

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

Central Committee

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Report on Political Developments

(Adopted at the Central Committee meeting held on September 13-15 at New Delhi)

International

Some major developments have taken place both globally and within our country since the last meeting of our Central Committee held on 3–5 June 2025. The basic conclusions reached at our 24th Congress remain valid, and the intervening developments have only confirmed the correctness of those conclusions.

- 1. The Israeli genocidal aggression against Palestine, backed by imperialist forces, has intensified. The Israeli Defence Forces are moving to occupy Gaza, devastating Gaza city completely. At the same time, Israeli settlers are being encouraged to seize land in the West Bank.
- 2. The United States has made some attempts to end the war in Ukraine, but without success. Any real effort toward peace will only succeed if NATO's expansion is reversed and the military build-up on both sides is withdrawn.
- 3. New flashpoints are emerging as a result of US efforts to impose its hegemony on various countries, particularly in Latin America. Venezuela is now being targeted.
- 4. The US is increasingly using tariffs as a weapon to coerce countries into accepting its conditions for trade.
- 5. Efforts to strengthen multilateralism are continuing. The recent BRICS Plus and SCO summits are indicators of this trend.
- 6. The global economy continues to remain in crisis, and all attempts by imperialist forces to reinforce their hegemony are not succeeding.

Geopolitical Flash-points

West Asia: Israel is continuing its genocidal aggression against Palestine. In talks between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and US President Donald Trump, their intention to evacuate Palestinians from Gaza and occupy the territory was made explicit. The complicity of the US in redrawing the map of West Asia and consolidating its hegemony is evident in its unwavering support for Israel. The US has also carried out bombings in Iran in support of Israel. Claims that Iran's nuclear sites have been completely destroyed are hotly disputed, with many concluding that the US has failed to achieve this objective. These attacks, including the targeted killings of Iranian nuclear scientists and military officials, are likely to intensify Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons.

Israel is relentlessly bombing Gaza while giving Israeli settlers a free hand to attack Palestinians in the West Bank and seize their land. It is blocking all forms of humanitarian aid from entering Gaza, where starvation has become rampant, with daily reports of children and the elderly dying from hunger. The United Nations has declared the onset of famine in Gaza. Attacks on journalists reporting from the ground have intensified in recent days. Hospitals are being bombed, and the entire Gaza city has been reduced to rubble.

By violating international laws and diplomatic norms, Israel attacked Qatar, which is hosting ceasefire talks. This yet again demonstrates that Israel is acting as a rogue state opposed to peace in the region and unwilling to accept any ceasefire proposals. For the first time, the UAE, which had been playing an important role in mediating, condemned the attacks on the West Bank. It even warned that the Abraham Accords could be jeopardized if Israel continues its aggression and if the United States fails to restrain it. The fact remains that the Arab States, most of whom are aligned with the US, have failed to act to protect the interests of Palestinians.

Trump–Putin Summit: US President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin met in Alaska to discuss the war in Ukraine. The three-hour meeting ended without any formal agreement. However, the US President announced that "substantial progress" had been made and stated that it is now up to the President of Ukraine and the European countries to ensure the war ends and peace is restored. This was followed by Trump meeting Zelensky, the president of Ukraine, along with leaders of various European countries.

Twenty-six European countries have pledged to guarantee Ukraine's security and are now calling on the US to act as a guarantor. The US declared that it would not supply arms to Ukraine; instead, EU countries would continue to provide arms and ammunition, purchasing them from the US. At the NATO Summit held in June, to meet this requirement, all member nations decided to increase defence spending to 2 per cent of GDP by the end of this year and to 5 per cent by 2035.

Russia has repeatedly declared that it would view the presence of NATO forces in Ukraine as a provocation. The only path to ending the war lies in addressing its root cause – the eastward expansion of NATO – and in halting the supply of arms to Ukraine by the US and the EU.

US Threats to Venezuela: The US has positioned military ships near Venezuela under the pretext of combating narcotics, while in reality aiming at political and economic intervention. Bolivarian Venezuela has long faced US threats for standing up against imperialism. This violation of Venezuela's sovereignty must be condemned. US forces should be withdrawn immediately, and the illegal sanctions must be lifted.

Civil War in Sudan: The ongoing civil war in Sudan has claimed an estimated 150,000 lives and displaced nearly 13 million people, the majority of whom are working-class and poor. The conflict has left 70 to 80 percent of health facilities non-operational. The working class has borne the brunt of the violence, including targeted massacres based on ethnicity. Both armed factions must be held accountable for crimes such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, and sexual violence. Imperialist powers are also fueling the war in their bid to control Sudan's resources, with devastating consequences for peace and sovereignty across Africa.

Steps towards Multilateralism

Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) Meet: The SCO convened on 31 August and 1 September in Tianjin and issued a joint declaration condemning Israeli aggression in Gaza, as well as terrorist attacks in Pahalgam and Baluchistan. The declaration also denounced the US imposition of tariffs on various countries and its attempts to pressure nations into severing ties with Russia. China proposed the establishment of an SCO bank to serve the interests of the Global South. The SCO further called for strengthening multilateralism, adherence to international law, efforts to end conflicts, and the establishment of peace.

The SCO's approach to international issues, and the coming together of China, Russia, and India, was viewed positively by many countries in the Global South. However, it remains to be seen how far the Indian government will adhere to its commitments to strengthen multilateralism and stand with the Global South in protecting their collective interests.

The angry reaction of US President Donald Trump to the SCO meeting, claiming that these states were 'conspiring' against the US, reveals the discomfiture it caused in Washington. The US is deeply unhappy that China and Russia are emerging as rallying points for many countries dissatisfied with American hegemony.

BRICS Plus The BRICS Plus countries are consolidating trade and other forms of cooperation among themselves, reflecting a shift towards a multipolar world in which US hegemony, though still strong, is facing challenges. The growing influence of BRICS Plus in the current world order has unnerved the US, which responded by imposing steep tariffs: 50 percent on Brazil, 50 percent on India, and 30 percent on South Africa. President Trump views the BRICS grouping as a direct challenge to US dominance and has threatened to impose a blanket 10 percent tariff on all BRICS countries and on those trading with them, if they move toward de-dollarisation. Additionally, Brazil was targeted with a 50 percent tariff after its Justice Department initiated proceedings against former president Jair Bolsonaro.

Global Economy

The global economy continues to face significant headwinds. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) projects that world merchandise trade will grow by only 0.9 percent in 2025, compared to the earlier estimate of 2.7 percent. These economic challenges are further exacerbated by the US tariff war, which is creating policy uncertainty and restricting market access. Developing and least developed countries are the most adversely affected by this uncertainty.

US Tariffs as a Weapon: US President Donald Trump continues to threaten countries that refuse to accept US's terms of trade with punitive tariffs. Letters were sent to various governments warning that tariffs would be imposed beginning 1 August 2025 if they failed to conclude trade agreements favourable to US interests. In a clear display of imperial arrogance, Trump threatened to impose 100 percent tariffs on Russia, as well as on countries trading with Russia, if a peace deal with Ukraine is not signed within 50 days. Despite the Indian government's willingness to compromise and open multiple sectors, the US nevertheless imposed 50 percent tariffs on India.

Trade Deal with the EU: The European Union, the United States' largest trading partner, was coerced into signing a trade deal. Under the agreement, the US will impose a 15 percent tariff on most EU imports – lower than the 30 percent it had threatened, but higher than the previous 10 percent and far above the negligible tariffs in place at the start of the year. This marks a historically high tariff rate on EU imports. The deal also commits the EU to

purchase \$750 billion worth of US energy, including oil, gas, and nuclear fuel over a three-year period. This is one of the mechanisms through which the US seeks to force European countries to buy its costly fuel instead of cheaper Russian alternatives. Additionally, the EU pledged \$600 billion in new investments in the United States.

US-China Trade Relations: The United States and China have yet to reach a trade deal. The existing tariffs were extended for another 90 days to prevent a sharp escalation. One of the key issues under discussion is soybean trade. In July, China reduced its imports of US soybeans by 11.5 percent compared to the previous year, while increasing imports from Brazil by 13.9 percent. Before the 2018, the US was China's largest soybean supplier. At present, China maintains a 10 percent tariff on US soybeans in retaliation for US tariffs on Chinese imports. Against all projections, China's GDP grew by 5.3 per cent in the first half of 2025.

As of May 2025, China has also stopped purchasing crude oil from the US. Instead, it has sharply increased imports from Russia, with Chinese purchases of Russian crude rising 16.8 percent year-on-year in July, making Russia the country's largest oil supplier. Imports of Saudi crude have also risen significantly.

New Forms of Economic Control in the US: In mid-August, the US government acquired a 10 percent stake in the country's largest semiconductor producer, which has been losing market share to foreign competitors. Under the Biden-era CHIPS Act, the government had promised the company grants and loans of up to \$20 billion to boost domestic investment. These measures, along with subsidies for other firms, were intended to revitalize US chipmaking and reduce dependence on Asia.

The administration also approved the Japanese takeover of an American steel company, but only after the firm issued a 'golden share' to the US government, giving it influence over key decisions. In addition, the Pentagon has taken a 15 per cent stake in a company that produces minerals essential for high-strength magnets. The US further allowed two domestic tech companies to sell advanced technology to China on the condition that a share of the revenue be transferred to the US government. Washington is now considering the creation of a Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF) to channel public investments into strategically important sectors in order to strengthen the economy.

Meanwhile, the US President has been pressuring the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates and align monetary policy with his administration's agenda. Since the Fed's Board of Governors has resisted, he has moved against them, undermining the supposed independence of the central bank. His decision to remove one of the directors is currently being challenged in court. By appointing replacements, Trump aims to secure enough loyal voices on the seven-member board to shift interest rate policy in his preferred direction.

All these moves show that the US State is mobilising public resources to enrich the private sector and safeguard its economic interests. After the experience of corporate bailouts during the 2008-09 financial crisis, which failed to fully resolve the underlying problems, a slightly different approach is now being adopted.

The Growth of Far-Right: A massive rally was organised by far-right groups in the UK against immigration. This followed the rape of a woman of Punjabi origin, a UK citizen, by two white racists who threatened her to leave the country immediately. Such incidents highlight the growing influence of right-wing forces in the UK. They also reflect the failure

of the Labour Party, which came to power by defeating the Conservatives with promises of alternative economic and social policies but has been unable to deliver.

For the first time in 15 years, there is no Left candidate contesting the presidential election in Bolivia. This is a major setback for the Left in Latin America. The contest is now between right-wing and center-right forces. Combined with increased US targeting, these developments are allowing the Right to gain ground across the region.

In the US, far-right forces are mobilising in large numbers and justifying racist attacks against African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and other immigrant communities. Recently, Punjabi truck drivers were attacked in one such incident. These forces have also defended the killings of African Americans and criticised the few judges who sentenced the perpetrators. Furthermore, the killing of far-right influencer Charlie Kirk is being used by the US State to target the Left and progressive movements, despite emerging evidence that he may have been assassinated either by someone formerly linked to the Republican Party or by an individual with no ties to the Left or progressives.

Protests: Massive working-class protests took place across the **US** on Labour Day against the policies of the Trump administration. They reflected widespread anger at Trump's economic policies as well as his support for far-right groups targeting immigrants and Israel in its genocidal aggression on Gaza.

In **France**, protests erupted against the austerity measures proposed in the budget, which eventually led to the resignation of the French Prime Minister.

Pubic sector workers in **Greece** organised a strike against the anti-worker policies of the Conservative government.

In **Brazil**, workers held a massive protest rally against Trump's intervention in the country's internal affairs, following his decision to impose 50 percent tariffs as an action against Jair Bolsonaro's conviction for an attempted coup.

In **Indonesia** there were protests by the youth against the government policies.

Turmoil in Nepal: Massive protests, predominantly led by youth (Gen Z), shook Nepal. Although the immediate trigger was the government's decision to ban social media platforms, deep-rooted discontent had been brewing among the people for years. The CPN-UML—Nepali Congress coalition government, led by KP Oli, was accused of incompetence and insensitivity. The authorities responded with brutal force against the demonstrators, leaving nearly 50 people dead, including 20 killed in a single day of police firing. Protesters set fire to the parliament building, Supreme Court and the homes of political leaders, including those of the president and prime minister.

Back in 2008, people participated in the anti-monarchy struggle with the hope that land reforms would be implemented and feudal oppression eliminated. They voted overwhelmingly for communist parties – the CPN-UML and the CPN-Maoist Centre – expecting improvements in their living conditions. However, since the overthrow of the monarchy, Nepal has seen 14 different governments in just 17 years. The repeated failure of successive governments to resolve longstanding issues became the primary reason for the current unrest. On top of this, widespread corruption and opportunism within mainstream political parties fueled public frustration. A lack of employment opportunities has also forced many Nepalis to migrate abroad in search of work.

Right-wing forces, particularly pro-monarchy, royalists and groups linked to the RSS, actively exploited this discontent. They consistently campaigned against Nepal's secular, democratic, and republican constitution. The government's ban on social media finally ignited the simmering anger, leading to unprecedented upheaval. The army was compelled to intervene and play a role in the formation of a government.

Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sushila Karki was sworn in as interim prime minister after the president dissolved parliament and announced new elections within six months. However, some political parties objected to the dissolution, arguing it contradicted an earlier constitutional interpretation of the Supreme Court. They are indirectly against fresh elections and insist that a new government should be formed through the existing parliament. This stance, however, does not enjoy broad public support. Meanwhile, there are growing concerns about external forces attempting to exploit Nepal's fragile situation, a possibility that cannot be dismissed.

Climate Change

COP30 Preparations: Preparations for the UN's COP30 climate summit, scheduled to be held in Belém, Brazil, in late 2025, are underway. A series of sub-topic meetings are being held in different locations to lay the groundwork for the main summit. Developed countries are engaging in intense maneuvering to impose their agenda on developing nations and evade their own responsibilities. Meanwhile, various countries are drafting new Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), which will form the basis of negotiations.

Extreme Weather Events: In recent months, major hurricanes, wildfires, and floods have struck many parts of the world, testing the response capacities of governments. These disasters are pushing climate adaptation and disaster relief to the top of the political agenda in the affected countries.

National Situation

Some of the main features of recent developments within our country are:

- 1. The BJP-led Union government continues to pursue an aggressive neoliberal agenda.
- 2. The Union government is making every effort to appease the US, but without success. In response, it is attempting to signal that unless some of its concerns are addressed, it may be compelled to explore alternative multilateral options such as the SCO and BRICS.
- 3. Constitutional authorities, such as the Election Commission of India (ECI), are furthering the RSS agenda, as evident in the recent SIR in Bihar.
- 4. The RSS and its affiliate organisations are once again attempting to rake up the issues of Kashi and Mathura in order to divert public attention from the failures of BJP-led governments.
- 5. Opposition to the BJP government's policies is growing, reflected most recently in the successful conduct of the General Strike on 9 July.
- 6. The INDIA bloc met after a long gap.

Strengthening Authoritarianism

SIR: The Election Commission ordered a Special Intensive Revision (SIR) of the electoral rolls in Bihar. The entire process has been fraught with violations, resulting in many citizens being stripped of their constitutionally guaranteed right to vote. The EC now seeks to extend this exercise across the country. In the name of revising the electoral rolls, the EC is appropriating the authority to verify the citizenship of voters, which is outside its constitutional remit. Under the pretext of weeding out foreigners from the electoral rolls, they are attempting to disenfranchise vast sections of minorities and other select groups. The NRC exercise, which was widely opposed by the people before the Covid pandemic, is sought to be enforced surreptitiously through the back door. Having consistently acted in favor of the BJP-led government, the EC has now become complicit in advancing the RSS/Sangh Parivar agenda.

The Supreme Court has directed the Election Commission to publish the list of all 6.5 million persons removed from the electoral rolls during the SIR, along with the reasons for their deletion. This is a welcome development, given the EC's lack of transparency throughout the process. Researchers have highlighted that a significant proportion of those disenfranchised belong to minority communities, women, and poor households. Widespread discontent has emerged in Bihar, and all opposition parties have united in opposing the exercise, which was carried out in great haste.

The partisan character of the EC – a constitutional body, which is implementing the RSS's agenda, must be exposed by campaigning among the people and mobilising them. This attack on democratic rights must not be allowed, and people should be mobilised against the gradual conversion of the EC into an institution that furthers the RSS agenda.

Protests against the SIR have rocked Parliament and outside, including in Delhi. It is welcome that all the opposition parties came together to oppose the SIR and for the protection of the peoples' right to vote. The INDIA bloc reconvened after a long gap to discuss a joint stand on this issue, marking a positive development. The Mahagatbandhan organised a 16-day *Voter Adhikar Yatra* across 25 districts of Bihar, culminating in a massive public rally in Patna on 1 September.

The Supreme Court has directed the EC to consider Aadhar Card as a valid document for voter registration. We should be vigilant to ensure that this direction is implemented and no eligible voter is disenfranchised.

Maharashtra Bill on Public Security: The Maharashtra Public Security Bill, passed by the BJP government, represents a serious assault on the democratic rights of the people. Under the pretext of combating so-called 'extreme Left-wing forces', the bill seeks to portray all voices of dissent as threats to public safety and national security. The definitions of 'extreme Left-wing forces' and similar organisations are left deliberately vague, creating wide scope for targeting political opponents. There is a grave danger that the bill's stringent provisions will be misused to curb dissent and silence opposition.

Anti-Democratic Bills: The BJP government has introduced three bills that would allow the removal of the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, and other ministers after 30 days in custody. These bills highlight the government's anti-democratic tendency to bypass established legal procedures. In the past, the BJP has repeatedly sought to single out so-called 'heinous acts' in order to impose blanket legislation and avoid judicial scrutiny. Given the neo-fascistic tendencies of the present government, such provisions are bound to be weaponised against

opposition-led state governments. This move strikes at the very system of checks and balances that is essential to any democracy.

Inconsistency of Judiciary: In recent times, there has been growing concern over the inconsistency of the judiciary in several important cases.

Denial of Bail: The Delhi High Court has once again denied bail to Umar Khalid, Sharjeel Imam, and eight others. They have been in detention for over five years under the draconian UAPA, accused of being linked to the alleged 'conspiracy' behind the February 2020 communal riots in Delhi. This is the fifth time their bail applications have been rejected during this period. What makes this even more disturbing is that charges have still not been formally framed against them. The Delhi High Court's decision represents a travesty of justice.

Acquittal of Malegaon Blasts Accused: The NIA trial court acquitted all the accused in the Malegaon blasts case for lack of evidence. This represents a gross failure on the part of the prosecution and the government, which failed to effectively present the case and argue for conviction. Instead of appealing the verdict, the Maharashtra state government chose not to, given that the accused were Hindutva extremist elements.

By contrast, the same state government reacted differently to the Bombay High Court verdict in the 2006 Mumbai train blasts case. In that case, where the accused were mostly Muslims, the government immediately appealed to the Supreme Court and obtained a stay on the High Court's order.

This contrast clearly exposes the communal bias of the BJP-led Maharashtra government. Public opinion must be mobilised to ensure that an appeal against the NIA court's order in the Malegaon blasts case is filed before the Supreme Court, so that the accused can be properly tried and convicted.

Unwarranted Remarks: It has now become a recurring problem that some judges are making unwarranted oral observations about parties appearing before them. Such remarks expose judicial bias and unnecessarily influence public perception. In one case, involving the Mumbai Police's denial of permission to organise a protest against Israeli aggression in Palestine, the Bombay High Court made unwarranted remarks against our Party, though these did not appear in the written order. When the Party again approached the Court after repeated denials of permission by the police, the Court corrected its earlier stance and directed the police to allow the demonstration.

Jammu and Kashmir: In a media interview, the Lt Governor of Jammu and Kashmir admitted that the terrorist attack in Pahalgam was the result of a security failure. As a Union Territory, J&K is directly administered by the Centre, with even the elected Chief Minister barred from participating in discussions and decisions on security, law, and order. This admission of a security lapse is, in effect, an admission of the failure of the Union Home Minister, who holds direct responsibility. The government must be held accountable for such a serious lapse, and action should be taken against those responsible.

Instead, the Lt. Governor has sought to undermine the functioning of the elected state government. Acting at the behest of the Centre, he is attempting to distort the history of J&K's liberation struggle against the erstwhile Maharaja. The cancellation of the holiday commemorating the sacrifice of 22 martyrs who fought against feudal rule, and its replacement with a holiday marking the birthday of the Maharaja, who repressed peasants

and crushed opposition, is a step in this direction. Leaders of various political parties, including the Chief Minister, were even prevented from paying homage to the martyrs. This represents a grave attack on democratic rights and on the federal structure.

It has now been five years since the abrogation of Article 370 and the bifurcation of the state into Union Territories. None of the stated objectives have been achieved. The Union government has failed to eliminate terrorism or provide security to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Over these five years of direct central rule, the democratic rights of the people of J&K have been systematically trampled. There is widespread discontent and anger across all regions — Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh — as none of the promised development has materialised. People must be mobilised to demand the restoration of statehood and autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir.

It is particularly unfortunate that the Supreme Court, instead of holding the Union government accountable for failing to honour its promise of restoring statehood within six months, chose to observe that 'this is not the time' to discuss statehood in light of the Pahalgam attack.

Deportation of Bengalis: Reports from several states indicate targeted attacks on Bengalispeaking people, particularly Bengali Muslims, following 'Operation Sindoor'. In BJP-ruled states such as Delhi, Odisha, Assam, Haryana, and Maharashtra, Bengalis are being identified and branded as Bangladeshis without proper verification of documents or adherence to due process. Many are being detained by the police and subjected to inhumane abuse and torture. There have also been instances of people, including Indian citizens, being forcibly pushed back to Bangladesh, both overland and by sea. The Party should intervene to oppose these targeted attacks on Bengalis across the country.

Evictions in Assam: The Assam state government is evicting a large number of people from their rightful lands. The Chief Minister has publicly boasted about these evictions, using them to further communal polarisation. Recent reports highlighting rich mineral resources beneath these lands, coupled with the government's eagerness to allow private corporations to exploit them, point to an additional motive behind the evictions. The BJP and RSS are attempting to exploit ethnic differences across various North Eastern states to create divisions and consolidate their dominance. Such actions threaten the unity and integrity of the country, particularly in a region that shares extensive international borders.

Immigration and Foreigners Bill: The Union government pushed through the *Immigration and Foreigners Act, 2025* in the Budget session, bulldozing Parliament to impose a law that strikes at the heart of constitutional protections. By repealing four earlier legislations – the Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920, the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939, the Foreigners Act, 1946, and the Immigration (Carriers' Liability) Act, 2000 – the government has concentrated unprecedented power in the hands of immigration officers. Under this law, an officer's decision on whether a person can enter, stay in, or leave the country is deemed "final and binding," shutting the door on any meaningful right to appeal. In effect, it hands unchecked authority to unelected officials for blatant misuse. This opens the door to arbitrary deportations, racial profiling, and the systematic harassment of migrants, refugees, and even long-settled communities. By criminalising the vulnerable and silencing due process, the law risks targeting minorities, dissenters, and political opponents under the guise of 'immigration control'. Far from being a reform, this law is a dangerous tool designed to advance the communal and authoritarian agenda of the RSS-BJP combine. In its

current form, the *Immigration and Foreigners Act*, 2025 erodes constitutional guarantees, weakening India's long-standing commitments to justice, equality and human dignity.

Manipur: The Prime Minister's recent visit to Manipur comes more than two years after the outbreak of ethnic violence between the Meitei and Kuki communities in May 2023. The visit, delayed and largely symbolic, has done little to address the deep humanitarian crisis on the ground. While government announcements included new development projects and the promise of housing for displaced families, these measures fall far short of addressing the urgent need for justice, security, and reconciliation.

As of September 2025, approximately 57,000 people remain internally displaced, forced to live in more than 280 relief camps. Many families continue to face inadequate access to food, healthcare and education. The destruction of homes and livelihoods has left entire communities vulnerable and marginalised. Despite a government-announced three-phase rehabilitation plan, the majority of those displaced have yet to return to their homes.

The continuing division of the state underscores the government's failure to protect people and uphold constitutional rights. The absence of credible accountability mechanisms has entrenched impunity for those responsible for violence and displacement. Without urgent intervention ensuring protection, redressal and justice – Manipur will permanently remain fractured along ethnic lines.

Communal Polarisation

PM's Independence Day Speech: In his Independence Day address, the Prime Minister praised the RSS on its centenary, an attempt to legitimise an organisation that played no role in the Indian freedom struggle. Alongside the reforms he announced, he also declared the formation of a 'Demographic Mission', which will be used to target and harass Muslim minorities under the pretext of identifying infiltrators. This initiative seeks to validate the RSS narrative that portrays all Muslims as infiltrators who must be pushed out of the country.

Incendiary Remarks of the RSS Chief: In a three-day address before a select audience in Delhi, RSS Sarsanghchalak Mohan Bhagwat sought to reignite the Mathura and Kashi disputes. He demanded that Muslims 'give away' the mosques in these two locations as a precondition for 'brotherhood'. However, after the demolition of the Babri Masjid, an act in which the RSS was complicit, the Parliament passed a law prohibiting the alteration of any place of worship that existed before 1947. Under this law, the status quo must be maintained in Mathura, Kashi, and all other places of worship, regardless of the claims made by majoritarian communal forces. These remarks demonstrate the RSS's resolve and intent to move towards the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra and its objective of dismantling the secular State.

They are also intended to provoke communal passions, divert public attention, and polarise society along religious lines. Bhagwat's remarks reflect the RSS's disregard for the Indian Constitution and their violation of the law of the land.

The RSS chief is deliberately raking up these divisive issues to shield the BJP government from public anger ahead of the upcoming elections. Historically, the RSS and its affiliated organisations have repeatedly incited communal divisions whenever they seek to distract people from worsening economic conditions.

Attacks on Women, Dalits and Adivasis: Attacks on women, Dalits, and Adivasis in various parts of the country, particularly in BJP-ruled states, are continuing with increasing intensity. The recent Dharmasthala mass-burial allegations in Karnataka are a horrific example, where over many years bodies of murder victims were disposed, some showing signs of sexual assault. In West Bengal, protests demanding justice continue over the rape and murder of a 31-year-old trainee doctor at RG Kar Medical College. Another case recently involves a 24-year-old law college student who was gang-raped on her college campus in Kolkata. There are concerns that authorities are trying to cover up evidence. These incidents show a pattern of violence and institutional failure. It is necessary for us to extend our full support to the victims, demand impartial investigations and ensure that perpetrators are punished.

Kerala Governor's Actions: The Governor of Kerala is misusing his constitutional office to promote the RSS and its Hindutva ideology. At public functions organised by the Raj Bhavan, he has deliberately displayed maps of Akhand Bharat and images of Bharat Mata, symbols that have no constitutional recognition. He openly defies the advice of the elected LDF government and refuses to conduct official events in accordance with constitutional norms. Through these actions, he is actively encouraging the RSS and its affiliated organisations to undermine the secular values upheld by the LDF government. Demonstrations organised by the student organisations have effectively countered these attempts.

Meanwhile, the BJP-led central government is refusing to allow the Kerala government to withdraw its petitions from the Supreme Court following its judgment on the powers of governors. The petitions have now become infructuous, as the ruling has implications for all states, not just Tamil Nadu. The intention of the Governor and the central government is to prolong the litigation and ensure that universities continue to operate without regular vice-chancellors, who should be appointed through due process. The Kerala High Court has also criticised the Governor for failing to appoint regular VCs. This represents a deliberate attempt to discredit and undermine Kerala's higher education system.

The Union government's *Setubandha Vidwan Yojana* allows students who have spent at least five years in traditional Gurukuls to apply for research fellowships (PG and PhD) without needing a formal degree. These Gurukuls are under the Central Sanskrit University's Indian Knowledge Systems (IKS) division, where they are taught subjects such as Sanskrit, Indian philosophy, Ayurveda, Shastras, etc. While the scheme is officially described as a way to bridge ancient learning and modern research, it is being introduced to advance the ideological agenda of organisations aligned with the RSS/BJP. The programme promotes selective religious and caste-based knowledge systems, aligning with the ideological agenda of the RSS, rather than plural, secular education.

Keeladi Archaeological Site Report: The report of the excavations carried out in Keeladi (near Madurai, Tamil Nadu) by archaeologists provides strong evidence of an ancient and advanced civilisation that existed in the region. These findings challenge the Hindutva narrative and the Sangh Parivar's attempts to glorify the Aryans as the original inhabitants of the country and to assert that ancient Indian history begins only with them. In order to fit their distorted interpretation of history, there are attempts to pressure researchers into altering their conclusions and rewriting the report. This is yet another attempt by the RSS/Sangh Parivar to manipulate historical facts to serve their ideological agenda.

Parliament Session: The monsoon session of Parliament witnessed intense protests by all opposition parties. The government refused to allow any discussion on the Special Intensive Revision (SIR) in Bihar. Amid these protests, the Union government pushed through a number of bills, including the Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Amendment Bill, amendments to the Atomic Energy Act and the Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Act, and the Sports Bill, which infringes on the rights of state governments.

The amendment to the Mines and Minerals Act seeks to allow private and foreign players to exploit the country's crucial mineral resources. These legislations are highly detrimental to national interests and must be opposed.

The government's steadfast refusal to allow debate on serious issues reflects its authoritarian character. As a result, many matters that directly affect the people never receive proper discussion in Parliament. The Congress Party as a principal opposition party has to play a role in ensuring that peoples' livelihood concerns are discussed in the Parliament.

Vice-Presidential Election: Following the sudden resignation of Vice President Jagdeep Dhankar, an election was announced to fill the post. The INDIA Bloc convened and decided to field a candidate who is not affiliated with any political party but is a well-known and respected advocate of constitutional values. Accordingly, the name of retired Supreme Court Justice Sudarshan Reddy was proposed. His candidature received support even from parties such as the AAP, which had previously left the INDIA Bloc, making him the candidate of the opposition parties. While the numbers did not favour his election, the contest sent a strong message against the Hindutva communal ideology of the BJP/RSS and their assault on constitutional principles such as democracy, secularism, and equality. There was a some erosion of votes in certain INDIA Bloc parties and the concerned parties should look into it.

Indian Economy: Continuing Neoliberal Attack

In spite of all the government's campaigns, the Indian economy is facing a crisis. Due to the lack of a real increase in wages and persistent inflation, the purchasing power of people remains low. This has affected production, as reflected in the reluctance of Indian companies to invest in production-related activities. Indian corporations are holding Rs 10.7 lakh crore in cash without investing it. Foreign companies have halted projects worth Rs 2 lakh crore in the first quarter of 2025–26, the highest since 2010, according to CMIE data.

Industrial growth slowed to a 10-month low of 1.5 per cent in June 2025, with the mining sector suffering its worst decline in 58 months.

Wages and Unemployment: Growth in wage costs among Nifty 50 companies slowed sharply in the financial year 2025, rising by just 5 percent, the lowest increase in four years. IT companies reported modest or even negative salary growth due to global demand uncertainties and AI-driven restructuring. This slowdown has contributed to a 1.8 percent fall in the Consumer Sentiment Index in August.

The government's Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) for June 2025 shows India's unemployment rate at 5.6 percent, up from 5.1 percent in May. In July, it fell slightly to 5.2 percent. However, the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) reports the unemployment rate at 7.0 percent. CMIE data indicates that 44.5 percent of Indians aged 20-24 are unemployed, despite many holding graduate or postgraduate degrees. According to the *India Skills Report 2025*, only 54.8 percent of Indian graduates are considered employable. Employment in manufacturing, after initially rising from 10.5 percent in 2004

to 12.8 percent in 2012, fell to 11.5 percent in 2024. These figures suggest that official headline numbers obscure the reality and actual joblessness is significantly higher.

The Quarterly Bulletin of Unincorporated Sector Enterprises (QBUSE) reveals that while the number of establishments increased to 79.4 million in April-June 2025 from 78.5 million in the January-March quarter, the number of workers declined to 128.6 million from 131.3 million. At the same time, the percentage of self-employed workers rose to 60.2 per cent from 58.3 per cent. This shows that even a marginal increase in the number of establishments is not generating employment; on the contrary, it is accompanied by job losses.

India's working-age population is expected to increase by at least 12 million per year until 2030. To absorb this growth, approximately 9 million new jobs must be created annually. The impact of tariff increases will be felt most acutely by labour-intensive MSMEs, such as those in the textile sector. With many of these businesses under threat, closures could exacerbate already high unemployment levels. This is a critical issue that demands urgent attention, as youth will be the worst affected.

Tariffs on India: The United States announced 50 percent tariffs on India – 25 percent for failing to reach a trade deal and 25 percent for purchasing oil and gas from Russia. This move is set to severely impact India's agriculture, fisheries, MSMEs, and particularly its textile industry. Halting oil purchases from Russia would further increase inflation, as higher energy costs would push up the prices of all commodities.

When faced with the threat of US tariffs, the BJP-led government reduced its oil imports from Russia in an attempt to appease Washington. According to data, Russian oil accounted for around 33 percent of India's crude imports in July, down from a record 45 percent in June and 43 percent a year earlier. Much of this decline came from cuts by public-sector oil companies such as Indian Oil, Bharat Petroleum, and Hindustan Petroleum. The US aims to have India reduce Russian oil imports and rely more on American energy. In an effort to secure concessions, the government also sought to appease the US by promising a significant increase in defence purchases from US aviation firms.

Since the US was unwilling to grant any concessions, the BJP-led central government once again turned to other developing countries. Consequently, Russian oil purchases rose again in August, as the government failed to meet US demands. However, this does not necessarily indicate a reversal of India's foreign-policy approach, as the government remains committed to hosting the QUAD summit and deepening relations with the United States and Israel.

Free Trade Agreements/Bi-lateral Trade Agreements (FTA/BTA): Reports indicate that India runs trade deficits with five of its seven major-economy FTA partners. The FTA signed with ASEAN has proved detrimental to the country's interests. The government should consult various stakeholders and carefully assess whether these agreements genuinely benefit the people before embarking on a spree of FTA signings. This is especially important as the BJP government is on the verge of concluding FTA/BTA agreements with major economies. In an effort to avoid US-imposed tariffs, the central government has already succumbed to US pressure, opening multiple sectors of the economy to exploitation. The haste to conclude trade deals is resulting in the surrender of national interests in critical areas such as dairy, agriculture, defence, pharmaceuticals, and finance.

FDI in Insurance: On 29 August 2025, the Ministry of Finance notified amendments to the Indian Insurance Companies (Foreign Investment) Rules, 2015. These changes will have profound consequences for policyholders, the national economy, and the public at large. The amendments aim to raise the foreign direct investment (FDI) limit in the insurance sector from 74 per cent to 100 per cent. Such a move could destabilise the domestic insurance industry, as foreign partners could withdraw from joint ventures to run operations independently. Nine foreign insurers have already exited the Indian market, leaving policyholders in uncertainty.

Foreign capital typically seeks higher profits, which could force domestic insurers to focus only on the most lucrative segments, neglecting the insurance needs of lower-middle-class and marginalised communities. The amendments also allow foreign investment proposals in Indian insurance companies to be approved via the automatic route. Automatic FDI entry jeopardises policyholders' privacy and financial security, as the commercial priorities of foreign investors could override public welfare objectives, undermining financial stability and social security. It also facilitates easy repatriation of profits, weakening capital retention and affecting the sector's ability to build long-term reserves for future claims. Furthermore, automatic FDI opens the door to predatory takeovers; globally, foreign insurers have used such mechanisms to acquire stakes in struggling domestic firms at low valuations during economic crises, resulting in a loss of control over vital resources. These amendments should be opposed through an extensive public awareness and mobilisation campaign.

Concessions to Corporates: The Union Cabinet has approved several concessions for Indian corporations in a vain attempt to revive the economy. It has announced the following incentives: an Electronics Components Manufacturing Incentive of Rs 22,911 crore for six years, based on firms' turnover; a Rs 1,500 crore Capital Incentive for critical mineral separation and production from secondary sources of e-waste, in addition to the Rs 16,300 crore approved earlier; and Rs 1,00,000 crore for Employment-Linked Incentive schemes.

The Draft National Telecom Policy (NTP) 2025 proposes incentives for companies to promote fixed-line broadband in rural areas and to support telecom research and development, but it does not address the future of state-owned telecom companies.

These are further examples of the BJP-led government transferring public resources to private corporations. In this way, the BJP is strengthening the Hindutva communal-corporate nexus.

The Union government is facilitating corporate loot by weakening various regulatory and compliance requirements that protect not only workers but also the environment. Immediately after Prime Minister Modi's Independence Day speech, and in line with his push towards aggressive neoliberal policies, NITI Aayog announced the formation of two high-level panels to decriminalise regulatory and compliance requirements. This is a serious blow to the rights of the working class.

GST Rate Revision: The government convened the GST Council and announced a reduction in GST rates on certain goods, along with a reworking of the GST slabs. The reduction on goods and services consumed by common people, including insurance policies, is a welcome step. The government must ensure that the benefits of this reduction reach consumers rather than corporations. However, luxury goods should be taxed at higher rates as part of a progressive tax policy. Additionally, the Union government should compensate the states for any resultant loss of revenue. A differential approach must also be maintained

between large corporations and the MSME sector, with adequate safeguards to protect the interests of small and medium entrepreneurs.

July 9th General Strike: Reports indicate that the General Strike called by the ten central trade unions and various all-India federations was a resounding success. Farmers and agricultural workers, led by their respective organisations, have also joined these protests in large numbers. In many places, Party units actively participated in solidarity activities and mobilised people. In the upcoming Central Committee meeting, we need to review the General Strike, particularly the involvement of Party cadre and members.

Natural Disasters: The natural disasters that happened in the Himalayas – in Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and in Jammu and Kashmir, are a result of the environmental destruction that is taking place in the name of unbridled and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources. Hundreds of people lost their lives in these disasters.

Future Tasks

- 1. An extensive campaign against Trump's tariff terrorism should be carried out in the last week of September. The campaign should expose the BJP-led Union government's surrender before the US. Leaflets, pamphlets, and other materials should be published and distributed among the people. The Agit-Prop sub-committee will prepare the pamphlet and send it to the states for the campaign.
- 2. A Palestine solidarity campaign should be conducted through extensive activities across the country. Large public meetings should be organised in all state capitals, involving different political parties, organisations, artists, and individuals willing to join the solidarity movement. The pro-Israel policy of the BJP government should be exposed.
- 3. All state committees should take up people's livelihood issues and conduct agitations and struggles.