

Alienation of Land

Prof. Thota. Jyothi Rani



Published by

**ALL INDIA KHETH MAZDOOR KISAN SABHA
(AIKMKS)**

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Foreword

The book “*Alienation of Land*” is a collection of essays written by Professor Thota. Jyothi Rani, a retired faculty member from the Department of Economics, Kakatiya University. These essays written on various occasions, are now brought in book form in English by All India Kheth Mazdoor Kisan Sabha (AIKMKS).

Around the world natural resources such as land, forests, rivers, seas, air, and water - that should belong to the public, are being exploited and plundered by the capitalist class in the name of development. As a result, there is no land left for future social needs, either in the villages or in the sprawling metropolitan cities that have absorbed them. The common lands, public spaces, and shared resources are being systematically looted, contributing to the ever-growing wealth of the exploitative class. The small agricultural lands, once the personal assets of the poor, middle class, and other marginalised groups, are being converted into non-productive sectors without any proper planning. Over time, the privatisation of all types of lands along with agricultural lands has increased, severely impacting the livelihoods of people who were once dependent on these productive lands.

The consequences and impacts of alienation of land, in its various forms, have been particularly severe on the agricultural sector, its productivity, and gross national output. We can clearly see the results in the worsening state of poverty, rising inequalities, and the increasing scarcity of food. Despite different political parties being in power for decades, their policies on minerals, fossil fuel extraction, land acquisition,

agriculture, industrialisation, and trade have never been aligned with the public good. These policies continue to exacerbate the livelihood crises for millions of people.

Through new economic and industrial policies, and the globalization strategies they entail, the ruling class has questioned the very idea of national self-sufficiency. Like a flame in the wind, the majority's lives have been made vulnerable by tying their livelihoods to the global economy and its crises. The land alienation process continues to intensify due to the creation of unavoidable conditions for the agrarian sector. In short, land alienation is driven by the surrender of the agricultural and its allied sectors to imperialist forces threatening the long-term employment of millions. The essays in this book highlight how the policies of the Indian ruling class, favoring imperialism and monopoly capitalism for decades, are the root cause of this crisis.

The Indian government talks about export-oriented and agriculture-based industries, but in practice it bows to imperialist policies, especially those of countries like the United States, and drastically reduces import tariffs. The massive influx of food products, oils, cotton, and other industrial raw materials from abroad has a devastating impact on farmers, but the government chooses to turn a blind eye to it. Despite the steady decline of the agricultural sector, the ruling classes continue to enforce these policies because they remain highly profitable for the monopolistic corporate sector.

On one hand, the nation grapples with widespread unemployment and a growing dependence on food imports; on the other, the public is being misled by manipulated GDP growth figures. Escalating inflation, the depreciation of the Rupee, the mounting interest paid by the Indian government on foreign debt, and various forms of royalty payments are severely depleting our foreign exchange reserves. This drain directly

impacts the import of essential raw materials and fuel, leading to an ever-increasing and precarious reliance on multinational corporations.

The deepening productivity crisis in the country, primarily rooted in the collapse of the agricultural sector, has resulted in an incalculable loss of wealth for the farming community. Farmers are becoming increasingly disillusioned with agriculture due to government policies, which are indirectly contributing to land alienation. The fact that this alienation is most rampant where fertile and high-value lands exist clearly exposes the true agenda of the capitalist class.

With governments at their service corporates are legally transforming millions of acres of land into private estates, corporate farms, and even private forests and zoos. Under the guise of industrial needs and expansion, the government is forcibly acquiring land from farmers through 'Land Acquisition Schemes', effectively acting as an agent for corporate capitalist force. Meanwhile, the farmers who resist this exploitation are being oppressed. Over the years, we've witnessed the struggle of farmers who, from Delhi to Punjab and in places like Devanahalli in Karnataka, have fought back, achieving victories after sustained efforts.

Corporate farming, with its tightly controlled supply chains - from market distribution to storage systems - is getting monopolised by large corporations. This corporate farming is being promoted through various methods and presented as the only alternative for agricultural crisis. As a result, farmers are left with little choice but to sell or lease their lands to these corporate giants, often facing heavy losses. Despite knowing that this will lead to a severe food crisis and increase dependency on foreign countries, the ruling class continues to pursue these policies.

There is a direct link between capitalist development, its inherent crises, and land alienation happening in poorer nations. Every time the capitalist crisis intensifies, globally as well as in our country, we observe efforts to convert land into capital as a means of escaping the crisis. This capitalist class, which brutally seizes millions of acres of land at every turn, often uses its favorable intellectuals to ridicule the slogans of “land to the tiller” and “agricultural revolution”, and the demands for distributing land to the poor and landless farmers.

We have witnessed the devastation caused in the name of development, where entire villages are displaced for industries, massive irrigation projects, and mining operations, destroying the lives and livelihoods of local populations. New amendments and laws that help encroach forest and fertile lands are enacted in Parliament to facilitate corporate exploitation, handing over millions of acres of forest land to corporates. More recently, valuable agricultural lands are also being grabbed for solar plants, with corporates obtaining rights over the land through ‘Irrevocable Power of Attorney’ leases.

Capitalist forces are acquiring land from farmers at extremely low prices, either by purchasing it outright or through lease agreements. Meanwhile, the government’s claims of creating jobs by repurposing agricultural land for corporate use ring hollow, as the actual employment opportunities are few and far between, leaving farmers and rural communities further disenfranchised.

Within the exploitative capitalist mode of development, land appropriation constitutes a foundational process. This development trajectory is sustained through the systematic acquisition of agricultural land, forests, mineral-bearing regions, commons, and other collectively held resources. Under the pretexts of “Development” and the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs), lakhs of acres of land are being

transferred away from local communities, resulting in the large-scale dispossession of farmers, agricultural labourers, and Adivasi populations from their means of livelihood.

Paradoxically, the environmental crises generated by this very model are now being addressed through further land alienation, as vast tracts of government and private land are allocated to corporate entities for solar energy projects. Simultaneously, the privatization of mining and its consolidation under monopoly capital intensify socio-economic vulnerabilities for the majority, while producing ecologically degraded, resource - depleted landscapes. To displace the 86 percent of small farmers from the agricultural sector, the entire market is being surrendered to corporate forces in the name of the “free market.” Simultaneously, governments are writing off loans of corporates worth lakhs of crores taken from public sector banks, while also granting them incentives and concessions. Due to these exploitative policies of the ruling class, the livelihood crisis of the majority people is intensifying day by day. The essays in this book clearly explain all these issues.

In these essays, Professor Thota. Jyothi Rani provides a clear, evidence-based analysis of the many forms in which land is being alienated from the hands of productive forces and transferred to corporates. She details the consequences of this shift and how the displacement of farmers from millions of acres of land is pushing their lives into deep crisis. These articles, written on various occasions, were originally published in *Janashakti* and *Class Struggle* journals. We hope that by bringing this work to people of all sections of society, it will serve as a valuable resource and galvanize the ongoing farmers’ struggles.

Revolutionary greetings!

January, 2026

**All India Kheth Mazdoor Kisan Sabha
(AIKMKS)**

Land Acquisition Intends to Strengthen Corporate Forces - People's Displacement

On July 15, 2025, the Chief Minister of Karnataka, Sidda Ramaiah declared the cancellation of land acquisition process from 13 villages belong to Devanahalli for the construction of Aerospace Park. This became a sensational news in the country. It is campaigned as a great victory of consolidated Peasants' Struggle. Already, the farmers lost their land three times. Therefore, they are strongly determined to protect their remaining 1778 acres of arable land. They are continuing their consolidated agitation for the last 1198 days seriously and constantly. It could draw strong support from rural people as well as the farmers' and people's organisations. It became inevitable for the government to declare the cancellation of land acquisition process. The question is as to how far the cancellation will continue.

Immediately after the announcement, AP Minister for HRD and IT, Nara Lokesh Babu says that he invites the Aerospace project seriously as 8000 acres of land is ready with them. Further, he says that the Anantapur is suitable for the project. In response to it, the Karnataka's Industries Minister M.B. Patil says that the construction of Aerospace Park will not

be stopped due to the cancellation of land acquisition. He also says that some farmers of Devanahalli are ready to give 700 acres of land for the Project. Thus, it will be constructed either in Devanahalli or shifted to Andhra Pradesh. The displacement of people will be continued owing to the construction of projects. Therefore, the present struggles must be strengthened to protect their arable land and their livelihoods.

In 2006, the government of West Bengal has acquired 1000 acres of land from Singur and Nandigram for TELCO's Nano Project. The people strongly agitated against this project in 2007. The TATA group has withdrawn its TELCO Project owing to the pressure of people's struggles. However, the project has been shifted to Gujarat. Thus, the displacement of people has shifted from West Bengal to Gujarat.

Later on, the Trinamol Congress came to power in West Bengal and has enacted "Singur Land Rehabilitation and Development Act, 2011" to take back 1000 acres from Tata group to give it back to the agitated farmers. The Tata group has challenged the Act in Supreme Court. In 2016, the Supreme Court has cancelled the land acquisition of the government.

It is to be noted that the Tata group has filed a case for compensation for halting their project in West Bengal. The Supreme Court judgement on 30 October, 2023 says that Rs 700 crore and 11 percent interest should be paid to Tata group as compensation. It took 10 years for the agitated farmers to get back their land. During this period, they might have subjected to severe life crisis. No measurement and no interest for their suffering. Where as the TELCO though it is shifted from West Bengal to Gujarat, it has been awarded compensation for halting the project in West Bengal. This clearly shows the functioning of authority systems for whose benefit.

Struggles Against Land Acquisition :

The origin and development of exploitative capitalist system is strongly connected to land grabbing. In the present context, the monopoly capital is strongly coming forward to appropriate people's land, cultivable land, entire common property resources, forests, hills, mountains and minerals. It is strongly supported by the government with their Acts, Revenue and Police systems. The people are fighting widely and strongly when and where it is needed for their land, livelihood, liberation.

The government of Madagascar, a nation belongs to East Africa is agreed to lease out 24 lakh 71 acres of land to the project of South Korea in 2009. The project is forced to stop owing to the widespread strong agitations of people against this proposal. The President has resigned for his position. This is an evidence of the strength and power of people's movements.

In addition to TELCO project in Singur, many projects halted in West Bengal owing to the strong agitations of people and farmers against government's land acquisition in 2006.

The Odisha government and POSCO India agreed to construct a Steel Plant in 2005 through the land acquisition in 8 villages belong to Jagat singapur. The strong agitations of people against to this proposal, forced the POSCO to withdraw its Project. At present, it is reported that the POSCO is again trying to come to Odisha. The people's struggles will make the corporate forces to postpone their interests temporarily. The Vedanta Resources Company proposed a Bauxite Mining Project in Niyamgiri Hill region and Sijimali region of Odisha. It is seriously opposed by Dongria Kond tribes and people. They strongly agitated against it. The project is halted inevitably.

The proposal of Yamuna Expressway in UP under PPP to construct 165.5 Km long, 6 - lane express way to connect Greater Noida and Agra is seriously opposed by the people. This could

halt the project for many years. Later on, it is completed in 2012.

The proposal of land acquisition to the tune of 1066.99 acres from 5 villages to expand Chennai Airport is seriously opposed by land owners and local residents. The extension project stopped.

The Bellary in Karnataka which has two Air ports already. Still, the government announced for land acquisition to the extent of 900 acres from the Chaganur and Sirivara villages for 3rd Airport. The people of these two villages could form as a farmers' organisation and fighting to protect their lands for the past 13 years. Though they are subjected to severe and serious problems, they are not allowing anyone to enter into their villages and protecting their arable lands. They have filed cases in courts.

The Sardar Sarovar Project is a big dam which has been proposed to construct on Narmada river which flows in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. This project will immerse so many villages and will displace more than two and half lakhs people. Therefore, this project is seriously opposed by Adivasis, farmers, environmentalists, human rights activists and they formed as "Narmada Bachao Andolan" and continued the consolidated struggle for a long period. They also filed cases in courts. The project proposed in 1961 but the plan is formulated in 1979. The funds will be provided by the World Bank. The project work started in 1987. Since then, the agitation against the project assumed more severe. The project is stalled by the Supreme Court in 1995 and the World Bank withdrawn its funds. However, in 2011 project was revived but with a lower height under the direction of Supreme Court and it is inaugurated in 2017.

The ruling class says that the "Displacement is for Development". As it is associated with the life destruction of majority, the oppressed class questions the exploitative development model of monopoly capitalism.

Land Acquisition Acts - Legalised Land

Appropriation :

The land grabbing is the basis for the survival of exploitative capitalist system and the development of unlimited investments. The Land Acquisition Acts are formulated for the legalised transfer of people's lands, arable land, common property resources, forests, minerals and entire land property to the dominant class. Though the present system strongly advocates free interplay of market forces, laissezfaire, Liberalisation, but it never applies to land grabbing from people. In this regard, the doctrine of "Eminent Domain" is accepted. This principle will grant the government the right to appropriate private property for public use. Thus, the land appropriation will become the right of Sovereign government. The Land Acquisition Acts are formulated in this framework and have been implemented strongly.

The Post-Independent India declared the "Socialist Pattern of Society" is its goal. It is also stated that this is the basis for the formulation of Five Year Plans. Contrarily, the government accepted the 'Bombay Plan, 1945' which is formulated for the profits and interests of Indigenous big capitalists. Therefore, it could handover consumer goods sector to private sector which yields quick and high profits. The Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956 has been formulated along these lines. The government should establish Thermal Plants, Extraction of Coal and Oil, Large Irrigation Projects, Infrastructure - Roads, Highways, Railways, Ports, Airports etc - which require huge investments over a period of long time. Mainly this requires the Land Acquisition at a higher level. Therefore, in order to continue the Land Acquisition process continuously, the government did not abolish and accepted the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 of British colonial rule and acquired land on a large scale. The 'Public Purpose' which is the basis for Land Acquisition, is defined by

the government. No provisions for Rehabilitation and Resettlement of displaced in this Act. The people's interests are not the basis for these Acts.

The globalisation has entered into India in 1990. The large scale Land Acquisition is needed for the monopoly capital. The Land Acquisition increased severely with the SEZ Act in 2005. The CAG reports clearly state that the acquired land is excessively higher than the requirement. Consequently, people's lives suffocated. This resulted in the intensification of people's agitations against land acquisition. Thus, it is due to the continuation of exploitative economic model to strengthen the monopoly capital. The ruling class denies to accept this reality. Therefore, the government will not change its policy in favour of people. The model will not stop the displacement of people. But to minimise the People's resistance, the government has formulated a bill in 2009 by addressing the issues of Rehabilitation and Resettlement. However, the bill is abolished with the abolition of Loksabha. In 2013, Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RECTLARR) is enacted. The Act proposes fair compensation. Moreover, it also says that who lost homes due to the project should be given homes and who loses land should be given land. One family member of the displaced family will be given a job. The displaced should be given either lumpsum Rs 5 lakhs or Rs 2000 per month for 20 years. The landless labour and artisans should be given Rs 3000 per month for one year.

The Act will not accept the acquisition of irrigated and multi-crop land. If it is taken, then equivalent waste arable land should be developed as cultivable land. The 80 percent people's consent is necessary if the land acquisition is for private companies and it is 70 percent for PPP projects. The consent is mandatory. When the displaced families exceeds 200 families,

then the Social Impact Assessment must be conducted. Moreover, if the land is not utilised for 5 years after acquisition must be given back to the original land owners.

The Act intends to stop people's resistance and the people should accept the exploitative economic model which destroys the lives of majority. With the proposed Compensation and Rehabilitation packages, they should be ready to leave their residences, arable land, village and the village community with their luggage. This is the aim of the formulation of RECTLARR Act, 2013. Till then, the forcible and speedy land acquisition as well as a evacuation of villages was easily possible for corporate forces with the support of government machinery. Therefore, the corporate forces did not accept the RECTLARR Act, 2013 which could address the issues of compensation and rehabilitation. They have strongly resisted.

Consequently, the NDA government which came to power in 2014, immediately issued the RECTLARR (Amendment) Ordinance, 2014. This Ordinance gives exemption from people's consent and Social Impact Assessment to the land acquisition for the products related to the Defence sector, Rural Infrastructure, Rural Electrification, Infrastructure, Social Infrastructure, Industrial Corridors, Housing for Poor. They started calling private sector industries as private entities and made their land acquisition comes under 'Public Purpose'. Thus, the private hospitals and private educational institutions comes under public utilities. Moreover, the Act permits to acquire multi-crop land. No measures for fair compensation and job for one family member. The ordinance fails to get the unanimous consent of Parliament to convert it into, LARR (Amendment) Bill, 2015. Therefore, the Ordinance is abolished on 28 August, 2015. The land acquisition for the interests and domination of monopoly capital should not be stopped. Therefore, the Vice Chairman of Niti Aayog has given direction to the State

governments to amend RECTLARR Act, 2013 in their respective State assemblies. The State governments have formulated their Land Acquisition Acts by incorporating all the amendments that are there in the abolished Bill. The aspects related to compensation and rehabilitation that are expected to be available to the displaced as a right have left from the Land Acquisition Acts. Moreover, the consent of the displaced also became unnecessary. Thus, the legal framework is prepared to grab the land from people easily.

Level of Displacement :

The Government of India immediately after independence has initiated a number of large projects related to large scale industries, large irrigation projects, infrastructure creation, extraction of mines etc on the name of development. This will naturally requires enormous level of land acquisition which lead to large scale displacement of people. This is known as the “Development Induced Displacement”. A Strong public sector is created for this kind of development. This model of development is seriously disconnected from the issues of poverty, hunger, food insecurity, unemployment, ill health and illiteracy. Moreover, the process of development resulted in the marginalisation of majority and high level of economic inequalities which has aggravated all kinds of disparities and discriminations. In 1999, is separate Ministry is created for the disinvestment of public sector industries to strengthen the process of globalisation. The measures are taken to privatise PSUs as soon as possible. This process is aggressively increased for the past 10 years. Along with PSUs, they handover enormous land associated with them. Thus, the land taken from lakhs of people on the name of development has now been transferred to private sector. The public sector is a tool for it.

Simultaneously, the policy of forest conservation displaced lakhs of Adivasis and other oppressed class whose lives and livelihoods are closely connected to forests. Thus, the development

process in India has started with the displacement of entire oppressed class. No official estimations are available in regard to land acquisition and consequent displacement. Though the period 2010-11 to 2014-15 is associated with strong software and computers, the CAG report says that the Delhi Development Authority did not possess proper information as to its land acquisition and vacant land.

The estimates made by scholarly studies say that as many as 21.6 million people displaced during 1951-90. Out of them 8.54 millions are Adivasis. All of them are directly lost land. What about the tenant farmers, landless labourers and adivasis who lost their livelihood? The National Policy for Rehabilitation's draft says that as much as 75 percent who lost land are waiting for rehabilitation and resettlement.

Another estimate states that 65 million people are displaced due to development projects during 1950 - 2005. Out of them 33 percent could resettle. They lost land to the extent of 1,72,973 million acres which includes 24,710 acres of forests. However, after 1990's especially after 2005, SEZ Act, the land acquisition is aggressively accelerated to handover it to monopoly capital.

The World Bank Report, 1994 says that on an average as many as 300 dams are being constructed in the world per annum which displaces 4 million people. In Gujarat up to 2004, as many as 506 dams are constructed which resulted in the immersion of hundreds of thousands of acres of land. Millions are displaced. In Punjab, as much as 24,710 acres of land is diverted from agriculture to non agricultural purposes for the past 10 years.

Undivided Andhra Pradesh :

The Andhra Pradesh stands first in land acquisition in the country. As much as 12.35 lakhs of acres of land is diverted to non- agricultural purposes. The assigned land given to landless

poor during 1969-2002 has been forcibly taken back for SEZs after 2005. The Koneru Ranga Rao Committee, 2006 identifies that out of 14.3 lakh acres of land distributed to poor, 10 lakh acres are not handed over properly.

The Polavaram Project declared in 2004-05 has immersed as many as 276 tribal villages belonged to Khammam and East and west Godavari districts. The project has displaced 2,37,000 people. Among them 53.17 percent Adivasis. The project is yet to be completed. The displaced people are still fighting for their compensation. The land acquisition to the tune of Rs 15,000 acres from 110 villages is initiated in 2011 for the projects - Petroleum, Chemicals, Petro chemicals Investment Region (PCPIR) and Vadrevu and Nizampatnam Port and Industrial Corridor (VANPIC). The land acquisition to the extent of 73 percent has been finished in 2011 only.

The State government with ONGC has the main partner has proposed to establish Kakinada SEZ (KSEZ) which requires 9869 acres of land from 16 villages. The ONGC withdrawn owing to People's strong struggles against KSEZ. It is wonder to notice that K.V. Rao, an individual with the strong support of Revenue officials and police system has taken 7000 acres of land. The people are moving around courts as their cases are continuing. The land bank with APIIC during 1974-2004 is 48,579 acres. This has been increased to 1,21,655 acres in 2004-2009.

Andhra Pradesh State :

For the construction of Capital in Amravathi, the State acquired 34,000 acres of arable land through land pooling in 2015. No capital in our country exceeds 22,000 acres of land. The present government which came to power again planning for 44,000 acres of land acquisition in April 2025 through Capital Regional Development Agency (CRDA) for the construction of capital. The land acquisition is already initiated in 11 villages belonged to Talluru, Amaravati, Tatikonda and Mangalagiri

mandals. The World Bank is pressurising for additional land for Capital City development. The land is expected to be allocated for International Airport, Metro Railway Line, Sports City, Industrial City, Residential Projects and other crucial infrastructure. The private investments are showing interest in them. It is only to handover lakhs of acres land to monopoly capital on the name of construction and expansion of Capital City.

The Adani group is asking for 775 acres of salt land per expansion of Krishna patnam Port despite several objections from environmental laws. The BJP government which came to power in third time made necessary amendments to the Acts. The present AP government is issuing various G.Os secretly to handover salt lands to Adani Group.

The land acquisition at present, is acquiring new shoots on the name of Solar Projects in some places, it is a lease for 99 years, in some other places the lakhs of acres of land is being taken at cheapest possible price to transfer public, private lands to corporate benami political forces.

Telangana :

The Telangana consists of 2.76 crore acres. No accurate information about the government land in it. The land grabbing is on the rise. The records are vanishing. The private forces could grab the tanks canals and hills. The revenue department is not showing the forest land to the tune of 3.43 lakh acres.

Though TGIIC possess thousands of acres it did not know about where is it and how much? It is said that the land bank possess 2.5 lakh acres. Again, the land is acquired from districts for food processing industries.

It is proposed to build elevated corridor between Secunderabad and Shameerpet with Rs 3000 crores. Further, the beautification of Hussain Sagar is necessary for Hyderabad Mega Master Plan, 2050. Therefore, the government proposed

the auction of plots in 10 places like Kokapet, Uppal Bhagayat etc in 2025.

It is stated that the Future City will be built in 30,000 acres. Already, the land is acquired to the extent of 13,373 acres. Additionally, they acquire 15,000 acres. The works related to the construction of 41.5 Km long 300 feet Greenfield roads to connect Future City to ORR is accelerated. It is decided to shift Hyderabad Race Club which occupies 150 acres in Malakpet to the Future city. The global level golf club will be built in 250 acres. Further, 70 acres will be allotted to billionaires' club for higher officials who work in world level institutions and 5000 acres to Pharma Companies. The Night Safari Projects will be initiated in nearby forests for tourists. Thus, the enormous land acquisition by displacing lakhs of people is only for the luxurious lives of wealthy class who have been strengthened with the present exploitative economic model.

The construction of development projects with the displacement of people is the basis for the survival of exploitative capitalist system. The development without displacement will be possible only in socialist system. It is necessary for the people and peasants to raise their consciousness about the land acquisition policies which will displace them from their basic agriculture sector. The oppressed people must be consolidated strongly and fight for socialist system. No any alternative for it.



SEZs - Land Confiscation to Handover to Corporate Forces

For the past two and half decades, the entire rural community especially the peasantry have been seriously opposing, protesting and agitating against the establishment of SEZs. The movements of the exploitative capitalist system has been extended from the “Accumulation through Labour Exploitation” to the Accumulation by Dispossession”. In this context, the SEZs have been emerged to handover people’s land, the designated land and the land that is expected to be distributed to poor to the monopoly capital. The argument has been strongly promoted that the establishment of SEZs are inevitable to attract investment especially foreign investment, to widen industrial base, to generate employment and raise exports. In fact, the SEZs is a powerful neo - liberal policy instrument which enables the monopoly capital to expropriate highly valuable land as well as the production sectors of emerging economies. This will strengthen the economic dependency of the third world countries.

The SEZ is an area in which the business and trade laws are different from the rest of the country. All the laws especially related to labour and environment protection will be liberalised.

The SEZ units will have to access to cheap labour and land at cheaper price. In addition, they get exemptions from income tax and GST and no import duty for their imports. Moreover, they get uninterrupted supply of power and water. They will get facilities related to infrastructure and waste material management. The profits are guaranteed.

To establish SEZs, it is necessary to confiscate land, arable land and common property resources. They are the only livelihood sources for many. Forcibly, they must be dispossessed from these assets. The government has taken the role of a broker to expropriate people's land under the clause of "Public Interest". This has clearly been seen in the process of establishing SEZs. The proposal of SEZ first appeared in 2000 as a part of EXIM policy. The enactment of SEZ Act is in 2005. With this, the pressure of dominant class intensified on the government for land grabbing. The excessively high demand for SEZs emerged from real estate companies. The land acquisition increased at an accelerated speed and forced the people to evacuate the villages. Consequently, the farmers and locals have agitated aggressively in the entire nation and in almost all the States to protect their land and livelihoods. The people's resistance to land acquisition for SEZs is strongly revealed. All these agitations clearly depicted that the SEZs are anti - people. They fought with the governments at the cost of their lives for the land and livelihoods. In 2007, the anti - SEZ movement raised in Nandigram and Singur of West Bengal. The police opened fire to suppress the movement which killed 14 people, injured many and atrocities on women. This is the attack of so called "democratic" government on people to expropriate their land to transfer it to the monopoly capital. This is seriously condemned by the Amnesty International. In the context of people's agitations, the then Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh proposes the "Humane Dispossession Policy". Is it not an

embarassing proposal? The government will not stop the life destruction of people and it will be continued. The concept of “Humane Dispossession” itself is a cruel contradiction. However, this resulted in the intiation of maximum land size cap for Multi-Product SEZs to 12,355 acres. The rule is violated by the SEZs whose size is in excess of the limit by dividing their SEZs into different parts. For instance, the Adani Group SEZ in Mundra, Gujarat possess 18,406.476 acres of land which exceeds maximum cap. Therefore, they have divided it into three parts. The Reliance in Jajjar, Haryana followed the same strategy.

It is estimated that as high as 50 million acres of agriculture land has been expropriated on the name of development in infrastructure, mining, irrigation, Power projects etc. in 2000, SEZ is added to the list. As a result, as many as 60 million people are displaced. The estimations of Devender Sharma and Bhaskar Goswamy in 2016 states that 1.14 lakh farmers’ households and 82,000 of agriculture labour households where a household consists of 5 members, will be displaced owing to SEZs. Thus, SEZs will destroy the lives of 9.80 lakhs of people. They forgo their annual income to the tune of Rs 212 crores. They will not get jobs in SEZs.

As per the “Committee for State Agrarian Relationships and Unfinished Task in Land Reforms”, 2009, for SEZs acquisition land must be to the tune of 5 lakh acres. The loss in the production of food grains will be one million tons. What will happen to the lives of peasants and agriculture labour households, whose livelihoods are entirely depend upon this asset? The SEZs will intensify the issues of food security and hunger. The establishment of SEZs itself is a violation of right to life and right to livelihoods. No abatement is in the intensity of unequal distribution of land. As high as 86.1 percent are small and marginal farmers in 2015-16. If, the government

displace them by grabbing their land forcibly for SEZs, then they will be negated even for the critical lives.

The proposal of SEZs did not emerge suddenly. Till 1980s, all the third World Countries followed the strategies of establishing Import-Substitution Industries to achieve the development with self-reliance. As the strategy is associated with the decline in their imports, it will become impossible for the monopoly capital to enter into their economy on the name of trade to appropriate the valuable resources including land and to establish their domination on the production sectors of these countries. Moreover, the strategy of import-substitution is anti-globalisation. Therefore, the argument promoted to state that exports are the only option for the third world countries to develop. The pressure of international organisations initiated the establishment of Export-Processing Zones in emerging economies. By 1984, as many as 79 EPZs are established in 35 countries. However, the structure of EPZ is inadequate for the speed of globalisation in appropriating all the resources including land of the emerging economies. The SEZ emerged with a suitable structure for the “Accumulation by Dispossession” framework.

Did they Establish SEZs in the Land Acquired for SEZs ?

Many serious studies have opined that the SEZs means legal land grabbing by the government and they are closely related to the destruction of life supporting systems of majority. The land grabbing is vital and most attractive part of SEZs as per the CAG Report, 2014. The SEZ programme allows the government to confiscate people's land forcibly legally by using its power. Therefore, the government is pressurised to implement it with an accelerated speed to provide land at cheaper rate.

The SEZs approvals are on the rise. This will be associated with high level of land acquisition. As per the CAG Report,

2014, the land acquisition is to the tune of 1,49,190.97 acres for 576 approved SEZs. However, only 1,09,525.97 acres have been notified for the SEZs. Thus, the notified land for SEZs is only a fraction of the land acquired on the name of SEZs. Further, the 152 operating SEZs possess 70,395.06 acres of land. The land in the not functional SEZs is to the tune of 78,795.91 acres. The share of land in the total land expropriated for SEZs is 52.8 percent. The farmers who have lost their lands for SEZs are fighting for the allotment of these unutilised lands to them.

Contrarily, the unutilised land will be denotified to use it for commercial purpose and real estate interests. This has been revealed by CAG report, 2014. The diversion of land for commercial purposes though it is appropriated under the “Public Interest Clause” is really a cruel contradiction. The unutilised land in the SEZs in different States vary between 47.45 percent and 96.58 percent .

The defence land, Forests, Irrigated lands also appropriated by violating Supreme Court order. The violations are high in undivided Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal.

Allotted Land to SEZs - Utilization :

The land allotted to SEZs will be divided into processing and non - processing areas. It is mandatory to use at least 50 percent of the profiting area. It is surprise to notice that it is only to the extent of 16.29 percent in many SEZs. The unutilised land in the processing area is to the extent of 8,657.62 acres i.e 83.7 percent of land in the 17 SEZs which are notified in 2006-2008

The land allotted to Adani Ports which is notified in 2009 is 15,994.44 acres. Out of which, the unutilised land is to the tune of 13,934.19 acres i.e 87.11 percent. The SEZs are only for land grabbing. The case tabled in the parliament on February 11, 2019 shows that 56 percent of land is unutilised in the allotted

land of 20,756 acres for the Adani Mundra Power Project SEZ in Kutch, Gujarat.

As many as 27,991.78 acres of land is expropriated for 4 SEZs in undivided Andhra Pradesh. Out of which, the notified land is only 15,421.59 acres. It is only 55 percent of the appropriated land. This is also not used totally. Later on, 4,120.79 acres of land has been denotified.

In addition, various land capture forms are also taking place. In certain cases, though they occupy SEZ land illegally, the authorities fail to make them vacate. Despite, the cancellation of Land Allotment, the industries will not vacate. All these are revealed by the CAG report, 2014. In Goa SEZ, 7 units could deceive the government with manipulated documents and got land allotment. The ACB investigation did not end even in April 2024. This shows the simultaneous existence of land grabbing by the monopoly capital in various forms. In some cases, the industries mortgage SEZ land to take a loan and use it for other purposes.

Denotification of SEZ Land :

The unutilised lands in the SEZs is to the extent of 37 percent as per the serious studies during 2014-17. The government data says that 81 SEZs are denotified by June 2017. The land is seized excessively on the name of SEZs. In the beginning, no maximum land limit for Multi - Product SEZs. Therefore, the land is expropriated overabundantly for the SEZs. As many as 806 tiny SEZs belonged to IT/ITES sector occupied only 10.4 percent of SEZs land while 14 large sized Multi product SEZs occupied 53 percent of SEZ land. In the notified SEZs, 45 percent of land is lying idle in the processing areas. It is to the extent of 100 percent in SEZs of Dadra, Nagarhaveli, Goa, Jharkhand, Nagaland. In Telangana, 75.25 percent of land allotted to processing area is lying idle in Private SEZs. During

2014-17, the newly approved SEZs are 49, but denotified SEZs are 78 in the same period.

It is denied to give denotified land to the farmers who lost their lands for SEZs. One can see Super luxury residential buildings, Corporate hospitals, Corporate schools and Hi-Fi shopping malls in the denotified lands. In June 2018, the government constituted a committee with a Group of Eminent Persons under the chairmanship of Sri. Baba Kalyani to study the SEZ Policy has recommended to delink the present mandatory usage of the denotified land for SEZ purpose only. It is a process to legalise the violations of law. This has negated the recommendations of the Empowered Group of Ministers, 2007 that the SEZ lands should not be used for real estate interests.

SEZs - Achievement of Goals :

The SEZs are popularised that they attract foreign investment and widen industrial base. In fact, the industries that are located in various places have been shifted to SEZs owing to various fiscal and non fiscal benefits as well as the liberalisation of labour and environmental laws. Moreover, all the emerging economies compete to give all these incentives and concessions. Therefore, they are not at all an attraction to the foreign investment. Along with availability of cheap labour and land at cheaper rates they give importance to the accessibility of domestic and foreign markets, business environment, political stability to enter into a country. Later on, they take a decision as to the place. Thus, the investments came into the SEZs are not due to SEZs.

The majority SEZs belong to IT sector and low priority to the manufacturing sector as per CAG report 2014. Thus, 56.64 percentage of SEZs belonged to IT sector where as only 9.6 percent belonged to manufacturing. No expansion of industrial base. No question of balanced regional development. The shortfall

in the actuals when compared to projections will vary between 23.98 percent and 74.92 percent in Investment, 46.16 percent and 93.81 percent in Exports as observed by CAG report.

Lakhs of farmers are displaced for SEZs and stated that the SEZs are for employment generation. The failure in employment generation has varied between 65.95 percentage and 96.58 percentage as revealed by CAG report.

No action is initiated even when the industrial unit did not fulfil the condition of employment generation. For instance, in the undivided Andhra Pradesh, 199.98 acres of land allotted to Hyderabad Gems Company on the condition that it should generate employment to 15,000 persons in 5 years. The unit has generated employment to only 3,835 people. Similarly, the Wipro Gopanpally entity has been allotted 99.97 acres of land in 2005 on the condition that it should generate employment to 10,000 people but even by 2013, it could give employment only to 356 people.

One study in 2022 has estimated the failure in achievements. The failure in the aim of employment is highest with 92.73 percent. It is 59 percent in Investment and 75 percent in Exports.

The SEZ is “successful” only in land grabbing and displacement of farmers. However, huge failure in the achievement of its aims. It is to be noted that tax concessions given to SEZs during 2006 to 2012-13 is to the tune of Rs 83,104 crores. Out of which, the income tax exemptions are Rs 55,158 crore and indirect tax concessions are Rs 27,946.76 crores. Surprisingly, the ineligible exemptions are to the tune of Rs 1150.06 crores. The loss of public revenue owing to the administrative weaknesses is to the tune of Rs 27,130.98 crores as noticed by CAG audit.

The World Bank recommends to strengthen the anti - people SEZs. The UNCTAD's World Investment Report, 2019 states that the foreign investment flows are on the decline.

Therefore, it is necessary to make SEZs strong to attract foreign investment. Contrarily, recently the US President Donald Trump has initiated Reciprocal tariffs to discourage exports of emerging economies. The SEZ Policy is closely related to the interests of the imperialist dominant countries. The Korean Company Samsung has been allotted thousands of acres of land in India to continue production. But, now the Trump warns them that it should produce at least 25 percent in US to sell their products. Otherwise, they must pay penalty tariffs.

All the strategies either to pressurise the emerging economies to establish SEZs for raising exports to achieve development or to discourage their exports by imposing reciprocal tariffs are only for the interests of imperialist exploitative system. The aim of SEZs will be clearly understood, if one estimates the rise in the value of assets of corporate forces due to the land transfers via SEZs.

The SEZ strategy is perfectly formulated under the framework of “Accumulation by Dispossession”. The SEZ Act enabled legal grab of lakhs of acres of arable land of farmers. The people are forced to dispossess their lands as well as the common property resources for strengthening the wealth, domination and power of monopoly capital. No end to this process in the exploitative capitalist system. It is necessary to build socialist structures to solve this serious challenge. It is possible only with the conscious, consolidated people’s movements.



Transfer of Entire Land to Monopoly Capital - Real Goal of Solar Energy Projects

Among the several solutions came forward to control the issue of climate change, the neo-liberal governments could accept the proposal to reduce the production of conventional energy and increase the production of non-conventional energy especially solar energy. However, it is known to all that the capitalist class is capable of converting any new proposal into their favour. The proposal of solar energy production is no exception to this kind of transformation. Moreover, in view of its high land intensity, its production requires abundant size of land. Thus, it enables to handover enormous size of land to monopoly capital on the pretext of producing solar energy. These projects have been implemented strongly in addition to the development projects, SEZs to alienate people from the lands. The land grabbing for solar power has been reaching to its peak. The forcible acquisition of arable land from marginalised sections is aggressively accelerated. The “Common Lands” which is the crucial source of life to oppressed as grazing land, fuel wood source have urgently been handed over to monopoly capital by declaring it as the barren land of government. Now,

the people would have understood the real aim of conducting Land Resurveys and the creation of Land Banks with the World Bank funds. The oppressed class is totally alienating from the lands. The government lands are completely swallowed by the capitalist class which seriously prevents the oppressed class at least to think about their own land and own house. The production of solar energy which is strongly connected to the destruction of lives of majority is justified that it will reduce the climate change and protects the globe. They show people's resistance against solar energy projects as a crime. The fallacious and non sensical arguments have been promoted to show the oppressed class who lost their lives and livelihoods as selfish and the producers of solar energy who grab the land for their domination and profits as the protectors of globe. Thus, the "Green Grabbing of Land" by the monopoly capital is justified.

The entire oppressed class who are alienated from the lands and lost their livelihoods have been thrown into "Nothing to lose in fighting". This has resulted in the spread of continuous conflicts for the land and livelihoods. The internal socio-economic dissatisfaction is on the rise. The State continues to suppress people's movements cruelly with its power and police force. The neo - liberal governments fail to consider the critical life crisis of majority. Contrarily, the rulers try to display that our country is running towards clean energy with heavy flow of foreign investment into solar energy sector and with global level project constructions. This is really a serious cruel contradiction.

Land Grabbing for Solar Energy -

People's Contestations - Studies :

The people every where and locally have been continuously fighting against the land grabbing. The green grabbing is no exception to it. However, the governments deny to recognise them. The studies including the World Bank, whose aim is to

promote Corporate interests have been developing a misleading argument to state that the Land Acquisition Acts are strong in India and posing severe problems for solar projects. Further, it is wonder to notice that they are suggesting the liberalisation of Land Acquisition Acts which are already utmost favourable for land grabbing. It is a fact that by 2018, they could divert as high as a 1300 sq km i.e 3,21,236.996 acres of arable land to solar projects.

The construction of large size solar projects have been accelerated as they are favourable to the profits of monopoly capital by saying that the small scale solar projects will raise the cost of production as well as transmission costs. It is decided that the size of solar park should be more than 500 MW. The production of one MW solar energy including transmission requires at least 5 acres of land. Thus, the size of the solar park will be at least 2500 acres of land. It is said that the solar energy productivity is higher in arable land. As the required infrastructure will be available in urban areas they grab arable land which is nearer to urban areas. This trend has been accelerated as observed by several serious studies. The construction of large scale solar parks requires huge sized land and therefore, the consequent displacement will be larger. The oppressed people who lost their land and livelihoods will seriously fight against the solar projects. They file cases in the courts for justice. The extremely large scale solar projects are the main cause for land conflicts. The land grabbing for solar projects will deteriorate agricultural relations of production against to small farmers and landless labour. Further, the several studies observe the rise in the inequalities in social power relations. Consequently, the movements of oppressed people against solar projects have been spreading strongly.

However, no abatement in the land acquisition by the government. The Union Minister for New and Renewable Energy,

R.K.Singh, in a reply to Parliament in July 2023, has stated that the land to the extent of 1,70,000 acres is ready for the construction of solar parks.

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences(TISS) and the Rights and Resources Initiative (RRI) jointly prepared a report in 2016 by evaluating 289 land conflicts and contestations. The life crisis of majority is seriously aggravated owing to the land grabbing along with the grabbing of common lands and forests. As a result, the land conflicts are accelerating aggressively. By 2016, the lives of 32 lakh people caught in crisis and the investments to the tune of Rs 12 lakh crore fall in danger. The People's movements are strong enough to stop investments. The report also says that as high as 60 percent of land conflicts are related to the land acquisition by the governments. This clearly indicates the role of government as land broker.

The monopoly capital establishes the extremely large sized solar projects and grabs enormous size of land. As per the study of US based Mercom Capital, by 2023 out of 72 GW installed capacity of solar energy, the share of large scale installations is as high as 77.25 percent . The large scale installations will be connected to large scale land grabbing. The Rajasthan stands first with 54 percent share in large scale solar projects. In 2007, Rajasthan State has amended Rajasthan's Lands (Conversion of Agricultural Land for Non - Agriculture Purpose in Rural Areas) Rules. This removes all the obstacles to grab lands belong to SCs and STs. Further, the Rajasthan's cabinet declares in November 2024 that all the legal obstacles to grab lands of SCs and STs for solar projects have been removed. The law did not stop land grabbing for solar projects anywhere in the nation.

The construction of large scale solar projects is continuing with high speed in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh owing to their high intensity of sun rays.

The study of Ryan Stock, a US based researcher, in 2022, clearly states that the role of government as land broker is resulting in the enormous land grabbing of thousands of acres for solar projects, people's resistance and the government's suppression.

Construction of Large Scale Solar Projects - Indian Government :

The Electricity Act 2003, the National Electricity Policy, 2005 are formulated to encourage private sector in the production of non -conventional energy especially solar energy. The Ministry of New and Renewable Energy has been created in 2006. The "Solar Parks and Ultra Mega Solar Power Projects" scheme has been initiated in December 2014. It aims to construct solar parks for 40,000 MW installed capacity by 2022 either by the government or by encouraging the private sector. The capacity of each solar park will be more than 500 MW. The foreign investments to the extent of 100 percent is permitted in this sector through automatic route. The flow of foreign investment into solar projects during 2014-21 is \$ 800 crores and is expected to increase to \$ 20,700 crores by 2025.

The Indian government is trying to acquire the global level domination on the production of solar energy. Our country agreed the "Paris Agreement, 2015". India has accepted the decision of COP 26 to reduce carbon emissions so as to control the climate change. Our country is the Founder Member of International Solar Alliance which is emerged in 2018. Our country has proposed World Solar Bank with the slogan of "One Sun, One World, One Grid" (OSOWOG). The target should be achieved by 2030. All this is expected to give India an unprecedented influence over the development of global solar power. Our target is to achieve 500 GW installed capacity of non-conventional energy with the domination of solar power.

As high as 81 percent of solar power is expected to be generated with highly land intensive huge ground mounted installations. These installations require the land to the extent of 75,000 sq km i.e 1 crore 85 lakhs 33 thousands acres of land. The large scale land grabbing is taking place on the pretext of the construction of huge solar projects to hand over entire land to the monopoly capital with an accelerated speed.

Large Scale Land Allocations - Solar Energy Projects: Rajasthan :

In our country improper land records is the main issue. A large size of the land will not appear in government records. However, it will be used as a common property resource by the oppressed class for their sustenance. It is said that the unaccounted land to the tune of 97,526.5 acres has been given to various companies in Rajasthan. Out of which, 26,307.5 acres of land has been given to Adani Renewable Park Ltd in Jaisalmar district.

In Nedan village, Jai Salman district of Rajasthan, the oppressed will use the vacant land to the extent of 2,443.87 acres to grow pearl millets and sorgam, use it as a grazing land to maintain their live stock. The Rajasthan state government in 2006 declared that this vacant land will be distributed to landless farmers. Later on, the government cancelled it and declared it as the barren land of government to handover it to the Solar Plant of Adani Group. The people approached Court. The Court ordered Status - quo.

In Fatehgarh, the land to the extent of 10,000 acres for the production of 1500 MW solar energy has been allocated to Adani Renewable Energy Park Rajasthan Ltd. The project is commissioned by December 2022. The people, whose sustenance is based on these lands, have been fighting against

the solar plant seriously resulted in the stoppage of solar energy production.

The Rajasthan government has allocated as high as 14,000 acres of land to solar plants in Phalodi Tehsil. In August 2021, the women strongly stood against the movement of JCB. The company workers have seriously and severely attacked the women. By 2023, this Badla Solar Plant is stated as the largest one in India.

The survey of the National Resources Development Centre and the Council on Environment Energy and Water, conducted in 2012 clearly states that the allocation of government lands including grazing lands in remote areas is resulting in serious contestations and fighting against solar plants by the people.

Gujarat :

In Gujarat, as many as 50 percent of rural households sustain on the government lands. These lands are allocated to solar projects to produce 2080 MW solar energy.

In Charanka of the Kutch desert region, the land to the extent of 5384 acres on the pretext of governments waste land have been allocated to produce 730 MW solar power. The project is commissioned by 36 developers in January 2012. At that time it is stated as the largest project in Asia.

In December 2020 the construction of Khavda Solar Park or the Gujarat Hybrid Renewable Energy Park has started on 1,79,000 acres of “Waste” land in Vignakot village of Kutch district. The acquired land is five times higher than the Paris city, the capital of France. Its installed capacity is 30 GW. Adani Green Energy Ltd is the main partner in it. This is the largest Renewable Energy Park in the world.

The Dheerubai Ambani Green Energy has announced that it will start a largest single size solar energy park in Kutch of Gujarat on 5,50,000 acres of land. The allocated land is 3 times

larger than the entire land of Singapore. The project is expected to construct 20 GW solar moduling installed capacity by 2026.

The large scale land allocations for solar parks are continuing in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh etc and this is followed by People's serious resistance.

In Kurnool of Andhra Pradesh 5932.32 acres of land to produce 1000 MW solar energy has allocated in 2019. Amidst serious protests of people, 70 solar parks have been constructed by 2024 to make the land available to solar plant promoters. They have also identified 5,842 acres of land for solar projects.

The land to the extent of 2400 acres belonged to the villages of Thodium and Vaddirela of Kadapa district in Andhra Pradesh has been handed over in advance to Adani Project in 2016. The project is completed in 2019. After a decade, now in 2025, the government fixed it for 33 years lease on the basis of land market prices in 2019.

Extremely Large Solar Projects Declared in 2025 :

In addition to Adani project in 1,79,000 acres in Gujarat and Ambani's solar energy project occupying 5,50,000 acres of land in Gujarat, many top level corporates have announced their extremely huge solar projects. This clearly indicates the transfer of lakhs of acres of land to corporate forces on the name of solar energy projects.

1. Onix Renewables Ltd with its headquarters in Rajkot, Gujarat would develop 7 GW solar parks in Karnataka, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra by 2030.

2. In Tamilnadu, Adani Green Energy Ltd will construct 2.3 GW Kamuti Solar Power Project which is stated to be globally largest.

3. NTPC Renewable Energy Ltd backed by the Govt of India will construct 60 GW Renewable Energy Parks by 2032 in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

4. With the operational capacity of more than 13 GW of clean energy assets, Re New Power will construct solar parks in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

5. Azure Power, with 2 GW of installed capacity will build huge solar parks in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Assam.

Similarly, so many giant corporate forces have declared the construction of their largest solar projects.

Thus, huge chunk of land consisting of lakhs of acres is being handed over to corporate forces on the name of solar projects which is connected to the life destruction of millions of people.

Largest Solar Energy Projects - Negative Effects on Environment :

Though the solar energy projects stated to be the protectors of globe by reducing climate changes, the ground mounted solar projects which require large area of land and use it for longer period results in the land transmission from its original nature. To the extent of 7000 -20,000 litres per wash is needed to clean machinery of producing 1 MW of solar energy. This will intensify the problem of water scarcity in India. Moreover, the environmental scientists state that it will lead to soil erosion, water scarcity, loss of canopy cover, loss of natural habituating and the loss of soils capacity to hold moisture. All this, in fact, will accentuate the problem of climate change. Further, the PV panels which consist of hazardous material must be treated before disposal. This will not be done of the corporate forces to save the cost. The Solar PV Panels Waste is expected to be 2 lakh tons by 2030 and 18 lakh tons by 2015. In addition, every construction of solar energy in 247 acres will destroy the normal forests to the tune of 60 acres.

Production of Solar Power - Alternative Methods :

Many alternative methods are available to produce solar energy without largest scale land acquisition and without displacement of people. In Agro voltaics, the solar plants will be built, 2-3 meters above to the ground. In between, the crop can be grown due to the availability of enough sunlight. In November 2021, the NTPC has developed a floating solar park for 100 MW in Ramagundam of Telangana. It is estimated that our country has the capacity to produce 4,740 GW of solar energy by integrating solar photovoltaics with agri farms, buildings, water, rail, road network.

Conclusion :

The alternative methods of producing solar energy are free from large scale land grabbing and consequent life destruction of majority. The development of exploitative imperialist capitalist system itself is land centred and closely connected to land grabbing. Therefore, the system can pressurise the oppressed countries to accept the policies that are favourable to the profits of monopoly capital on every modern technology as well as modern machinery. Thus, the main aim of huge solar projects is to handover enormous land to monopoly capital through land grabbing.

It is necessary to build socialist systems to ensure decent lives to all without loss of livelihoods as well as alienation from land. The entire oppressed class who possess only labour power must consolidate strongly to fight against the exploitative capitalist system under the leadership of revolutionary forces.



Draft NPFAM 2024 - Transfer of Entire Agricultural Marketing to Monopoly Capital

The Union Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' welfare has released a "Draft National Policy Framework on Agricultural Marketing" on November 25, 2024, inviting comments and suggestions from all those who are interested. This administrative issue which is connected to the lives of farmers and agricultural labourers is in the State list as per the Constitution. The Draft is being released without any discussion and consultation with Farmers' organisations and State governments. However, it shows the government's hurriedness in releasing it just one day before the commencement of "Fast unto Death" by 70 year old Farmer Union leader, Jagjit Singh Dhallewala, as a part of the protest by the Farmers' Organisations collectively and seriously started on February 13, 2024 with a single demand of the implementation of Legally backed Minimum Support Price for all the agricultural produce.

It became inevitable for Prime Minister, Narendra Modi to announce the abolition of three controversial Farm Bills in November, 2021 owing to the long, stable and strong struggle of Farmers' Organisations against the bills. At that time, the

PM himself promised about the implementation of legally backed MSP. However, the government continuously failed to remember about its implementation. Therefore, the Farmers' Organisations started and continuing powerful protest for legally guaranteed MSP in Khanauri, Shamboo at the border of Punjab and Haryana. In this context, the Supreme Court gave directions to constitute a "High Powered Experts Committee" for the benefit of all. As a result, the committee has been constituted in September 2024. It is expected to give its final report in January, 2025. However, in its interim report, it has recommended the need of implementing legally guaranteed MSP because the farmers are caught into debt trap due to their inability to get reasonable price.

During the period of ongoing Farmers' Organisations serious protest for MSP, the parliamentary Standing Committee related to Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Food processing has submitted a comprehensive report to the parliament on December 17, 2024. It is significant to know that it recognises the need of implementing MSP with legal guarantee as early as possible. Further, it states that the tenants should be given incentives and recommends to constitute a National Committee for Minimum Wage for agricultural labourers. The Loan Waiver Policy should be implemented for Farmers and Agriculture labour. It clearly says that the Farmers' welfare, sustainability of Agriculture and Food Security are closely connected to the implementation of MSP.

The National Commission on Farmers (NCF) chaired by M.S Swaminathan has been constituted in November 18, 2004 to address farmer issues to assess their conditions, identifying factors causing imbalances and disparities and suggest necessary steps for suitable and equitable agricultural development. The committee has submitted Five reports with Five key

recommendations during 2004-2006. It is to be noted that the first key recommendation is the “Minimum Support Price”. It should be determined by adding 50 percent to the comprehensive cost by production, C_2 - where C_2 includes. i). Actual paid out costs for hired labour, seeds, fertilizers etc. ii). Family labour costs, iii). Imputed rent on owned land, iv). Interest on owned capital. This is known as Swaminathan Formula.

The commission also recommended measures to reduce the growing inequalities in the distribution of cultivable land. It suggests the distribution of surplus land available owing to the implementation of Land Ceiling Act and also waste land. Further, it is necessary to prevent the diversion of cultivable land to other uses. Moreover, the measures are needed to ensure accessibility of common property resources to Adivasis and the people whose survival depends upon forests. At the same time, the government should develop irrigation facilities and should take measures to raise agricultural productivity. Moreover, the government policies should integrate with technology to create livelihoods in rural areas so as to raise their incomes. Therefore, the Farmers’ Organisations are demanding the complete implementation of Swaminathan’s Committee recommendations.

It is surprise to notice the release of Draft on the name of farmers’ welfare, without mentioning about MSP amidst the serious protests of Farmers’ Organisations and the strong recommendations for MSP by the committees constituted by the government itself. Is it not an insult to the life crisis of farmers?

As high as 86 percent farmers are small and marginal farmers with less than 4.9 acres of cultivable land as per 2024 data. The cost of production is continuously on the rise. The farmers are fighting for Free electricity. Contrastingly, the

government is taking measures to increase tariff rates for the benefit of corporate forces with New Electricity Distribution Act. The government which easily writes - off lakhs of crores of rupees worth loans of giant corporate forces, will deny to waive farmers' loans. Further, the farmers' do not have access to loans at cheaper interest rate. The farmer will get only 10 - 23 percent of price paid by the consumer. In the entire nation, 7,057 registered regulated markets which are expected to ensure MSP to the farmers. We have 22,931 rural haats. Only 6 percent of farmers able to sell for MSP. As high as 94 percent farmers are forced to sell their produce in the outside of regulated markets. No public transport, no Public cold storages. Due to lack of storage facilities, the farmers lose to the extent of 30 percent crop. Further, the regulations imposed by the Union Ministry of Commerce seriously prevents the farmers to export when there is a rise in the global prices. It is a serious loss to the farmers. They have to be rectified.

The farmer will be ensured a reasonable price only with the governments procurement with MSP. This will strengthen the public distribution system and ensures food security. On the basis of 2020-21 data, it is stated that only 20 percent of incentives provided to corporate forces will be enough to take all these measures. Contrastingly, the government is taking measures to choose all the possibilities of raising farmers' income. The procurement through FCI is on the decline. It has decreased to 25.2 million metric tons in 2023 from 43.3 million metric tons in 2021. Further, its storage capacity has declined to 36 million metric tons which is not at all adequate to meet growing farmers demand. The agriculture sector which provides livelihood to 46 percent people but its share in the Gross Domestic Product is only 16 percent. This clearly shows the prevalence of miserable conditions in this sector. The report of

National Crime Record Bureau released in 2023 states that in the last year i.e in 2022, the farmers' suicides are 11,290 and out of them 6,083 are agriculture labour. However, many suicides may not become cases. Therefore, the actual suicides might be higher. Their suicides are on the rise since 2019. It is one per hour shows the intensity of agricultural crisis.

The government must take pro- farmer measures to solve the crisis of farmers. It should declare MSP with legal guarantee. It is known to all that the State run Agricultural Produce Marketing Committees (APMCs) emerged only to protect the farmer from price exploitation. But, the government says that they are working for the interests of private traders. They have to be rectified and these markets must be strengthened. More number of them should be established. Instead, the measures to eradicate APMCs will be a cruel solution.

The government allocations to this sector should be increased. The public investment should increase on agricultural infrastructure so as to ensure their accessibility to the farmers. The farmer should have access to loans at lower interest rate. The government is forgoing lakhs of crores of rupees annually by giving tax concessions on the name of Ease of Doing Business and handing over valuable assets and lands to corporate forces. Therefore, it must take all these Pro - farmer measures for the life of farmer and for the stability of entire agriculture sector. All these measures are not in the agenda of government. Therefore, the Draft did not mention them.

Draft Proposals - For Whose Benefit?

With the abolition of controversial Farm Bills owing to the strong protest of Farmers' Organisations lead to a temporary brake for the goals of government to elianate the farmer from the arable land and to hand over the entire agriculture sector to corporate forces.

The Committee chaired by Faiz Ahmed Kidwai has emerged to achieve these aims. The Draft has been released with strong strategies. The proposals to digitalise our agriculture market, to strengthen it with blockchain technology, to connect it with Futures, so as to make it part of the speculation market, will bring all the aspects related to our nation's food supply under the domination of international finance capital. The Farmers' Organisations are protesting it seriously because, they say it is more dangerous as it is formulated in line with the directions of World Bank.

The Draft could formulate necessary liberalisation process to ensure direct availability of raw materials at cheaper rate to corporate forces and to bring the agricultural produce, food processing and marketing under the domination of Multi National Corporations. The corporate forces will purchase the agricultural produce directly from the farmers without the permission of APMCs. The role of Farmers' Producers Organisations (FPOs) will be crucial to speed up the process of Contract Farming. The godowns, cold storage centres and other agricultural infrastructure that are under the domination of monopoly capital will further be strengthened by the Draft. All this results in the gradual demise of government godowns and Food Corporation of India. The domination of corporate giants like Ambani, Adani, Tata, Cargill, Pepsi, Amazon will be established on the entire agriculture produce. The government must pay higher prices to procure for buffer stocks and for PDS to ensure food security.

At present, the entire production and distribution of agriculture inputs are in the control of monopoly capital. With the corporatisation of agricultural marketing and with the establishment of the domination of monopoly capital on arable land through the Contract Farming, the entire agriculture sector

will be handed over to the corporate forces. Therefore, the Draft will not mention the sufferings of farmers owing to the agreements of contract farming.

The liberalisation proposals are necessary to strengthen private markets in the agricultural marketing. Simultaneously, it is necessary to destroy the government regulated markets. The government says that it is to build vibrant marketing eco system. The strengthened private markets will compete with APMCs and creates a healthy agricultural market. In view of the availability of various markets, the farmer can sell at higher price. Thus, the government is seriously trying to create an illusion that the Draft will improve the welfare of farmers. No need to sell only in APMCs rather they can sell in any market that is controlled by the monopoly capital. No question of MSP. Now, the farmer gets extraordinary freedom to choose among the exploitative private markets. The Draft removes the regulation that says that the farmer should sell only in APMCs and say that this is the solution for the farmers' issue.

The reforms are introduced in the Draft to establish the private agricultural markets in the entire nation. i). Permissions for the establishment of private wholesale markets. ii). Food processing Industries, Exporters, Bulk purchasers can purchase the crop directly from the farmer. iii). The Godowns, Cold storages, Silos etc are now deemed markets. iv). Draft proposes to establish e - trading platforms to enable the online sale and purchase of agricultural produce through shares and bonds. v). One licence will be applicable to entire nation.

One private market will be established for every 80 sq. km. In collaboration with SEBI, they will establish more number of FPOs and integrate them with Futures Platforms and also establish an electronic trading portal on the name of e - NAM. This will be connected to APMC markets. Thus, the Unified

National Marketing will be created in online trading. This needs a licence applicable to entire nation. For this, the Draft Committee recommends the establishment of the “Empowered Agriculture Marketing Reforms Committee” with the Agriculture Ministers of all the States to get the acceptance of States for one registration with simple fee as Agriculture is in the State list. The wholesale private markets are to be strengthened with the co-operation of States and Grameena Haats should be integrated with e-NAM. The establishment of the Unified National Market is necessary for the goal of “One Nation, One Market” .

The government that criticizes that the APMCs are working for the benefit of private traders and not for the farmers’ welfare, but take measures to eradicate regulated markets and handover entire agricultural marketing to the private players. It is a serious cruel action.

The Draft says that the APMCs should not confine to the collection of fees but take measures to create necessary infrastructure and encourage exports through Public - Private Partnership. This will be the process to transfer regulated markets into private markets.

It is to be noted seriously that the study of NITI Aayog in 2019 about the abolition of APMCs in Bihar, clearly says that due to this measure, the farmers are forced to sell at 20 -30 percent less price when compared to the States where APMC markets are in function. This clearly indicates the need of regulated markets to control the exploitation of private markets. Despite Niti Aayog’s observation, the Draft prefers to take measures to stop functioning of APMCs and the establishment of private markets on a large scale.

The farmer will be alienated from his arable land with the agreements of Contract farming. Moreover, there are several

incidents that clearly proves that the farmer is subjected to large scale exploitation by the monopoly corporations. Still, the Draft denies to accept the reality. Contrarily, it states that the Contract farming will be the only means to protect the farmer specially from price risk. Further, it suggest price insurance as a solution. Already, the ruling BJP is showing various hopes to Farmers' Producers Organisations to expand and strengthen their cadre in the villages. Further, it is seriously trying to create nightmare hopes to rich peasantry.

All the proposals in the Draft are only meant for transferring the entire agriculture Sector to monopoly capital. Therefore, it focuses on the mapping of information about the number of farmers, crop area, marketed surplus, other crops and it should be made available. This information is necessary for the corporate forces to control agricultural marketing to maximise their interests. The Draft also proposes the Digital Automation of all the market processes. Digital issuance of Licences to increase the Ease of Doing Business. Thus, the Draft will not confine to the marketing but extends to determine the crops that are to be grown and in how much cultivable land, because the necessary information is available to the monopoly corporates.

The Draft also focuses on the branding, packaging, quality test, certification, marketing of organic products, fruits, vegetables, spices, medicinal plants, to connect to Global Value Chain. It also proposes branding for national and international markets. All these proposals are for the interests of monopoly capital as they are expected to dominate the entire agricultural marketing.

At present, it is necessary to discuss about the Green Revolution which has been rolled out in all the countries on the name of "Fight against Hunger" through the researches for the unlimited production of food grains. In fact, it is the cause

for increased inequalities in the distribution of arable land, indifference towards agriculture, increased land alienation, rise in the number of tenants. Now, the dominant class anxiously diverting the attention of peasantry from the production to marketing. The dominant class understood about the awareness of peasantry about the key issues of storage and market exploitation irrespective of the type of crop and quantity of production.

The monopoly capital would like to appropriate agricultural marketing which ensures unlimited, continuous profits without waiting for crop months together. This motive is resulting in the attack on farmers in all the countries. They are searching for new routes to loot the budget on the name of food security. Though it is in the State list, the Union Government encroached it and released the Draft as a serious strategy to provide enormous opportunities to centralised monopoly capital. They try to satisfy the greed of rich peasants and feudal middle agents to some extent and immerse them into the needs of monopoly capital. With this, they expect to continue the agriculture crisis and contradictions in the longrun. This is the inner-goal of the Draft.

Conclusion :

The transfer of entire agriculture sector to profit greed private investments must be stopped because, the agriculture is the life of farmers, provides food, dignity and self respect to all the people. As the agriculture is closely connected to our lives, all of us should extend our collective and consolidated support to peasantry to build strong movements.



Transfer of India's Mines and Mineral Wealth to Monopoly Capital

The Mines and Mineral resources are indispensable to strengthen industrialisation. The survival and development of any country is closely connected to their availability. Our country produces as many as 95 minerals related to fuel, atomic, metal and non - metal mines. Among them, coal mines are highly significant. The coal is necessary to produce thermal power, iron and steel, cement products and in chemicals and pharmaceutical industries. It is also used as transportation fuel and synthetic fuel. In view of its extensive uses, the coal mines and its production has been nationalised in 1973. The Coal India Limited (CIL) came into existence as State monopoly.

The mining activity results in the displacement of local people and Adivasis. They will lose their livelihoods. The rehabilitation and resettlement must be provided. Further, it is necessary to minimise loss of forests and harm to environment. Therefore, the mining activity must be in the exclusive control of public sector undertakings because their motive is national interests and people's welfare. As the private sector aims to maximise its profits, the sector must be excluded from mines and minerals.

With the entry of globalisation in 1990, the nation's interests and people welfare became absolute. It is popularised that the aim of people's welfare is the sole cause of economic crisis. Neglecting people's welfare became the main feature of neo-liberal policies. From 2014 onwards, the transfer of all mines and minerals to corporate forces is aggressively accelerated. The nationalisation took U turn and transformed into privatisation speedily. This conversion is justified with the argument "inefficiency" is the in-built feature of public sector, while the private sector indicates efficiency. In fact, there is no any evidence that show the efficiency of private sector in these fields. Now, the privatised sectors are clearly proving the hollowness of private sector. Still, the reality is negated and continued same old argument that private is great is really a serious contradiction.

Mines and Minerals in India - Corporate Forces :

As many as 2,229 mines out of 2,999 have been privatised by 2010. The corporate giants will use highly capital - intensive technology. Their mining activity will be on a large scale. They will use local resources, water, existing infrastructural facilities extensively. They destroy land, forests and environment. No livelihood generation for local people in their mining activity. The people who lost livelihoods and displaced will not be rehabilitated by the private sector. Therefore, large scale mining results in the people's protest on a large scale. Therefore, the 70 percent of mineral - rich districts are in the 150 most backward districts in India. The higher grip of monopoly capital on mineral resources, the higher will be miserable lives of local people.

Therefore, the Chief Minister of Jharkhand has been seriously opposing the privatisation of mines. Still, the mines and minerals have been handed over to monopoly capital on a large scale. The Atma Nirbhar Bharat Abhiyan has been declared

in 2020 to come out from the crisis emerged due to covid - 19. The fourth tranche of this statement clearly says that the aims of government is to commercialise, corporatise and foreignise our mines and mineral resources.

The Vedanta Group is the Indian largest mines Multi National Corporation. The Mumbai is its head quarters. It could gain control of various minerals like Iron ore, Gold, Aluminium in Goa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Chattisgarh, Odisha etc. Moreover, it could purchase BALCO, Aluminium Public sector enterprise as well as the Hindustan Zinc, another PSU. It's Copper Smelter Plant Sterlite is established in Thuthukudi, Tamil Nadu. This plant has polluted water and air seriously resulted in the severe ill health of local people. The thousands of people came on to the street, demanding the closure of the plant. The police opened fire on the protesters, killed 13 people and left 102 injured in 2018. The Supreme Court Judgement stated the permanent closure of this plant as it caused the environmental destruction. This incident clearly shows the impact of profit greed of monopoly capital on the people and environment.

In 2001, the sterlite industry found guilty in colluding with Harshad Mehta in the stock market scam. SEBI imposed a 2 year ban from accessing capital market. However, all these serious crimes could not stop the strong expansion. The Vedanta group wanted to invest one lakh crore rupees on minerals especially on Zinc and Silver in Rajasthan. Through the Hindustan Zinc PSU taken over by Vedanta group, would like to invest Rs 30,000 crore to double the Zinc capacity from 1.2 million tons per annum to 2000 million tons per annum. Similarly, the Silver from 800 tons to 2000 tons. The Cairn oil and Gas, a subsidiary of Vedanta will invest Rs 35,000 cr to increase capacity to 3 lakh barrels.

This corporate giant has already invested one lakh crore rupees on minerals in Odisha. Further, it is willing to invest one more lakh crore rupees for aluminium refinery and aluminium plant. They are estimating that the demand for aluminium will become double by 2030. This will results in the development of downstream industries.

The Vedanta group is clearly aware about the extent of environmental destruction as well as life crisis of local people due to mining activity. To divert the attention from this damage, it says that it will participate in the fields of education, hospitals and skill training programmes along with the Odisha government.

The corporate forces strongly demand the total eradication of public sector from the mines and minerals sector. The Vedanta group pressurise the total privatisation of gold and copper mines. At present, the entire mining of copper is with the Hindustan Copper Limited, a PSU. In order to raise Copper Production so as to decrease the imports, it must be privatised, they argue. Similarly, the two public sector gold mining under takings - Bharat Gold Mines and Hutti gold mines must be privatised. The Anil Agarwal, the chairman of Vedanta group argues that the global gold prices are at their record high and our country is importing 99.9 percent of its gold requirements. This is the main cause for rising Current Account Deficit of Balance of Payments. This problem will be solved through the privatisation of gold mines. Thus, the monopoly capital would like to own valuable and strategically important mines and minerals totally. This will enable them to appropriate enormous wealth through large scale mining activity. Consequently the local and Adivasi people will lose their lives and livelihoods. The forests and environment will be destroyed. The land will remain with large and huge pits. Amidst this destruction, the monopoly capital

will be ready to invest lakhs of crores of rupees to appropriate more and more mines and minerals.

Coal Mines - Adani Group :

The domination of Adani Group has been strengthened in various vital and strategic sectors in India. Especially, in Ports, Airports, Power generation, Cold storage Godowns. In addition, several coal mines also under the command of Adani Group. Still, the Adani Group and the TATA Group have been pressurising the government for further privatisation of coal mines. The laws related to forest conservation and environmental protection have been seriously and excessively violated owing to the privatisation of coal mines. Therefore, the Ministry of Environment, in 2009, declared that out of 602 coal mines only 392 are 'Go Zones' and as many as 206 are 'No go zones'. This lead to the pressure of corporate forces. The government has constituted B.K. Chaturvedi Committee. As a result, 57 "No Go Zones" have been transferred into "Go Zone" list. Thus, the violation of laws is closely connected to the privatisation. In this way, Hasdeo Anand Coal mine in Chhattisgarh which belongs to Adani Group has been included in the Go Zone list from No Go Zone in 2011. Amidst people's protests, the mining activity is continuing smoothly and destroying thick forests as well as lives and livelihoods of Adivasis. This coal mine is very large and its geographical area is 1878 sq km and 1,502 km of thick forests. The estimated coal reserves have been to the tune of 1 billion tons. This mine has been divided into 18 blocks. Among them, 4 blocks which are allotted to PSUs have been given to Adani Group for contract. The government is seriously taking measures to eradicate public sector completely.

In Jharkhand, Adani owns 3 operating coal mines, several coal mines in the stage of development, in 2020, it won another 5 coal mines in the auction. The Suliari Coal mine in Madhya

Pradesh which belongs to the AP Mineral Development Corporation, a public Sector unit has been handed over to Adani Group for maintenance. In Madhya Pradesh, the subsidiaries of Adani Group owns coal blocks - Dhiranti coal block by Stratatech Mineral Resources pvt Ltd, Mara II Mahan coal block by Mahan Energy Private Ltd, Gandhahera Ujheni East Coal Block under Madhya Pradesh Natural Resources Private Limited.

The Adani Group and the Tata Group possess coal mines even in Indonesia. Still, they could create artificial sudden coal shortage in 2021 and especially the Adani and Tata Power Plants have stopped the generation of thermal power. They could suffer people and industries only to raise electricity charges so as to get more and more profits. All these manipulative deceiving tricks are the indicators of 'efficiency'. Thus, the private sector creates artificial coal shortage for their profits but will not solve the problem of coal storage.

The Gandhahera Ujheni East (GUE) Coal Block, Madhya Pradesh has been auctioned in 2022. Its geographical area is 2,040 hectares and the estimated coal reserves are to the extent of 250 million tons. The forest area under this block is 1,095 hectares. The Adani Group is the only bidder for this block in the auction. On the recommendation of Empowered Committee of Secretaries, this coal block is allotted to Adani in October 2023. The rights are only to mine and sale the coal. Surprisingly, the Board of Directors of Adani Group during 2023-24 have taken a decision to sell the rights on this coal block. It is totally unprecedented. In future, the corporate forces will take over the mines and minerals from the government and sell among themselves. It will become another real estate mafia. The government role in this regard will be a mere spectator.

All this clearly indicates the critical crisis of nation and people owing to the transfer of our mines and mineral wealth to corporate forces.

Privatisation - Laws and Amendments :

The Post Independent India, the government could reserve the vital and valuable mines and minerals to public sector. The Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act, 1957 has been enacted. All the coal mines have been nationalised in 1973. The entire situation is totally reversed in 1990 with the entry of globalisation which resulted in the serious amendments to MMDR, Act, 1957. The National Mineral Policy formulated in 1993 has permitted the private sector in mining and exploration. Still, the expected private domestic and foreign investments did not arise. Therefore, the Huda Committee has been constituted for recommending further reforms. This resulted in the formulation of the National Mineral Policy, 2008. This policy divides the mining and exploration as independent activities. Tenure security is provided and special incentives provided for using high technology.

Till 2014, there were only captive coal mines for private industrial units for their own use. They are not permitted to sell in the open market. In September, 2014, the Supreme Court Judgement cancelled the allocation of 214 coal mines. The Modi-led government which came into power could responded immediately and enacted, the “Coal Mines (Special Provisions) Act , 2015. This Act permits the government to handover coal mines to private entities through auctions. Foreign investments are allowed to participate in the auctions. Thus, withdrawal of nationalisation of coal mines started in 2015 and has been strengthened from 2018 onwards.

The National Mineral Exploration Policy, 2016 permits private sector to explore minerals in identified mineral blocks. In the case of failure of discovery, they will be compensated by the government. Moreover, the National Mineral Exploration Policy, 2019 says that auctions are to be conducted with the clearances of Forests and Environmental Laws.

With the declaration of Atma Nirbhar Bharat Abhiyan in 2020, the monopoly power of Coal India Ltd (CIL) of public sector ended. The Mineral Laws (Amendment) Act , 2020 permits the private sector to sell coal in the open market. The restriction on the end use of coal is removed. Moreover, the facilities are created for the free and unrestricted entry of FDI. Further, to encourage the private sector, the government has decided to spend Rs 50,000 crore for the creation of infrastructure related to mines and minerals. In addition, 100 percent foreign investment is permitted in Coal, Lignite, Iron and Steel, cement etc.

The Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2023. This will permit the private sector to enter into atomic mines which are reserved exclusively for State. Further, the composite licences will be given to private sector to mine the Gold, Silver, Copper, Zinc, Lead, Nickel, Cobalt, Platinum related minerals and Diamonds. With this, the nationalisation of mines and minerals ended and the process of the privatisation completed.

Simultaneously, the government took various measures seriously to weaken the Coal India Limited since Vajpayee -led NDA government. The 80 coal mines of CIL which are ready to mine 120-140 million tons have been handed over to private sector through auctions with 2015-16 reforms. Despite this measure, CIL's coal production has increased. This is the indicator of 'Inefficiency' of public sector. The PSUs are not permitted to possess captive coal mines. Therefore, the Vishaka Steel Plant has not been allotted its own coal block. The surplus generated by CIL and SCCL will be taken over by the Central government. The dues to CIL from the power generating and distributing units is to the tune of Rs 21 lakh crores by August 2021. The PSU has to pay cess to the government while the private sector units receive the concessions and incentives from the government.

The CIL is not allowed to raise the coal price. Where as the private sector will have the right to decide market price. They can create artificial scarcity also to raise the price of coal. The Bloomberg Report, 2016 observes that though the CIL has surplus amount to the tune of Rs 50,000 crores, it is not allowed to modernise technology so as to raise the productive capacity. Two strategic coal mines of SCCL, in Telangana have been handed over to Arabindo and Avantika during the period of past government. In the place of permanent and regular employment, now only contract labour are on the work. No protection, no safety. In line with the privatisation of all the sectors, the privatisation of mines and minerals will increase the unemployed reserved army excessively.

Did the Privatisation increased the Production of Coal and decreased Imports?

The privatisation of coal mines neither increased the production, nor reduced the imports. During 1998-99 to 2020- 21, the coal production has increased from 319 million tons to 753 million tons in which the production from the private sector has increased from 1.81 million tons to 66 million tons. Thus, its share increased from 0.5 percent to 8.8 percent. It is significant to note that the imports of coal during 1998-2021 increased by 13 percent on an average per annum. Further, the absolute imports increased from 16.35 million tons in 1998-99 to 245 million tons in 2019-20

In 2020-21, the coal production by CIL and SCCL together is 6,47,017 million tons while the private sectors production is only 24,280 million tons. The CIL has paid taxes to the extent of Rs 44,07,587 crores and the tax paid by SCCL during 2014-15 to 2018-19 is Rs 27,46,771 crores. The profit greed private industries will not produce for the national interests and people's needs. Though they won mines, whether they are to be mined,

and to what extent will be decided by the profitability only. After the MMDR, Amendment Act, 2023, as many as 385 mineral blocks have been allotted to private sector. Among them only 50 are operating.

Conclusion :

As a part of entire nations wealth, the valuable and important mines and minerals are transferred to monopoly capital on the name of privatisation. This will intensify life crisis of many, destruction of environment and the land remain hollow. The crisis of unemployed reserve army further become more critical. This trend must be protested and eradicated. This will be possible only in the exploitation - free socialist structures where working class and environment are ensured safety and security. This warrants strong movements of people.



Abolish Freebies to Giant Corporate Forces

The social welfare schemes which are popularised as Freebies have been intensively criticised for the past one decade with the arguments that they are unnecessary, make people lethargic and heavy loss to the ex chequer. The criticism is closely connected to the aggressive implementation of neo-liberal policies for the last 10 years by projecting mistaken elegance of capitalist system. The Prime Minister, Modi in July 2022 at the time of inaugurating expressway in Bundelkhand, U.P. has publicly announced that he is against to the Freebies Culture as they are dangerous to the country. This could accelerate the criticism against freebies. The centrally sponsored schemes are 65 in 2022. Within two years i.e in 2024, their number increased to 75. In fact, the Modi government itself has initiated as many as 26 centrally sponsored schemes. In addition, as high as 740 Central schemes are continuing though nominal. Thus, a serious contradiction can be seen between the Prime Minister's announcement and practice. During these two years, the life crisis of majority has seriously been intensified owing to the strengthening of exploitative capitalist system. Surely, this will consolidate the vast majority of oppressed and raise strong

movements against system. Any ruling class is clearly aware of this fact. Therefore, they are forced to announce social welfare schemes/ freebies to divert people's attention and create an illusion that their life crisis will be lessened.

After the announcement of Prime Minister, Modi that he is against to Freebie culture, a lawyer Ashwini Upadhyay who belongs to ruling party has submitted a PIL to Supreme Court that the Freebies must be abolished as they are against to constitution and they hamper fair elections. On September 18, 2024 the Supreme Court Bench consisting of Chief Justice, D.Y. Chandrachud, Justice J.B. Partywala and Justice Manoj Mishra has stated that court is considering it as a serious issue and therefore, will examine all PILs submitted in this regard. Similarly, Election Commission has released a standard proforma to all the political parties that they should inform the sources of funds to meet the expenditure on Freebies. The Reserve Bank of India warns the non- merit goods as freebies are the main cause for the financial issues of Central and State governments.

Do we have fair and free elections? Everyone knows about the boundless flow of money and liquor during elections. In fact, our elections are costly in the world. As per the estimates of the Centre for Media Statistics, the expenditure is as high as Rs 73,278 crores in National Elections, 2019 and it is further increased to Rs. 1,00,000 crores in 2024. In this process, the Electoral Bonds scam is unearthed.

The present ruling party, which is always says that it is against to the announcement of social welfare schemes prior to elections to attract voters. What it has done before 2024 elections? We all know that the availability of traditional cooking fuel is scant. The LPG cylinder is the only option. Still, the government has increased its price 7 times from 2020 onwards. Further, it has abolished subsidy given to LPG cylinder refills

under Ujjwala Scheme for BPL householdings in 2021. However, in view of the ensuing general elections and elections in 5 states in 2024, the government has decreased Gas cylinder price to the tune of Rs. 200 in August 2023. The refill subsidy under Ujjwala scheme is restarted in 2022. Further, the subsidy amount is increased from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 in 2023. Moreover, it has been extended to one more year.

Similarly, inspite of rise in the prices of crude oil, in view of the coming elections in 2024, they did not increase the prices of Petrol and Diesel from April 2022 onwards. All these are, in fact, a temporary relief gimmicks to attract voters as well as to immerse the people under illusions.

In addition to RBI, many people criticised the provision of non -merit goods like Mixer grinder, Laptop, TV, Gold as freebies. Who will get them? The political workers of the ruling party as well as the people who are closely associated with political leaders will get them. These freebies will be used only to increase the number of their political workers and to control the contractors who supply these freebies. The TISS study could disclose a fact that the majority of SC, ST households are not aware of the Kalyana Lakshmi/ Shaadi Mubarak programme in Telangana which is meant to give one lakh rupees to the bride who belongs to SC, ST families.

Lakhs of Crores of Rupees of Freebies on the name of Incentives - Corporate Forces :

Since the entry of globalisation in 1990-91, so many incentives and tax concessions, transfer of valuable land as well as handovering entire assets of public sector undertakings at cheapest possible rates to private entities have been started on the name of encouraging private investment. Further, the public sector banks have started writing-off outstanding bad debts of

private giant corporate forces from 2000 onwards. It is nothing but waiving of loans. The written-off bad loans are never recovered.

The Indian banks have written -off loans worth Rs 8.4 lakh crores of big corporate forces during 2004-19. Out of which, as high as 75 percent i.e Rs 5 lakh crore belongs to the period of 2014-19. Further, at the time of covid pandemic, the written -off loans of giant corporates is to the tune of Rs 68,000 crores. The bad debts of so called “efficient” private corporate forces is on the rise since 2014. The writing-off loans of giant corporate forces itself is a big scam. The RBI data reveals that the written-off loans of the corporate forces during 2017-2022 is as high as 10 lakh crore rupees. Out of them, Rs 7.34 lakh crores have been waived by public sector banks. All these are definitely, Freebies given to big corporate forces. The waving of bank loans of giant private corporate forces during 10 year Modi ruling is as high as Rs 16 lakh crores.

In addition, the neo-liberal government is giving tax -concessions on a large scale. The tax concessions resulted in the loss of revenue to the government to the extent of Rs 93,642 crores in 2017-18 and Rs 1,08,785 crores in 2018-19. Further, the exemption from profit tax to units in SEZ has resulted in the loss of revenue to the tune of Rs. 24,300 crores only in 2018-19. The loss of public revenue due to tax concessions during 2014-19 is as high as Rs 5.76 lakh crores.

The corporate tax is reduced from 30 percent to 22 percent and for new units, it is from 25 percent to 15 percent, making it minimum rate in the world in 2019. Owing to this reduction, the loss of public revenue per annum is to the extent Rs 1.45 lakh crores. Contrastingly, the deficit in the Union Budget is on

the decline. How is it possible? The government has been imposing high GST on the goods used by common people including middle class. Thus, Freebies to corporates, high taxes on to poor and middle classes. Further, in addition to all these freebies, the bankruptcy made easy so as to enable the corporate forces to evade other kind of loans or debts.

The Adani companies which are availing Rs 10,000 crores of tax concessions for employment generation, provides employment to just 8000 people. Thus, for every job, the government gives tax concession to the extent of Rs 1.25 crores.

The public enterprises as well as their entire assets have been handing over to private corporates at cheaper rate clearly shows the transfer of valuable nation's wealth to monopoly capital at free of cost. For example, the Air India is transferred to Tata Group in January 2022 for Rs 18,000 crores. Along with Air India, the government transfers, the Air India Express which runs low cost flights as well as the 50 percent government share in AISATS, to Tata group. The excellent efficiency of Air India in terms of non-stop travel to Europe and US now belongs to Tata group. Further, 94 aircrafts that travel to 100 domestic destinations, 60 aircrafts for international destinations, 4,400 domestic landing/parking plots, 900 plots in foreign airports, 200 licenced pilots with efficient training, now become the properties of Tata group just for Rs 18,000 crores. The Air India possess all these assets along with Rs 60,074 crores of debt. The property goes to Tata group while the payment of loan is the responsibility of government. For that, again impose higher GST and other taxes on lower and middle income groups.

The handing over of valuable National wealth to corporate forces as freebies neither questioned by Supreme Court nor RBI. No institution asks for their abolition.

The growing demand for the abolition of Freebies announced for the nominal Welfare of oppressed and depressed, is really a contradiction. All of them are thrown out from the process of development owing to the strengthening of distorted economic structures. This is the cause for the deepening crisis of unemployment, under employment, forced to work in informal sector and gig economy, poverty, hunger, no safe drinking water, no education, no health services etc. The Freebies meant for poor is anti - constitutional, they say. No one questions the transfer of lakhs of crores of rupees to giant corporate forces as Freebies. Will the constitution accepts them?

The Freebies meant for corporate forces will become a reality but many a time, the social welfare schemes confine to only announcement. Several CAG reports also revealed it. A study on a social welfare scheme clearly stated that as high as 73 percent of deserving beneficiaries are denied. It is also proved several times that the close associates of political leaders and party workers will be the only beneficiaries. Still, in the large political meetings, the leaders warn the people that they must be obedient to ruling party and should not question and criticise them. Otherwise, they will not get the benefit from social welfare schemes as reported by several news papers. Contrastingly, they waive lakhs of crores of rupees worth loans of big corporates in addition to incentives and tax concessions. If the private corporates are efficient, what is the need for all these Freebies?

Social Welfare Schemes :

In the Post - Independent India, the five year plans are started in 1951 with the aim of achieving socialist pattern of society. As they have strong faith in Trickle Down theory, they have expected that a rise in the GDP will automatically eradicate poverty and generate employment. In 1970's, prior to the

completion of Fourth Five year plan, the RBI Bulletin information, the information given by The Research Bureau of Economic Times, the studies made by Ranjit Das Gupta, Tarimela Nagi Reddy, Dandekar and Rath clearly stated about the growing issues of poverty and unemployment, rising dependency on agriculture, aggravated rural distress, growing economic and social inequalities, monopoly domination, concentration of economic power, deficit in the balance of payments. The roots of economic structure strengthened against inclusive growth. In order to mitigate the intensity of crisis at least temporarily, the social welfare schemes are emerged outside the process of economic development. It never stopped the process of throwing out majority from the framework of development. Therefore, the temporary social welfare measures became permanent. The changes in the ruling parties and governments resulted in the change in the name of welfare schemes and initiation of new schemes by merging existing schemes.

The Education and Health sectors are privatised with the entry of globalisation. To encourage private entities, the government has taken serious measures to destroy public education and health systems. The majority people are denied education and health services owing to their corporatisation. The Sarva Siksha Abhiyan for Universal Primary Education became Samagra Siksha in 2018. The Public Distribution System as a solution to the problem of hunger in the pre-globalisation period became a programme of cash transfer. At present, it is named as PM-POSHAN. The Food for work programme for employment generation started in 1970's has been changed as MGNREGA in 2006 and continuing. The demise of public health system resulted in the emergence of health insurance schemes for health services in corporate hospitals. For the problems of

hunger and malnutrition, the PM Garib Kalyan Yojana has emerged. For migrant labour, “One Nation, One Ration Card” scheme. The crop insurance programs and cash transfer emerged for the welfare of farmers. The dependence on LPG cylinder for cooking resulted in the gas cylinder subsidy. The personal vehicles became a necessary owing to the end of public transportation system. Consequently, subsidies of Petrol and Diesel. Moreover, all this programmes are restricted to BPL families. No scheme, no cash transfer will reach them. As many as 70 percent are denied of the benefits. All the social welfare schemes are a serious failure since beginning. Moreover, inclusive growth is not possible with these schemes. The majority are living in miserable conditions in the outside the purview of development process.

The NITI Aayog has estimated Multi -Dimensional poverty and says that 20 percent are BPL families. Contrarily, government itself states that 67 percent of population will be covered by Food Security Act, 2013. Similarly, the government claims that it has given free ration to 81 crore people during covid pandemic. This clearly discloses that more than 60 percent population are poor. The allocations to MGNREGA are on the decline continuously from 2017 onwards. It is unable to provide 100 days work per annum instead only 40-50 days. This is associated with delays in payments. The rural youth are forced to come to urban areas and inevitably working in highly exploitative Gig system.

The Rashtriya Swasthya Yojana has started in April 2008 to provide health insurance to BPL families for corporate health services. Only 31 percent bills are settled. Many hospitals bluntly says that they don't accept government insurance. On the one hand says “Beti Bachao-Beti Pado” but closes government

schools. The Anganwadi workers who works hard for the nutritional food to mother and child are temporary workers with no minimum wage, delays in payment. Thus, it is impossible to expect even minimum benefit from the schemes.

The Ujjwala schemes is started in 2016 to provide LPG subsidy to BPL families. They should purchase the cylinder by paying full amount. Is it possible for them? Later on, slowly subsidy will be transferred to the bank accounts. Many people did not receive it. They receive only part of the subsidy amount. On the other, gas cylinder price is on the rise continuously. The government says that Ujjwala beneficiaries have been increased from 96 millions in 2023 to 102 millions in 2024. Despite rise in the price of cylinder and number of beneficiaries, there is a huge decline in subsidy allocations. It is Rs 37,209 crores in 2018-19 but declined to Rs 1,811 crores in 2021-22 and to Rs. 2,257 in 2022-23.

The demise of public transportation lead to rise in the private vehicles. Even Street vendors and coolies also needs personal vehicles to do their work. The petrol subsidy removed in 2010 and diesel subsidy in 2014. They have deregulated the prices of both petrol and diesel. The excise tax on them is increased 9 times in between November 2014 to January 2016. They did not decrease their prices despite a decline in the global prices. The tax collections from petrol and diesel have been as high as Rs. 99,184 crore rupees in 2014-15 and Rs. 2,42,691 crores in 2016-17. In addition, the state governments also impose taxes. When the personal vehicles became compulsory as well as accessible to poor and middle income groups, within 2-3 decades the subsidies on petrol and diesel have been abolished but their prices are on the rise continuously. This is a clear example which shows that the exploitative capitalist system considers people as a mere consumers.

Thus, the Freebies are given to corporate forces while poor and middle classes are taxed. They are forced to become a part of the “Sab Ka Prayas”.

The lakhs of crores of rupees worth freebies given to corporate forces on the name of neo-liberal policies to strengthen the exploitative monopoly capitalist system, must be abolished. The structures of inclusive growth must be built. The oppressed and depressed who are in majority and who have been thrown out from the process of development must be united and consolidated under the leadership of revolutionary forces. They should fight for the structures which are free from all kinds of exploitation, oppression, discrimination and inequalities.



Pro-corporate, Pro-imperialist Policies of Rulers - Effects on People's Lives

The life crisis of majority is becoming critical for the last 10 years. The extreme rise can be seen in the problems of unemployment, poverty and starvation. Added to it, the prices of necessities are on the steep rise. Moreover, high rates of GST is imposed on the goods which are mainly used by poor and middle classes. The corporatisation has been strengthened in the sectors of education and health. As a result, the majority people are deprived of these services. It is a serious challenge to achieve “crisis free lives”. The World Inequality Report, 2022 and Inequality Kills, 2022 by Oxfam clearly states that the crisis is due to the strong implementation of neo - liberal policies. The IMF and World Bank have compelled to accept their blunder because they have initiated these policies and forced the emerging economies to implement them strongly.

It is surprise to notice that still, our government is continuing the implementation of these policies with an accelerated speed. Further, it is arguing that ours is fast growing economy and our place in the globe has moved from 10 th place to 5th place only due to the implementation of these

policies. It is bringing forward fallacious argument by calling it as “Inclusive Growth”. Really, the extreme rise in economic inequalities is a serious contradiction.

Ignoring peoples development and welfare making majority into the part of “Sab ka Prayas” has been intensified with the abolition of Planning Commission in 2014. Infact, the process of post independence planned development could recognise the agriculture allied industries, small industries as the basis for inclusive development. In order to promote them, the government has introduced the reservation of certain products to these industries. Further, it could create extensive supporting official network in the entire nation. The licensing policy emerged to control monopolies as well as concentration of economic power. The public sector enterprises have been established on a large scale in the key and strategic sectors for the welfare of the people and the development of nation. All of them are disappeared in the process of strengthening economic reforms. The constitution declared ideal of building “socialist pattern of society” became obsolete.

The disinvestment of public sector undertakings as well as their privatisation has been increased at an accelerated speed. On the other, Niti Aayog has been pressurising to hasten the process. Several opportunities have been created for the free entry of foreign investment in various forms. All this process has resulted in the emergence of the policies of supply chain incentivisation. The main aim of this policy is only to raise the interests and domination of domestic /foreign Monopoly capital or corporate forces.

Supply Chain Incentivisation - Effects & Consequences :

The abolition of Planning Commission is and the declaration of “Make in India” initiative as a part of national

building are in the same year 2014. The programme is expected to transform our nation as a “Global Manufacturing Hub” and our country will be the destination for foreign investment. “You can sell any where in the world but ‘Make in India’ is the slogan for the programme. The government make us to believe that our manufacturing sector will develop on a large scale due to the availability of foreign capital and it will be followed by foreign technology. The goals of this initiative are 1).to achieve annual growth rate of manufacturing sector to 12-14 percent by 2022 from present 7 percent. 2). to raise the share of manufacturing sector in Gross Domestic Product from present 15 percent to 25 percent by 2022. 3). to create 1100 million additional employment opportunities by 2022.

The permissions to foreign investment are excessively liberalised. Further, 100 percent foreign investment is permitted in 25 key sectors. By 2020, the share of foreign investment in defence sector has been raised to 74 percent through automatic route and 100 percent via government route. Many defence goods are exempted from licence. Even in railways the 100 percent share is permitted to foreign investment. Further, the insurance sector is opened in foreign investment. Consequently, by November 2017, the proposals to the tune of Rs 1.20 lakh crores have been came from foreign electronic companies.

The corporate tax has been reduced from 30 percent to 22 percent in 2019. Further, the corporate tax is decreased from 25 percent to 15 percent for the new establishments which enter into the manufacturing sector after October 1, 2019.

The annual tax revenue lost due to the reduction in corporate tax is as high as Rs 1.45 lakh crores. The tax revenue forgone is to the tune of Rs 93,642 crores in 2017-18. This has been increased to Rs 1,08,785 crores in 2018-19. In the same year the tax revenue lost is to the extent of Rs. 24,300 crores due

to profit tax exemption given to the companies in SEZs. The tax revenue departed during 2014-19 due to tax concessions is as high as Rs. 5.76 lakh crores. The share of corporate tax in total tax revenue has been decreased to 2.3 percent in 2020-21 from 3.5 percent in 2018-19.

The corporate companies failed to repay the loans despite their increased profits owing to tax concessions and incentives. As high as Rs. 5 lakh crore loans from public sector banks have been written off during 2014-19. In addition, during covid period Rs. 68,000 crores of bank loans of giant corporate forces have been written-off.

As much as Rs. 8.4 lakh crores of bank loans of the corporates have been dismissed during 2004-19. However, of them, 75 percent as high as Rs. 6.35 lakh crores belonged to the period of 2014-2019. RBI says that non performing assets in total assets is to the extent of the 13.5 percent; the bad debts of big corporate companies are in the rise continuously from 2014 onwards. The programme of writing- off public bank loans of corporate forces itself is a big scam.

Liberalisation of Laws :

In 2019, as many as 29 central laws have been transformed into four labour codes. With this, the labour rights, welfare and protection that have been achieved after decades of struggles are abolished. No bargaining power to the labour. The employer has every right to decrease the wage and to raise the number of working hours per day. The law of “Insolvency and Bankruptcy code, 2016” will facilitate easy bankruptcy and easy exit for corporate companies. As many as 3400 criminal parts are removed. All these crimes are now legal.

As many as 25,000 Acts are abolished by 2021. Further, 1486 central laws are liberalised and 39,000 regulations are reduced. So many environmental laws have been liberalised.

The “Jan Viswas Bill” is passed to liberalise 42 central laws. Thus, the effective legal environment is created to intensify labour exploitation and to destroy environment.

Did they Achieve the Aims of Make in India?

Though, the declared additional employment generation in the manufacturing sector is 100 million by 2022, it could create only 24 million jobs by 2020-21. The jobs lost is to the extent of 11 million during covid period. Thus, the employment generation through ‘Make in India’ is a serious failure.

Our country has achieved improvement only in the index of Ease of doing Business which has improved to 63 in 2019 from 142 in 2014. Consequently, the flows of foreign investment have been increased from \$ 45.15 billion in 2014 -15 to \$ 83.60 billion in 2021-22. Contrastingly, the annual growth rate of manufacturing sector has declined to 6.9 percent in 2019-20 from 7 percent in 2014-15. Similarly, its share in the GDP has decreased to 14.3 percent in 2020-21 from 16.3 percent in 2014-15. The estimates of Central Statistical Organisation says that the domestic value added in exports has declined but foreign value added is increased. Further, the import dependency increased excessively. This results in the rise in the merchandise deficit in the balance of payments from \$ 17.3 billions in January, 2022 to \$ 25.6 billions in June 2022 i.e just in 6 months. As a result, continuous decline can be seen in the exchange value of our rupee.

All this clearly shows the failure of government to direct foreign investment into manufacturing sector. Even, if they enter, they purchase shares in the private domestic industries and merger as well as amalgamations will take place. This results in the crowding - out of domestic investment. The Economic Survey, 2018-19 states that during 2012-17, the domestic private investments show a decline. The average capital accumulation

rate has declined from 15 percent during 2004-08 to 5.8 percent in during 2014-19. Despite low interest rates the private investments did not increase. Inspite of availing so many tax concessions and incentives they did not repay the bank loans. According to RBI, this fraud is aggravated since 2016. Even the Economic Survey, 2023-24 also says decline in the private domestic capital.

Further, the foreign investment will purchase our public sector undertakings. Thus, no new companies will be established through entry of foreign investment and the production as well as exports will not increase. Due to high import intensity of foreign investment, our import dependency will increase.

Only the assembling units will come to exploit cheap labour and connects to Global Value Chain at the lower value level. The production will take place in the informal sector or in self employment sector and work in miserable conditions but connects to Global production network. The enormous surplus will be transferred from our country to MNCs in the dominant countries without any investment.

The foreign investments will move to IT sector which yields high and quick profits. They enter into our stock markets. The foreign investments always depend upon the prevailing rate of interest in US. If the rate of interest is raised, the outflow foreign investments will increase. Thus, the dependency on foreign investments will make our economy unstable.

The Economic Survey, 2023-24, on the basis of a survey conducted on 33,000 companies during 2020-23 states that their profits increased four times. The Business line Survey states that the profits in 2024 FY are highest in the past 15 years. The corporate profits in NIFTY increased. Still, the private investments did not increase but bad debts show an excessive rise. The Economic Survey, 2023-24 says a rise in the indebtedness of corporate companies.

The investments in the private sector did not increase through they availed so many tax concessions. Our economy could survive only with public investment. For Who's benefit, the privatization of public enterprises?

The Economic Survey, 2023-24 clearly states that the aggregate demand did not increase as there is no growth in the people income which is due to no employment generation in corporate companies. Consequently, they cannot sell their products. Though, the survey recognise the deficiency of aggregate demand, it supports the strong policy of supply chain incentivisation, this is really a contradiction. The structures of our economy are totally distorted due to the pro-corporate policies. Therefore, the crisis of unemployment is seriously increasing as per the Economic Survey, 2023-24. Despite identifying the real cause, surprisingly says the crisis is due to shocks. The survey requests the corporate forces that they should not run for greedy profits but take the responsibility of employment generation. Further, the survey supports that the government, private institutions and academia should work together and should find out ways and means to solve the problem. It is wonder to notice the continuation of corporate tax concessions, incentives even in Central Budget 2024-25.

Unorganised Sector and MSMEs :

The manufacturing activities in these sectors will not come in the purview of incentives under Make in India supply chain. However, these sectors will provide livelihoods to majority. In the formal as well as in informal sectors only contract, casual, outsourcing jobs will be available. The decent jobs and labour rights, welfare became outdated.

The units that are not registered under Companies Act are called as Unincorporated sector enterprises (USE), the

National Sample Survey Organisation has released annual surveys of 2021-22 and 2022-23 related to these units recently. The number of units declined from 6.33 crores in 2015-16 to 5.97 crores in 2021-22. Similarly, the employment during the same period declined from 11.12 crores to 9.78 crores. The reduction is still high in 2022-23. Further, the decline is relatively high in manufacturing activity when compared to trade and services. As these sectors are mainly connected to cash transactions, their survival fall in danger due to the sudden declaration of demonetisation in 2016. In addition, the introduction of GST make them further critical as they came under the purview of indirect taxes. It is estimated that as many as 2,30,000 units are closed. Further, as for the information given to Parliament by the government 5 lakh units are closed due to covid - 19 pandemic. As many as 189 million workers have lost their jobs due to the declaration of sudden lockdown. Further, it is estimated that to the extent of 400 million jobs fall in danger. Therefore, the Economic Survey, 2023-24 suggests the revival of product reservation system to this sector.

The intensity of rural distress and agricultural crisis has been on the rise continuously. The MGNREGA fail to provide 100 days work per year with Rs 182 wage per day. The budget allocations are declining and wage dues are on the rise. The Black Farm Laws have been passed during lockdown period of covid - 19 pandemic to handover entire arable land to corporate forces on the name of contract farming. The peasants continued their serious protest more than a year. At present their implementation is stopped. The government will not give MSP. No regulated markets. They say 'one nation, one market'. Is it possible for the small and marginal farmers to sell their produce in entire nation? They cannot go even to the nearest town.

The proposals in the Central Budget 2024-25 to incorporate agricultural sector in the supply chain, are only for

the interest of corporate forces. Therefore, the budget declares that the programme to provide free ration to 80 crore people under PM Garib Kalyan Yojana will be continued for next 5 years. Thus, as many as 50 percent of our population should depend upon free ration for 5 more years.

No any measures to reduce agriculture crisis. Budget allocations to this sector are declining since 2019. The subsidies are on the decline. They have written off as high as Rs 16 lakh crores corporate loans but will not cancel farmer's loans. As per the Economic Survey, 2023- 24, the growth rate in this sector has decreased to 1.4 percent in 2023-24 from 4.7 percent in 2022-23. The survey suggests that it is necessary to provide crop loans at lower interest rate, crop insurance, continuous power supply, extensive irrigation facilities.

The main aim of proposals related to agriculture sector like productivity, supply chain, marketing, godowns, natural farming, millet hub etc. have been only to strengthen the domination of corporate forces on our agriculture sector. Therefore, the farmers suicides are unabated. The labourers are compelled to migrate for survival. It is estimated that number of migrant labourers reached as high as to 35 crores by 2020. The government finds solution in "one nation, one ration card". Is it not a humiliation about the serious issue of migrant labour and their critical lives?

Empowerment of Youth - Central Budget 2024-25:

The empowerment of youth is closely connected to the availability of education skills and decent employment. The World Bank groups, Flagship Report, 2024 says that huge number of jobs will be lost due to Artificial Intelligence which will intensify the economic inequalities. Therefore, it is necessary to take measures to ensure the accessibility of education and health for all. At the global level including India, massive displacement of jobs has been taking place in IT sector. ILOs "India Employment

Paper, 2024” shows that 83 percent of Indian youth are unemployed. They are compelled to search for jobs in unorganised sector as casual, contract, outsourcing labour. This has been increased to 83 percent in 2024 from 35.2 percent in 2000. This crisis will become more critical as 50 percent of normal shops will be closed and only big malls will prevail if the E-Commerce like Amazon continue to function for 10 years as rightly observed by the Piyush Goyal, Central Minister for Industry and Commerce, recently. The Economic Survey, 2023-24 strongly opines that the employment is not only the source of income but it is a dignity and respect for youth. This must be recognised by the corporate forces and give jobs to youth.

Therefore, the Central Budget 2024-25, forced to talk about the skills and employment of youth. However, the solution is searched within the framework of corporates interest and domination. In fact, it is the cause for the problem. Similarly, though the crisis is emerged due to the supply chain incentivisation, the solution is proposed in the same policy framework. Thus, the discussion is seriously distorted.

It is stated that thousand ITIs will be updated and loans will be given to youth to learn skills. It is known to all that many have been deprived of education due to its corporatisation. The capital intensity and technology intensity increased to the high level.

The system is moulded as “import dependent”. The unemployment disaster is approaching like Tsunami due to Artificial Intelligence. In this context, what is the use of giving loans to learn skills? Is it possible to generate employment without changing the structures of economy?

It is declared that women will be given women specific skills. The World Bank says that during covid-19 pandemic, relatively more women lost jobs owing to the women specific jobs. What is the use of providing unstable job skills to women?

The budget proposes that the government will give one month salary to the new recruits to encourage new employment by the companies. This will merely reduce the wage cost of companies. In addition, the government provides tax holiday, subsidies for the employment generation in the manufacturing sector. The government create internship opportunities for 12 months to 5 crore youth over a period of 5 years in top level corporate companies to learn business skills. Further, Rs. 5000 per month along with one time payment of Rs 6000 will be given by the government only. 500 top level companies make 20 lakh youth per annum to work with the payment made by the government. Thus, the skills strategies, the employment generation proposals to empower youth, in fact will insult the youth. All these proposals are intended to decrease the intensity of intolerance of youth and to protect the exploitative corporate forces. All this diversion tactics and politics will not protect the rulers as shown by the experience of our neighbouring countries.

The solution of unemployment crisis warrants the total eradication of the imperialist exploitative capitalist structures. For this, strong and consolidated movements of youth is inevitable.



ALIENATION OF LAND

Prof. Thota. Jyothi Rani



Within the exploitative capitalist mode of development, land appropriation constitutes a foundational process. This development trajectory is sustained through the systematic acquisition of agricultural land, forests, mineral-bearing regions, commons, and other collectively held resources. Under the pretexts of “Development” and the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs), lakhs of acres of land are being transferred away from local communities, resulting in the large-scale dispossession of farmers, agricultural labourers, and Adivasi populations from their means of livelihood. Paradoxically, the environmental crises generated by this very model are now being addressed through further land alienation, as vast tracts of government and private land are allocated to corporate entities for solar energy projects. Simultaneously, the privatization of mining and its consolidation under monopoly capital intensify socio-economic vulnerabilities for the majority, while producing ecologically degraded, resource-depleted landscapes