

Proletarian Era

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Long Live Great Mao Zedong



26.12.1893 - 09.09.1976

"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie...Revisionism is the denial of the necessity for the proletariat to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie; revisionism is the form bourgeois ideology takes on within the ranks of the revolutionaries...it is the denial of the necessity for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; it is the denial of the necessity of protracted class struggle throughout the entire period of socialist transformation of society... Marx and Engels opposed reformist elements in the German Social-Democratic Party, Lenin struggled against the Mensheviks in the Russian revolutionary movement and Stalin battled against the Trotskyist defeatists who denied the possibility of sustaining socialist construction within one country." (On Revisionism)

Due to unavoidable circumstances, speech delivered by Comrade Provash Ghosh, our beloved General Secretary, on 5 August last in a meeting in Kolkata commemorating 50th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder of the SUCI(C) and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, could not be published in this issue. It will be published later.

— Editorial team, P. Era

Mammoth students' rally by AIDS0 in Kolkata against anti education policies of BJP government



1 September, Student Martyrs' Day

Gangsterism in Jadavpur University is part of of grandiose design of aggression by the Hindutva brigade

Indeed, we are living in "Amritkal" in which the self-proclaimed nationalists or Rashtrabadis (apologists of Hindutvawadi state) are in command and threatening people to align with them, pending which they would face an ominous future. The ruling dispensation, which is ideologically bankrupt, thrive on utter falsehood, fake promises, flagrant violation of even the basic precepts of democracy, insolent demonstration of muscle power while baring its tooth and claw in increasing dose. Just the other day, we have witnessed how the students and youths protesting in Delhi against repeated leakage of national level competitive examination question papers because of the handiwork of an utterly corrupt coterie thriving with the blessings of the BJP government, were greeted with barricades, batons fitted with iron nails, water cannons, tear gas shells and pellet guns. But unable to cower the indomitable fighting spirit of the protesting students and youths, the rulers were forced to concede to the just demands of the protesters. Perhaps this ignominious defeat at the hands of the fighting younger generation has made the ruling quarter more vengeful. And so, in the name of "connecting with the students", they have rolled out a

plan to forcibly enter the academic institutions known for cultivating free thinking and grab them by taking recourse to reckless violence. So, there is a systematic humbling of every institution in India that still dares to engage in loudly thinking.

Glorious history of Jadavpur University

A glimpse of this calibrated strategy could be had between 19 and 21 August at the Jadavpur University, Kolkata, which was formed during the fermenting period of freedom movement by eminent educationists and true national leaders. In 1906, The National Council of Education (NCE) and the Bengal National College were founded by prominent figures like Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo

Ghosh, and Rash Behari Ghosh to provide independent, self-reliant education free from British control. In 1922, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the then most revered Vice-chancellor of Calcutta University who was often called "Banglar Bagh" ("The Bengal Tiger") for his high self-esteem, courage and academic integrity, laid the foundation stone for the permanent campus on 33 acres of land in Jadavpur. The institution was formally converted into a full state university on 24 December 1955. At present, the university is ranked 1st among State Public Universities and 9th among all universities in India, according to the National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF). This university

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Joint rally of the left parties against saffron terror at Jadavpur University

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continues to be one of the sub-continent's oldest surviving monuments to the idea that education should be fair, public and free from any external encumbrance. Imbued with progressive ideas, cultivation of scientific thought, the student community here is having a dominant left leaning. The rightist politics, let alone arch communal religiously bigoted politics, could never establish a foothold in this academic institution despite many attempts.

But now after managing to occupy the governmental seat in the state, the BJP and the ABVP, the student wing of the RSS, have ganged up to invade and occupy the university campus with direct indulgence from the ruling party leaders and ministers and the police in tow.

Saga of Jadavpur 'tandav'

But it needed a pretext to commence a hooligan operation. Faculty of Engineering and Technology Students Union (FETSU) is an active student body at Jadavpur. Since election to the students' union has long been kept under suspension by the erstwhile TMC government, the old FETSU body is still the officially recognized body. FETSU had called a general body meeting on 19 August evening. It is reported that left-affiliated students and activists of the ABVP — the RSS's decades-old storm troopers for capturing Indian campuses— disagreed over some minor issues. Words became shoves; shoves became blows. And then by midnight, the ruling BJP MLA from the Jadavpur constituency (Jadavpur University, incidentally, does not fall under the Jadavpur Assembly constituency) along with a group of incensed saffron-clad ruffians, assembled near the university gate and began a rampage shouting provocative slogans. Videos that circulated widely on social media showed bike-borne men entering the campus carrying sticks and batons, tearing down posters belonging to left-aligned student groups and setting them alight. The state ABVP secretary was clearly captured on the CCTV. Whether every one of those men was a registered ABVP member or simply a BJP Yuva Morcha activist or simply hired goons hardly mattered to the students who took shelter behind hostel doors that night: to them, it was one indistinguishable saffron mob, and it had come armed. The saffron brigade had raided the University campus twice within a few hours, carrying out what their leaders described as a “surgical strike” and a “Ram Navami puja” to “rid the campus of cockroaches”. They kicked and pushed the locked main gate from outside, and hurled eggs, shoes and sticks into the campus. University property, including CCTV

cameras, gates and other installations, was damaged, and an attempt was allegedly made to break open the entrance to the main hostel. They defaced the university emblem, designed by celebrated Nandalal Bose, a pioneer of modern Indian art, a key figure in Contextual Modernism, and a core artist of the Bengal School who is famous for his pivotal role in shaping India's visual and national identity through his art. The BJP MLA, a grade IV TV and Yatra artist turned politician, who was leading the armed anti-socials had announced, “*Aaj sara rat tandav cholbe* (There will be a massive frenzy all night).” The violence later reached the Jadavpur University Main Hostel, situated closer to the Jadavpur police station. A video showed the saffron brigade trying to force open the hostel's main gate as frightened students pleaded for help. Security personnel were present on the other side but did not dare to intervene. Left to defend themselves, the students eventually managed to stop the mob from entering the hostel. What a novel choreographed attack of the self-proclaimed statists and nationalists to free the campus from what PM Modi had called on 15 August, ‘Dimagi Naxals’ (mental Naxalites), a terminology acting as a dog-whistle aimed at a nationwide student movement that has reached a boiling point the government could apparently no longer ignore through ordinary means.

Attempt foiled by AIDS and other leftist student organizations

But the left students' organizations including AIDS protested and protested firmly. A coalition of left student outfits had resisted the ABVP's attempt to storm the campus on 22nd afternoon after failing to do so the previous night. Huge rallies were organized condemning the violence and vandalism of the RSS-BJP jingoists. They have entire mass support behind them.

But almost a week on, no arrests have been announced in connection with either the hostel-area stone-throwing or the vandalism at the university main gate despite complaints lodged by multiple parties including university authorities. This is nothing unexpected. The police are acting like a liquid substance, assuming the shape of the container it is poured in. A few months back, the police force was pliant to the TMC leaders. Now it has become a pet to the BJP high-ups. So, it has no answer how armed outsiders were able to enter a supposedly secured campus,

why students had to be locked inside a building to protect themselves from an invading mob, or why those burning flags and vandalizing university property were not immediately arrested. Fact is that it had clearly aided and abetted the saffron ‘tandav’.

Are they nationalists?

Now, certain aspects and facts need to be kept in view in this context in order to get a clear socio-political understanding of how and why the ‘tandav’ is the only course left to the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar to establish their dominance. The saffron brigade calls itself nationalist. In fact, these self-proclaimed nationalists have no right whatsoever to call themselves as votaries of Indian nationalism. As we have shown in the pages of Proletarian Era many a times with authentic evidence, the RSS, the mentor and Hindu Mahasabha, the predecessor of the ruling BJP had called Indian freedom movement and its revered leaders as reactionary. M S Golwalkar, the RSS ideologue, held that “Nation” means the Hindu Nation and nothing else. He wrote in his book “Bunch of Thoughts” : “*The theories of territorial nationalism ...had deprived us of the positive and inspiring content of our real Hindu Nationhood and made many of the 'freedom movements' virtually anti-British movements. Anti-Britishism was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the freedom struggle, its leaders and the common people.*” So, what is nation according to the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar? The answer Golwalkar provides in this way: “*Our real national regeneration should therefore start with the moulding of 'man', by instilling in him the strength to overcome human frailties and to stand up as a shining symbol of Hindu manhood embodying within himself our traditional virtues ...this real essence of our glorious nationhood...We must ...revert to the truth of our nationalism as an ancient fact and the Hindus being the national society of Bharat, ...boldly assert that we shall elevate the Hindu National Life in Bharat to the peak of glory and honour which has been its birthright since hoary time.*” (Bunch of Thoughts)

Golwalkar further explained that their “*...concept of Hindu Nation is not a mere bundle of political and economic rights. It is essentially cultural....it is only an intense rejuvenation of the spirit of our culture (read Hinduism) that can give us the true vision of our national life, and a fruitful direction to all our*

efforts in solving the innumerable problems confronting our nation today.” (ibid) If that were true, how is it that the BJP rule for more than 12 years has, instead of resolving a single problem of people's life only been generating problems after problems, wreaking havoc in people's life? Any explanation to this reality based on Hindutva doctrine? Alas! There is nothing. Only rigmarole, drifting from relevant issues and trading in knavery.

So, the concept of Indian nationalism which emerged in course of our freedom struggle is not acceptable to the saffron brigade. Their nationalism, is premised on an ideology, which, as we see today, is using religion as a tool for dividing people, not to speak of unifying them. Communalism forms core of such ultra-nationalism manifested often in the form of frenzied intolerance as we have been witnessing over the past three decades, including the recent incident of Jadavpur University. Such concept of religion-oriented nationalism which germinated in the brains of Savarkar-Golwalkar is a historic and hence ought to be discarded by all right-thinking people. As per socio-historical laws and course of development, a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of the common possession of some defined principal characteristics. A nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. Seeking to define nationalism otherwise is either exposing ignorance or driven by a sinister motive. And hence apologists of Hindu nationalism are no flag-bearers of Indian nationalism. As distorter of history, they are no friends but arch enemies of the people. Their acts, their conduct and culture, their talks in many tongues speak for themselves!

Who are the apologists of Hindutwawadi State?

Of late, the RSS-BJP leaders are claiming themselves as ‘Rashtrawadis’ meaning apologists of Hindutwawadi State. They are warning that anyone not subscribing to their statism are anti-national, anti-country, foreign agents and what not. Again quoting Golwalkar over the issue: “*The democratic State shall be under the sovereignty of the Nationality to which majority of the people in the State belongs. Others shall have the privileges of citizenship extended along with those of the majority with certain safe-guards for preservation of their culture and religion. This, I think, is the correct and the just and the most practical view to take....The State should ...regulate all activities according to dharma. The State is not a class agent of the upper class,*

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Encounter Killing: The State as Death Squad

No. The place of occurrence this time is not UP, Kashmir or Manipur. It is West Bengal where the BJP has come to power four months back. The July 2026 police killing of Prabhas Mondal—the key accused in the rape and murder of a 12-year-old girl in Baruipur, South 24 Parganas—has shattered a five-decade hiatus in West Bengal's encounter killings. The official narrative is familiar: during a midnight crime scene reconstruction, the accused in a spot with knee-deep mud snatched a policeman's service revolver, fired, and was shot in self-defence. The script never changes because it is not meant to convince; it is meant to dish out a story.

The killing marks the first encounter death in custody since the BJP government assumed office. It signals the official importation of the "Uttar Pradesh model" of policing—encounters, bulldozers, and zero-tolerance theatrics—into a state that had, for nearly half a century, largely abandoned overt extrajudicial executions. What makes the Baruipur encounter particularly chilling is the state's response. The BJP leaders celebrated it as "divine justice". State BJP president declared it the fulfilment of the party's promise: "Bhoy Out, Bhorosha In" (Fear out confidence in). another BJP Minister called those questioning the encounter as "anti-socials" and declared, "People should throw eggs at the intellectuals who are trying to defend the criminals... Police will have the same freedom as in UP, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and Assam".

What is an encounter killing

An encounter killing is an extrajudicial execution by police or armed forces who claim they acted in self-defence during a shootout. The term has no legal status—it is a euphemism for state-sanctioned murder dressed in the language of operational necessity.

Critics and human rights groups view these as planned executions of unarmed suspects or people already in custody. International bodies like UN human rights experts frequently flag these events as systemic summary violence bypassing due process. The encounter culture is essentially a mirror image of the gangster culture: it operates on the principle that "might makes right"—that the State can suspend law to eliminate those who flout it, a state of exception.

Encounter killing in West Bengal dates back to Naxalite period

The term "encounter killing" was born in Bengal's blood-soaked

fields during the Naxalite movement. Police would take arrested Naxalite activists or other opposition activists into an open space, release them, and once the youths turned back and began to move, the police fired on them from behind. There was no inquiry. When asked, the usual reply was that the Naxalites had attacked the police with arms and bombs, and the police fired in self-defence.

The killings of November 1970 in Barasat, a suburb adjacent to Kolkata stand out: 11 young men were reportedly rounded up and executed in cold blood. In Baranagar area of proper Kolkata, on 12-13 August, 1971, approximately 100 people were killed in encounter operations within 30 hours. Human rights groups documented patterns of arbitrary arrests, custodial torture, and staged encounters. The then Congress government justified these as necessary to restore order against "anarchists."

That period saw the establishment of a grim template—the encounter as the preferred instrument of state violence. The CPI(M) government, which came to power in 1977 shifted from encounter killings to subtler repression: custodial deaths, enforced disappearances, and lethal force during protests. The Marichjhapi massacre of 1979 and the Nandigram carnage of 2007 exemplified this shift.

For nearly five decades, encounter spectacles became routine in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. The Baruipur killing shatters that legacy. It marks the return of a dark era—but this time, it is a deliberate policy choice, not a response to insurgency.

From the fields of Bengal during Naxalite period to the orchards of Kashmir, encounter killings orchestrated by the bourgeois government is no justice, no justified action to get rid of the "unwanted"—it is the logical expression of a fascist autocratic state that has surrendered the rule of law to the trigger-happy corps immunized by law. Encounter is not a shortcut—it is a fundamental human rights violation that reduces the constitutional promise of life and liberty to a bullet-ridden corpse.

Kashmir-hunting ground of encounter victims

Nowhere is the institutionalisation of encounter killings more complete than in Jammu and Kashmir. Encounter killings and the subsequent hushing up of dead bodies virtually assumed an institutional character because it was easy to brand the killed persons as terrorists. Many youths were lifted

from their homes and then assassinated without any trial.

The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) gave unbridled power to the army and paramilitary forces to kill with impunity. Amnesty International has repeatedly expressed concern about a pattern of wide ranging grave human rights violations committed by members of the security forces—the Indian army, the paramilitary BSF and the CRPF—in the course of their operations in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Shopian killings of July 2020 exemplify this pattern. Three young orchard workers were killed by the Indian Army in a "cordon and search" operation. The army initially labelled them "terrorists." However, an Indian Army probe brought out *prima facie* evidence indicating that during the operation powers vested under AFSPA were exceeded and the Do's and Don'ts of the Chief of Army Staff as approved by the Supreme Court had been contravened.

Manipur: AFSPA and 1500 encounters

Another chilling evidence of India's encounter culture comes from Manipur where also AFSPA is enforced. In 2016, the Supreme Court ordered an independent investigation into over 1,500 alleged fake encounters in Manipur by the Indian Army and the Manipur Police over the previous two decades.

The Court held that the armed forces cannot use "excessive or retaliatory force" in disturbed areas under the garb of AFSPA. The allegations of fake encounters in Manipur, the Court said, "should be thoroughly enquired into" by an independent agency. The case, 'Extra Judicial Execution Victim Families Association & Anr v. Union of India & Anr' (2016), stressed the necessity of ascertaining whether fake encounters or extrajudicial executions have occurred, identifying perpetrators of human rights violations, and providing relief to victims' families.

The scale is staggering: 1,500 alleged extrajudicial executions over two decades, with virtually no accountability. The victims were not hardened criminals or terrorists—many were ordinary citizens caught in the crossfire of a militarized state.

Uttar Pradesh—another land of extrajudicial execution

With the reins passed on to the BJP in UP, encounter killings surged there in growing number. By its own admission, the state recorded over 17,000 police operations resulting in 289 criminal deaths over a nine-year

stretch. Uttar Pradesh has averaged five encounters per day. Between 2017 and October 2023, 256 "hardened criminals" were shot dead in over 15,000 police encounters, and over 10,324 others were injured in "half-encounters"—usually a bullet in the kneecap aimed at disabling them.

An India Today investigation exposed rate cards floated by policemen for "knocking off" someone. Ruling government reward officers who rack up encounter kills, hailing them as heroes of public safety. Such "encounter specialists" have even been given gallantry medals and promotions—a perverse incentive structure that virtually encourages extrajudicial executions.

The case of Vikas Dubey, a mafia don, exemplifies the nexus between crime, politics, and the encounter as a silencing mechanism. At his peak, Dubey had 60 criminal cases against him, including murders. He was so emboldened by political protection that in 2001, he murdered a BJP State Minister inside a police station in broad daylight. Such was his clout that not one of the 25 policemen eyewitnesses dared testify against him in the court. For years, Dubey and his family won local elections and enjoyed cutting deals with parties across the spectrum—from the Bahujan Samaj Party to the BJP.

But then the BJP top brass found him not falling in line with them. So, the police stated to have arrested him in MP and being transported to UP in July 2020. In the midway, police say that he stole an officer's gun and attempted to escape, firing at officers as they called for his surrender. They say that they fired back, injuring him seriously. He was declared dead within minutes after police took him to the hospital. The purpose evidently was to silence a man who could expose his nexus with the police and power-greedy politicians.

Sohrabuddin murder case of Gujarat

Gujarat's encounter history is exemplified by the Sohrabuddin Sheikh case of 2005. The gangster was killed by anti-terrorism squads in an operation initially claimed as a terror plot neutralization. What followed was one of India's most notorious fake encounter cases. The Gujarat Police had allegedly abducted Sheikh and his wife, Kausar Bi, from Hyderabad, killed him in a staged encounter, and later killed a key witness, Tulsiram Prajapati, in another fake encounter.

The case went to the Supreme Court. *Contd. on page 4*

Extra-judicial killing is subversive of law

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Court, which transferred the investigation to the CBI. The Court observed that “the rule of law must prevail and no one, including the police, can be allowed to take the law into their own hands.” The case laid bare the depth of the criminal-political nexus, with allegations that the encounter was conducted at the behest of the ruling party patrons.

Batla house and beyond in Maharashtra

Maharashtra too has a long and gory history of encounter killings. The Batla House encounter of 2008 sparked intense debate about its authenticity, with human rights groups alleging that the victims were killed in cold blood. Mumbai’s “encounter specialists” became legendary—and notorious—in the 1990s. Officers like Daya Nayak and Pradeep Sharma were celebrated as heroes for eliminating gangsters, but their methods came under increasing scrutiny. The Supreme Court, in ‘Prakash Kadam v. Ramprasad Vishwanath Gupta’ (2011), declared that state actors cannot break the law under the guise of obeying superior orders or carrying out “encounter philosophies,” which it deemed criminal.

Assam, Chhattisgarh and beyond

Assam features prominently in the statistics of lethal police shootouts, with high counts during state security sweeps. Chhattisgarh records high numbers driven largely by alleged anti-insurgency and counter-Maoist operations in forested and tribal regions. These states form a grim map of state-sanctioned violence, where the encounter is not an aberration but a feature of governance.

The public applause for encounters reflects frustration with a broken justice system—but that applause is catastrophic. When the State suspends the rule of law to eliminate those who flout it, it validates the gangster’s own creed of vigilante justice. The State becomes what it claims to oppose.

Constitutional and Human Rights framework

Encounter deaths constitute a severe violation of fundamental human rights and constitutional protections. Actions bypass the judicial system to take a suspect’s life arbitrarily, violating protections like Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Suspects are deprived of presumption of innocence, legal representation, and an impartial trial. Unlawful lethal force undermines the rule of law and transforms state agencies into unlawful executioners.

The Supreme Court treats fake encounter killings as cold-blooded murders, ruling that they fall under the “rarest of rare” cases warranting the death penalty for guilty police officers. Mere claims of self-defence cannot justify death without a fair, independent investigation. In ‘PUCL v. State of Maharashtra’ (2014), the Court laid down 16 mandatory guidelines: requiring every police shooting to be independently investigated by a separate State agency, a

magisterial inquiry completed within three months, and prompt reporting to the NHRC within 24 hours.

Yet such killings are continuing unabated. In practice, the guidelines are routinely ignored or subverted, partly because of ambiguous language. The police use legal loopholes to lodge an FIR against the deceased, stating that they attempted to murder its officers.

Revelations by Vohra Committee

The 1993 N.N. Vohra Committee report warned that criminal syndicates—nurtured and protected by power-monger politicians, police officials, and sections of the bureaucracy—had entrenched themselves so deeply in the system that they were running a parallel governance in several parts of India. The committee studied how gangs amassed wealth through illicit activities such as land-grabs and extortion, then bought muscle and political influence, blurring the line between state and organized crime.

“Encounters” have become a convenient substitute for courts, eliminating gangsters while sparing the politician-criminal nexus that nurtures them. Gangsters cannot thrive without powerful political patrons. When the State finally does move against gangsters, because either they are no longer of use to the nexus or a change occurs in the government, they are discarded in public spectacles such as police encounters—outside the ambit of law.

Role of civil society and democratic forces

This phenomenon of encounter death exposes a hideous underbelly of a ruthlessly exploitative capitalist state which has abandoned all democratic norms, codes and principles, seeking to reduce the judicial system into a non-entity and thriving on a coercive bureaucracy-military-police instrumentality. The law goes abegging while illegality is nurtured as justified. The punitive machinery is virtually skewed in the hands of the servitor political forces and hence justice remains elusive to the oppressed countrymen. The henchmen of the ruling dispensation are licensed to subvert law, eschew accountability and thump around with impunity. India’s encounter killings reveal this grim truth using the bullet as a shortcut to eliminate who never is disliked or presumed inimical to the vested interest.

But this cannot be allowed to go on unabated. Civil society, democratic forces, human rights organizations, and the non-pliable press media must join hands to raise voice against such unlawful extra-judicial killings. They need to resist the seduction of “instant justice” and insist on the prescribed, patient work of operationalization of due juridical process that can actually deliver justice. A protracted organized conscious people’s movement in the country can only resist the encounter killing in the country. It is high time to consolidate people and build a resistance movement against encounter killing throughout the country.

BJP-ABVP’s vandalism can be thwarted by joint left resistance

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according to Indian shastras or political and social science. Nor it is an exploiting agency. It is an agent of morality or dharma.” (ibid) Great! First, they distinguished state and nation. Then they held that state is neither a class agent of the upper class nor an exploiting agency. And finally, state is to be run based on *dharma* (religion). Is this the experience of oppressed, repressed and suppressed Indians? Does the Indian state not exploit them?

Do they not find that the state power is skewed in the hands of a few monopolists and multi-nationals whose fortune shines at the cost of the misery, penury and pauperization of the toiling millions? Are not the few super-rich owners of the existing capitalist state visibly privileged whereas the downtrodden who constitute the majority of the population only languish in an inhuman life condition deprived and denied even the basic needs of life?

So, if anyone claims that he is statist in India, he only hands out his identity as a servitor of the ruthlessly exploitative capitalist state. Can the RSS-BJP-ABVP and other Sangh affiliates deny that logically? But for them, logic ceases to weigh. They are groomed as high-handed servants or foot soldiers who try to subdue others to their brutal power and bluntly glorify so called statism.

This is the genesis. Does the claim of the Saffron brigade that “*The mission of Hindu consolidation that the RSS has taken up is inspired by this vision of unlocking the door of supreme happiness for entire mankind*” corroborate people’s experience? Golwalkar said that “*...political rulers were never the standard-bearers of our society. They were never taken as the props of our national life. Saints and sages, who had risen above the mundane temptations of pelf and power and had dedicated themselves wholly for establishing a happy, virtuous and integrated state of society, were its constant torch-bearers. They presented the ‘dharma-satta’ (religious identity).*” (ibid) Then, is it that the ruling BJP leaders at the Centre and in the states, including the MLAs like the lady who orchestrated ‘tandav’ in Jadavpur are no standard-bearers of the society? Or are they sages, saints and selfless preachers of ‘dharma-satta’? What is people’s experience?

Moreover, RSS-BJP squarely hold those protesting against injustice, inequality, denial and deprivation of the common masses, criticizing the government policies or raising legitimate demands in people’s interest, are treacherous to the country. What does the ruling dispensation mean by country? Its people or the ruling class and its servitors? If country means its people, country’s interest means people’s interest, then on what cogent reason can those upholding people’s cause can be held as treacherous? Or is it that the Saffron brigade has arrogated to itself the sole proprietorship of the country and hence consider itself licensed to brand dissenting voice as treachery? Singing all stanzas of Bande Mataram and raising slogan Bharatmataki jai (glory to Mother India) are by no means accreditation of patriotism or nationalism.

Silver lining

The positive outcome of the recent movements by the students and youths is that there is a united resistance to the power politics and overlordism of the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar. Defying threat and intimidation, the students and youths have shown their courage to repeal the attack by the present ruling quarter. More than the brag and bluster of the BJP leaders, it is their actions and continuous threat held out to the dissenters which indicate that they are visibly unnerved. More the people are united and organized, more on the backfoot will be the reactionary rulers and their henchmen. Let it be clear once more that only a united, organized powerful movement of the people rising above all precipitated divides can deter the gangster politics which the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar are pursuing now. And in the process, when a correct revolutionary leadership will be established over the movement, it would be guided along the path to its logical culmination.

Real cause of Delhi's horrific pollution crisis pushed under the carpet

Every year, as winter approaches, a familiar ritual plays out in the National Capital Region (NCR). As a thick, grey blanket of smog descends upon Delhi in the cold months, the government deploys a battery of highly visible, reactive emergency measures: banning diesel vehicles, halting civil construction, enforcing the 'odd-even' scheme, and ordering schools to go online. These micro-regulations place a heavy, immediate burden on the average citizen, and the whole hullabaloo surrounding the smog problem makes people feel that the government is really worried and trying to do something. Yet, a silent, structural polluter, just beyond the city, is allowed to operate year-round with virtually no oversight.

Whom the government blames?

As soon as winter approaches, the 'mainstream media' starts beating its chest about the smog and dumping the entire blame on stubble burning and vehicular emissions, resulting in a bunch of cosmetic measures announced by the government. Several bans start further disrupting public life, while the sheer scale of thermal power plant emissions puts these seasonal and local sources into perspective. But is that the real cause behind such a highly damaging pollution which continues unabated? Perhaps not. The cause lies elsewhere.

According to data compiled by the Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air (CREA), the massive fleet of coal-fired thermal power plants (TPPs) operating within a 300 km radius of Delhi constitutes one of the largest, most consistent sources of toxic air pollution in the region.

To understand why the focus has historically remained on vehicle tailpipes rather than power plant chimneys, we have to look at how atmospheric chemistry works. Coal and fuel oil contain natural sulphur as an impurity. When these fuels burn inside the boiler, the sulphur reacts with oxygen to form sulphur dioxide gas. Unless specialized pollution control equipment is installed, the resulting flue gas carries this sulphur dioxide straight up and out through the plant's chimney.

Sulphur dioxide (SO₂) is a highly toxic gas, but it does not remain a gas for long. Once released into the atmosphere, it chemically reacts with other atmospheric gases and sunlight to form sulphate aerosols: tiny solid particles that fall directly under the PM 2.5 classification. This is what atmospheric scientists call secondary particulate matter. Unlike the primary PM 2.5 emitted directly from vehicle

exhausts or dust, secondary PM2.5 forms in the air. Studies show that over 96% of particulate pollution originating from coal-fired power plants in the Delhi-NCR region is secondary, driven primarily by SO₂ emissions. Because gas-to-particle conversion takes hours or days. These pollutants can travel hundreds of kilometers on wind currents. A power plant in Punjab or Haryana, therefore, dumps its pollution straight into the lungs of a resident in central Delhi. By focusing air quality indices almost entirely on ground-level dust and tailpipe emissions, policymakers have repeatedly treated the symptoms of air pollution while leaving the industrial manufacturing of secondary PM 2.5 untouched.

Regulatory loophole

And the shocking truth is that far from being aggressively cleaned up, 81% of the sulphur dioxide (SO₂) emissions from these plants have been legally exempted from control. The regulatory path to this crisis reveals a decade of systemic delays and finally watered-down rules. In December 2015, the Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change (MoEFCC) mandated that all Indian coal plants install Flue Gas Desulfurization (FGD) systems to scrub SO₂ out of their exhaust. Still, under intense lobbying by private power generators, this deadline was deferred four times.

The decisive blow to clean air came with the revised July 2025 MoEFCC notification. The government split the country's coal fleet into three geographic categories:

Category A: The plants in this category are those within 10 km of the NCR or million-plus cities, for which mandatory FGD installation has been retained with a revised deadline of December 2027.

Category B: Constitutes the plants falling within 10 km of critically polluted areas, but will be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

Category C: Plants located 'everywhere else' but representing 78% of all coal-fired units in India. Under the 2025 notification, these plants were completely exempted from the mandatory installation of FGD systems.

Because air pollution does not respect political or administrative boundaries, this categorization created an environmental absurdity. Several massive, high-emitting plants located 100 to 250 km away from Delhi, well within the regional wind pattern that feeds the capital's winter inversion, were classified under 'Category C'. According to CREA's July 2026 assessment, these

exempted Category C plants, consisting of 78% of India's coal fleet and accounting for a staggering 81% of the total SO₂ emitted by the power sector around Delhi-NCR, will never have to install any control technology, thanks to the new policy.

The operational timeline of thermal power plants, particularly in the Delhi-NCR air basin, is year-round (365 days), while crop stubble burning is seasonal. 20-30 days in autumn. And at the same time, the emissions volume from TPPs is 240 times that of stubble burning, and the latter is a negligible fraction of the annual total. Particulate Matter (PM) is also 10 times higher than that from stubble burning. Seasonal spike may be slightly high, but the annual average is very low. 90% of local emissions come from plants lacking FGD scrubbers. So, blaming stubble burning as exclusive culprit is attempt to shield the truth of industrial emission of toxic gases.

To be more explicit, a single uncontrolled coal unit, such as the Rajpura Thermal Power Plant in Punjab, emits over 20,000 tonnes of SO₂ annually, equivalent to the emissions of millions of compliant vehicles combined. By keeping the focus on visible street-level dust and individual driving habits, regional administrations avoid the challenging political and economic reality of forcing major state, central, and corporate-owned power generators to invest in desulphurisation technology.

Peeping deep into the matter brings one more cat out of the bag. For utility operators, retrofitting a plant with wet or dry FGD systems entails multi-billion-rupee investments per unit, along with structural and efficiency losses. The benchmark capital expenditure for an FGD retrofit in India ranges from 40 lakh to 80 lakh per MW, depending on the unit's size, vintage, and location. Before the July 2025 regulatory relaxations, outfitting India's remaining unscrubbed coal capacity required a cumulative CapEx (capital expenditure) of roughly 87,000 crore to 1,16,000 crore. By exempting Category C plants, which constitute 78% of the fleet, the power sector effectively 'saved' this entire capital burden at the cost of human health.

Moving beyond the smoke and mirrors

If one is serious to free Delhi's skies from such man-made ordeal, air quality management must transition from theatrical emergency steps to due structural industrial enforcement. Real-time stack emissions data from these power

plants must be made transparently available to the public and independent researchers to prevent under-reporting and illegal bypasses of installed scrubbers. Air quality planning must transition to an 'Airshed Management' approach that covers Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Delhi under a single unified enforcement zone, rather than relying on municipal-level vehicle restrictions. Until the industrial giants surrounding the capital are held to the same standards as the citizens living within it, Delhi's winter clean-up efforts will remain little more than a seasonal cosmetic public relations exercise.

Brunt borne by the pauperizing people

But instead of forcing the operators to install remedial system, this financial burden is transferred directly onto the public health system and the lungs of downwind citizens, costing the people in healthcare expenditure and lost human lives, rather than the hardware costs of the scrubbers themselves.

Regulators and utility companies frequently defend exemptions by claiming that they are benefitting people by keeping electricity price low. Incredible indeed! Taking into account the increasing financial burden onto citizens in the form of medical bills, prescription drugs, and lost productivity, so called logic of pegging down power tariff has no standing. Allowing major industrial facilities to emit toxic gases into the broader airshed with legal immunity is a crime. The policymakers who approve these exemptions to ensure profit maximization of industrial behemoths are liable for being prosecuted for playing with people's health.

Need for systemic accountability

Clean air should not be treated as an optional luxury. True public health protection requires that it can be deferred to maximize economic output, but it is a non-negotiable human right and structural prerequisite for genuine development. Until environmental regulations hold industrial producers fully accountable for the total cost of their emissions—mandating strict technology retrofits, real-time public data transparency, and uncompromising enforcement—the burden of industrial energy will continue to be carried by the lungs of ordinary citizens, causing hundreds of thousands of premature deaths and millions of lost workdays annually from respiratory illnesses, ischemic heart disease, and strokes. It is imperative that environmentalists, human right champions and well-meaning people from all walks of life join hands and raise a crusade against such toying with people's life.

Mixing Ethanol with Petrol—Why this Deliberate Adulteration

The BJP government has mandated the nationwide rollout of petrol blended with 20% ethanol (E20) alongside a minimum 95 Octane rating. Over the past few months, consumers have flooded social media with complaints of engine wear, lower fuel efficiency and reduced performance. The BJP government has dismissed the complaints as “misleading” and “social media misinformation”.

In a statement in June last, the government said the fuel was rolled out after extensive testing and does not damage engines. It has also issued statements on the benefits of E20 and to bust what it called the “more colourful myths that have circulated on social media”. According to the government, this move would decrease reliance on foreign crude oil by substituting a portion of petrol with domestically produced biofuel, save over Rs 1.9 lakh crore in foreign exchange import costs since 2014, would shield the domestic economy from severe global crude oil price spikes and international market volatility, would lower tailpipe carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions by hundreds of millions of tonnes and cut down specific harmful pollutants like carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons, supporting India’s long-term climate goals and net-zero targets. Also, the farmers and sugar/grain distilleries would earn over Rs 1.6 lakh crore through sustained crop procurement.

Apparently, the logic looks very convincing. But then suppressed underneath is an important fact. Petrol is for car engines and some industrial appliances as well. Would such blended petrol damage car engines? Answer is, Yes. Ethanol in gasoline (as blends like

E10, E15, E20, or E85) has well-documented effects on mileage (fuel economy) and engine life, primarily due to its chemical and physical properties compared to pure gasoline. Ethanol has a significantly lower energy density than gasoline—about 33% less energy per unit volume (roughly 21-22 MJ/L for ethanol vs. 32 MJ/L for gasoline). Ethanol blending damages non-compatible or older engines through material corrosion, water absorption via its hygroscopic nature, and solvent action that ruins rubber seals. Most users agree that higher blends cause specific operational issues in older machines.

Why does this happen? Because, vehicles burn more fuel by volume to deliver the same energy. Studies show volumetric fuel consumption increases roughly in line with the blend’s lower heating value, with minor variations from combustion differences. Ethanol is hygroscopic (absorbs moisture from air), which can lead to phase separation, rust in metal parts, and corrosion in fuel systems, especially if fuel sits for long periods. It can also form acidic byproducts. Though the government initially denied all such negative impacts, it has of late acknowledged a reduction in fuel efficiency while maintaining that ethanol-blended petrol is safe for modern engines which, unfortunately, 99% of vehicles on Indian roads do not possess. And a drop in mileage means more consumption of fuels and hence rise in volume of purchase of petrol.

Now the next point. Union Transport minister Nitin Gadkari’s sons, Nikhil and Sarang, are associated with companies engaged in ethanol production, namely CIAN

Agro Industries and Manas Agro Industries. This connection has drawn political scrutiny regarding India’s national ethanol-blending policy. In fact, CIAN Agro posted an annual net profit spike of over 740% to Rs 41.2 crore in FY25, with revenues multiplying from roughly Rs18 crore to over Rs 500 crore, while step-down subsidiary Manas Agro recorded revenues of Rs 913 crore and profits of Rs5.27 crore.

Secondly, India imports 94% ethanol from the United States to fulfill domestic industrial demands. The US share of India’s ethanol fuel imports rose from 79 per cent in FY25 to 94 per cent in FY26. Backed by farm lobbies, US government has pushed India to open its fuel ethanol market to avoid punitive trade tariffs. Bowing before the threat, India has been continuing to import ethanol from US despite higher domestic production and is reported to be exploring markets where it can export the surplus stock.

On 14 July last, Union Minister Nitin Gadkari defended India’s ethanol-blending policy, stressing that the ongoing West Asia crisis highlights why the country cannot remain dependent on imported fuel. India’s ethanol fuel production has risen dramatically, from 450 million litres in 2016 to 9,700 million litres in 2025, with consumption levels closely tracking production. The ethanol-blending rate has steadily increased, moving from just 1 per cent in 2016 to 13 per cent in 2024, and further to 20 per cent in 2026. However, this surge in domestic production has had only a minimal impact on reducing imports. India’s ethanol fuel trade

deficit stood at \$280 million in financial year 2018-19 (FY19), widened to \$459 million in FY25, and eased slightly to \$403 million in FY26. In June 2026, the government’s attorney general told India’s Supreme Court that the BJP government was “experimenting” with a 20 percent ethanol blend. Even though the government later claimed that the attorney general had been misunderstood, the comments led to national outrage, with car users, opposition politicians and analysts—including a number of commentators politically aligned with the BJP government—questioning the policy.

So, the apprehension that the decision to market ethanol-blended petrol for visibly non-compatible existing cars and machineries has an embedded vested interest cannot be ruled out. This is another instance how commercial benefits to the industrial houses related to ministers and political high-ups as well as appeasement of US imperialism are having precedence over people’s interest.

And of late, it has come to be known that retail price of sugar in the market is slated to rise because a good portion of sugarcane juice is being used for manufacturing more profitable ethanol. Naturally volume of sugar production is curtailed. But the reduction in profit margin of the sugarcane factories, both in private and public sector, cannot be compromised in a capitalist set up. So, here also the common people are the sufferers. Because they will have to shell out more money to buy sugar and compensate the “loss” suffered by the sugarcane factories.

SUCI(C) Extends Full Support to Ranchi Students’ Movement

Comrade Swapan Chatterjee, Jharkhand State Secretary, SUCI(C), in a statement issued on 06-08-26 extended full support to the ongoing students’ movement in Ranchi against alleged large-scale irregularities, corruption and recruitment examination scams, including those related to JPSC and JSSC-CGL. The SUCI(C), along with its student wing AIDS0 and youth wing AIDYO, has actively participated in and supported the movement from its inception.

Describing the agitation as a powerful expression of the growing anger of students and unemployed youth, Comrade Chatterjee said the movement has crystallized out of years of frustration over repeated paper leaks, recruitment scams and systemic failures that have undermined the future of lakhs of aspirant students.

The SUCI(C) is of the opinion that the Ranchi movement is inspired

by the historic student mobilization at Jantar Mantar, Delhi, in recent time and forms part of the broader nationwide democratic struggle against corruption, unemployment and the erosion of transparency in public recruitment and conduction of examination.

The SUCI(C) strongly criticized attempts to politically distort the movement. It rejected both the argument that the agitation should be viewed merely through the prism of electoral gains and losses as well as the effort to portray it as separate from earlier democratic students’ struggles. Such narratives only serve to divide students and weaken their collective fight for justice, transparency and accountability.

The SUCI(C) further observed that sections of the media which had earlier ignored or discredited the Delhi students’ movement are now

prominently highlighting the Ranchi protests. It cautioned democratic forces to remain vigilant against attempts to influence, appropriate or divert the movement from its core objectives.

The SUCI(C) maintains that examination scams and corruption are not the responsibility of any single political party or government. It asserted that successive administrations in Jharkhand have failed to ensure free, fair and transparent recruitment examinations, resulting in repeated controversies and growing public distrust.

Drawing attention to repeated allegations surrounding recruitment examinations over the years, the Party stated that the crisis reflects a deeper structural failure rather than isolated administrative lapses.

The SUCI(C) alleged that the increasing privatization, commercialization and outsourcing of education and examination systems—implemented under successive governments—have institutionalized corruption and weakened public

accountability. The ongoing crisis is the inevitable consequence of these policies.

The SUCI(C) stressed that unless these policies are fundamentally reversed, incidents of paper leaks, examination malpractice and recruitment scams will continue to recur across the country, irrespective of which political party is in power.

Questioning whether a CBI investigation alone could deliver justice, the SUCI(C) referred to previous investigations into examination irregularities and expressed concern over prolonged delays in the investigative process. It argued that justice delayed has inflicted enormous damage on generations of students and unemployed youth.

The SUCI(C) is of the opinion that public confidence can be restored only through an independent, transparent and time-bound investigation capable of fixing accountability and ensuring exemplary punishment for those responsible.

BJP's ideology is totally against Netaji's radical dream of a new India

During conclusion of 125th birth anniversary of Netaji Subhas, on 23 January 2022, the BJP top brass was suddenly found to be effusive in praise for him. *"I bow to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on his Jayanti. Every Indian is proud of his monumental contribution to our nation,"* observed BJP Prime Minister Modi while announcing that a granite statue of Netaji would be installed at India Gate, Delhi. *"This would be a symbol of India's indebtedness to him,"* he tweeted. The BJP Home Minister Amit Shah had also praised Netaji for organizing the youth with his extraordinary patriotism, indomitable courage and stunning speech that shook the foundation of foreign rule.

But now, in its haughtiness over the electoral victory in West Bengal, the BJP leaders, in a *volte face*, returned to their original stand which squarely opposed the Indian Freedom movement and the concept of Indian nationalism because it counterposed so called theory of Hindu nationhood espoused by the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar. According to them, both Indian freedom movement and its revered leaders were reactionary. Hence, Netaji Subhas was also a reactionary, according to them. So, the BJP and its associates have started a well-orchestrated campaign to denigrate Netaji Subhas. The West Bengal State BJP President held that Forward Bloc goondas pelted stones at Hindu Mahasabha leader Syama Prasad during a public meeting. It is not difficult for the people to realize its true intention behind this his malicious targeting of Netaji. In Birbhum district, a street named after Netaji Subhash was renamed as Syama Prasad Mukherjee Road. However, when our Party along

with local people launched a protest movement, the renaming was dropped. A Rajya Sabha BJP MP, Ananta Maharaj, had the insolence to brand Netaji as 'war criminal', blackening the Azad Hind Fauj and his unquestionably glorious role in the Indian freedom struggle. In one place the statue of Netaji has been wrapped in saffron cloth, somewhere else Netaji's statue has been demolished at dead of night, while BJP's IT cell has been spreading offensive memes and posts. Statues of Netaji at various spots have been broken in open daylight. Their attacks are not limited to those against Netaji: none of the luminaries of the Renaissance have been spared from their distorted outlook, starting from Rammohan Roy to Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar and Rabindranath Tagore.

In the light of its own ideological standpoint the RSS-BJP does not and cannot want true cultivation of Netaji's life struggle. And why so, that too needs to be understood.

Netaji is being targeted because he warned Indians that *"religious fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy...and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education... If we want to make India really great, we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth, caste or creed should go, and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion."* (The Indian Struggle) Netaji also observed: *"We hear voices of 'Hindu Raj' in India owing to a majority of Hindu population. Since the Hindus are majority in India, there is a bogey of Hindu state. These are all useless*

thoughts." (Speech at Comilla, 14 June 1938). He even cautioned the countrymen that *"Hindu Mahasabha sends Sanyasis and Sanyasins with trishul (trident) in their hands to beg for votes. Hindus unhesitatingly bow down on seeing trishul and the saffron. Hindu Mahasabha has thus appeared on the political scene by using religion and thus contaminating it in the process. Every Hindu should condemn this. We want that all freedom-loving men and women of the country serve the country unitedly and intently"* (Published in Ananda Bazar Patrika, 14 May 1940)

How can those who are champions of Hindu Raj and trident culture consciously distanced themselves from the ferment of the freedom movement tolerate veneration of the Indian people for Netaji? So is this orchestrated canard against Netaji showing so called praise of Netaji by PM Modi and his associates in 2022 was a hoax, nothing but a gimmick for reaping electoral benefits.

Not just West Bengal even every true patriotic and nationalist persons round the country did not accept this persistent attempt to denigrate Netaji and will never do so. Students, youth, women and common people from all the walks of life have organized militant protests in many corners of the country. It shows that progressive forces and leftist consciousness is alive and boiling.

Let us release a surge of cultivation in study of actual history as against the distorted history presented by the Sangh Parivar. Instead of keeping the ideals of the great Renaissance personalities and revolutionaries stored away in great admiration, let us forge these ideals into instruments of struggle in

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meetings in States



Comrade Saumen Bose, Polit Bureau Member addressing at Ghatshila, Jharkhand



Comrade Meenakshi Joshi, Gujarat State Secretary, addressing at Nagpur



Comrade Dwarika Rath Central Committee Member addressing in Mumbai



Comrade Sankar Ghosh, Central Committee Member addressing at Raipur, Chhattisgarh



Comrade Tarun Mondal, West Bengal State Secretariat Member addressing at Badlapur, UP



Comrade Ashok Samanta, Central Committee member, addressing at Port Blair, Andaman



Comrade Dwarika Rath speaking at Ahmedabad



Comrade Ashok Samanta, Central Committee member, addressing at Srinagar, Uttarakhand



Comrade Provash Ghosh paying tribute to Great Friedrich Engels on his 130th death anniversary

A joint anti-imperialist rally was organized by the Left parties in Kolkata on 1 September. Among those

who addressed was Comrade Chandidas Bhattacharjee, Polit Bureau member and West Bengal State Secretary, SUCI(Communist)



Amendment to FCRA: a ploy to stifle opposition's financial resources

The Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) is a controversial legislation enacted by the Government of India to regulate the acceptance and utilization of foreign contributions by individuals, associations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the country. The primary objective of FCRA is to ensure that foreign contributions are received and utilized in a transparent manner, without, as stated, compromising the sovereignty and integrity of India. The Union Home Ministry is responsible for that. But of late, questions are being raised and rightly so, as to whether fairness and indiscriminate are followed in regard to this functioning.

Now, it seems that the BJP government is bent upon regulating this route to arm-twist the NGOs who would dare to go against it. Hence, an amendment to the Act was tabled in Lok Sabha on 25 March 2026, but the discussion on the Bill was kept pending due to expected backlash from the then forthcoming elections in Kerala, TN and West Bengal. The proposed Amendment would give power to the Central Government to “cancel the registration of NGO and organisation at any time or may not renew it on the pretext of procedural issues or in the name of misuse of funds, or accounts are not maintained properly, or money was not spent on heads for which it was received and also mainly for the political reasons.” In such cases, when the registration is cancelled or not renewed, then all the funds, bank accounts, and assets created out of the foreign funding would be taken over by *Designated Authority* specially created by the central government under this new amendment. The designated Authority may utilize foreign contribution to manage the assets and related activities and may transfer such assets to ministries, departments, or agencies of the central, state or local governments. It may also dispose of assets through sale or other processes. Proceeds from disposal along with unutilized foreign contribution will be credited to the Consolidated Fund of India. The power to seize assets and, in some cases, transfer them to the Consolidated Fund of India will hamper the independent functioning of NGOs and voluntary organizations, who might have been rendering commendable social service to the marginalized sections of our society.

There is every reason to apprehend, given the autocratic functioning and arbitrary as well as unilateral decision making on the part of the BJP government, that this amended legislation might be blatantly misused to harass the NGO's and individuals running such organizations which are not working according to the likes of the government. They might be falsely implicated on charge of non-compliance of the provisions of the Act inviting

cancellation of registration and even punishment with imprisonment up to five years, a fine, or both.

In fact, over the last 15 years, the Central Government of India has cancelled registrations of thousands of non-governmental organizations and associations using the FCRA route for funding. Some notable NGOs and organizations that have lost their FCRA registration includes Centre for Policy Research (CPR), Rajiv Gandhi Foundation & Rajiv Gandhi Charitable Trust, Oxfam India, Amnesty International India, Greenpeace India, World Vision India, The Voluntary Health Association of India, The Centre for Financial Accountability, and The Evangelical Fellowship of India. 72 per cent or 10,046, NGOs were banned after May 2014, when the BJP-led Union government took over. Analysis shows that about 12% of these banned NGOs had Christian names and two percent had Muslim names. The Central Government has conducted multi-agency raids on the NewsClick over allegations of illegal foreign funding and pro-China propaganda and faced years of financial investigations. Its founder Prabir Purkayastha and HR head Amit Chakravarty were arrested on 3 October 2023, under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA). The Supreme Court later invalidated the arrest in May 2024, and the Delhi High Court completely quashed the case in June 2026.

The BJP government is also on record to have cancelled the registration of many NGOs and organizations for sheer political reasons, because such organisations were working for the welfare of Adivasis in tribal areas and among the forest dwellers, and for protection of their lands that were being forcibly allotted to big mining, cement and coal companies. Such organizations and NGOs and individuals are usually branded by the government as ‘Urban Naxals and Tukde-Tukde gangs and so forth because by opposing eviction of the adivasis and handing over of stretches of forest land to business tycoons like the Adani group, Vedanta group, JSW and others.

Visibly apprehensive in view of the arch Hindu communal agenda of the BJP government, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India has warned that the Bill could cripple Christian institutions—especially schools, hospitals, and charities working with the marginalised sections of society—dependent on foreign contributions. Foreign funding is supplemental for several Christian and Muslim institutions and is existential. Many Christian educational hospitals, and charities are traditionally tied to global church networks. Several Muslim charities rely on donations from the Gulf countries for community welfare and educational projects. The global religious

infrastructure of the minority religious communities, therefore, makes them significantly more dependent on foreign contributions. The President of the All India Christian Council and Primate of the Good Shepherd Church of India, Archbishop Joseph Dsouza, has called the government's proposed amendments to the FCRA, “loot and theft of Christian institutions and their property”. He said that this is “a Sangh Parivar agenda”. If passed in the next session of parliament, he said, it will create an international storm with serious international repercussions for India. It shows that the real intention of the Central Government is not to regulate but throttle the freedom of independent working of such organizations, that do not fit in the frame of Hindutva politics and raise the questions against the anti-people policies of the Central Government.

At the same time, the proposed amendment allows the central government to exempt certain persons or organizations from the provisions of foreign contribution regulation Act and assets if it is deemed to be necessary or expedient in public interest. Howsoever logical the proposition might appear to be, one cannot rule out the possibility that the organisations related with ruling party, and its affiliates would be the sole beneficiaries. For example, the most opaque PM Care fund has 100 per cent tax exemption and accepts all kinds of donations including foreign funding, and is exempted from all FCRA provisions, whereas NGOs and others with much smaller corpus face routine harassment over sources of funding, domestic or foreign. Not only that, the VHP and other Hindutva or Sangh organisations which allegedly receive foreign as well as domestic funding, have virtually no checks on their functioning. They all belong to the category of “Caesar's wife”.

This new amendment, if it gets a safe passage, will seriously impact all educational institutions, hospitals, healthcare organizations, charitable NGOs, who mostly depend on foreign funding, such as Christian and Muslim organizations. The misuse of the law is evident. Therefore, this new amendment is only to shackle the organizations not related with the ruling party that depend on foreign funding. The whole FCR act is not a tool for regulation of the NGOs and organizations, which depend upon foreign funds, but a political weapon to silence dissent and harass organizations that question the government's policies. No doubt, the move has a clear political motive. One cannot deny the link between this financial regulation and the BJP's agenda of coercing and cornering the organizations not pliable to its dictates. So, the argument that this amendment is for ensuring transparency and national security, is not tenable. Hence, it calls for complete withdrawal of this amendment in the interest of social justice and equity. All concerned must raise their voice of protest against it. Only a powerful organized voice of public protest can force the Central Government withdraw this proposed amendment.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH