

Volume - 28, No. 1-2

February - 2023



*Organ of the
Central Committee CPI(ML)*

NEW DEMOCRACY

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One Year of War in Ukraine and Growing Anger of the People

● Zameer

War among major imperialist powers for shaping the imperialist world order has completed one year. This global war is being fought in Ukraine which Russia had invaded on February 24, 2022. (Main features of this war were analyzed in an article published in April 2022 issue of New Democracy.) In one year of this war, UN has estimated that over 8000 civilians have died and twice as many injured. The number of military casualties –dead and injured- is not given by combatants.

Despite vicissitudes of this war, the main thrust of this war remains the same i.e. a military contest between drives at restoration of uni-polar world and at consolidation of multi-polar world. The roots of this war have been traced to US orchestrated military backed overthrow of then elected President in Ukraine in 2014 bringing Ukrainian nationalists to power, and to eastward expansion of NATO undertaken by US imperialism after the dissolution of Soviet Union, drive of Russian imperialism to secure its sphere of influence and all these factors have contributed to the present state of war. But the underlying cause of war is the contest

among imperialist powers to control greater areas of manufacturing power, resources and markets. The war has once again brought Europe into focus as a centre of the contradiction among major imperialist powers which had been apparently declining in importance with emergence of other areas of contention.

While this war is global in importance, it is at present being waged locally. We had analyzed these overlapping aspects in our earlier article. Another important aspect of this war is that it has commenced while world is still being re-divided among the major imperialist powers i.e. when the re-division of the world is still going on. This aspect underlines that the war situation is still developing. Active hostilities are continuing along with attempts to woo other countries. War is in fact has become a tool to further this re-division and to carve out and firm up alliances though many countries are refusing to join either warring power. In appearance this is a war between US imperialism and Russian imperialism on the one hand and among countries emerging out of the old Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. But in this war and its outcome, other major imperialist powers, China and West European powers have deep though conflicting interests.

The present war is military manifestation of the larger contention that is unfolding among imperialist powers for the domination or greater influence in the world economy, politics and military. In fact underpinning this war and influencing its course is emergence of China as a main competitor of US imperialism in the economic arena and main contender in the export of capital to different regions of the world. China is one of the most interested parties in this war – its outcome determining its fortunes in Asia

Pacific region and globally.

One year of conflict has clearly demonstrated the decline of US imperialism and the uni-polar world dominated by it. US attempts to stem this decline and restore uni-polar world have not been successful. Through this war US had sought to subdue European powers and to isolate China as tools to achieve its strategic objective. US President had articulated in the beginning of this war itself that US wants “strategic defeat” of Russia. What this strategic defeat meant was that it is no longer a power capable of waging war, loses influence in the world especially in Europe. It meant Russian military defeat or at least a situation in which Russians are forced to come to negotiating table suing for peace. US strategy was also to cut off old European powers from Russia especially its energy resources, oil and gas. Through this US imperialism sought to make West European countries dependent on US for energy needs and pre-empt any European move to seek to end to war. Bombing of Nord Stream was part of this. It was never in doubt that US imperialism was behind this bombing, Seymour Hersch report has only demonstrated modalities of how this was done. This was basically a theatre of war unfolding for control of vast Eurasian mass, its resources and industries. US has succeeded in its efforts to make West European powers, especially France and Germany fall in line, at least for the time being. However, it has not been and could not have been able to extinguish the contradiction, only subdue it for a time.

The biggest cheer leaders of this war in USA are energy companies and arms manufacturers. Energy companies have been able to vastly increase their profits be selling their oil and gas at

grossly higher prices than they were getting earlier from Russia. US is forcing European countries to supply arms to Ukraine and US manufacturers are selling arms to European countries to refurbish their stocks thus reaping profits while ensuring arms supplies to Ukraine.

US objective of isolating China on the other hand, has been an utter failure. It wrongly calculated that most of other countries of the world will back US and western powers in this conflict and China will have to choose between Russia versus rest of the world. What they sought to make Russia vs. the world actually turned out to be west vs. the rest. Govts. of the countries where most of the people of the world live have not supported US stand on Ukraine and even less have supported economic sanctions imposed by US led G7 against Russia. Besides overwhelming opposition to sanctions and resultant high prices of oil, gas, food and fertilizers have turned several countries against position of US and G7. On the other hand, a large number of US companies have their production base in China and it is not easy to decouple it at least in immediate context. Thus isolation of China could not be achieved; rather it has led to increasing isolation of US itself.

This war is continuing for nearly a year. The stakes for all parties to the conflict have gone up. Neither US imperialism nor Russia can concede defeat. Hence the war will drag on. Only some new factors supervene to influence the course of war, the battle will drag on. The war has been a resounding success in helping ruling elite of USA and Russia to divert the attention of their people from their domestic troubles. As for Ukrainian nationalists now running

the Kiev regime, they will not stop at anything in their war against Russia as they visualize as the question of their very existence. They wish to eliminate everything Russian from their soil. Hence they are throwing everything into this battle. But this may also run into trouble. Recently Ukraine's minister lamented the growing trend among the people of Ukraine for seeking peace with Russia. This trend is sought to be buried under the heap of arms and ammunition from the Western countries. It is also worthwhile mentioning that display of destroyed Tanks in Germany, Latvia and Estonia was later stopped when the organizers discovered people putting flowers on these tanks thus causing opposite effect.

On the battle front, Russia is making slow advance in Donetsk region, other battlefields in Ukraine are almost frozen for the time being. Ukrainian forces are suffering heavy losses. According to a report published in a Turkish site *Hursedu Haber* gives Mossad (Israeli Intelligence Agency) figures for the dead and wounded from both sides during the first year of this war. According to Mossad (as per this report) Ukraine has suffered 391000 casualties (157000 dead and 234000 wounded) while Russia has suffered 62880 casualties (18480 dead and 44400 wounded). Losses of material has also been similarly disproportionate with Ukraine losing many more helicopters, armoured vehicles, artillery systems and air defense systems. Western propaganda on the losses is totally one-sided. One has to just recall how they were winning in Afghanistan, and earlier in Vietnam, before being forced to precipitously withdraw. It is pertinent to note while Russia has increased capacity of its military industrial complex, Ukraine is almost totally dependent on western countries for its arms supplies.

As noted earlier, with high stakes of US imperialism and Russian imperialism, the war may engulf other countries. The countries which might be most vulnerable to extension of this conflict are countries with significant Russian population or countries with Slav majority. These countries include Moldova where Russian minority dominated region- Transnistria is almost independent and borders Ukraine. Another potential flashpoint is Georgia whose Russian majority Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions are independent of Central Govt. Serbia is another potential flashpoint where EU is pressurizing it to accept independence of Kosovo. There are many others as Central and Eastern Europe has a vast mix of ethnic and national minorities. Any expansion of this war will make it increasingly difficult for “peaceful” resolution of the conflict. However, two aspects are relevant. Eastern Ukraine particularly Donbas region is a Russian majority region and any similarity with other regions victims of imperialist aggression is misplaced. Second, the war has given greater opportunity to Ukrainian nationalists to consolidate their hold on power in Ukraine and they are being treated as their national heroes. Except catastrophic developments on the battlefield, this situation is unlikely to change.

While chances of resolution of the war through negotiations are receding, there are many factors which may yet make it possible. Firstly this cannot go on like this for the simple reason that Ukraine is not equipped to sustain it. Secondly, and as a consequence of the first, it may be extended to other regions and involve other imperialist powers thereby becoming a global conflict. This year may prove to be decisive in determining the course of this

conflict. A frozen conflict with Donbas and other regions of eastern Ukraine under Russian control is something which Russia may find comfortable but prove uncomfortable for the western imperialist powers, particularly USA.

The present war is borne out of the contradictions of the imperialist system and has in turn, rather than resolving them, has further intensified them. Intensification of these contradictions will have important bearing on the course of this war. While inter-imperialist contradiction is all too apparent, its intensification is going hand in hand with the intensification of other contradictions of the imperialist system, contradiction between labour and capital in imperialist countries and contradiction between imperialist countries and oppressed countries which are also getting intensified. War has exacerbated economic crisis in European countries. Though US economy has gained to an extent from energy and arms exports, flow of aid necessary to sustain the conflict has also its effects on US people. There is a growing resentment among the people especially working class in West European countries. The resentment has arisen out of worsening conditions of the working people due to high prices of energy and decline of industry in these countries. Large demonstrations have been held against ongoing war in a number of European countries and slogans against NATO are prominently raised in these demonstrations. Ruling classes there are trying to increase burden on the working people leading to increasing anger among workers. There is resulting in growing wave of struggle of workers in these countries. In France President Macron has been bent on increasing the retirement age of workers from 62 years to 64 years to reduce the pension bill. Millions of

workers have come into streets against this and there have been widespread strikes. Now Macron has taken recourse to Article 49.3 of French constitution to ram this measure without parliamentary approval. This is resulting in a political crisis. Even the survival of the Govt. is at stake as workers' protests turn militant. France is again beginning to turn into a country where battles have usually been fought to finish. In UK and Germany, workers have been protesting for a wage increase commensurate with rising prices. In UK, Govt. staff, including all sections of employees in health, education and transport departments, are on a struggle path demanding a wage increase in line with increase in prices. They have rejected Govt. offer of wage increase as it did not cover the rise in prices. Workers struggles in Spain, Portugal, Belgium, in almost all the European countries are on the rise. Economic costs of war are being paid by the workers and this is sharply increasing the contradiction between labour and capital in these countries with workers rising in protest. In fact a majority of the people of European countries are opposed to pumping arms into Ukraine and favour negotiations with Russia.

Much to the discomfiture of US imperialism and Russian imperialism especially the former, a large number of countries of Asia, especially of the oil rich West Asia, Africa and Latin America are not taking sides in this war. These countries being collectively referred to as global South, are not supporting Economic sanctions by US and its G7 allies against Russia; its oil & gas, food & fertilizers and other commodities. In this decline of US imperialism and rise of China as a formidable competitor has played an important role. West Asian oil rich Gulf countries are particularly opposed to price

cap imposed by US led G7 countries on Russian oil. They had resisted US pressure to reverse cut in oil production decided by oil exporting countries (OPEC Plus). They call this price cap as distorting oil markets and their main fear is that similar cap on their oil will deal crippling blow their economies. With China emerging a major buyer of Gulf oil and US purchases of crude declining, Gulf countries are increasingly looking forward to closer cooperation with China.

US decline in Middle-East may have serious repercussions in the region especially on Israel. With Gulf monarchies improving relations with Russia and drawing closer to China the situation in the region is in for a series of changes. Four major powers in the region besides Israel, have improved relations with Russia and China. Iran is already a targeted enemy of US imperialism, Turkey is engaging both the sides and Egypt taking ambivalent approach and with Saudi Arabia drawing close to China, the situation in West Asia is poised to change. Russian military presence in Syria and growing trade relations with China including its military base in Djibouti have been important factors influencing the region. Israel Prime Minister Netanyahu has admitted that his country could not give military supplies to Ukraine as that would undermine their agreement with Russia on targeting Iranian 'assets' in Syria. With influence of western imperialist powers especially USA on decline, difficulties of Israel may increase and Arab-Israeli relations may undergo change. Era of Abraham Accords may be replaced by cooperation among Muslim countries in the region.

While focus of contention between USA and China is Asia Pacific region, continent of Africa, with its vast resources, has

emerged as a major arena of contention between western powers and eastern powers i.e. China and Russia. In country after country, French military is being forced to withdraw and is being replaced by Russian military presence. Mali and Burkina Faso are recent examples along with Central African Republic. While Russian influence is increasing in northern and western parts of Africa, mainly areas of erstwhile French influence, China is increasing its influence in Southern and Eastern part of Africa where earlier Britain had been the dominant colonial power and had then been augmented as well replaced by US imperialism. China has not only increased its capital investment in the region but is also establishing its military presence. Most of African states had abstained from condemning Russia and have been opposed to sanctions on food grains and fertilizers from Russia. US has intensified its efforts to influence African countries but its efforts are meeting formidable challenge from China and Russia. Similarly, in Latin American countries China has emerged as the largest trading partner of a number of countries in the continent. While most of them oppose Russian invasion of Ukraine they don't support US led economic sanctions. Recent defeats of allies of US imperialism in country after country in Latin America has created difficult situation for US imperialism in the region which it is used to consider its backyard.

One effect of sanctions has been acceleration of de-dollarization of world economy. With major countries of third world especially oil exporting countries the trend has gained momentum. Dollar as international reserve currency has been a powerful instrument of US influence in the world. It gave US a unique power to make the world pay for its debt financing and printing of dollars.

It also gave unbridled power to US imperialists to control the world trade, dominating world payment systems and make sanctions imposed by it bite. Several countries have been looking to get out of this control and gradual shift away from dollar was taking place with dollar share in the reserve currencies of the world declining from nearly 80% to 69% in over a decade. This has been gradual but the present crisis has accelerated this trend. One singular importance is an agreement between Saudi Arabia and China to shun dollar in their oil trade. If dollar does not remain the currency of oil trade its status as preferred international reserve currency will be seriously undermined as oil trade with its urgent need and spot payment mechanism plays a crucial role in determining the world currency. While different currencies are vying to take share of declining status of dollar, there is much more pronounced trend of Gold playing increasing important role in settling international payments and most of the big economies are buying more of Gold. Gold is better as international currency or at least reference point as that would not give any single country power to use its dominant role of its currency against other countries.

Decline of dollar as international reserve currency will bring serious problems in US economy. On the one hand there is huge accumulation of wealth searching for avenues for profitable investment but not investing in enlarging production base at home due to higher costs and on the other large scale printing of currency especially by US to tide over huge govt. expenditure without increasing taxes on the rich through printing more dollars has created currency glut in the economy leading to unprecedented price rise. Increase in consumption is debt driven with debt

becoming over four times more than the GDP. Economic stagnation with high inflation (what is commonly referred to as stagflation) coupled with very high level of debts and rising burden of servicing this debt makes a heady mix for unprecedented explosion of economic crisis. Rulers can do little to avert it except to seek to restore their unbridled domination over the world and through this fortune of dollar and shift burden onto other countries of the world. It is this deepening economic crisis and consequent rising resentment among the people against the war policies of their Govts. which has a potential to check this funding of war for “as long as it takes”.

While people of the world do desire peace, the danger of world war has increased enormously and danger of nuclear has also increased. In this respect this year is going to be crucial, either people’s opposition will prevent escalation of war or escalation of war will bring increasing sections of world people into struggle against war mongering imperialism and domestic reactionaries following them Consolidation of multi-polar world will sharpen the struggle against domestic reactionaries. In fact only correct approach to this looming catastrophe is to intensify struggle against reactionary rulers aligned with imperialism.

It is in this time of intensification of conflict among imperialist powers that Indian Govt. has assumed Presidency of G20 for the current year. Attempts of Indian Govt. to showcase it as some sort of acknowledgement of its “global leadership” has been seriously undermined by this intensifying conflict with both Finance Ministers and Foreign Ministers meetings ending without any joint statements. G7 countries are not letting this forum take up the

issues for which it was set up. Attitude of G7 could be seen from Japan's Foreign Minister giving it a miss while turning up in Delhi next day for Quad Meeting. Attempts by Modi govt. to showcase G20 presidency as some sort of permanent seat in the Security Council have hit a block. Balancing act of the Govt. is being seen by Western powers as pro-Russia slant though their need of India for anti-China strategy remains.

Prime Minister Modi's statement that this is not an era of war is at best a harmless but also meaningless phrase. Imperialism means war. There has been not time free of war/s under imperialism. Just a year and a half back US and its allies were forced to end their war in Iraq and imperialist armies are stationed around the world and patrol land, air and sea. Such a phrase or *jumla* acquires life only when uncritically amplified by plaint media otherwise just finds passing mention by the parties in their own interest. This war will not end because of lack of intent of war of the belligerents but due to resistance of the people. The task of the people including those of India is to intensify struggles against war mongering imperialism and their domestic allies ruling in the country.

(Includes reference to G20 meeting held in beginning of March 2023)



Adani - Biggest Scam in Corporate History of the Country

● **Navin**

[In 1774, Samuel Johnson critiqued self-professed use of patriotism by William Pitt and his followers with a famous statement, “Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel.” But for Adani and his backers, self-professed patriots of RSS and BJP, it is the first refuge. When Hindenburg research report was made public on January 24 and Adani group shares started their downward spiral, Adani who had boasted of attracting billions of dollars of foreign funds to his companies started the diatribe of ‘foreign conspiracy’ against growth story of India. To those who are synonymous with India, a new name has been added; of Adani to that of Modi as individual and RSS as institution.

In this article, Navin has analyzed some aspects of the controversy which has erupted in the country over Adani businesses, rise of his fortunes and its linkage to ruling dispensation in the country, especially longstanding proximity to Prime Minister Narendra Modi. May be part of the anger vented by Adani and his backers is due to the fact that they can’t unleash ED, IT and CBI against the

Hindenburg as they had done against those in India who had questioned Adani's business practices.

The expose reveals some alarming aspects- large scale share manipulations and accounting frauds systematically practiced by Adani group of companies. Adani shares whose market value was artificially inflated through infusion from Mauritius based shell companies, were then used as collaterals to secure big loans from public sector banks including SBI and govt. financial institutions like LIC. With shares coming down the money of the people through govt. financial institutions is at risk, a concern voiced by the Apex Court. That those wielding power have facilitated such largesse, is at the centre of discussion. An example is when Adani had taken over a mine in Australia and financial institutions of that country had refused to finance the same, State Bank of India had come out in a jiffy to advance a billion dollars loan for operation of a mine in Australia!

PM Modi has refused to address the issue even in the Parliament when a number of leaders of opposition parties had raised uncomfortable questions on the issue. But how long can scrutiny of the indulgence of his Govt. in the business dealing of Adani be avoided? If there is nothing for it to hide on the issue, why didn't Central Govt. agree to probe by a Joint Parliamentary Committee? Such probes have been undertaken several times in the past and had been demanded by RSS-BJP who are now stubbornly opposing such probe. Obviously, they have a lot to hide and if they persist they may be left with nowhere to hide.

Such investigation must include enquiry into ownership of shell companies located in Mauritius.

Hindenburg research mentioned Gautam Adani's brother Vinod Adani controlling 38 Mauritius based entities that have moved billions of dollars into Adani companies' stocks raising their creditworthiness allowing them to raise more money in the market as well as loans from banks. If only to satisfy "swadeshi" pretensions of RSS-BJP several Indian journalists too have raised several questions regarding business practices of Adani group including shareholder base of funds holding exclusively Adani stocks. Enquiry must focus on all the entities which have pumped money into Adani stocks through the Mauritius route and who all are behind these companies or have invested directly or *benami* in them.

More importantly probe should focus on whether regulatory agencies had been compromised and whether public sector banks and financial institutions had undertaken due diligence while advancing loans? It will relate to how much the political power had been used to pressurize the financial institutions to pump money into Adani businesses which are now under threat of loss due to decline in Adani shares.

Probe should also relate to why SEBI has not investigated Adani shares which it ought to have done. What was the pressure on SEBI for not doing that?

There are many instances being cited of favours showered on Adani group by RSS-BJP Govt. which need probe. Along with SBI loan to Coal mining operation in Australia, rules had been relaxed to favour Adani to acquire coal mines in India. There are also allegations of how GMR group was pressurized to sell off its stakes in Mumbai

airport; GMR denial of the same notwithstanding given the power of RSS-BJP Govt. which was used in the first instance, this needs investigation. According to a report a leaked government audit from 2017 showed that Adani power had received 'preferential treatment' that would allow it to charge higher power rate from coal power plant in Jharkhand. All such favours showered on Adani must definitely be probed as they depict how RSS-BJP bent rules to favour Adani group of companies. Inertia prevailing among the Govt. officials may be overcome only by independent probe.

Full impact of Adani expose may yet not fall on Adani group till it is shorn of political patronage. Increase in Adani's wealth from about \$7 billion in 2014 to over \$100 billion before Hindenburg report tells its own story. An important feature of Adani's rise is gift of 'hard assets' to the group by the Govt. – Ports, Airports, Mines, Stations, Warehouses and many more like that. Truth behind Adani's acquisition of these hard assets must be brought out.

Rise of all capitalists has its roots in cronyism i.e. linkage with and favours from those wielding political power. But RSS-BJP Govt. has set new record in this cronyism so much so that in popular discourse this Govt. works for only two business tycoons- Gautam Adani and Mukesh Ambani. That they are closely aligned to and backed by foreign companies is also well known. Loot of common people and gift to the favoured few has been an important feature of the economic policy pursued by RSS-BJP. – *Editor*)

Corona pandemic and the unplanned lockdown resulted in unprecedented economic hardships for the common man as the

country's economic growth bottomed out. But, the number of individuals with assets more than \$100 billion has gone up during the same time period. Mr. Gautam Adani is one such individual, and by 2022 he had managed to become world's 2nd richest person.

Share prices of a particular company contribute a large part in calculating the wealth of such capitalists. Suppose you have 50 shares of a company at Rs. 10 each. Then your total assets value will be 500 rupees. Now if the share price increases to rupees 12 then your assets value will be 600 rupees. Such artificial rise in share prices has helped Adani's rise in fame. Over the last one year, the share prices of Adani associates have increased by 101% to 167%. Overall, in the last 3 years, sometimes the share prices have even gone-up by 2121% or 1398% for Adani Companies. This artificial inflation of share prices has in fact helped Adani the most to become the second richest man in the world.

Crony capitalism played a pivotal role for Gautam Adani as the RSS led BJP government went out of the way to help acquire new government contracts one after another. Because of that, the share price of his companies went-up. This smoke screen made him eligible for massive loans from public or private financial institutions in India. Meanwhile, he also bought government property, ports, airports, coal mines at dirt cheap rates which in turn helped him to expand his private capital portfolio.

But on January 24, 2023, a US based stock market analyst 'Hindenburg Research' published a report on Adani's business empire. This report raised questions about share prices of Adani's companies! According to 'Hindenburg', Adani's shares were sold at a higher rate than their real prices because share prices were

artificially inflated by manipulation. “The Adani Group, one of India’s biggest conglomerates”, had “engaged in a brazen stock manipulation and accounting fraud scheme over the course of decades.” said ‘Hindenburg’.

How has this rigging been done? According to the Report, a large portion of the Adani company’s shares are held in the names of various companies that are registered in other countries including Mauritius. But they do not actually exist. Through these fake companies, money has been invested into the shares of Adani companies in various ways, in turn manipulating the share prices. The report, which Hindenburg said, was based on interviews with former executives and research from thousands of documents, raised concerns about high debt and the activities of top executives and concluded that “seven of Adani’s companies were overvalued”. After the report came out, the share prices of Adani companies started a massive downward trend. Adani himself has lost \$48.5 billion out of his \$120 billion ‘fortune’ company,

Once ranked No. 2 among the world’s wealthiest, Gautam Adani has tumbled to No. 21 on the ‘Bloomberg Billionaires Index’ (03/02/2023). He has also slipped one spot below his rival and fellow Indian tycoon Mukesh Ambani, the chairman of Reliance Industries. In other words, Adani’s wealth has been eroded by half of the total assets. Forbes suggested that the allegations wiped out more than \$66 billion in market value from Adani’s business empire in a matter of days after the report came out, along with more than \$30 billion from Adani’s personal ‘fortune’ company. Such reports about Adani Group’s stock market manipulation, money laundering

and tax evasion had an overall negative impact on the Indian stock market as foreign investors are leaving the country's stock market.

But the problem is not limited to Adani and his private empire. He has actually borrowed a large amount of money from the public sector banks, particularly the State Bank of India. Cumulative loan amounts to more than \$9.9 billion, mostly invested in five of his companies - Adani Enterprises, Adani Ports, Adani Power, Adani Green Energy, and Adani Transmission—as of March 2022. SBI on its own has lent over Rs 80,000 crores to Adani. The Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC) has also invested a huge amount of money in Adani's shares. LIC's total holding under equity and debt is Rs. 35,917.31 Crores as on December 2022 under Adani group of companies. That means the future of the India's two biggest financial institutions is to an extent linked to the fate of Adani.

Overall, Indian banking exposure is less than 40 percent of total group debt. Within this, private banks' exposure is below 10 percent of total group debt. PSU banks do have material exposure (30 percent of group debt) which has not increased in the past three years. Most of the incremental funding to the group for new businesses and acquisitions has been reported to have come via overseas sources. Elara India Opportunities Fund, has amassed \$4.2 billion- from three stocks: Adani Transmission Ltd., Adani Enterprises Ltd., and Adani Total Gas Ltd. APMS Investment Fund Ltd., whose \$3.6 billion portfolio also includes Adani Power Ltd., has done it with four of the Adani stocks. There are three more of these Mauritius-based entities among major shareholders: Cresta Fund Ltd., LTS Investment Fund and Vespera Fund Ltd. These

publicity-shy investors own a combined \$12 billion of Adani stock. Elara, Cresta, Albula and APMS - held significant stakes in two companies whose founders fled India and have since been probed for money laundering. There was a report last summer that three out of the six offshore funds had seen their accounts frozen by the country's national share depository. Adani called the report "blatantly erroneous," the depository issued a clarification, and in a reply to a lawmaker's question in parliament, India's Junior Finance Minister Pankaj Chaudhary said neither the funds nor Adani firms were being investigated. Bloomberg News reported that they could not find contact details for Markus Beat Dangel, Anna Luzia Von Senger Burger, and Alastair Guggenbuchi Even and Yonca Even Guggenbuehl, the names Pankaj Chaudhary gave in parliament as persons responsible for Cresta, Albula and APMS, respectively.

iCreditSights' characterization of the conglomerate as "deeply overleveraged" was contested by Adani group asserting that gross debt wasn't the 2.3 trillion rupees (\$29 billion) estimated by the research firm's analysts, but less than 1.9 trillion rupees. If one subtracts the cash in hand and include the full profit-generation potential of projects that haven't yet run for a whole year, and net debt is a little over three times earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortization, found to be down from 7.6 times in 2013.

A few days after the publication of the report, Adani dismissed Hindenburg's accusations as baseless, calling the short-seller the "Madoffs of Manhattan." "This is not merely an unwarranted attack on any specific company but a calculated attack

on India, the independence, integrity and quality of Indian institutions, and the growth story and ambition of India,” Adani’s statement said.

‘Hindenburg’ in turn replied that only about 30 of those pages addressed issues raised in its report, and that Adani had not answered 62 of its 88 questions. “India’s future is being held back by the Adani Group, which has draped itself in the Indian flag while systematically looting the nation,” the research group said. “We also believe that fraud is fraud, even when it’s perpetrated by one of the wealthiest individuals in the world.”

Despite a scam of such magnitude, neither the BJP government nor the Prime Minister Narendra Modi are assuring of investigation. People know Gautam Adani is a close friend of Modi. Modi denies travelling with him abroad and takes benefits of his private aircraft. However, despite so many days since the scam was exposed, neither CBI, ED nor SEBI is being asked to investigate. The opposition has raised some questions in a low voice, but those too may disappear after a few days.

Adani’s groups build ports, generate electricity, mine coal, run airports and manufacture defence equipment etc. Among other things, Adani has also made huge investments in foreign countries. Those projects are now in turmoil. For example, after the report came out, the Bangladesh Power Development Corporation has written to Adani Power and demanded re-evaluation of the agreement. Earlier Australian government has rejected his proposal to set up the coalmine project due to environmental pollution. In India Adani’s offer to take over the power distribution network in Mumbai has met with stiff opposition from the

employees of the state-owned electricity company. At present, the Maharashtra Electricity Regulatory commission is looking into the proposal afresh.

If the capitalists and the State become synonymous, it must be understood that fascism is gaining strength in the country. Italy's 'Benito Mussolini' once said that fascism is the system in which the corporate and the state dissolve into one another. The government's favouritism towards Adani and the comparison of his organization with the country seems to give credence in the country to Mussolini's ideas.

Earlier, before the 'Hindenburg' report came out, Indian journalists such as Sucheta Dalal, Paranjay Guha Thakurta who questioned about the doubtful massive price rise of Adani shares, had to face lot of government sponsored harassment. Meanwhile, it has been brought to notice that former British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's brother Joe Johnson has been directly involved in the Adani Group share scam. Last June, he tried to increase the share price of Adani Group by illegally bringing investments from Mauritius in the name of 'Ellora Capital' due to which he had to resign from the post of executive of the company.

Overall, this tug of war between 'market economy' and State support to him is likely to determine Adani's future as billionaire Gautam Adani continues to battle the worst crisis of his corporate life initiated by a US short-seller.



Govt. Employees' Struggle for Restoration of Old Pension Scheme

● **V. K. Patole**

The recent protest by govt. employees of Haryana on 19th February 2023 before the Chief Minister's residence which was subjected to brutal police repression once again highlighted the anger of govt. employees against the New Pension Scheme (NPS). Govt. employees of other states and central govt. employees also have been voicing the demand for reversion to the Old Pension Scheme (OPS). The issue is gaining momentum and has electoral ramifications too, being reported to have played a role in the defeat of the BJP in the Himachal Pradesh elections. So far, the non-BJP state Governments of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan, Himachal and Punjab have declared restoration of OPS.

What are the differences between NPS and OPS and why are govt. employees strongly opposed to NPS ?

Earlier, under what can be called OPS, govt. employees were getting 50 percent of last pay drawn as pension on superannuation or otherwise leaving service subject to a minimum of 10 years of service. Obviously the longer the period of service the higher the pension will be since the pay of govt. employees keeps increasing with annual increments at the rate of 3 percent of their pay. The

pension is payable lifelong and on the death of the employee, the spouse (lifetime) and children (as long as they are minor) are entitled to family pension at the rate of 30% of last pay drawn by the employee.

The most important factor for the employees is that variable Dearness Allowance (DA) on the basis of rise in consumer price index is paid on the pension. This ensures that their purchasing capacity does not decrease significantly as a result of price rise.

The OPS can be described as a No contribution Defined Benefit Scheme as opposed the NPS which can be described as a Defined Contribution Variable Benefit Scheme.

The New Pension Scheme was launched w.e.f. 1st January 2004 by the RSS-BJP led NDA central government of Prime Minister Vajpayee as it carried forward the neo liberal economic policies initiated by the Narasimha Rao - Manmohan Singh Congress Govt. The NPS was made compulsory for all central govt. new appointees. The OPS continued for the then existing employees. The armed forces were exempted and continued with OPS. The state governments of all hues except West Bengal soon followed suit.

Under NPS the employee contributes 10% of salary (basic pay and DA) every month into his/her account in the National Pension System Trust, owned by the Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (PFRDA) controlled by the Ministry of Finance of the Govt. of India. The govt. also makes an equal contribution. Keeping in mind the growing discontent among

employees, the govt. has increased its contribution to 14% of salary to the employees' account in the fund since 2019.

On retirement, of the total amount in the account of the employee at least 40 percent has to be spent by the employee to purchase an annuity plan from one of the annuity provider companies on the panel. The employee will then get an annual payment from the annuity provider which is called annuity (in lieu of pension). The employee is of course free to spend more than 40 percent on annuity plan. However, whatever the amount of annuity (pension) payable in the respective scheme, this amount will remain fixed lifelong however much prices may rise. At present on purchasing an annuity plan with 10 lakh rupees at the age of 60 yrs the employee will get an annuity (pension) of only 92,650 rupees per year (7,721 rupees per month) for his lifetime.

As of 31st January, the number of central govt. employee members of NPS is 23,65,693 and their total assets in the NPS fund are 2,50,058 crore rupees. In respect of state govt. employees, the number is 60,32,768 and their total assets are 4,32,655 crore rupees. The contributions in the fund are managed by govt. controlled fund managers companies by investing in various forms ranging from government bonds to shares of companies. Hence the increase in the contributions of the employee is not at any fixed rate of interest but is variable depending on market conditions.

While ridding itself of any pension liabilities for new employees, the Central govt. has also reduced the number of its employees (excluding army, navy, air force) from 38.13 lakh in 1991 to 31.9 lakh as on 01.03.2020. This was achieved mainly by

abolishing the Group D category of regular employment and outsourcing these jobs to private contractors. The govt. had no pension obligations for these contractual employees.

It is significant that while total central govt. employment decreased around 20 % over these years the employees under the Home Ministry more than doubled from 3,90 lakh to 9.05 lakh. These numbers quite clearly represent the increase in strength of para military forces. Here also the new entrants were brought under the NPS.

The army, air force and navy were exempted from the NPS and their pension liabilities continued to be with the Central Govt. The Modi government's Agniveer scheme will greatly reduce this burden as a large section of the lower ranks of soldiers will now always be of recruits on 4- year contracts with no pension benefits and only one-fourth of these Agniveers will regularized in service.

The govt. employees were opposed to the New Pension Scheme from the beginning and the demand for restoration of OPS had been on the agenda of employees' organizations particularly railways and civilian defence employees. However over the years as the numbers of employees under NPS have increased, the demand for OPS has progressed to becoming an agitational demand. As can be seen, now 23 lakh central govt. employees- that is around 70 percent of them- are under NPS. Similar is the situation of state govt. employees.

Most of the parliamentary opposition parties, sensing the discontent among these employees, have been quick to offer their support. The RSS-BJP central govt. and their state govts have so far continued to justify the NPS but rumblings can be heard in

Karnataka where elections are due. The Andhra Pradesh CM Jaganmohan Reddy has tried to suggest a compromise formula by proposing that the NPS should also have a defined benefit of 50 percent of last pay similar to the EPF pension for industrial workers wherein the worker gets 50 percent pension for 35 yrs. of service and proportionately less for lesser length of service. However, this will still not resolve the main problem that without DA, the purchasing capacity of the pension will keep decreasing with inflation.

The Modi Govt. has got the RBI Governor to issue warnings that reverting to OPS will put an unbearable load on govt. finances. Montek Singh Ahluwalia has also commented in a similar vein. These 'great' economists always warn against increased expenditure but dare not suggest augmenting revenue by increasing direct taxes particularly corporate taxes. The state govts which have reverted to the OPS have asked the NPS Trust to handover to it the accumulated contributions of its employees but this has been refused by saying that there is no provision in law for transferring the contributions. Obviously, the Modi govt. wants to discourage reversion to OPS by all means at its disposal.

Whatever the Modi Govt. may wish, the justified demand for reversion to OPS cannot be wished away any longer and is bound to gather momentum. There has been another development in this process. A batch of 82 petitions by members of the Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) which come under the Home Ministry - CRPF, CISF, BSF, ITBP, SSB, etc. were recently heard by the Delhi High Court. On 11th January 2023 a Division Bench of Court gave its judgement saying that the exemption from NPS given to armed

forces includes the CAPFs and they are entitled to continue to be under OPS. This is going to make it even more difficult for the Modi Govt. to resist the demand for OPS of other govt. employees.



Punjab : Successful Struggle in Zira

● **Rajinder Singh Deepsinghwal**

The contradiction between Corporate and people of Punjab has been intensifying since the farm laws came into being, though these laws were later repealed. The reason is obvious: Agriculture and holistic model of development is per wishes of corporate. People's interests and needs are nowhere in the planning.

“Zira Morcha” formed in Firozpur district was also born out of such contradiction. The infamous Zira distillery contaminated ground water and affected more than 50 villages and black or brown water with dirty odour started coming out of tubewells which shocked the people of the surrounding area of Mansoorwal (Zira) distillery. It was not for the first time that people decided and launched a struggle against this distillery. A few years back, the cattle of many families died due to contaminated water from the same and when people built a movement, the owner of the distillery

provided financial relief to the affected families. But with the passage of time the effects did not remain confined to just the health of animals, many human health problems emerged on the scene, including skin problems, cancers, liver and kidney failures all of which occurred in many villages. It wasn't only common local people who began blaming the Zira distillery, the Punjab state Assembly also took account of these problems 12 years ago, when it took note of the problem of water pollution. In 2007, the Speaker of the Assembly formed a Committee of 11 MLAs for Distilleries and Sugar Mills. This Committee presented its report in 2010 and it clearly mentioned that the Mansoorwal (Zira) distillery was not following the norms of Water Act. The Report also revealed that the factory had made only a few parts of the water cleaning unit and was in fact not treating the polluted water but putting it into the ground water. This committee also talked to people in the surrounding areas of the factory and that time people told the committee that when the wind blew from the factory end, a bad odour spread throughout the area and fly ash also came with wind.

People also placed on record that this factory created few job opportunities. But it polluted the environment many times more than any contribution to employment. The Committee also mentioned in the Report that they had visited all the distilleries in Punjab and talked to the people everywhere and found the same problems to be prevalent around each of the distilleries.

Farmers of the Zira area also complained that the factory owner was pouring polluted water over their crops at night. The Committee noted in Report that these factories are posing serious challenges to life and have to be dealt with strongly.

Now the question arises that if such facts came to the fore, then why has necessary action not been taken? Because the Akali Dal- BJP govt. was in power then and the owner of the Zira distillery was a sitting MLA of the Akali Dal.

In July 2022 people of Zira area formed a committee and forced the closure of production in the distillery by sitting in front of it and demanding closure of the distillery. After 5 months of closure, the factory owner approached the Punjab & Haryana High Court to seek direction to resume its production. Punjab Govt. did not show any interest in presenting the ugly face of this infamous distillery; rather it paid Rs. 20 crores as damages to the factory owner as per direction of a single Judge bench of the High Court. The High Court also issued direction to the Ferozepur administration to get the dharna lifted and attach properties of protesters to pay damages to the Zira factory owner. Punjab police did everything to snub this movement. Dozens of people were sent to jail, the arms licenses of many protesters were cancelled and Police submitted the land records of several protestors to the High Court to seek attachment orders. But, in the meantime, farmers' organizations jumped into the fray. Kirti Kisan Union (AIKMS) President, Nirbhai Singh Dhudike and BKU Dakaunda leader Buta Singh Burjgill led the first jatha and reached the dharna, where very few people remained due to the repressive onslaught of the administration. SKM also announced its meeting near Zira to decide the future line of action. The initiative of SKM worked and defeated the dirty design of Punjab police. The Zira Morcha Committee was also encouraged by the entry of SKM. The administration retreated the very next day and started dialogue with SKM leadership to pacify the people and

control the situation. Meanwhile, people from across the state started moving towards Zira. When the Govt. failed to stop this movement and people started to come in big numbers and comparison of this Morcha with Singhu and Tikri protest sites began, then the Punjab govt. retreated and announced shutting down of the factory. However, the Dharna is still continuing and protestors are demanding the written order of definite closure of the factory.

Significance of this Victory

The significance of this victory is that the people of Punjab are facing the dire consequences of so called “green revolution” and pollution by Industry. In the recent past many voices have been aired against this but the situation never got further than mere discussion. But after the victory of Delhi Morcha, people got encouraged and resumed the morcha against this distillery and got enormous support across all sections. A “Cancer train” runs from Bhatinda to Bikaner as the ground water of the area is no more fit for human consumption, being laced with chemicals from pesticides and polluting industries. The Land of Five Rivers- as Punjab is called- is being forced to buy water from private players. In Muktsar Fazilka dist., people are facing acute crisis of water and many villages are paying more than ten thousand rupees per day for drinking water. No one could have ever imagined such a situation. The water is not only polluted, but 86 percent of ground water has also been depleted.

In such a scenario, this victory is very significant for the future of Punjab’s people. Now the people are not just thinking

about the health crisis and the polluted water, but they have started to fight and this will carry on in many forums in future. It has paved the way to counter the anti-people development model. Punjab once again could show the way on a very important issue of life.



Call on 8th March 2023

Demand Equality in Society

**No to Manuwad Which
Upholds Patriarchy !**

No to Patriarchy !

On 8th March 1908 women textile workers in New York (America) held a march as one more step of their struggle for demanding right to vote for all women, bringing down the working hours to a ten hour work day and end to exploitation of child labour. It was remarkable because it demanded uniform right to vote for all women of the country _ all classes and all races (colours)- at a time when vote was restricted there not only by gender but also property and race. This march was organized by socialist women and it faced police violence. The Second International Socialist Women's Conference held under the leadership of Clara Zetkin in

1910 marked out its memory and message as International Women's Day. With time it has been universally adopted, of course with Corporate and Reactionaries going all out to deny both its roots in women's struggle and its communist history.

Later events that took place on this date in any year are also quoted to dilute the significance. But this was the reason for it being marked out- that it raised the issue of gender equality- against patriarchy- for all women in the class and colour divided society of America. It was the mobilization by socialist women at a time when white women's groups were also active on gender rights but for a certain class and race.

This history of Women's Day is so relevant for women in India today. We stand in a situation of severely deepening economic crisis in the country. We stand in a situation of ever worsening gender rights even as the BJP RSS Central Govt. and its several state govts drive fissures of caste, class and religion between women too! This is to fog our vision while robbing us- ALL women- of even existing rights, while we keep thinking only 'others' are under attack!

Let us see the situation in the country. Prices are rising relentlessly and it is becoming so difficult to manage the household economy. Fuel, cereal, milk, dal, every single item is so expensive. But the Central Govt. is assuring us that this is actually a golden period, and are luring upper castes of majority religion by saying this is the first time 'you' are ruling. Govt. schools, govt. colleges are being shut down, higher education has become so very expensive, the possibility of reservations in higher education withers away

with almost total privatization, common women aspiring for education can't pay the fees of even secondary schools, and regular jobs are a thing of the past. But the RSS- BJP Central Govt. distracts and divides the people by luring the upper castes of the majority religion of the country that this actually is 'their' rule! One must expose their propaganda then and ask how is it that the vast majority of even upper caste majority religion women and girls find themselves deprived of a chance for higher studies, for permanent jobs or regular wages! All these losses reinforce patriarchal clutches of family and society for all women irrespective of which caste and religion they are born into. This is what women must realize too.

Then look again at the so many steps being taken in the name of "protection" of the majority- religion's dominant castes' women. 'Bahu beti izzat' campaigns. Laws against love jihads in 11 states. Anti religious- conversion laws, which require you to prove your intentions before a Deputy magistrate. Whose marriages are they stopping, whose freedoms are being trampled? Is not the freedom of choice, the right to freely interact with other sections, of dominant castes' women of majority religion under severe attack by the Government itself - really, really pushing them into Manu times? Are not apologists and keepers of the caste system dancing with joy?- it is on the tighter and tighter restrictions on the relations women might make outside caste and religion that the entire caste system rests! And what place does that system give to even upper caste majority religion women?- they are a secondary sex. In that very same social ladder, the Dalit women do not even count at all; lower than the lowest. This is Manu's decree. Automatically, the status of women in entire society goes down. The rule of those who

accept the Social Code of Manu, as does the RSS Central Govt., is necessarily a Patriarchal Rule as women of even dominant castes of majority religion must face. All women must speak up against strengthening patriarchal bonds.

Because, let it not be overlooked. In the general atmosphere of communalism, fundamentalism and parochialism, all patriarchal bonds strengthen: thus, families of all castes and all religions will attack and force and even kill youth, both girls and boys, who violate the straight and narrow paths of family dictated marriages. But this is only one fallout for women of the casteist, communal and patriarchal drives of the Central Govt. Domestic violence in all sections takes more gruesome forms, especially in youth (the Aftabs and Sahils) as lynching of humans, burning them alive, contempt for 'other' and flaunting of backward ideas become norms. Top sportswomen of the country were forced to hold an indefinite dharna in Delhi before even a committee was set up to go into their complaints of sexual harassment. Dress code has been prescribed for women lawyers in some courts in Madhya Pradesh. Haryana Govt. has now prescribed a dress code for women govt. doctors. In the name of stopping early marriage, the Assam Govt. has rejected all time tested modern methods of govt. intervention and is jailing the husbands and fathers of young married women and even jailing women when no male relatives can be found. Gang rapists and murderers in communal violence get bail as a right but not democratic activists or those leading democratic struggles or even the poor undertrials cramming the prisons of the country. And now a Uniform Civil Code is being promised in a situation where divisive propaganda is high, diversity is called 'other' and all

debate becomes 'anti-national' even if it is to oppose strengthening of patriarchal chains within the country.

Many women and students are in jails under various sections, even under UAPA, merely for dissenting or for taking part in struggles. They are there as examples for all others in struggles. Working women- whether industrial workers, secretarial staff, nurses, teachers, doctors, govt. employees, IT professionals, just any work- all face perpetual contract employment, unregulated wages, no maternity leave and benefits, no PF deposits. They can be punished for forming union or striking- these are the provisions of Labour Codes being brought by the Central Govt. The drive for corporatization of agriculture will rob women peasants of what land they have. The lives of landless women are becoming even more heinous as labour rates go down, employment and also MGNREGA dries up, land is handed to corporate and power sexual violence strengthened in the deepening patriarchal milieu. Tribal women countrywide are into struggles as forests of India are being handed over to corporate by the pro imperialist policies of the RSS BJP Central Govt. This Govt. is opposing all dissent with fascist oppression.

8th March 2023 brings before the women of the country the challenge to unitedly fight back the policies which are tightening our patriarchal bonds. Let us intensify our struggle for defending and expanding freedom of choice. Let us say no to Manuvad. Let us build solidarity with all democratic struggles of workers, peasantry, youth, students, against anti people and pro imperialist policies. Let us intensify our struggles against patriarchy, work for unity between women in different democratic struggles and to strengthen

struggles to defend and widen democratic space against the fascist rule of the Central Govt.

On the occasion of 8th March 2023, we also send greetings in solidarity to women struggling world over against Reaction, against Imperialism & Patriarchy.

(Issued by the Co-ordination Committee of Progressive Organization of Women (POW), Pragatisheel Mahila Sangathan (PMS) and Istri Jagriti Manch (IJM)



Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) Heralds a Historic Step in promoting women cadres:

In A First for IFTU, Two District Committees Have Elected Women As Presidents

This is an occasion to highlight the need to increase the representation of women in the leadership committees of trade unions.

A word about the preparatory work for the success of IFTU All India Conference in Tirupati

The IFTU National Committee has decided to hold the Seventh All India Conference of the Indian Federation of Trade

Unions (IFTU) on 16th, 17th and 18th April, 2023 at Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh. On 8-1-2023 a preparatory meeting was held at Tirupati. Majority of the attendees were representatives of the IFTU affiliated trade unions from undivided Chittoor district. It is also attended by representatives from AIKMS, POW, PDSU. Few representatives have attended from neighbouring undivided Kadapa district. It is a remarkable thing that in the said meeting out of 275 delegates more than 75% were women. The meeting has set a few tasks for the success of the All India Conference.

A Reception Committee for the All India Conference will be formed on Sunday 29-1-2023. (The date is incidentally the 29th anniversary of Nellimarla martyrdoms). The meeting also discussed about continuous campaign to be undertaken for 45 days from the day of Reception Committee formation. With this the morning session was successfully completed.

In the second session after lunch, the District IFTU conference was organized. It has been a long time since the state government divided the districts. The undivided Chittoor IFTU District Committee has continued till now as per the suggestion of the IFTU A.P. State Committee with the understanding that separate Committees for new Districts will be formed at the time of next conference. Accordingly, the Chittoor and Tirupati District Committees were divided in yesterday's meeting. It is a special privilege that women comrades were elected as presidents of these two IFTU district committees.

Comrade Bharti was elected as the President of Tirupati District Committee and Comrade VR Jyoti was elected as the

President of Chittoor District Committee. Bharati has been a member of the state committee for three years and Jyoti for one year.

Tirupati district committee is constituted with 13 members and of them 9 are women. It is remarkable that 70% members of the district committee are women!

Tirupati district committee office bearers are five. Three are women. Apart from Bharti, Ganga Devi and Subhashini are also office bearers. It is also remarkable that 60% of the office bearers are women!

Chittoor district committee was formed with nine members and of them five are women. It is also remarkable that 55 percent are women!

Two of the five elected office bearers of Chittoor district committee are women. Along with Jyoti, Prema is another office bearer. It is also remarkable that 40 percent of the office bearers are women!

Let us sum up the Undivided Chittoor district as a unit.

Members of both the District Committees (13+9) are 22 and out of them (9+5) 14 are women members. It is remarkable that 65% representation is of women.

Out of 10 office bearers of both districts, 5 are women. Hence 50% of the leadership is women in both Districts together!

It seems there is a general tendency in present trade union field that working women are less represented in the leadership when compared to their membership. This is a phenomenon prevalent at general level. This problem is not pertaining to any district, area or

state. The women representation in the leadership of the trade unions is very less everywhere. This drawback is facing the entire working class movement in the country. This drawback is prevailing in every sector and in every trade union. It cannot be rectified by overnight adopting short term measures. There is a need for constant and also continuous efforts by the leadership of working class to overcome the shortcomings in this regard. There is a need of radical change in the orientation in promoting the working women to the leadership positions of working class movement.

The number and percentage of women workers in the Industries and Services sectors is increasing during the last three decades. At the same proportion, women's representation in trade union leadership committees is not seen. This is a big contradiction being faced by the workers' movement and this is an objective reality. The revolutionary organizations of the proletariat have to overcome the drawbacks in this regard.

There is an argument that although women workers are encouraged by the leadership they are not coming forward to take up leadership responsibilities in trade unions. This is not true in reality.

The patriarchal ideology rooted in the society is a strong impediment in this regard. The mindset of the male dominated society is a big obstacle. It is an objective fact. We should recognize it first. We should also keep in mind that it will not be changed overnight. Constant and also conscious efforts are needed to overcome this weakness. This fact needs to be recognized by the revolutionary organizations of the working class and their leadership.

There were many instances where Trade unions have made sincere efforts to promote women workers to the leadership committees. However, the results are not coming in expected level. The real reason is to be identified and also rectified.

Another argument goes that even if the women are promoted to the union leadership positions, they are not asserting their position in the leadership. That is also not the truth.

Our IFTU experience and practice also shows that the sincere and serious efforts made by the leadership of Trade Unions to promote the women to the higher committees are not enough. It is only one of the needed steps. But it is not sufficient. Only honest effort is not enough. It can be possible through a conscious, dynamic and also experimental process only. In this regard, theory and practice are to be co-ordinated. It is to be implemented in a practical way.

The discrimination continues to appear in the representation of the women workers in the leadership of workers' unions where men and women work together. Today we see that such committees are filled with men where women are dominant workforce.

If trade unions are formed in fields where only women workers are present, the committees are inevitably to be formed with women workers. It cannot be said as a progress or radical change in putting the women in leadership.

We have seen very positive results in said sectors which are filled with 100% women workers. There are many experiences that women have effectively and also efficiently lead the Trade

Union Committees in those sectors. For example, the experiences of the government schemes like Anganwadi, Asha, Midday Meals are visible and glaring examples of women leadership empowerment. These are the classic examples which show that women can lead themselves. The proletariat's leadership should keep this fact in their minds.

The promotion of women workers to leadership positions in trade union committees are always made a point in the IFTU Organizational reviews. The IFTU National Committee is attempting to take organizational tasks to drive its leadership in this regard.

IFTU District Committee of Undivided West Godavari has been conducting special training classes for women workers for the last few years. The efforts that have been made by Eluru Comrades are remarkable. That is a significant forward step. The others can take a cue from Eluru experience and with the same spirit it should be carried out elsewhere and everywhere as a campaign. At the same time, our experience shows that comprehensive results are not obtained with such teaching classes in classrooms alone. Both practice and theory should be applied and also coincide in a systematical way for the furtherance of the cause. It should be undertaken in a constructive, patient way. For continuous promotion of women in positions of leadership, experimental methods are needed to be employed.

The result of Chittoor did not come suddenly. It is only the result of long-term efforts in the areas of Anganavadi, Asha and midday meal etc. scheme sectors.

We have been observing that where more than 90% work force is women, pathetically. 90% of male workers are in the leadership positions. It would make some sense if only 30% to 40% of the male workers were elected to trade union committees in the sectors where 10% to 20% the workforce consists of men. It would also make sense to have 50% to 60% women in the leadership positions in such sectors where 90% work force are women. It all depends on various objective factors. On the other hand, where 10% of men constitute the workforce but 90% of committee positions are filled with them, it is highly unequal and discriminatory.

The fundamental inequalities will continue to exist in the present exploitative social system as long as labour exploitation exists. That's the reason people want a political revolution to abolish all types of exploitations in the society. It will be fatal to day dream that all the inequalities will be eliminated and be made to disappear without a proletarian revolution. Such type of thinking will lead to a wrong conclusion that there is no need for any revolution.

Cultural revolution cannot be confined to political sector and cultural sector without making any effort to transform Society. Although the political revolution is the key factor, a cultural revolution should also be carried out simultaneously. Our aim can be achieved if the working class organizations work with scientific point of view and with strong political will.

There is a background for Chittoor District becoming a pioneer in promoting the women comrades to leadership positions. The foundation was laid long before as the trade unions were formed in the sectors like Anganwadi, Asha Workers etc.,

where 100% workers are women and this is the objective reason for the foundation. Even then it is not an easy task. Women are rarely elected to the top positions of district and state organizational committees despite their successfully running the trade unions in the above mentioned sectors. But in the particular case under reference, women elected to IFTU District Committees are already in the main positions of Anganwadi, Asha workers' Unions of the District and the State Unions. But the same priority in promoting the women at the same level as male comrades was not given in IFTU organizational committees of District and State level. That is a malady. Now a step forward has been taken by the District Committees to compensate this deficit. We should rectify our thinking that they are not ready to take up the leadership responsibility. We are not getting them prepared, trained and nurtured in a constructive way to take up the leadership responsibilities. Chittoor has shown us the way for moving forward in this direction.

This is a write-up about the special representation of women in the trade union sector. (Apart from women we have to make a conscious effort to promote Dalit, minorities and other weaker sections also to the higher committees.) Though it is not an occasion, I wish to mention one thing. It is pertinent to note that the comrades from Dalit background were also elected to the posts of general secretaries of the above two district committees. They are Com. Surrender from Chittoor district and Com. Kothapalli Subrahmanyam from Tirupati district.

Let us welcome the decision taken by the Undivided Chittoor District's leadership!

Let's take inspiration from them !!

Let us be guided by their exemplary example !!!

Let us move forward to achieve our goals in this regard.

((This letter is written by Com. P. Prasad (PP), Andhra Pradesh State President of IFTU. Com. PP is also Secretary of the National Committee of IFTU))



PDSU-PYL's

Letter To Ernesto Che Guevara

We know you were wounded, captured and then gunned down in the forests of Bolivia way back in October, 1967 by the CIA-backed military and you for certain cannot receive this letter just as the letter that you wrote to your mother, Celia, reached her only after her death. We are aware that you are no more but your deeds and words bring back your living images as if to tell us death could not conquer you. Your name evokes in us images of a young doctor reaching out to patients suffering with leprosy in Peru, of a revolutionary climbing the mountains in the Sierra Maestra despite the bouts of asthmatic attacks you suffered. As Eduardo Galeano put it, "the war against asthma was the first war Che fought and won: he won it insofar as he never let asthma make any decisions for

him.” You said in the letter to your mother, “I believe armed struggle is the only solution for peoples who are struggling to be free and I live in accordance with my beliefs.” These were not mere words but you put them into practice by throwing yourself in the making of the Cuban Revolution overthrowing the dictatorial Batista regime. You believed in Socialism as the only alternative to the exploitative capitalist system and fought for its realization. It is perhaps an extraordinary character that you had where the word and the deed became one. As Galeano says, “Che said what he thought and did what he said.”

You had been an important functionary and a minister in the Cuban government from 1959 and yet chose to leave it to opt to go to



the mountains and the jungles again to make revolution in Bolivia. “This is the unheard of case of a man who abandons a successful revolution he made along with a handful of crazies, to throw himself into launching another”, says Galeano.

You had many brushes with death in the revolutionary war in Cuba but in Bolivia it was all over for you. Did you choose it? *“He entered into death neither asking permission nor forgiveness.”*

You were called an adventurer and you admit that you were one. In your words, “many will call me an adventurer and I am. Except, I am an adventurer of a different sort, one who risks his skin to prove his beliefs. *“In our difficult job of a revolutionary, death is a frequent accident,”* you wrote once, on the occasion of the death of an intimate friend of yours.

Your message to the Tricontinental, sent from a guerrilla base “somewhere in the world” in April 1967, starts with the lines of Jose Marti, “Now is the time of the furnaces, and only light should be seen.” Yes, you worked on lighting the furnaces across the continents. You were for a “true proletarian internationalism; with international proletarian armies; the flag under which we fight would be the sacred cause of redeeming humanity. To die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brazilwould be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, even a European. Each spilt drop of blood, in any country under whose flag one has not been born, is an experience passed onto those who survive, to be added later to the liberation struggle of his own country. And each nation liberated is a phase won in the battle for the liberation of one’s own country.” In the final moments, when a Bolivian army officer asked you why you had come to Bolivia, you answered, “I am a Cuban, an Argentine, a Peruvian, a Bolivian, a Chilean, an Ecuadorian.”

Jose Maria Sison, the Philippine revolutionary wrote a poem, “The guerilla is poet”. Commandante, what did they find when they captured you, the guerrillero? What were the possessions in your little backpack? Twelve rolls of film, maps drawn with coloured

pencils, a portable radio that hadn't worked for some time, a pair of diaries and your green notebook "Cuaderno Verde". CIA agents tried to find what they were expecting, some codes. No, that wasn't to be. That cheap note book you bought during your trip to Tanzania in 1963 was hidden in a Bolivian army vault for years. What did you write in that? We now learn that it was the collection of your favourite poems in your handwriting. The Guardian says, "among the 69 poems are some by Chilean Pablo Neruda.. Cuban Nicolas Guillen and Peruvian Cesar Vallejo."

You as a true communist revolutionary, as a strong believer in socialism and Marxism have been an icon inspiring many a young mind to fight injustice, exploitation and oppression. Your multifaceted personality has had tremendous influence on the student and youth movements that swept the world in the late sixties and seventies. We in this part of the globe had our own little version of Che, George who died young at the age of 25 years succumbing to a dastardly attack by the right wing reactionary forces. He laid the foundation of our organization, the PDSU and like you was a brilliant student and was drawing inspiration from you to fight for the cause of revolution. Many of our predecessors in those times of turbulence were echoing what you said in regard to death. "Whenever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle-cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms." We recently commemorated George's 50th anniversary amidst the dark clouds hovering around us as the rightwing reaction takes control of the institutions and rise of fascist threat.

We commemorate you as we resist the fascist attacks. We look at the changes in the contemporary world. The rise of right wing reaction and fascist forces is a global phenomenon as the world sinks into barbarism. Thomas Piketty, the economist observes that, early 21st century neo-colonial capitalism involves similar levels of inequality as early 20th century colonial capitalism, a pointer to the reversals and setbacks in the struggle. The V-Dem Institute's Democracy Reports indicate, 'The worldwide wave of autocratization is deepening, engulfing more countries, and seems to be changing nature.' The pandemic further exacerbated the conditions providing the pretext for deprivations. The ongoing Russia – Ukraine war reflects the deepening inter imperialist contradictions in the backdrop of a multi-polar world. As our poet, Makhдум Mohiuddin wrote, *“That civilization’s wound/ Ditches/ Volleys of stars/ Men’s bodies entangled in volleys of stars/ And upon men’s bodies, those sitting vultures/ That splitting head/ Corpses, cut hands, cut feet/ Skeletons from this shore to the other, / brows marked red / It’s become cold/... Nothing belongs to the night beyond darkness”*.

We remember your message as we fight imperialism, “We must bear in mind that imperialism is a world system, the last stage of capitalism — and it must be defeated in a world confrontation. The strategic end of this struggle should be the destruction of imperialism. Our share, the responsibility of the exploited and underdeveloped of the world is to eliminate the foundations of imperialism: our oppressed nations, from where they extract capitals, raw materials, technicians and cheap labour, and to which

they export new capitals — instruments of domination — arms and all kinds of articles; thus submerging us in an absolute dependence.”

Down with imperialism!

Long live socialism!!

Long live New Democratic Revolution!!!

Red Salute to Che Guevara!

Progressive Democratic Students' Union (PDSU) Telengana

Progressive Youth League (PYL) Telengana



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Union Budget 2023-'24

Callous Treatment to Social Sectors & Criminal Disregard of People's Concerns

In the last Budget presented in its second term, Modi led RSS-BJP Govt. continues total disregard of the people's concerns and rendering full service to rich sections especially corporate. That the Budget has been mainly, even if cautiously, welcomed by the corporate controlled media is only a testimony to the service of corporate by the RSS-BJP Govt. That the Govt. has congratulated itself on India becoming 5th largest economy, while on way to shortly become most populous country in the world, only shows cynical nature of Indian rulers.

The Budget exercise has been denuded of its importance with year round increase in taxes, fudging of data and juggling with figures, and importantly making tall claims to befool the people evidenced by promising but not performing on the welfare schemes. Year after year allocations to the social sectors, meagre as these are, are not spent as evidenced by revised estimates and actuals. Even budget estimates tell a sorry story of falling expenditure on social sectors; such expenditure dipping below 20% of the total expenditure for the first time over last 15 years (it is only 18%). Tall claims of the RSS-BJP Govt. and ruling classes generally are

punctured by declining indices of people's health and nutrition. Beating of their own drums shows the distance between rulers and people in the country.

At the macro-economic level the economic situation is marked by declining growth. Especially hard hit are the agriculture and manufacturing the biggest providers of employment to the people. Govt. has over the years given top priority to roll out red carpet for the foreign capital in the name of 'ease of doing business' by abridging the rights of workers, tax exemptions and allowing them to rob natural resources of the country. Despite all these measures, the economy is floundering, situation partly for the time being salvaged by availability of cheaper crude oil from Russia. However this advantage too is not being handed over to the people but is going to the coffers of the corporate that are siphoning off the huge profits by selling refined petroleum products to western countries. Despite tall claims of robust economy nearly over a third of Govt. expenditure is maintained by public borrowing, this year estimated to the tune of 15.43 lakh crore rupees.

The Govt. has been on a spree of privatizing public sector enterprises and selling off mineral resources of the country. However monetization targets of Central Govt. are not being met. The shortfall in monetization through monetization is being made up by mining industry with coal and other mining exceeded monetization targets by wide margin. This shows why the Central Govt. has brought new Forest Conservation Rules (2022) to facilitate the displacement of tribals and hand over their mineral rich land to corporate.

The Union Budget is marked by not only sharp cut in social sectors but steep rise in largesse to the corporate and rich sections. The Govt. has claimed to increase capital expenditure by 33%. However the Govt. had failed to spend money allocated to capital expenditure in 2022-23. However the Govt. has embarked on showering largesse on corporate and showing it as capital expenditure. Last year when Air India was handed over to TATA, almost all of its debt was taken over by the Govt. and shown as the capital expenditure. These debts, tax rebates and losses of the corporate are becoming new avenues of 'capital expenditure' of the Govt. Moreover, the entire exercise of increasing Govt. expenses on infrastructure building and capital expenditure is in private public partnership, a partnership rooted in profits for the private and losses for the public, shows that this thrust is in the interest of foreign and domestic corporate. Even ICMR laboratories are being opened up for use by the private companies. The thrust on infrastructure without corresponding emphasis on agriculture and industry is actually siphoning off of the people's resources for the corporate at the expense of the people. Especially neglected is the employment generation for which the most important sectors are agriculture and middle, small and micro industries (MSMEs) which have got a raw deal in the Union Budget.

The Govt. has also made a lot of noise of reducing income tax rates and its benefit to salaried class. Firstly it does not touch vast majority of working people and secondly for the lower slabs of income tax under the New Tax Regime (NTR) the benefits are counterbalanced by abolition of all exemptions showing why even middle classes are hesitating to migrate to NTR. Under this

camouflage the real benefits are being showered on the super rich whose tax liabilities will go down. This is coupled with sharp reduction in corporate tax earlier.

Agriculture which engages over half the work force of the country and rural areas where more than two thirds of the people live have got a raw deal in the Budget. The only sizable increase is in agricultural loans and this is when peasants are groaning under the increasing burden of debt. Moreover while debts of the rich are waived off, not even publicized, peasants are subjected to harassment and brutalities for the recovery of loans. The anti-agriculture slant of the Budget is obvious from the cut in the subsidies of fertilizers by 22% from 2.25 lakh crores to 1.75 lakh crores. This cut is being covered under talk of encouraging natural farming. The most needy sections of the rural areas i.e. agricultural labourers and poor peasants too have been hit hard. Allocation for MGNREGA has been cut by a third, i.e. by Rs. 29,400 crores as compared to the revised estimates for the year 2022-23. This is while Govt. studies clearly demonstrate abysmally low levels of income from agriculture. In fact the Govt. having been thwarted in its designs to hand over the entire agriculture to foreign and domestic corporate by the historic farmers' struggle, is bent on increasing penetration of corporate in different aspects of agriculture- storage, marketing and the like. Allocation for PM Kisan has been reduced by nearly 8000 crores showing utter disregard for a scheme launched by such a fanfare. In fact the neglect of the rural areas comes out glaringly in the reduction of allocation for the rural development as compared to revised estimates for the last financial year (Budget estimates of Rs.

238,204 crores while 22-23 revised estimates are Rs. 243317 crores.) It demonstrates further marginalization of the rural areas where overwhelming proportion of population lives.

Another big provider of employment – MSMEs are reeling under successive blows from the Govt. in the form of demonetizations, GST and lockdowns. There is hardly any plan to help these industries, what is being given is a token in the form of reduction of loan guarantee by 1% and allocation of 9000 crores for this vast sector. This is when the share of manufacturing in the GDP has been progressively declining over the years while engaging a large work force.

Health and Education have not been among the priorities of the RSS-BJP Govt. In this Budget Education has got Rs. 112,899 crores barely covering the inflation costs as compared to last year's allocation. That the govt. ended up spending 5000 crores Rs. less than allocation shows the intent of the Govt. Health has fared no better. Govt. allocated Rs. 88956 crores as compared to Rs. 86606 crores last year not even covering inflation costs hence amounts to actual reduction. That the Govt. spent much less i.e. nearly 9300 crores Rs. less again demonstrates the low priority health has for this Govt. Government takes credit for higher allocation in Budget, though even that is much less than the goal set by it, but spends less during the year. Thus patting its back on allocation but actually not spending!

Cut on the social sector has encompassed the most vulnerable sections. Food subsidies have been slashed by nearly 90 thousand crore Rs. (From 287194 crore to 197350 crores) shows

the intent of the Govt. This is despite the increase in the hunger as evidenced by India's declining position on the Hunger Index. Even the PM Poshan has not been spared from the deduction; this year's budget allocation being Rs. 11600 crores while revised estimates for year 22-23 are Rs. 12800 crore Rs.

In fact there has been deduction in most of the expenditure meant for vulnerable sections, SCs, STs, minorities etc. No wonder keeping with majoritarian outlook of the present ruling dispensation the allocation for minorities has fared worst. Its allocation has been cut from Rs. 1810 crores last year to a mere 530 crore this year.

Despite all round cut in the social sector expenditure, RSS-BJP Govt. has done something even worse. It has weaponized social welfare measures. It has ensured that benefits of the schemes are politically utilized for electoral purposes. There have been repeated reports of deletion of names from BPL cards and other social welfare schemes. With RSS cadres controlling vast network in different areas including rural areas, and infiltration of RSS-BJP in the Govt. machinery including in the lower rungs of the state machinery, RSS-BJP have ensured that the benefits reach only its supporters, and those not favourably disposed to it are removed from among the beneficiaries. Such reports have come from several areas and electoral use of the beneficiaries has been reported from a large number of places.

With the cut in expenditure on social sectors and showering the benefits on foreign and domestic corporate, Union Govt. has shown the direction it has been pursuing and intends to pursue. These cuts become all the more glaring as well as alarming when

seen in backdrop of claims of fastest growing economy and projected rates of economic growth. It only shows that all this economic growth is going in the pockets of rich sections particularly corporate especially those close to RSS-BJP leadership. It clearly demonstrates that so-called economic growth is leading to ever increasing enrichment of a few. It is borne out by the growing inequality where wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few.

While statistical jugglery by the Govt. is meant to hide the real state of economy, it is not able to hide ever deepening economic crisis nor is it able to hide worsening conditions of the people.

Central Committee,

CPI (ML)-New Democracy

February 2, 2023



Meeting in Muzaffarpur (Bihar)

S.N. Singh's Birth Centenary Observed

The Bihar State Committee of CPI (ML) New Democracy organized a commemorative meeting in Muzaffarpur on 30th January 2023 on the occasion of the birth centenary of Comrade Satya Narain Singh, the late General Secretary of the CPI(ML). It was in Muzaffarpur district that the Mushahari armed peasant struggle, the first such struggle after Naxalbari, was built under the leadership of Com SN who was then Convenor of the Bihar committee of AICCCR. The struggle had then quickly spread to Darbhanga, Champaran, Sitamarhi and other areas of North Bihar.

This commemorative meeting held in Beena Concert hall, was attended by more than 500 party activists and sympathizers from various districts of North Bihar, particularly Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and West Champaran. A large section of these were women.

In preparation for observing the birth centenary, a campaign was carried on in various districts in the areas of party work through distribution of leaflets and local meetings. Posters were widely pasted. In Mushahari and surrounding villages banners were also strung up, while Posters were pasted all over Muzaffarpur town.

On the 30th from one side of the town the party activists coming for the meeting marched in a procession from the outskirts through the town to the venue in a procession carrying flags and banners shouting slogans. A similar procession marched from the Muzaffarpur railway station to the venue. Near the venue all the roads leading to it were festooned with red party flags and banners. Inside the hall, the stage had a backdrop of red banners with a large photo of Com SN.

On behalf of the Bihar State Committee of the party Com Ram Briksh Ram presided over and conducted the meeting. The meeting began with floral tributes being paid before Com SN's photograph by the guest speakers/party leaders from different states followed by leading comrades from various districts of Bihar amidst enthusiastic, loud sloganeering. Following this a group of youth activists sang a revolutionary song.

The first speaker, Comrade Sushanta Jha, on behalf of the Central Committee of CPI(ML) New Democracy highlighted various aspects of Com SN's political life. He said that a true leader is one who seizes the moment and says and acts before everyone else and SN exemplified this. He was one of the founding members of the CPI(ML), was the one who proposed the name of the Party, the one who presented the party Programme in the Founding Congress of the Party and was elected to the Politburo. But when it became necessary, he came forward to oppose the left adventurism of the leadership. When the Central committee functioning had been rendered defunct, he took the initiative in revival of the Central Committee and for establishing a revolutionary mass line.

He fought against sectarianism and called for unity of revolutionary forces both of CPI(ML) and non-CPIML sections on the basis of politics not parentage. After the brutal repression of the railway strike of 1974, he understood the fascist threat and called for united action of all forces opposing the Indira regime. Comrade Jha said that today we are facing a similar situation under present fascist rule.



On Stage (From Left) Com. Rambriksh Ram, Com. Sushanta Jha, Com. Heera Lal, Com. J.V. Chalapati Rao, Com. Aparna and Com. Mukesh Maloudh

Comrade JV Chalapathi Rao veteran revolutionary leader and Sect. Member of the Telengana State Committee of the party recalled that SN had toured the then Andhra Pradesh before

assembly elections in 1978 and his powerful oratory was long remembered. Com JV praised SN along with CP for taking the line of the Party building its own mass organizations of various sections. He also said that SN showed himself as a great patriot at a young age by his heroic deed of refusing to salute the British flag as a newly recruited airman and going to jail for this.

Com Hira Lal from the UP State Committee of the party pointed out some lessons we should learn from Com SN's life which are relevant for our work at present as well. Com Mukesh, President of the Zamin Prapti Sangharsh Committee (ZPSC), spoke about the ongoing land struggles of Dalits in Punjab and said that the role of SN and the CPI(ML) in arousing and leading landless to struggle against landlord oppression and for seizure of lands remains a source of inspiration for us. He said that for India land continues to be the main question. Com. Shambhu Singh and Com. Ramchander Singh from AIKMS Bihar committee also addressed the meeting.

The final guest speaker Com Aparna, President of the National Committee of IFTU paid homage to Com SN on behalf of the National Committee. She recounted his role in building working class organization pre Naxalbari and also in the establishment of IFTU as a revolutionary trade union centre in 1978 and his continued role since then in working class movement as part of IFTU leadership. She also spoke about SN's emphasis in his last years that revolutionary mass line must not be reduced to 'ghas line' or lifeless routinism, status quoism and reformist practices. Revolutionaries like Com. SN give their all in the fight for an egalitarian communist society in which not only all class exploitation would cease to exist, but also the basis of patriarchy.

Com Ram Briksh Ram, gave a brief account of some events witnessed during the Mushahari armed peasant struggle before concluding the meeting amidst enthusiastic sloganeering.

Other SN Memorial Programmes in January 2023

Besides this state level programme in Bihar, local programmes have also been held in different states to observe Birth Centenary of Com. S.N. Singh. In Godavari Khani (Telengana) a meeting in memory of Com. S.N. Singh was held on January 21, 2023. A meeting was also held on January 30, 2023 at Jangaraddygudem (West Godavari Dist., Andhra Pradesh) on SN's birth centenary which was addressed by state and district leaders of the Party. On January 31, 2023 a memorial meeting was held in Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh which was addressed among others by Com. Y. Sambasiva Rao, Member of the Central Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy.

S.N. Memorial Meeting in Kolkata

On February 19, S.N. Memorial Committee organized a well attended meeting in Moulali Yuba Kendra in Kolkata on February 19, 2023. The meeting was addressed by leaders of different communist revolutionary organizations including Member of Central Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy, Com. Sushanta Jha.

S.N. Memorial Meeting in Hyderabad

On February 20, 2023 Telengana State Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy organized a meeting in Sundariah

Vignankendram, Hyderabad in memory of Com. S.N. Singh. Leaders of several communist revolutionary organizations including Com. V. Venkaramaiah (CPI (ML)-New Democracy) recalled the contributions of Com. S.N. Singh to the communist revolutionary movement of the country.



Organ of the Central Committee, CPI(ML)

February - 2023

NEW DEMOCRACY

Price : Rs.20

Editor : Com. Y. S. Rao

Published, printed and owned by Dr. V. K. Patole from Balmukand Khand, Giri Nagar, New Delhi
- 110019 and printed at Star Offset Printers. 1-215/8-A-2 New Patel Nagar. New Delhi - 8

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