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Organ of the Central Committee CPI(ML)

# **NEW DEMOCRACY**

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Central Committee, CPI(ML)

# **NEW DEMOCRACY**

**January - 2025** 

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# Unification Of CPI(ML) New Democracy Announced

On December 28, 2024 Sundaraiah Vignan Kendram Hyderabad was packed to overflowing to hear and witness the announcement of unification of CPI (ML)-New Democracy. Leaders of CPI (ML)-New Democracy were on the stage and cadres of the two organizations belonging to both Telengana and Andhra Pradesh, were there to listen and watch the historic event of unification of communist revolutionary organizations. Nearly a thousand of them had come to participate in this Meeting, many of them standing on the sides, some even outside the Hall and some even sitting on the floor. A small team of leaders had come from Maharashtra to participate in the Unity Convention. Before the beginning of the Merger Meeting, senior leader Com. V. Koteshwar Rao unfurled the red flag of CPI (ML)-New Democracy. Com. T. Shrinivas welcomed all those participating in the meeting and invited members of the Presidium, the main speaker and other speakers to the stage.

The proceedings of this Merger Meeting started with paying homage to martyrs; those who have laid down their lives in the course of struggle for New Democratic Revolution in the country. The meeting also paid homage to those martyred in the course of people's struggles and those martyred while fighting against Imperialism and reactionaries in different countries of the world. The meeting was presided over by Com. V. Venkatramaiah and

Com. S. Venkateshwar Rao.

The main speaker at the Convention was Com. Darshan Singh Khatkar, Spokesperson of the Central Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy. Welcoming the unity, he dealt with the main aspects of the present situation- continuing genocide in Gaza and danger of fascism in India. He stressed on the importance of the unity of communist revolutionaries and also emphasized that the united organization should devote itself to building and developing revolutionary movement.

The Convention was addressed by leaders of the two organizationsnamely Com. V. Venkatramaiah, Venkateshwar Rao, veteran communist revolutionary leader Y. Sambasiva Rao, Com. J.V. Chalapati Rao, Com. P. Prasad, Com. ChitipattiVenkateshwaralu, Com. V. Sandhya, Com. G. Jhansi, Com. Goverdhan, Com. Sagar and Com. Madhu. Com. B. Dhasu from Maharashtra also gave a brief address and welcomed the unity. Speakers stressed on the importance of this unity and expressed resolve of CPI (ML)-New Democracy to work for the unity of communist revolutionary organizations. Speakers also expressed confidence that this unification will lead to CPI (ML)-New Democracy playing a greater role in building and developing revolutionary movement in the country. The Convention's proceedings were enlivened by the cultural performances of Arunodaya teams from Telengana and Andhra Participants in the meeting heard all the speakers during the four hour long proceedings with rapt attention.

At the Unity Meeting a joint statement by the two CPI(ML)-ND organizations was read out amidst thunderous applause of those present in the meeting. (This statement is being published below.). The Convention passed a number of resolutions on contemporary

issues and issued a call for the unification of communist revolutionaries.

This merger is important for the unity of communist revolutionaries which is need of the hour given the increasing attacks of the ruling classes against the people- workers, peasants, tribals, Dalits, women, students, youth and even middle classes. It will hopefully pave the way for more unification of communist revolutionaries. CPI (ML)-New Democracy has been steadfast in pursuing unity with CR organizations on a principled basis, sorting out differences among them on important aspects and resolving to work for intensification of revolutionary movement and people's struggles. CPI (ML)-New Democracy has been pursuing and resolves to pursue unity with C.R. forces that are ready to unite and to forge close relations as well as conduct joint action with all the C.R. organizations on issues of the people and against attacks of the working class.

It is hoped that this unity will create an atmosphere for achieving further unity and overcome tendencies of split among communist revolutionaries. Split in CPI (ML) - New Democracy in 2013, which was wrong, had damaged the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Party. Development of revolutionary movement as well as drawing lessons from the experiences of building and developing the movement in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, increasing desire to resolve the outstanding differences which have bearing on practice, creating an atmosphere of discussion on differences while strictly implementing the decisions of the Party will pave the way for achieving greater unity of communist revolutionaries. Let our hopes in this regard be nurtured by going into revolutionary practice with greater and renewed vigour.

# Merger Meeting of CPI (ML)-New Democracy at Hyderabad On 28th December 2024





First Line (From Left): Com. D.S. Khatkar, Com. V. Venkatramaiah, Com. S. Venkateshwar Rao and Com. Y. Sambasiva Rao

From Right between first and Second Line: Com. V. Koteshwar Rao unfurling the flag

Second Line (From Left): Com. J.V. Chalapati Rao, Com. Chittipatti Venkateshwarlu, Com. P. Prasad and Com. Sagar

Third Line (From Left): Com. Jhansi, Com. Goverdhan, Com. Sandhya, Com. Madhu and Arunodaya team performing.

# Unification Of CPI(ML) New Democracy

(We are here publishing the statement issued on December 28, 2024 from Hyderabad on the occasion of unification of CPI (ML)-New Democracy. - Editor)

We are happy to announce the decision of the Central Committee of CPI(ML) New Democracy (Organ: New Democracy) and Central Committee of CPI(ML)-New Democracy (Organ: Rising New Democracy) to unite into a single organization-CPI(ML)-New Democracy. This positive development will strengthen revolutionary movement under the leadership of CPI(ML) New Democracy. This development will help in advancing the much-needed unity of communist revolutionaries into a single Party.

This unity comes at a time when people of India are facing unprecedented challenges in the form of intensifying attacks by big capitalist and big landlord ruling classes which are serving the interests of imperialist powers. People of India are facing the march of RSS-BJP to impose fascist system over the country. This most reactionary section of the ruling classes backed by big section of corporate-foreign and domestic and landlords is launching all round attack on lives and livelihood of the people especially working class and peasantry, on tribals and Dalits, women and students-youth. They demonize and attack lives, livelihood and places of worship of minorities especially Muslims. They are manufacturing History in pursuit of their Hindutva fascism and trying to erase the History

which does not support this narrative. They are commercializing and saffronizing Education to poison minds of youth. Their regressive attitude towards Dalits and women reflects prescriptions of Manusmriti. They wish to impose fascism in the name of Hindu Rashtra. They are ferociously attacking democratic rights of the people especially struggling people and rights of the states as given in the Constitution. CPI(ML)-New Democracy is committed to wage all round struggle against these fascist forces and mobilize masses against them. We are committed to build struggles of working class and peasantry including tribals. This unity of toilers forged during struggle is the most formidable bulwark against march of fascist forces. We call upon all organizations to join hands to oppose the fascist attacks against Muslims, against rights of states and against democratic rights. We shall also vigorously fight against their attacks against composite and progressive culture.

We condemn killings of revolutionaries and tribals in encounters, arrest of rights' activists and democratic intellectuals under black laws especially UAPA. We demand immediate end to these repressive measures and release of all political prisoners.

With conditions of the people of the country deteriorating, inequality, hunger, destitution, unemployment among the people rising and back breaking burden on the overwhelming majority of the people increasing, people need to overthrow the yoke of exploitation by foreign and domestic corporate and vast countryside needs to break the shackle of semifeudal oppression. Struggle for redistribution of land on the slogan of land to the tiller, distributing land among landless especially Dalits, saving land of tribals and small peasants have been going on in different parts of the country challenging the ruling classes especially fascist forces. CPI(ML)-New Democracy reiterates its understanding that India is

a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and we have to make New Democratic Revolution (NDR) in India. CPI(ML)-New Democracy also upholds that NDR can be victorious only through waging protracted people's war and building areas of sustained resistance is part of moving towards people's war. We commit to work with renewed vigour to advance these tasks in accordance with the Programme and Path approved by 2024 All India Party Congress of CPI(ML)-New Democracy.

Both the organizations commit to work towards realizing unity of communist revolutionaries and recognize that split in CPI(ML)-New Democracy in 2013 was wrong and damaged the movement under the leadership of the Party. We pledge to safeguard the unity of the Party.

This unity comes at a time when Imperialism is suffering from deepening crisis and many areas of the globe are engulfed in wars and conflict. With the danger of third world war increasing, prospect of nuclear war has emerged. Genocide of the Palestinians in Gaza by Zionist rulers of Israel has become a symbol of the brutalities western imperialist powers are capable of wrecking against the people to restore and preserve their hegemony. CPI(ML) New Democracy condemns this ongoing genocide and stands with the Palestinians' struggle for their national rights. CPI(ML)-New Democracy expresses solidarity with all oppressed peoples in their struggle against Imperialism especially Palestinians. We shall also work against growing danger of world war by opposing imperialist war-mongerers. We express our serious opposition to help or collaboration of Indian Govt. and Indian companies to aid Israel's genocidal war against Palestinians.

CPI(ML)-New Democracy pledges to work towards building militant mass movements – struggles of peasants, workers, tribals,

Dalits, women, students, youth and middle classes. CPI(ML)-New Democracy pledges to work with renewed vigour towards advancing revolutionary movement including resistance struggle.

Unity of CPI(ML)-New Democracy will help in strengthening movement of tribals in defense of their land and livelihood, linguistic and cultural rights. Our unity will help in building movement of workers and peasants, women and students and other sections of oppressed people. We shall work to forge greater unity of communist revolutionary forces, uniting where possible and working to build joint struggles in all cases.

Sd/-

### **Darshan Singh Khatkar**

Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(ML)-New Democracy

December 28, 2024

## S. Venkateshwar Rao

Sd/-

General Secretary, CPI(ML)-New Democracy

ППП

# **On Recent Developments**

(Central Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy has recently approved a statement on international and national developments. We are publishing parts of this statement in this issue. – Editor)

# **International Developments**

Last few months have been marked by a further deepening crisis in a number of imperialist countries and rise of far-right forces in Western imperialist countries. All the major contradictions of Imperialist system are intensifying namely Contradiction between Imperialism and Oppressed countries and peoples, Contradiction among imperialist powers and Contradiction between Labour and Capital especially in imperialist countries. Though the first Contradiction is still playing the central role, Contradiction among imperialist powers is playing an increasingly important role.

As noted in our Political Resolution, financial economic crisis of the imperialist system which exploded in 2008, continues. It had maximum immediate impact on those economies which had large earnings from financial instruments and transactions but it had effect on all countries either directly or through impact on capital flows and market conditions. Attempts of imperialist countries to overcome the crisis have failed because they cannot do away with its basic cause i.e. ever growing production capacity and absence of commensurate effective demand due to lack of rise in the purchasing power of the people. Speed of Capital accumulation has increased and share extracted as surplus value by the capital has increased. This dead Labour in the form of Capital is increasingly sucking up more and more life blood of living Labour. Two trends

are inexplicably seen- first the share of the capital in the surplus value in the form of 'rent' has increased and secondly share of wages in the value has declined. This has given rise to growing inequality which has surpassed the levels reached in "gilded age" i.e. period before the First World War. Secondly, due to relative decline of wages, purchase power has gone down leading to social unrest and political instability. This is sought to be addressed in more advanced countries by raising debts. With the tax cuts on businesses and rising expenditure on social security, which rulers of these countries want to reduce but are unable to reduce, debts have been rising. US debt has already crossed 36 trillion \$ which is 125% of their GDP. As analyzed elsewhere, this growing debt constitutes roughly two third of the total growth in global economy since 2008. Debt servicing has become a big drain on their budgets.

# **Rise of Ultra Right Forces in Western Countries**

To maximize their profits and for that to curtail rights of workers and increase exploitation of oppressed countries, ruling big bourgeoisie of western imperialist countries are promoting ultraright, xenophobic, proto-fascist organizations in their countries. The whole political spectrum in these countries has shifted to the right. This has demonstrated the bankruptcy of so-called left liberal sections of big bourgeoisie which are neither left nor liberal. In this weakness of working class movement has played an important role. These ultra-right forces are no longer fringe elements but have joined the mainstream of the political forces of the ruling bourgeoisie. Victory of Donald Trump in Presidential elections will further embolden these forces. They are already ruling in coalition with other rightist parties in a number of European countries e.g. Italy, the Netherlands, Finland, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, and Czech Republic have ultra-right parties in Govt. In Sweden, the

Govt. is dependent on ultra-right National Democrats. In the Netherlands, Greet Wilders is on the verge of a power deal with the most right wing Govt. in history of that country. In others like France and also Germany, they have become quite strong. In UK also, the sweeping victory of the Labour Party is largely a result of large chunk of conservative voters opting for ultra-right Farage's Reform UK Party.

These ultra-right proto-fascist forces portray immigrants as the main problem in their countries. Through this xenophobic propaganda laced with racist overtone, they attempt to direct the anger of the working class in their countries away from their real enemies, the big bourgeoisie who are amassing huge wealth, and towards immigrants who are any way doing mostly menial and temporary jobs in their countries. Through this their target is to divide and weaken the working class movement and rally large sections of non-immigrant workers back to their fold, in the service of corporate. In fact in all western countries, immigration is being discouraged to varying degrees and conditions are becoming less hospitable for workers and students from third world countries including India. Some of these ultra-right forces are giving slogan of 'remigration' i.e. sending back lawful immigrants to the countries of their origin.

An important difference between the sections of political representatives of big bourgeoisie in western imperialist countries is on the emphasis placed by them on different contradictions of imperialist system including inter-imperialist contradiction, especially contradiction with Russian imperialism. Both the sections are parties of the big bourgeoisie but these ultra-right sections wish to focus their attacks against workers of their own countries and oppressed nations and peoples abroad. They wish to secure

maximum profits for their Capital and to that end they favour concentrating main attack against China, the main economic rival of US and other western economies. On the other hand, other ruling parties of centre, right and left description are stuck in the uni-polar world and wish to continue their domination over the world through waging war under the leadership of USA against all their imperialist rivals and against oppressed countries.

As noted earlier, with the explosion of financial economic crisis and failure of US armed invasion of Iraq and mounting resistance in Afghanistan, uni-polar world faced decline and trend of multi-polar world gained strength. With decline of uni-polar world, the current phase of Globalization, which was a product of uni-polar world, suffered setback and tendency towards protectionism increased. There were increasing calls, especially in USA, to bring industries back to US through imposing tariffs on imports and giving tax breaks and other incentives to production in USA. Though it will increase cost of production and hence economic burden on consumers, US rulers hope that their trade war can force other countries to buy their costly capital goods and give more favourable treatment to their Capital.

Victory of Donald Trump in USA (detailed comment made in December 2024 issue of ND) was primarily due to the rising cost of living and stagnant and even declining conditions of working class especially blue collar workers. Trump blamed immigrants and money given to Ukraine for the problems faced by poor Americans and got support from non-college degree holding workers. Trump was backed by a number of big capitalists, a big section of tech firm owners and venture capitalists who rode on his bandwagon to reduce Govt. expenditure so that they can raise money in the market on cheaper rates, gobble up public funds and use the US

Govt. to secure get greater share in the world market.

### **France: So-called Centrists Side with Fascists**

An important development took place in France which shows the extent of the crisis in the country as well as exposes the antifascist credentials of so-called centrist bourgeois parties. In France, in the elections held in 2022, no Party had gained majority but the Bloc led by President Macron's Party had emerged biggest. Without majority in Parliament, Macron faced problem in implementing his agenda. He dissolved the Parliament in May 2024 and two phase elections were held in June-July 2024. In the first round, Le Pen led RN polled highest votes followed by NPF (New Popular Front) comprising of Melenchon led LFI (France Unbowed), Socialist Party, Communist Party and Greens. However, in the second round, with the withdrawal of third placed candidates of NPF and Macron led alliance, RN with allies could get only 132 seats. NPF got the highest number of seats, 190 in a house of 577, with Macron led alliance coming second with 162 seats. Conservatives of Sarkozy did not withdraw their candidates. A section of them had already joined RN. As no party or alliance had secured a majority and no group of parties or alliances came to an agreement to form the Govt. it was expected that Macron would invite the leader of NPF, the largest group in National Assembly, to form the Govt. But he did not do so. Leaving aside all claims of opposing fascists, his Party led alliance formed a minority Govt. with Conservatives with Conservative Barnier as PM who negotiated with Le Pen's RN for survival of the Govt. Before this, Macron had unsuccessfully tried to divide NPF, targeting LFI. All talks of opposing fascists were thrown to the wind, once again proving that the anti-fascist clatter was only to bring 'left' forces to support ruling Rights and not vice versa. Macron chose to take support from fascists but not give opportunity to the

Left. This once again showed that methods of struggle to prevent fascists from coming to power and of overthrowing fascists cannot be same. This is due to attitude of ruling class parties, who would rather embrace the agenda of fascists than of the Left. However, the Govt. fell on the question of Budget, in which Barnier proposed to levy 60 billion Euros (\$62.3) in additional taxes and cut 40 billion Euros (\$42 billion) from social security schemes. RN did not wish to associate with such a Budget and lose support of working people. Fascists are, after all, no ordinary party of the right! Struggle against fascism does not proceed in a straight line. On the other hand, France is bracing up for a battle between left and right and, indirectly, also between Labour and Capital.

In Germany, the ruling alliance of three parties has fallen apart with elections due. Here also the issue was how and how much to shift the economic burden onto working class. In elections held in states in erstwhile East Germany, ultra-right Alternative for Deutschland (AfD) got good votes. In Germany, a number of factories are closing down and workers are coming out to save their jobs. After steel sector, automobile sector has been plunged into crisis with Volkswagen slashing jobs. Organized workers of Germany are coming into struggle.

Besides growing struggle of workers against increasing burden on them, there are also growing protests by immigrant workers for attacks against them. In a number of countries, these protests are supported by workers of these countries and democratic sections of the people.

*Ukraine War*: Over last six months, Russia has been steadily gaining the upper hand in the Ukraine war. They have expanded their control in Donetsk province and made incursion into Kharkiv from where they had retreated in April 2022. Ukraine made

incursion into Russian territory of Kursk but their advance was halted and they have been partly pushed back. Ukraine's attempt to enter Kursk was to divert Russian forces from Donetsk region where Ukrainian forces are facing a tough situation. But this stated objective was not achieved and Russian advance in Donetsk continued. After US election victory of Trump who has claimed that he would bring peace to Ukraine within 24 hours, Biden Admn. allowed its medium range missiles ATCAMs to strike targets deep within Russia. This was followed by UK and France allowing their long range missiles to strike Russian territory. This escalatory step is to take the situation to a level where Trump may not find it easy to strike a peace deal. However, Biden Admn.'s actions cannot reverse the course of war. The Peace deal under discussion by close associates of Trump involves Russia keeping what it controls with a demilitarized zone along the line of control and Ukraine's NATO bid off for an indefinite period. There is increasing talk of a peace deal in European countries and even Zelensky has admitted to willingness for freezing the conflict if the rest of Ukraine is admitted into NATO. Russia has not shown any willingness for ceasefire and is insisting on a peace deal involving non entry of Ukraine into NATO and recognizing of four Ukrainian Oblasts and Crimea as part of Russia. In European capitals there is also talk of Europe stepping up to fill the void expected to be created if Trump was to withhold support, but that is only a bargaining chip.

European Union is going through unprecedented crisis with both major countries – Germany and France - going through political crisis. Such is the crisis that European Union is turning against electoral verdicts in the East European countries. In Georgia, EU is refusing to recognize the electoral verdict, organizing a Maidan like violent movement against the Govt. In Romania, the Constitutional court has annulled the first round of Presidential election in which a Eurosceptic candidate had topped the polls. In Moldova, a pro-EU resolution was accepted in a referendum by a razor thin margin, trailing in the vote throughout the counting and thereby creating suspicion of vote manipulation. In Georgia, the Eurosceptic Georgia Dream Party won the election, which win has been condemned by Western imperialist countries as being a result of interference by Russia. European Union is not an attractive proposition and there is growing sentiment in Eastern European countries against the Ukraine war.

# Gaza Genocide and Broadening War in Middle East

Israel's genocide in Gaza has continued for over 14 months. This genocide is taking place with the full support of US imperialism. While atrocities by Zionists know no limits, Palestinians are writing a saga of historic resistance by a nation in the face of such brutalities. They are still resisting, which shows the resources a determined people can command in such grave adversity like the present Israeli military offensive. As we have discussed earlier, Palestinians are drawing support from democratic public opinion. While Palestinians have taken their struggle into their own hands, they are being supported by resistance groups including Hezbollah in Lebanon, Houthis in Yemen and resistance groups in Iraq and Syria. All these groups are supported by Iran which has emerged as the main adversary of Israel in the Middle East. While Arab monarchies are not doing much in support of Palestinians, they are also not openly supporting US-Israel. Houthis have attacked ships going to and from Israeli ports and ships of USA and UK.

In September 2024, US-Israel launched an attack on Lebanon, beginning with the pager attacks when microbombs were put in pagers manufactured by a Taiwanese company. A fierce bombing campaign followed in which the leadership of Hezbollah was targeted and several of them killed. Thousands of civilians were also killed. Israel launched a ground assault into Lebanon, sending troops into South Lebanon. Israel's forces suffered a number of casualties in the ground invasion and nearly 150 Israeli soldiers were killed in one month of ground invasion. With its invading forces becoming targets of attack, Israel, with the mediation of USA and France, reached a ceasefire deal with Lebanon. According to this deal, Israeli forces will withdraw from Lebanon and Hezbollah's forces will withdraw to north of Litani river, about 30 kms from the border. Lebanon's Army will control the border with Israel. This is already provided for in Security Council resolution 1701of September 2006. That Israel had to agree to this showed the stalemate in the war in Lebanon and also the interest of France in that country.

# Fall of Assad Govt. in Syria

As ceasefire between Israel and Lebanon came into force on 27th November, a large scale offensive was launched by rebel forces in Syria on the same day. These forces are led by Hayat Tahrir al Sham (HTS), formerly Al Nusra, an affiliate of Al Qaeda in Syria. In eleven days, Assad Govt. in Syria fell. Assad with his family and close associates fled to Moscow and an Interim Prime Minister belonging to HTS has taken over in Damascus. On 27th November morning HTS and other militant groups launched attacks from Idlib towards Aleppo in the East and Homs towards South. Reportedly convoys carrying equipment and ammunition along with militants crossed from Bab al-Salam on 27th morning. Within three days they had entered Aleppo, the second largest city of Syria. Within a week, towards the South they entered Hama and later Holms, the third largest city of Syria. Within eleven days they entered Damascus.

While the lightening advance of the HTS led militant groups has been remarkable, more noteworthy is the total lack of resistance both from Syrian Army and Russians who have a military base in Syria. Nowhere did the Syrian Army offer resistance. Assad's ministers stayed in Damascus to hand over power to militant organizations. This showed some sort of agreement among the powers playing a role in Syria.

While this has been the main trajectory, militant forces rose in South and South East near the border with Jordan to capture Deraa province. In the North and Northeast, US supported Kurdish forces (SDF) captured Deir al Jour and reached outskirts of Aleppo from the East.

There have been clashes between Turkish supported Syrian National Army (SNA) and SDF in the North. With the mediation of US, SDF has retreated from Manbij, a key town in North Syria at some distance from Turkish border. Border areas are inhabited by Kurds whose SDF is regarded as terrorist by Turkiye, as an offshoot of PKK. US has launched strikes in Idlib allegedly against IS. More importantly, Israel is continuously bombarding Syria, destroying its arms and ammunition depots and ships. Israel has captured demilitarized zone in Golan Heights and declared Golan Heights to be part of Israel "forever". Israel has conducted 480 strikes in two days – December 9 & 10. Their main aim is to destroy the military power of Syria in this transitional period so much that Syria does not remain in a position to oppose Israel at least militarily. They consider the incoming leadership as not friendly, otherwise they would not be conducting relentless strikes for weakening them. Israel has declared that they will judge the new rulers by their attitude towards the forces Israel considers as its enemies- Iran, resistance groups and above all Palestinians.

It is clear that this situation could not have come without tacit Russian approval or consent. HTS has declared it will protect Russian military bases. Foreign missions are working in Damascus. Russia has been relatively quiet on Syrian developments, evading questions. The situation leading to collapse of Assad regime with no resistance shows a number of factors leading to this situation and a sort of agreement, even if forced, at least between Russia and Turkiye with Iran too in the loop.

America is obviously hailing it as its victory as US has been working for ouster of Assad. From actively supporting Assad ouster campaign by providing arms and money to rebels to stationing its troops in Northeastern Syria, USA has been working against Assad regime. Its attitude towards groups whom it calls Islamic terrorists is conditioned by its imperialist interests, supporting them against US opponents and justifying its own military interventions as targeted against them. Of late there has been an attempt to portray HTS as "moderate". Basically the whole "war on terror" is war against oppressed people and a war of occupation. US had an interest in weakening Russian presence in the region and in reigniting Shia-Sunni divide in the Middle East to weaken Iran. This is also targeted against China which had mediated in normalization of relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

However, two things are clear. Turkiye has been a gainer in this change in Syria while Iran has been a loser to an extent. Assad regime was an important part of its "axis of resistance" against US-Israel.

Turkiye has gained in two ways. Firstly, Turkiye has always wanted to control Syrian border inhabited by Kurds, probably the largest group in the world of a people inhabiting a contiguous territory without a state of their own. Turkiye has the largest

number of Kurds whose separate identity it denies. Turkiye wants to dismantle any Kurd controlled areas in Syria which had sprung up post-2011 Arab spring. For this, Turkiye wants control over North and North East Syria. Second, Turkiye's rulers want to increase their area of influence in the region and Syria is their immediate neighbour.

Turkiye's gain is Iran's loss. Iran had maintained military position in Syria and also used Syria to supply arms and ammunition to Hezbollah of Lebanon. This route may now be disturbed and this may be to the advantage of US-Israel. Iran has articulated that their attitude towards the new Syrian Govt. will depend on the new Govt.'s attitude towards Zionist rulers of Israel. US-Israel may have their moles among the Syrian rebels, but Syrian people are not pro-Israel and Israel's actions in Golan Heights will aggravate the situation though there may not be immediate reaction.

Russian indifference to Assad Govt.'s survival this time has many reasons. Russia has been involved in Ukraine war which has drained its resources. Second, Russia has developed close relations with a number of Arab states and is not as isolated in the region as it was in 2015 when it sent its Army to Syria. Third, there has been close association with Turkiye on Syria especially in Astana process. Russia may hope to work out a modus vivendi with new rulers of Syria who also will need allies and may be ready to work with Russia. In fact Russia has admitted to being in contact with the groups now in power in Syria. Russia may also count on the inevitability of conflict between Turkiye and US-Israel as Turkiye's main target- SDF controlling North East Syria- is supported by USA. For Russia it may be a case of changing their main interlocutor in the region from Iran to Turkiye. However, it is clear that Russia

too has suffered a setback in Syria.

But the main issues behind the sudden and total collapse of the Syrian Army are within Syria. Since 2011, the Assad regime has been continuously facing war with rebels. Even after Russian intervention in 2015 which helped stabilize Assad regime, a substantial part of Syria remained outside Assad Govt.'s control. In northwest, Idlib and part of Aleppo province have been under rebel control as a de-escalation zone. A similar de-escalation zone has been in Deraa province though not so independent. Northeast Syria has been under control of Kurds with US backing Kurds by Army deployment. Most importantly, this Kurd dominated area has the large oil resource of Syria and Syria has been deprived of this important source of revenue. Even during the relative stability of Assad regime, Russia did not support any attempt by Assad regime to take over North East Syria.

Internal situation in Syria has been deteriorating especially over past one year. Power generation and supply has been disturbed. Power cuts lasting 20 hours a day have been the norm. Prices of food and other essential items have sky rocketed and people have been starving. Not only common people, even the military had been suffering from this financial crunch. Salaries of Army personnel have not been paid for many months. This eroded the morale of the Army and desertions have been recorded. With this crumbling situation, maintaining rule only through use of force has not been tenable. Resentment among common people had been rising against Assad Govt. and his allies were increasingly reluctant to support him. Hezbollah is pre-occupied with facing attacks by Israel in Lebanon. In this situation Assad Govt. decided not to offer any resistance.

From swift take-over by the rebel forces and the lack of

resistance, it is likely that some understanding between Assad Govt. and rebels might have been reached on transfer of power. This is also clear from ministers staying on to hand over power and rebels, now govt., offering amnesty to Syrian Army personnel. HTS has been declaring respect for all minorities. Any way there are many armed groups in Syria and relations between them will take time to settle. Syrian people have always been sympathetic to Palestinians and new rulers cannot long retain support of the people without taking a clear stand in favour of Palestinians.

This understanding may have been aided by Astana process participants- Turkiye, Russia and Iran. Turkiye has repeatedly referred to that. On December 7 evening, a day before Assad fled Syria, three Astana participants met in Doha and only called for maintenance of peace and territorial integrity of Syria. While Russia has largely maintained silence, some Iranian media has blamed Assad for lack of resolve and commitment.

Sudden fall of Assad Govt. has added to the uncertainty in the Middle East. Middle East conflict has further broadened with addition of Syria. Syria has long been a playground of major imperialist countries and regional powers aligned to different imperialist powers.

In this background, when Israel is unable to achieve its war aims in Gaza, they are not able to free hostages, they were bogged down in Lebanon and had to agree to ceasefire with the mediation of USA and France. In brief, Zionist aggressor Netanyahu had nothing to show as the result of the war except more war. In this situation, developments of Syria will have wider implication in the emerging scenario in the Middle East where Palestinians are fighting their existential battle against the Zionist occupier. Their struggle is shaping and will continue to shape the narrative in the Middle East.

There are more than 40 active conflicts (wars) going on in the world. Many of these wars are large in terms of area, casualties and have wide geo-political effects. War between Army and Paramilitary in Sudan, War of resistance against military in Myanmar are such examples. As noted in PR, the danger of world war is growing and danger of nuclear war has also reappeared with nuclear weapon powers involved in the conflict.

With the escalation of inter-imperialist contradiction, contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries is also being expressed in a more serious manner. Both France and US-UK are facing increasing isolation in Africa. On the other hand, BRICS has emerged as a significant force in world economy. BRICS held a successful summit in Kazan in September where Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa were joined by UAE, Iran, Ethiopia and Egypt. A decision has been taken to include Indonesia into BRICS+ while there are a growing number of countries as dialogue partners. Though BRICS is not as cohesive a group as G7, but its emergence is significant. BRICS is intent on furthering the process of de-dollarization by promoting bilateral trade and shunning Dollar as exchange currency. President Elect Trump has threatened BRICS countries with 100% tariff on their goods if they are to float any alternate currency, a threat which is unlikely to have much impact given the reality of economic relations in the world today.

Deepening crisis, increasing burden on the people and attacks on the working class, intensifying inter-imperialist contradiction are all making conditions for developing of people's struggles favourable. However, revolutionary forces continue to be weak which highlights that greater efforts are needed to utilize this increasingly favourable situation for growth of movement.

# **Developments in neighbouring countries**

Bangladesh: Over last few months serious developments have occurred in our neighbouring countries. From late June onwards a serious student movement challenged the Sheikh Hasina govt. over reservation of 30% of seats for the descendants of those who fought for creation of Bangladesh. This widespread movement struck a chord among people of Bangladesh (details in ND comment) who came out in large number. Sheikh Hasina had imposed her dictatorial rule over Bangladesh. This widespread agitation was utilized by Bangladesh Army to ease Sheikh Hasina out of power. She fled to India on August 5. An interim administration led by Mohd. Yunus took over.

In the power vacuum, communal forces of majority community in Bangladesh (Muslims) attacked houses and religious places of minorities-Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. Yunus Govt. initially projected these as attacks on the supporters of Awami League. Some student groups also took initiative in protecting places of minorities. But the attacks on minorities have continued and Yunus Govt. has failed to or is unwilling to curb them. Though there are some exaggerated reports in Indian media but such attacks are a fact. These attacks are being condemned by progressive and democratic forces in Bangladesh. A new feature is large demonstrations by Hindus in Dhaka, Chattogram and Rangpur with participation of hundreds of thousands. Yunus led Interim Admn. is not coming forth with the date of elections and wants to first eliminate influence of Awami League while giving space to opposition BNP and Jamat e Islami. Further, deepening economic crisis and slowing exports are leading to rise of workers' movements, especially of over 4 million garment workers. This is plunging Bangladesh into a difficult period, having overthrown the dictatorial rule of Hasina.

RSS-BJP are trying to utilize these attacks against minorities in Bangladesh for their anti-Muslim propaganda. They are most hypocritical as they themselves are attacking minorities and their religious places in India. In fact, actions of communal forces in both Bangladesh and India are helpful to each other. We should expose anti-minority character of RSS-BJP and their communal agenda while raising this issue.

Bangladesh developments demonstrate increasing schism between USA and India with USA following its policies in South Asia independent of India, replacing Hasina with a pro-US person. This schism has been growing since India's refusal to distance itself from Russia after Russian invasion of Ukraine. One fall out of this development in Bangladesh has been de-escalation of tensions between India and China, disengagement on border points and overall cooling of tensions with China. During BRICS summit in Kazan (Russia), there was a bilateral meeting between Indian Prime Minister and President of China. In India also, RSS-BJP have started attacking some US groups and US establishment as well for being against them.

*Srilanka*: Srilanka has held its Presidential and parliamentary election. JVP led National People's Power (NPP) candidate Anura Dissanayake was elected as President with comfortable margin. Later, in the parliamentary elections, NPP gained two third majority in Parliament. Significantly, NPP did quite well in Jaffna which is a Tamil majority region.

Srilanka had faced near economic collapse and a broad movement (Argalaya) had swept away Rajapakshe regime from power. NPP's ascent to power is the impact Argalaya had on turning people away from the established ruling class parties. Though FSP (Frontline Socialist Party), a breakaway group of JVP, had played a more important role in that protest, NPP could electorally galvanize support of the people. JVP is not the party of yore when it had embarked on uprising twice earlier, 1970-71 and 1987-89, both times crushed by Srilanka Govt. Later JVP embarked on Simhala chauvinism and opposed devolution of power to states. It had been part of the Govt. Further later, JVP parted company with leaders who were against its parliamentary orientation and the latter formed FSP. No radical change should be expected from NPP except some symbolic ones. They have ratified agreement with IMF. Developments in Srilanka show disillusionment with established ruling class political parties but not with the parliamentary system. JVP had only 3 MPs and Dissanayake had got only 3% votes in the last Presidential elections, but could get majority of votes in this Presidential elections and over two third majority in Parliament. This is people's rejection of traditional parties of ruling class. It has emboldened people's forces and some of them are joining forces for advancing people's movements.

Developments in Syria, Bangladesh and also Srilanka show that deep economic crisis in dynastic dictatorial regime (in Srilanka family controlled parties) is a potent mix propelling people to rebellion and rejection of erstwhile ruling dispensation.

Pakistan: Pakistan has seen instability and growing role of Army in the Govt. PTI, which is the most popular party of the ruling classes in Pakistan and has a wide base among middle class, was not allowed to win in the last elections. A number of cases have been foisted against PTI chief Imran Khan and other PTI leaders. All state institutions have been unleashed to marginalize PTI. PTI recently gave a Call for a demonstration in Islamabad, but the gathering was brutally crushed. However, this does not show any

easing of situation for the Govt. With economic crisis deepening and IMF conditions putting a lot of burden on the people, people of Pakistan are going through a difficult period. In fact it is the Pakistan Army which is referred to as the Establishment in Pakistan and is wielding real power. On the other hand, contradictions between China and USA are playing out in Pakistan. Pakistan has recently developed better relations with Russia. Russia has also developed relations with Afghanistan where a Govt. delegation had recently visited and signed several agreements.

Civil War Raging in Myanmar: Over past some months armed rebellion against military junta which had seized power in Myanmar in 2021 has gathered pace. More than half of the country is reportedly under the control of rebel forces including vast swathes near the borders with China, India and Thailand. Militarily, rebel forces of different ethnic groups represent the biggest fighting force and along with the armed rebel forces of NLD which had been in Govt. earlier, are giving the rebellion a large mass base among majority Bamar community. While western imperialist powers are backing NLD opposing military junta, China is keeping its channels open with both the military junta as well as the rebel forces of ethnic minorities. Indian Govt., which shares a long border with Myanmar, is concerned with parts of the border areas coming under rebel forces.

With developments in Nepal, Maldives and Bhutan, Indian Govt. is increasingly isolated in the region. At least, its big brotherly attitude is being increasingly resisted by neighbouring countries. It will be better that Indian Govt. should shun its opposition to SAARC and revitalize relations with neighbouring countries.

# **Developments in India**

State Elections: Since the last Parliamentary election held in April-June 2024, in which the fascist drive of RSS-BJP had faced some setback, elections to four state assemblies have been held. (Detailed comments on election results have been earlier published in ND.) Though coalition govt. at the Centre has slowed the pace of fascist drive of RSS-BJP but it has tried to regain the same through victory in state elections especially in Maharashtra. It did not succeed in J&K, narrowly won in Haryana, was routed in Jharkhand but won a sweeping victory in Maharashtra, the biggest of the states that had gone to polls. In these, barring Jharkhand, it had not done well in Lok Sabha elections especially in Maharashtra where NDA had won only 17 out of 48 seats. It had won 9 out of 14 seats in Jharkhand. It had won only 5 out of 10 seats in Haryana.

In *J&K*, though RSS-BJP won decisively in the Jammu region, people of Kashmir valley voted overwhelmingly against RSS-BJP candidates and candidates supported by it. People of the Valley voted for NC-Congress alliance overwhelmingly to not leave any chance for RSS-BJP to come to power with the help of independents/ smaller parties or MLAs nominated by Lt. Governor. People of the Valley totally rejected the steps taken by RSS-BJP in J&K, i.e., virtual annulment of Article 370, repeal of Article 35A and dissolution of the state into two UTs. Despite promises, RSS-BJP has not restored statehood to J&K even after assembly elections.

In Haryana, where RSS-BJP was widely expected to lose, they won though polling only 0.45 % votes more than Congress and CPM (one seat in alliance). The Congress defeat is also attributable to snapping of alliance with AAP (though AAP polled only 1.8%, but given the difference it was significant). Congress handed over the

entire campaign to Hooda, with the other leaders sulking. This had an important bearing, as Kumari Shailja was perceived as leader of Dalits who constitute over 20% of the electorate. Congress predominantly relied on Jat votes and neglected constituencies. RSS-BJP mobilized other sections, including making the Chief Minister from OBCs, months prior to elections. With Punjabi and upper caste votes largely with RSS-BJP, these minor additions of Dalits and OBCs was significant. Though there was quite a disillusionment against RSS-BJP Govt. in the state, Congress did not do anything to rally these sections. It took victory in Haryana for granted. Congress won in the rural areas of north and central Haryana which were the main base of farmers' struggle, but fared poorly in Ahirwal region and in urban areas. It benefitted from consolidation of farmers (resulting in decimation of JJP) but lost in other communities. It allowed RSS-BJP's tactics of mobilizing all social groups against Jats, an electoral strategy practiced by Bhajan Lal in Haryana earlier.

In Jharkhand, JMM led I.N.D.I.A. bloc won over a two third majority of seats in Jharkhand assembly and 6% more votes than BJP led NDA. As compared to last parliamentary elections, NDA lost nearly 9% votes and I.N.D.I.A. bloc won nearly 5.5% more votes. RSS-BJP ran a virulent campaign of communal polarization, raising the spectre of Bangladeshi Muslims settling in Jharkhand areas posing a threat of change in demography of the state. This communal propaganda fell flat before tribal consolidation against RSS-BJP who, in their last term, had sought to change SPTA and CNTA to allow tribal lands to be handed over to Corporate. RSS-BJP had suppressed the tribals' Pathalgarhi movement which was to assert their rights over land, means of livelihood and right to self-rule granted by the Constitution. BJP got only 1 out of 28 seats

reserved for STs. Further, rise of Jairam Mahto led JLKP drew support from Kurmi Mahto community (5.8% votes) and led to defeat of AJSU and BJP in a number of constituencies. RSS-BJP drew support mainly from non-Jharkhandi sections.

In Maharashtra, RSS-BJP led Mahayuti including Eknath Shinde led Shiv Sena and Ajit Pawar led NCP, had a sweeping majority securing 234 seats as opposed to 50 seats of MVA consisting of Congress, Shiv Sena (UBT), MCP (Sharad Pawar), SP, PWP and CPM. Since last Lok Sabha elections Mahayuti gained nearly 4% votes while MVA lost around 11% votes. Parliamentary elections, MVA had got 46.3% votes while Mahayuti had got around 45% of votes. Such a sharp decline of MVA votes has to be seen in the backdrop of continuous bickering among MVA partners, virulent communal propaganda of RSS-BJP leaders like "Batenge toh Katenge", weaponization of cash transfer schemes through RSS cadres and govt.'s official machinery. Added to this have been complaints against EC's conduct of elections especially large scale additions and deletions in the voters' list since Lok Sabha elections and increasing in voting %age (of nearly 8%) after 5 pm on the polling day. Opposition MVA was content with their performance in parliamentary election and did not take up the issues of the people, especially the deep seated agrarian distress in Maharashtra.

These elections have brought the role of the Election Commission into focus. Rather than clarifying the issues raised, or the objections raised by opposition parties, EC adopted a combative posture against Opposition parties disregarding its neutral status. EC must clarify the objections raised by Opposition parties and if it does not do, SC should compel it to do so. RSS-BJP want to undermine the existing election process as part of their fascist drive

and it should be opposed.

EC has failed to act against use of money in elections and the virulent communal campaign by RSS-BJP leaders and thereby failed to uphold its Model Code of Conduct. These are in addition to the above manipulation of the election process.

These elections saw an increase in polling, nominal in Jharkhand and substantially in Maharashtra, in recent assembly elections. In these elections, role of schemes of cash transfer to women belonging to families below a certain income level is being talked of. The sums given are very small – Rs. 1500 per month in Maharashtra and MP, Rs. 1000 in Jharkhand. A similar scheme was promised by RSS-BJP in Odisha. That these small sums are touted as game changers shows the abysmal poverty of the vast population in India, especially in rural areas and especially of women. These small sums do not address the real causes of this abysmal poverty. Opposition parties too do not address these, rather they counterpose their schemes to those of RSS-BJP led alliance. While demanding enhancement of the amount of these schemes, there is a need to propagate among the people the real reasons for their condition and rally them for struggle.

RSS-BJP is trying to project the victory of the alliance led by it in Maharashtra as people's acceptance of its communal fascist agenda. However, this is a victory of the alliance with all its attendant strains of power sharing.

An important aspect of the present situation is that the opposition parties of ruling classes do not really regard RSS-BJP as fascist, though at times some of their leaders say so. After 2024 Lok Sabha elections where RSS-BJP lost majority, Opposition parties are intent on increasing their own share in power. That explains their response. They move to the right to appropriate the base of

the fascist forces and in the process, are shifting the ruling class politics to the right.

# **Attack on Places of Worship of Muslims**

RSS-BJP has further intensified its anti-Muslim campaign. Their places of worship have been made special targets of attack. In the process Places of Worship Act 1991 has been buried. They are making allegations galore that mosques were built by destroying Hindu temples. Babri Masjid saw a big communal mobilization on the issue. After being successful in taking up that issue, RSS-BJP are filing such suits in different courts and with pliant judiciary, are playing havoc with communal harmony. POW Act 1991 sought to freeze the status of places of worship to that existing on August 1947 except Babri Masjid. Its obvious purpose was to stop communal mobilization on the issue. But the Supreme Court, by permitting survey of Gyanvapi mosque in Varanasi, has opened up the floodgate for litigations. In that case the then Chief Justice Chandrachud had observed that the 1991 Act only bars change of the character and not determination of character. What an interpretation! This is despite the SC itself having upheld constitutional validity of POW Act. Also, in the recent Ayodhya judgement, the SC bench dealt at length with the importance of this Act. However, the Babri Masjid Ram Janmbhoomi Mandir Judgement was itself a travesty of justice, not based on the Constitution and rule of law but on faith of majority community. Supreme Court itself did not find any conclusive evidence of a Masjid being built after demolishing a temple and yet awarded the whole land for building such a temple. This avowedly inquisitive approach did not see that in the lowest levels were found the remains of a Buddhist place. But then, the Court concerned itself with the faith of majority community. This was an endorsement of

the logic of Hindutva forces. The Ayodhya judgement has emboldened communal forces and was a blow to secularism, which is considered as part of the basic structure of the Constitution.

On November 24, 2024 five persons were killed after the second survey of Jama Masjid at Sambhal (UP). This survey was ordered on the plea that the mosque was allegedly built by Babar after demolishing the Harihar temple. It was ordered ex-parte on the same day (Nov. 19) the petition was filed and the first round of survey was conducted the same evening. When the people apprehended some damage due to the large amount of water coming out of the mosque, they raised slogans. Citing pelting of stones, police firing was ordered resulting in deaths. Police has registered 12 FIRs and arrested 29 persons with 250 more among suspects. Not only Sambhal, but also Varanasi, Mathura. Bhojraj-Kamal Maula Masjid in Dhar (MP) and a petition has also been filed in the case of Ajmer Dargah. In this digging spree, the communal forces are digging away the history of India and disturbing prospects of peace among communities. They are implementing the RSS playbook that minorities enjoy no rights and remain at the mercy of majority community. Their real target is not any particular mosque but the minority community and on the strength of this communal polarization they wish to ride to total power, do away with existing Constitutional rights and usher in a fascist system. They talk of the past but their target is very much in the present, the struggles of workers and peasants, whose land and labour they want to hand over to foreign and domestic Corporate.

### **Intensifying Repression**

RSS-BJP Govt. has intensified repression on people's movements. Home Minister Amit Shah has vowed to make India Naxal free over next two years i.e. by 2026. They have gone on a

spree to conduct "encounters" and are killing even ordinary tribals in large number. Over 200 persons have been killed in such encounters. To suppress democratic rights' activists and intellectual dissenters, they have coined the term "Urban Naxals" to bring them into the net of repression. UAPA with its stringent bail provisions has become their weapon of choice against rights' activists, intellectuals, writers and other dissenters. Chhattisgarh and adjacent forest areas of Telengana, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have become their main target of attack to suppress tribals' movement for their land and means of livelihood. They want to crush their resistance so that they can hand over these mineral rich lands to their corporate friends.

They are not permitting any open activity in Chhattisgarh or anywhere else where such atrocities are exposed. organizations in Chhattisgarh are being banned and not permitted to take up any activity. Recently they banned a film festival in Udaipur dedicated to Palestinian children killed by Israeli Army and to G.N. Saibaba whose 10 year-long incarceration led to deterioration of his health to the point that he died in a routine operation barely six months after his release. In capital Delhi several meetings have not been allowed which were to highlight genocide in Gaza or which highlighted repression on people's movements especially in Chhattisgarh. A number of journalists especially youtubers have been targeted for exposure of the Govt. repression. Several students and youth in Delhi are in jail for last four years under UAPA without trial. And so are several Bhima Koregaon accused.

#### **Slowing Economy**

Recent data of slowing economy has aroused a lot of debate. In the second quarter, GDP growth rate, itself a bad indicator of people's economic condition, has been reported to have declined to 5.4%. Firstly, Govt. data is very faulty as it is only collected from the organized sector and then extrapolated to the whole economy. The actual condition of economy is far worse that what is shown in these data/Surveys. In fact the actual growth rate is much lower than the one claimed by the Govt. This is particularly so because organized sector is expanding at the expense of unorganized sector and not along with it. The condition of unorganized sector, the main provider of industrial employment, is far worse and is reeling under the impact of triple blows of demonetization, lockdowns and GST. After this data, even the RBI has lowered the projection of annual growth to 6.6% for the present year. Among the economists there is a general opinion that the cause of the present decline in growth rate is structural but the Govt. is unable and unwilling to address the underlying causes.

Now even the Govt. advisors have been admitting that lack of demand is inhibiting Manufacturing. According to the Chief Economic Advisor of the Govt. of India, stagnation and even decline of the wages of workers has reduced the purchasing power of the people, which is adversely affecting manufacturing. He said that wages of rural workers, both men and women, have declined over the last six years i.e. between 2017-18 and 2023-24. Over the same period, wages of male urban workers have marginally increased, but those of women workers in urban areas have also declined. This, according to him, lowered demand. He lamented that this is despite the fact that corporate profits over the same period have soared.

With the conditions of the two large sections of Indian people, workers and peasants, facing decline or stagnation, prospects of growth revival are minimal. Indian rulers exclusively bank on foreign investments and look to foreign markets, but they pay no

heed to creating domestic demand. With rise of protectionism in imperialist countries, there is very little scope of getting big increase in share of markets there. But Indian Govt. is opposed to increasing domestic demand which is largely dependent on purchasing power of the vast majority of people. This can only be done by increasing the income of peasantry and wages of workers. Peasants' income can be raised by providing remunerative prices and lowering prices of agricultural inputs. On the other hand, workers' income can be increased by enhancing wages and providing year-long work. But these are not the priorities of the Indian Govt. On the other hand, Govt. of India is intent on further depressing wages of workers to attract foreign investments. With declining economy and cuts by the Govt. in social spending, struggle of the people will rise with new vigour and intensity.

#### **Tasks Against All Round Offensive of Fascism**

We had characterized 2014-2019 period of RSS-BJP Govt. as a period of fascist offensive. After RSS-BJP's return to power with increased strength in 2019, support by a number of regional ruling class parties and the caving in of state institutions, RSS-BJP moved to implement their communal fascist agenda. We termed it as rule of fascist forces, a period of all round fascist offensive. We considered that India is not yet a fascist state/dictatorship though RSS-BJP want to bring it in. We considered that for this, RSS-BJP have to control the Supreme Court by packing it with their own nominees, change the electoral system as it exists and undermine even the existing rights of the states, thereby exercising total control over the state machinery. We had also pointed out some stumbling blocks, like present state of inter-imperialist contradiction with growing distance between USA and India on some issues and abysmal conditions of the rural poor who are restive and are able to tilt the scales between ruling class parties in the electoral contest. We considered the 2024 election results, in which RSS-BJP failed to win a majority, as a setback to the RSS-BJP drive to impose fascist dictatorship over India. RSS-BJP are, however, continuing to deepen communal polarization in the country.

#### In the concrete conditions, our focus should be:

To develop people's movements and class struggle. For this we should not hesitate to join hands with other forces including revisionist parties if it is in the interests of mobilizing people for struggle. This may be attempted on all fronts. We should pay particular attention to developing struggles of workers and peasants including tribals.

We should concentrate to overcome setbacks by addressing subjective and objective factors to advance our work in forest areas. In these, we should launch militant movements while overcoming deficiencies in our work.

We should pay particular attention to help work in democratic rights movement. This movement should be strengthened to mobilize people in support of defense of democratic rights and against attacks on democratic rights. Our effort should be to mobilize large sections of people, especially intelligentsia, in support of democratic rights.

Doctors' Movement in West Bengal: Over this period, a big movement was the people's movement in West Bengal around the junior doctors' agitation after the rape and murder of a post graduate student in RG Kar hospital. Justice for Abhaya reverberated throughout West Bengal and among doctors and women groups all over India. It was not merely a doctors' movement, it mobilized vast intelligentsia in West Bengal. It aroused sympathy and support among workers and peasantry. So forceful was the movement that on some occasions nearly 50,000 intellectuals joined the procession, processions between 15,000 to 20,000 were routine. The whole intelligentsia of Bengal was agitated, including those based outside West Bengal. This movement found its resonance among the people due to the antipeople policies of TMC Govt., it opposed BJP's anti-people policies and was wary of long anti-people rule of CPM led Left Front. The movement had a vast potential. Though it was a people's movement its centre was the doctors' movement. With various political forces active among doctors including junior doctors who are generally the main force of doctors' movement, some of these forces were not committed to take the movement to victory. Hence the movement continued with intensity as long as the anger among junior doctors continued. Justice for Abhaya did not always remain the main focus, which diluted the movement particularly participation of junior doctors outside West Bengal. Justice for Abhaya would have secured justice for Abhayas and if the whole conspiracy came out in the open, there would have been no need for demanding removal of individual officers and no question of their subsequent reinstatement. Both West Bengal police under TMC Govt. and CBI under RSS-BJP led Union Govt. were opposed to fully investigating and bringing to light the conspiracy behind this gruesome crime against a woman junior doctor.

December 16, 2024



## Homage To Com. G. Madhav Rao, Revolutionary Intellectual and Human Rights' Warrior

On December 28, 2024 Comrade Gorrepati Madhav Rao breathed his last. He had suffered a serious heart attack the day before and was admitted to a hospital in Nizamabad. He was a well known advocate and revolutionary intellectual and had rendered notable service to the revolutionary movement. His contribution to the democratic rights movement in united Andhra Pradesh had been significant.

Com. Madhav Rao was drawn to the revolutionary movement from student days. He had deep faith in revolutionary politics and had close association with martyr Jampala Chandrasekhar Prasad. He was a leader of PDSU and for some time was editor of its magazine "Vijrumbhana". Between 1977 and 1980 he took up the responsibility for "Vimochna", magazine of CPI(ML) State Committee. Till his death he remained committed to and active in revolutionary politics. He was a delegate to the All India Party Congresses of CPI(ML)-New Democracy in 1996 and again in 2024.

After completing his study of law, he started practicing in Nizamabad and fought many cases in favour of the people. He filed and fought several cases against police encounters. He made significant contribution to the democratic rights movement and played an active role in this till the end of his life. He was State Joint

Secretary of APCLC from 1983 to 1996. Later he joined the Human Rights Forum and was its state President from 2019-2023.

He was a prolific writer and capable translator. He had a unique style of making even complex subject simple for readers. His writing on "Labour Laws" is well known. He translated several books.

Com. Madhav Rao's death is a big loss to the human rights movement and to people's struggles. It is a big loss to the revolutionary movement and to our Party, CPI(ML)-New Democracy. His contributions to different struggles will live as we bid him good bye with heavy hearts.

CPI (ML)-New Democracy pays homage to this tireless fighter for democratic rights of the struggling people, this committed fighter for New Democratic transformation of India. We offer condolences to his family members and colleagues.

CPI(ML)-New Democracy

December 28, 2024



# Gaza Ceasefire : Triumph Of The Resistance

 $\mathbf{F}$ ollowing the formal approval by the Govt. of Israel, the ceasefire agreed to between Israeli Govt. and Palestinian Resistance groups will come into force from today i.e. January 19<sup>th</sup> 2025. This is a victory of Palestinian people who have been braving relentless bombardment and killings over the last more than 15 months. More than 47,000 Palestinians, majority of them women and children, have been killed and 110,000 injured with 11,000 missing in Gaza over past 15 months. That the Israeli Govt. has been forced to accept a ceasefire is largely due to the endurance of Palestinian people and their undying spirit of resistance against Zionist aggressors and occupiers. Ceasefire was agreed upon on January 15th at Doha with the mediation of Qatar and Egypt. The cease fire agreement has been signed by Israel, Hamas on behalf of Palestinian resistance, Qatar and USA. From the Palestinian side, besides Hamas, representatives of PFLP and Islamic Jihad also participated in ceasefire talks.

That this is a victory of Palestinian people's resistance is amply proved by the fact that the Israeli Govt. that had vowed to finish off Hamas from Gaza had to sign a ceasefire agreement with the same Hamas. The ceasefire agreement provides for release of Israeli hostages and Palestinian prisoners; withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from Gaza and supply of humanitarian aid to Gaza. Release of Israeli hostages and Palestinian prisoners and withdrawal of Israeli armed forces is to take place in phases, beginning with withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the

population centres in Gaza.

The Ceasefire agreement is being widely welcomed by Palestinian people and those supporting national aspirations of Palestinians. In fact Ceasefire has been regularly called for by Palestinian groups, their supporters and world people including the overwhelming majority of United Nations General Assembly, but had been repeatedly and stubbornly opposed by Israel. Countries of global South stood with Palestinians and there were divisions in European countries on the issue as well. That Israel has relented now is largely due to consistent and heroic resistance of the Palestinian people, support by resistance groups in Arab countries despite heavy cost and realization by Israel Govt. and their US imperialist backers of the impossibility of achieving their goals of military operation i.e. elimination of resistance. US Secretary of State, Blinken, has admitted that Hamas is getting more recruits for resistance than Israeli forces are able to kill.

Continued war against Palestinians has deepened the crisis in Israeli social and political life. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu's war party was facing increasing opposition inside Israel; continued exchanges with Hezbollah (prior to ceasefire in Lebanon) lead to people of Israel having to vacate large swathes of border areas in North Israel. Not only was Israel facing deepening economic crisis, but there were reports of more than 200,000 Israelis with dual citizenship, including many professionals and qualified persons, leaving the country. This situation forced the Netanyahu govt. to relent despite opposition from some extreme chauvinist parties that are part of his ruling coalition.

Rising world public opinion against genocide of Palestinians by Israel - called so even by International Court of Justice - including in America and other western countries has also played an important role in forcing the US Govt. to facilitate ceasefire. Representative of incoming Trump Admn., Whitkoff, also participated in the ceasefire negotiations along with the official US representative. The rising cost of war, whose burden was mostly borne by America, realization of the impossibility of achieving elimination of resistance and increasing isolation among Arab masses with even pliant Arab rulers unwilling to overtly side with them giving opportunity to other imperialist powers, especially China, to increase its presence in the region, forced the US Admn., main backer of this genocidal war, to back off.

This Ceasefire has been agreed to despite some setbacks suffered by resistance groups outside Palestine. Hezbollah has suffered some losses and influence of Iran has also suffered due to regime change in Syria, though Houthis led Yemen has continued its resistance despite continuous bombardment by US, UK and Israel. While other imperialist powers have not intervened in favour of resistance groups, but the question of Iran is different. Iran has signed a twenty years pact with Russia called Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Agreement that includes defense cooperation.

The Ceasefire would not be the end of atrocities of genocidal Zionist regime backed by US imperialism, nor will it end their conspiracies against Palestinian people to grab Palestinian lands and to completely evict Palestinians from their lands through this war of extermination. And so, resistance of Palestinians and the forces supporting their cause will also continue. However, this Ceasefire will be a welcome relief in the national struggle of Palestinians. Their struggle will continue and will gather more and more forces till they achieve their justified aims.

One important achievement of this phase of long struggle of

Palestinians is that they have taken the destiny of their national aspirations into their own hands and taken it away from the hands of corrupt and compromised monarchs and dictators of Arab countries whose support is phony while their subservience to imperialism is real. This phase of struggle will shape the future of Palestinians' struggle and those of their genuine supporters. Democratic people the world over, including in India, should continue to expose genocide and demand punishment for those responsible while continuing to organize people in support of the national struggle of Palestinians.

CPI(ML)-New Democracy January 19, 2025

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## Moga (Punjab) : Huge Meeting By Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM)

(On January 9, 2025 SKM Punjab held a huge meeting (Mahapanchayat) in Moga. Nearly 50 thousand farmers participated in this Mahapanchayat. We are here publishing the statement issued after this meeting. - Editor)

SKM announces call to burn copies of the National Policy Framework On Agriculture Marketing at tehsil HQs on 13 January and Tractor March on January 26<sup>th</sup>.

The Mahapanchayat resolves to reject the draft of the new Agriculture Marketing Policy and to call for wide based



unity of farmers' movement for solution to farmers' demands.

SKM 6 member Unity Committee will go to Khanauri and Shambhu borders tomorrow, January 10, with Moga Mahapanchayat Unity Resolution- Invite for a joint meeting at Patiala on 15th January.

To save the life of farmer leader Jagjit Singh Dallewal who is on fast unto death, Central govt should hold talks with struggling farmers' organizations.

National Policy Framework for Agriculture Marketing is a dangerous form of re-enforcing the repealed 3 black Farm Laws. For forcing withdrawal of this Policy, Moga Mahapanchayat appeals to build a forceful movement against the Central govt.

Punjab govt should hold its Vidhan Sabha meeting and reject the new Agriculture Marketing policy.

Moga Mahapanchayat rejects the MSP Guarantee Law proposed by the Parliamentary Standing Committee.

Moga, Jan 9, 2025

Samyukt Kisan Morcha has rejected the draft National Policy Framework on Agriculture Marketing and has called for burning its copies on January 13 and taking out a Tractor march on January 26th as was done during past years. In this rally, the NPFAM will be opposed and demands for MSP at Swaminathan formula, legal procurement guarantees, debt waiver for farmers and workers will be raised. These declarations were made during the Mahapanchayat organized by SKM at Moga today.

Farmers had come from all corners of Punjab and assembled

at Moga in a record participation in the Mahapanchayat

Moga Mahapanchayat resolved to reject the National Policy Framework on Agriculture Marketing and demanded formulation of legal guarantee for MSP at Swaminathan formula and procurement, implementation of all agreed points of Delhi agreement and debt waiver for all farmers and workers. It passed a Unity Resolution considering the enormity of the farmers' demands. The 6 members unity committee of SKM will go to Khanauri and Shambhu borders tomorrow, 10 January and take an oath for building unity. During its visit, the six member committee will invite both the forums for a joint meeting on 15th January at Patiala.

SKM strongly asserted that it is the Central govt, especially Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Home Minister Amit Shah and Agriculture Minister Shivraj Chauhan who are responsible for the present impasse and condition of farmer leader Jagjit Singh Dallewal who is on a fast unto death. It appealed to the Central govt that, to save the life of Dallewal, they should hold talks with the struggling organizations. The Morcha warned the Central govt that if anything untoward happens to Sri Dallewal, it will take a strong action.

The Mahapanchayat declared that the new National Policy Framework on Agriculture Marketing is a dangerous version of the rejected and repealed 3 black Farm Laws. It further said that the Central govt is once again working for Imperialists and against the constitutional provisions of federal functioning.

They further said that the WTO and policies of the Central Govt.'s corporate friends have launched a renewed attack on the farmers of India and we cannot remain mute spectators. It appealed to all State govts to defend federal principles and reject this draft by passing resolutions in the Vidhan Sabhas. They said opposition ruled states should take a lead in this and they welcomed the statement of Punjab Chief Minister in this regard. They also demanded that the Punjab govt should immediately call a session of the Vidhan Sabha and pass a resolution rejecting it.

Leaders appealed to farmers to be prepared to build a strong and united movement against the Central govt for this.

The leaders of the Mahapanchayat said that the Standing Committee of the Parliament has conveniently forgotten the Swaminathan Committee recommendations and has made incomplete recommendations on MSP and procurement guarantees. SKM has rejected these recommendations and has said they are prepared for a long drawn agitation for the MSP demand.

The gathering was addressed by Balbir Singh Rajewal, Joginder Singh Ugrahan, Rakesh Tikait, Harmeet Singh Kadiyan, Dr Darshanpal, Raminder Singh Patiala, Krishna Prasad, Buta Singh Burjgill, Harinder Singh Lakhowal, Manjeet Singh Dhaner, Dr Satnam Singh Ajnala, Purshottam Sharma, Baldev Singh Nihalgarh, Ruldu Singh Mansa and Rajan Srisagar, Joginder Nain and others.

SKM shall hold its national meeting in Delhi on January 24 and 25 to chalk out its future programmes.



Organ of the Central Committee, CPI(ML)

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