

Volume - 29, No. 9-10

October - 2024



Organ of the  
Central Committee CPI(ML)

# NEW DEMOCRACY

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**Organ of the Central Committee, CPI(ML)**

# **NEW DEMOCRACY**

**October - 2024**

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# **Intensify Struggle For Democratic Rights, In Defense Of People's Movements !**

**D**espite losing majority in Lok Sabha in this year's elections and being forced to form a coalition govt. with NDA allies, RSS-BJP has been relentlessly launching attacks on democratic rights. People's struggles especially those under the leadership of Communist Revolutionaries have been a special target of their attack. Along with attacks against people's movements, RSS-BJP are continuing their attacks against minorities. In their strongholds like UP and Assam, RSS-BJP are particularly sharpening attacks against Muslims.

UAPA has emerged a choice weapon of attack against the activists of the movements of different sections of people. With its stringent provisions against grant of bail, it makes it extremely difficult to secure bail except after very long incarceration without trial and that too in a few cases. A number of student activists are languishing in jails since early 2020 without trial, thus making the process itself a punishment. Despite repeatedly pronouncing that bail should be the norm and jail an exception, the Supreme Court has been practicing just the opposite in the cases under UAPA, refusing to entertain bail pleas on different pretexts and failing to uphold the liberty of those framed under UAPA. In fact, through Watali case judgement, the apex Court has itself made it extremely

difficult to get bail under UAPA. This approach of incarcerating people solely on the basis of complaints of security agencies, sidelining judicial scrutiny of the charges, militates against the very concept of security agencies not having power to keep anybody in detention beyond 24 hours without judicial scrutiny. The whole exercise has been denuded of its content and the very basis of separation of power of executive and judiciary in such cases has been eroded.

Armed with such grossly repressive laws and armed with the might of the state which is getting further and further reinforced, Union Home Minister Amit Shah has claimed that India will be made a Maoist free country over next two years, i.e. by 2026. This is part of the wholesale attack against people's struggles. It should be seen in conjunction with another aspect of RSS-BJP Govt.'s policy- that of attacking 'Urban Naxals', a term coined by RSS propagandists and encompassing all those who fight for democratic rights of struggling people and stand with the oppressed and exploited.

While the people of the country are groaning under poverty and destitution, hunger and malnutrition, discrimination and oppression, growing unemployment and sharply increasing inequality, RSS-BJP Govt.'s priority is to make the country the favourite destination of FDI. Rather than working for ease of living for the vast majority of people, RSS-BJP Govt. is focused on increasing ease of doing business for foreign and domestic Corporate, which is another term for facilitating their increased exploitation of labour and plunder of natural resources. Rather than providing meaningful employment to growing number of unemployed including educated unemployed, RSS-BJP Govt. is focused on further enriching the rich and impoverishing the poor.

Priorities of the RSS-BJP Govt. have an inverse relation with the necessities of the overwhelming majority of India's people.

Amit Shah's pronouncement should be seen in the light of RSS-BJP Govt.'s push to make the mineral and resource rich forest regions of Chhattisgarh available for exploitation by Corporate, both foreign and domestic like Ambani and Adani. Tribals, the inhabitants, are being targeted to either force them out of this region or make them mute spectators of destruction of their habitat and livelihood. This is the most blatant and heinous use of state power in the service of Corporate in what has once been termed as the biggest land grab since Columbus. This loot and plunder of rich resources is the most profitable business for these Corporate, and that this is done with the connivance of the Govt. machinery make the nexus between the two open and naked. This puts the renewed offensive in Chhattisgarh in perspective. Since January 2024, more than 200 tribals and activists have been killed in encounters by security forces.

And this offensive for this purpose is not limited to Chhattisgarh. In Northeast too, the offensive by security forces in tribal areas is very much evident to clear the land for exploitation by foreign and domestic Corporate; closer these are to the present Govt. greater are their benefits. This, in fact, is a countrywide drive.

To cover up their betrayal of the people and annul the electoral verdict of the people against their misrule, RSS-BJP are sharpening their attacks against minorities, especially Muslims. They are deepening communal divide, as evident from UP CM's statement of "batenge toh katenge". This is also their drive to divert the struggle of the exploited and oppressed against social oppression and economic exploitation. The Assam Chief Minister hurls abuses against minorities on a regular basis to keep the

communal pot boiling. Their nefarious attempts at deepening communal polarization run counter to the needs of the people who demand food, necessities and jobs, freedom from exploitation and oppression. People need to forge unity to wage struggles for these and for this they have to defeat attempts to divide them on communal and other parochial grounds.

While the RSS-BJP fascist offensive lost some steam after last Lok Sabha elections, they are trying to overcome this loss and reinvigorate their fascist drive. This brings on the agenda the need to intensify people's movements and struggles of different sections of people which remain very important task for countering march of fascist forces. This however also brings to the fore the need to intensify struggle for defense of democratic rights of the struggling people, the need to defend the activists of people's movement and mobilize the people against spreading hatred against minorities and attacks against their lives and properties. This struggle is very important to defeat the conspiracies of ruling fascist forces to divide and suppress the people and for building people's struggles especially struggles of workers and peasants. Struggle for democratic rights and against attacks of the reactionary ruling forces is an integral part of the struggle of the people against fascist forces and against their exploitation and oppression.



# **Elections In J&K And Haryana : Mixed Results Highlight Need Of People's Movements**

## **J & K : RSS-BJP Rejected In Kashmir Valley**

**R**esults of elections in Haryana and Jammu & Kashmir were declared on October 8, 2024. These were the first elections after Lok Sabha polls during April-June 2024 in which RSS-BJP had lost their majority and formed the Govt. at the Centre with their NDA allies. Results of these elections in J&K and Haryana reflected the operation of different factors in the states. These results also show how the contest has shaped when it is a direct electoral fight between main ruling class parties- BJP and Congress.

J&K elections witnessed failure of RSS-BJP to make any headway in Kashmir Valley. Despite all attempts and employing all tricks RSS-BJP could not win a single seat in the Valley though they managed to win a majority of seats (29 seats) in Jammu region. National Conference won the most seats (42) in the house with 90 seats while its ally Congress bagged just 6 seats. The seats of major regional party PDP slumped to just 3 seats. CPM retained its seat. Both Congress and PDP lost a large chunk of their vote share as compared to earlier elections held in 2014, while NC and BJP marginally increased their vote share. NC-Congress alliance secured a majority of seats.

J&K election results foiled the RSS-BJP game plan of fractured mandate in J&K where it hoped to install their own Chief Minister with the help of independents and small parties. It was evident from the fact that they had fielded a small number of candidates in the Valley extending support to selected independents and candidates of some parties. Further, Lt. Governor of J&K has power to nominate 5 members of the Assembly, which RSS-BJP had hoped may become crucial in installing their own Chief Minister in J&K. But this strategy, cunningly crafted by RSS-BJP, was frustrated by the people of J&K, especially people of Kashmir Valley. RSS-BJP was aware that people of Kashmir Valley are against the brutal suppression of their democratic rights, annulment of Article 370 and repeal of Article 35A. So, through these manipulations RSS-BJP wanted to project that people of J&K have endorsed the steps taken by them i.e. of dissolving the state of J&K into two Union Territories and annulment of the relevant Articles of the Constitution.

Results show that people in J&K have rejected RSS-BJP Govt. steps against the people of J&K and also rebuffed their game plan for a “hung house”. Vote by the people in Kashmir Valley is against the undemocratic steps taken by RSS-BJP Govt. and is a vote for democratic rights. The party of Engineer Rashid, who had won a landslide victory in Lok Sabha election from Baramulla constituency and had been released during the elections, also fared badly due to these concerns of people of Kashmir. The issue of democratic will of the people of Kashmir got reflected in the anger against RSS-BJP Govt.’s actions on August 5, 2019. They voted the NC-Congress alliance to majority.

However, the ordeal of people of J&K is not over. J&K after bifurcation is not a state and the elected Govt. there does not have the powers of a state govt. as earmarked for the states in the



Constitution. RSS-BJP have repeatedly promised to restore statehood but have not done so till now. Power of Central Govt. in Union Territory is well known, as the experience in Delhi proves which is operating under a status of less than a state.

The main take away of these results in J&K is that RSS-BJP's claims that they have acted in the interests of people of J&K and their steps enjoy people's support have been totally rejected. It is pertinent to note that the people of Ladakh, the other UT formed after bifurcation of state of J&K, have been continuously in struggle for their rights. RSS-BJP were rejected in Ladakh in local body elections. These elections clearly prove that RSS-BJP's assertion of working in people's interests was totally fake and they were just implementing their longstanding agenda of abrogation of special status of J&K, Article 370 in particular. This has been one of the core issues of their Hindu Rashtra project. In this they were backed by many regional parties of the ruling classes after their return to power in 2019. This was unleashing of all round Hindutva offensive. Their steps were against the people of J&K and were opposed by people there and people continued their opposition by rejecting RSS-BJP in these elections. The election results have blown the lid off from their much trumpeted lie of people of the Valley being happy with RSS-BJP.

Besides rejection of RSS-BJP, this election result may facilitate growth of the movement for democratic rights, though this movement will continue to face severe state repression. However, people may be emboldened to launch movements now that their rejection of RSS-BJP rule has been demonstrated in the elections. Setback to fascist forces in J&K, which they had made their test case, is a good development.

## **Haryana : RSS-BJP Edges Congress in Close Contest**

More attention was focused on the results of Haryana assembly elections, a Hindi speaking state which borders capital Delhi from three sides. In Haryana, anger against RSS-BJP misrule was perceptible among the people in most of the state and they were widely expected to lose. In this state it evolved mostly into a direct contest between Congress and RSS-BJP. In the last Lok Sabha elections both the parties had got 5 seats each. However, Congress-AAP alliance had got 1.5% more votes than RSS-BJP and had led in Lok Sabha elections in 46 assembly segments to 44 by the RSS-BJP. Congress led alliance had fared better in the rural areas while BJP performed better in urban areas. This was largely due to the impact of farmers' movement led by SKM in the rural areas of Haryana.

Since Lok Sabha elections, people's resentment had continued to grow. Sensing this growing anger of the people, RSS-BJP had replaced their Chief Minister of nine and a half years, Manohar Lal Khattar, with Naib Singh Saini, an OBC, to gain some support in rural areas. This move was also meant to ward off people's anger. Yet people's resentment continued. And this resentment is evident in the fact that nine of the eleven ministers of RSS-BJP Govt. lost elections and the two ministers who won did so with narrow margins. Their ally, JJP, was wiped out, with the former Deputy Chief Minister even losing his deposit.

This was considered an election which Congress was expected to win, but they lost. Smug with some success in the last Lok Sabha elections, Congress did not draw proper lessons from it. They considered it their own victory, endorsement of Rahul Gandhi's

leadership rather than people's anger against RSS-BJP's ten year old misrule marked by service to Corporate and suppression of people's struggles. From this wrong premise, trumpeted by sycophants and neo-converts, Congress took their victory for granted despite a very close electoral fight in the recent Lok Sabha elections. They broke alliance with AAP and considered themselves sure of nearly two thirds victory. Though AAP did not win any seat and polled only 1.79% of votes, still this was more than double the margin between Congress and RSS-BJP. Congress vote share was 39.09% (39.34% with its ally CPM that contested one seat) and RSS-BJP vote share was 39.94%. Congress gained over 11% vote as compared to last assembly elections while BJP gained over 3% votes largely due to decimation of JJP in the elections.

Their conduct shows that ruling class parties like Congress do not really consider the present ruling dispensation, RSS-BJP, as fascist, though they raise such voices when it suits them. They saw this election as a chance to come to power and relegated question of defeating RSS-BJP into background.

Congress left the entire elections to Bhupinder Singh Hooda and marginalized all their other leaders. Of the 90 candidates, reportedly 76 belonged to Hooda camp within Congress. This had led to anger among other leaders and had percolated to their support base. Kumari Shailja's sulking was much in evidence and she withdrew from the campaign for a number of days. It was not merely a conflict between leaders but had its impact on the support base of Kumari Shailja among Dalits. To capitalize on this, RSS-BJP played on it; even inviting Kumari Shailja to join BJP. In a closely contested elections, Dalits' vote were crucial as they account for 20.17% of the electorate, mostly constituting workers in rural areas. They are second only to Jats, preponderant among landowning

peasantry and a section even being landlords in major part of Haryana, except in South Haryana where Yadavs are the main landowning community in rural areas. BJP secured 8 of the 17 seats reserved for SCs, double the number they had won last time. Area of Mewat where Meo Muslims have a large number in the electorate stood against RSS-BJP. Urban areas continued to remain stronghold of BJP with major sections of upper castes and Punjabis siding with them.

While Congress benefited from the Farmers' movement that led to gravitation of self-cultivating land owning community – Jat votes- to Congress, Congress did singular disservice to Farmers' movement by isolating Jats from other communities, especially from rural poor who are their ally in the struggle against Corporate offensive against their land and in the field of Agriculture. As Congress has no policy difference on that score, it has no regard for their issues beyond electoral arena.

Some of the specific features of the situation in Haryana were evident even during Farmers' movement in Haryana. Farmers' movement was very intense in northern and central Haryana but was not so intense in South Haryana. The reasons for this are rooted in agricultural economy in respective areas. South Haryana is home to large industrial enterprises and megalopolises- Gurugram and Faridabad. Scarcity of water affected agricultural operations in this part, not rendering much agricultural surplus with self-cultivating peasantry. This was one of the reasons why the movement in this area was not as intense as in other parts of rural Haryana. Another important feature had been relatively lukewarm support to Farmers' movement in urban areas as compared to such support in Punjab while movement in major part of rural Haryana was quite intense. These were the fault lines which were utilized by RSS-BJP.

Congress wanted to piggy ride the peasant anger.

Industrial workers in South Haryana are drawn from both local areas as well as outside. In Panipat which had been a big centre of pit looms and power looms employing workers mainly from other states, industrial units have suffered crisis and number of industrial workers has actually come down. In the period of earlier Hooda Govt., workers movement in Panipat and Gurgaon was suppressed quite brutally. Workers' leaders were incarcerated while workers were thrown out of jobs for protesting against their exploitation and demanding their legal rights.

Electoral battle in Haryana was quite intense and margins low. Though RSS-BJP could come back to power for the third time, but the difference between the two main parties is quite small in terms of vote share. RSS-BJP has been projecting this as a big victory and is trying to push this into service to gain steam for its fascist march which it had lost to an extent after the last parliamentary elections. RSS-BJP is trying to show this result as endorsement of its anti-people economic policies and fascist repression on people's movements. However, this election has been lost by Congress rather than won by the BJP. In a curious turn facilitated by the main opposition Congress, it turned to be a vote on Hooda rather than on ten years of misrule of BJP.

Given the miniscule difference among the main contenders which is amplified in terms of seats due to first past the post system, there was enough scope of electoral management in which RSS-BJP is well ahead of other parties. Strategic fielding of independents and manipulation in closely fought seats is obviously their fort. Manipulation of EVMs have been once again come into focus and Election Commission should dispel all doubts raised by other parties rather than acting in service of the ruling RSS-BJP. Specific

complaints about functioning of EVMs must be addressed and if EC fails to do so, higher judiciary should step in.

From this election it is clear that Congress, though largest opposition party, finds it difficult to defeat BJP especially in Hindi heartland. The reason for this is that Congress builds its campaign around dominant social sections whose majority is with RSS-BJP. Though Congress leaders raise the questions like conducting caste census, their approach lacks seriousness. Even in the last elections major blow to RSS-BJP was delivered where regional parties confronted RSS-BJP or were leading the opposition alliance.

Beyond the electoral contest but emanating from it, the question of forging unity of toilers, of peasants and workers is the main concern, especially for the progressive and revolutionary forces. Bulk of the peasantry (nearly 87%) have small land holdings and toil on their land and even labour outside and workers including rural workers have common interests against Corporate and big sharks including land Mafia. But the ruling class parties keep on increasing the gulf among these sections of toiling masses. However, given the intensifying offensive against the peasants and workers on behest of foreign and domestic Corporate, forging and strengthening this unity is of utmost important. This offensive is rooted in deepening crisis of imperialist system and intensifying drive of Corporate for maximizing their profits in that situation resulting in growth and strengthening of fascist forces in different countries. Their profit maximizing drive is coming in conflict with the existing democratic rights which they wish to abridge. Fascist forces in our country want to prevent the unity between peasants and workers through various means including their campaign of communal polarization and wish to advance their fascist agenda on its strength.

These elections once again highlight the importance of building people's struggles to stop the march of fascist forces. Struggles of the exploited and oppressed, of workers and peasants, of youth and women and of Dalits and tribals should be developed to challenge the fascist turn of the ruling classes. People's struggles against neoliberal policies foisted on the Indian people by finance capital dominated by imperialism and implemented by the big bourgeois, big landlord ruling classes should be developed to shake the architecture of exploitation and oppression of Indian toiling masses. This unity of people in struggle will be the real bulwark against March of Fascism. Building and developing people's struggles including struggles of different sections of working masses is the main aspect of movement against fascist forces.



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<b>Sangrami Ekta</b>	<b>Odia</b>

# **Punjab : How To Build Sustainable Agriculture To Replace Model Of Green Revolution**

(Kirti Kisan Union (KKU) has presented a paper of alternative policies against the present agricultural model of Green Revolution. We are here reproducing this paper which outlines a set of policies for sustainable agriculture which are useful in struggle against the present agricultural model which is anti-peasant and anti-nature. - Editor)

*Kirti Kisan Union has demanded a sustainable agriculture model. It is presenting a paper on an alternative model which should be made part of a new agriculture policy. Following are the points of alternative agriculture model:*

1. Agricultural state, Punjab itself is in deep agricultural crisis. Trapped in crisis, farmers and labourers are forced to commit suicide. This crisis is rooted in present Agricultural model, familiar as Green Revolution, which is not built on local needs and resources, rather it is a product of imperialist interests. This model is based on



a mono cropping pattern. It causes gradual degradation of fertility and is unable to maintain production level. Consistently, quantity of inputs has to be increased and with rising prices, the farmers have to bear the increasing costs. Level of prices is tilted to benefit Industry. Prices of inputs have risen more swiftly than that of agricultural produce. Both having no reciprocal balance. It has made Agriculture a deficit business and Peasantry has got badly trapped in debt.

2. Agriculture model is not the sole cause of indebtedness. Unnecessary mechanization on small holdings has also taken place. It has heavily burdened the Peasantry and shrunk employment chances as a collateral damage. Nowadays unemployment is the biggest problem being faced by labour. Unemployment has also become the main reason that has made the labourers heavily indebted. It has also increased trend of idleness.

3. This model has caused heavy destruction of environment. It extracted unmeasured ground water and has forced us on to the verge of water extinction. Punjab is going towards a huge water crisis and land will get converted into barren land in the near future. Indiscriminate use of chemicals has made water, air and land polluted with poisonous substances. Cancer, hepatitis B, jaundice and other diseases are becoming like a pandemic. Privatization of health sector has made the situation grimmer and quality treatment is becoming out of the reach of farmers and labourers. This is also causing economic hardship to farmers and labourers.

**Above mentioned reasons make it necessary to change ongoing model and it must be replaced with pro people, pro nature and sustainable model. This must become the core of any new Agriculture Policy. Such a model should be based upon the following:**

(A) Punjab must be divided into agro climactic zones and encouragement should be given to cultivate those crops which are suited to its soil, availability of water and conducive to environment. Special subsidy on inputs, offering free seeds, and free extension for horticulture could be included in it. Horticulture should be assumed to be a big farmer's job. Special aid be provided to small farmers to bring them into it.

(B) Agriculture research be decentralized and divided into natural growing areas. These agriculture research centres should focus their research on such crops as are suited to local soil, environment and water level.

(C) Agro processing units must be established in different areas according to their agriculture zones. These projects should be government owned or in cooperative sector. All Corporate, whether foreign or local, have to be kept out of marketing of Agriculture and Agro processing. Corporate must be barred from this sector. This sector should be reserved for governmental and cooperative sector.

(D) Minimum Support Price should be fixed and guarantee of procurement of fruits, vegetables and all agriculture produce should be ensured. Punjab govt will have to get CCL (Cash Credit Limit) from Centre and CCL could be used to procure required crops. This right should be with Punjab govt. Till Centre does not give CCL, Punjab govt should purchase all crops from its own funds.

(E) Agriculture machinery should be prepared as per the given geographical conditions and nature of land holdings, for instance hand pushing tractor instead of machine tractor for small holdings like up to 5 acres. China could be followed in this sphere. New Agriculture Policy must be adapted to labour intensive rather than machinery intensive agriculture. That would create more

employment in rural sector. Unemployment should also be addressed through industrialization in rural areas. Punjab has more possibilities of Agro based industry to grow, but foreign and Indian Corporate control the market, capital and technology. Growth is not possible until Corporate is restricted from Agro based industry.

(F) Land Ceiling Act must be strictly implemented and surplus land be distributed among landless, marginal and poor farmers. Shrines, Temple lands must fall in ambit of Land Ceiling Act. Tillers must be turned into owners. Panchayati land's one third share must be given to Dalits and remaining must go to small farmers. Big and rich farmers should be barred from taking Panchayati land on rent.

Land of small peasantry must be concentrated in an area through land consolidation and irrigation facility to it should be provided by govt. machinery. Such centres should be opened at village level, where free of cost agricultural machinery is to be provided to farmers. Loans without interest must be given to farmers for their social needs. Tenants must be given ownership rights.

Waters of Punjab must be preserved and water issue should be resolved as per Riparian principle. Irrigation for every field and drinking water for each household must be the policy. Canal system must be revisited and updated.

G. Agriculture research, reports and other information must be communicated in all villages in Punjabi language

H. Natural agriculture is an ideal model but experience of Srilanka must be kept in mind and advanced gradually. Experience of Cuba would be handy.

Discussion may continue on New Agriculture Model and experiences of farmers must be taken into account and made a part

of policy also.

Agriculture is not restricted to just grain production. New policy must include Horticulture, Dairy, Fishery, Poultry, Piggery and similar also. Water logged areas could be covered under Fishery and having large grazing areas covered under Dairy farming.

Intercropping must be encouraged and required training should be provided.

### **A few additional points**

1. Indo Pak trade must be opened from Attari and Hussainiwala borders. It will bring enormous benefit to people of Punjab. This trade may not only be restricted to Pakistan, it will be carried forward throughout to the Middle East, Europe and other parts of world through road.

2. Punjab should demand royalty from non-riparian states especially from Rajasthan. Beds of the canals must not be made of concrete because its unnatural and it stops seepage of water. Seepage improves the amount and quality of ground water.

3. Strict action must take against industrial units polluting ground water through reverse boring and putting hazardous material into ground water. A policy needs to be drafted to improve recharging of ground by rain water through safe methods. 'Kaddu' (puddling) is a very harmful method adopted in paddy plantation (kaddu-farmers make a flooded field with heavy machinery to retain water on surface for long. But water evaporates and water table gets continuously depleted.

4. Agriculture is a state subject but it is determined effectively by Centre. Farm Laws' enactment was a glaring example. On the pretext of Dam Safety Act, the Centre is now controlling its head

works. Although Agriculture is a state subject but Revenue is controlled by the Centre. So, Govt. of Punjab and people should also come forward and must demand a real federal structure rather than a caricature of federalism.

5. Intercropping must be encouraged.



## **Celebrating Completion Of Fifty Years Of PDSU**

Maane ke is zameen ko na gulzar kar sake

Kuch khaar kam to kar diya, guzre jidhar se ham

(It is true, we did not turn the world into a garden. But at least we lessened some thorns from the paths we traveled.

- Sahir

**I**n the midst of a rage sweeping across the country and many parts of the globe, PDSU was born. The founding conference of the PDSU was held on 12,13 October 1974 in Hyderabad in the then Andhra Pradesh. It is completing fifty (50) years this month and on this occasion a Celebratory meeting is slated to be held on 24th October at the Tagore Auditorium in the Osmania University. It is in this university that foundations were laid for the emergence of PDSU, when George Reddy began to organise the students in the first years of the seventies. The various study circles that he organised and the banner, PDS that was floated were precursors to the formation of PDSU in 1974 while in many districts various

platforms like PSF, PS, SF etc., merged into this platform in 1974. This was in a period of unrest and turmoil in various parts of the world and in the country as well. It was a period in which we witnessed a spate of student movements that shook the governments. There was that rage in the late sixties stretching to the seventies. The French students' movement, the Soweto students' revolt, upsurge in several Latin American countries and above all the resistance by the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression had profoundly impacted the minds of the young. And there was Che Guevara. There were a spate of peasant and tribal struggles, the Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Godavari Valley in this period in this country that played a role in shaping the consciousness of the youth and students. It was in this milieu that the seeds of revolutionary students' movement were sown and thus was born the PDSU.

In the last fifty years, the PDSU fought many battles for the resolution of student problems. In the pre-Emergency period, it fought for better facilities and for scholarships for students of social welfare hostels, agitated against bus fare hike, campaigned against price rise. It built a sustained, state level successful agitation against rustication of eleven PDSU activists by the OU administration. It stood in support of the historic rail workers strike in 1974 and five of its activists were jailed under the Defence of Indian Rules (DIR). Every year, on 14 April, George memorial meetings were held drawing students in thousands.

The post-emergency period was a period of revival of the organisation and a series of student agitations took place on the various problems of the student community. Huge mobilisations took place in this period and many militant struggles were organised. Martyrs' memorial meetings remembering George,

Jampala, Srihari drew large number of students in the state.

In the history of PDSU the State conference in Visakhapatnam in 1981 will be remembered for the stubborn resistance put up by PDSU members against state repression in which Com. Samabaiah Varahalu died. In the late eighties the PDSU took a leading role in the agitation against Capitation fee.

The fifty years have been one in which there were several ups and downs and on this occasion it is necessary that we introspect and chart out the future course. Narratives of past struggles should enthuse us, while learning from the past experiences. We should concretely and correctly evaluate the present conditions in which we are placed today. We need to evolve strategies to move forward in the present dangerous situation.

We are celebrating the completion of 50 years of PDSU in an environment in which the Education system has come under the Corporate, Private sector and the Government sector is crippled leaving Public Education high and dry. Doors have been wide opened for foreign universities to enter into higher education. Coupled with this is the drive by the Government at the Centre to saffronize Education at various levels. The political project of the RSS-BJP is sought to be injected in Education with the various changes coming about in syllabi snuffing out whatever little secular and democratic values the Education system had. The National Education Policy is a mode to saffronize Education. Everything thing goes in the name of Nation and National security. Their notion of Nation is sectarian and communal and is akin to what was Hitler's fascism. A country with huge diversities is sought to be replaced by a monolithic entity called the Hindu Rashtra.

We are celebrating the occasion in a situation when the economy in the country is not really shining but is under severe

stress with unemployment at its highest levels, with inequalities and wealth concentration on the rise. Stifling voices of protest and dissent is the order of the day and the new Criminal Laws are tailored towards this end. This situation throws up many challenges before the progressive student movement and on this occasion, we should brace ourselves to effectively counter these challenges. Let us remember those martyrs, George, Jampala, Srihari, Madhusudhan Raj, Rangavalli, Maraju Veeranna, Chand Pasha, Cheralu, Veera Reddy, Kola Shanker, Sambaiah, Ramanaih, Biksham, who made PDSU and laid down their lives in the cause of the people and reiterate our commitment to realise the dream of these martyrs.

## **Progressive Democratic Students Union (PDSU)**

Telangana State Committee

(Issued by Mahesh and Nagaraj)

*(This is a leaflet issued for observing 50 years of foundation of PDSU. We are reprinting this leaflet. –Editor)*





# **Broadening War In Middle East And The Pursuit Of Restoration Of Uni-polar World**

● **Zameer**

**T**The road to disaster is paved by series of ‘mistakes’. These may be miscalculations or simply pursuit of a goal irrespective of consequences. Today war zones are broadening and new fronts are being opened up or extended. Leaders of powerful countries are acting as puppets of powerful interests intent on maximizing their wealth regardless of impending catastrophe in its wake. World is being pushed towards wars in different parts of the world, increasing danger of world war. US imperialism’s drive to restore/preserve its domination of the world is mainly responsible for pushing the world towards grave dangers.

Broadening its attack against Arabs, Israel backed by US imperialism has launched an all-out offensive against Lebanon. The current phase of Zionist aggression started with explosions in pagers in Lebanon on September 17 in which at least 37 people were killed and over 3000 injured. This was followed by explosion in walkie talkies the next day. And this was followed by all out aerial bombardment in different parts of Lebanon. Chief of Israeli Defense Forces has said that preparations for ground invasion are well advanced. At least 550 people were killed, mostly women and

children, in these attacks and more than 1000 injured on the first day of bombing. This bombing campaign has continued without any letup. One aspect of this “pager attack” has been the involvement of state actors in facilitating Israel in carrying out this attack- mainly Taiwan and some companies in Hungary. Order had been executed by them and through them and without their involvement it was not possible for Israel to carry out this attack at all. These attacks indiscriminately targeting civilian population are violation of all international laws of war and are crimes against humanity, but this hardly matters to perpetrators and sponsors of this war whose “rule based order” applies to others but does not apply to themselves.

On September 27, Israel launched a targeted attack killing Hezbollah chief, Hasan Nasrallah. Hezbollah is a prominent organization of Lebanon and plays an important role in Lebanon society and state. Targeted killing of Nasrallah and other leaders of Hezbollah is a calculated attempt by Israel and US imperialist rulers to broaden the war. They hope for the light at the end of this tunnel but it will bring only ruin to them. The tunnel may be long but not infinite.

Avowed objective of Israel Govt. is to eliminate ability of Hezbollah to fire rockets into Northern Israel. Since October 7 last year there have been regular exchanges of missiles across Israel-Lebanon border resulting in a large number of Israelis leaving the northern areas bordering Lebanon. Israel regularly perpetrates such attacks against its neighbours and they have got used to it but Israeli people cocooned in the artificial peace bubble are not used to this. Israel has launched all out aerial attacks across Lebanon. To explain disproportionate killing of civilians Israel is claiming that Hezbollah is hiding its missiles and keeping its ammunition in

civilian areas. The real objective of Israel is to inflict collective punishment on people of Lebanon and force Hezbollah into isolation. These reactionaries have drawn no lessons, rather are incapable of drawing any lessons from their pursuit of similar design in Gaza where they left no atrocity unperpetrated reducing major part of Gaza into rubble. There too the avowed objective was to eliminate Palestinian resistance and particularly Hamas. But their unparalleled brutalities have not only made every Palestinian a resister but led to strengthening of Hamas in West Bank. Israel backed by US is out to achieve the unattainable goal of eliminating resistance by crushing the people into submission. This cannot but lead to widening of the war front. Israel's destruction in the areas of Arab world cannot but lead to defiance not submission; will lead to ultimate defeat irrespective to some claimed immediate success.

Israel is no normal state. It was and is an imperialist sponsored project implanting a killing machine in the Arab world to dominate the entire Middle East. Western imperialist powers have been ever improving this machine increasing its killing capabilities bestowing latest military technology and equipment. It cannot exist at peace with its neighbours. For Israel, peace means more and more expansion and branding all resistance to this expansion as terrorism. Zionist expansionism entails capture of the land and expulsion of the people. In this respect it is a settlers' state removing the inhabitants. To carry out this expansionist aim, neither US imperialism nor Israel wants any powerful country to emerge in this region that is not under their influence. There are a number of military bases of US imperialism and some other imperialist powers in the region. Israel is the most important pillar of Western imperialist influence in the region, the other being Arab monarchies and dictators. The very project of Zionist state involved

dispossession and expulsion of Palestinians, Palestine infamously termed as “land without people.”

When on October 7, Palestinians attacked an Israeli resort meant for service personnel, Israel launched a war of extermination of Palestinians. While Gaza has been the main centre of their genocide of Palestinians, they have intensified killings of Palestinians in West Bank and further occupying their lands. This is enough to give a lie to Israel-US propaganda that Israeli attack is targeted against Hamas as West Bank is ruled by Palestine Authority and not Hamas. While Palestinians are waging a self-sacrificing, death defying struggle for their national existence, resistance organizations like Hezbollah in Lebanon, Houthis in Yemen and resistance groups in Iraq and Syria are actively supporting Palestinians. Houthis ruling major part of Yemen have blocked Red Sea route for Israel linked ships and also US and UK ships in Red Sea. They have launched missile attacks against Israel. On the other hand, Hezbollah has maintained continuous support to Palestinians and there have been continuous exchange of fire across the border since October last year. Hezbollah is an important organization in Lebanon and has a powerful say in Lebanon Govt.

These resistance groups have stood by Palestinians. They are no isolated militants or “terrorists” as US and other Western imperialist powers call them but embody the will of Arab people of their territories who cannot abandon their Palestinian brothers and sisters. Imperialists cannot or rather do not want to acknowledge that oppressed people do not like occupation, they think of people as an inert mass and feel that eliminating a few leaders will make the people capitulate. Hence, they are on a spree to kill leaders of Hamas, Hezbollah and other resistance groups. But from this ordeal of fire are emerging more steeled leaders and above all a more

determined people.

These groups are supported by Iran which is the main target of US-Israel attacks in the Middle East. Since overthrow of Shah Pahlavi, this is an important country in the Middle East outside their influence, standing with the legitimate aspirations of Palestinians. US led Western Imperialists have carried out regime change in Iraq and Libya, deposing Saddam Hussein through invasion and Muamar Gaddafi through Aerial bombings. On the other hand, main Arab and Middle East countries ruled by monarchs and dictators have not come in real support of Palestinians. That they have not openly supported Israel is largely due to huge ground swell of support for Palestinians among Arabs. They are indulging in a fine balancing act really supporting US-Israel and pretending to be sympathizing with Palestinians.

This brings to light the question of “cease fire” being so regularly overtly pursued by US imperialism and so relentlessly frustrated by them. They really do not want any cease fire and are firmly standing behind Israel’s war of aggression and extermination. They need this show, this camouflage to save their Arab clients from anger of the people of their countries. It is apparent that US imperialism and some other western imperialist powers are financing and arming Israel to carry out this war against Palestinians and Arabs. While the present ruling dispensation in US, the Democratic Party, pretends to favour ceasefire for pacifying their own base which is angry at this support besides shielding Arab rulers, they are in fact fully behind aggression and genocide carried out by Israel. At one point, President of USA Biden announced ceasefire proposals on behalf of Israel but Israel vehemently denied having had anything to do with those proposals.

There is growing anger in the Arab world against genocide of

Palestinians by Israel backed by US Admn. This anger is seen in the Arab streets and is also targeted against their own leaders who only pay lip service to the Palestinian cause but in fact do everything against it. To prevent boiling over of this anger in Arab society is the main reason that US imperialism and Arab monarchs and dictators make this show off of ceasefire negotiations. This is show-off of being busy without business.

While US rulers talk of peace in the region, they have increased their military might in the region since October 2023. Every time Israel opens a new front or launches new wave of suppression, they increase their armed deployment in the region, dispatching more military vessels and carriers to shield Israel from any attack by the resistance group. In fact, before every new offensive launched by Israel, a visit of US Secretary of State to Israel has been a regular feature. And by the time Israel launches a new offensive, additional US warships and vessels reach the new arena of Israeli offensive. US Admn. perfunctorily and routinely denies any involvement, even any prior knowledge of the Israeli attack on the people or targeted killing of leaders, but their actions defy these denials.

And it is in accord with the very concept subscribed to by both Democrats and Republicans of USA of iron-clad guarantees of support to Israel even if Israel carries out genocide or any war crime or any crime against humanity with impunity. This support is total and unconditional. Even when US Admn. is pretending to work for ceasefire they have increased aid and military supplies to Israel. Israel Govt. has recently claimed to have received \$8.7 billion in military aid from USA. Pentagon or State Dept. has not denied this claim. It is clear that US is funding this war of aggression and genocide by Israel. In fact, it can and should be seen as a joint US-

Israel war against Palestinians and people of Arab countries.

It is apparent from their conduct, that US imperialism is bent on helping Israel in every possible way to eliminate the resistance groups and commit atrocities against the people to deter from supporting resistance groups. US imperialism understands that continued control over oil rich Middle East is crucial for its world hegemony and its drive to restore uni-polar world challenged by other imperialist powers - China and Russia. They have watched with concern growing footprints of China in the region. China's brokering normalization of relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, two main powers in West Asia and China hosting meetings of Palestinian organizations to forge unity among them. With this broadening offensive and playing the game of trying for ceasefire, US imperialism is trying to position itself as the sole arbiter of disputes in the region.

In this ever-expanding war, their main target is Iran. US and Israel consider that it will be easy to suppress the resistance groups including Hamas if Iran is neutralized i.e. either defeated or threatened enough to stop supporting resistance groups. However, taking on Iran directly is not easy and is of high risk. Hence, they are trying to eliminate all resistance groups. Direct confrontation with Iran may also bring other imperialist powers into conflict.

US big capitalists are unanimous in their support for aggressions carried out by Israel and of impunity with which these are carried out. They vie to outdo each other in their support to Israel. Though there is growing difference in attitude towards war in Ukraine with an important section of big capitalists wanting to make peace with Russia but they are unanimous in their support for Israel. This in fact is difference in their perception of handling two of the major contradictions of imperialism i.e. contradiction between

imperialism and oppressed countries and contradiction among imperialist powers. While ruling big capitalists want to intensify oppression of weaker countries, they differ on how to handle the contradictions with other imperialist powers namely Russia and China. A section of them wants to make peace with Russia to distance it from China whom they consider as their main rival, especially in economic field. This difference also gets reflected in attitude towards China. While all of them want to confront China economically, a section of them wants calibrated scaling up of confrontation with China with risk management strategy rather than all out confrontation. But the main drive of US big capital to maximize their profits and extract more and more surplus from the working people who are now mostly located in what is being referred as Global South.

However, howsoever powerful is the imperialist enemy and its local Zionist representative, people of Middle East are getting increasingly united and taking to road of resistance. They are not scared of the newest weaponry nor are they hesitant to give any sacrifice. This increasing unity of people in struggle cannot be defeated.

Indian Govt. catering to different imperialist powers especially Russia and America, while not taking sides in Ukraine war, is mostly siding with Israel. The present Govt. has given up India's longstanding stand of supporting the cause of Palestinians, reducing it to occasional photo-ops. Indian Govt. abstained on United Nations General Assembly resolution calling on Israel to vacate the Palestinians lands they have captured since 1967. Indian Govt. is also supplying weapons to Israel, sending Indian workers to Israel and forging close business relations with Israel. This is despite world-wide condemnation of Israel's actions against



Palestinians and Lebanon. Bulk of mainstream media is sympathetic to Israel with only occasional voices in favour of Palestinians. There is also an attempt of projecting the struggle of Palestinians to the Indian people through communal overtones. But the interests of Indian people lie with Palestinian masses, lie in opposition to Imperialism which is exploiting and oppressing vast Global South including India. Interests of India demand that we stand with Palestinians.



## **On Recent Elections In Sri Lanka For President**

**(In Sri Lanka election for President was held on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2024. In this election Leader of National People's Power (NPP), Anura Kumara Dissanayake won. Janata Vimukti Perumana (JVP) is the leading constituent of NPP. On 25.9.2024, New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party issued a statement to the media on this election. We are here reproducing an approximate Translation of NDMLP Statement. - Editor)**

**I**n the elections held last week for the 9th Executive President of Sri Lanka, the National People's Power had put forward pro-people policies emphasizing the interests of the people and succeeded in having its leader Anura Kumara Dissanayake elected and sworn in as President.

The basis of this victory can be seen as the culmination of the

wave of the Aragalaya popular struggle that was transformed into votes of the toiling masses. This voting has eliminated has side-lined the traditional ruling class forces from the stage of executive power. Hence the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party considers the people who voted in anticipation of structural changes, Anura Kumara Dissanayake who was elected President thereby, and the National People's Power are deserving of praise and welcome.

Besides, although the country has nominally freed itself from colonial rule, it is still a country in neo-colonial stranglehold. As a result of it, the country and the people had been pushed into a grave political, economic and social crisis. The resources of the country and the toil of the people have been wrung by foreign powers with the consent and support of local capitalist forces with feudal roots that held state power. Although there were struggles against it, they were frustrated by the ruling classes. Those who came to power in the name of Sinhala Buddhist national sentiment bowed to the upper class elite and foreign imperialist powers and wrecked the interests of the country and the livelihood of the people. To conceal it and divert the attention of the people from it, the local ruling classes and foreign imperialist and regional hegemonic forces developed the national question into enmity and hostile contradictions among nationalities, and thereby served their class interests. As a culmination of the process, the country was subject to a grave political and economic crisis and propelled into bankruptcy. The livelihood of the people hit rock bottom.

Aragalaya was the surge of popular struggle that was born amid this climate of crisis and drove out the then rulers from the arena of political power. But that uprising was deflected by foreign imperialist and regional hegemonic forces to place Ranil Wickremesinghe once more in power through the back door and

hold on to power for two years.

It is as delivering a counter blow to that the people have brought the National People's Power to power by electing Anura Kumara Dissanayake President. Hence the New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party emphasizes the importance of the need to find a just solution to the national question while acting to find proper solutions to the severe economic crises faced by the people.

At the same time New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party assures that it will be firmly on the side of the people, the interests of the country and its nationalities in opposing the ruling local reactionary forces and the foreign imperialist and regional hegemonic forces that inspire them to oppose whatever steps that may be taken to uphold national interests and take pro-people measures.

The Party also affirms that it will join hands with the people to support whatever just actions taken by the new government and oppose whatever is anti-people.

**SK Senthivel**

**General Secretary,**

**New Democratic Marxist Leninist Party**



# **Oppose The Intensifying U.S. Intervention In The Philippines !**

## **Condemn The May 1 Arrests Of Anti-Imperialist Filipinos !**

(We are reprinting here a statement issued by ILPS  
Chairperson Len Cooper on May 3, 2024. – Editor)

**T**he recent arrests of six Filipino activists during the Labour Day protest at the United States Embassy in Manila served as a testament to the continuing repression against workers and people's movement in the Philippines. Thousands of Filipinos stormed the streets of Manila, demanding workers' rights and an end to the US presence in the country, while also calling for accountability for the crimes of imperialism in the massacre of Filipinos and Palestinians. However, the peaceful demonstration was met with brutality as US-trained Philippine police resorted to violence, beating, and water canning of protestors in an attempt to stop the march.

The cries and signs of protesting Filipinos were clear—U.S., out of the Philippines! This is amid the growing presence of U.S. troops in the archipelago, as evidenced by the ongoing Balikatan war exercises. These military exercises, touted as routine operations, in reality tramples upon Philippine sovereignty and the rights of the

Filipino people.

Under the guise of military cooperation, the Philippines has become a staging ground for US aggression against China, with Balikatan 2024 marking the largest display of US military might in history. With over 12,000 U.S. troops participating alongside allied troops from France and Australia, these exercises served as a clear message aimed at China and intended to escalate tensions in the region.

China continuously harasses Filipino fisherfolk and vessels through its encroachment in the West Philippine Sea (WPS). In a recent display of bullying, Chinese authorities used water cannons against Filipino ships.

However, the U.S.-Marcos regime heralds the Balikatan exercises as the solution by exploiting Chinese aggression in the WPS to justify U.S. militarization of the Philippines. Recently, the U.S. led a joint combat manoeuvre in Philippine waters with Japan, Australia, and the Philippines, masquerading as “multilateral maritime cooperation.” In reality, these are war provocations, deliberately traversing the waters of WPS, the South China Sea, and areas near the Taiwan Strait to incite full-blown imperialist war.

Meanwhile, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos Jr. shamelessly embraces U.S. intervention. By allowing the Balikatan and the stationing of thousands of U.S. troops in the country, the Marcos regime has led us closer to a direct armed clash between the US and China, endangering millions of Filipinos and neighboring countries. Marcos Jr. grants unfettered access to Americans in exchange for his and his clan’s self-preservation, exposing him as the ultimate lapdog of U.S. imperialism in Asia.

Historically, the U.S. has not only maintained its military

bases in the Philippines but has pumped military aid used to harass, violate and kill Filipinos. The Philippines is by far the largest recipient of U.S. military assistance in the Asia Pacific region.

In April of last year, the puppet government of Marcos signed a 5-10-year security plan aimed at the “modernization” of Philippine state forces. This outlined provisions for funding, arming, and U.S. training of its military and police.

To ensure colonial subservience, the legislative proposal, the Philippines Enhanced Resilience Act, has been introduced in the US Congress. The PERA Act seeks to utilize \$2.5 billion of US taxpayers’ money for the US presence in the country in the next five years, enabling the establishment of additional military bases on Philippine soil.

The intensification of U.S. interventions and military support in the Philippines is not an isolated incident but rather an attempt by an imperialist power in decline to consolidate power. Biden’s failures on the global stage with his continued support for genocidal Israel, coupled with his desperation for reelection, have fueled a push for militaristic aggression in the Asia Pacific region.

We must stand in solidarity with the Filipino people and oppose the intensifying U.S. military intervention in their country. We must condemn the arrests of anti-imperialist activists and demand accountability for the police brutality and continuing fascism in the Philippines.

ILPS firmly stands against the U.S. war machine and its warmongering in the region. We call upon the peace-loving peoples of the world to unite with Filipinos in their fight to abrogate all U.S.-Philippines agreements, expel U.S. and all foreign troops, and halt arms sales and military assistance. Unite in the struggle for just

peace and the liberation of Filipinos and all oppressed peoples!

**U.S. TROOPS OUT OF THE PHILIPPINES !**

**STOP THE US WAR MACHINE !**

**DISMANTLE THE US BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES !**

**JUNK VFA ! JUNK EDCA !**

**NO TO U.S.-LED WARS IN THE PHILIPPINES & ASIA  
PACIFIC !**



**Addressing Patriarchy-**

**Ground Good For Sharing Marxist  
Analysis Widely.**

**Translation Of Analysis To Reality  
Needs Strong Revolutionary  
Women's Movement**

● **Aparna**

## **Introduction**

**T**he massive upsurge of protestors on the streets of Delhi in December 2012 demanded Down With Patriarchy. Rattling the gates of Rashtrapati Bhawan, this was their most prominent slogan along with others for justice and some for reforms in laws.

Cut to 2024. Here, entwined with Justice to Abhaya The Whistleblower and also provoked by a spate of cases of violence

against women, resounds the same slogan countrywide. This slogan has, in fact, now become a prominent and commonly heard slogan when issues of women's rights or sexual violence against them is under discussion or is being protested against.

## **Secondary Status of Women**

The spate of current cases includes the Hema Commission Report on sexual violence on cinema workers in Kerala, the so termed 'suicide' of two teenage girls in Farrukhabad (UP), sexual assault and murder of a Dalit girl in Muzaffarpur (Bihar), sexual violence in Benares and in the premises of the Ram Janambhoomi temple in Ayodhya (UP).....and so many more. In Kerala, it involves the suppression for four years of the Hema Commission Report by the Left Front Govt. In Bengal is the involvement of the TMC Govt in the cover up of the terrible work place sexual violence and murder of a whistle blower woman.

Over the past ten years, the BJP RSS Central Govt made no secret of its upholding of Manuvad with its prescription of secondary social status of women. In that milieu, violence against women in all forms flourished. The state itself protected and upheld the patriarchal right of the powerful to sexually exploit as seen in the cases of the ex CJI Ranjan Gogoi, BJP RSS socially powerful elements like Brij Bhushan Singh, the Unnao MLA, the guilty in Kathua, Hathras and Dehradun and so many others.

However, the manifestations of the ideological assent to Manuvad while mouthing slogans of Beti Bachao were in so many spheres. There has been decrease of women in paid labour and formal employment. There is bypassing of laws for equal pay for equal work. Commercialization of higher education decreases chances for women to access the same due to financial constraints of



the family and their opting to spend money on education of sons. Social decrees like Bahu Beti Izzat, Love Jihad and others are to restrict the freedom of mainly women of majority religion and of all castes.

this intensification must not overshadow two facts. First is, that all this also is the situation in all opposition ruled states too, even in spheres which come under state laws.

And second, that the secondary status of women as a feature of our society goes right back to ancient history.

## **Why Patriarchy?**

“Down with Patriarchy”. The 3 member Verma Commission was the pressure cooker installed to contain the 2012 outburst. It formulated several directives to the state and some concrete legal reforms. Justice Verma himself tackled the question of Patriarchy and wrote that eventually some “good man/ men” would be at the helm of affairs and in the appearance of such ‘good men’ dwelt its fate. Meanwhile, just keep on fighting against patriarchy.

The study of the history of Society concretely brings out how emergence of patriarchy is linked to a stage of human development. It appears after tribal societies could have surplus food and could save it too and also have economic possessions which could yield more surplus in the future. This came about with domestication of animals and with settled agriculture which were spheres were mainly males were engaged. The combine of breaking of collective ownership and thus emergence of class division in tribes laid the basis for emergence of private property and patriarchal inheritance. This mothered the birth of patriarchy. Such inheritance is only possible when woman’s sexuality is tightly controlled to assure identification of children’s patriarchal lineage.

This narrative of the history of society is in the main today widely corroborated by Academics world-wide, as so many studies of ancient societies and practices of tribal groups frozen in remote areas are now available. This literature is much enriched from the time of Morgan, whose studies were made famous by Engels.

But it is only revolutionary Marxism which draws on this past to take the lesson for the future. That therefore patriarchy is interwoven into the social system. That only a social system without class division and without private property would completely remove the basis of patriarchy.

## **Our Society**

From here it follows that the women's movement for equal status must have strong solidarities with the movements for revolutionary change of society. The latter alone will overthrow the rule of exploitative classes which also defend and maintain the status quo. This is the first step to move towards a genuinely egalitarian society, which is termed communist society.

Thus, Patriarchy is inbuilt into the current social system and thereby supported by the very same ruling classes. Culture, customs, religious and social practices keep it alive. The popular example of daughter- in- law mother-in- law contradictions which are used to point out disunity among women or that “ women suppress women” stops being surprising when we see it with the understanding that the whole social and cultural status quo is patriarchal and all of us socially conditioned from birth onwards. The ruling classes reinforce these mores to defend the status quo or, in other words, their class rule.

Visualizing women's equal rights is an act of freeing the mind from the existing social mores. This is because patriarchy is part

and parcel of established social norms. Unequal wage for equal work has been quite the norm on gender basis. Prescribed minimum daily wage of women agricultural workers is not equal to that of men. Land rights are registered in name of men of family. Domestic work and service to husbands is the enshrined and sanctified lot of women.

The proclamation of equality of gender in the Constitution are reforms that women's participation in the anti-colonial movement ensured; so too are the pro justice for women laws which women's movements have forced enactment of. But it is the common knowledge of the women's movement that struggles which succeed in enacting any particular reform need further struggles for almost every single effort at enforcement.

Secondly, "power sexual violence" where those in positions of control automatically extend their authority to right to sexual violence and this is protected by state, can only be explained by acknowledging that Patriarchy is part of the established social mores. From the Supreme Court ex CJI who sat in judgement of himself, to MPs, MLAs including a CPM MLA in Kerala who are guilty of sexual violence... this list includes leaders of all types of ruling class political parties, heads of Institutions, of departments and so on and on. Upholding the understanding that the self-respect of communities or family resides in women's bodies, women are sexually violated in communal violence, in inter-tribal strife like Manipur, by armed forces of the state against citizens in areas of struggle. So too comes "Bahu Beti Izzat", "Love Jihad", violence against inter caste marriages - which are extreme forms to enforce the same accepted idea of the 'izzat' of a group residing in the bodies of its women.

While these facts of historical materialism are generally

accepted now among those who have access to scientific study, still cultural and religious conceptions continue to remain ossified as the social structure which maintains and nurtures them remains standing. Thus, the women's movement must ally with the revolutionary movement.

## **The Lesson of History Highlights Task.**

However, in the huge number of non-revolutionary women activists, the large section of conscious women or feminists of so many schools, the idea of a gender equal society being linked to freedom from class society is either not acceptable or not convincing. This is so even when so many may accept the materialist history of society.

For this situation, partly, a big lacuna in the history of the international revolutionary women's movement must also be faced.

The victory of revisionism in erstwhile socialist societies brought out many limitations. We carry the burden of that history- we have before our eyes the experience of what happened in societies where revisionism upturned socialism. In both Russia and China there were so many experiences recorded of how patriarchal practices rose up again in China as communes broke up, land was parcelled and a one child policy restored demand for sons for inheritance. The photo of an evicted mother holding her baby girl and standing at the gates of Beijing was evocative of the restoration at one time. In Russia, domestic violence and sexual harassment at workplace are recorded problems; Gorbachev's Perestroika carried a road map for sending women back into the home for 'moral values' and 'family'. It is true that our post-mortem is there and is correct- that when the people are ideologically led astray, when they are disarmed by the overthrow of working class rule,

they are unable to preserve and defend the rights which the socialist structure ensured to them. It is equally true that before restoration occurs, the two systems have collided, the new has suffered set back and exploitative class forces have been reinstated.

But how much more strongly would women in the new society we build stand up against patriarchy and how much more widely and strongly would women be mobilized against forces of restoration if we were to build a strong, wide, conscious and militant women's movement RIGHT NOW in the present India. The huge masses of women who would be convinced of their right to equality would ensure that the new society would have a much better consciousness of the need to fight patriarchy and to defend an enabling system than did their predecessors in other countries. Because patriarchy is rooted in class society and private property and this basis will continue in all social formations up to communist society. Only the consciousness of the working class in power in the new society can both take a stand against it and also stand with the fight against its expressions. The revolutionary women's movement has to continue into the new society; the big difference being that the class ruling then will stand for gender equality. Social beliefs, cultural practices do not vanish even if their roots are defeated but have to be fought out and defeated. Scientific understanding, provision of basic rights of food, clothing, shelter, education, medical facilities as a right by the state will do much to aid this fight, but a fight it will be.

There is no getting away from one fact. That the new society will be born out of existing society. If there is a strong revolutionary women's movement, the participation of women in evolving the practices of the new society, in ensuring women's voice is equally heard in working out policies and practices, will be that much more.

If this movement remains restricted and passive and does not articulate its viewpoint and does not ensure sensitization of the entire leading revolutionary gamut- it is an act of failing the need of India's revolution. It cannot inspire the legions of young girls and women out on the streets denouncing patriarchy, it cannot win the confidence of so many serious women activists who actually are not attracted by the somewhat passive and dependent role projected of conscious women's movement in the building of a new society.

Both to convince many in the large masses of women and girls who are looking for answers, to convince sceptical but genuine women activists and equally to add real strength to the revolutionary movement to overthrow the old social system, a powerful revolutionary women's movement is a burning need. We must recognize who are these women and girls- they are agitating students, professional working women, women at various levels in cine industry, women guards, sanitation workers, sportswomen, women contractual staff.... the list is long. They are troubled by lots of types of patriarchy, but the issue bringing them to the streets in organized forms is usually sexual violence at workplace and in public spaces.

## **Marxist Analysis Must Be Propagated Alongwith**

While being fighters for many types of reforms to ensure gender equality, being important supporters of mass movements, being the ones who actively articulate anti-patriarchal points of view, women activists not linked to revolutionary thinking are not able to offer a coherent and plausible blueprint of how gender inequality will be overcome. The earlier touted explanation of this being a masculine attribute has in reality to be sought in the social conditioning of all people according to established social mores. "Men are like that" is definitely not located in the Y chromosome,

this is the weapon Science has given to the revolutionary women's movement. But the entire emphasis of changing the way mothers teach sons and teachers teach students actually reflects the realization that patriarchy is enshrined in the current system. To confine the fight for change to attempting to reform one aspect while retaining the social status quo which sustains and nurtures it, means remaining in a very partial and absolutely unending struggle.

## **The Task**

Thus, the fight against patriarchy in the current system strengthens the attack against the system, against the ruling classes which preserve and defend this system. It is thus a profoundly vital even if not so palatable component of the revolutionary movement.

The usual experience is that when all this is discussed in those women activists who accept the need for revolutionary change, there is much excitement at the point of need to link the women's movement to that of revolutionary change. BUT the desperate need to build a strong revolutionary women's movement to influence, to decide, to awaken as to how patriarchy will be fought in the new system- talk of this is rather passively received even among the women activists. It is as if there will be some sort of automatic utopia once the revolution succeeds. Too much water has flown under the bridge for this sort of daydreaming.

The issue is, change does not come by itself just because conditions exist for it. We have with us the historical experiences- in China, concubinage was banned in liberated areas only after the women were organized to demand it. Lenin and Stalin's works offer innumerable quotes- if women are not brought out to become active partners in the construction of a new society, their backwardness itself will retard the building of a new society. We have to apply our

minds very, very seriously to what all these tell us about our tasks.

The key to the future lies in today. The revolutionary women's movement must first move out and do the difficult task of making women conscious of gender inequality and their right to equality. It is our tragedy that women working class fight tooth and nail in organized struggles for economic rights but are not given consciousness to hit the streets against sexual harassment at workplace of working women of any class, including themselves. The fact that they are taking part in a struggle to change their own conditions, itself means they have broken some patriarchal diktats, though driven by their economic need. It forms a rich substratum to develop them into conscious fighters against patriarchy. Upsurges that are taking place on issues of violence against women do so when the co workers or co students fight. They are not the result of the conscious women's movement.

It can only be re-emphasized that there are legions of conscious, educated working women and girls demanding "down with patriarchy". We have to address the task of going among them with our answers; all other schools only link the answer to some reforms, most of which are petering out before people's eyes. Only the revolutionary movement can explain the root of patriarchal society and offer the confidence that a new society can be built.

The women's movement is a potent force to galvanize for getting rid of the old rotten society and building the new society. Women have a secondary status within every class, within every caste. Let us not be weak in building this force of change. Let us not approach this task tepidly. Let us not bother at the indulgent smiles and patient bored expressions of some of our male co fighters- patriarchy is part of social conditioning and the onus to educate revolutionary co fighters in a non-antagonistic way is the need.



They may not enjoy the reality but if the women's movement is built they will learn to recognize the fight.

Let us organize, identify the burning patriarchal issues which are eating up the lives of our women and fight them. We can begin anywhere. Against commercialization of higher education which restricts options for women and denies them the right to empower themselves to break chains. Against denial of ESI and PF which empowers women workers. For clean washrooms at places of work, be they factories, construction sites, or courts, colleges and hospitals. It is always easy for very class conscious and oppression conscious to sneer that one is not working among so and so or most downtrodden or here or there. But work is needed everywhere and this work of consciously building huge movements against manifestations of patriarchy and the system which enshrines it, is an important and invaluable weapon in the fight to get rid of the old society. It is so whether co fighters recognize this or not.

Second is the issue of class mass organizations and workplace unions. The importance and necessity of 'in house training' is not sufficiently recognized. Most general struggles see women of that section participating in a good way. Women at all levels who come forward as leaders must be made members of general leading bodies. Being placed there, special attention must be given to their development. It is no use keeping them in committees just as figureheads, but they must be helped to develop those abilities which brought them to leadership in the first place. In addition, the entire team should discuss how it is enabling women in leadership. In this way they will become conscious of how they are actually ignoring and/ or disabling it.

In general organizations it is restricting consciousness of all to ask women to only organize women (and thereby men only men).

Segregating in task cannot develop consciousness of importance of organizing whole people in cadre and cannot develop general anti patriarchal consciousness in either cadre or common people. Mixed organizer teams can have more women leaders when approaching women. Women only may be an option while dealing with an all women workforce and the logic should extend to a maximally women leadership. Rather, the revolutionary movement must educate itself and realize the power of the anti-patriarchal movement as a weapon for social change. Thus, at the cost of repeating, in class mass organizations, women coming into leading bodies from the lowest level should be trained in leadership and also encouraged to fight patriarchy. There should be frank discussion of patriarchal practices which usually enter unintentionally too in committees and there should be firm practical steps to tackle them.

It needs to be emphasized any number of times that the continual breaking out of street struggles against violence on women, especially by various sections of the power structures are reemphasizing one truth about India's revolution. It will have to galvanize the huge anger against patriarchy of women citizens. It is a mighty weapon against the old social order. For that the revolutionary women's movement must come forward, build itself up as a huge mass movement and give direction to the anger against Patriarchy.



# **Today Is My Mother's (PDSU) Fiftieth Birthday. A Day To Cherish Sweet Memories**

● **P. Prasad (President PDSU 1979-1981)**

**T**oday (October 12) is an unforgettable day. It is a historic day to remember and to recall its background. Today marks the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of 'Progressive Democratic Students Union' (PDSU), a proud organisation of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.

PSSU was formed at its founding conference held in Hyderabad on 12th and 13th October 1974. It was truly an unforgettable event. A day to remember old passions. Actually, my revolutionary political life started with PDSU.

There is influence of PDSU on thousands of men and women in our two Telugu states in the early stages of their youth. They are directly or indirectly connected with PDSU to some extent. Most of them are leading a revolutionary, democratic, progressive and secular way of life or at least remain as good humans in the society. Because PDSU has had such influence on them in their student days, so those people are not far from the PDSU. And hundreds of activists are still working in various political and social fields. A few dozens of colleagues have dedicated their lives and are working as Professional Revolutionaries (PR) in various fields for decades

together. I am one among them. I feel very happy and elated today for my association with this great organisation. I can proudly say that I was one of the products of PDSU. Now I would like to recall my earlier political sweet memories of PDSU days and in the process many sensational movements and struggles.

In the earlier days PDSU was nothing but struggles. It mobilized students in a big way. There were many heroic movements in its history. It taught us political lessons during the struggles- how to face baton charges, tear gas shells, firing, lockups, jails etc. PDSU gave us a new lease of life. PDSU acted as oxygen for us to breathe the revolutionary air flowing across the world and in our country at that time. PDSU imparted militancy to our minds and bodies. It is also acted as a catalyst for our revolutionary actions and the work ahead. Therefore, the PDSU became our dear mother and my mother is today celebrating her fiftieth birthday.

Oh mother! Please accept our heartfelt revolutionary greetings. Oh my mother! We know the cold-blooded murder of George Reddy by RSS and ABVP which gave birth to you. Now the same fascist political forces are grown stronger and are in power. We should take an oath to march on the road of revolution. We should take a strong oath to protect democracy in India. O my dear mother, we assure you that we will not forget our duty to defeat the path that leads to fascism by marching in the path of revolution.

It is very relevant to remember the martyr George Reddy in this hour of celebrations. George Reddy was physically murdered by RSS and ABVP goons but took a 'rebirth' as a new George Reddy across the state in the minds of progressive people and the movements going on for social change. That new George Reddy is the birth of PDSU. In fact, George Reddy's blood which spilled in the Osmania University Campus was a catalyst in speeding up the

process to hold the Founding conference and formation of the PDSU.

George Reddy was a prominent figure among the students of the Osmania University (OU) campus in Hyderabad in the early seventies. He was an intellectual icon. He was also popular as a revolutionary thinker and good organizer. He mobilized the student community in the OU campus on a large scale against goondaism of the RSS and ABVP. At that time, anti-social activities, atrocities and corrupt activities of RSS and ABVP goons were going on freely in OU campus. George Reddy became the voice for the voiceless people. He became a ray of hope for the student community, especially from the rural Telangana. He gave confidence to them. He was committed to the cause of emancipation from all forms of exploitation in the society.

First, George Reddy was inspired by Che Guevara's revolutionary life and later by the Paris student revolutionary uprising and the Vietnam revolution. His political ideology was in the making. Finally, he was attracted by the Naxalbari armed struggle after he came in touch with Com. Neelam Rama Chandraiah, who was a leader of the Marxist Leninist Party led by Com. CP Reddy. Comrade NR along with Comrade Jampala Chandra Shekhara Prasad (who was known as JCS), founding leader of the PDSU, was killed by the police in a fake encounter in November 1975 during Emergency.

George Reddy was brutally murdered by RSS and ABVP goons on 14-04-1972. George Reddy organized students under the name Progressive Democratic Students (PDS) during his lifetime. He and his team worked to mobilize and politicize the student community. It was mainly confined to OU campus and few educational institutes in Hyderabad city. But his cold-blooded

murder ignited a fire. In the process, the student movement spread from the city of Hyderabad to all parts of the then state of Andhra Pradesh. Over thirty months the movement expanded and consolidated to form a state wide organization, the PDSU. That period was from 14-04-1972 to 12-10-2074.

PDSU is completing half a century. The old and new PDSU ranks of both the Telugu states and the two PDSU organizations are working together to organize the half-centenary celebrations. The commemoration meetings are attracting huge gatherings across the two states and is expected to be a grand gala event on 24-10-2024 at OU campus, Hyderabad. PDSU ranks, old and new alike, from both Telugu states are expected to attend on a large scale and especially the old generation are very excited to attend.



## **Homage To G. N. Saibaba**

**C**PI (ML) New Democracy received with great sadness and deep shock the news of the death of Com. G. N. Saibaba today evening. Com. G. N. Saibaba breathed his last this evening at NIMS hospital.

G.N. Saibaba was an Assistant Professor in English at Ramlal Anand College, Delhi University. He was a relentless fighter for a just and egalitarian society in the country.

Long incarceration in a case in which he was acquitted had taken heavy toll on his health. That he died undergoing otherwise routine surgery is largely due to the damage his body had suffered during long incarceration. Despite being 90 percent disabled he was

not given bail even during pendency of his appeal. His death is, in a way, a killing by the state. He bore all these hardships in the spirit of a true fighter. His fighter spirit withstood untold sufferings, including being kept in solitary confinement and denial of necessities so vital for him. Besides a number of illnesses, he had suffered from Covid during the period of his incarceration.

His death has once again showed the inhuman face of the Indian state. Earlier, an 84 years old Father Stan Swamy, similarly incarcerated under UAPA, could not get even a Court hearing for provisions which were essential for his life.

Despite all tall claims of “bail is the rule and jail an exception” Indian judiciary has been very hesitant to grant bail in UAPA cases. Higher judiciary has been giving priority to alleged security of the state over freedom of citizens. Some have died awaiting trial. Many are still languishing in jail under this black law. His death once again highlights the importance of fighting for repeal of UAPA, which should not be in the statute book.

In his death, oppressed and exploited people have lost a true friend and a fighter. Revolutionary movement has suffered a big loss.

CPI (ML) New Democracy pays homage to G. N. Saibaba. His work will live on. Rulers have physically liquidated him but the cause for which he lived and died, will continue to advance, attracting a large number of fighters and extracting the high cost that revolutionary change always does.

**CPI (ML) New Democracy**

**October 12, 2024**

# **Red Salute To Com. Jagjit Singh Sohal**

**V**eteran communist revolutionary leader in India, Com. Jagjit Singh Sohal, breathed his last on October 20, 2024. 96 years old at the time of his death Com. Sohal was not keeping well for past few years. He was cremated in Patiala.

Com. Sohal played an important role in the communist revolutionary movement in India and lived over five and half decades in underground life. He worked under several names, most prominent among them being Sharma. He was a tireless fighter against revisionism.

Joining communist movement at an early age, Com. Sohal worked in undivided CPI. Rebelling against Dange revisionism, he joined CPM. After Naxalbari peasant armed uprising, Com. Sohal was among those who rebelled against neo-revisionist CPM leadership. He played an important role in communist revolutionary movement in Punjab. He was a member of Punjab Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and a member of Punjab Organizing Committee of CPI (ML) formed in 1969.

In 1974, he became General Secretary of COC, CPI (ML). Later he was among the leaders of CPI (ML)-Party Unity which merged with CPI (ML)-People's War. Later this merged with MCCI to form CPI (Maoist).

Com. Sohal's communist revolutionary life spanned over a very long period and through many stages of the communist



revolutionary movement in India.

CPI (ML)-New Democracy pays homage to Com. Jagjit Singh Sohal alias Com. Sharma. We reiterate our resolve to continue our efforts at making New Democratic Revolution in India victorious, for which Com Sohal and a number of other prominent leaders of communist revolutionary movement had worked throughout their lives.

**Red Salute to Com. Jagjit Singh Sohal !**

**CPI (ML)-New Democracy**

**October 22, 2024**



Organ of the Central Committee, CPI(ML)

October - 2024

**NEW DEMOCRACY**

Price : Rs.20

RNI No. 63838/95

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**Editor : V. K. Patole**

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Published and owned by Dr. V. K. Patole from Balmukand Khand, Giri Nagar, New  
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