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## *Modi Government Intensifies Agrarian Crisis*

Traversing through the pages of history of another era and time need not necessarily be an unwanted digression irrelevant for the present question this article seeks to address. John Maynard Keynes once an active member of the Cambridge University Free Trade Association on a later day advocated Welfare economics and State intervention to overcome the crisis of world capitalism after the Great Depression. Keynes was not indulging in mere propaganda; he saw it as a necessary intervention to tide over the crisis of capitalism and the capitalist bloc chose not to ignore it as they were wary of what they termed the “Communist threat”. In another day and age Hitler and Nazi propaganda had played on the German population’s fear of no hope. Nazi propaganda machine moved to persuade the nation and Europe that Germany had achieved an ‘economic miracle’ of unemployment all but disappearing and better standard of life for the masses—something other European nations had failed to do during the time of economic depression. Kalecki in his ‘Stimulating the Business Upswing in Nazi Germany’ had explained this phenomenon of the German boom as one of rearmament rather than increased consumption by the masses.<sup>1</sup> He goes on to explain in his ‘The Business Cycle and Welfare’ that the increased employment arose because real wages actually fell and a ‘synthetic’ boom was generated, financed out of savings in State unemployment benefit as employment rose.<sup>2</sup> Now let us come nearer home and try to analyse the one year of the Narendra Modi-led BJP-NDA Government and the agrarian sector.

An election often makes even the most hardened neo-liberal talk of public investment and people’s welfare. The BJP Manifesto and Narendra Modi’s speeches seemed like taking a leaf out of Keynesian ideas of State intervention, public investment and welfare. They had promised that the BJP Government will usher in “Achhe Din” for farmers and put an end to farm suicides. Increased public investment in agriculture and rural development, steps to enhance the profitability in agriculture by ensuring a minimum of 50 percent profits over the cost of the production, cheaper agricultural inputs and credit, introduction of latest technologies for farming and high-yielding seeds, linking of the MGNREGA to agriculture, a farm insurance scheme to take care of crop loss due to unforeseen natural calamities, strengthening and expansion of rural credit facilities, expansion of irrigation facilities, a price stabilisation fund to protect farmers from volatile world market prices, welfare measures for farmers above 60 years, small and marginal farmers and farm labour were among the promises. The Manifesto also promised that “*The BJP will adopt a ‘National Land Use Policy’, which will look at the scientific acquisition of non-cultivable land and its development, protect the interest of farmers and keep in mind the food production goals and economic goals of the country.*”<sup>3</sup>

The welfare ‘orientation’ was only a well thought-out election strategy exclusively for the electorate. If one were to look into Narendra Modi’s speeches and the airing of expectations by his economic advisers few months before the election process was set to roll this becomes crystal clear. One of the advisers explained that there was no difference between ‘Modi-nomics’ and Thatcherism.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, Thatcherite reforms could not be a game-changer in an election in a country where a vast majority are under poverty and millions are in perpetual state of hunger. The events of the last one year prove beyond doubt that the Election Manifesto for the BJP was meant to be valid only till the elections and it was to be treated *void ab initio* (void from the beginning) as far as the Government was concerned. The

Government and its sophisticated propaganda machinery have been trying to occupy the public mind by keeping drumming up attractive campaigns revolving around the promises while doing the opposite in reality.

#### LOVE FOR FREE TRADE AND ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

The Commerce and Industry Minister in the BJP-led NDA Government informed Indians through a Press Statement on 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2014 that “*the WTO is in the best interest of developing countries, especially the poorest, most marginalised ones among them and we are determined to work to strengthen this institution*”.<sup>5</sup> It is this firm belief that informs the present ruling dispensation in all their dealings with the WTO despite innumerable instances to the contrary. Enamour for free trade and economic liberalism is what conditions the regime’s economic policies.

In its statement on 25<sup>th</sup> July, 2014 at Geneva, India emphasised that a solution to the food subsidies issue was “important because millions of farmers and poor families depend on domestic food stocks do not have to live in constant fear. To jeopardise the food security of millions at the altar of a mere anomaly of rules is unacceptable.”<sup>6</sup> Within six months of taking charge claims of a big diplomatic victory were made by the Government and it was argued that the India-USA Agreement on Trade Facilitation ensures the protection of the interests of Indian farmers and our food security concerns.

In reality, the Agreement infringes upon our sovereign right to decide on provision of price support to farmers as well as ensure food security for the hungry millions. The Agreement if ratified by others in WTO only indefinitely drags on the unequal Peace Clause and perpetuates the antiquated International Reference Price of 1986-87 for calculating agricultural subsidies. This will not take into account the increase in costs of production over the last two decades and make even the unremunerative Minimum Support Prices to seem like massive subsidy. The crop basket under purview of Minimum Support Prices cannot be increased. Pulses, cooking oil and crops other than those described as “traditional staples” by the WTO cannot be included in the Food Security Programme. Even the quantity of food grains procured cannot be increased beyond the procurement as of date which could have serious implications for the Food Security Programme. In effect this will freeze all scope of expansion of food security or price support to farmers in India and other G 33 countries, which have no such programmes in place at present, will also be deprived. Further the Support Price valuation will not be based on current prices as India was demanding and will remain to be based on 1987-88 prices. If one takes the case of paddy and wheat, the present MSP of Rs.1410/Qtl and Rs.1450/Qtl would seem like a huge subsidy Rs.1260/Qtl and Rs.1277/Qtl when compared to the 1987-88 prices of Rs.150/Qtl and Rs.173/Qtl respectively.<sup>7</sup> At the present Costs of Production there actually may be no subsidy involved at all or at best very meagre subsidy in terms of price support.

The gap between public posturing, propaganda and the reality on the domestic scene is quite stark. Public posturing and propaganda creates the myth of a nation resisting the diktats of the advanced capitalist countries like USA and the European Union and protecting the food security and farmers’ interests. In reality the very same demands made by the USA, EU and other advanced capitalist countries at the WTO on cutting down agricultural subsidies, scaling down the food security programme, dismantling public stockholding programmes and price support for farmers are being implemented under the new regime. The Government issued an Order directing States not to pay bonus for paddy and wheat over and above the MSP and stopping procurement by Food Corporation of India (FCI) from such States on the pretext that it was “market distorting”. It has also fast-paced steps to dismantle the FCI which procures food grain from farmers, and dilute the National Food Security Act 2013 based on the Shanta Kumar Committee Recommendations.

The trend under the Congress-led UPA Government to enter into Free Trade Agreements is being pursued more vigorously by the present regime. The India-EU Free Trade Agreement, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) which is a Mega Free Trade Agreement involving the ten

member States of ASEAN and another six State including Australia, China, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand and India, FTAs with USA, Israel, South Korea, Japan and around 50 more countries are at various stages of negotiations. These are going to have serious consequences for Indian agriculture, dairy sector, fisheries, plantation sector and the people in general. The Government is going ahead with these FTAs despite the adverse impact of the India-ASEAN FTA and the Indo-Sri Lankan FTA.

#### INTENSIFYING AGRARIAN DISTRESS AND FARMERS' SUICIDES

One year of Modi-led BJP Government has heightened agrarian distress. Growth rate of agriculture (Farm and Allied Sectors) is a meagre 0.2 percent when compared to 3.7 percent in 2014.<sup>8</sup> Farmers' suicides have increased and touched new heights. In December, 2014 merely six months into the Modi led BJP Government the mid-term assessment showed a 26 percent increase in farm suicides. The BJP-ruled Maharashtra has seen a 40 percent increase in farmers' suicides. The figure rose to a steep 1,373 between August 2014 and February 2015. There has been a further spurt in Farmers' Suicides after March 2015 due to the colossal damage to crops in more than 2 crore hectares across the country and insensitive handling of the crisis by the Government. States like Haryana, Punjab, Gujarat, West Bengal, Karnataka, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have also been witnessing suicides in an unprecedented scale. Over 60 farmers have committed suicide in Haryana since April 2015. Rather than mitigate their suffering, provide effective compensation and take emergency confidence building measures the Haryana BJP Minister for Agriculture has made extremely insensitive comments and described the farmers committing suicide as "cowards" and "criminals". The BJP Ministers in Maharashtra have also made such insensitive comments. The Union Agriculture Minister claimed in Parliament that not a single farmer had committed suicide in Haryana. The Government is continuing in this criminal denial mode and refusing to accept the truth.

#### SHRINKING PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Public investment in agriculture and rural development has been drastically curtailed, agricultural credit is inaccessible and usurious moneylenders are looting the Farmers unchecked. The allocation for agriculture and allied activities which was Rs.11,531 crores in the 2014-15 budget estimates has only seen a meagre increase to Rs.11,657 crores in the 2015-16 Budget. In real terms this is no increase worth mentioning. The allocation for irrigation and organic farming when we consider the fact that there are over 600 districts in the country will boil down to around 9 crores per district. It is anybody's guess as to what irrigational infrastructure can be built out of such meagre funds.

One of the first attacks by the BJP-led NDA Government was on the working class and their rights in the name of 'Labour Reforms'. This was followed up with a systematic effort to subvert the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA). MGNREGA has been scaled down drastically and is being starved of funds. Through a circular issued on 21<sup>st</sup> July 2014 the Central Government directed the States to limit the implementation of the MGNREGA only to 2500 blocks which are "most backward" in development. The annexure given along with the circular clearly states to concentrate on 2500 blocks out of 6576 blocks i.e. 116/655 in Andhra Pradesh, 293/534 in Bihar, 22/152 in Kerala, 98/385 in Tamilnadu, 180/314 in Odisha, 138/354 in Maharashtra, 124/341 in West Bengal etc. On 4<sup>th</sup> August, 2014 the Minister for Rural Development proposed that Kerala, Tamilnadu, Rajasthan, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra do not need MGNREGA and may be phased out. In 2014-15 the Union Government and State Governments jointly had estimated that 227 crore workdays and Rs. 61000 crore budget allocation was required for the year 2014-15 for Implementing MGNREGA. But the BJP Government had allotted Rs. 34000 crore only in the Union Budget 2014-15 thus denying 45% of the

estimated amount. In the 2015-16 Budget it has only allocated Rs.34,699 crores which is far below what is actually required. Notably, Tripura under the Left Front Government is credited with implementing the MGNREGA as a model for the entire country. Tripura had provided average workdays of 87 days in 2012-13 and 88 days in 2013-14. It had provided 92 days of average work days for tribal people. For the year 2014-15 the estimate prepared for Tripura was of Rs.1046 crore but the Government allotted only Rs.660 crore.

In a reply to a Calling Attention Motion in the Rajya Sabha on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2014 the Minister for Rural Development informed that during the last eight years the MGNREGA provided employment to around 5 crore rural households every year (29% of total rural households) and around Rs.1,80,000 crores had been paid to the workers. Among the workers 54 percent were women and 40 percent were to SC/ST. It also ensured substantial financial inclusion with around 9.76 crore bank accounts/postal office accounts being opened for this purpose. A Performance Audit conducted by the Comptroller and Auditor General found that around 90 percent of the beneficiaries were either casual labourers or small and marginal farmers. It is also recognised as an important source of income for families susceptible to distress migration in view of limited work opportunities. Despite such clear indicators the BJP-led NDA Government is making efforts to gradually phase-out the Act. Ironically the Government is carrying out a massive propaganda on its Jan-Dhan programme and its Pension and Insurance Schemes in the name of financial inclusion and social security.

#### FALLING AGRICULTURAL INCOMES AND RISING INDEBTEDNESS

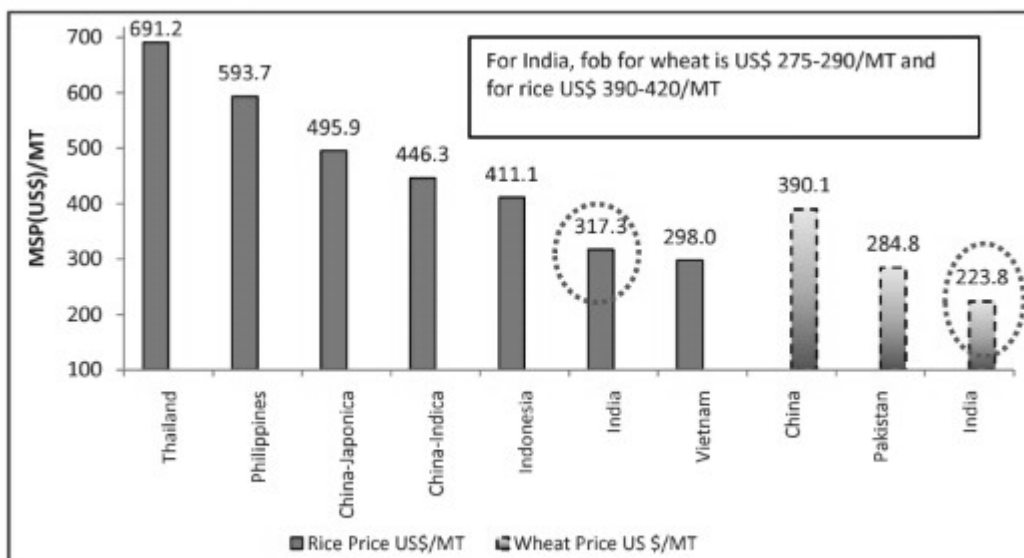
Crop prices and Minimum Support Prices remain unremunerative and do not even cover the costs of production. Input costs are rising as they have been mostly deregulated and there is no price-control. Trade liberalisation has led to Indian farmers being exposed to the volatile world market prices. Although this is not a creation of the present regime, it has not taken any concrete steps towards instituting an effective Price Stabilisation Fund as it had promised. Rubber, cotton, jute, silk, tea and many other commercial crops are seeing a massive price crash resulting out of faulty Government policies. Farmers in Haryana and Punjab cultivating basmati rice are getting as low as Rs. 1500/Qtl when compared to Rs. 6000/Qtl last year. In the case of sugarcane while cane price arrears to farmers have touched about Rs 21,000 crores, the Government has doled out benefit of interest free loans worth Rs. 10,400 crores to the sugar lobby without any concrete action by them to clear the arrears due to the cane farmers. In addition it has also extended export subsidy of Rs. 3300/tonne of raw sugar to the sugar lobby while refusing to ensure remunerative prices for the Farmers. This has not benefited in terms of remunerative pricing for farmers. The longstanding demand of cane farmers for getting a remunerative price of Rs. 3,500 per tonne however is not accepted. Notably the MSP announced for 2014-15 is only Rs. 2,200 per tonne. While farmers bear the brunt of falling global prices, the corporate mills earn huge profits when global prices rise without transferring any benefit to farmers. Companies also benefit hugely from by-products like ethanol, press-mud etc while the Farmers are not compensated for these products.

The BJP-led NDA Government and Prime Minister Narendra Modi have yet again betrayed the farmers in distress by going back on their promise of fixing remunerative Minimum Support Prices (MSP) at least 50 percent above the cost of production. The MSP announced for kharif crops 2015-16 does not meet even the cost of production and in most cases the increase is ranging merely from Rs. 15 to Rs. 50 per quintal. This does not reflect the actual costs of production and increasing input costs. The MSP of paddy has been increased merely by Rs. 50/Qtl to Rs. 1410/ Qtl. It falls far below the costs of production in most states.

The Government in its propaganda mode is talking about the Rs.100/Qtl increase in the price of ragi. It is worth noting here that the CACP cost calculations for 2014-15 had put cost of production of ragi as Rs. 1793.87/Qtl. Now a full year after that it is announcing an MSP of just Rs. 1650/Qtl. For jowar the

CACP had calculated cost of production to be Rs. 1788.20/Qtl for 2014-15 and has fixed an MSP of only Rs. 1570/Qtl for 2015-16. Similarly despite the much hyped Rs. 200/Qtl bonus for pulses the cost of production of moong in 2014-15 was Rs. 4970.77/Qtl while the MSP including Bonus is only Rs. 4850/Qtl. The Government's cost calculations are also far below the actual costs incurred by the farmers. The Government claims that the Rs. 200/Qtl bonus for pulses is going to give a strong price signal to farmers to increase acreage and invest for increase in productivity of pulses. This claim has no basis as the costs of production have further increased over the course of the year and the MSP falls below it in pulses as well as all other crops. The announcement of MSP for kharif crops 2015-16 comes at a time when deficient rainfall during the last kharif and unseasonal rains and hailstorm in the rabi season had led to a fall in production of foodgrains by over 5.3 percent according to Government's own figures. The crop losses due to unseasonal rains and hailstorm in the rabi season as well as the unprecedented suicides and death of affected farmers has not been taken into account at all by the Government. If one looks at a comparative table of MSP of rice and wheat for a few selected countries it is the lowest in India for wheat and also among the lowest for rice.

**Chart 1.5: MSP of Rice and Wheat for Selected Countries, 2013**



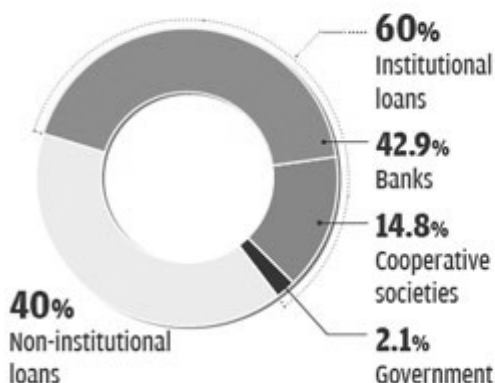
Source: Relevant country websites

Note: The exchange rate is as on 29<sup>th</sup> January, 2014

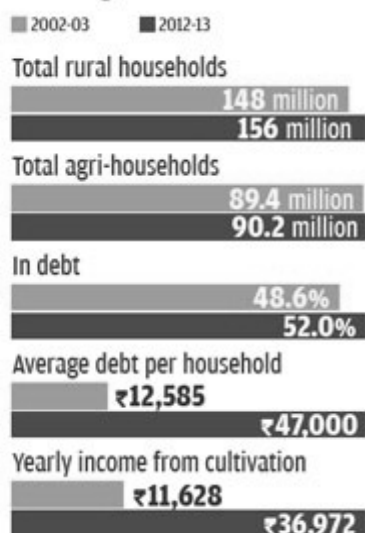
Agribusinesses and “urban farmers” have cornered a bulk of the institutional credit. According to the latest *Situation Assessment Survey of Agricultural Households in India* NSSO data more than 60 percent of the rural households in India are indebted with 92.9 percent of households in Andhra Pradesh being indebted. When compared to 2002-03 the agricultural households in debt has increased from 48.6 percent to 52 percent. The average debt per agricultural household is Rs. 47,000 even as the yearly income from cultivation being merely Rs. 36,972. Nothing has been done to make credit accessible to the farmers or ensure cheaper credit. The dependence on usurious moneylenders has only further increased and there are clear indications that the indebtedness is only going to surge further.

# Rising Indebtedness and Farm Distress

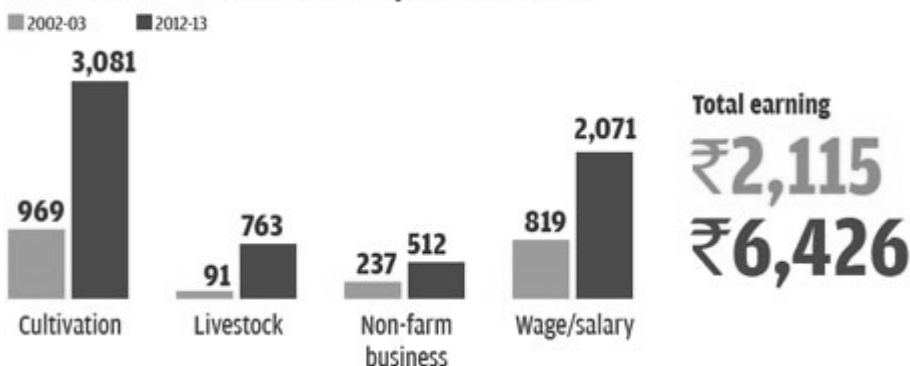
## Breakdown of institutional loans



## Where agri-households stand



## How farmer households earn per month (in ₹)



Source: NSSO Reports for 2002-03 and 2012-13

Nothing concrete has been done for the small, marginal farmers and farm labour who are reeling under falling incomes and rising prices. The promise of comprehensive farm insurance scheme to take care of crop and income loss due to unforeseen natural calamities crop has been forgotten. In the wake of the crop loss in the unseasonal rains and hailstorm, the BJP Government cut down by nearly 50 percent the actual area where crops had been destroyed totally eliminating millions of farmers from claiming any compensation. It then announced a compensation of around 12,000/acre and claimed that it was the highest ever. It is worth noting here that in parts of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and other states hit by farm suicides most were denied of the compensation. In Haryana the rent for leasing in land alone is around 45,000/acre in some parts and costs of cultivation are an additional expense. Even if the compensation of Rs. 12,000/acre is given the farmer would remain in a state of extreme indebtedness. There are also instances of farmers being given cheques for compensation of Rs. 5/acre, Rs. 63/acre and Rs. 200/acre in different parts of the country. All sections of the peasantry have seen declining incomes forcing them to sell their assets on the one hand and being unable to invest in technology, tractors and irrigational infrastructure on the other.

## FACILITATING CORPORATE LOOT AND LAND GRAB

The Land Acquisition Act, 2013 had many problems which were pointed out by the CPI(M) and amendments were moved in Parliament to strengthen it and make it protect the interests of the peasantry and dependents on land. However, the Act was an improvement over the Colonial Act as it enshrined the principle of Consent and Social Impact Assessment as well as certain token safeguards for food security. Under the Colonial Act land could be acquired forcibly under Eminent Domain even without seeking consent of the peasantry. Notably in another day and age Nazi Germany had come up with a provision for a law for the free expropriation of land for the purposes of public utility.<sup>9</sup> The present Government's proposals almost seem to take inspiration from there. This could not happen under the provisions of the LARR 2013. It gave some confidence to the peasantry and other dependents on land that their voice would not go unheard. The Parliamentary Standing Committee which looked into the Bill was headed by BJP leaders Kalyan Singh and Sumitra Mahajan and the BJP had supported the Bill when it was brought before Parliament by the Congress-led UPA Government.

The BJP-led NDA Government has totally reversed its earlier stance on the Land Acquisition Act. It made a U-turn and brought amendments through the ordinance route in December 2014. It will facilitate smooth takeover of land for corporate profiteering and real-estate speculation. This in effect takes us back to a situation worse than during the Colonial Act as even the British rulers did not dare to put it into the Act that land could be acquired for private companies without seeking consent. The Land Acquisition Act Amendment Bill, 2015 brought by the BJP-led NDA Government will facilitate smooth takeover of land for corporate profiteering and real-estate speculation. The Government has in effect reinstated the most draconian provisions of the colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894 and removed the necessity to seek consent of the farmers and other dependants on land as well as done away with the Social Impact Assessment altogether. The class of projects under the New Section 10 A will continue to be exempted from these requirements. It includes five items in the special category including industrial corridors and infrastructure projects under Public Private Partnership. Since most acquisitions fall in these two categories this has the impact of completely nullifying the minimal safeguards contained under the original LARR, 2013. There will be no scope for review by any Expert Group.

The Government in the new amendments has expanded the definition of industrial corridors to include land up to one kilometre on either side of the designated road or railway line for such industrial corridors. This is in violation of the demand that for such projects only that much which is actually the required bare minimum must be considered legal. There will be no safeguards for food security as even fertile multi-cropped land as well as productive rain-fed land can be acquired without any restriction. The possibilities of some rehabilitation and resettlement benefits to dependants on land other than owners of the land have been totally discarded. There is no proposal for a Land Use Policy at national as well as state level. The Government claim of offering job to one person of a family is like uprooting a family from their main source of livelihood and giving a token job to one person of the family. It also does not address the problems of a wide cross-section of dependants on land. Lakhs of acres of productive land will be taken over in the name of industrialisation and infrastructure. This move by the BJP-led NDA Government will only benefit the corporate companies, real estate speculators and the land mafia. It has led to an unprecedented wave of protests across the country by the peasantry and other dependents on land threatened with loss of land and their sole source of livelihood. Across the country there is huge discontent and anger against the Land Bill.

In this context it is to be noted that large scale acquisitions and conversion of agricultural land as well as forest land for Special Economic Zones (SEZs), mining, industries and urbanisation is taking place. Land acquired in the name of SEZs and industrialisation is also often at unfair terms and misused for real estate purposes. The Comptroller and Auditor General noted the non-utilisation of land earmarked for SEZs. Out of a total of 45635.63 hectares of SEZ land allotted till 2014, work has begun in only 28,488.49 hectares. The CAG found gross violations in 17 states of which in Odisha 96.58 percent of SEZ

land remained unutilised. In Odisha, over Rs 75,000 crore was raised by mortgaging such land illegally; in ten years only two percent of projects were ready to start. Most companies that sought captive coal mines — and associated land — never used them, except to boost their own value. Several hectares of land acquired for SEZs invoking public purpose were later sold off or used for other purposes. Among the groups that diverted land acquired for SEZs are Reliance Industries and Essar Steel. Since the enactment of SEZ Act 2005, 576 formal approvals of SEZs covering 60,374.76 hectares was granted in the country, out of which 392 SEZs covering 45,635.63 hectares were notified till March 2014. Out of the 392 notified zones, only 152 had become operational, and SEZs had no noticeable impact on the national economy, the audit said. An RTI has revealed that contrary to the Government's claims that the earlier Act was stalling developmental projects only 8 percent of around 804 industrial projects stalled across India were due to land acquisition problems.<sup>10</sup>

According to a calculation in the case of the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor which passes through 6 states there is the potential threat of loss of almost 7 lakh Sq.km or 38 percent of all agricultural land in the country to forcible acquisition. The scale of acquisition can be understood when one considers the fact that this would translate to more than twice the size of United Kingdom. The proposed capital city of Andhra Pradesh will be built over an area of over 7000 Sq.km of fertile multi-cropped land. The proposed Coastal Corridor SEZ would spread across 1.5 lakh acres in 9 coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh alone it is estimated that more than 23,000 villages would be affected by ongoing acquisitions. In the case of Yamuna Expressway 1.43 lakh acres and another 37,362 acres for the Ganga Expressway are being acquired. The Dedicated Freight Corridor will also see acquisition of thousands of acres of fertile land. A lot of land acquired for Yamuna Expressway has gone for golf courses and Formula One racing track and such projects with limited potential of creating jobs. The proposed 100 Smart Cities will also lead to widespread displacement and land grab. Over 40 percent of agricultural land could face direct threat of forcible acquisition. The provision to survey waste lands is being used to forcibly evict the small and marginal farmers cultivating such lands for generations. This is bound to have serious implications on food security and livelihood security of millions. Land acquisition is thus emerging as a major source of primitive accumulation and transfer of wealth and resources from the people to the corporate world. Interestingly, the Yediyurappa-led BJP Government in Karnataka had come up with an Integrated Agribusiness Development Plan in 2011. The document unabashedly suggests Special Tourism Promotion Zones which would allow vast tracts of fertile land to be taken and have activities like “bullock cart riding” and “feeding animals”. That is what the BJP Government wants to reduce peasant agriculture to.<sup>11</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The BJP-led NDA Government is going ahead with deliberate policies seeking to dispossess the peasantry. The Finance Minister has gone to the extent of hinting that since the share of agriculture in GDP is 15 percent and 60 percent of the population is dependent on it there needs to be a depopulating of the rural areas. This is not based on a plan of proper employment opportunities and social security, it is rather the creation of a large number of insecure pauperised army of labour that will be forced to work and live in precarious conditions. Given the slowdown of the economy after 2010 a study concludes that non-agricultural employment at best could grow by 38 million from 2011-12 to 2018. This is “insufficient to absorb India's growing labour force-estimated to rise by 51 million over the same period. Thus, due to the lack of adequate opportunities in industry and services sector, an additional 12 million will be forced to either depend on low productivity agriculture or remain unemployed. If some of these people do not resort to farm employment, India's unemployment rate will be seen to rise above its current level of 2.2% (2011–12) in the years ahead”.<sup>12</sup> Narendra Modi and the BJP have scant respect for Keynesian prescriptions on welfare, public investment and employment generation. It rather is closer to the Nazi model of high voltage propaganda. The State machinery, the corporate media as well as the social media



are being used to create an illusion while the masses are in acute distress. Communal polarisation and divisive politics have also become the order of the day.

The attacks are mounting on land, labour, peasants and agricultural workers. A broad issue-based unity has been built named Movement for Land Rights/Bhoomi Adhikar Andolan. It will take up struggles against land grab, for land rights and also for reclaiming acquired land remaining unutilised, while championing alternative policies. This will also fight the divisive communal agenda of the Hindutva forces. A country-wide strike has been called by the Trade Unions. Organisations of the peasantry and agricultural workers have called to observe a Demands Day on 1<sup>st</sup> September, 2015 and have synchronised protest actions across the country on their specific demands and extending solidarity to the workers' strike on 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 2015. Through more coordinated action between the peasantry, agricultural workers and workers along with other democratic forces the neo-liberal policies will be resisted in a resolute manner.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Kalecki Michal. "*Stimulating the Business Upswing in Nazi Germany*". Included in Collected works of Michal Kalecki, Vol. VI. Edited by J. Osiatynsky, Oxford University Press, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Kalecki Michal. "*The Business Cycle and Welfare*". Included in Collected works of Michal Kalecki, Vol. VI. Edited by J. Osiatynsky, Oxford University Press, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.bjp.org/manifesto2014>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/06/us-india-election-modi-insight-idUSBREA3500S20140406>

<sup>5</sup> <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=111347>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.ndtv.com/cheat-sheet/india-underscores-need-to-protect-food-security-of-millions-in-firm-stand-at-wto-594140>

<sup>7</sup> <http://cacp.dacnet.nic.in/ViewContents.aspx?Input=1&PageId=36&KeyId=0>

<sup>8</sup> Central Statistics Office (CSO) Data.

<sup>9</sup> NSDAP (Nazi Party) Program

<sup>10</sup> Reply to RTI query by RTI Activist Venkatesh Nayak.

<sup>11</sup> Integrated Agribusiness Development Policy, 2011, Government of Karnataka.

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.crisil.com/pdf/research/CRISIL\\_Research\\_Insight\\_Employment\\_Jan2014.pdf](http://www.crisil.com/pdf/research/CRISIL_Research_Insight_Employment_Jan2014.pdf)