



The coming to power of the BJP with an absolute majority in the 2014 general elections was not merely a routine transfer of power from one democratically elected government to another. It marked a qualitative shift in the very nature of our polity. The BJP is the political arm of the RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh, an organisation that has harboured contempt for the Constitution and its inclusive values since its inception.

With no role in India's great freedom struggle, the RSS draws inspiration from fascist models and openly seeks to transform our democratic republic into a theocratic Hindu Rashtra, structured on inequalities of religion, caste, class, and gender. Against this project of subversion, the communist and the broader Left movement has stood as a perennial source of ideological resistance and alternative. Yet, the lack of unity and cohesion within the Left has at times blunted the full force of this resistance.

The rise of authoritarian tendencies, the march of disastrous neoliberal economic policies, the deliberate sharpening of communal divisions, and the rise of fascist tendencies have created a political situation of deep concern for all who value democracy, so-

cial justice, and equality. At a time when the ruling classes are tightening their grip over resources and institutions, the poor, the working class, the peasantry, and marginalized communities face increasing insecurity.

In such a moment, the question of Left Unity has acquired renewed urgency. For the communist movement in India, with its century-long legacy of struggle and sacrifices, Left unity is not a matter of tactical convenience but a historic necessity. This is evident in the voices of comrades across states, as well as in the expectations of sympathisers and intellectuals, all of whom, in their own ways, are calling for the coming together of the Left.

The roots of the communist movement in India go back to the period of the national liberation struggle.

Inspired by the October Revolution in Russia and driven by the lived experience of exploitation under colonial rule, young revolutionaries and workers and their leaders sought to organize themselves into a force that could address not just political independence but also the deeper structures of economic and social oppression. In 1925, the Communist Party of India was formally founded on Indian soil at Kanpur, bringing together revolutionaries from different parts of the country who were united by the vision of socialism and the internationalist banner of Marxism-Leninism.

This marked the organized beginning of communist politics in India. From the very beginning, communists played a dual role: participating in the national movement for freedom while simultaneously building organizations of workers, peasants, students, and women.

The heroic struggles of workers in Bombay and Calcutta, the uprisings of peasants in Telangana, the workers' mobilisation against the French in Puducherry, the Punnapara-Vayalar and Tebhaga struggles, the resistance of peasants in the Thanjavur delta against feudal exploitation, and the movements for liberty and civil rights in the princely states—all bore the imprint of the communist vision of a free, democratic, and socialist In-

Left & Communist Unity

A HISTORIC NECESSITY IN INDIA TODAY

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dia. Alongside these struggles, the mobilisation of workers, peasants, youth, students, artists, writers, and intellectuals through various mass organisations deepened the roots of the people's movement and advanced the progressive cultural and intellectual currents of the time.

Yet, like every movement that grows in the midst of historical upheavals, the communist movement in India faced challenges of ideological clarity and political strategy. The most defining of these was the split of 1964, which led to the emergence of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). While the split was rooted in debates on international and national questions, its consequences were deeply felt across the spectrum of people's struggles.

The trade union movement was divided into separate centers, student and youth organizations became fragmented, and electoral contests witnessed Left forces standing against each other. Over time, further divisions produced a multiplicity of Left groups in India.

The fragmentation weakened the Left's capacity to intervene decisively in national politics, even though it continued to hold influence in many states and sectors.

While communists remained at the forefront of numerous mass struggles, the lack of a united front meant that their cumulative strength was often blunted. The ruling classes, with their immense resources and control over the state, took advantage of this division. In moments of crisis, the Left was unable to project itself as a consolidated alternative despite having the ideological and organizational foundations to do so.

The turn of the Indian state toward neoliberal policies in 1991 posed fresh challenges. Global capital and Indian big business dismantled hard-won labor rights, pushed privatization, and deepened agrarian distress. The Left emerged as the most consistent voice of opposition, mobilizing millions against disinvestment, foreign capital domination, and the assault on social security.

Many historic nationwide strikes of workers, militant peasant mobilizations, and ideological campaigns against communal politics demonstrated that the Left remained the conscience-keeper of Indian democracy. Yet, despite this, the Left's parliamentary strength has witnessed a decline, creating a perception of weakness that does not reflect the actual vitality of its mass base.

It was in recognition of these challenges that the CPI,

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Towards 25th Party Congress of CPI, Chandigarh, Sept 21–25, 2025

GST cannot be an Option

India is a country where poverty is the most normal experience, no one is free from it except a few. Beginning from the day a child is born, hunger starts haunting it. Most of the days of life are spent in the grim shadows of a deep suffering. The larger sections of people spend their lives in miseries. The threat to life itself keeps alive at every stage. In the face of these grim realities, GST, irrespective of its rates, has complicated the situation even more. It is a form of tax which is perhaps the worst compared to other forms. For a country like India, where the poor have to opt for openings in informal systems to survive, the tax becomes an issue difficult to resolve. It also weakens federalism. States have no right to vote for a different indirect tax regime.

Also GST was imagined as a simple tax but started opening its complicated jumble of rates and compliances once imposed. The end result was total destruction of small and medium enterprises (MSMEs). Its effect on our economy has been devastating. The less number of slabs and lower rates for those essentials are unlikely to resolve the destructive aftereffects.

People can avoid Income Tax but no one can avoid GST. Whether you are ultra rich or absolutely poor you pay at the same rate. For ultra rich consumption is hardly 5 to 10 per cent. The masses of the deprived usually get very little in return for long hours of toil and that too if employed. The result is the entire earnings get spent on consumption alone. The toiler himself ends up paying highest. Irony is it all gets spent on ensuring luxurious life for certain few.

In fact, GST is useful only where per capita income is much higher, like economies in Canada, Australia, EU etc. It is regressive for low income societies where it works against the lower and lower middle class.

The Goods and Services Tax Council, in its 56th meeting, cleared some reforms for the new GST regime. The two main changes are that the four slabs, five per cent, 12 per cent, 18 and 28 percent, are to be brought down to two, and a new 40 percent slab has been introduced. As a result of the restructuring, the end price of several frequently consumed items are likely to change from September 22, when the new rates will come into effect. In short, a widerange of goods and items that are in common use will get affected.

The government claims that the changes in GST and the restructuring of its slabs would increase demand, which would mean more production, which would then become one more reason to drive consumption to further heights. This may cause more venues of employment and thus ensure more money with people to move on further.

The GST Council's shift to a two-slab system with lower rates may look progressive, but denial of Input Tax Credit (ITC) in key sectors is likely to

raise costs for businesses and ultimately for consumers. The ITC is the GST which is paid while purchasing goods or services for business purposes.

Similarly, the argument that with lower rates of taxes, revenue collection will rise cannot be taken in its face value. This, in fact, is a red herring. GST itself was supposed to check black income generation and boost tax revenue but that has not come about. The direct tax to GDP ratio should also have sharply risen but that, too, has not happened. There are frequent reports of fake companies, etc., proliferating to evade taxes.

It is pretty obvious that the government has introduced the GST reform to withstand the stress caused by US President Donald Trump's bullying and protectionist moves. In part, therefore, the GST reform signals a shift in the nation's approach to globalisation and exports. Not are Trump's bullying and protectionist moves are likely to adversely affect India's exports to the USA, India's largest market, they are also likely to make the European Union market a difficult place for Indian exports

This is the context within which lower GST rates are expected to help counter the loss of demand due to lower exports. GST is an indirect tax and is regressive. It is presumed that a cut in its rates would result in lower prices, provided the benefit is passed on to the consumers. This, in turn, is expected to boost demand from all consumers.

But the kind of GST reform which has been done has a problem. Simplification of the GST regime is not the same as its structural reform. What is crucial to boost the economy is not the GST simplification but rather its structural reform. This is because India has a huge size of its unorganised sector, which makes it too complex for the GST to deal with it. This is also something that no other major economy has.

Poverty is deeply entrenched in India's unorganized sector that its production and consumption needs special protection. In the name of protection, this sector is either exempted from GST or it pays a nominal tax under "composition scheme". But that has also made things difficult for this sector. For example, the unorganized sector producers can neither get Input Tax Credit (ITC) nor can they offer it to those buying goods from them. Consequently, its produce becomes relatively more expensive than that of the organized sector. The result is a shift in demand from the unorganised to the organised sector.

Organised sector companies account for less than ten percent of total units in the country. It is these units that will receive the benefit of cut in GST rates and not the declining unorganised sector units, which account for almost ninety percent of the total units in the country.

Likewise, the produce of the unorganised sectors will also not receive the benefit, it will go primarily to the rich and ultra rich in the country.

Editorial

CPI Expresses Concern over the Situation in Nepal

Calls for Unity of Progressive Forces in Defence of Democracy

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued today (10th September, 2025) the following statement:

The Communist Party of India expresses deep concern over the unfolding situation in Nepal, which is fast slipping into a state of lawlessness. There is a discernible anger among the people, particularly the GenZ youth, over issues of suppression of freedom of expression, restrictions on social media platforms, and corruption. This anger must be acknowledged. However, the torching

of the Parliament building, the residences of the President and senior ministers, the killing of the wife of a former Prime Minister, and violent attacks on public property and communist and other political parties' offices in the valley are a matter of grave concern. Such developments point to the protests turning berserk, going beyond democratic methods of struggle, and risk undermining the very causes they claim to uphold.

The CPI strongly condemns the conduct of the police administration in Kathmandu and adjoining cit-

ies, whose firing on protesting youth killed many and added fuel to the fire, only to surrender before the same youth the next day. Such actions raise serious suspicions of a larger ploy by forces who do not wish to see a democratic Nepal prospering under its hard-won secular and democratic constitution—an achievement of the people's movement against monarchy in which communists played the leading role. At the same time, the CPI underlines that the divisions among communists in Nepal have also contributed to this

crisis. The people of Nepal have repeatedly given their mandate in favour of the communists. But this mandate has been undermined by compromises with parties driven by narrow agendas, resulting in dilution of communist principles, weak governance, and corruption, disappointing the people and contributing to the present crisis.

The CPI cautions that unless the communists in Nepal rethink their path and restore principled unity, they risk undoing the legacy of decades of people's struggles and mobilisation. At the same

time, the Party expresses its full support and solidarity with the people of Nepal and the communists of Nepal, and hopes that the situation returns to peace and normalcy at the earliest. The CPI also underlines the need for vigilance by all democratic and secular forces, since meddling in the internal affairs of South Asian countries is not new to imperialist interests. The genuine anger of Nepal's youth should not be diverted towards right-wing forces or calls for a return to monarchy, which would undo the democratic and secular progress made by the people of Nepal.

T K Arun

Hope floats on China visit and tax cuts as the real economy weakens. The stock market gets high. This has been the case ever since the excess liquidity sloshing around in the world's financial markets converted stock prices and indices into a function more of liquidity than of underlying corporate performance. US job openings have slid to a 10-month low, although a more comprehensive jobs report is due only this Friday. But that slide was enough to convince investors that the Fed is going to cut rates this month. Lower rates mean looser liquidity, and higher stock prices. Bottoms up!

In India, the GST reforms announced by the finance minister on September 3 have added to the exuberance. Rates have been reduced on a number of goods and services of mass consumption, even as SUVs that are longer than 4 metres, the only kind of automobiles that have been selling in decent numbers for months on end, see their GST rate go up from 28 per cent to 40 per cent. The GST Council has raised the cost of energy in the economy, increasing the GST on coal from five percent to 18 percent, and increasing the GST on transportation of crude and refined products by pipeline from 12 percent to 18 percent. The GST on job contracts associated with the exploration and development of oil fields, and the production of hydrocarbons, has also gone up. Since GST does not apply to either electricity or petroleum fuels, the increase in these tax rates will add to the cost of energy in its totality.

Prices at the fuel pump are an opaque mishmash of duties, cesses, and staggered changes that oil marketing companies make to pass on changes in global crude prices. So when the price goes up, it is not clear to the consumer why that happens. The cost of thermal power, which is the mainstay of India's power generation, will go up thanks to the increase in GST on coal — the defence that the new 18 percent

GST would subsume the Rs 400 a ton compensation cess does not wash, as the compensation cess will disappear sooner rather than later, when borrowings made to pay compensation to the states are paid off, but the GST at the enhanced rate would continue. This would raise both the cost of power and the electricity duty that the states

cars, with engine capacity up to 1,200 CC in case of petrol engines, and 1,500 cc in case of diesel engines. The consumption of more premium goods and services, which are conflated with luxury/sin goods and face a steep tax rate of 40 percent, would fall. The savings on goods made cheaper by lower GST rates would also be spent, given the high marginal propensity to consume for most Indians. That expenditure would generate fresh GST revenues. The final tax giveaway is likely to be smaller than the initial estimate of Rs 48,000 crore. Stock market exuberance is

debt, which has crossed 114 percent of GDP. President Macron probably hopes to trigger yet another round of Parliament elections, in which parties other than the hard right National Rally would put up common candidates far more coherently than they had done in the last elections, to hand the hard right a resounding defeat. That would help the centrists come the next presidential elections.

President Trump's tariffs have been ruled illegal by an appeals court. But he has time to move the Supreme Court before the ruling takes effect. The defunding of Harvard has

the world's second largest economy, and the other, the world's fastest growing large economy — tells the West that it no longer sets the agenda for the rest of the world.

The SCO meeting condemned terror in general and the Pahalgam attack in particular. With this concession on China's part — in diplomacy, a concession to India can take the form of a good spanking for Pakistan — India is now in a position to relax assorted curbs on Chinese business activity in India.

PM Modi went to China via Japan. In Tokyo, India reiterated its commitment to the Quad, in which Japan, Australia and India partner with the US, ostensibly for stability in the Indo-Pacific and world peace, but in reality, to contain China. This makes India one of the few countries to be truly non-aligned, or multi-aligned, if you will. The rest of the BRICS grouping would find India a useful bridge to the non-American West, say the European Union. Japan has promised to step up investments in India.

While India registered a surprise GDP growth of 7.8 percent in the April-June quarter, and the latest purchasing managers' indices are all upbeat, India can do with as much investment as it can get. In this quarter of fast growth, the share of gross fixed capital formation in GDP remained stuck at 30.4 percent. While this is better than this crucial ratio being below 30 percent, it is nowhere near the 35 percent India needs for growth to speed up, let alone the 45 percent rate that China has sustained for long.

A Week of Shifts in External Policy, Domestic Taxes



levy on power prices. Consumers would, of course, feel the increase in power prices, but attribute it to the rise in electricity duty and state-level decisions, rather than link it to GST changes.

In other words, the latest round of GST reforms seeks to appease consumers by lowering rates they can see, while raising rates they do not directly observe. Visible taxes down, invisible taxes up.

However, the consumption of goods that have turned cheaper, thanks to the rates coming down, is likely to go up. Such goods include small

not particularly irrational.

The bond market is not all that cheerful. In the US, yields on long-term government bonds touched five percent. In the UK, they crossed 5.6 per cent. In France, the yield on 10-year bonds is 80 basis points above the euro-area average. The French prime minister Francois Bayrou has called a confidence vote in a Parliament in which centrists who would support him are a distinct minority, as he seeks to push through a budget that would cut spending to trim France's burgeoning national

also been ruled to be illegal. Trump would approach the Supreme Court on that as well.

The Trump tariffs and the US administration's concerted hostility towards India have made India and China stage a reconciliation of sorts. After a gap of seven years, the prime minister of India has travelled to China and met with the Chinese president, as well as the President of the Russian Federation. The meeting of Russia's leader, Vladimir Putin, with the leaders of the world's two largest countries — one of which is

The rupee plummeted to a record low last week, sending ripples throughout the economy, with the government trying to cover up the harm done.

The state of currency generally reflects the state of economy. Sometimes, the high or low may mean better health, but the rupee has been constantly falling since 2014, reflecting a deeper malady.

A brief history

Dollar equaled Rs 3.30 in 1947, was just Rs 7.50 even twenty years later in 1966, 12.38 in 1985 and 17.01 in 1990. So in 23 years since 1947 the rupee occupied a strong position, without much change. Then it suddenly fell to 32.427 against dollar in 1995 and to 43.50 in 2000.

Strong rupee during 1950s to 80s is mainly explained due to a robust self-reliant economy with the public sector at commanding heights. The Socialist camp headed by Soviet Union also helped face the imperialist economic onslaught.

The liberalization of the 1990s opened the economy to pressures of imperialist economic cycles, and the rupee suddenly weakened. Yet, it sustained the parity rate in the region of 43 to 48 up to 2011, hovering around Rs 53 till 2013.

2014: rightwing economic policies

The period 2014 to the present (2025) is one of constant depreciation and devaluation of the rupee and a fall in the exchange rate and purchasing power of the rupee. It touched 60 mark in 2014 soon after the elections. (It had briefly touched nearly 62.92 on September 12, 2013) Since then it has never recovered till date.

Why? One should seek answers in the rightwing reactionary economic policies pursued by the government installed in 2014. It was public sector which protected India from the worldwide economic recession and crisis beginning in 2008 with the crash of five financial giants in the US. India remained largely untouched due to the

Why is Rupee Falling?

Anil Rajimwale

huge public sector at commanding heights. BJP government got actively dismantling it.

Concentration and centralization of wealth and capital in the hands of a few corporate, such as the Adanis and the Ambanis and creation of growing number of billionaires has played havoc with the purchasing power of the rupee.

Why rupee loses power?

There has been a strategic shift in economic policies, helping release of massive amounts of money into market. This has led to a fall in its value and purchasing power. Pouring of industrial and agricultural profits into speculation and financialisation has led to liquid money floating in the market, resulting in inflation,

typical scene of monopoly financial market.

In a constant fall, rupee was 85.47 on July 4 (2025), 87.64 on August 27 and slipping to 88.27 on September 5. It is fast moving to the 90 plus mark.

Economists forecast rupee will touch 90-95 to dollar before long.

'Protecting' rupee by selling dollar

RBI is trying to shore up the rupee by selling dollars, a double-edged sword. A purchaser of dollar has certain advantages in world market, which the seller does not have.

In FY 2023, RBI became a net seller, instead of a net purchaser, of US dollars. It

(FPIs) pulled out currencies equivalent of Rs 12, 257 crore from the Indian markets in first week of September (2025). This followed a net outflow of Rs 34, 990 cr in August and Rs 17, 700 cr in July this year. Thus, the total outflows by FPIs reached 1.43 lakh crore so far this year, increasing the pressure on money market and on market in general. This outflow of dollars releases massive rupee stocks.

Monetization Depreciates rupee

Since beginning 2022, FPIs have net-sold 23 billion dollars, contributing to inflation and loss of value of rupee. FIIs (foreign institutional investors) have sold more than 3 lakh crore in Indian equity market since October 2021, further contributing to inflation.

Economy is getting import-oriented, tied to US-led world economy, which is becoming debt-run, inflationary and financialised one.

Trump tariffs

India is learning the hard way the reality of the 'friend' Trump! It is also learning the deeper meaning of US imperialism. The present Trump term has bared the real face of his administration. India hoped to become a strategic partner of the US and an economic partner of the first order: India is being constantly humiliated. In a display of a slavish mentality, it refuses to assert its independence, making a mockery of 'swadeshi'. 'Make in India' has crashed, 'Made in India' needs to be restored.

In a bid to transfer the burden of US crisis, Trump has imposed high paralysing tariffs on its 'dear friend' India! The 50 percent tariffs have jolted the Indian economy, leading to millions losing jobs, closure of thousands of industries, particularly MSMEs.

The US has never been our 'good' friend. It is not wrong to develop relations

with the US, but we must remember the US follows the typical imperialist policy of bullying India into submission. India must assert itself as a sovereign independent nation with self-respect. After all, it has a powerful heritage of long freedom struggle.

Factors influencing exchange rate

India has an increasing trade deficit, meaning it imports more goods than exports, leading to more demand for dollars, causing rupee to weaken.

India imports over 80% of its oil requirements. Union and state governments should drastically reduce the petrol and diesel prices to strengthen the rupee. Instead profits motive keeps diesel/petrol prices high weakening the rupee.

There has to be a balance between imports and exports. The speculative dollar seeks to flood the world economy including India. When the FPIs pull their money out of India, as they are doing now, they convert their rupee holdings into dollars, pushing rupee down.

Inflation reduces the purchasing power of currency. When inflation is high in India, the value of the rupee declines because it takes more money to buy the same goods and services.

Additionally, India has a high fiscal deficit, which means the government spends more than it earns. To cover this deficit, the government borrows money and generally monetizes economy, increasing the money supply, thus leading to further depreciation of the rupee. Government also prints huge amounts of notes to cover its deficit, contributing to weakening of rupee, reducing its purchasing power.

Imposition of huge tariffs on India by the US necessitates structural change in the economy towards public sector-based self-reliance in favour of production of capital, not speculation. Basic monetary reforms are needed. 'Make in India' must be replaced by 'Made in India'.



crisis of bank rates and a conflict between the government and the RBI. Parasitic and speculative capital is creating existential crisis for the rupee. Nationalised banks are being undermined and bad loans are accumulating.

Never before was rupee so weak and uncertain as now. Further on we discuss other reasons.

Persistent trend

Rupee is consistently losing its value in last few years, falling to 81.62 against dollar on September 26, 2022 and to 85.82 in December 2024, sending Dalal Street and other stock centres went into a spin. Foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) sold stocks worth Rs 15 560 crore, the amount flooding market, a

sold 25.52 bn dollars on a net basis to curb volatility of rupee.

RBI sold 34.5 bn dollars in the FY 2025, the highest since the global financial crisis of 2008-09, following an unprecedented depreciation in rupee.

Vicious cycle

Increased liquid money leads to inflation, among others. When foreign exchange reserve goes down, more rupees float in market, depressing consumption rates and economic activity.

The vicious circles keep closing, strangling the masses and the economy.

FPIs pull out

There is a growing unease among the foreign investors.

Foreign portfolio investors

India's Geopolitical Dilemma: Between Multipolarity and US Hegemony

The shifting contours of global geopolitics have placed India at a critical juncture. The United States, along with certain other former colonial powers, is once again striving to reassert global dominance. Their strategy is clear - prevent developing nations from advancing, while sustaining their own supremacy. Wars and conflicts across the globe, from the Middle East to Africa and Eastern Europe, and now rising tension around Venezuela bear the imprint of their overt or covert involvement through weapons supply, diplomatic pressure, and outright blackmail.

The World Trade Organization once offered a platform for collective decision-making, albeit imperfect. The US had a powerful voice in the WTO, but there was a scope of amendments to the various clauses which did not favour the interests of the developing countries. This multilateral framework has been dismantled by Donald Trump. In the name of "Making America Great Again," Washington decided to pursue bilateral trade deals and impose tariffs tailored to each country. Smaller economies have little choice but to yield. Even Europe is divided: Britain tilted toward Washington, while much of the EU is trying to make collective bargain. China, however, stood firm, forcing the U.S. to retreat—reflecting its rise as a formidable global economic power.

India too has been targeted. The U.S. recently imposed tariffs of over 50%, citing India's imports of Russian oil and alleged that this is helping Russia in carrying out war on Ukraine. This has rattled Indian industry, placing countless workers at risk

New Delhi must choose whether to stand with developing nations for a fairer world order or remain tethered to American dominance

of unemployment. Ironically, this came despite Prime Minister Modi's repeated assertions of friendship with the American president and vice versa.

Meanwhile, India took

Dr Arun Mitra

cal currencies. Yet, Washington responded with punitive tariffs soon after. This underscores the point

ing that the relationship between India and the US have always been good. This shows a direct tilt after participation in BRICS and SCO meetings.

Against this backdrop, India faces a stark choice:



partin two significant global forums this year: the BRICS Summit, where discussions centred on a new currency, nuclear disarmament, and reducing the arms race; other is the Shanghai Cooperation

that in geopolitics, it is national interests—not personal friendships—that prevail.

The United States today pursues dominance with relentless vigour—arming Israel

should it align with developing nations striving for a multipolar order, or acquiesce to America's unilateral designs?

Economically, India's



Organization (SCO) Summit in Tianjin which, focused on economic cooperation and collective security. While BRICS members emphasized a BRICS currency as an alternative to US dollar, India hesitated on endorsing alternatives to the U.S. dollar, but instead opted for trade in lo-

despite the genocide in Gaza, expanding NATO eastward, and fuelling the Russia-Ukraine war while seeking to control Ukraine's resources.

Recent statement by the US President praising Modi as a good friend has made Indian government to change its stance who are now say-

trade balance with the U.S. is favorable, but with Russia and China it lags. Russia, however, has been a steadfast ally since Soviet times, supporting India through its toughest crises.

Therefore even under American pressure, India has purchased discounted Rus-

sian oil—though its benefits accrued mainly to a handful of industrialists rather than the wider population.

Here was a time when India was a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, giving a united voice to developing countries. Today, however, New Delhi appears indecisive—oscillating between blocs. This ambivalence has weakened its standing, evident in the lack of international support after "Operation Sindoor." Israel, increasingly seen as an aggressor who is conducting genocide in Gaza, was the only country to speak in India's favour.

In such a volatile global environment, India must act with clarity. The priority should be strengthening ties with neighbours, fostering peace in South Asia, working toward a nuclear-free region and marching forward to lasting peace globally.

We cannot side with the aggressors. India's credibility lies in collective efforts along with developing countries.

Domestically, India must shift its economic base from overdependence on services to robust manufacturing, backed by substantial investment in research and innovation. Equally, quality education must be made accessible and affordable, laying the foundation for long-term strength. There should be a decisive shift from providing highly expensive education in the private sector towards the state owning the responsibility to educate to the maximum of all citizens.

Ultimately, India cannot afford the illusion of balancing in two camps. As the proverb reminds us: "The boatman of two boats always sinks."

25th CPI Party Congress at Chandigarh from September 21, 2025

Chandigarh, September 11, 2025: The Communist Party of India (CPI) will hold its 25th Party Congress at Chandigarh. It will start with a rally on the morning of 21 September 2025 at Mohali.

On the 21 September evening venue will shift to Kisan Bhavan, Chandigarh and continue up to 25th September.

Inaugural Session will be on September 22, at Kisan Bhavan Chandigarh. All members of Press are cordially invited there.

The announcement was made at a press conference in Chandigarh Press Club, which was addressed by Amarjeet Kaur, National Secretary of CPI, along with Bant Singh Brar, General Secretary of the Reception Committee and CPI Punjab, and Swarajbir Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee and former Editor of the Punjabi Tribune. They were accompanied by Nirmal Dhalwal, General Secretary AITUC and other leaders.

The 25th Congress will deliberate on pressing national and international issues. These include the rise of authoritarianism and communal politics threatening India's

democratic fabric, the deepening crisis of unemployment and agrarian distress, the erosion of labour rights, and the commercialisation of health and education. Over 300 delegates from across the country will also discuss the issues like weakening of federalism and constitutional institutions, the repressive labour laws, the global challenges posed by neo-liberalism, wars of aggression and the exploitation of natural resources, the urgent need for peace with neighbouring countries and greater accountability in matters of national security, as well as ecological devastation highlighted by the recent floods in Punjab and North India. A special session of the party Congress will be devoted to condemn the genocide of innocent Palestinian people in Gaza by the Israeli armed forces. This session will also express solidarity with the Cuban people. The representatives from Cuba and Palestinian embassies will also attend the session. Apart from that leaders from fraternal communist parties including CPM, RSP, Forward Block, CPI (ML-Liberation) will attend the inaugural session.

The CPI leaders reaffirmed the party's commitment to left and democratic unity as the most effective means of resisting fascist forces

and safeguarding the rights of the people. They asserted that true nationalism resides in the labour and aspirations of India's toiling masses, not in communal polarisation or corporate plunder. The leaders expressed their concern about the flood situation in Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand and other states of the country. The CPI volunteers have been active in the rescue and relief operations in the affected areas.

This landmark Congress coincides with the centenary year of the CPI, founded in 1925. Right from the Kanpur Conspiracy Case in 1924, the Party has been at the forefront of the freedom movement and people's struggles, championing secularism, federalism, and the rights of workers, peasants, Dalits, Tribals, women, minorities and other marginalised sections.

The party Congress to be hosted at Comrade Sudhakar Reddy Nagar established at Kisan Bhawan, Chandigarh, will chart the way forward in strengthening the struggles for democracy, social justice, equality and peace. "We will fight, and the people will win. Forces of justice and truth will prevail," the Party declared.

Every evening there will be cultural performances comprising revolutionary songs, plays, choreographies and folk music. The leading artistes of the state will perform in these events.

Left & Communist Unity

From Front Page

since its Bhatinda Congress in 1978, has consistently raised the banner of comprehensive Left Unity. That call was not episodic or opportunistic but rooted in a deep understanding that the communist movement in India, born out of common soil and shared sacrifices, could not afford to remain divided indefinitely. For nearly five decades now, the CPI has sought to overcome barriers and forge unity of action among the Left forces in the country.

The present conjuncture is defined by the consolidation of a corporate-communal nexus. On one side, wealth and resources are being concentrated in the hands of a few monopolists; on the other, communal hatred and aggressive nationalism are being weaponized to silence dissent. Democratic institutions are being hollowed out, federal principles eroded, and voices of workers, peasants, students, minorities, and women systematically sup-

pressed. Systematic attempts to change the very character of the Indian state and a push towards fascism are evident. In such a context, the argument for Left Unity becomes stronger than ever. It is no longer about overcoming the legacy of past divisions alone; it is about survival and advancement in a situation where disunity only serves the interests of the ruling classes.

The case for unity is compelling. All Left parties share a common ideological foundation in Marxism-Leninism, a commitment to the working class and peasantry, and an uncompromising opposition to imperialism, communalism, and caste oppression. While there may be tactical differences in approach, the larger goals remain the same. When workers strike against privatization, when peasants rise against corporate land grab, when students and youth resist fee hikes and unemployment, they are not asking which faction of the Left leads the struggle. They seek solidarity, support, and

strength. The responsibility of the Left leadership is to provide precisely that, by overcoming sectarian barriers and projecting a united front.

Such unity cannot be confined to electoral alliances, though they too have importance. Left Unity has to be built in the trenches of mass struggles, in joint campaigns, and in ideological battles against the propaganda of the ruling forces. A united Left can revive the strength of class organizations—the trade unions, kisansabhas, ketmazdoororaganisations, women's movements, student and youth federations—by working together to consolidate gains and expand influence. Common struggles against unemployment, price rise, caste atrocities, gender violence, and environmental destruction can forge bonds of solidarity that go beyond the immediate calculations of electoral arithmetic.

The contours of such a united approach are clear. First, joint action on issues that directly affect the

masses—defense of public sector units, campaigns against privatization of education and health, struggles for land and wages, and movements against communal polarization. Second, collective ideological work to counter the narratives of the ruling class and project a socialist alternative rooted in India's conditions. Third, revival of unity within the broader democratic and secular camp, where the Left can play a leading role in bringing together progressive forces across the country. In the Draft Political Resolution for the 25th Congress of the CPI, we have even made an earnest appeal to Maoist groups to reconsider their path of armed struggle and join the mainstream of the communist movement, so that all energies can be directed towards united mass action in the interest of the people.

The centenary of the communist movement on Indian soil, along with the 25th Congress of the CPI, provides an opportune moment to reflect on this evolved reality and chart a path forward. The

experiences of the past century demonstrate both the heights the movement can scale and the setbacks it can suffer when divided. The crux of our position must therefore be clear: reunification of the communist movement on a principled basis is the need of the hour. Those who continue to flag programmatic differences must come forward, engage in wide-ranging dialogue, and recognize that what unites us is far greater than what divides us.

The task is formidable, but history shows that the Left in India has always risen to the occasion when the nation faced its gravest challenges. During the freedom struggle, during the resistance to Emergency, and during the waves of neoliberal assault, the communists were there, standing with the people. Today, when democracy itself is under threat, the Left cannot afford to remain fragmented. Unity is not a luxury; it is a necessity for survival and advance. The people of India deserve a united Left that can be the voice of the voiceless, the defender of democracy, and the torchbearer of socialism. The time for such unity is now.

200 Per cent Interest on Loans

The Corporate Bias in India's Banking System

India's banking system, once a beacon of hope for the common man, has shifted dramatically since the liberalization policies of 1991. Thomas Franco, former General Secretary of the All-India Bank Officers Confederation, highlights a stark disparity in how banks treat small borrowers versus corporate giants. While small depositors and borrowers face high interest rates and coercive recovery tactics, corporates secure loans at a mere 4 per cent interest rate, as per RBI data. This systemic bias, rooted in policy changes post-1991, has eroded the original purpose of public sector banks (PSBs): to serve the masses, not just maximise profits.

Before nationalisation in 1969, banks primarily served industrialists, with only 9 per cent of credit going to farmers and small industries, as noted by the Malhotra and RK Hazari committees. Post-nationalisation, PSBs expanded rural banking, with rural branches reaching 58 per cent by 1991 and 95 per cent of loans under ₹10,000 going to small borrowers. This reduced income inequality, with the top 1 per cent's wealth share dropping from 21 to 6 per cent. However, the Narasimham Committee's post-1991 recommendations reoriented banking toward profit, prioritising corporate loans over small borrowers. Today, only 28 per cent of bank branches are in rural areas, and small credit has plummeted to 30 per cent of total lending, while corporate credit dominates.

The RBI data reveals that 449 corporates with loans above ₹100 crore enjoy 4 per cent interest rates, a policy Franco attributes to government and RBI directives. For instance, the Tata Group secured a ₹10,000 crore loan at 4 per cent to acquire Air India, while small borrow-

ers—farmers, MSMEs, and students—face rates of 11–12 per cent. This disparity is compounded by the treatment of non-performing assets (NPAs). When small borrowers default, banks send recovery agents, leading to harassment and, in extreme cases, suicides. In contrast, corporates benefit from lenient “haircuts” under the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code. Anil Ambani's company, with a ₹46,000 crore debt, settled for just ₹453 crore—less than 2 per cent. Similarly, Vedanta's Agarwal cleared a ₹72,000 crore debt with a 95 per cent

Meanwhile, non-banking financial companies (NBFCs) like Bajaj Finance fill the credit gap, borrowing from PSBs at 10–11% and lending at 24–100% interest rates, often using coercive recovery tactics. A LocalCircles survey indicates 60% of borrowers face cyber fraud or data misuse by NBFCs, with 20% paying 100–200% interest.

The government's push for privatization worsens the situation. Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman has urged NBFCs to handle 50% of commercial bank lending, while rural PSB branches close, leaving villagers reliant

He suggests offering 1% of loans at 4% to the weakest sections, as was once mandated, and capping NBFC interest rates. Models like Kerala's cooperative bank, which supports women's enterprises, or Germany's state-level banks, which lend locally at low rates, could inspire reform. Japan's unique approach—charging for deposits—may not suit India, but Brazil's development banks show how subsidized credit can boost small businesses.

The government's reluctance to regulate NBFCs, despite state efforts like Tamil



STUDY & STRUGGLE

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holds NBFCs accountable, ensuring banking serves the common man, not just the corporate elite.

India's banking sector, under the Reserve Bank of India's oversight, reveals a stark corporate bias, prioritizing large corporations over small businesses and individuals. Standard loan rates range from 8–25 per cent annually, but microfinance and unregulated lending often impose effective rates exceeding 100 per cent, occasionally approaching 200 per cent with compounding fees and penalties. Large corporates, benefiting from AAA ratings, secure loans at 2–5 per cent lower rates, tied to favorable base rates, while MSMEs face higher spreads, paying 12–15 per cent or more. This disparity arises as banks favor low-risk, high-value clients, sidelining smaller borrowers with weaker credit profiles. Public sector banks, controlling 25 per cent of assets, alongside private players like HDFC and ICICI, perpetuate this gap. MSMEs bear the brunt of high deposit costs and Basel III compliance burdens, inflating borrowing costs. Despite RBI's fair practices code, enforcement gaps allow exploitative practices to persist, deepening financial inequality. To address this, stricter rate caps, enhanced regulatory oversight, and inclusive lending policies are essential to level the playing field, empowering small businesses and individuals to thrive in India's economy.



haircut. Such settlements are rare for small borrowers, whose defaults damage their credit scores, barring future loans.

Franco points out that PSBs are understaffed, with one State Bank of India (SBI) employee serving 2,119 customers, compared to 359 for HDFC Bank. This staffing crisis, exacerbated by a decade-long recruitment ban, hampers service quality and rural outreach. Post-1991 policies diluted priority sector lending norms, allowing large-scale projects like food processing plants to qualify as “priority” loans, sidelining small farmers and MSMEs.

on exploitative loan apps. The Jan Dhan scheme, touted as a financial inclusion success, is marred by 97% of accounts being opened by PSBs, yet many now require minimum balances, and banks impose ₹21,000 crore in service charges annually. Franco argues that banks rely on small depositors—80% of deposits are household savings—yet pay them low interest (2–2.5% on savings) while lending to corporates at similar rates.

Franco proposes reviving the pre-1991 banking model: expanding rural branches, increasing staff, and restoring priority sector lending norms.

Nadu's anti-coercive recovery law, stems from a pro-corporate stance. Franco warns of a looming crisis akin to the 2008 US financial meltdown if unchecked NBFC lending and corporate favoritism continue. Public sector banks, meant to serve the masses, are instead burdened with corporate NPAs, while small borrowers are pushed to predatory lenders. As Franco notes, the banking system's mantra has become “privatization of profit and socialization of loss.” To reverse this, India needs a policy shift that prioritizes small borrowers, restores rural banking, and

Assam Celebrates 25th CPI State Conference Prepares to Fight Fascistic Regime, in State, at Centre



The state unit of the Communist Party of Assam organized its conference on September 6 to 8, 2025, with a three-day long program at Titabar, Jorhat district.

In the morning, at 11 am, there was organized a massive rally and cultural procession with thousands of Party members, sympathizer and delegates who were elected from various districts and were joining in with red flags, raising slogans on various demands taken up by the Party. The procession was inaugurated by senior party leader Haren Bora.

After the procession, a public meeting was held at 'Comrade Giridhar Thengal Samanoy Khetra' presided by a senior party leader Khagen Phukan (retired Principal of a Government College). The public meeting was addressed by CPI national secretaries, Amarjeet Kaur, Dr. B. K. Kango along with Central executive member Munin Mahanta. All the speakers in their address spoke about the fascistic rulers of the country as well as of the state. A souvenir, 'SANGRAM' was released in the meeting, published on the occasion of its conference.

After felicitation of the guests by the Reception Com-

mittee was over, the State Secretary of CPI, Kanak Gogoi welcomed all the guests, delegates and the participants of the procession and public meeting. In his address, Kanak Gogoi criticised the anti-people activities of the government like inhuman eviction and also its pro-corporate policies. He also said that CM Himanta Bishwar Sarma failed to meet his election promises and created new issues in order to divert attention of people from the real issues.

Prior to the inaugural session, at 6.00 pm, the Red Flag was hoisted by Dharma Barua, senior leader and chairman of state control

KanakGogoi

greeted the gathering on the occasion of the conference



and appealed to all the Left forces to join hands to defeat

well as from Centre. The state secretary of CPI (M) sent a message to the conference.

The delegate session was

The conference adopted 20 resolutions, demanding the inclusion of six different communities of Assam in the 6th schedule, declaring Assam as a special category state on



commission. State secretary of CPI (ML) Bibek Das

the autocratic BJP government both from the state as

consisting of all state executives, four credential committees and four proceeding committee members.

State secretary Kanak Gogoi explained the draft political and organizational reports before the delegates. There was an active participation by not less than 32 delegates out of total 107 on the report. Finally both the reports were adopted unanimously by the house.

the basis of article 371 (a) of Indian Constitution, on resolving the issue of border dispute with neighboring state, solving the problems of flood and erosion and declaring it as national problem, demanding withdrawal of CAA, unplanned eviction, against handing over the land to corporates, privatisation of ONGC & OIL and other public sector units, land to the landless, 33 percent reservation for woman, free education from KG to PG and free medical facilities to all among many other.

The conference elected state council with 39 members, state executive with 13 members, state control commission with 3 members.

Lastly, the 25th CPI state conference re-elected Kanak Gogoi as the State Secretary of the Assam CPI State Council in a very pleasant manner.



State Conference of Bihar Unit of CPI

Calls for Removal of Nitish Govt



The five-day state conference of the Communist Party of India started on September 8, 2025 and would be over by September 12, 2025. The conference being held at Comrade Ramavatar Shastri Nagar Gate Public Library in Patna, commenced with a flag hoisting ceremony on September 8, conducted by the party's

the Communist Party of India; Nagendra Nath Ojha; national secretary Dr. Girish; and state secretary Ramnaresh Pandey. The open session was presided over by Professor Karyanand Paswan, the chairman of the reception committee and former vice-chancellor, with the proceedings conducted by

Kirnesh Kumar

fill its constitutional duties. A significant movement that began in Bihar for voting rights has transformed into a nationwide campaign. Raja emphasised, "We will not allow vote theft." He called for democratic and secular parties to unite in their struggle

mental rights that every citizen should possess. However, in Bihar, he claimed that the Election Commission conspired to disenfranchise Dalits, marginalised communities, women, and the poor through a Special Intensive Revision Campaign (SIR) of the voter list, allegedly at the behest of the central BJP government.

ated that the alliance's members must collaborate and coordinate to eliminate communal and fundamentalist forces, emphasising that the votes of corporate tycoons like Adani and Ambani hold the same weight as those of ordinary citizens.

The General Secretary of the CPI also criticised the Nitish government of Bihar,



national secretary and former MP, Nagendra Nath Ojha. Following this, tributes were paid to martyrs by offering flowers. The open session of the conference began at 4:00 PM and featured addresses from, including D. Raja, the national general secretary of

Vishwajeet, the general secretary of the reception committee. During the open session, CPI General Secretary D. Raja stated that the right to vote is under threat. He accused the Election Commission of failing to ful-

against the communal BJP. Raja pointed out that the components of the "India" alliance must enhance their cooperation, develop a common understanding, and make necessary adjustments with one another. He asserted that voting rights are funda-

He urged all secular forces to come together to remove the Modi-led BJP from power. Raja noted that the India Alliance was formed specifically to combat the BJP and the RSS, highlighting the CPI's crucial role in its establishment. He reiter-

stating that the state has been facing significant challenges during the 20 years of JDU-BJP rule. He pointed out that crime and corruption are at an all-time high in Bihar. Furthermore, he attributed the rising inflation rate in the coun-

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PM Skipping BRICS Virtual Meet, Not Addressing UN General Assembly Ominous

Is Prime Minister Narendra Modi retracting from his commitment to the SCO declaration issued on September 1 and the BRICS statement of July 6 this year to send some sort of signals to US President Donald Trump about restoring reciprocity in the India-US relations?

The question is very relevant as one dissects the Indian PM's latest decision to skip the virtual BRICS summit held on September 8 and Narendra Modi not attending the United Nations general assembly later this month.

Both events are very important in the present context of Trump's tariff war and the joint efforts of the affected nations, especially Global South to take common stand against the unilateral imposition of tariffs by the US President. The two major members of BRICS - India and Brazil have been the biggest sufferers of Trump tariffs-at the rate of 50 per cent on their respective exports to the USA. BRICS president for 2025 Brazilian President convened this meeting on September 8 as a follow up of BRICS declaration which was signed by the Indian PM along with all other BRICS members.

At the virtual meet, all head of states excepting In-

dia and Ethiopia took part. President Xi Jinping of China and Russian President Vladimir Putin contributed in a big way in suggesting the action plan. India was represented by our foreign minister Dr. S Jaishankar whom no one took note when other head of states were taking part. Dr.

Nitya Chakraborty

discourse. The world requires constructive and cooperative approaches to promote trade that is sustainable. Increasing barriers and complicating transactions will not help." This is a fine address for a normal global

pressing for expeditious solutions. This issue could have been avoided at this virtual BRICS meet at this time. The meet was called to define immediate strategy to meet the US measures on tariff and linking political issues with trade matters. That should have been main focus of India in the speech which it was not.

Chinese President called the US action as a tariff war, while both Brazilian President and South African President suggested joint action to combat tariff blackmail while President Putin also used strong words without naming Trump. Indian PM Narendra Modi's absence at the virtual meet was taken note of by the other BRICS members, especially Brazil since President Lula will be handing over the BRICS presidency to Narendra Modi next year and India will host the BRICS summit in 2026. Narendra Modi skipping the virtual summit has led to some misgivings among the BRICS members since he took a very active part at the last SCO summit at Tianjin on August 31 and September 1 as also at the BRICS summit at Rio de Janeiro on July 6 and 7. As regards the UN general assembly, the UN session starts on September 23 and will continue till September 30. Indian PM was given a slot to address on September 26. The same day, China, Pakistan and Bangladesh have been given slots for addressing the general assembly. In such a critical period, the UN forum is used by the head of states of the member countries to articulate their position on the major issues facing the nation as also the world. The US President Donald Trump will be addressing the UN assembly on September 23. It is quite certain that Pakistan Prime Minister Shehbaz

Sharif and Bangladesh Government's chief adviser Dr. Muhammad Yunus will be attending.

Both Pakistan and Bangladesh will be articulating their respective positions on the major issues. Pakistan is sure to mention about issues with India. Dr. Jaishankar will be representing India but he will be getting a slot at the fag end of the session and nobody will be listening to him. Both Pakistan PM and Bangladesh chief adviser will take full advantage of the absence of Narendra Modi to present their one sided version regarding India.. That will go unchallenged. If PM Modi would have attended, he would have been the first on September 26 to address the assembly. All other head of states of China, Pakistan and Bangladesh have been given slots after him, as per the original assembly schedule.

But what are the real reasons for Narendra Modi's decision to skip the very crucial UN general assembly session? One reason may be that Prime Minister Narendra Modi may like to avoid meeting the US President who will be present in the session from the first day.

Prime Minister is not responding to Trump's calls if the US media reports are to be believed. It is no way of running diplomacy. You talk to Trump if he wants to talk and tell India's position in clear terms. There is no need for hide and seek approach. India is a vast country with the largest population in the world as also the fifth largest economy. PM must have the guts to tell Trump what India thinks about its policy. Meetings take place and might end in disagreements, but dialogue must go on with both friends and foes. Perhaps Narendra Modi has forgotten this age old dictum.



Jaishankar, as usual gave an academic lecture on the global challenges rarely touching on the need for joint action against the US decision. He expressed only concern at the linking of trade measures to non trade barriers. This indirectly hit at the recent actions of the US President but this was drowned in the verbiage of lecture on global trade issues without mentioning the immediate actions to be taken.

Jaishankar said "The trade patterns and market access are today prominent issues in the global economic

trade scenario. But the present situation in 2025 is not normal as a result of the actions of Donald Trump. How to meet that challenge?

There was no concrete suggestion in Dr. Jaishankar's speech to deal with the immediate issues.

Rather he dealt with the problem within BRICS. He said that BRICS can set an example by reviewing trade flows among its member states. What India is concerned, some of our biggest deficits are with BRICS partners and we have been



Delegates of Bihar State Conference

The War on Truth: Why Palestinian Journalists Are Being Systematically Erased

The killing of seven Palestinian journalists and media workers in Gaza on August 10 and five more on August 25 has prompted verbal condemnations, yet has inspired little to no substantive action. This has become the predictable and horrifying trajectory of the international community's response to the ongoing Israeli genocide.

By eliminating Palestinian journalists like Anas al-Sharif and Mohammed Qraieqeh, Israel has made a sinister statement that the genocide will spare no one. According to the monitoring website Shireen.ps, Israel has killed nearly 270 journalists since October 2023.

More journalists are likely to die covering the genocide of their own people in Gaza, especially since Israel has manufactured a convenient and easily deployed narrative that every Gazan journalist is simply a “terrorist”. This is the same cruel logic offered by numerous Israeli officials in the past, including Israeli President Isaac Herzog, who declared that “an entire nation” in Gaza “is responsible” for not having rebelled against Hamas, effectively stating that there are no innocent people in Gaza.

This Israeli discourse, which dehumanizes entire populations based on a vicious logic, is frequently repeated by officials who fear no accountability. Even Israeli diplomats, whose job in theory is to improve their country's image internationally, frequently engage in this brutal ritual. In comments made in January 2024, Israeli ambassador to the UK, Tzipi Hotovely, callously argued that “every school, every mosque, every second house has access to tunnels,” implying that all of Gaza is a valid military target.

This cruelty of language would be easily dismissed as mere rhetoric, except that Israel has, in fact, according to Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor reports, destroyed over

70percent of Gaza's infrastructure.

While extremist language is often used by politicians around the world, it is rare for the extremism of the language to so precisely mirror the extremism of the action itself. This makes Israeli political discourse a uniquely dangerous phenomenon.

There can be no military justification for the wholesale

Ramzy Baroud

erastian society, deprive it of societal leadership, and render the process of rebuilding Gaza impossible.

These figures powerfully illustrate this point: according to a report released by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, based on the latest

determination. Early footage shows classrooms being held in tents and open spaces, a testament to this community's tenacious pursuit of knowledge. This focus on education transformed the Strip into a regional hub for intellectual and cultural production, despite poorly funded UNRWA schools. Israel's campaign of destruction is a deliberate attempt to erase this generational achieve-

demonization of Palestinian and pro-Palestinian voices. The latter had no chance of fighting back simply because they were not allowed to, and were instead labeled as “terrorist sympathizers” and the like. Even the late, world-renowned Palestinian scholar Edward Said was called a “Nazi” by the extremist, now-banned Jewish Defense League, who went so far as to set the beloved professor's university office on fire.

Gaza, however, represented a major problem. With foreign media forbidden from operating in the Strip per Israeli orders, the Gazan intellectual rose to the occasion and, in the course of two years, managed to reverse most of Zionism's gains over the past century. This forced Israel into a desperate race against time to remove as many Palestinian journalists, intellectuals, academics, and even social media influencers from the scene as quickly as possible—thus, the war on the Palestinian thinker.

The Israeli logic, however, is destined to fail, as ideas are not tied to specific individuals, and resilience and resistance are a culture, not a job title. Gaza shall once more emerge, not only as the culturally thriving place it has always been, but as the cornerstone of a new liberation discourse that is set to inspire the globe regarding the power of intellect to stand firm, to fight for what is right, and to live with purpose for a higher cause.

Dr. RamzyBaroud is a journalist, author and the Editor of The Palestine Chronicle. He is the author of six books. His forthcoming book, ‘Before the Flood,’ will be published by Seven Stories Press. His other books include ‘Our Vision for Liberation’, ‘My Father was a Freedom Fighter’ and ‘The Last Earth’. Baroud is a Non-resident Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Islam and Global Affairs (CIGA). His website is www.ramzybaroud.net

New Age Weekly



annihilation of an entire region. Yet again, the Israelis are not shying away from providing the political discourse that explains this unprecedented destruction. Former Knesset member Moshe Feiglin chillingly said, last May, that “Every child, every baby in Gaza is an enemy... not a single Gazan child will be left there.”

But for the systematic destruction of a whole nation to succeed, it must include the deliberate targeting of its sci-

satellite damage assessment conducted in July, 97 percent of Gaza's educational facilities have been affected, with 91 percent in need of major repairs or full reconstruction. Additionally, hundreds of teachers and thousands of students have been killed.

But why is Israel so intent on killing those responsible for intellectual production? The answer is twofold: one unique to Gaza, and the other unique to the nature of Israel's

ment, a practice known as scholasticide, and Gaza is the most deliberate example of this horrific act.

Second, regarding Zionism: For many years, we were led to believe that Zionism was winning the intellectual war due to the cleverness and refinement of Israeli propaganda, or hasbara. The prevailing narrative, particularly in the Arab world, was that Palestinians and Arabs were simply no match for the savvy Israeli and pro-Israeli public relations machine in



entists, doctors, intellectuals, journalists, artists and poets. While children and women remain the largest categories of victims, many of those killed in deliberate assassinations appear to be targeted specifically to disorient Pal-

estian society, deprive it of societal leadership, and render the process of rebuilding Gaza impossible.

First, regarding Gaza: Since the Nakba in 1948, Palestinian society in Gaza has invested heavily in education, seeing it as a crucial tool for liberation and self-

Western media. This created a sense of intellectual inferiority, masking the true reason for the imbalance.

Israel was able to “win” in mainstream media discourse due to the intentional marginalization and

Media Faces Unprecedented Attack in Bangladesh

For years, Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was notorious for running one of the world's largest prisons for journalists. Today, shockingly, Bangladesh has joined this shameful club under the unelected, military-backed rule.

Since the Islamist-backed coup of 2024 that brought Yunus to power, Bangladesh has witnessed an unprecedented assault on press freedom. Journalists are being charged under bogus murder cases, dragged into court under the draconian Anti-Terrorism Act, beaten in custody, and silenced through fear. What was once a vibrant, if imperfect, media landscape is now being suffocated under state-patronized repression that increasingly resembles Taliban-style authoritarianism.

According to the International Journalists' Network, "There have been more than 354 journalists harassed, 74 cases of violence reported, 113 criminal charges filed, and press credentials revoked for 167 journalists, according to the RRA report". The same report notes that 294 attacks and harassment cases have taken place since Yunus assumed power.

Unsurprisingly, Yunus's Press Wing dismissed the findings as "a wildly misleading piece of disinformation".

Salah Uddin Shoaib Choudhury

But denial has become routine for his administration, which has consistently brushed aside allegations of human rights abuses, repression of minorities, and the systematic intimidation of journalists.

Beh Lih Yi, Asia program coordinator at the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), condemned the Yunus regime's tactics: "We are dis-

These assaults on press freedom must end. They create a chilling effect on the media".

The assault on journalist Monjurul Alam Panna on August 28, 2025, serves as a chilling example. Panna was arrested from an auditorium of the Dhaka Reporters Unity while attending a discussion titled "Our Great Liberation War and the Constitution of Bangladesh".

The program, organized by Mancha 71, was violently disrupted by a group of protestors who had issued



fabricated charges. During his court appearance the next day, Panna was paraded in a bulletproof vest and helmet, as if he were a dangerous criminal. On September 4, images went viral showing police officers choking him in court - an act of blatant brutality that underscored the

flourish, ensuring that fear dominates the public sphere.

In July 2025, Islami Andolan, Bangladesh vowed to model Bangladesh after Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. Jamaat-e-Islami, one of Yunus's key allies, is pushing for similar Islamist goals while ensuring that the regime remains in power indefinitely.

This dangerous convergence of state repression and Islamist radicalism threatens to transform Bangladesh into a regional epicentre of extremism.

Earlier this year, a coalition of major human rights organizations - including Amnesty International, ARTICLE 19, Human Rights Watch, PEN America, and the Committee to Protect Journalists - issued a joint statement warning of the deteriorating situation:

"We note with alarm the number of arrests and incidents of harassment and violence against individuals and human rights defenders exercising their right to freedom of expression in Bangladesh. The government has an obligation to guarantee the right to freedom of expression, including protecting people from attacks by non-state actors".

The International Society for Human Rights echoed similar concerns in its statement "Violent attacks and cases against Journalists are on the Rise". It highlighted the surge of violent attacks since February 2025, with journalists beaten with sticks and hammers by police and political activists.

Bangladesh has now been listed among the most dangerous countries for journalists in South Asia.



turbed by the apparently baseless detentions and criminal cases against journalists, and incidents of media groups' offices being targeted and vandalized.

threats online beforehand.

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) condemned Panna's arrest, highlighting that he and 15 others were detained under

Yunus regime's confidence in its impunity.

Legal experts, rights activists, and journalists across Bangladesh have condemned the charges as politically motivated. Yet Panna remains behind bars in Keraniganj Central Jail, symbolizing the grim reality of situation in Bangladesh.

What makes this repression even more alarming is the hypocrisy: while independent journalists are persecuted, Islamist extremists operate with disturbing freedom. Ansar al-Islam, the Bangladeshi branch of Al Qaeda, openly justifies the killings of secular writers and bloggers by branding them as "enemies of Islam". Instead of confronting these extremists, Yunus's government has allowed their rhetoric to



Calls for Removal of Nitish...

From Page 09

try to the pro-corporate and anti-people policies of the central government, which have led to a continuous decline in employment opportunities. He noted that assembly elections in Bihar are scheduled for this year and emphasised that the entire nation is closely watching this election. He called for the formation of an India Alliance government in the upcoming assembly elections to replace the current BJP-JDU government and to create a prosperous and thriving Bihar. CPI General Secretary D. Raja remarked that the Communist Party of India was founded with ties to the pride of the freedom movement, highlighting that the slogan of “Poorna Swaraj” was first introduced by the CPI. He noted that the party is cur-

rently celebrating its centenary year, as it was established on December 26, 1925. He emphasised that the history of the CPI is characterised by struggle,



sacrifice, and martyrdom. Additionally, he announced that the 25th National Conference of the CPI will take place from September 21 to September 25, 2025.

The RSS and BJP have introduced the slogan “One

Country, One Election,” branding it as a conspiracy to undermine democracy. The General Secretary emphasised that the Constitution guarantees the right to vote for all adults who have reached the age of 18. He argued that the right to vote

is a constitutional right, yet the Election Commission is allegedly compromising this right at the BJP’s behest. He asserted that the primary goal of the Communist Party of India (CPI) is to remove the BJP from power at the na-

tional level, adopting the slogan “Save the Country, Remove BJP.” He called for a united effort from the Grand Alliance to oust the BJP-JDU government in Bihar, stressing the importance of strong unity to eradicate the NDA from power. The CPI in Bihar is a robust party with significant public support. It represents the interests of workers and farmers and seeks revolutionary change.

He noted that attacks on women, Dalits, tribals, and minorities have increased under the BJP government, which he claims promotes casteism and communalism. He called for the defeat of the BJP-RSS alliance and emphasised the need to strengthen the Communist Party of India. He urged the party to expand its presence in both rural and urban areas, stating, “Bihar must become

the number one party in the country.” He insisted that the CPI should secure respectable positions within the Grand Alliance and have a strong representation in the Bihar Assembly while intensifying their struggle.

The organisational session commenced on Tuesday, marking the second day of the state conference. The agenda included the condolence letter, political proposal, political review report, and organisational report. Discussions on these reports have also begun. The organisational session was addressed by National Secretary Nagendra Nath Ojha, National Secretary Dr. Girish Chandra Sharma, National Secretary Pallab Sen Gupta, and State Secretary Ramnaresh Pandey, among others.

P. P. H. PUBLICATIONS

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Rising up to Fight against Genocide

Palestinians, amidst blocking humanitarian aid, bombing hospitals, and even shooting at civilians, queued for food distribution. These developments, combined with a growing global campaign against the settler-colonial government in Tel Aviv, are now shaping the responses of governments that once sided with Israel.

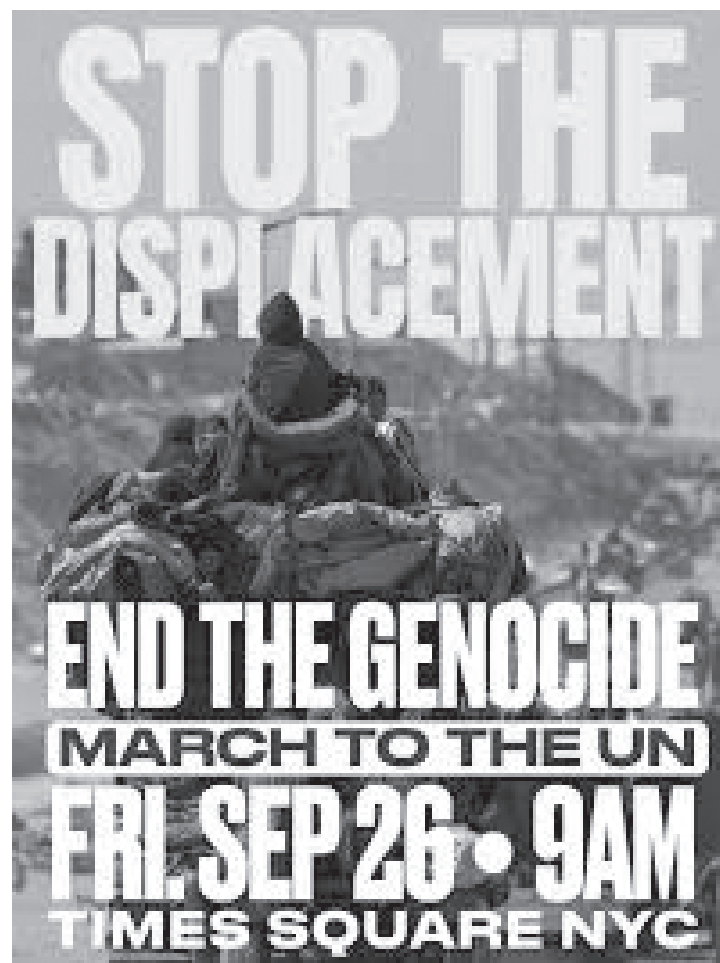
With no accountability in sight, Netanyahu's government faces increasing diplomatic isolation, eroding what remains of its credibility. Palestine and Gaza have become mainstream issues not only in Europe but also within the United States itself. This is why September has become such a crucial turning point. Under the rules of the United Nations, the Unit-

ing for Peace mechanism authorises the UN General Assembly (UNGA) to act when the Security Council is blocked by the veto of a permanent member. Through this mechanism, the UNGA could mandate the deployment of a UN protection force to Palestine – to safeguard civilians, ensure humanitarian aid, preserve evidence of war crimes, and support recovery and reconstruction.

The upcoming deadline set by the UN General Assembly last year for Israeli compliance with the orders and findings of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) – with a promise of “further measures” in the event of non-compliance – marks a critical moment for action. Indeed, the time for interven-

tion is long overdue. In this context, Belgium has announced it will recognise a Palestinian state at the UNGA this month, alongside France, Britain, Canada, and Australia. Belgium also plans to impose twelve sanctions on Israel, including a ban on all products from illegal settlements in the West Bank and a review of public procurement policies involving Israeli companies.

Gaza is at a flashpoint – a moment of reckoning when history convulses for the Palestinian people, yet equally charged with the potential to transform, to dismantle a genocidal settler state that wages an incessant campaign of racist violence and destruction.



On Record ...

11 migrant workers from India allege that they have been stranded in Oman with their passports confiscated by their employers upon refusing to continue to work round the clock without being paid. At present, the employers have withheld their passports and have forced them out of their accommodations. “We have been living in the mosques, and eating the left-over food in the restaurants in the area. We just want our salaries and passports so that we can go home,” said Das. On August 26, we asked the employers for our rightful pay and that we did not want to work beyond our contract of working for 10 hours,” said Mr. Sheikh. On listening to their demands, the employers threatened them that if they stopped working, not only would they lose out on their pay but also be thrown out of their official accommodation, said the workers. – *The Hindu*, September 11.

The Supreme Court hailed the stability of the Indian Constitution's framework, underlining its significance at a time when neighbouring states like Nepal and Bangladesh have witnessed violent political turmoil. “We are proud of our Constitution... when we see whatever is happening in neighbouring states, like what happened in Nepal yesterday,” CJI B R Gavai said. The CJI-led five-judge Constitution bench, also comprising Justices Surya Kant, Vikram Nath, P S Narasimha and A S Chandurkar, is hearing the reference made by President Droupadi Murmu in the wake of the top court fixing time limits for President and Governors to act on bills submitted by state legislatures. The remarks came during a discussion on whether

MUMBAI MERI JAAN BY MANJUL



the parties should be allowed to rely on empirical data on the status of various Bills submitted to Governors. – *The Indian Express*, September 11.

Over the years, Kerala's infant mortality rate has gone down due to the sustained efforts in the health sector. Kerala's infant mortality rate is down to 5 per 1,000 live births, according to the Sample Registration System (SRS) Statistical Report-2023. The report, released earlier this week, says that the national average is 25 per 1000 live births. Citing the report, Kerala health minister Veena George said that the state's infant mortality

rate is lower than that of the US, which has a rate of 5.6 infant deaths per 1000 live births in 2022. “There is a wide gap in the infant mortality rate between the rural and urban areas in the country. The rate in the rural areas is 28, while that in urban areas is 19. But in Kerala, there is no urban-rural difference in the infant mortality rate. This shows that people in Kerala can access health care services without any urban-rural divide,” she said. Over the years, Kerala's infant mortality rate has gone down due to the sustained efforts in the health sector.. – *The Indian Express*, September 6.

– Compiled by C. Adhikesavan

Karnataka CPI Concludes State Conference With a Resolve to Fight against Communalism

Harish Bala

KALABURAGI: The conference of Karnataka state unit of the Communist Party of India concluded with a clarion call to reorganize the party and going to the masses.

It is in the context of Kalaburagi, a city of secular values, where famous religious structures like Khwaja Banda Nawaz Dargah, Sharanabashavehwara temple and Buddha Vihar co-existed peacefully, but witnessed recently the extreme suffering of communal barbarity and chaos.

The 24th state conference of the CPI, held in the city of Kalaburagi on August 30, 31 and September, started with a vibrant rally in which



CPI Karnataka State Secretary Saathi Sundaresh addressing the state Conference

Prior to the rally, a district wide jatha under the theme secularism and save Constitution was held for a week.

Ramzan Dargah, who is also the chairman of the conference reception committee, inaugurated the public meet-

over the meeting.

Next day, delegate session started with the party flag being hoisted by senior leader and veteran doctor Dr. Sampath Rao. The delegate session was inaugurated by Azeez Pasha. Amarjeet Kaur presented the political draft resolution in detail. CPI Telangana state assistant secretary TSrinivasa Rao greeted the conference. From various districts, 140 delegates came and took part in the proceedings of the conference.

Saathi Sundaresh placed the political, organizational

and work reports, on which delegates discussed thoroughly.

On the last day, state council was elected by the conference which on its turn, elected Saathi Sundaresh as the state secretary for the third time. Shivraj Biradar was elected as the treasurer.

Many political and organizational resolutions were passed in the conference and concluded with the renewed zeal and hope to reach the masses, politicise them and strengthen and build up the organisation.



thousands of CPI comrades marched under the shadow of red flags which they carried on their shoulders. The rally was inaugurated by senior high court advocate and senior party leader Vilas Kumar.

The jatha culminated at the starting point of the rally by handing over the preamble of the Constitution.

After the rally, a public meeting was held. Senior journalist and intellectual

ing. CPI National Secretariat members Azeez Pasha, Amarjeet Kaur, senior leaders Dr. Siddanagouda Patil, R.K. Hudugi, Maruti Gokhale addressed the meeting. CPI Karnataka State Secretary Saathi Sundaresh presided

