nature and expansion of wars are intensifying and imperialism is ruining. The wave of World Socialist Revolution is on the dawn. The objective conditions are unfavourable for imperialism and favourable for the advance of democratic and Socialist movements. Utilising the imperialist crisis and cashing on the discontent and despair among the people, reactionary right movements in the leadership of fascist parties and organisations gained strength and are expanding. On the other hand, worldwide anti-imperialist struggles against nuclear wars and wars, for the preservation of environment and civil rights in the leadership of various democratic organisations; revolutionary movements and Protracted People's Wars in the leadership of proletarian/Maoist parties in various countries; liberation struggles of the oppressed nationalities in the leadership of various nationality liberation struggle organisations are gaining strength or else making preparations. The effort of the world proletariat to advance these guarantees World Socialist Revolution.

3. The Emergence of Bourgeoisie in India – The process of its development – The role of caste

The bourgeoisie in India that took birth in the colonial, semi-feudal system has a long history. The impact of caste order on the economic base and the superstructure of the Indian society is inseparable. Therefore, the process of transformation of artisans to traders nearly did not take place in our country. On the contrary, a 'bourgeois' class emerged out of the comprador traders, feudal lords and big money lenders of the oppressor castes with the support of British imperialism. So, right since its birth it has more of reactionary

feudal characteristics than capitalist characteristics and also the nature of being comprador to imperialism.

The hegemony of oppressor caste-feudal hegemony is evident in feudal aspects seen in the accumulation of commercial capital, the control of labour, exploitation, the forms of management and even in the modern sectors of economy. These always reflect in the socio-cultural living. But these are not the aspects of the old caste-feudalism or the old Brahmanism. These were moulded, improved and entwined by imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. The oppressor caste-feudal landlords had industrial and commercial interests since the colonial period. The comprador big capitalist class also has land related interests. Of late these are increasingly entwined. Only thus these are able to express the needs of the present ruling classes-comprador bureaucratic capitalists, oppressor caste-old and new landlords. The people of the entire sections are imbibed with this improved Brahmanism and with the world outlook and the value system of the comprador ruling classes – both the oppressor caste landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists. The great Marxist teacher Marx stated that the ideas of the ruling class become the ideas of the people. Thus primarily imperialist and feudal ideas are prevalent in India.

In the end of the medieval era, Gujarati Baniyas/Jains, Rajasthani Marwaris, Sindhis (Lohanas), Bhatias, Parsis of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Punjab and Bengal engaged in local trade and money lending served as Modis (suppliers of military needs) and bankers for the various Rajput states and later the British. They developed not from production but from a trading class and could indulge in any amount of treachery. The Jagat seths were notorious. They worked as bankers and in-charges of treasury for the Bengal kings. The betrayal of Jagat seths was the main reason for the defeat of Bengal king Siraj ud dola in the 1757 Plassey war and the British occupation. The countrywide expansion of the comprador bourgeoisie that evolved from the traditional trade communities such as the Bania, Marwari, Khattris gained momentum during the British rule. Especially the Banias and Marwaris gradually spread to other areas of Bengal, Asom, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In East India they mainly served the British as compradors. Similarly the Parsis who evolved as the merchant class in South Gujarat spread to Mumbai and later all over the country during the British colonial rule. The development of Mumbai is entwined with the development of the trade of the Parsis. After the Khattris moved out of Punjab and settled in Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Patna, their trade developed complementary to the Marwari

trade. The entire economic affairs including the industries and trade in India are mainly in the hands of the Banias and Marwaris or the Khatris.

Marwaris traded domestically. Banias were engaged in foreign trade in the Persian Gulf and Red sea ports and Parsis with China. Parsis also ran joint stock banks with the British. The Parsi Tatas, Pithis and Wadias developed during this period. Lohanas and Bhatias strengthened in Mumbai following the Parsis. The Kuch (Gujarat) Bhatias made foreign trade with middle Asian countries. They spread to South India and Burma. The Lohanas expanded their trade to middle Asia, the Sindhis to North America, Latin America, Europe, East and South East Asia. The Nattukottai Chettiars of Tamilnadu mainly invested in banking sector in our country and very much in various sectors of Sri Lanka, Burma (Myanmar), South East Asia and various countries. We see that all these of the traditional trading castes worked as local compradors, clerks, commission agents, bankers and dealers to the British and other imperialist companies and gradually transformed from the trade sector to the manufacturing sector (the traditional market to the factory).

Parsis (Tatas, Pithis, Wadias) were the first ones who drifted to manufacturing sector from trade. The Bhatias followed them and then the Gujarati Banias, Jains (Sarabhais, Lalbhais, Mangaldas Giridhardas) and Nattukottai Chettiars. The Marwaris entered the manufacturing sector only after World War I. Swarajpal, Lakshmi Mittal, Anil Agarwal came forth as non-resident Indian comprador corporates after transfer of power. Subsequently the comprador industrialists – the Birlas, Mittals, Agarwals, Goenkas, Singhanias, Lalbhais, Sarabhais, Bajoriyas, Surajmul Nagarmul, DCMs (Lala Sriram group companies), Bangurs, Dalmias, Bajajs, Modis, Srirams, Thapars and then the Jindals, Mahindras, Manjals, Godrejs were followed by Naresh Goyal, Kishore Biyani and Govan Brothers emerged from the various oppressor castes.

Macaulay colonial modern education provided the managing and administration personnel needed for the British rule. It redefined and entwined the social order traditionally comprised of different levels. Thus the Khatris, Brahmans (including the Tamil Brahmans, Gowda Saraswat Brahmans (GSB)), Kayasthas, Bengali Bhadrak (Brahmans, Kayastha and medical communities of the oppressor castes) and other oppressor castes searched alternate sectors for their development. The British imperialists before the transfer of power and later all the imperialists made Brahmanic caste based feudalism their social base. Thus it was easy to create reliable compradors

from these non-trading oppressor castes in colonial and semi-colonial India. Those of these oppressor castes who seized political, economic and social opportunities realised that their social, economic, political and cultural interests are linked with the imperialists and started to depend on them. A section of those who rose to be top officials (bureaucrats) from these castes attained comprador character under the influence of modern education, gained the expertise to bargain depending on their regional and countrywide social and political hegemony and became part of the industrial class. They mainly developed into regional industrialists. A considerable number transformed into the big comprador trade/industrial class. In the process, the Thapar brothers and Narangs were the initial Khatri comprador capitalists. Two Khatri (the Thapar brothers and Mahindras) comprador capitalist groups gained a prominent place. Few Khatri Sikhs came forth in various sectors. Among the Brahmans, TV Sundaram Ayyangar and Kirloskars and later the number 2 software exporter Infosys Narayanamurthy and others came forth. There were no considerable ones from North Indian Brahmans except for Jayaprakash Gowda (JP group) and Narendranath Mohan (Breweris). When we compare the west and the south Brahmans, the northern Brahmans could not expertise in the industrial sector. The reason being, they did not fall under the influence of modern education and secular ideas, they could not overcome the priestly profession and the feudal customs were convenient for them. This also applies to the Nambudiri Brahmans of Kerala.

The Bengali Bhadrakalok that had education after British occupation and was influenced by the revolutionary, progressive ideas of Karl Marx, Tagore and Satyajit Ray emerged into an important political, cultural force in West Bengal. Persons like Birendra Mukherjee came to be prominent comprador industrialists in various sectors before transfer of power, as a part of the local Bengali industrialists. Unable to compete with the ancillary companies of Britain and the US MNCs such as the Unilever, General Electricals and Philips and other foreign companies set up in the beginning of the 20th century, most of the local Bengali industries declined. Either the MNCs purchased them or the British seized them. A powerful comprador capitalist class could not develop among the Bengali Bhadrakalok due to the hegemony of the Marwaris. After the transfer of power Kolkata lost its grandeur. Kolkata stock exchange and Burra bazaar continued to be in the hegemony of the Marwaris. This further declined the situation. A strong comprador bureaucratic capitalist class started to emerge in West Bengal only since the 1980s with the activities of

Non-Resident Indian Bengalis like Pranay Roy, Amar Gopal Bose, Biki Chakravarthi and Purnendu Chatterjee. Presently Subrato Rai (Sahara), Burmans (Dabar) and other Bengalis are the prominent CBB.

Few comprador capitalists developed from among the agricultural castes dominant in the rural areas of western and southern India and broke the hegemonic order of the traditional trading castes in this manner before and after the transfer of power on 15th August 1947. In the process of transformation of the clan society into feudal society in south India, private industries and trade relatively developed from among the agricultural castes such as the Marwaris in spite of the presence of the Vysyas who were engaged in money lending and trade; the Kamma, Raju, Reddy, Velama, Gowd, Nadar and other such where the Banias of the western and north India did not exist; and from among the Syrian Christians and Muslims. Those from different caste background developed into contractors and entrepreneurs in considerable numbers, mainly with the rise in government investment in irrigation, power, transport, mining and other important sectors through the Five Year Plans consecutively implemented after transfer of power. On the contrary, the Maratha and Patidar castes could successfully establish sugar and dairy cooperatives utilising the government schemes in Gujarat and Maharashtra in western India. This helped them enter politics. Thus we see that in the country, those of the landed peasant castes such as the Kamma, Reddy, Raju, Gowd, Nadar, Jhat, Patidar and Maratha transformed from 'agriculture to factory'.

Majority of the initial Kamma comprador industrialists who came forth in joint Andhra Pradesh in the 1940s belong to the landlord class. Kamma comprador industrialists developed in the delta area in the first stage and in the later stage in the districts of Nellore, Khammam and Rayalaseema districts. The king of Challapalli Yarlagaadda Sivaramaprasad was the foremost comprador bureaucratic industrialist. Rayapati Sambasivarao (Tobacco and textiles), Devineni Subbarao (alloys, sugar, excise-liquor), Ramojirao (chit funds, hotels, print and electronic media, cinema industry) are the prominent comprador industrialists among the Kammas. There are severe contradictions between the Kamma and the Kapu castes in the film field. New generation of Kamma industrialists like Nimmalagadda Prasad and Mullapudi Harischandra Prasad came forth in pharmaceuticals and other sectors. Bommireddy Nagireddy (Cinema, Chandamama magazine and hospitals), L. Jaipal Reddy and such others were the prominent comprador bureaucratic industrialists among the Reddys. Among the Rajus we see Poosapati Ramaswamy (Cement,

Asbestos, Software and textiles) and few other comprador bureaucratic industrialists. However, Velamas, Kapus and other dominant peasant castes could not come up in the industrial sector like the Kammas, Reddys and Rajus. Venkataramayya Apparao and few others of the Velamas could become comprador bureaucratic industrialists. Among the Kapus, B. Vasudevarao (poultry farms) and other few could develop into important comprador bureaucratic industrialists.

We understand two things regarding Kamma, Reddy and other agricultural castes of Andhra Pradesh. The first is that, in the process of entering into various sectors of the industrial sector, these peasant castes brushed aside the traditional trading castes, the Komatis and the migrant Marwaris. Political power helped them a lot. Grandhi Mallikarjuna Rao (Jute, alloys, sugar, power plants, construction) and tobacco exporters Bommidala, Polisetty and Maddi Lakshmayya alone are seen among the Komati comprador bureaucratic industrialists. The second thing is that, all the important Kamma, Raju industrialists belong to coastal Andhra Pradesh. The dam on river Godavari played an important role in their development. Telangana and other areas of water shortage for agriculture lagged behind. Nama Nageswararao was the only one from Telangana. A large amount of investment from coastal Andhra moved to Hyderabad. This investment to exploit the abundant natural resources of Telangana and to stabilise the hegemony on the capital city created intense political, economic and social parities between Andhra and Telangana. This gave rise to discontent towards the coastal comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords and relit the flame of the movement for separate Telangana. Later the last stage of the movement for separate Telangana began against the indiscriminate exploitation of the coastal Andhra comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords centering water, funds and jobs.

Coimbatore of west Tamilnadu famously known as the important manufacturing hub, the South Indian Manchester and the light Engineering power house of India was not developed by the Nattukottai Chettiyars and other traditional traders. Kammas (kamma naidus) and Kongu Vellalas (Gowds) that were primary agriculturists who migrated from Andhra Pradesh contributed to it. Naidus developed since 1905. PSG, Kuppuswamy Naidu, V. Rangaswamy Naidu and other groups are the important ones among the Naidus. LG group developed into a big light Engineering conglomerate under the prominent industrialist L.R. Govindarajulu. Gowds transformed from

feudal class to comprador industrialists since 1906. V.C. Vellingiri Gowd, A.V. Ramana Gowd and others are the important ones among them. They rose to compete with the Naidus. The investment of Gowds increased a lot with the cotton knitwear industry. Tiruvur town of the area came to be famous as the 'banian capital' of India. This beat Mumbai, Ludhiana and Delhi famous for traditional knitwear exports and came to the first place. The Gowda comprador bureaucratic industrialist S. Ramaswamy (Best International) and such others developed into an important person in this sector. During the period of globalisation, first the making of basic T shirt and later the making of sportswear, jackets, sweat shirts, Bermudas, children's clothes, skirts and women's inner wear of more modern fashion grew. These are being supplied in a large scale to C and A, Wal-Mart, JC Penny, Sara Li, Marks and Spencer, Tommy Hill figure, JAP and other such global buyers.

Although the Nadars of south Tamilnadu and the Ejhavas of Kerala are not 'untouchable castes', they faced severe untouchability and earned a living as toddy tappers. By the beginning of the 20th century they adopted Christianity, obtained opportunities to study and employment out of the European investments in Coffee and Tea plantations. They left toddy tapping and started growing chilli, onion, betel nut and other such commercial crops and invested in plantations with the support of the British rulers and Christian missionaries. They first stepped into trade and later into industries and developed into comprador capitalists. Owners of plantations P.D. Devasahayam, Alfred Vedam Thomas were the prominent Nadar comprador capitalists. Several Nadar comprador families developed after migrating to Sivakasi where they traded toddy jaggery and grew commercial crops of cotton, groundnut and tobacco. These families worked as middlemen for the farmers and European exporting enterprises Horways, Volcarts and Rallis and gained monopoly in supplying cotton. Ramnad Nadars also developed into strong comprador trading class in this manner. Nadars were benefited out of the absence of the traditional trading caste Chettiers. They established the Nadar bank in the headship of Nadar Mahajana Sangam. The founding of match-box industry in Sivakasi area by P. Ayya Nadar and A. Shanmug Nadar was a turning point. The conditions and resources of the area, cheap human labour, the recognition given to it by the central government as a small scale industry in 1973 and 'reserving' it, gradually developed it into the biggest manufacturing hub of match-boxes in the country. This benefited the 20 Nadar comprador bureaucratic capitalist families who were dominant in the Sivakasi-

Sattur-Kovilpatti area and others. Pioneer Asia group and other such are the important ones. The match-box industry led to the development of heavy fireworks industry and pyrotechnic chemical industries. Ninety percent of the fireworks traders of the country are the Nadar comprador bureaucratic capitalists. In the later period, SFA group emerged into the biggest comprador bureaucratic capitalist company for stationery products, biggest paper trade company and biggest ink and pigments dealer in Offset printing industry. Sesame oil industry developed into the biggest CBB industry under the Nadars. Later many new persons came forth as comprador bureaucratic capitalist media companies. Several prominent Nadar comprador bureaucratic industrialists became Parliamentary political leaders.

In Kerala, the Ejhavas and Syrian Christians gained lands as a part of land reforms introduced by the state government in the leadership of the undivided Communist Party. They grew commercial crops, especially Coconut plantations and supplied coconut fibre to the fibre industry of the European trader in the town of Alleppey. The favourable atmosphere and the geographical conditions led few Ejhava farmers such as K.C. Karunakaran to become coconut fibre comprador traders and fibre manufacturing comprador industrialists. The comprador capitalist Karan group grew to become the biggest fibre exporter in Asia. V.R. Prasad and C.R. Devaraj came forth as important Ejhava comprador capitalists. After the transfer of power, Ejhava comprador bureaucratic capitalists such as Vellapalli Nateshan had a strong hold in liquor trade and coconut toddy trade in Kerala. Several Ejhavas became comprador bureaucratic capitalists in various sectors.

Among the Telugu speaking Idiga caste people of Karnataka, Narayana Swamy, Dasappa, Basavaraj, Ramulu and others developed into CBB out of traditional toddy tapping profession. Bangarappa, Janardhan Pujari, Jalappa and other prominent Parliamentary political leaders are also from the Idiga caste. Anyhow, the Idiga could not develop like the Ejhavas.

The Marathas and Patidars of the agricultural castes of west India had the only alternative to establish sugar cooperatives to overcome their economic backwardness, shatter the hegemony of traditional castes such as the Bania, Marwari and Parsi and enter into industries and trade. The conditions of the time helped. Cooperatives were first established in Maharashtra by Yashwantarao Balvantharao Chavan, later Vasantdada Patil followed by Sarad Pawar. All the three were Chief Ministers and were part of the CBB. These trades succeeded in Maharashtra because the Congress

governments lent total support to the cooperatives procuring loans in a big way through imperialist Finance Capital and tying them to the neo-colonial exploitation. In the name of this kind of aid, imperialist capital gained super profits. The acquisition of their sugarcane plantations by the Maharashtra government in 1961 as a part of land reforms is a big blow to the landlords and their private sugar mills. Earlier to the 1990s, control was imposed on imports as a government policy, licences were reserved for sugar mills and dairies in the cooperative sector and sugar cane growing areas and milk sheds were allotted as per request. This put the big landlords in loss and helped the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class.

Earlier to transfer of power, the traditional Kuch Bhatia traders of Gujarat severely opposed the sugar cooperative mills. But the Patidars did not step back. After transfer of power, the biggest dairy conglomerate, the Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation Limited (GCMMF) belonging to 25 lakh farmers emerged in Gujarat. Milk cooperatives were profitable to the Patidar farmers and these continuously expanded. Founders of five important milk cooperatives are Patidars. They utilised the cooperatives, strengthened economically and became part of CBB. Although the cooperatives seem to have been running with the participation of all the partners, these are in fact nothing but trade enterprises run by the private families.

We also see that comprador capitalists developed from the Nayars, northern Kayasthas, Rajputs and other such non-trading oppressor castes. Among the Nayars, TPG Nambiar (BPL), CP Krishnan Nayar (Leela hotels), Rajan Palani (Biscuits and Cashew), K Ravindranathan Nayar (Number one exporter of cashew), Subhash Menon (Telecom software), PNC Menon (real estate), Ram Menon (automobile) came forth. Among the Kayasthas, except for JP Srivastava (cloth mill), SP Sinha (Johnson and Nicholson), Jagdish Saxena (Pharmaceuticals) and others, there were very low number of comprador capitalists. Among the Rajputs, we see Chowhan brothers (Bisleri, Frooty and Biscuits) alone.

Due to this hegemony of the customary comprador bourgeoisie, business persons and industrialists did not come forth from the Jhats, Yadavas, Gujjars and other such middle castes of north India. They produce sugarcane, paddy, wheat, cotton, oil seeds and milk in large amounts. We rarely see anyone of these castes as owners of sugar mills, branded rice mills, paddy exporters, rich textile industrialists/traders, rich mining owners and dairy processors. There was a single company (Simbhavoli sugar mills) in the

ownership of Jhat Sikhs among the ten biggest sugar factories by 2008. There is one dairy company, VRS Foods (Paras) of the Gujjars. These castes (the backward ones of north India) do not have the capacity to establish a powerful media. Thus caste and class almost merged in north India in this regard.

Among the traditional Muslim trading classes in the country, there are the Memons, Khojas, Daoodi Bohras and the Chinoti Sheks and Konkan Muslims who adopted Islam from Hindu trading castes such as Lohanas. Muslim traders of Ansari and Khureshi communities of the base of the old Gujarat-Sindhi trade communities came forth. Among the Konkan Muslims, the famous Mulla Abdul Gafar developed into big comprador trader in the beginning of the 18th century. In the beginning of the 19th century, these Muslim groups were similar to the traditional trading Parsi and Hindu Vysya communities in several aspects. The Muslim groups established distant trade relations all over the sub-continent of India in the first half of the 19th century. They owned shops in interior areas of Bombay (Mumbai) and Kolkata. They made trade in Mumbai Presidency, middle and east India and in Burma. They gained hegemony on rice trade all over east India from Odisha to Bengal-Burma Araka sea coast. By the end of the 19th century, the Memons and the Khojas expanded their trade from India to other countries – to the Red Sea, Persian Gulf ports, east and south Africa, Sri Lanka, China and distant ports in the east. In the 1930s modern Muslim industrialists developed through the Hyderabad Nizam joint ventures. Thus although Muslim industrialists developed earlier to transfer of power, most of them leaned towards Pakistan during partition out of fear that Marwari, Gujarati Hindu/Jain Bania capital would eat them away and in view of security of their trades. After transfer of power, Azim Hasham Premji of the Muslim Khoja community and Habil Fakruddin Khorakivala of the Bohra community, Bohra trader Siraj Lokhandwala, Abdul Razak Allana of the Memon community and other such developed into the CBB. The business of Ansari and Khureshi communities gained hegemony in meat and leather industries and became CBB industries. Ansaris, the traditional weavers developed decentralised power loom industry in Bhiwandi, Malegaon and other towns of Maharashtra and are running majority of the trade as the CBB from Muslims. They developed into compradors and monopoly traders from the end of 1970s in Varanasi-Mao weaving belt from the end of 1970s.

The Navayats of Bhaktakal in North Kannada district gained hegemony on small trades in the southern states and Mumbai. They also ran schools and

colleges and rose to become CBB. The Malabar Muslims or the Mopla Muslim community of Kerala migrated to Gulf when oil prices rose in 1970s, gained large amount of money and came forth as a new generation NRI CBB Muslims. The support of the government helped them. On contrary to the Mopla, in the developments during this period, the CBB of Muslims in old centers like Hyderabad largely declined. Few of the Muslims became part of CBB from the Parliamentary parties and a few bureaucratic top officials.

In Punjab, the non-traditional caste Ram gariahs competed with the Banias dominant on the total trade series such as money lending, primary level products, retail trade, bill discounting, manufacture and marketing of ultimate products from the village level prudently developed their trade. They developed in cycle, automotive spare parts, machine tools, textile equipment and manufacturing sectors of agricultural machinery. However, they could not advance to the later stage such as to control textiles mills, branded cycles and tractor manufacturing challenging the domination of the Banias.

All over the country, a mere small section among the Dalits developed into the big comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class. This section transformed from the section that had higher education such as IAS, IPS and IFS utilising the reservations in government schemes, education and jobs. Although there are several small, medium kind traders and capitalists among them, they establish relations with the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie for their existence and support the imperialist neo-liberal policies economically and ideologically. A very few of them join the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class.

Similarly, a very small section among the tribal communities joins the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class.

In order to understand the birth, growth and development of the Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalist class, we may see the process in three clear stages – 1. From the colonial period to 1947 August 15th; 2. From 1947 August 15th to 1991; 3. From 1991 to 2024.

4. The First stage from the Colonial period to 1947 August 15th

The division of labour based on the hierarchical caste order of the varna order of ancient India and of the feudal society is permanent. Agriculturalists and artisans formed into several 'Shudra' castes from the fourth varna, i.e., the Shudra varna that emerged from the Vysyas who were initially engaged in agriculture. A very little number of Vysyas were limited to

trade. Those who were denied of wealth and lands and those considered as untouchables and downtrodden were classified into the Pancham varna. Few artisan communities of the Shudras were also pushed into the Pancham varna. Casteist customs did not allow the artisan castes of the numerous Shudra and Pancham varnas the opportunity to become traders and the traders did not have the opportunity to take up artisan work and become part of production. The Shudras and the untouchable castes could be suppressed through the Karma theory. As per the caste custom that the Vysyas alone must make trade, almost all of the trading class and money lenders (except for a few Muslims and Parsis) belonged to that caste. They gained money as money lending bankers, money transformers, as tax collectors serving feudal lords and as commissioners to foreign traders, without participating in production. They lent money for the nawabs and kings. Commercial capital accumulated by protecting feudal system and caste system. Thus by the 16th century, traders dependent on the feudal system emerged. The initial industries developed with the capital gained out of commercial and money lending capital, the capital of the nawabs, kings and zamindars and a little of the artisans. Although agriculture was the main occupation of the majority people in Moghul India, India was rich in production of goods. It fulfilled the international and domestic needs. There was vast production of non-agricultural goods in the rural and urban areas. Although weak, capitalist forces started to sprout from the womb of the old, declining feudal society.

In this situation, initially the Portuguese and later the Dutch and the English came to India to make trade. There was severe competition between them to gain hegemony on the oceanic areas. Several of the Parsi traders, Gujarati Banias and Rajasthani Marwaris who were until then traders for the nawabs and zamindars and big Indian traders and bankers became agents for the Europeans. A small section was independent. Since this merchant class that turned to be agents developed irrespective of production depending on commissions, it did not attain a nationalist character. They were least bothered of the exploitation of the country by the foreign traders.

The first intention of the British East India Company in its trade in India is to gain large amounts of profits through hegemony on the trade of Indian goods and crops. There was demand for spices, cotton and silk clothes and other material. Their intention was to purchase the goods available in India for very low price and sell it for higher price in the international market. A section of the Indian feudal lords gained a share of the enormous profits that the

European monopoly traders gained. Many compradors worked in foreign trading enterprises, held their own trades and gained money in large amounts. Many bureaucratic officers working in the armies of the feudal lords also gained super profits in foreign trade. Several Marwaris worked as compradors to the British, went to Bengal, Bihar and Odisha in the 17th and the 18th centuries and became the main traders.

The Dutch and the English defeated the Portuguese in the 17th century. Later the British defeated the Dutch and the East India company gained hegemony in trade. By the time the British colonialists gained victory in the 1757 Plassey war and directly occupied India, commercial capital and money lending capital was much developed in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bengal, Mysore and Tamilnadu. The Jagat seths and Indian bankers such as Omichand played a traitorous role in the conspiracy of the British to gain victory on Bengal. Similarly the Marwaris, Gujarati and Parsi traders and bankers also provided all kinds of indirect aid including finances to the wars of the British colonialists to the feudal lords. They helped in many ways to spread British rule to various areas of the country. The British colonialists collaborated with the feudal kings and zamindars who came under their subjugation and the money lenders and traders who collaborated and turned compradors, stabilised their authority and helped for the growth of the comprador traders working as agents for them and for the industrial wave in Manchester and Lancashire. They destroyed the independent, national bourgeois class that did not turn into their compradors. They eliminated patriotic forces such as Jhansi Lakshmi bai, Tantiya Tope and Tipu Sultan who fought against the British hegemony and occupation, the Gadar warriors, the national revolutionaries such as Chandrashekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh and Surya Sen, Sido-Kanho, Sadmek Baburao, Goondadur, Alluri Seetha Ramaraju, Birsa Munda, Komaram Bhim and other daring tribal leaders who led tribal rebellions and the genuine communist revolutionaries who fought for the liberation of the oppressed people. They turned our country into a colony for nearly two centuries and obstructed the independent development of Indian capitalism by transforming it into a source of raw material for British industrial products and a market for their industrially manufactured goods. Thus Indian feudal society became colonial, semi-feudal. The period can be divided into three phases – The stage of merchant capital, the stage of industrial capital and the stage of finance capital.

The stage of merchant capital – This stage continued from 1757 to 1813. All the methods of exploitation of the British colonialists in this stage are mainly related to unequal trade and accumulation of primary capital. The Parsis, Baniyas and Marwaris who today happen to be the hegemonic sections in the Indian Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie expanded to Maharashtra in the west and Asom in the east during the British period. Most of the Marwaris acted as middle men between the foreign producers and the Indian consumers and between the foreign exporters and domestic importers right from the beginning. They grew like strong weeds without any hurdles. In this stage the methods of exploitation unleashed by the East India company were – exploitation through unequal trade, coercion affecting artisans and small traders, imposition of heavy additional taxes, looting the people and the wealth of the country through direct attacks of the Army and the oppression of indigo planters. However, the hegemony of the British East India Company ended by 1813.

The British colonial rule preserved the Brahmanic social order of India with little changes, propped social and religious blindness and inhuman untouchability, revived feudal relations and made caste based feudalism its social base. It introduced colonial mode of production in the country. It followed the ill policy of divide and rule and strengthened the bondages of colonial rule. Land turned commodity. Goods-money relations penetrated. Independent industries and commerce of the country was destroyed. Self-reliant rural economy was destroyed. Peasantry and artisans became bankrupt. Several old independent big traders and bankers became bankrupt due to the burden of taxes and other such anti-people policies of the British government. The merchant and money lending traders transformed into comprador merchant class and strengthened. Domestic market was affected.

The stage of industrial capital – This stage began in 1813 and continued until the beginning of the 20th century. In this stage, the most important change was that the Indian economy became a dependent, inseparable part of the world capitalist order. It declined from the situation of exporting to importing industrial goods. Feudal relations changed into semi-feudal relations. Indian comprador merchants started to transform into comprador bourgeoisie. Modern proletariat emerged.

The British industrial policy was such of developing industrial revolution in their country out of the wealth constantly being exploited from India. It changed the Indian colonial system ancillary to it. It destroyed the

balance between the various sectors of production in India. It exploited its natural resources and obstructed the development of productive forces. Therefore, Marx opined that “far from laying down the material premises of capitalistic society, the colonial rule destroyed much of the existing productive forces, retarded the development of new ones, flung India backward and laid the basis of its underdevelopment”.

Earlier to 1850s, enormous wealth was accumulated by the Parsi, Bania and Marwari brokers in India. But very less amount was invested in modern industries. During the period, British investment too did not pay attention to build industry. There were very few industries such as cotton ginning mills, press, flour mills, two Jute mills with British investment in Bengal and one Jute mill in Pondicherry with French investment. Jute mills were not successful. Cotton ginning mills and cotton pressing mills worked seasonally. These were established to contribute to separate the seeds from raw cotton and export.

There were two main industries in the management of Indian industrialists between the 1850s and World War I. One is the Jute industry and the other steel industry. All those who established Jute mills in Mumbai and Ahmedabad worked as brokers and local middlemen for British investment for a long time. They depended on the Kings for cash investment and other aid.

The British government started to establish iron and steel industries in India in the end of 1890s. Most of the investment for the iron-steel industry established by TATA came from the feudal lords of India. For example, the Gwalior King (Sindhia) provided the entire working capital. This shows the close relations between imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism and feudal class. The hydro-electric project of the TATAs also was built with such investment.

The interests of the Sasans, Karimbhais, Pithis, Wadias, TATAs and other prominent jute industrial owners were intimately entwined with those of the British. They collected raw cotton as compradors for exporting to Lancashire. They sold Lancashire mill textiles in the domestic market and sold Lancashire cotton thread and manufactured goods in China and Africa. The Indian jute industry depended on British manufacturers for machine spare parts, technical knowledge and market. Thus, a major part of the surplus value created by the dead cheap labour in India had to be paid to the British.

The enormous profits shared among the British and the Indian big capitalists were gained out of the heinous exploitation of Indian workers and

cotton farmers. The British-Indian mill owners, the brokers, money lenders and landlords from the bottom to the top deceived and exploited the Indian people.

TATA who developed through the British colonialists was a big merchant, industrialist and the biggest landlord and money lender of Mumbai. He invested large amounts in land dealings and did large scale money lending. Like TATA, Goenka, Birla and other Indian compradors accumulated enormous wealth within a short time through their collaboration with the imperialist capital.

The westernisation movement initiated by the comprador, feudal forces influenced by the Macaulay education policy in India also strengthened the chains of colonial rule. The main intention of Macaulay education policy was to create an intellectual class with slave culture to act as mediators between the imperialist country and the colonial country. The highly educated, big compradors and landlords depended on the colonial rule for their existence and growth. This made easy for the British to sustain caste based feudalism and semi-feudalism.

The Railways and roads built by the British colonialists in India did not give way to modern industry. Moreover these were auxiliary to Britain and a market for its industrial goods. Railways worked as catalysts for industrial revolution in West Europe and the US. On the contrary, in India these worked as catalysts for total colonialization. Tea, rubber, coffee plantations, mines and Jute industry were almost in the control of British capital. Earlier to World War I, British almost hegemonised the organised industry in India. The developed capitalism in Britain encouraged the growth of few industrial areas dependent on it in the vast semi-feudal economy in the sub-continent in its interests.

The bourgeoisie in India was split into two in India at that time. One was the comprador big bourgeoisie that was chosen by the imperialist foreign capitalists in their interests. The second was the national bourgeoisie that strives for independent development. The comprador big bourgeoisie originated from the oppressor castes, especially the merchant castes and slaved the imperialist monopoly capital during the British colonial rule. So it gained and developed capital, expertise in management, market and technical knowledge and favourable factors in competition. On the contrary, the national bourgeoisie opposed collaboration with foreign capital. It stated that the foreign capital was an obstacle for the economic, political freedom and progress of the country. The British imperialists did all what they could to give

a blow to the national bourgeoisie that is dangerous for its interests, totally utilising the comprador bourgeoisie.

The stage of Finance Capital – This stage began with the emergence of imperialism in the beginning of the 20th century. British imperialism weakened after World War I. Imperialist forces came forth – US started to contend with British imperialism and Germany recovered from the defeat in World War I. The US took over the top most place of Britain in the capitalist-imperialist world. In Russia, the Bolshevik party succeeded in the October Revolution in the leadership of Comrade Lenin and the first Socialist state of the world emerged showing the path of liberation to the oppressed people of the world. This turned to be dangerous to the imperialist order. The British imperialist government made changes to industrial policy out of economic, military and political reasons. In order to douse the simmering anger among the Indian masses towards the British imperialists, it provided few subsidies to the Indian big bourgeoisie as recognition to its reliable services and to strengthen its social prop.

As a part of it, the British imperialists developed few industries in colonial India to preserve their interests and to protect and strengthen the British-India government. It established the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-1918) and issued subsidies and protection to iron-steel, cotton, paper, match-boxes, cement, Jute, sugar, heavy chemicals and such others. This led to the rise of Birlas, Singhanias, Sri Rams, Goenkas, Dalmia Jains, Surajmal Nagarmals, Ruyaya, Poddars, Thapars, Walchands, Chettiars, Nayudus and other new Indian big bourgeois groups. The Congress party representing the Indian comprador big capitalists and landlords liquidated the anti-British people's struggle in the beginning of 1920.

Parliamentary system came into existence with the 2 percent voters of the country as per the 1935 British-India government Act. The Indian comprador big bourgeois, landlord class became part of the power together with the British. Both the imperialist capital and the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie benefited out of this. Heavy monopoly enterprises of various imperialist countries such as the Imperial Chemical Industries, Unilever, Dunlop, British Auxis, Guest Kene Williams, Bata, Aluminium Limited, Union Carbide, Swedish match company also entered the arena and established units of goods manufacturing, so as to hegemonise the Indian industry. The imports of the non-British imperialist countries occupied the place of imports from Britain to India in the period between the two World Wars. The TATAs

established close relations with the British capital and the US capital. The Marwaris of Mumbai and Kolkata, the Poddar, Bajaj, Birlas and Ruyayas established relations with several Japan commercial enterprises such as Mitsui. Several Marwari enterprises that prospered with the profits during World War I started investing in industry. The limitless dependence of the Indian big bourgeoisie in establishing Shipyards, Automobiles and Aeroplane industries is also a comprador character of the Indian big bourgeoisie.

The Indian big capital not only played a service role to foreign capital in India but also indulged in exploiting other British colonies with its cooperation. Money lenders and merchants of Tamilnadu, the Nattukottai Chettiyars spread their market to South East Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Malaya, Singapore and Burma by 1930. Chettians acted as middlemen to the private banking enterprises, British transaction banks and the local people. Colonial order contributed a lot to the growth of Chettiar's money lending. Chettians were the largest economic force in South India. The investments of the British and India were entwined in the banking sector like in the industries. British capital had the main role. We can see it in the example of Imperial Bank of India, the biggest in the country formed in 1921 with the merger of the Presidency banks of Bengal, Mumbai and Madras. The British controlled it. In this bank, the funds of the entire government treasuries were deposited; government loan was in its management; it also worked as government banker. Thus the foreign capital and Indian big capital were further entwined. The cement companies under the Indian and the British ownership formed into two monopoly enterprises.

The collaboration between the Indian big capital and the colonial state machinery of British capital during World War II was closer to earlier. With the onset of World War II in 1939 September, the big comprador bourgeoisie gained encouraging opportunities. Their nature was such that they saw war as a way to fulfil their interests by helping the British imperialists and, if necessary, the Japan imperialists, and push the people of the country into poverty, but not as an opportunity to end imperialism. The war gained them enormous profits and indescribable difficulties and misery to crores of people. Lakhs of people died in the war.

By the time of transfer of power, the most important characteristic in the industrial sector of India was the near absence of capital goods (producer goods). There was almost total dependence on foreign imports for machinery. The Indian comprador big bourgeoisie did not question the exploitation and

suppression by the imperialist order that did not develop agriculture from backwardness and pushed it into crisis; crushed the growth of industries; and pushed the vast masses into hunger, disease and blindness. On the contrary, during the period of First Independence struggle of 1857-58 and later during the period of people's struggles to end colonial rule, the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie played a reactionary role. It wished the colonial administration would continue with a little improvement. It only tried to extend special rights in the framework of imperialist administration.

The Indian National Congress (INC) was established in 1885 in the close guidance of the British and the supervision of A.O. Hume, to fulfil the British colonial interests and those of the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes and to contain the anti-imperialist struggles. Therefore, it only tried to gain certain subsidies from the British but never tried to end imperialist hegemony.

On the whole, by nature, the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie collaborated with the British imperialist capital but never took up struggles against it. It saw the duties, protection, the transaction value of sterling-rupee, government procurement and other such things as secondary issues. Therefore this class always took the side of imperialism to preserve its hegemony and exploitation and opposed the struggling people. Its collaboration with imperialism is primary. This was clearly brought forth through its betrayal to national democratic revolution.

Although the Communist Party of India was formed in 1925 and had countless opportunities, the Party leadership could not play the leadership role in the national liberation-democratic movement due to its wrong line. It was theoretically and politically weak, lacked revolutionary leadership and the strength to lead the national bourgeoisie. So, it failed to assess the actual class character of the Gandhian, comprador bourgeois feudal leadership of the Congress Party and that it would ultimately surrender to the British imperialists and betray the Independence movement. It could not defeat the conspiracies of the imperialists and the Indian big capitalists. It tailed the Congress party and was not prepared to adopt the correct strategy and tactics to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Indian revolution. It denied to learn from the China revolution that was successfully advancing in the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China and to accept the path and the great experiences of Protracted People's War it adopted. In fact, the communist party leadership

helped the bourgeoisie to divert the anti-imperialist militant movement of the people. It entered into an opportunist alliance with the Congress, did not act in an independent manner in the United Front, considered unity absolute and led the revolutionary people behind the Gandhian leadership. It betrayed the Indian independence struggle and the Indian people.

The consequences during and after World War II brought a new change in the balance of forces in the world. Especially, the fascist forces were utterly defeated by the Soviet Union Red Army and the people of the world in the leadership of the great leader Stalin. War considerably weakened imperialism. People's democratic power emerged in the East European countries. In the leadership of Mao, China revolution advanced in the path of success, showed the path of liberation to the oppressed nationalities and the people and shook the world. World Socialist camp was established in one-third territory of the world. There was an unprecedented spate of nationality liberation struggles. In such a difficult situation, imperialism shed direct colonialism in the backward countries and adopted neo-colonialism in a new way basing on selected, trained agents to continue indirect rule, exploitation and hegemony.

In India, the Tebhaga and Bakasth movements, Postal and Telegraph strike; the great rebellion of the Royal Indian Navy in Mumbai and rebellious trends in the Army and Airforce; the police revolt in Bihar; the struggles in proletarian solidarity; the beginning of the historic Telangana peasant armed struggle brought imperialist rule almost to an end. In such a situation, British imperialism utilised its reliable comprador agents such as the forces of Congress and Muslim League to suppress the revolutionary spate of the Indian people and continue its exploitation, hegemony and indirect rule. It collaborated with the comprador big bourgeois, feudal classes and staged the drama of transfer of power.

The 1944 Bombay plan is a part of it. Representatives of the feudal, comprador bourgeoisie such as TATA and Birla formulated the plan. The plan did not state a scheme to end feudalism. It did not mention solving the agrarian problem and land problems, to provide market for new industries and to raise the purchasing power of the people. In the least, it had no mention of nationalisation of lands, industries, banks and other British properties. Instead, the plan invited further foreign investment. This corresponded the strategy of the British and US imperialists and the interests of the Indian big bourgeois and big feudal classes. As per the agreements, no vital, heavy industries be

established in India. Mere assembling units of the spare parts manufactured in Britain and US must be set up. The Birla-Studebaker, Walchand-Christler, National Rayon Corporation and other such several India-US trade agreements were made during this time. The 1947 transfer of power took place only after such agreements between the Indian comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist monopoly enterprises. This led the official empire of Britain become an unofficial empire shared by several imperialist forces.

5. The Second stage from 1947 August 15th to 1991

US that emerged into a super power after World War II formulated neo colonial policies in its strategic economic, political and military hegemonic interests. The currency values of European countries including Britain fell due to burden of war and crisis. This was the background for the Bretton Woods Conference in which an agreement was reached by the American and British imperialist governments with the representatives of 44 countries in 1944 July. The representatives agreed to the condition proposed by America to associate the values of the currencies of various countries with that of Dollar, in order to overcome the difficult situation of the time. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank were established. The objective of the neo-colonial policies of America was to build an international financial order centering the US dollar. It achieved it through the Bretton Woods agreement. It brought forth the transaction of deceptive paper dollars with real goods, resources and labour as an international policy. Together with the imperialist governments, IMF and World Bank played a prominent role in strengthening the mutual exploitive, oppressive relations between the imperialist capital and the capital of the comprador bureaucratic big capital of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries conforming to neo-colonialism. The hegemony of US dollar led to the transfer of the wealth of indebted countries to lending countries. The rich countries indiscriminately exploited the poor countries. This is absolutely unequal, unjust relation.

The transfer of power in India on 15th August 1947 was a part of the agreements made to subjugate/mould the Indian economy in the interests of the world capitalist-imperialist system. The mixed economy adopted by the comprador Congress government stabilised the hegemony of several imperialist forces and turned the country into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal order. With the transfer of power, the Indian big bourgeoisie gained power in the country and transformed into the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie

(CBB) with the merger of the comprador bourgeois capital with the state capital. Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist and Feudal class state monopoly capitalism came into force in the country. This is the economic base of the reactionary ruling classes of India. The imperialist forces of various countries made these Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist and big Feudal classes its main social prop so as to exercise exploitation and control over India. So, we see that these comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes cannot act independent of imperialism. The capitalism being developed by the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class is not independent national capitalism. This is comprador bureaucratic capitalism entwined with imperialism and feudalism.

The class nature of Indian state – “State is a machinery of one class to suppress the other”, “The utmost democratic bourgeois republic also will never be or can be anything other than the machinery to suppress the victims of capital and an instrument of capital political administration and bourgeois dictatorship”, said Lenin. Similarly, India under the name of ‘Republic’ and ‘Parliamentary democracy’ is nothing but a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state under the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and hegemony and a joint dictatorship of a few comprador bureaucratic capitalist, feudal ruling classes on the vast Indian masses. The main organ of the state is its armed forces. It is the instrument of its class rule, class suppression and class exploitation. Caste system is inseparably entwined with the Indian state as the ideology and social order that facilitates exploitation, oppression and suppression on the oppressed people. The Indian state of Brahmanic ideology favours the comprador exploitive classes and the hegemonic oppressor castes that happen to be the ten percent minority and is against the oppressed classes, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities that happen to be the 90 percent majority. The Indian state is trampling the Dalits comprising 27 percent of the population as untouchables. The Brahmanic Indian state is the base for the reactionary ‘national integrity’, the suppression of nationalities, patriarchal outlook towards women, hegemony, hatred and discrimination towards the religious minorities especially the Muslim, Dalit and tribal people. It seizes the surplus from the oppressed people and distributes it to the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes. The caste as a heredity helps them as a weapon. It facilitates the path for their uninterrupted exploitation of the natural resources of the country. It also helps

as an instrument to solve the contradictions inevitably created by the distribution of surplus.

The Indian Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie gradually strengthened utilising the basic infrastructure such as roads, Railways, Airports, Ports, mines, industries built and established by the British imperialists with the support and encouragement of such an Indian state. This base helped it to develop in a more powerful way than the comprador bourgeoisie of most of the backward countries of the world. It primarily became a local intermediary for the imperialists for import of direct investment and loan capital in large amounts. It transformed the country as a field of exploitation for the monopoly enterprises of various imperialist countries. It is cashing on the contradictions among the imperialist forces to serve its vested interests.

After transfer of power, the TATAs emerged into number one conglomerate with investment in Steel, automobiles, power, telecom, chemicals, engineering, tea, watches and hotels. Godrej and Wadia expanded their industries. The population of the Parsis decreased and they could not expand their industrial activities and thus few old and new industrialists lost importance. The strength and capacity of the Bhatias also declined. The Lohanas had a strong base in the trade of food material but could not compete in foreign trade. The investment of the Chettiers who once equalled the Marwaris declined. Since their investments were affected in South East Asia, only a few Chettiar enterprises could sustain.

The Marwaris, the Gujarati Banias/Jains and Sindhis continued to be the utmost strong forces. Coming to the Marwaris and non-Gujarati Banias, they developed into a broad comprador corporate empire following the Birlas and the TATAs, not only in the country but in various countries in the Vikos Fibre, Aluminium, Copper, Cement, Carbon block, Insulators, clothes, chemical fertilisers, textiles, tyres, telecom, Insurance, palm oil refinery, timber paste, sugar, media, manufacture of rail wagons, cars, automobiles, paper, asbestos sheets and other building material and cables. The rest of the prominent old trade families such as the Srirams, Singhanias, Goenkas, Bajaj, Bangur, Modi and Dalmia comprador corporate companies underwent divisions. Few such companies continued in full-fledged manner. The Bangurs are in the fourth place in Jute and are also in other sectors. Except a few, the other companies gradually declined.

Among the Gujarati Banias/Jains, the Sarabhais vanished and the Lalbhais continue. Reliance, Toronto and Adani outwitted them to become mega conglomerates. Reliance Ambanis emerged as a big comprador corporate enterprise in textiles, oil refinery, oil and natural gas production and exploration, Petro-chemicals, power and telecommunications. The Toronto company developed in the pharmaceuticals and power sectors. The Adanis emerged as big traders in textiles, agricultural products, cooking oil, coal, chemical fertilisers, steel waste and Petro-chemicals and as the owner of the Mundra Port. The Gujarati Jains are the monopoly owners at international level in diamond processing. Few others developed into Comprador Bureaucratic industrialists in various sectors.

The Hinduja of the Sindhis settled in London as Non-Resident Indians and emerged as billionaires. Few other Sindhis are continuing as industrialists in foreign countries and several Sindhis came forth as new industrialists in the country. A few of the Marwaris, Banias of the Hindi belt and a few of the Gujarati Banias/Jains and Sindhis were affected, few families divided and their industries also separated. But they possessed a distinct character of reviving their enterprises one generation after the other and established several new enterprises. This character is not seen in the Parsis and Chettiars. We see that after transfer of power, several non-Gujarati/Marwari industries developed in the 1960s and 1970s. Jindals, Ruyayas, Doots, Shaharas, Seksariyas and Neotias are worth being mentioned. Along with them Ansals, Bansals, Bindals, Bajorias, Bhorukas, Bhuvalkas, Dhanukas, Gargs, Himatsingkas, Jajodias, Jalans, Jaipuris, Kabras, Kajarias, Kedias, Khaitans, Khemkas, Maheshwaris, Manaksiyas, Mohanats, Morarkas, Parasrampurias, Patodis, Pithis, Poddars, Rankas, Guntas, Sanganerias, Singhis, Sethias, Somanis, Suranas and Toils developed in various new centres in the country.

Indian business person speaks modern language but possesses medieval ideas in thinking and practice. They cannot think of someone else who can control and develop their business except for their inheritors. Brahmanism is inherent in the class perspective of the Indian big bourgeoisie. Therefore it wishes to see Hindustan as a Hindu rashtr and Hinduism as the official religion.

In 1980s, 11 business families were controlling the industrial sector with a mere personal investment of Rs. 148 crore rupees. The government economic institutions invested Rs. 27,000 crores. These 11 families sent a large part of the economic profits out of the investment, a Rs. 25,000 crores of black

money to foreign banks. This shows that the Indian Banias (business persons) are not interested in technical inventions or in the process of production.

The Indian comprador big bourgeoisie that collaborated with imperialism possesses monopoly on the industrial sector of the country and is also a feudal class owning thousands of acres of lands. Most of them are money lenders. So this class always opposed fundamental land reforms and its implementation. The comprador governments did not implement land ceiling Acts in the proper manner. Due to the inequalities in income, mass poverty and decline in agriculture, the market of manufactured consumer goods mainly limited to the upper classes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society in India.

As per the Bombay plan, IMF and World Bank in the hegemony of imperialist monopoly companies of mainly the US invested in India as a part of the annual budgets of the central and the various state governments in 1948-1955 in the name of Five Year Plans. The central government announced that the objective of these investments is to improve agriculture, for higher standards of education and health, development of minerals, to provide economic resources at the basic level to build dams, power projects, facilities for people and roads. They indulged in heavy deficit financing in the annual budgets basing on the imperialist Keynesian policies of the time. Subsidies were given in corporate tax, heavy loans were provided, pending loans were waived and natural resources were given away at dead cheap rates. Thus the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalist corporate industries exploited thousands of crores of people's money. The development of various public sector industries such as steel, mining and capital goods and basic infrastructural facilities such as water, transport, communication, Insurance and electricity as per the 1951 Industrial Control Act is to provide all kinds of facilities to the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalist corporate companies but not to industrialise the country. Although there is industrialisation to a little extent, it took place on semi-feudal base and only in the interests of the imperialists and comprador ruling classes. Thus the entire development is distorted and upside down. This loan based development policy turned the country dependent. The dependence on the imperialist development model turned a hurdle to the development of domestic industries. The surplus labour force in agricultural sector became an additional burden and generated more rural poor. Thus market shrunk further.

The old casteist feudal exploitive methods the Kings and landlords were unleashing to loot the surplus underwent gradual transformation after transfer of power. With the emergence of comprador bureaucratic capital, it became a direct part of establishing industries, Railways and plantations. The entire comprador exploitive ruling class parties, revisionist and neo-revisionist parties played an active role in shamelessly encouraging the countrywide plantation economy dependent on bonded labour. With the directives of the World Bank, rubber gained more prominence through the Rubber Board under the control of the central government. New feudal class entwined with comprador investments started to be formed in the rural areas with the emergence of contractors, liquor mafias, mining mafias, real estate mafias and other such. Casteist feudalism became a stronger social prop for imperialism through such changes. Comprador bureaucratic capitalism further developed.

US imperialism came into the arena with the decline of balance of payments in 1958. Comprador ruling classes leaned towards the US. US investments grew speedily. FDI came in the form of new investments of the Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalist class and its collaborations in 1957-61. These collaborations increased year by year. Trade deficit rose due to the government policy of deficit budget. As a result more loans were brought from IMF. The Indian government brought large amounts of loan from IMF and World Bank due to war with China in 1962, intense famine, deficit budgeting and high rise in inflation. While the rupee valued at one per dollar, due to the conditions imposed by these institutions, for the first time the value of rupee was reduced to 7.5 per dollar in 1966 June. Exports from our country became cheap.

After capitalism was restored in Soviet Union and it became a Social-imperialist country in 1969, the investment of western imperialist countries and 'Soviet Union' Social-imperialist investment contended for hegemony over Indian economy in the 1970s. With the strategic defence agreement between Soviet Russia and India in the beginning of 1970s, the Indian ruling classes shifted from US super power to Soviet Russia super power. Though not in quantity, 'Soviet Union' gained the upper hand in control. The Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalist class gained further opportunity to bargain with the western countries.

Economy was being severely affected due to the payment of Rs. 5 crores per annum (privy purse) to the Kings of the 585 princely states. The feudal class suffered the first attack with the stoppage of these payments.

Later banks, coal, oil, heavy industries and other such were nationalised. This intensified conflict among the various factions of the ruling classes. The severe discontent among the rural people and the 1967 Naxalbari Armed Peasant rebellion played the main role. The comprador bureaucratic capitalist class started to take the leading role in the big landlord, comprador bureaucratic capitalist class alliance with the annulment of privy purse and nationalisation of banks. Public sector increased heavily. More and more funds were allotted from the treasury. Public sector entered business. A large amount was accumulated from the treasury (the money from indirect taxes on the people) with the nationalisation of banks, Insurance, oil, coal and heavy industries, the restructuring of industrial sector and the entrance of public sector into the entire spheres of production starting from textiles to hotels. Comprador monopoly capital combined with the government investment thus leading to further development of comprador bureaucratic capital that collaborated with the landlords and is loyal to imperialism. The comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie developed in an extra-ordinary manner together with the public sector and state machinery.

The exploitation and oppression of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords led to economic and political crisis in the end of 1960s and another crisis in 1974 that shook the country. It destabilised the political atmosphere. On the other hand, the Dalit Panther in Maharashtra, Nav nirman in Gujarat and Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) movement in Bihar immediately followed the temporary setback of Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle. Emergency was imposed on 26th June 1975. It turned a great opportunity for the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. For example, there were Rs. 447 crores with the Birlas and Rs. 521 crores with the TATAs in 1966-67 that rose to Rs. 1085 crores and Rs. 975 crores by 1975-76. Thus the class further consolidated its hegemonic place in the ruling class alliance when compared with the feudal classes. Due to this growth, a small section of bureaucrats and powerful politicians of the ruling class gained crores of rupees. On the other hand they could accumulate more crores through misappropriation of government funds in various methods. These parasitic sections are part of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Those who directly slave the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism and justify the exploitation of imperialism on the people of India (intellectuals and high level professionals) too fall under this class.

The comprador governments started to mould the agricultural sector corresponding to the needs of bureaucratic capitalist policy and imperialism since the time of green revolution of mid-1960s. The feudal lords could not continue their exploitation and hegemony like in the earlier period in the changing conditions. In this condition, they kept alive the feudal forces by providing opportunities for trade and other economic sources for utmost exploitation, rural hegemony and control. For example, the cooperative sugar mills were on one hand modern in the form of properties and production techniques and on the other hand depended on most outdated, reactionary forms of exploitation. Due to the dual nature of the class – although there is a change in the form of exploitation (wage labour); was managing production in new forms (such as cooperative organisations); capitalist instruments of production such as pipe wells, various agricultural implements, tractors, threshers and harvesters, chemical fertilisers, pesticides and techniques spread, these new agrarian relations did not lead to the elimination of feudalism or the liberation of productive forces. Provision of market and allotment of funds were implemented depending on the entire new agrarian relations and business packages. These not only fulfilled the interests of the imperialists and CBB but also developed corresponding new rural feudal forces and helped in fulfilling their interests.

Non-productive capital is much more than productive capital in India. Machines, machinery equipment, non-iron metals, electrical, engineering and motor vehicles such as tractors, prime movers (powerful trucks), heavy chemicals and other such fundamental industries are not in existence or else are in the beginning stage. See what the Indian government declared in 1975 – “India is yet mainly a rural and small scale industrial country”. The Indian comprador ruling classes boast that there is speedy capitalist development in the country showing this kind of production policy. In fact it is semi-colonial economy that is a part of the imperialist neo-colonial exploitation but not independent capitalism. We see that foreign private investment, foreign loan investment, Indian comprador investment and government investment are entwined in an unprecedented manner. This is the case in any big Indian industry.

Since the imperialist countries in the leadership of the US brought forth and imposed indiscriminate exploitive policies on the backward countries from the 1970s in the name of neo-liberal policies, the economy of our country started to be liberalised (structurally adjusted). Domestic markets were filled

with the goods of Multi-National Companies. The government announced subsidies for imperialist corporate companies and domestic comprador bureaucratic capitalist corporate companies so as to make private business beneficial. It changed from the organised sector to the unorganised in employment industries and from agriculture to ancillary agricultural sector. More number of industries were closed. This resulted in the rise in number of industrial and agricultural workers. Enormous wealth was shifted from India to imperialist countries through various ways such as industries, service sector, commerce, imperialist investments, transfer of technical knowledge, royalties, monopoly prices and intellectual drain. Thus Indian economy fell behind that of the East, South East Asian and the neighbouring countries.

Oil prices sky-rocketed during the Gulf war in 1990 August; financial deficit further intensified; inflation grew non-stop; and foreign debt reached Rs. 1,32,000 crores. The situation was such that a crisis of balance of payments might explode if emergency funds were not mobilised. In order to overcome the crisis, the comprador rulers utmost secretly shifted 67 tonnes of gold to London in 1991 April and mortgaged it abiding by the conditions imposed by IMF. Thus rupee further declined to 24.58 per dollar by 1991 and the foreign loan of Rs.1,40,000 crores reached to Rs.2,10,000 crores. The country fell in a debt trap. Inflation and unemployment grew further. The exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination of imperialists and the comprador governments on oppressed classes such as the worker, peasant, middle class, national bourgeoisie, oppressed sections such as women, Dalit, tribal and religious minority people and oppressed nationalities of Kashmir and North East took an intense form.

Utilising the severe discontent among the oppressed people, the regional political parties of the respective states emerged in the end of 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s and became powerful. This is a big blow to the establishment of 'prestigious Hindutva' and 'all-India market' of the Indian comprador ruling classes. Most of these new regional political parties emerged from the oppressor caste new feudal-rich peasant sections and the newly developing comprador bureaucratic capitalists of the respective states. It is a fact that these are entwined with caste in regional and national identity. In a certain stage of development, the thus newly emerged regional comprador bourgeoisie formulated and implemented schemes with the understanding that utilising its national prestige and investing in regional political organisations would be beneficial. The Dravida Munnetra Kajhagam and Anna

Dravida Munnetra Kajhagam of Tamilnadu, the Telugu Desham of Andhra Pradesh, the Akali Dal of Punjab, the Janata Dal of Karnataka, the BJD of Odisha, the nationalist Congress of Maharashtra, the Trinamool Congress of West Bung, the YSR Congress of Andhra Pradesh and the Congress of Gujarat express the trend. A small section that emerged from the backward agricultural castes developed into the regional comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The Samajvadi Party (UP), the Janata Dal (U) of Bihar and other such that represent this class came forth and developed. Most of these developed by misutilising the power of the respective state governments. These depend on the contracts and benami funds. Capital was accumulated from the newly developing comprador bureaucratic capitalists of the respective states out of the cinema field, various kinds of mafia and other businesses for their survival and development. They started to bargain in the vote of confidence to gain majority in the Parliament and gain their share. Some of those went forth in mid-1990s. TDP Chandrababu Naidu and BJD Naveen Patnaik are few examples.

6. The Third stage from 1991 to 2024

This is the stage of globalisation. In this stage, the monetarist theory of Milton Friedman prominently known as the neo-liberal theory formulated in the Chicago school replaced the Keynesian theory that proved futile. US President Reagan and Britain Prime Minister Thatcher were the champions of the theory. The process of removing all kinds of hurdles to shift finance capital easily from one area to another started by 1980. Foreign capital, especially Finance capital drowned the markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus joint ventures gained further momentum in the backward countries after 1991. After the collapse of 'Soviet' superpower, India's relations with US super power further strengthened. India too was dragged into the trap of neo-liberal policies. Deregulation, delicensing, disinvestment, deindustrialisation (D4) became an ordinary feature. Nehruvian Socialism was said to be the basic reason for the entire problems in the society. Each and everyone started to speak about neo-liberal reforms. With the collapse of 'Soviet Union', any small aspect related to the preservation of national interest was taken to be backward, outdated and to be shed. A considerable section of the corporate media gained expertise in this regard. In this stage imperialists made structural changes in the economies of all the countries of the world. These neo-liberal policies are nothing but the imperialist globalisation policies.

As a part of these neo-liberal policies, powerful mega joint international monopoly enterprises (MNCs-TNCs) shifted their conventional industries to the foreign countries to overcome the mire of 'stagflation' that came forth with the crisis in the beginning of 1970s. These introduced new kind of international work division. The companies turned the entire world into their factory by taking up manufacture of a single good in more than one country. The making of a good was divided into parts, these spare parts were produced in various countries/regions and were finally assembled as the final good in one place. Places of cheap resources and workers, favourable Acts were found and production chain was prepared in this process. Agreements were made in such a manner where Finance capital can easily enter at any time and any place and can be easily withdrawn. Investments of long term nature are not preferred. Thus thousands of MNCs-TNCs created 'Global Value Chain' according to their products and spread to most of the countries and areas. These established its own branches and ancillary companies in various countries all over the world. Especially these entered into joint ventures with comprador companies of the backward countries or else gave for sub-contract. Comprador companies produced goods only for export. This policy affected the organised strength of the workers. This is a very important aspect of the new economic policies. The very big 100 non-financial MNCs shifted or took up sales of its properties to foreign/backward countries on an average of more than 60 percent in 2017. As a part of it, these are becoming part of the online, asset lite and model gig economy that are speedily developing in the 2nd decade of the 21st century. This is mostly dependent on temporary, part-time, contract and free-lance method.

In this process there were large scale Mergers and Acquisitions in various industrial, finance companies and enterprises all over the world. The new generation Information-Communication technology and the emergence of internet brought a wave of cross-border mergers, investment and trade. The finance capital of a few Multi-National banks played a decisive role in the economic life of the world. Concentration of capital, international direct investments, the socialisation and internationalisation of production-distribution and globalisation of trade reached an unprecedented level and giant Multi-National monopoly corporations (MNCs) emerged. By 2017, 737 very big MNCs of the world controlled 80 percent of the entire world production. 80 percent of world trade was through MNCs. Comrade Lenin

assessed these developments much before and said that a few heavy financial enterprises shall dictate the world.

The joint wealth of MNCs equals to that of all the respective countries. For example, Walmart company that attained place as the biggest company of the world in the list of 2017 Fortune-500 gained an income of above 500 billion dollars. This is more than the GDP of Belgium. It became an economy bigger than 161 countries of the world by 2020. The market value of Apple corporation (2.7 trillion dollars) is more than the Gross Domestic Product of India (2.6 trillion dollars). When we compare the statistics of the incomes of nearly 200 countries of the world, MNCs have more than 70 percent income in 100 very big economies. 69 percent of the entire corporate wealth was accumulated in the US by 2020.

In 2017, half of the biggest 500 companies were in the US, Japan, Germany, France and Britain. Nearly two-third of the 100 biggest MNCs are in these countries. By 2020, 59 of the 100 biggest corporations of the world were in the US. With economic activities divided into further parts through industrial globalisation, only a few countries of the capitalist world are gaining profits in large amounts. As per the 2017 Fortune Global-500 data, except for China companies, the income of 380 of the biggest 500 companies of the world reached Rs. 22.83 trillion dollars. The growth index of the share of profits and the rate of profits indicate the looting nature of imperialism.

Presently, few most powerful MNCs are dictating several countries and governments. By 2024 December, US was in the first place with 835 billionaires and China in the second place with 427. TESLA owner Elon Musk is in the first place with a wealth of 208 billion dollars, Jeff Bezos in the second place with 205 billion dollars and Bernard Arnold in the third place with 199 billion dollars. As per the Contour Brondge report, US technology giant I-phone manufacturing enterprise Apple is in the first place among the world top-100 brands with Rs. 1,01,590 crore dollars. Google, Microsoft, Amazon and Mc. Donald take the later places. MNCs widely redefined the participatory policy of countries, methods of production and models of profits through US dollar, hegemony on intellectual property and unequal international work divisions. These established new alliances and hegemonic relations in economic, political, social, cultural-ideological and military spheres and corporatized these spheres. It facilitated the way to corporatisation in economy through corporatising theoretical, political, cultural-ideological sectors. It spread its

contending efficiency. It controlled marketing networks, natural resources and financial resources and is accumulating more wealth.

Imperialist foundations and think tanks worked as important motive forces to spread neo-liberal ideas. Economists like Milton Friedman and Arnold Herberger stood in the forefront. For example, organisations such as Ford foundation, Rockefeller foundation, Mount Pellerin society, Centre for International Private enterprise of the US encourage imperialist values in the name of neo-liberalism through funding seminars on social, economic and political aspects and educational institutions. These ideas are induced into the students of economics from Latin America, Asia and Africa and they are transformed into 'Chicago boys'. The intelligence, security organisations and the directorates of MNCs all over the world are filled with these boys. These came to be the Prime Ministers, Finance Ministers, economists, officials of World Bank and corporate lawyers and opened the doors for MNCs. They impose these policies. Neo-liberal policies gained strength after Milton Friedman was awarded Nobel prize. State machinery started to control finance capital. State became an instrument in the hands of capital. It facilitated the path for capital through unleashing direct and indirect violence on the people, especially the toiling masses.

Imperialism mainly established its cultural hegemony over the world through spreading its literature, art and liberal art and values in academic life in the country and foreign countries mainly through corporate media, education and propaganda activities. Magazines such as Maxim, Verve, Vogue, Cosmopolitan, Hollywood cinemas, the 75 percent of the world television activities, music and literature in their control created illusions among the people of the world about western life style. US moulds the opinion of the people of the world through research and reporting of main stream media. Neo-liberal policies were unleashed in the backward countries basing on the imperialist ideology.

Azim Premji, Jindal, TATA, Reliance and other such comprador corporate companies of the country too established think tanks in the intention to mould the opinion of the Indian people accordingly. These release funds for scholarships and other programs, hold art and literary festivals, 'think fests', emotive discussions, manage education and medical institutions, give prizes for spreading western, post-modernist and anti-communist ideology and highlight the 'diversity' in capitalism. These propagate that there is no caste, nation or religion in policies of liberalisation and that it respects genuine

efficacy. These portray the newly emerging Dalit billionaires as the 'development of Dalit people'. On the other hand, these are creating new conflicts among religions, castes and nationalities so that the people do not understand the ill effects of liberalisation. We have many examples starting from the demolition of Babri Masjid to Gnanvapi.

As a part of globalisation strategy, imperialist finance capital began a major attack by bulldozing the economies of the entire backward countries. The Indian comprador ruling classes have been unleashing policies dependent on foreign investment since the beginning. These started to unleash LPG policies in a major leap since 1985 and especially since 1991, abiding by the conditions imposed by the IMF, World Bank and later the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In this stage, especially the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie strengthened its situation several fold. For the purpose, it is sustaining the outdated semi-colonial, semi-feudal system of India. It is further entwined with world Finance capital and is making certain changes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal order in the respective stages in its interests. It is propping caste based feudalism and caste order and utilising caste as an instrument to continue its exploitation and oppression, to split the oppressed people and to affect the objective struggle of the worker-peasant oppressed people, oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.

As a part of the imperialist globalisation policies (LPG), the comprador ruling classes brought a special policy for each and every sector such as – new economic policy, new industrial policy, new agrarian policy, new trade policy, new banking policy, new Jute policy, new coal policy, tourism policy, IT policy, animation policy, pharma policy, start-up policy. It introduced several financial reforms amending hundreds of Acts. The BJP government in the leadership of Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist Modi leadership that came to power instigating national frenzy in the name of nationalism and Hindu communalism in the name of religion aggressively unleashes globalisation policies. It lays red carpet for imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. It aggressively unleashes Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist methods. It keeps aside the Indian Constitution and tramples nominal democracy to suppress any kind of people's resistance. There is a rise in the attack on civil, democratic rights. The Modi government plans to establish bureaucratic un-Constitutional system and one man rule. It takes the Election Commission, judiciary, RBI, Enforcement Directorate (ED), CBI and other such institutions into its hands. Planning

Commission was dissolved and replaced by the National Institution for Transforming India – NITI for complete privatisation and corporatisation in the intention to allow foreign investments in all sectors. Path was already laid for hundred percent foreign investments in several sectors. The economy is pushed into danger.

During the period of globalisation, MNCs did not invest in productive sector in India except for service sector that yields them super profits. Therefore, productive sector stood in the fourth place in the sectors where foreign investments came. The CBB dealt accordingly in the country. Productive sector also did not develop to a remarkable extent in the 11 year rule of Modi who largely propagates 'Ease of Doing business' policy the World Bank formulated to implement LPG policies as the 'Make in India' scheme. The share of GDP in manufacturing sector is 17-18 percent. On one hand, the country is dependent mainly on international finance capital and the technology of heavy machinery of the MNCs boasting self-reliance in productive sector in the name of 'Atmanirbhar Bharat'. This is false propaganda. The FDI investments of more than 900 billion dollars into the country in 2014-2023 under the Make in India scheme were not in the manufacturing sector but in the non-productive sectors and in the unorganised sector where there is extreme labour exploitation and lack of security of job. These turned to be important sectors. There were heavy Foreign Direct Investments in Railway, Insurance, Defence and Medical equipment manufacture. 'Investor Facilitation Centre' was established to serve foreign investment. Delhi-Mumbai, Amritsar-Kolkata, Chennai-Bangalore, Visakhapatnam-Chennai industrial corridors and Bangalore-Mumbai economic corridor were established. Skill India, Start-up India, Digital India, Prime Minister Jandhan yojana, smart cities, Amritkaal, Swacha Bharat abhiyan, Sagaramala and other such several schemes served to the growth of service sector but not that of the manufacturing sector. FDIs, four labour codes, agrarian acts and other such corporate favourable Acts only helped the domestic and foreign corporate companies to exploit the country. The policies being unleashed in the entire sectors with the support of finance capital, for finance capital and in its hegemony are a hurdle to the development of productive forces. The imperialist model of destructive development unleashed by the comprador ruling classes in the country is the reason.

A section of the top officials in the state machinery gained several fold higher wages when compared to the ordinary employees and gained large

amount of wealth in several scams utilising their bureaucratic power, due to the globalisation policies. Together with this, a section minted crores of money working as CEOs, Directors and top officials in various comprador corporate companies, IT companies, finance institutions and private banks. These sections are part of CBB. In spite of several ups and downs in these sections during globalisation, these were in the forefront of capitalist contention and gained super profits.

During the period, India further fell into the mire of foreign loans. Loans of India rose to 1 crore 61 lakh crore rupees by 2023 December. It rose by 56.9 percent in 2023-24. The burden of loan is assessed to be at 56 percent of GDP in 2024-25. Nearly half of every rupee is being spent on paying interests. All through the period, it was a helpless situation to lend money to clear loans.

The hegemony of MNCs increased largely with merger and acquisition of Indian industries. Public sector industries such as banks, ports and Airports are being closed stating they are sick. The shares of profitable companies are also being sold at dead cheap prices in the name of modernisation, merger and acquisition. There is no difference between sick industries and healthy ones. Basic infrastructural systems were handed over to private comprador corporate companies and imperialist MNCs. Thus heavy amount of shares or properties of Railway, Air India, MTNL, BSNL, BBCL and other such public sector enterprises and plants went into the hands of private management of comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie or imperialist Multi-National Companies. Power generation and distribution was privatised in several states. Transport and communication sectors are being privatised in all states. Apart from the US, the European Union, Japan, China, Russia and other imperialist countries are also contending to issue heavy amounts of loans to power, roads, tele communications and other sectors.

Large scale reforms are introduced in aviation companies, oil enterprises, projects and banking. Foreign investment is being allowed to gain hold on the main Airports, Ports and Railway stations. Hundred percent FDI was allowed in coal mining sector. All controls on foreign investment were lifted and imperialist banks and insurance companies were given absolute opportunity in the country. By 2009, the Indian private banks were accorded rights to work on par with the national/government banks. This is declining the organised sector. The unorganised sector and private sector became the main ones.

The natural resources of the country are a mine of profits for the Indian CBB. There is a big race to seize mineral wealth. There were MoUs of lakhs of crore rupees for mining in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, West Bung, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and other states. Mining corporate companies of MNCs and big bourgeoisie were handed over vast lands. The lands of small and marginal farmers were seized at dead cheap rates in the name of land bank policy in the interest of industrial corridors. This resulted in shortage of food grains.

Permission was given to the imperialists, especially the US imperialists to establish Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and to make direct transactions with the state governments. Thus they are directly issuing loans on conditions to establish industries, to lay sparky roads, to build High tech parks and to construct High tech cities such as Hyderabad and Bangalore and other basic infrastructural projects. The various state governments are contending for such loans. These include the state governments in the leadership of the CPI (M). The governments seized lakhs of acres of fertile agricultural lands at dead cheap prices from the farmers for these projects. India is witnessing large scale land acquisitions in its history. SEZs, dams, super highways, urban 'redevelopment', metro projects and other such mega 'development' projects and mining are displacing lakhs of tribal people in the forest areas. Lakhs of workers, especially women workers are suffering from severe labour exploitation in the modern slavery in the SEZs. As per the statistics of International Labour Organisation (ILO), MNCs of the world are minting 150 billion dollars of profits per year.

The comprador governments are spreading an exploitive policy of Public Private Partnership (PPP). PPP is nothing but the monopoly of international monopoly enterprises and CBB enterprises. This is one method to enrich the MNCs and CBB. The exploitive governments utilise the model and gradually bring various projects under private control. For example, we see that for the past 30-40 years, Airports, Shipyards, roads, urban transport, supply of water and power, hospitals, defence manufacture and such sectors under the control of the government are being handed over to the private companies. Coal, power generation and such other sectors are also privatised. Agriculture is being handed over to the imperialists and Indian mega corporate companies. Hundreds of Acts standing in the way of the CBB are being annulled (the annulment of 40 Labour Acts is one) and several Acts helpful for the CBB are being brought forth in the Legislative bodies to hand over the people's

wealth to these under various names. Four Labour Codes, Demonetisation, GST, Forest Conservation Act-2023 and Central Mining Act are a part of it.

The stock market especially gave profits to the CBB. It took heavy loans from banks; took up sale and purchase of its properties and shares; created false demand; thus attracted more funds; sold shares at utmost high rates and gained profits. Depending on these increased shares, it took more loans from National/government banks, LIC and other such financial institutions. This cyclic process further spread their business. In this manner CBB gained heavy profits with very less investment and effort. Patanjali Company is one example.

The billionaires of the world target the poorest people from whom they collected utmost high interest rates and invested large amounts in micro-finance Companies. This trend spread like wild fire all over the world. World Finance capital looted the thrift amounts of thousands of poor people of the backward countries including India and gained super profits. People committed suicides in large numbers. Micro-financing distanced people from political movements.

These comprador bureaucratic bourgeois companies do not pay bank loans. The government declares these pending loans and waives it in the name of Non-Performing Assets-NPA. These loans reached Rs. 11.17 lakh crores by 2022 December. The Modi government annulled these in the winter session of Parliament in 2022. The Modi government took up 'demonetisation', GST and e-way bill policies in the name of controlling black money in 2016 November, to protect the banks that were going to become bankrupt with NPAs and to fulfil the financial needs of the comprador companies. Thousands of MSMEs and transport companies were made to become bankrupt and the employment of crores of people was affected to benefit CBB.

Start-up is another sector where CBB is strong. There were 350 start-ups in 2013 that rose to 2 lakhs by 2023 March. 130 Unicorns came up. The start-up Act of the Modi government provided enormous powers to the finance capitalists on the start-up companies. The Indian CBB dreams of establishing an Indian MNC like the Alibaba and Baidu.

No policy was formulated by the comprador rulers on the 'technical innovations' until 50 years after transfer of power. Although certain policies were formulated later, these were limited to propaganda. The factory industry under the ownership of Indian big capital is in fact the product of the expertise of Indian traders and foreign product engineers. That is the reason the comprador governments of our country invested in sectors such as petroleum,

telephone, power and Railway so that there is no competition to the intellectual property of the imperialist countries and its MNCs and to fulfil the MNCs and CBB. These were filled with foreign loans. It utilised foreign modern technology in the projects and plants built with loans from IMF and World Bank.

As a result, the monopoly of the most powerful Multi-National Companies (MNCs-TNCs) continues on the technical knowledge of the country. In the situation where technical knowledge speedily changes and becomes outdated, the factory industries of India are increasingly dependent on mainly the foreign finance capital for technical knowledge and capital goods. Manufactured goods are becoming outdated soon. Lack of a policy to develop technical knowledge in an independent manner became a main hurdle to the development of the country.

The propaganda of the imperialist think tanks that new scientific knowledge would be available if MNCs are established, that there will be industrial growth and employment opportunities would rise is absolutely false. MNCs are merely interested in profits. They only transfer secondary grade technology to the backward countries for their needs. The Indian industrial sector is very much backward even in embedding this technology. In fact the entire telecom revolution in the country including handsets was taken up with imported equipment. The recent 5G cell phone services are dependent on imported technology. The e-rupee introduced by the Reserve Bank is dependent on foreign technology. Each and every aspect used in our agrarian sector is produced from foreign intellectual property. All the equipment used by companies in laying road and multi-purpose projects are foreign products. India has a very powerful software sector but the software developed under its ownership is very less. It only operates the imported software. A little is spent on R&D in the country. The modern technology brought forth by the MNCs leads to loss of employment. Wherever it introduces a new technology, it normally does not provide the related science formulae. These invest not in their countries but in the backward countries and not to develop them. It is to utilise the weak Acts and profitable tax policies and to loot the dead cheap natural resources and labour power. Thus the MNCs and the CBB of these countries gain much profit. They get approved such weak Acts and profitable tax policies by force in the Legislative bodies.

Due to globalisation policies, the usage of imported outdated high tech machines and technology irrespective of the needs of the country rose in the

past three decades, giving super profits to the imperialists. The so called 'speedy growth' in the history of the country during the period led to disruption of economy, social unrest and environmental destruction in the country. This affected the employment of lakhs of workers and employees. Casualisation/contractisation rose. Outsourcing rose. 18 lakh Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) were closed in 2015-2023 and 54 lakh people lost employment. 'Growth without employment' became the main trend. Economic inequalities rose to the peak. Unemployment rose to the maximum in the last 45 years. Labour intensive Indian economy is moving towards capital intensive. Labour force that lost employment is moving from industrial sectors backwards towards the agrarian sector. Nearly 50 percent stepped back from industrial sectors. 5.2 crores in 2016-17 reduced to 2.7 crores by 2021-22. Decline in employment is mostly seen in sectors such as textiles, building construction and food processing. With a decrease in employment in the urban areas, the number of those dependent on agriculture rose. While 42.5 percent were dependent on agriculture in 2018-19, the number rose to 45.8 percent in 2022-23. This led the agrarian sector into further crisis. Four lakh farmers committed suicide in the past 30 years. 26 crore agricultural labourers of the country are living a miserable life.

Today 81.35 crores of the poorest, 75 percent of the people in the rural areas and 50 percent of the urban people in the country suffer from poverty, as per official statistics. Seven lakh youth commit suicides every year, amounting to 160 per day. More than ten crores of youth of the country are in the mire of drugs. India happens to be the country with the utmost number of poor people. It is in the 105th place behind Sri Lanka, Nepal, Myanmar and Bangladesh in 2024 world hunger index. For the first time in the past 30 years, value of rupee declined to 84.72 per dollar in the first week of 2024 December. The income of rural people fell to Rs. 1,059 and that of urban people to Rs. 1,286 per month. The per capita income of the people of the country is one fourth of that of world average. Arjun Sen Gupta Committee stated that 77 percent of the population is living at an income of Rs. 20 per day. As per the 2024 statistics of a global research institution the World Inequality Lab, a mere one percent of the higher income class in India owns a share of 22.6 percent of the income of the country. This records high among the countries of the world. Coming to wealth, one percent rich owned 40.1 percent wealth in 2022-23. This shows the extent of economic inequalities in the country and why the number of billionaires is rising. It is clear that the accumulation of the wealth

of India in the hands of a few comprador bureaucratic capitalists of the country is the result of globalisation policies.

During this period, development in IT helped the crisis ridden imperialism to an extent. Few new billionaires of India established IT Companies and gained profits through outsourcing to MNCs. 20 top software companies of the country are engaged in nearly half of the software exports. This provided various opportunities to a section of the rich and the upper middle class. A new rich class and new forms of exploitation came forth. Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) business, bio-tech and IT business that need dead cheap expert labour had a boom at the international level. Since these companies appoint only Americans in important jobs, the wage ratio of American employee to Indian employee fell to 24:1. All these provided heavy profits to the MNCs and the domestic comprador bureaucratic bourgeois companies. However, like various sectors, Artificial Intelligence affected IT sector also and it is losing its erstwhile prosperity for the past 3-4 years.

The comprador rulers on one hand encouraged rise in production intended for export. On the other, they relaxed the import limitations and cancelled all the import duties on more than 1,400 goods used in daily life. Few corporate enterprises are trying to gain control on agricultural product systems. Business rose through e-commerce and monopoly enterprises are increasingly gaining influence on business. The small and medium kind traders are suffocated.

While the governments are stepping aside from people's welfare activities in education and medical sectors, on the other hand, the monopoly of the MNCs and CBB rose to the peak through privatisation and corporatisation. Thousands of government schools were closed that deprived the poor of education. Taking chance of the aspirations of the middle class to provide higher professional education for their children, the corporate owners commercialised higher educational institutions such as IIT and IIM and coaching centres for NEET exam and are minting large amounts of money. The state is giving away government properties in a big scale to Companies of feudal political background in the name of educational trusts. Large education empires are being established with the help of the government. Companies such as Reliance, Azim Premji, OP Jindal and Birla established world level educational institutions. New comprador bureaucratic capitalists such as Baijus came forward in this sector. The Modi government did not build a single new school and moreover reduced budget for education. It introduced a New

Education Policy from the primary level that induces Manuist Brahmanic Hindutva fundamentalism of the medieval times that gives an upside down explanation of human evolution, social history and science. The recent trend of online education is part of corporatisation. Several hundreds of corporate educational institutions came forth in the past three years including foreign Universities.

CBB grew immensely in the medical sector in the past two decades. Multi-specialty hospitals are seen in all the main and secondary grade cities. These attract the people through grand advertisements and are exploiting the patients through large amount of charges. These became dangerous to the helpless poor. The Insurance companies take the next place. These are gaining super profits in these two sectors. The labour of the toiling masses is behind any amount of profits even in the least currency. The governments claim to have been of the people but are exploiting them and strengthening the CBB.

Tourism became a business into which corporate companies entered. Hotels, resorts, travels, parlours, saloons and spa centres of MNCs became multi-billion dollar business. As a result, deadly diseases are becoming prevalent.

The designer brands of Indian CBB rose to heights. Several industries importing furniture entered Indian markets bankrupting thousands of small Indian producers. Important festivals are commercialised with corporate or commercial funds and super profits gained. This is also spreading imperialist, feudal culture. Sports are commercialised. Cinema is in the control of MNCs and CBB. Event management and wedding planners are the new services. Greetings and gift industries are run by a few foreign brands.

Environment has become an important question for the past two to three decades. The MNCs and CBB are taking chance of it to make money. In India Sujlan first initiated the construction of wind turbine. Several companies also have EM 6. Decrease of air quality in metro cities turned to be a business opportunity. There is increasing demand for room and office air purifiers, water purifiers and masks. Reverse osmosis gained high demand since permission was given to usage of underground drinking water in many states. This became another instrument of business for new kind of landlords in the local level. This would lead to further decline of underground water level in future.

In this stage, the globalisation policies and the policies corresponding to the expansionist wish of the Indian comprador rulers, especially the

comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and Brahmanic Hindutva ideology to establish 'Akhand Bharat' were upheld/implemented. The UPA government in the leadership of the Congress and the NDA government in the leadership of the BJP in the centre, the governments of the various regional parties, the revisionist, neo-revisionist CPI, CPI(M) parties in various states are all the same in this regard. All these exploitive ruling class parties only intend to serve the interests of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes. The daily increasing dog fights among the ruling classes are not related to the policies these adopt. It is the result of the increasing crisis among the imperialists internationally. 'Swadeshi', 'self-reliance', 'bright country', 'second generation reforms', 'Manmohanomics', 'Modinomics', 'Atmanirbhar Bharat' and such other jargon do not hide the reality.

After Adani scam came to light in the beginning of 2023 through the Hindenburg report, the intimate relations between the Prime Minister Modi and Adani came to be infamously known as 'Modani'. All over the world, whether in the imperialist countries or in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries, 'state' works only in the interests of the exploitive classes. However, few of the owners of the very powerful MNCs and TNCs in the imperialist countries benefit out of their close relations with the state and fulfil their interests. They protect themselves from the competition and problems from opponent corporate companies in all ways. A few of the CBB of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries also benefit out of their intimacy with the state. The main stream media states this crony capitalism and crony capitalists. Presently comprador bureaucratic capitalists such as Adani and Ambani benefit as cronies to the central government.

However rich the Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalists are, they never had an independent existence. Their relations with imperialism strengthened and widened with globalisation. The Indian partner has less share in the joint ventures with the MNCs and therefore these are more dependent on CBB. None of them is a genuine global champion that can totally compete with the MNCs of the world. In fact they are mere compradors to the MNCs.

Comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie has the hegemony in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system of our country that is constantly changing in the interests of imperialism. Comprador governments always serve imperialist MNCs and TNCs. Top political leaders and top officials slave the imperialists further to gain wealth. They destruct the industry and agriculture of the

country. They trample the Constitution they themselves formulated. This easily explains the falsity of 'Atmanirbhar Bharat' they repeatedly speak of. They merge with the old backward semi-feudal power structures in the vast rural areas. They suppress any kind of democratic consciousness and movement. Brahmanic ideology helps it. The comprador governments prop Brahmanic Hindutva ideology and develop the thinking that it gives solace to the people. There will be a rise in saints and monks. This will push Muslims and other religious minorities much backward towards their religious fundamentalist ideology.

During the period of globalisation too, caste played the main role in the development of CBB. We especially clearly see that the CBB of North India developed mostly from particular castes. There are a few like Vijay Malya who developed from the Brahman (Gowda Saraswatha Brahman-GSB) caste. But most of the CBB are from Bania and Marwaris. CBB groups of these two castes are in the initial places in the annual Forbes billionaire list. Naturally the Ambanis, Adanis and Ruyaya brothers of ESSAR have a place. 'Bania-Brahman' castes are hegemonic on the Indian industrial sector. As per a study, 50 mega conglomerates are dominant in India by the second decade of the 21st century. Two thirds of the very big listed companies of the country are run by the Bania-Brahman families. These relations help to easily make agreements and to make money through gaining reliability. These create business cultures that praise loyalty, history, caste, profits and revenue. Even now we see that persons of one caste and favourable ones mutually cooperate. These relations of caste and blood relation normally provide a model background for the industrial sector. That is the reason, the people severely oppose the Bania caste that lacks moral values.

The 'Bania-Brahman' dominated northern CBB do not only create employees to work for their business, but also blind followers who crave for money and also for name. War business culture dominates CBB families. These consider themselves always in war. In view of the dangers and betrayals against them, they renew their war preparation time to time. With the massive changes in the 21st century, few small business families with oppressor caste relations suddenly came to the fore. They spread their comprador business shares all over the world and became the owners and very lesser number of very rich families. There is a change in the life style of these comprador bureaucratic capitalist families. A new culture of the rich developed. The

business families that once lived normally started to invest in the now famous fortified luxurious buildings, cars, private jets and luxurious mega boats.

Companies like the Ambanis, Mittals, Birlas, Adanis, NRIs like the Hinduja, Ruyayas (ESSAR), Jindals, TATAs, Thapars, Bajajs, Mahindras, Mafatlals, Goenkas, Vedanta, Infosys, ESSAR, RPG and individuals such as TVS Ayyangar, Vijay Malya, Dilip Singhvi, Azim Premji, Siv Nadar, Uday Kotak, Cyrus S. Poonawala, Cyrus Pallonji Mistri, Shapurji Pallonji, Naresh Goyal, Subhash Chandra, Kishore Biyani rose. The new Bania-Marwari business persons Narendra Kumar Patny and Arun Jain developed in the IT sector and Lakshmi Jhunjhunwala, Kasliwal brothers, Oswals and Lohias in the old textile sector. These apart new comprador industrialists such as Ashok Bhagiratmal Jivrajka, Rajender Gupta and Gopiram Goenka came to the fore. Few other prominent Bania-Marwari groups came forth in the pharma, sugar, steel, plastic products, business vehicles, electric equipment, construction, transport of goods, shipping and other such sectors. Several highly powerful Unicorn companies such as Patanjali and start-up companies of asset lite and aggregator model emerged and developed.

When the stage of globalisation began in the beginning of the 1990s, there was no Indian billionaire in the super rich of the world. By mid-1990s, only two Indians – Kumara Mangalam Birla and Dhirubhai Ambani joined the list with properties of 3 billion dollars. The NRI Hinduja brothers are an exemption. By 2002, the number gradually reached to 5. Since then it started to spread like an explosion. By the end of 2010, there were 49 billionaires in India the number that rose to more than 100 by 2014, 102 by 2020, 166 by 2022 and 185 by 2024 December. By mid-2022 their wealth was developing at Rs. 3,608 crores per day. By 2024 December their total wealth reached 90,560 crore dollars (Rs. 76.66 lakh crores). The conglomerates of a few old families of these transformed into global MNCs. A new generation of billionaires developed in various sectors such as software to mining. In 2002, the property of the Adani group was at a mere 70 million dollars that rose to 20 billion dollars by 2012 and 111 billion dollars (Rs. 9.24 lakh crores) by 2024 June. It reached Rs. 15.44 lakh crores by August. Two Indians Mukesh Ambani and Lakshmi Mittal gained place among the five richest in the world by 2010. Gautam Adani gained the 2nd place in the super rich of the world in 2022 at a net property of Rs. 12,45,600 crores (with the value of rupee at Rs. 80 per dollar, it is 155.7 billion dollars). The Reliance enterprise in the ownership of Mukesh Ambani had a market investment of Rs. 41,989 crores by 2002 March

that rose to Rs. 17,81,841 crores at an annual growth rate of 20 percent by 2022 March. By 2024 June, the property of Ambani group rose to 109 billion dollars, Rs. 25.75 lakh crores by August, that of Bajaj group to Rs. 7.13 lakh crores and Birla to Rs. 5.39 lakh crores. According to the list of Bloomberg billionaires, Ambani had the 12th and Adani the 14th place in the world richest by 2024 June. At the same time, the contour brandz report states that among the four Indian companies that gained place among the world top 100 brands, TATA Consultancy Services (TCS) was in the 46th place at 4,479 crore dollars, HDFC in 47th place at 4,326 crore dollars, Airtel at 73rd at 2,526.3 crore dollars, Infosys in 74th at 2,468.6 crore dollars. Thus a new very rich comprador bureaucratic capitalist class developed in the country. It is clear that this class became billionaires through exploiting the natural resources of the country and the public sector enterprises as its private property.

7. Imperialism and Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie that constantly comes in the way of the development of the National Bourgeoisie

The National Bourgeoisie is on one hand oppressed by the policies of imperialism and CBB and on the other bound by feudalism. It is politically weak and does not have a share in political power. It does not have hegemony or power on state funds. It has relatively low relations with imperialism. The alliance of imperialists and comprador bureaucratic capitalists constantly seizes their market limiting the growth of their industries. Lakhs of industries go bankrupt each day. Thus it is in contradiction with the three enemies of New Democratic Revolution in India and is one of the four friendly revolutionary classes.

The National Bourgeoisie is one of the classes affected from the severe onslaught of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes before and after the transfer of power. It invests in Micro, Small and Medium kind industries, contracts, wholesale and retail businesses, transport, education and medical sectors and trade and service sectors such as hotels. This sector possesses 30 percent of the country's economy and provides employment to 40 percent (20 crores) after agriculture. Out of the total 6.33 crore MSMEs, Micro industries comprise 6.30 crores (90 percent), Small industries 3.11 lakhs and Medium kind industries 5 thousand. Both the private and the public sectors of the country enjoy the trade and industrial services of

the MSMEs exploiting and oppressing through illegal methods utilising these in their favour.

In the mixed economy initially formulated in the country after transfer of power, hundreds of products such as pickles, locks and wood furniture were reserved for MSME (earlier small scale industries), an important sector in the unorganised sector. This helped poor artisans to produce several products in the name of 'Made in India'. This sector sustained severe competition from foreign and domestic industries. However, it did not continue for long. The comprador governments trampled this policy.

Casualisation reached the peak during globalisation. Cheap imports drained the sector. The annulment of the reservation given to produce certain goods affected the sector. The most ordinary problem in the sector is non-payment of loans in time to MSMEs, not procuring the necessary investments and not providing the raw material, the MNCs and comprador corporate companies degrading these to the level of its ancillary companies. As a result it became a normal feature for nearly 80 percent of MSME units to get loans from private traders at high rates of interest. The sector that provides large scale goods for the market with cheap labour force was deprived of Provident Fund, DA, bonus, ESIS and other all such social security schemes. These were given only for the big business houses, TNCs and the public sector.

As per the recommendations of the Abid Hussain committee, the government de-reserved 14 important products such as ice-creams, biscuits, rice and millet mills for the sector in 1997. By 1999, three thousand kinds of foreign products as a part of 'liberalisation' and 8,000 kinds as per the Exim policy entered the Indian market. Sanctions were removed on 714 goods as per the Exim policy-2000 and on 715 goods in 2001. The heavy textile manufacturing sector was removed from the reserved list as per the New Textile Policy-2000. The independent market of these sectors was crushed.

The government also raised the maximum limit on FDI of this sector from 24 percent to hundred percent. Foreign investment took over the textile manufacturing industry. Outsourcing from big business houses in production and service was encouraged and its independent existence was squashed. Foreign investment and comprador big bourgeois investment were allowed in retail business. Heavy retail business houses of the US and Europe joined hands with the comprador big bourgeoisie and entered India. These bankrupt lakhs of retail businesses. The permission granted to foreign furniture industries led to the closure of thousands of Indian small industries.

Forty percent of the Micro industries became sick due to demonetisation and GST. E-way bill policy bankrupted transports. Fifty lakh jobs were lost due to demonetisation. The statistics of Reserve Bank show that 4,86,291 Micro, Small and Medium kind industries of the country were closed. 18 lakh MSMEs were closed throwing 54 lakh employees on the roads in 2015-2023. The owners and workers suffered from immense difficulties. Migrant labourers became helpless. The rate of worker participation was 42.9 percent in 2019 that fell to 39 percent in 2022.

The Modi government transformed the definition of MSMEs with the slogan of 'we must mould pandemics and natural calamities into opportunities' during the Corona pandemic. The sector was handed over to the imperialist and comprador companies. These corporate companies now directly enter into the sector or else provide finance.

Comprador corporate companies have representation in hundreds of bodies such as CII, FICCI and ASSOCHAM that formulate the government policies. But MSME have no representation of any kind. Several schemes such as the Prime Minister Employment Guarantee scheme, Mudra, Traditional Industries Renovation Fund (SPURTI), Coir Board schemes, Micro, Small Industries Loan Guarantee Scheme (CGTMSE), Loan dependent capital money subsidy scheme are intended to fulfil the lending needs. These schemes do not have government allotments. A mere 16 percent of the sector can avail bank loans. The sector that produces 40 percent of the manufacturing sector witnessed a decrease of 19 percent in loans in 2015-2020.

Lack of machinery, non-availability of raw material for justified price, lack of marketing facility to the products, lack of remunerative price for products due to rise in production expenditure, lack of demand for its products due to competition from the domestic and foreign corporate companies, lack of electricity and high electricity rates made the sector go bankrupt. In fact, a 2019 study of the International Finance Corporation (IFC) confirmed that these MSMEs need Rs. 16.66 lakh crores in need of loans. The Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal ruling classes do not pay attention to look into the needs of the sector or to provide the necessary technology. Lakhs of industries are going bankrupt due to the pro-imperialist policies. Productive forces are constantly crushed. Crores of people working in these are falling deep into the mire of poverty. All these reasons are leading to decrease in the growth rate of MSME. These are further shrinking market demand and GDP

growth rate. The National bourgeoisie that owns these industries is also constantly affected.

8. The objective to transform the country into a prison of nationalities in the name of 'Indian' nation, the 'unity' and 'integrity' of the country and the 'Akhand Bharat' is in the interests of the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic capitalists

The problem of Nationalities arose with the exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination on them in the country since the British imperialists occupied and transformed India into a colonial, semi-feudal country in their interests. The main reason being the collaboration of Bania-Marwari comprador capitalists and the local feudatories and landlords with the imperialist finance capital. The alliance turned into the main hurdle in the process of capitalist development, the natural development of the entire nationalities and tribes and the building of nation states. The Indian comprador capitalists hailing from the Hindu religious oppressor traditional caste business communities crave to transform the country officially into a Hindu state and to transform Hinduism as the official religion. Since then they have been efficiently utilising the Hindutva ideology and brought forth the idea of 'Indian nation'. The Banajigas of Karnataka did not possess the idea of 'Indian nation' like the comprador Banias, Marwaris and Parsis and stood as the symbol for 'National Bourgeoisie'. The British rulers divided the nationalities and 'British India' provinces were formed into 'local states' so as to combine the various provinces and 'states'. For example, the territory of Telugu speaking people was divided into two. One part was combined with the Madras Presidency (including Telugu, Tamil speaking people, the Kannadigas and Malayalis) and the second part with Hyderabad state (including Telugu, Marathi, Kannada speaking people). The Gujaratis were divided into more than 200 tiny local states. In the Bombay Presidency, the large Maratha territory was combined with the Gujaratis. Each and every nationality such as the Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Odia, Telugu, Kannada and its territories were artificially combined as small pieces with the others. The British facilitated the path for their exploitation through dividing the nationalities and affecting its unity and development.

The British imperialists joined hands with the Indian comprador capitalists, restructuralised feudalism in their interests, turned it into their social prop and looted the country. Nationality struggles of the Bengali, Telugu, Tamil, Maratha, Kannada, Gujarati and others arose with the objective against this cruel exploitation and to achieve independence from the colonial slavish chains of all the regions and nationalities of the country. Marx taught that when the British colonialists occupied Ireland, they destroyed all kinds of industries that were growing, that the only industry that sustained was the manufacture of coffins and that, the people of the nationality need 'self-rule, agrarian revolution...' in order to preserve the existence of Ireland nationality. This applies to our country too. But the Congress party representing the Indian comprador bourgeois, big feudal classes betrayed the spate of independence struggle in the country. It snapped the promises to the nationality movements. It collaborated with the British imperialists and made agreements for transfer of power.

After transfer of power the Indian comprador ruling classes upheld the ideas of 'Indian nation' and 'Akhand Bharat' and became the main hurdle to the development of worker, peasant and other toiling masses, the national bourgeois forces, the nationalities, to the integrity of the nationalities and the development of all the regions. It violated the nominal federal principles of Indian Constitution and indiscriminately unleashed the dominant unitary principles.

Both India and Pakistan occupied Kashmir and trampled its right to self-determination. The Indian comprador ruling classes occupied Manipur, Nagaland and Asom of the North East against the wish of the nationalities and tribes. It set aside the promise to form linguistic based states in the country. Thirty states of the country were formed only after a lot of blood of the people of various nationalities was spilt. Struggles are going on with the demand for separate states.

The Congress government unleashed bureaucratic rule in the name of 'strong central government', 'unity of the country', 'integrity of the country' and security of the country'. It fulfilled the interests of the imperialist, CBB and feudal classes. As a part of it, the governments of any party continued the same policies until now. The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) formed the Bharatheeya Janata Party to operate in the political sphere to form 'Akhand Bharat'. BJP had been working as the party of the comprador ruling classes accordingly since the beginning. Basing on cultural nationalism, RSS states that

India is not a centre of various nationalities; it is a single nation state; that there is a single nationality in the country; that it is the 'Hindu' nationality; and that the Hindu religion is culturally unitedly sustaining the nationality. After BJP came to power in the centre in 2014 May, it brought forth single tax (GST) policy as a part of achieving economic uniformity. It gave the slogan 'One nation – One tax policy'. It brought forth 'One nation – One ration card' though nominally. It also brought forth the slogan of 'Ek Bharat, Sresht Bharat' towards establishing 'Akhand Bharat'. Presently it prepared ground to bring forth the policy of 'One nation – One election'. The 'new India' that the utmost reactionary, outdated Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces wish to achieve by 2047 is nothing but to shed the formal federal nature of the Indian Constitution and transform India into a fascist country with bureaucratic, centralised, unitary characteristics of absolute unitary nature. The CBB that took shelter in Hindutva fascism is eager to transform the entire country into a unitary market in collaboration with imperialism.

The nationalities had to make prolonged struggles for the formation of linguistic based states in the country. The Kashmir, Naga, Manipur and Asom nationalities have been fighting for a long time for the right to self-determination including right to secession from India. Movements for the demand for separate states are rising and continuing in several areas and states basing on the history of nationalities. Various nationalities and primitive nationalities are demanding autonomy and separate states. There are struggles against regional discrimination, regional backwardness, for rise in the powers of states, for a hike in funds, for a just share in inter-state river waters and for a solution of border problems.

Several regional parties were formed in the respective states and regions in the name of achieving these demands and took up struggles at different periods and levels. However, most of these were in the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, big landlord classes and did not fulfil the democratic aspirations of the nationalities. The various opportunist revisionist parties too are against the right to self-determination of the nationalities. These mainly serve the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, big landlord classes. Any party in power is drowning the nationality liberation struggles in bloodshed and unleashing severe repression. These are being described as separatist movements and bourgeois national chauvinism and Brahmanic Hindutva communalism are instigated against these among the people. These are creating disunity and

conflicts between the nationalities, primitive nationalities and national minorities and unleashing divide and rule policy. The proletarian party must lead nationality liberation struggles to achieve the right to self-determination including right to secession and for all round development of each and every nationality by rooting out the Indian comprador ruling classes that serve the interests of imperialism.

9. The expansionist greed of the Indian ruling classes is in the interests of the imperialists, Brahmanic Hindutva, oppressor hegemonic caste CBB

In the process of exploiting our country, British colonialism used up our country as a strategic area to establish its hegemony in the Indian ocean. The Indian comprador bourgeoisie worked as their comprador not only in India but also in many countries of Africa and Asia then under the British rule. After transfer of power, the Indian comprador ruling classes started to utilise their economic and military strength and political influence to unleash hegemony on the South Asian countries. The Indian ruling classes are working with the objective to establish 'Akhand Bharat' merging the entire lands of South Asia including the oppressed nationalities of the country. It transformed the country in its greed for expansion into a fort of reaction with the support of imperialism. It thus came to be a danger to peace in South Asia. The expansionist greed of the Indian ruling classes is nothing else than the interests of the imperialists, Brahmanic Hindutva, oppressor hegemonic caste CBB.

On the whole, we see that the planned worldwide onslaught of international finance capital through globalisation reached the peak in the past three decades. Since the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes are dependent on imperialist finance capital and its interests are entwined with their interests, the collaboration rose to an unprecedented level. Any party in power in the country had been unleashing policies to protect the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords. Most of the budgets of the country are being allotted to the MNCs and the corporate companies of Indian CBB. The Modi government is taking up these in a much speedier manner than the earlier governments. It is dependent mainly on imports for oil, nuclear fuel, weapons and war material. Its products and exports of the joint ventures with the imperialist MNCs are of low quality. The slogans 'Make in India' and 'Atmanirbhar Bharat' are mutually contradictory. All the propaganda to make fool of the people is to create

illusions and divert them. Construction, infrastructure, mining, software, assembling of spare parts of imperialist manufactured goods and service sector are the prominent economic activities of the country. The country turned to be an economy of exporting raw material, few important agriculture related labour and services. There is large scale migration of intellectual labour, non-skilled and semi-skilled labour. Capital goods, several kinds of manufacturing goods and technology are being imported from the imperialist countries.

Several start-up companies were established in the country depending on the foreign investments and new technology in the hunt for super profits through which several new forces became part of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes. Forcible displacement of tribal and non-tribal peasant masses and urban poor people for the sake of their projects became a model for imperialist development. This resulted in manifold rise in the hegemony of international monopoly capitalist enterprises on the economy, the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, exploitation, oppression, suppression of the labour force of the oppressed people and environmental destruction. The economy of the country fell into the mire of foreign loan. The situation of the semi-colonial country further declined. Dependency rose. Since this is a neo-colonial kind of semi-colonial country, industrial sector cannot develop in a full-fledged manner. There were changes corresponding to the investment, raw material and market needs of the imperialists and comprador ruling classes. There is no change in its reactionary nature.

Thus the various MNC companies and enterprises and the domestic comprador corporate companies in its collaboration gained lakhs of crores of property. For example, during the first five years of the Modi government, Rs. 20.30 lakh crores of FDI investments came into the country. During this period, the imperialist MNCs shifted nearly Rs. 47.09 lakh crore worth wealth of the country per year. We see that the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie of our country is an instrument slaving imperialism. It is against the self-reliance based industrialisation of our country. It indebted the country and made it a centre of indiscriminate exploitation for the imperialists. In the process during the stage of globalisation, the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie served as the utmost reliable comprador to imperialism and strengthened manifold.

In essence, due to the secure political-cultural bonds of CBB with caste based feudalism, due to the need of feudalism as their social base for their existence and by nature, it is against the democratisation of society. CBB has expansionist interests with the objective of establishing 'Akhand Bharat' and 'Hindu rashtr'. Imperialism is propping CBB's expansionist interests in its interests. Indian rulers deployed forces of Indian Army and Para-military as a part of those said to be the United Nations Peace Keeping Force in the interests of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists. They also have expansionist interests. The annulment of Article 370, CAA and other such measures of Modi rule are an extension to these. The comprador rulers are thus practicing the slogan of 'Indian nation' as a policy. They are on one hand suppressing the aspirations of the oppressed nationalities and states and on the other distorting history and burying the people of the country in 'Hindutva' ideology. They developed nominal Parliamentary democracy in the country in the guidance of the imperialists as an art. This 'democracy' is nothing else than bureaucracy. Presently, the Brahmanic Hindutva fascist forces gained 'man power' in the Parliament and most of the Assemblies in the leadership of the RSS-BJP Modi; are fascising the state machinery and Constitutional institutions; and implementing their fascist agenda.

In the 1960s and the 70s, the Congress government on one hand nationalised banks, insurance, coal and oil sectors and dissolved maintenance to feudatories, in the interests of the CBB. On the other hand public sector enterprises developed. Thus feudal forces weakened to an extent and CBB developed and strengthened. Feudal class weakened also due to seizure of landlord's estates in a few places through the land reforms and due to the decline of private mills dependent on these. In a process, the CBB further strengthened its hegemony and the leadership role in the alliance of the ruling classes, when compared to the feudal class. The shares of heavy industries of the public sector were sold off to the MNCs, TNCs and CBB corporate companies during this period thus leading to a rise in the investment of a section of the CBB, along with foreign investment. The CBB allied with the feudal class and formulated, implemented schemes through the government to continue semi-feudal relations in the interests of imperialism. Thus there were changes in the methods of feudal exploitation. This further helped the CBB and MNCs to penetrate in the rural order. There were considerable changes in semi-feudal relations. New forms of feudal hegemony came forth. This took an extensive-collective form of collaboration of government and

non-governmental 'party – cooperative organisation – panchayat – police' systems. Finance capital played a vital role in the development of new feudal forces. Contract/corporate agriculture expanded.

The CBB has always been moulding itself according to the conditions in its interests. The comprador governments made several progressive looking grand changes especially in the interests of the CBB. These utilised the contradictions between the US and Soviet Union (presently Russia) and between these and other (Japan, Germany, Britain, France, Italy) imperialist countries. The comprador governments and CBB of our country have strong relations even with the China Social-imperialists.

Imperialist investment dominates the industrial sector, exports, imports, business transactions and insurance sector in India. The various models of industrial development implemented by the Indian comprador rulers heavily depended on imperialist finance capital, technology, machinery, loans, funds and aid. These were formulated in favour of imperialist loot of the country. The Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie emerged from business and banking and is not interested in production sector. Prior to transfer of power, all its development was according to its alliance with feudal rulers, collaboration with British imperialist capital, in its interests and abiding by the limitations it imposed. As a result, even after transfer of power, they followed the policy of accumulation of capital dependent on imperialist capital. The MNCs established its branches and ancillary enterprises in India, made cooperative (collaborative) agreements with the Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalist class and started to establish joint industries. Imperialist capital began to closely entwine with the Indian big capital. MNCs control technological knowledge and capital goods and so these are able to control the joint industries irrespective of the share in capital investment. Thus the Indian CBB lost the basis to bring forth a massive national industrial program. It adopted reforms abiding by the interests of imperialism and followed a policy dependent on foreign investment and technology. Dependence on foreign aid, internal loans and deficit financing became an ordinary feature.

Dependence on imperialist capital led to a severe level of 'lumpen' and 'distorted' development in India. Such a development is mainly in the interest of foreign imperialist monopoly enterprises and the Indian big bureaucratic comprador capitalist class. All the branches, the ancillary enterprises, joint ventures of the MNCs, the industries of the Indian big bureaucratic comprador capitalists and the industries established with government investment are

dependent on imperialist countries for machines, equipment, spare parts and industrial raw materials. These are being used as shops to sell at prices very higher than the international prices. Therefore the market of these goods in India came to be not an internal market but an 'ancillary internal market' of imperialist capital. This 'development' led to the loot of the resources of the country by MNCs in a big way. The imperialist countries and the Indian compradors are gaining out of this 'development'.

The Indian big comprador bourgeoisie and the state are the means for the inflow of large amounts of investment from imperialist countries. Its collaboration with finance capital is allowing loan investment from the imperialist countries and the international finance institutions (such as World Bank and IMF) into the country. It gained influence on all the sectors and is pushing the country into a mire of loans. It is pushing the country into dependency. The CBB might avail certain profits with its limited strength to bargain with imperialist forces. But it continues to be a prisoner of imperialism. It is because it is fundamentally dependent on imperialism. This dependency causes enormous loss to the people.

Basing on the international and domestic political developments, the Indian government annexed Sikkim in 1973 in the expansionist interests of the CBB. It made two wars with Pakistan. It divided Bangladesh from Pakistan. In the name of solving the Eelam issue, it sent Indian Armies to Sri Lanka. It thus intervenes in the internal affairs and indulges in conspiracies in all the South Asian countries. Apart from the market in South Asia, it attempts to expand its investments in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries by slaving imperialism. It makes constant attempts for permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council.

10. The stand of revisionists and various M-L parties towards CBB

The Communist Party in India acted in a theoretically and politically weak manner. It did not make proper study and research and class analysis of the Indian society and could not adopt correct strategy-tactics. It could not creatively develop correct tactics, separate friends and foes, isolate the enemies, unite all the friends and defeat the enemies. It opined that the Indian big bourgeoisie is of a nationalist nature. Instead of providing revolutionary leadership to the vast masses mobilised in the nationality liberation struggle, it worked in the interests of the comprador big bourgeoisie. Due to lack of

revolutionary leadership, the conspiracies of the imperialists and Indian big capitalists went unquestioned. CPI justified the conspiracy for partition of the country in 1947 as the demand for Pakistan with the wrong understanding of 'Muslim nationalities'. It could not see the fact that only a few comprador big capitalists among the Muslims wanted Pakistan. Even after transfer of power, the CPI could not understand the nature of Indian state properly. Therefore, there were wide spread wrong ideas about the nature and functioning of comprador big bourgeoisie.

The CPI (M) opined that compradors were only a bourgeois business class. They had a general opinion that the duty of the class was to procure raw material for the imperialist bourgeoisie and sell their goods in the domestic markets acting as their agents. Taking part in commercial sector alone as an agent to foreign investment was considered a criterion to separate the compradors from the national bourgeoisie. It does not see the industrial bourgeoisie as a comprador class. CPI (M) stated thus – "the fact to be realised is that the industrial big bourgeoisie came as a strong force in the first place under the new state (the Indian union) and the new government. But it is not a comprador class" ('Divergent views between our party and the CPC on certain fundamental issues of program and policy', a resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI (M), People's Democracy, 1967 September 10 supplement). It is clear that the CPI (M) does not consider the entire Indian bourgeoisie as the agents of imperialism and that it failed to realise the revolutionary role of the national bourgeoisie in the National Democratic revolution.

The CPI and the CPI(M) could not provide revolutionary leadership to the vast masses that were discontent with the exploitation, oppression and suppression after the transfer of power. Moreover, these parties betrayed the Telangana Armed Peasant struggle. These later adopted the Parliamentary path and fell in the mire of revisionism and neo-revisionism.

There is a general wrong trend among the ML parties in the ML movement in equalling the comprador bureaucratic capitalism with the public sector. This trend shrinks the idea of comprador bureaucratic capitalism to one of its forms. Several ML parties agreed that the role of bureaucratic bourgeoisie strengthened after World War II. Few parties opined that the CBB strengthened since the state played an important role to encourage primary accumulation of capital in the background of imperialist hegemony. Few other parties argued that this is related to the comprador bureaucratic capitalism

strengthening its roots. Its opinion is that the CBB emerged along with the growth of the economy with imperialist loan capital. Especially the CRC brought forth these arguments. In fact, the export of capital to oppressed countries took various forms in various stages. On few occasions it was in the form of direct investment. On few other occasions it took the form of Portfolio investment (shares and other such investments) or loans and 'aid'. The hypothesis of CRC of describing neo-colonialism as a qualitatively new stage and that imperialism no more needs to protect its social prop is against the objective reality. 'Capitalist development', 'imperialism eliminates feudalism' and all such revisionist, reformist theories are against the understanding of MLM. Neo-colonialism is a new form or method of imperialist hegemony and exploitation. Apart from direct hegemony and exploitation, there are indirect rule, exploitation and control. As like in the stage of colonialism, imperialism affects change in feudalism in neo-colonialism also. Comprador bureaucratic capitalism will be propped. Imperialism turns further vicious and reactionary. It uses revisionism as the main weapon.

Few parties considered comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie as one class. Few others consider as different classes. The Party Program approved by the 8th Congress of the CPI (M-L) in 1970 especially mentioned the public sector as the comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Few understood that capitalism in this form applies only to the public sector. In fact, the big private and public sectors of the industrial sector and the big feudal class that appears to have been 'modernised' come under the idea related to bureaucratic capitalism.

There is more problem in applying the Maoist understanding about bureaucratic capitalism and in analysing and understanding the nature of changes taking place in semi-feudal relations. Few parties of the Marxist-Leninist camp are frequently using the idea of 'distorted capitalism' stating that the 1970 Party Program failed to understand the 'development of capitalism' in India. The word 'distorted' is used to explain a concrete form of capitalism. It is not useful to simply write 'distorted' about the developing capitalist relations. These relations are qualitatively different to those in the capitalist (imperialist) countries. We need to explain the nature of 'distortion' in this problem. Regarding these relations, the word 'distortion' expresses only one aspect of these relations serving imperialism. As Mao defined, it 'is closely entwined with the domestic feudal class and old kind of rich peasants'. Mao hypothesised bureaucratic capitalism as 'comprador, feudal, state-

monopoly capitalism'. We must see the relation between imperialism, feudalism and state. On the contrary, the principle of mere 'distorted capitalism' hides the essence of reality. Scientifically speaking, we must reiterate the definition of the principle Mao stated about the rule of 'comprador bureaucratic capitalism'. There is a difference between the understanding of the rest of the ML parties and our party about 'distorted capitalism'. We clearly state that distorted capitalism is comprador bureaucratic capitalism. It would be a political mistake to state 'distorted capitalism' contrary to comprador bureaucratic capitalism.

The great Marxist teacher Comrade Mao theoretically and practically successfully solved for the first time such particular problems of the colonial, semi-colonial countries in the era of imperialism. He said, "A comprador, in the original sense of the word, was the Chinese manager or the senior Chinese employee in a foreign commercial establishment. The compradors served foreign economic interests and had close connection with imperialism and foreign capital." (in Footnote no. 1 for the article, 'Analysis of the classes in Chinese society', MSW, Vol-I).

Comrade Mao said thus about bourgeoisie in a colonial or a semi-colonial country – "The comprador big bourgeoisie is a class which directly serves the capitalists of the imperialist countries and is nurtured by them" ('The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party'. MSW, Vol-II).

The bourgeois business class or the industrial bourgeois class of a colonial or a semi-colonial country that directly serves imperialist capital and helps in intensifying imperialist economic exploitation and oppression against its own country is the comprador bourgeois class.

Basing on Comrade Mao's teachings, the CPI (Marxist-Leninist) and the MCC parties realised in 1969 itself that the Indian capitalist class is of comprador character in the concrete semi-colonial, semi-feudal social conditions of India. This was incorporated in the Party Program-Constitution approved by the 8th Congress of the CPI (M-L) held in 1970 and in the strategy-tactics of the MCC. According to these parties there are two sections in the Indian capitalist class – one is the big comprador capitalist class that acts as an agent to foreign capital with its interests entwined with those of foreign capital. The second is the national capitalist class that wishes independent development of Indian economy. However, with the transfer of power on 15th August 1947, this comprador capital merged with the state capital and the big comprador capitalist class emerged as the comprador bureaucratic capitalist

class. After this class attained state power together with the big landlord class, India turned to be a semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy.

Among the above three stages, we need to begin with imperialism in order to realise the aspects about the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie. The class took birth, grew and developed in the lap of imperialism. Without imperialism it has no existence. In the development of comprador bureaucratic capitalism, banking, education, health, transport and service sectors such as communications are the important sectors apart from agriculture, industries and commerce. US imperialism dictated three reactionary tasks to the governments of the backward governments in the end of 1960s and in the beginning of 1970s – 1. The development of bureaucratic capitalism, 2. The restructualisation of feudal comprador bureaucratic state and 3. The suppression of revolution. These governments responded to the needs of imperialism. These aspects helped in formulating the LIC policy. This is very important in having a historical view of and to know what is happening in the world, especially in the oppressed countries. The ‘capitalism’ developing in the backward countries is not the manifestation of economic development. It is subjugated to imperialism. It fulfils the need of the imperialists who fight for external markets. It helps to develop the dependent industrialisation in the oppressed countries and thus the needs of bureaucratic capitalism, especially to establish and develop capital goods industries at dead cheap cost. The crisis in US imperialism instigates it and sharpens all the contradictions.

US imperialism that emerged as the hegemonic imperialist force in World War II moulded feudalism as per the concrete conditions in the backward countries in a way helpful to the penetration of its capital in the rural areas. Especially it introduced ‘green revolution’ in countries like India. In a bid to gain super profits it sent its ‘technicians’. It brought forth Agrarian acts. These were said to be ‘agricultural reforms’. These reforms are nothing but to mould feudalism according to imperialism and CBB. This is leading to land problem in new forms. This doubled the exploitation and oppression on the peasant masses. The capital, instruments of production and labour force gained out of exploiting the worker, peasant and the toiling masses of India are being accumulated as the capital in the hands of imperialist finance capital, CBB and feudal blood suckers. There is no capital accumulation in the hands of the middle class (petty bourgeois) and small and medium kind bourgeoisie (national bourgeoisie). The broad masses of the poor lost everything and are living in suffocating conditions without employment in the cities. The ‘growth’

through imperialist capital in the oppressed countries causes further backwardness, further oppression and violence. Therefore, it is vital to understand comprador bureaucratic capitalism to make New Democratic Revolution. As followers of MLM, we start with the main economic characteristics of imperialism to discuss about comprador capitalism – it is the monopoly, parasitic, decaying capitalism. As Lenin mentioned, monopoly is the utmost deep economic base of imperialism. Finance capital creates it.

Ours is a country under the oppression of semi-feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism in imperialist chains. Even today the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and feudal landlords continue to be the ruling classes of our country. Due to the ongoing socio-economic, political developments in semi-feudalism, although there were increasing gaps between caste and class that were entwined until the middle ages, CBB mainly developed from the traditional business castes such as the Banias and Marwaris. Caste is seen in the regional and other national identities of the CBB. It is clear that oppressor caste comprador bureaucratic capitalist class has monopoly on the industrial sector. However, as the process of accumulation of capital intensifies, it seems that demarcation of caste, nationality and region among the comprador bourgeoisie are gradually vanishing. However, these are strongly rooted in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal base and superstructure and this will not change in essence without a fundamental change in the system.

Comprador bureaucratic capitalism is not simply related to imperialism and big bourgeoisie. It also serves the big landlords. There is no change in its comprador nature that makes it the domestic intermediary to foreign capital in all these three stages. Although several political and economic changes occurred in the social order of the country, the role of CBB serving imperialist capital as its main instrument to penetrate into the country and strengthen, continued like in the earlier period. When things are not in its favour CBB leaves the existing owner and starts serving a new owner. It remains in the framework of being subjugated to imperialism.

We see in all these three stages that imperialism developed comprador bureaucratic capitalism by constantly making few changes to semi-feudalism according to its needs in India. It fulfilled its neo-colonial indirect rule through the comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes after transfer of power. This change did not occur through displacing feudalism with capitalism. Imperialism intertwined both these. Therefore comprador bureaucratic capitalism is being realised through semi-feudal relations like it

defined the semi-feudal relations through comprador bureaucratic capitalism in the background of caste based feudalism in India. This is a fact in both industrial and ideological sectors. The comprador bureaucratic capitalists are in the leading role in the ruling class alliance of the feudal class and comprador bureaucratic capitalists. This leadership role is its original character. It cannot achieve this leadership role with its own strength. Caste based feudalism lost its leadership role with the consolidation of colonialism. Not comprador capitalism but imperialism hegemonises it. The comprador bureaucratic capitalist class has its interests as a special class. Therefore, it might develop contradictions with some or the other imperialist country on certain occasions. But on the whole, it cannot act independent of imperialism. The leadership role of comprador bureaucratic capitalist class will not provide unlimited powers or facilities in the alliance of the ruling classes or in confirming policies. Ultimately imperialism confirms these. Imperialism needs both semi-feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Therefore multiple interests of CBB and semi-feudalism are involved according to the needs of imperialism in each and every measure of the government (state) that takes forth the comprador bureaucratic capitalism.

In 1920, Lenin warned about the planned deceit of the imperialist forces. He added that in the name of politically independent state, the imperialist forces form states absolutely dependent on them economically, financially and militarily. According to Comrade Lenin, a form of such dependence is semi-colonial.

In the light of the teachings of Lenin and Mao, we can explain the summary of these three stages thus – The first – a semi-colonial, nominal independent state – in fact this is economically, politically and militarily dependent on the imperialist forces. The ruling classes of the semi-colonial country will not shed this dependence since it is part of the world capitalist-imperialist system. These ruling classes can exist and develop only through serving imperialist monopoly capital. The second – semi-colonial country is not under the control of a single imperialist force. It is an arena of war where imperialist forces contend for hegemony. This provides the opportunity for the ruling classes of the country to bargain with the imperialist forces. They are apparently independent. But this should not be confused with reality. The third – the extent of control of several imperialist forces on a semi-colonial country depends on its strength, occupation and other objective conditions. There are differences in the objective conditions in the various phases and so the extent

of control of the imperialist forces will not be always alike. Therefore, when many imperialist forces are contending, one will have more control in a particular stage and another in another stage.

The document on MOP formulated by the CC of our Party in 2020 stated that 'The comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class is the instrument that slaves imperialism in our country.' (P216&226). Yet, it is clear that the CBB is playing a leadership role among the Indian ruling classes, unleashing imperialist dictated economic and industrial policies and corporatizing forests, agrarian and all sectors. Therefore we see the intensification of the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses of the country in the stage of globalisation. Due to all these, came forth the utmost need to add the contradiction between the CBB and Indian masses as one of the major fundamental contradictions. Therefore it would be correct to say that CBB is the principal vehicle in serving imperialism in our country. It will not be clear enough to say that the contradiction between the CBB and the broad masses is integral to that between imperialism and Indian masses; and that between capital and labour. This will not be enough to explain the prominence of the CBB in the leading role among the alliance of Indian ruling classes and its utmost reactionary role in standing as a hurdle to the progress of the country selling away the interests of the people to imperialism. The Indian CBB is of expansionist nature. It collaborated with imperialism and is acting a direct exploiter of not only the nationalities of India but the entire people of South Asia. Several struggles of the oppressed people of the country and South Asia against it took place and are taking place. It is clear that although the Indian CBB slaves imperialism, it exists as a separate class, it is not a mere puppet of imperialism and that it slaves imperialism in its class interests.

This class utilises the broad semi-feudal social base and subjugates the people in bondage, unleashing its hegemony. The class proved to be a betrayer, disrupter, cruel enemy of the people, liar, corrupt and deceitful unleashing murders, massacres and rape on the people. The Indian Parliamentary system is an instrument for the exploitation, rule and control of the imperialists, CBB and big landlord classes. This is fake democracy. The revisionist and neo-revisionist parties are its mere puppets.

There will not be any change in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature of India with the understanding that the CBB is the main vehicle for imperialist capital and that it is playing a leadership role in the CBB and feudal alliance in the state. It is still mainly an agrarian based country and so the contradiction

between feudalism and the broad masses is the main contradiction. The central task in this stage would be to develop Armed Agrarian revolution. This apart, we also need to build and continue anti-CBB and anti-imperialist struggles. It is wrong to think that anti-imperialist struggle will develop from the anti-feudal struggle and that we must take it up after the anti-feudal struggle develops to a certain level.

We can thus say that the revolution in this semi-colonial, semi-feudal system targeting imperialism will be national revolution and that targeting semi-feudalism will be democratic revolution. The three mountains of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism are the targets for the broad masses of India. We must advance the revolution in our country by taking up anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist and anti-feudal class struggle. The rise in industrial and business interests in caste based feudalism or the entrance of Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and MNCs into the Agrarian sector does not indicate the weakening of anti-feudal struggle in any way. It does not indicate change in the centralisation of Armed Agrarian revolution. Therefore the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses shall continue to be the main contradiction. But these changes definitely indicate the emergence of new angles in Agrarian revolution. We need to identify the concrete forms of comprador bureaucratic capitalism in agriculture and the concrete manifestations of caste based feudal relations in existence and bring forth concrete forms of struggle and organisation.

The 8th Congress of our Party held in 1970 correctly analysed the production relations – class relations and basing on it, formulated the fundamentally correct basic revolutionary line/general line for the Indian revolutionary movement. We developed the movement to the present state basing on it. However, it did not realise CBB as a distinct class. Thus until now we did not realise the contradiction between CBB and the broad masses as the major and fundamental contradiction. We had the understanding that this contradiction is inherent to the contradiction between imperialism and Indian masses and that between capital and labour. Thus on one hand we denied to realise the distinctness of CBB and on the other have been stating it to be a target of revolution. This is mutually contradictory. As per the production relations in India, the CBB has enormous ownership/power on the instruments of production in the industrial, service and agrarian sectors. It engages the toiling masses of India in production and seizes the products. In the process it acts as the main vehicle and a servant to imperialist capital. So we say it is not

independent. Independence is not the same as the existence as a separate class. There are 20 to 100 percent imperialist, MNC-TNC investments in few of the industries, few units, few agricultural farms and few plantations of the industrial, service and agrarian sectors of the country. There are 20 to 100 percent investments of the CBB also in a few. Basing on this, we need to state that the CBB is not an independent class and also is a class that has separate existence.

The feudal class of the colonial, semi-feudal, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries also abides by imperialism. It acts as a vehicle and servant to imperialist capital. We realised feudal class as a separate class and added it as one of the targets of revolution. Although feudal class is not independent, we recognised it as a separate class. Similarly we need to recognise CBB too as a separate class.

We lacked clarity and were mechanical and dogmatic in creatively applying the fundamental theory of Mao regarding CBB to Indian revolution. This led to the political mistake for a long time of not paying attention to the political effort of forming strategic and tactical United Front with the National Bourgeoisie and rest of the oppressed people. We also understood the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses as the main contradiction in a mechanical manner and fell into the metaphysical understanding of not paying attention to the rest with the understanding that the revolutionary effort among the peasant and tribal masses is the important. So, we could not give enough importance to the political, organisational effort in the urban and plain areas.

Colonies are the important pre-conditions for the existence of imperialism. Therefore as long as imperialism exists, the backward countries of the world, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will continue to be colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies. Presently, as a part of the neo-colonial policy followed by imperialism, these countries are semi-colonial, semi-feudal. Therefore, without destroying imperialism in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, independent national capitalism will not develop. As long as New Democratic Revolution that destroys/eliminates feudalism does not take place, land problem will not be solved, democracy will not be established and there will be no national liberation. Therefore, until the land problem is solved, democracy is established and national liberation is achieved, the nature of revolutions of these countries will be New Democratic/National Democratic. It cannot be Socialist revolution. In New

Democratic Revolution, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism will be the targets. Therefore, the contradictions between imperialism and the people of these countries, that between comprador bureaucratic capitalism and the broad masses and that between feudalism and the broad masses shall be the fundamental contradictions. In the present situation, that between feudalism and the broad masses will be the main contradiction.

In view of the changes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy of the country and the leadership role of the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class, as mentioned in the document, 'Changes in the Relations of Production in India – Our Political Program', we must develop class struggles in the rural areas with the main slogan of 'land to the tillers, all powers to the Revolutionary Peasant Committees/Agricultural Labour Organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees, hand over the agriculture farms and plantations to the imperialist MNCs, capitalist landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists, fight for water-forest-land-self-respect and power'. This apart, we must build a countrywide democratic United Front to mobilise the broad masses of the four oppressed classes, the oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities against the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class. This United Front must work with a concrete political program.

The objective of the struggle of the broad masses of India against the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class is in the interests of mainly the four oppressed classes, oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities. The struggle against the CBB, against imperialism and against feudalism continue inseparably entwined. This is the objective of these struggles. All these are part of the New Democratic Revolution. These struggles can achieve its objective only through establishing an independent, self-reliant New Democratic economy basing on federal principle, guaranteeing the all-round development of the nationalities providing them the right to self-determination including right to secession. There is no way to achieve this objective other than uniting the four revolutionary classes on the basis of worker-peasant alliance in the leadership of the proletariat in the path of Protracted People's War and accomplish New Democratic Revolution.

The entire oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities of the country being severely affected in the onslaught of 'globalisation' will become the main forces in the struggle against the three big mountains to establish the New Democratic self-reliant economy. Four oppressed classes,

the worker, peasant, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois classes, the Dalit, tribal, women, religious minorities and other oppressed sections, all the oppressed nationalities including Kashmir, Naga, Mizo, Manipur and Asom are included in these forces. They must be mobilised through propaganda and agitation on their demands and class struggle. Legal-illegal, open-secret forms of struggle and organisation must be coordinated to create a spate of people's struggles and resistance struggles.

We need to take lessons from the betrayal of the leadership of the Congress and the CPI in the struggles earlier to 1947 and build a genuine independent struggle. Only thus the country will be emancipated from the chains of imperialism, from all the reactionaries, especially from the semi-feudal stagnation in the broad rural area that is preserving reaction in the country.

The New Democratic self-reliant system seizes all the industries, banks and other institutions of the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It dissolves all the loans to be paid to the imperialists. It preserves the small industries, controls and regularises the medium kind industries. All the lands of the landlords will be seized and distributed to the poor and landless peasantry. It ends the exploitation being unleashed on the peasantry by the money lenders and traders. It thus facilitates the path of liberation of the entire oppressed classes, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities including workers, semi-workers, peasantry and urban middle class. A self-reliant economy possesses two fundamental aspects on contrary to the present exploitive system –

The first is, it facilitates the path to industrialisation of the country in the basic level through expanding the domestic market for products. This is possible only through enhancing the purchasing power of the broad masses. Most of the people live in rural areas. This can be achieved only through destroying the outdated, backward semi-colonial, semi-feudal relations of production in the rural areas. These old relations of production are the main cause of poverty. Once the people are liberated from this backwardness, the New Democratic government heavily invests in agriculture. A motive force will be created for Indian economy. There will be no need to depend on imports. There will be no need to depend on forms of consumption of the rich class for market.

The second is, to end the heavy foreign investments. If we seize the entire foreign corporate/comprador capital, even if there is no new investment into the country in future, the country does not face any danger.

Such an economy will be self-dependent. It will formulate and implement policies in the interests of the country and not the imperialists. India is a big country of a population of 140 crores. It is filled with large scale natural resources and fertile lands. If the people of such a large country are emancipated from the chains of the present system, there will not be any problem to develop or achieve growth in the country.

11. Our Political Program

Feudalism in India is caste based. This is a particularity of Indian society. It is in the base; it is in the superstructure. This caste based feudalism influences the entire sectors of Indian social life. Due to this particularity, the artisans of the Shudra castes could not develop in the business, commerce, banking or industrial sector as capitalists. Most of the CBB in India are of Bania (Vysya) castes. We realised the particularity of Indian CBB in this document. We realised the particularity of the casteist nature of CBB along with realising the generality of its class nature. We also realised its concreteness of expansionism. The Indian CBB is relatively stronger than the CBB of most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and especially of the countries of South Asia. Let us formulate our political program against the CBB basing on all these.

After we made this comprehensive study of the Indian CBB, identified it as a class of special status and included it as a fundamental contradiction of the broad masses, let us see the changes that would take place in the tactics of revolution.

The first change is that, one major contradiction – between capital and labour that we have been stating until now must be removed. According to Comrade Mao, fundamental contradictions decide the essence or the nature of a subject or a process. We can change the essence or the nature of the respective subject or process only by solving these fundamental contradictions. The people of semi-colonial, semi-feudal society are being crushed under the three big mountains such as feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Therefore we realised these three as the targets to be destroyed in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. Although we see the contradiction between capital and labour as one of the major

contradictions and not the fundamental contradictions, we can understand that we cannot solve the contradiction between capital and labour in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. We realise imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism as the targets in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. We are fighting against the exploitation and oppression of imperialist capital and comprador bureaucratic capital on the Indian masses. Then, if we mention the contradiction between capital and labour separately as a major contradiction, it will lead to targeting the national capitalists. We do not and should not target the National capitalist class in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. After the success of New Democratic Revolution, we give a place for the national capitalist class in developing the domestic economy.

The second change is, by incorporating the CBB among the fundamental contradictions, we must and should intensify the political effort to mobilise workers, peasantry, petty bourgeois/middle class and national capitalists in the strategic United Front and tactical United Front against the targets in the stage of New Democratic Revolution – imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism.

The third change is, this helps to formulate political slogans and to intensify class struggle and the effort of United Front, against the imperialist capital and the comprador bureaucratic capital that are penetrating in a big way into the agrarian sector and the forest areas, apart from the industrial and service sectors all over the country and looting the natural wealth. For example, we clearly take up the slogan of 'let us drive away the domestic and foreign corporate companies looting the natural resources of the forest areas, let us save the natural resources/wealth of the country'. We clearly give the slogan of 'fight back the corporatisation of agrarian sector of the country, drive away imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism that is exploiting the lands of the peasantry, save agricultural lands'.

The fourth change is, we get clarity that making class struggle against imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism does not mean making it in industrial and service sectors alone, but also making class struggle against these in the rural areas (plain and forest areas). We get clarity to make class struggle against the alliance of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and feudal classes not only in the economic sector, but simultaneously in the economic, political and cultural sectors or in the entire sectors of social life.

The struggle against CBB is a part of New Democratic Revolution. Therefore let us formulate our political program such as it helps intensify class struggle against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism and the alliance of the three in all the sectors of social life in the urban, plain and forest areas of the country. Let us formulate this political program such as it applies to the 7 categories of areas in the country as stated in the document 'Changes in the Relations of Production in India – Our Political Program' of the CC. The 7 categories are –

1. Areas where semi-feudalism is yet strong.
2. Areas where semi-feudalism weakened due to class struggle.
3. Areas where there are distorted capitalist relations.
4. Areas where there are mainly Plantations.
5. The sub-urban areas inseparably entwined with the urban economic life.
6. Tribal areas of hills and forests.
7. Sea coastal areas.

We realised these categories to make class struggle basing on the concrete and particular aspects of the respective areas as per the unequal development in the country, to build United Front and make class struggle against the main enemies of the respective areas.

In areas where there are intense class contradictions and semi-feudalism is relatively strong, the main slogan will be 'land to the tiller'. In these areas, semi-feudalism must be mainly targeted and struggle against the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and CBB must also be taken up.

In areas where semi-feudalism is relatively weak and distorted capitalist relations are relatively strong, the main slogan will be 'nationalise the agricultural farms of the imperialists and the capitalist landlords of the CBB'.

All the Tea, Coffee, Rubber, Betel Nut and Spices plantations are of the domestic and foreign corporate companies. Teak, Rubber, Eucalyptus and other such plantations are being grown in the interests of the domestic and foreign corporate companies under the forest department of the state governments. Therefore, we must make class struggle with the slogan 'nationalise the plantations of the domestic and foreign corporate companies and the government'.

The economic life of the sub-urban areas is entwined with the nearby cities or towns. Most or a considerable number of the people of these areas are working as unorganised (contract and casual) workers. Few others are

working as permanent employees and workers in public and private sectors. Exploitation and oppression of real estate mafias and various kinds of mafias and the imperialist, CBB corporates are rising in these areas. Here, we must make class struggle with the slogans of 'end contract, casual system in the public and private sectors, provide permanent jobs for workers and employees, let us save private properties, let us drive away the real estate mafia, let us fight against the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists and the CBB'. Most of these areas must be integrated in the urban organisation. Basing on the concrete aspects of these areas, some of these must be made part of rural organisation.

Tribal people dwell in the areas of hills and forests. Therefore the main slogan of such areas will be 'fight for water-forest-land-self-respect-power'. This slogan is mainly against the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the exploitive government. We must lead class struggle in these areas against the targets of Indian revolution – imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalists, landlords and the exploitive government. With this clear understanding, we must unite the pro-people tribal, non-tribal gentry and the priests in the anti-imperialist, anti-CBB United Front. We must make struggles with the slogan 'land to the tiller' against the tribal and non-tribal landlords in these areas.

Since globalisation, the imperialist and CBB corporate companies are intensely trying to loot the natural resources in the sea coastal areas. The people of these areas are facing severe problem of displacement out of the construction of new Ports, the expansion of old Ports, the construction and expansion of SEZs, the construction of coastal corridors, the establishment of Petro-chemical industries, building of resorts, developing the coastal areas into tourist centres, fishing through motor boats in the coastal waters, construction of salt manufacturing units and other such. Here we must adopt the slogans, 'all powers to the people on the natural resources of coastal areas', 'let us drive away the imperialist, CBB corporate companies looting the resources of the coastal areas', 'let us preserve the natural resources', 'ban fishing by the corporate companies in coastal waters, all powers to the fisherfolk on coastal waters', 'let us drive away the domestic and foreign corporate companies causing destruction of the environment in the coastal areas'. We must mainly make class struggle against imperialism and CBB in these areas.

The domestic and foreign corporate enterprises are making severe attempts to penetrate into the agrarian sectors of the backward countries and to seize the sector through contract, corporate agriculture. We can see that in the coming days, the land in our country shall be concentrated in the hands of domestic and foreign corporates. Although the government temporarily withdrew the three anti-farmer, pro-corporate Agrarian Acts due to the farmers' struggle in 2020-21, the country still faces the danger of corporatisation of the agricultural sector. In all these above mentioned areas, we must take up struggles with the demands, 'let us drive away the domestic and foreign corporates trying to take over our lands, let us preserve our lands', 'the domestic and foreign corporate companies should not have the power to lease or purchase lands', 'ban contract, corporate agriculture'. We must also take up struggles with the demands to stop the Digital Indian Revenue Modernisation Program (DIRMP) and the Swamithva' (SVAMITVA) program taken up by the central government to digitalise the lands in the intention to hand over the lands of the peasantry to the domestic and foreign corporate companies.

We must make class struggle in all the above mentioned areas against caste oppression. However, we must fight against the attacks by the oppressor caste chauvinism and oppressor castes on the Dalit people. Dalit question is the question of land, self-respect and power. We must mobilise the Dalit people and make class struggle with the slogans, 'fight for land, self-respect and power', 'fight against caste oppression', 'bury Brahmanism, shed casteism, unite all the toilers'. We must form self-defence squad to resist the caste chauvinist attacks. We must fight back the attacks of the upper castes on the Dalit people. We must eliminate those who are vital in making these attacks. We must fight the Hindutva, feudal forces that structuralise caste chauvinism, in the ideological, political, economic, social and cultural sectors. We must mobilise the Dalit people with the slogans, 'let us fight against imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalist, feudal classes-let us establish New Democracy', 'let us fight to end the exploitive system-let us fight for eradication of caste-let us establish Socialism-Communism'.

Globalisation further increased the collaboration of imperialists, the CBB and feudal classes in the forest, plain and urban areas. Therefore, we cannot make struggle against a single class in the respective areas. We must lead class struggle against the alliance in all these three areas. The document, 'Changes in the Relations of Production in India – Our Political Program' stated

the political program of 36 important aspects of economic, political, social, cultural and environmental problems of the oppressed classes, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities of the society. We must lead class struggle basing on the balance of forces of the movement on these 36 important aspects. We must take up the following concrete political program against imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism –

- We must seize the investments, banks and properties of all the foreign companies/enterprises, the Brahmanic Hindutva Bania-Marwari and other oppressor caste hegemonic comprador big bourgeois, feudal ruling classes and its governments. We must drive away the Multi-National Companies and enterprises. We must seize its properties. We must cancel the foreign economic/technical and other collaborations and joint ventures. We must annul the outsourcing policy of the MNCs. We must annul the export based and import based policies. We must shed dependence of domestic products on foreign markets and foreign technology. Domestic markets must be protected from foreign goods. The tourism policy, IT policy, animation policy, pharma policy, start-up policy and other such schemes brought forth to attract foreign investments must be withdrawn. Make in India, Skill India, Smart cities project and the Flagship projects such as Bharatmala, Sagarmala schemes, the special transport corridor being taken up under the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) policy must be withdrawn. All these are imperialist sponsored schemes. We must stop the MNCs-TNCs from taking away the wealth, resources and super profits from the country. We must stop the forcible displacement of tribal, non-tribal peasantry and the urban poor in the name of ‘development’.
- We must cancel the globalisation policies and the agreements made with WTO under the policies. We must organise the people of the four oppressed classes, oppressed sections and nationalities under the proletarian leadership to develop self-reliant agricultural and industrial policies.
- We must cancel all kinds of foreign loans.
- We must expose the imperialist sponsored foundations such as the Rockefeller foundation, Ford foundation and Bill Gates

foundation and the various NGOs running with imperialist funds. We must boycott its programs in the name of 'studies', 'courses', 'awards', 'welfare', 'aid', 'social service' and so on. We must chase these away from the country.

- We must stop introducing technologies that raise unemployment. We must solve the problem of unemployment.
- We must mobilise the various sections of the middle class caught in crisis out of the LPG policies of the MNCs and Indian CBB corporate companies and build militant people's struggles.
- We must preserve the domestic industries and small scale sector (MSME). We must protect the interests of the national capitalists.
- We must take up immediate and long term programs on the social, political and cultural problems of the Dalit and tribal people, women, Muslim, Christian and other religious minorities and build broad people's struggles.
- We must oppose the imperialist, feudal culture and values. We must constantly fight against the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism and its reactionary ideology in the base and superstructure. We must build new Democratic culture of new culture and new values, basing on genuine democratic values and principles. Religion must strictly be an individual affair. We must severely oppose patriarchy and casteism in all forms. We must build human relations basing on justice, equality and mutual respect to all, irrespective of caste, religion and the status of economy or education. We must stand on the principle of opposing all the forms of economic and social exploitation.
- We must raise the purchasing power of the people of the country. we must thus encourage industrialisation. The whole country must move towards genuine modernisation and development (unlike the present corrupt way). We must build a self-reliant economy. We must formulate pro-people budgets including special schemes to eliminate the inequalities between the rich and the poor.
- We must fight against high taxes and high prices. We must end taxes on the 80 crores of poor people living below the poverty line. We must formulate welfare programs such as to enhance their living standards and implement without giving way to corruption.

We must provide food security. The procurement of food grains given over to the private sector must be taken up by the government alone. We must strengthen the Public Distribution System. We must provide essential goods at minimum prices to the poor people in enough quantity.

- We must take up struggles to guarantee food, clothing, housing, employment, education, health, pure air, water, fundamental rights, civil rights and such others.
- We must repeal the New Education Policy of Brahmanic Hindutva ideology that facilitates saffronisation-privatisation-corporatisation and introduce scientific education policy. We must implement common education policy.
- We must build Federal Democratic People's Republic of India as the first step for a Socialist transformation in the country. Socialism alone can efficiently liberate our country from the chains of imperialism.
- We must become part of the just nationality liberation struggles of the oppressed nationalities such as of Kashmir and the North East Nagas, Manipuris and Asomese. We must lead these struggles. We must fight for each and every democratic demand of the national minorities and primitive nationalities such as equal status, separate state and autonomy. We must provide right to political self-determination/autonomy to the various tribal nationalities. We must establish a democratic people's republic on federal basis and provide all just powers to the states. We must pay importance to solve the problems of the backward areas. We must justly solve the problems in distribution of river waters and the border problems.
- We must expose and defeat the expansionist policies of the Indian comprador ruling classes, the concepts of 'Indian' nation and 'Hindu' nation and the conspiracies of the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces to occupy all the countries of South Asia and establish 'Akhand Bharat'.
- We must build a broad people's movement with the objective to destroy the three big mountains for protection of environment. We must work with an alternate model for development.

The workers and toilers of various sectors suffering from exploitation and oppression are taking up militant struggles daily to solve their economic and political problems. According to a 2015 socio-economic survey, no struggle against the imperialist-comprador clique was successful without the participation of the peasantry living in the rural areas comprising 74 percent of the population of the country. Apart from the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, the middle class and rich peasants suffer from the exploitation and suppression of the imperialists, the landlords and the comprador bureaucratic capitalists. We must unite the 70 percent agricultural labourers and poor peasants of the rural areas. Basing on the strong friend, the middle peasantry, we must sustain the vacillating friend, the rich peasantry on the side of revolution to the extent possible.

The petty bourgeoisie, especially the students, teachers and intellectuals are an important force in New Democratic Revolution. They not only have a militant nature but also play an important role in building people's opinion against the enemies of the people. We must also mobilise the petty traders and artisans among the petty bourgeoisie in the revolutionary movement.

The National Bourgeoisie is a vacillating friendly class. Most of them are from the small scale industrial sector. Those who depend more on exploitation than that available through personal labour fall under this class. They are being severely oppressed by the MNC-TNC, the big capital of the compradors, demonetisation, GST and other government policies. They do not become openly a part in the first stage of struggles. However, a section of this class provides utmost helpful support in several ways.

We must mobilise broad sections of the Dalit and tribal people, women and the people of religious minorities facing additional oppression along with the various forms of social suppression such as caste, patriarchy and communalism. We must mobilise these sections in the militant struggles against the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism that the Modi clique of RSS-BJP is unleashing.

A United Front with the nationalities, especially the nationalities making armed struggle against the Indian rulers and building a strong movement is a very important aspect.

Petty bourgeois parties – There are several ML parties and small Dalit, Bahujan parties inside and outside the Parliament. These are of a fundamentally petty bourgeois nature. We must unite with these parties and

jointly fight against the globalisation policies. However much vacillating these forces are and for however little time they come along, we must make efforts to mobilise them into struggle on the basis of issues. In the situation of destruction unleashed by imperialism, these forces might come forth on a single aspect such as environment, oppression on women and unemployment. But these forces must be genuine in mobilising the people. These might be Trade Unions or groups of workers or farmers who wish to resist attacks on them.

Various organisations and individuals – We must certainly bring individuals who are not part of any anti-imperialist group or organisation. We must encourage them to be part of the struggle. Intellectuals come forth to the extent the imperialists and compradors become destructive. If they realise that they are not alone and are a part of the spate of the rising progressive forces, they would be more confident.

The contradiction among the ruling classes is one important aspect in New Democratic Revolution. The rising crisis in imperialist economy has an impact on India. The contradictions between the ruling classes intensify. These contradictions are already coming forth. We must utilise these contradictions with expertise to further isolate the enemy and to organise the democratic forces in a strong anti-imperialist, anti-CBB and anti-feudal struggle.

Any of the main parliamentary parties is fundamentally alike in regard to the policies of imperialist globalisation. None abides by what it stated when in opposition. These are eager to fulfil the demands of the imperialists and mutually contend. The regional parties are acting as reliable agents in implementing imperialist dictated globalisation not only at the state level but also at the centre. We see these opportunistically surrender in the states ruled by the Congress and BJP. The stand of all other parties is nothing different. Although these comprador, revisionist parties have a little opposition on a concrete policy, if they take up a measure, it will be a tactic for votes or in support of a business lobby against another. Therefore, the concrete stands of these ruling class parties on different occasions are intended to utilise the discontent among the people or to divert them.

We may utilise the contradictions between these in the interests of the movement. But we must not understand them as anti-imperialist forces. We are aware that we can utilise these contradictions to the extent of the strength of the proletarian forces. The important task is to totally expose these parties and to bring the cadres of those parties on to our side, basing on a

strong anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-big feudal program. We must especially expose that all these parties are traitorous; that these work in the interests of foreign forces; and that these parties collaborate with the foreign forces. Once the people realise this, they rise in a wave to drive away these parties. We can mould the spate of struggle against the imperialist onslaught by raising this consciousness among the people in a big way.

It is very important to make a clear mark of demarcation with the people's movements and Mass Organisations under revisionist leadership. Forms of organisation and struggle change as per the conditions and place. People's struggles and people's movements contribute to armed struggle and People's War. Armed struggle and People's War contribute to further advance the people's movement. This is the dialectical relation between the people's struggle and armed struggle. If the armed struggle is not coordinated with the other forms of struggle, revolution cannot achieve success. Armed struggle and struggles of other forms are necessary.

The workers' struggles, the struggles in slums, struggles of the youth, unemployed, students and women contribute to politically mobilise the broad masses. We must not keep aside the important aspect to politically mobilise the people against the various policies of the ruling classes.

Class analysis and social investigation are objective; however, if these are not related to our daily activities; without the active support and strong participation of the peasantry (especially the poor and landless), the utmost majority in the country, a strong and utmost reliable friend of the proletariat and one important force in revolution; neither the revolutionary party, People's Army nor the United Front can be built as the weapons of revolution in the genuine sense. Therefore, we must mobilise the proletariat, peasantry, youth, students, employees, women and other masses in a large scale into struggles. In the process of these struggles we must raise their political consciousness. Only thus they can realise the need to destroy the state power of the exploitive classes; and can acquire the necessary consciousness and collective determination to destroy the oppressor state machinery.

Political Tactical slogans

- Widen, intensify anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal class struggle and Protracted People's War.
- Fight against all kinds of exploitation by the domestic and foreign corporate companies.
- Fight against the traitorous policies of the BJP Modi government that is selling away the country to imperialism in the name of nationalism.
- Land to the tiller.
- Fight for water-forest-land-self-respect-power.
- Fight to preserve environment.
- End casual, contract system in the public and private sectors. Make all jobs permanent. Provide jobs for all the unemployed.
- Fight against privatisation of education and health sectors.
- Fight against the New Education Policy that serves imperialist, CBB and feudal interests.
- Condemn the attacks of Brahmanic Hindutva communalists on religious minorities. Fight against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism.
- Resist attacks of the oppressor castes on the Dalit people. Fight against all kinds of caste discrimination and caste oppression.
- Fight against patriarchy. Fight against all kinds of attacks on women.
- Fight for the freedom, equality and right to self-determination of nationalities.
- Long live New Democratic Revolution.