

## On Other Pages

■ Revisiting Kosambi's Vision of Science.....03  
■ Mohan Kumaramangalam: Outstanding Theoretician, Leader.....08–09

## CPI Leads Struggle to Bring to Light Buried Secrets in Dharmasthala

*Dharmasthala, the temple town revered across India for the Lord Manjunath shrine, is now under the shadow of a chilling investigation. For decades, families of missing women and minors, whistle blowers, and civil society activists spoke in whispers of abductions, sexual assaults, and secret burials in the forests and hillocks surrounding the town. Local authorities dismissed these claims, and successive governments turned a blind eye, allowing what may be one of Karnataka's darkest tragedies lost in layers of secrecy, unseen, unknown.*

The wall of silence began to crack when a former temple sanitation worker testified that he had been coerced to dispose of over a hundred bodies between 1995 and 2014, many of them victims of sexual crimes. His testimony, combined with decades of unsolved cases like the 1979 burning of teacher Vedavalli, the 1986 death of Padmalatha, and the 2012 rape and murder of 17 year old Sowjanya, laid bare a horrific pattern of impunity. His account revived old fears: that beneath the serene reputation of Dharmasthala lay a history of organised silencing of victims.

The CPI intervened decisively to ensure that this decades long story of neglect would no longer be ignored. On July 19, 2025, CPI MP P Sandosh Kumar wrote to Union Home Minister Amit Shah demanding a National Investigation Agency (NIA) probe into the chain of alleged crimes and the systemic failure to investigate them. The letter thoroughly documented the

shocking witness testimony, the history of unexplained disappearances, and the repeated refusal of state authorities to act. P. Sandosh Kumar stressed that “the spiritual sanctity of Dharmasthala must be protected – not just in ritual or appearance, but in truth, justice, and transparency. A sacred town revered by devotees across India cannot remain clouded by fear, suspicion, and buried truths. As representatives of the people, we owe it to the victims, to



One of the burial sites

the nation, and to the legacy of Dharmasthala, to ensure that the truth is uncovered without fear or favour.”

full investigation, led locally by district comrades under the guidance of CPI Karnataka State Secre-

jected the demand for a Special Investigation Team (SIT) just a day before the CPI's intervention, claiming that

## Karnataka Faces Its Darkest Reckoning

Vivek Sharma

tary SathiSundaresh. This gave confidence to locals and emboldened whistle blowers to continue demanding a probe.

Despite this mounting evidence and public anger, Karnataka Home Minister G. Parameswara had re-

the allegations were exaggerated. However, the combination of CPI's parliamentary action, the district level action, and an aggressive social media campaign – involving activists, RTI petitioners, and YouTubers – forced the state government to retreat. Within 24 hours of the MP's letter, the SIT was announced, an action the government had resisted for years.

The SIT's work has since begun to unearth the first physical evidence after decades of denial. After a few initial digs, Site 6 near the Netravathi River yielded around fifteen bone fragments at a depth of four feet, along with a PAN card, a debit card, and pieces of clothing. These discoveries were the first tangible indication that the long suppressed allegations had substance. Media reports have pointed to additional skeletal dis-

On Page 12



The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) has been aggressively pursuing the task of distorting our past. It is trying to rewrite it according to its subjective interpretations which amount to primacy of bias against the fact. Times are with them and distortion goes unrestrained. Recently the NCERT has released the Class 8 social science textbook. The book, *Exploring Society: India and Beyond*, highlights instances of "brutality" and "religious intolerance" during the rule of the Mughals and the Delhi Sultanate. The Marathas, in contrast, are portrayed in a more positive light.

Though the NCERT has said the book is in line with the National Curriculum Framework and the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, it is clear that the changes introduced in the Class 8 textbook is an ideological move by the RSS that selectively glorifies or vilifies historical figures.

The revised Class 8 textbook portrays the Marathas, who ruled over a 17th-century kingdom in western India, as rulers who established "sovereignty", describing their founder, Chhatrapati Shivaji, as a "strategist" and "true visionary".

The book has a mention of surgical strike. It cites Maratha Empire founder Shivaji's raid on Mughal nobleman Shaishta Khan's camp at night, forcing him to leave what is now Maharashtra, and likens it to "the modern-day surgical strike." It also highlights that during his retaliatory actions, Shivaji was always "careful" not to attack religious places.

The fact, however, is that the textbook does not get into as many details on the violence of the Marathas – the raids in the Rajput kingdoms or violent annexations of Bengal, Bihar, and Odisha, devastating local populations and forcing people to pay tributes called 'chauth', or the destruction of temples in Karnataka – as it does for the Mughals.

There are also reports that the government is working to make Operation Sindoor a part of the NCERT textbooks from classes 3 to 12. According to reports the NCERT is developing two special modules on India's strikes against terror infrastructure across Pakistan under Operation Sindoor, with an

## Myth and Reality

aim to make students aware about India's military power. Both modules are under preparations and will be introduced soon. "While the first special module on Operation Sindoor will be for students of Classes 3 to 8 and second will be available for Classes 9 to 12. The achievements of India and her Armed Forces will be described in 8 to 10 page modules. The aim of these modules is to make students aware about India's military power and how Pakistan was defeated once again," a report said.

The process of distortion of historical facts by the NCERT has been happening with a sickening regularity. The previous instance of this effort was witnessed in April 2024, when the NCERT sought to change the Class 12 political science textbook to present a distorted picture of the Ayodhya dispute. The

### Editorial

revision was sought to be done to give primacy to the Ram Janmabhoomi movement rather than the demolition of Babri Masjid. The purported reason cited by the NCERT for effecting these changes was the Supreme Court's verdict of November 2019, allowing the temple to have the entire campus of the Babri Masjid and also the space where the mosque stood. The apex court also asked to find a five acre plot for the construction of the Masjid. In the textbook, even the mention of the Babri Masjid was also sought to be deleted.

The mega event that was made out of the construction of Ram temple by replacing Babri Masjid in Ayodhya should not lead us to forget the basic fact. And that is despite the Supreme Court's mandate, the temple at the site of the mosque has no historical foundation, nor was it a part of Hindu consciousness till 1949. As early as in 1855, there was a feud between Bairagis living in Hanumangarhi and the Muslims. The important dimension of Hanumangarhi episode (1855) is that it indicated the absence even at that time of any linkages between Babari Masjid and Janmasthan in Hindu psyche. Although the Bairagis captured the Masjid in which Mus-

lims had taken shelter, they did not occupy it or advance any claim to it. Instead they retreated to Hanumangarhi instantaneously. It is also important that during the course of the enquiry by the court of Awadh, no Hindu had mentioned the earlier existence of a temple at the site of the Masjid.

In fact, whatever scriptures the Supreme Court cited in the case to relate with the birth place, mention only Ayodhya, not a particular spot. In fact the Supreme Court judgement of November 2019 said that there have been more than one site referred to as the Birth place of Lord Ram.

Even the local court records of British era state that the Babri Masjid was never considered the birthplace of Ram. For example, a court order of 1903 talked about "Janam Asthan" (the birth place of Lord Ram) existing away from Babri Masjid and inside the outer wall of the mosque compound. This order of the district magistrate of Faizabad was given in response to a petition seeking injunction on attempts to put a sign board at "Janam Asthan".

The magistrate, rejecting the petition, said there was nothing wrong in the move since such place did exist inside the "outer wall" of Babri Masjid and not inside the mosque itself. "It happens that the Janamasthan is inside the outer wall of this particular mosque, so that the name slab is only being put in its right place and it is not a ground for objection to its being put there [...] For such place does in fact exist and the name board is merely for a guide to strangers," the order said.

The place at which the name slab was being put was an elevated platform outside the inner courtyard of the Babri Masjid but inside its outer wall. Also named 'Ram Chabutara', the place existed about 100 paces away from the mosque and was worshipped until the idol was planted inside the Babri Masjid in 1949 as the birth place of Ram. Iron railings separated the elevated platform from the inner courtyard.

The more changes the NCERT introduces in its textbooks, the more lies it is filling them with. Lies must not be taught to students in the name of history whether of medieval or modern times.

## National Protest Day on August 11

### Against Harassment of Bengali-Speaking Indian Citizens

*National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued on August 5, 2025, the following statement:*

The National Executive of Communist Party of India has called upon all the units of the party to observe August 11,

2025 as a protest day against the harassment of Bengali speaking people in BJP ruled states.

Under the pretext of removing Bangladeshi foreigners from India mostly all BJP-ruled states and Central gov-

ernment is pursuing a policy of deliberately harassing and persecuting Bengali speaking people.

Recently Delhi Police has called Bengali language as Bangladeshi language. Similarly, many Bengali speaking

workers from Assam and West Bengal are harassed, detained and arrested in Haryana, Odisha, Delhi and Maharashtra and in other BJP-ruled states.

This is a deliberate attempt by BJP to target Bengali speaking

people. Bengali is an Indian language having a rich cultural tradition about which all Indians are proud.

CPI demands that this harassment be stopped immediately and constitutional rights of Bengali speaking Indians must be protected.



# Revisiting Kosambi's Vision of Science

*Kosambi's insights offer us a critical lens to examine the trajectory of AI and its potential to liberate or oppress:*

On July 31, 2025, we commemorate the 118<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of DDKosambi whose insightson the interplay of science, freedom and society remain strikingly relevant. In his 1952 essay on 'Science and Freedom', which was written against the backdrop of a world that was still comingto terms with inhuman consequences of technology driven devastation, Kosambi articulated a profound connection between science and societal structures. He argued that scientific progressis not merely a pursuit of knowledge but a reflection of the societal necessities and constraints of its time. Today we stand at the cusp of an AI driven revolution and Kosambi'sinsights offer us acritical lens to examine the trajectory of artificial intelligence and its potential to liberate oroppress and the

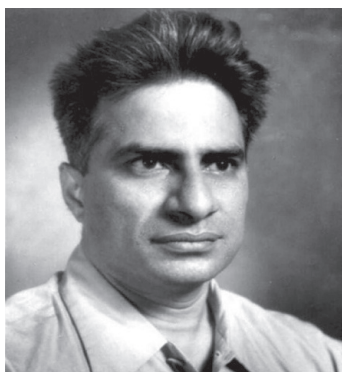
urgent need to align it with the broader good of humanity.

Kosambi defined freedom as the "recognition of necessity" and science as the "cognition ofnecessity." For him science was not an abstract endeavour but a materialistic, testable process thatresponds to societal needs. He illustrated this with examples like the invention of airplanes, which required understanding aero-dynamics and propulsion, and eye glasses, which demanded advances in optics and manufacturing.

However, he emphasized that access to these scientific solutions often hinges on economic power, revealing how social structures shape the fruits ofscience. In the context of artificial intelligence, this perspective is illuminating. Artificial intelligence, like the flying machines or corrective lenses in Kosambi's examples, represents a monumental leap in humanity's ability to address com-

*Mohit Sukhtankar & Rahul Tripathi*

plex problems, from healthcare diagnosticsto climate modeling. Yet, just as millions in 1949 India lacked access to glasses due to poverty,millions today continue to be excluded from AI's benefits due to



economic, digital, or educational divides.

In 1949, Kosambi observed that American scientists, despite their concerns about "scientific freedom," were increasingly be holden to big business, war departments, or universities fundedby them. He argued that science had lost its independence, becoming a tool for profit-driven patents or

militaristic agendas, with scientists facing pressures to avoid "dangerous" ideas, suchas those labeled communist during the McCarthy era.

Today, AI development mirrors this dynamic. Major AI systems, including large language models and generative tools, arepredominantly controlled by a handful of tech giants and governments. These companies prioritize commercial applications like advertising algorithms, surveillance systems etc over societal needs like equitable education. The modern AI scientists also operate within a tightly integrated system where funding and priorities are determined by those who "pay the piper" as Kosambi said. For instance, with companies like those behind Chat GPT, Deep Mind or Grok focus on models that generate revenue rather than open-source solutions that could democratizeaccess.

Kosambi's call for sci-

ence to serve all of humanity and not just the elite is a clarion call forAI's future. He wanted science which was liberated from servitude to profit and warfare. AI has the potential to continue on the trajectory of automating tedious tasks, accelerating medicalresearch however, Kosambi would caution against its misuse.

The development of AI for mass surveillance, psychological manipulation and autonomous weapons echoes his warning about scientists serving a class that "dumps food in the ocean while millions starve."

Experts at Internet Governance Forum 2025 Open Forum highlighted urgent need to counter AI-driven disinformation threats to democracy. These disinformation campaigns are likely to affectdisproportionately marginalized communities and vulnerable groups. Hence, there is a

*On Page 12*

## Stop Harassing Bengali Speaking Indian Citizens

The National Executive of Communist Party of India met on August 4, 2025 at AjoyBhawan and took serious note of many incidences reported about deliberate harassment and persecution of Bengali speaking Indian citizens in different BJP ruled states.

BJP is a master in playing divisive games and creating hatred and fear through fake narratives to confuse people and get power. The problem of Bangladeshi illegal migrants is one such issuethat is being used by BJP to create communal divide and to harass Bengali speaking Indians with hope to teach a lesson to the people of West Bengal who did not vote for BJP in its bid to win, in spite of desperate efforts by its ruling leadership.

Recently, three hundred Bengali

*Dr B K Kango*

speaking workers were arrested and harassed in Haryana and sent back to their states. Similar incidence happened in Odisha. Morethan147 Bengali speaking people were detained. Similar incidences are reported from Delhi, Maharashtra and other BJP ruled states. Recently Delhi Police wrote a letter mentioning Bengali as Bangladeshi language!! They forgot the great cultural contribution of Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Mahasweta Devi, Vivekanand, and many other stalwarts like Satyajit Ray and MrinalSenamong many others.

This act of Delhi police was rightly condemned by D. Raja, general secretary, Communist Party of India. Our prime min-

ister and home minister who are quite eloquent on other issues, remained silent on it.

Bengali is a recognized Indian language and has a rich treasure of literature. BJP is bent upon attacking it as they do not want strong federal union which they consider it as an impediment to nationalism and hence bent upon imposing Hindi under the pretext of nationalism.

They must know that Punjab, Bengal, Maharashtra and many other non-Hindi speaking states were in the forefront for the struggle for national independence, whereas RSS, the mother organisation of BJP kept away from the struggle. Hence, CPI has rightly decided to observe August 11as national day of protest against harassment of Bengali speaking Indian citizens and also to protect federalism.



# Economic and Political Fallout from Trump's Tariffs

*President Trump's imposition of 25 percent tariffs on Indian exports, effective August 1, 2025, is beyond mere commercial friction. Mr. Trump, is now attempting to pressure India by imposing various measures aimed at weakening our economy. USA now is weaponizing tariffs as a political leverage tool more than an economic measure to achieve two objectives: Gain uninterrupted access for US goods into the Indian market, secondly to de-link India's growing and enduring trade, energy and military ties with Russia. Its estimated that by stopping Russian crude oil imports we are likely to lose nearly 76,000 to 96,00 rupees annually. Its huge burden on our exchequer.*

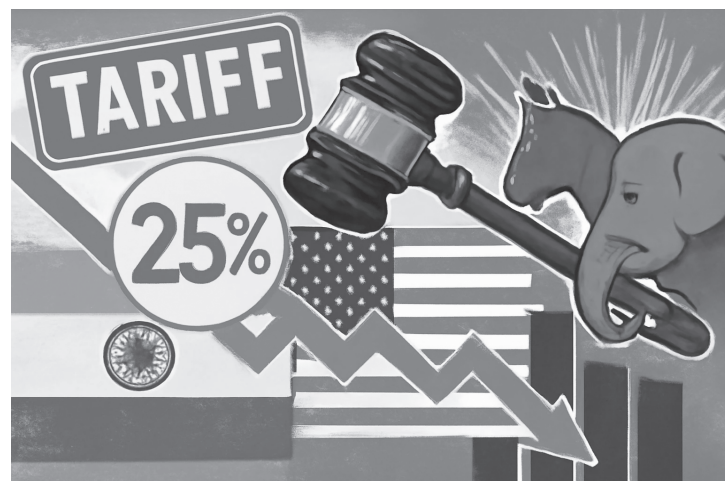
These actions threaten India's economic sovereignty and independent foreign policy, helps to American imperialist strategies of global dominance. Trump's tariffs are not just about trade, they are geopolitical aimed at attaining global military dominance, coercing both allies and other to fall in to its line.

Unjustified tariff-actions by Trump, is now weaponizing tariffs as a political leverage tool more than an economic measure seeks to achieve two objectives—create uninterrupted market access for US goods into the large Indian market of 140 crores and de-link India's growing, reliable and enduring trade and military ties with Russia.

Relationship between India and Russia (and erstwhile USSR) is time tested. USSR helped India in attaining self reliance in economy and defence by building large steel factories, energy infrastructure including legendary Brahmos missiles that rescued us in recent operation Sindoor. Imposition of 25% tariffs on Indian exports by the Trump administration is not a recent phenomenon. A legacy that fits into a long history of U.S. policies that have sought to pressure India into compliance with Washington's geopolitical military objectives.

From supporting Pakistan as a counterbalance to India, to technological and trade sanctions in the 1970s and late 1990s, successive American administrations attempted to distance India from Soviet Union or containing China today.

These American dictates not only challenge India's economic growth



but also undermine its independent foreign policy. Precisely USA wants India to shed its, the legacy (what ever remaining today) of self reliance and non alignment.

A nation imposes taxes (tariffs) on imported goods to increase revenues and protect its domestic industry. United States is India's largest trading partner, with bilateral trade reaching \$131.84 billion in 2024-25.

USA imports more goods from India and China, than it exports them. That's the reason Trump cites for imposition of high tariffs on world nations trading with USA.

**Dr. Soma Marla**

However, the real reasons for Mr. Trump's actions are aimed to rescue shrinking American economy in the backdrop of rising China, as a major global economic power. Key Indian export sectors now facing tariff exposure include—Key labour-intensive sectors such as jewellery, textiles, agriculture, sea food, automobile spare parts and certain electronics face certain job losses. America hugely subsidizes its agriculture and so the cost of production of wheat, soy, butter, meat and maize are cheap. By importing low

priced farm commodities our farmers will lose whatever support prices they are now getting and get bankrupt further.

Further, If the US also imposes penalties related to India's Russia trade (in crude petroleum and defense), the fallout could be even more severe. Energy prices could rise and India's fiscal deficit could increase, putting further pressure on the budget and bringing greater economic pain to the people.

MSME (Micro, Small, and Medium industry) contributes approximately 30% to India's GDP and employs nearly 60% of workforce. This sector is

also a significant source of employment, providing jobs to a large portion of the Indian workforce.

With active implementation of neo liberal economic policies, Indian economy became more dependent on exports to other nations, instead of improving huge domestic market by rising purchasing power of our citizens. This subjects Indian economy to absorb any shocks resulting from periodic crises in world capitalism.

The new US tariffs threaten to erode the competitiveness of Indian exports, thus making exported Indian goods more expensive. That makes many Indian companies, mostly from small scale dairy, sea food, textile, Jewellery, automobile spare part manufacturers to cut production or close, thus making millions of workers unemployed. For example an iPhone made in India currently costs \$ 1000 would cost \$ 1,250 in American super markets.

Nearly 45% of medicines prescribed to patients in USA are low cost Indian made non patented generic medicines. India exports to USA nearly \$ 8 billion worth of medicines annually.

Nearly half of medicines prescribed by doctors in USA are imported cheap Indian generic medicines. With imposition of tariffs they become nearly 40% costlier and India may lose out to other competing nations. Also on macro level, apart from job losses, India is likely to lose out 0.2% of GDP (bank of Baroda, July, 2025).

Indian Ministry of Trade and Commerce,

expecting lower tariffs from President Trump, and delayed trade negotiations with European Union, Middle East and African nations.

Except UK, only bilateral trade treaty was signed recently. India now seems more alienated than ever before in the global geo-economic landscape, while facing higher protectionist measures from the US and that too at a time when its relationship with China, the other dominant world leader, remains troubled.

Indian negotiators have heavily relied on the apprehension dependent on PM Modi's "My Best friend Trump" narrative and pursued pro-American military & defence cooperation would help for a favourable lenient tariff policy. However, Mr. Trump belied these hopes, instead sided with Pakistan against India's strategic interests.

India wants to complain to WTO against unjustified high level of tariffs on textiles, dairy, agriculture and other employment intensive sectors in violation of existing global trade laws. But, it is unlikely to yield any favourable results to India as America's influence on WTO decisions is strong.

■ At a time when consumption demand is low, jobless growth position continues to expand and inequality rises, India seems to offer little in its bargaining despite its huge market size.

To overcome present trade friction our government should reduce taxes and bring down price of petrol and diesel

**On Page 12**



# Before and After Pahalgam Attack

*The Modi government provided significantly less assistance to the families of deceased individuals in Kashmir compared to those from other states, suggesting a disparity in the support offered.*

India's Jammu and Kashmir is renowned for its breathtaking natural beauty, featuring vibrant flowers, fruits, majestic mountains, and clear rivers. My first visit to this stunning region began in Srinagar, the capital.

As we travelled towards Pahalgam, we faced constant police checks, which became frustrating. With approximately 12,267,013 residents (census 2011) and around 700,000 military and police personnel stationed there, Kashmir often feels like it's under military rule rather than elected governance. This situation has led to a lack of trust in the Indian government among the people of Kashmir. Unfortunately, there are efforts to label them as terrorists, raising questions about political motives behind such portrayals.

Sheikh Abdullah, the first Prime Minister, implemented land reforms aimed at benefiting local farmers. However, subsequent governments have enacted laws to reverse these reforms. While families cultivate crops like paddy and apples, visible poverty is rare. So why the unrest?

Political shifts post-independence has provided opportunities for many, but the people's confidence in the Indian government has eroded due to repeated missteps. This distrust has fuelled terrorism, with Pakistan exacerbating the issue by supporting militant groups, leading to their

repeated interventions in the region.

During our trip to Srinagar, Ramakrishna Panda, Azeez Pasha, and I, all national secretaries of the CPI, also visited Pahalgam. On the way, we noticed that there was a police camp every furlong. We wanted to visit the site of the firing, but all the roads to that area were closed. However, with great difficulty, we managed to reach Pahalgam.

While there, we spoke with small retail merchants and horse-riding helpers. There was a stark contrast between Modi's rhetoric and the realities expressed by retail traders and ordinary people.

In the tragic incident at Pahalgam, 22 innocent Indian tourists lost their lives due to a terrorist attack. The Modi government provided significantly less assistance to the families of deceased in Kashmir compared to those from other states, suggesting a disparity in the support offered. Additionally, 500 families were evacuated from the site of the attack, but no one has looked after them since.

Following the Sindhoo operation, five war jets were destroyed. According to residents living near the border, we lost many of our military bases, and several people are migrating inward due to attacks from Pakistan. The entire nation expected our military forces to retake Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK), but the war was halted unexpectedly. Modi is using



*CPI National Secretariat Members Dr. K. Narayana, Syed Azeez Pasha, Ramakrishna Panda along with CPI state secretary Mizrab and assistant secretary Gulzar Bhat visited JKNC President and former Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah at his residence in Srinagar*

the Sindhoo operation for election propaganda, and he is scaring away tourists from Kashmir.

Small retail merchants are struggling to survive. Before the Pahalgam incident, there were over 1,000 horses waiting for tourists, but now there are hardly 100. Tourists are no longer visiting Kashmir or the mountains. In this sorrowful period, Modi continues to exploit this incident for electoral gain, reflecting his toxic political practices.

The lack of adequate police presence raises serious questions. This situation is why the people of Kashmir still lack confidence in the government. The central politics that began during Indira Gandhi's time has now reached a climax.

## Kashmir's Political Crossroads

The political history of Jammu and Kashmir post-independence has been marked by a series of tumultuous and defining events. One of the most significant was the arrest of the region's most prominent leader,

*Dr K Narayana*

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, by the Central government.

Sheikh Abdullah, often referred to as the "Lion of Kashmir," was the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. A charismatic mass leader, he played a pivotal role in shaping the political consciousness of the region during the tumultuous years following the partition of the subcontinent. He is widely credited with carrying out radical land reforms in the 1950s under the slogan "Land to the Tiller," a transformative policy that broke the centuries-old feudal stranglehold and redistributed land to poor peasants. This move not only cemented his popularity among the masses but also triggered significant socio-economic changes in Kashmir's agrarian landscape.

However, Abdullah's growing demand for regional autonomy and his stance on Kashmir's spe-

cial status under Article 370 put him at odds with the Indian establishment. In a dramatic turn of events in 1953, Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed from office and subsequently arrested, an action that sowed deep seeds of mistrust between Srinagar and New Delhi, effects of which continue to reverberate in the region's politics today. His arrest also marked the erosion of Jammu and Kashmir's autonomy.

Since Sheikh Abdullah's arrest, relations between the Centre and the State of Jammu and Kashmir have remained tense and progressively deteriorated, reaching a new low in 1984. That year, the Central government orchestrated a political defection within the ruling National Conference, leading to the dismissal of Dr. Farooq Abdullah as Chief Minister. In his place, Ghulam Mohammad Shah — Farooq's brother-in-law and a dissident within the party — was installed

*On Page 14*



# Operation Sindoor, a Decisive Response to Terrorist Attack in Pahalgam

**"I pay condolences to the people who lost their lives in the barbaric terror attack at pahalgam. My heartfelt condolences to those soldiers who lost their lives in Operation Sindoor, and to the civilians," said P Sandosh, Rajya Sabha MP, from Communist Party of India while taking part in the special discussion on India's strong, successful and decisive Operation Sindoor in response to the terrorists attack in Pahalgam on July 30, 2025.**

CPI leader added that he would like to mention one important name, and that was "AgniveerMuraliNaik from Andhra Pradesh. There are 3,000 Agniveers who are engaged in this Operation Sindoor, and I think it is time to withdraw that particular scheme. AgniveerMuraliNaik's family will not get any kind of pension or any other benefits. This is the time to withdraw that particular scheme.

Pointing out in this context, Sandosh said there are more than one lakh vacancies in the Indian Army at present. These vacancies must be filled up as early as possible, he said. Having stated all these things, Sandosh wanted to ask something more.

He said that he had come to know that foreign minister has been contradicting himself. Sandosh said that he had written three articles on China. These articles are available in his book titled 'The India Way'. Today, his speech was completely against his

earlier position, said Sandosh and added, "I do not know what happened to him. I want to ask one important question.

I belong to a political party that thinks war is not a lasting solution despite the fact that there are many ongoing wars. I am constrained to put one question. We were witnessing the rhetoric from the Treasury Benches. They were describing Pakistan as a 'factory of terrorists'. But, what compelled them to stop this war when there was a call from Pakistan,



as if they were waiting for a call to come? Who called? This question was raised by most of us. They did not answer.

The nation wants to know what compelled them to ceasefire. We all were supporting the Indian Army. No political party opposed Operation Sindoor. This will be a futile attempt from your side to find someone from our side who opposed Operation Sindoor. We always supported the cause of Operation Sindoor. We always supported the Government in combating cross-border terrorism.

But, may I ask them one thing? What was the approach of the BJP as a political party? Naddaji is sitting here. The then Chief Minister of Gujarat - I am referring to

the year 2008 when the Mumbai terrorist attack happened - flew to Mumbai and had a press conference. In that press conference, he openly criticised the then Indian Prime Minister calling him weak.

When the whole nation was fighting against Pakistan-sponsored terrorists, when their unity was more and more required, then, one State Chief Minister openly called the then Prime Minister weak. Is it acceptable? On November 29, BJP gave a huge advertisement. It appeared

in almost all national dailies.

Let me read that out - 'Brutal terror strikes at will. Weak Governments. Unwilling and incapable. Fight terror. Vote BJP.' On 26<sup>th</sup>, it happened and, within three days, these people were seeking votes in the name of terrorism. Many people tragically lost their lives. This is the history of the BJP. So, please do not try to teach us more and more nationalism. For you nationalism is a productive cell, but, for us, it is a matter of pride and prestige. That difference is there."

Refusing to speak on the issues taken up by many other speakers, Sandosh said, "I do not want to cover all those issues. Donald Trump's statement is a

big issue. Leave everything. Our Prime Minister is having the fourth largest followers on X.

The first one is, of course, Elon Mask; then, comes Obama; then, Cristiano Ronaldo, a soccer player and the fourth one is Modiji. I am just asking you, through Naddaji: Can he put at least one post on X post against US president Donald Trump? Leave everything; no need of this resolution or whatever it is.

When you have such a huge following, I challenge you, at least, put a X post, because the whole country is asking you. Why aren't you? When Pakistan tried to attack our territorial sovereignty, our Armed Forces, of course, they fought and they won.

When our moral sovereignty was attacked by the American President, what is your response? You have no response. After Operation Sindoor, it is 'operation silence' from your side. I take this opportunity to request that at least make one X post condemning the US president."

Media also played a huge role during this time. I would like to mention that also. Our Army was fighting. All political parties were supporting. And, in our country, a huge section of our mainstream media - we would like to call it Godi Media - were doing war mongering.

What kind of a situation was there? And this Government was aiding and abetting them. We have to take care of our

internal terrorists also. Recently, some nuns were attacked in Chhattisgarh.

I do not want to go into that subject because it is not the subject of discussion today. So, when Pakistan was defeated in the year 1965, the then Prime Minister, ShriLalBahadurShastri, made a speech in the Ram Lila Maidan. He spoke beautifully. In his speech, there is one line, that our fight against Pakistan is not on religious terms, it is a political fight.

She is our political enemy, not religious enemy. These people want to create enemies everywhere. In each and every Indian village, they want to create an Indo-Pak situation. This is what is happening. Without enemy, they cannot survive. So, the slogans must be controlled by the ruling dispensation and we need to take care of all this in future.

It is stated here that this is an on-going operation. That means, this will continue in the future too. The BJP President is here and other prominent leaders are also there. All those who believe in RSS ideology are there.

The CPI MP said, "I would like to ask them: Do they actually believe in Akhand Bharat Sankalp. There is a map displayed by our governor in Kerala Raj Bhavan. I do not want to go into that. But I would like to ask very sincerely, Do they actually believe in that Akhand Bharat concept consisting of all these areas?"



## Lathis on Teachers and Students

# SSC Protests Expose India's Flawed System

On July 31, 2025, Delhi's streets became a battleground for justice as thousands of Staff Selection Commission (SSC) Combined Graduate Level (CGL) aspirants and their teachers protested a deeply flawed examination system. The "Delhi Chalo" movement, a cry for accountability and reform, was met with shocking police brutality, leaving educators bloodied and detained. Teachers like Neetu Ma'am, Rakesh Yadav, Sanjeev Sir, Bhola Yadav, and Abhinav Sharma, who guide millions toward brighter futures, faced batons, arrests, and verbal abuse near the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT) office. A teacher's broken arm became a stark symbol of a democracy punishing those who dare to demand fairness for the young. This crackdown, captured in distressing visuals, raises a profound question: Why is India's system silencing the voices fighting for its youth?

The SSC CGL exam, a beacon of hope for over 30 million aspirants seeking government jobs, has become a vortex of controversy. The 2024 Tier-I results sparked outrage with suspiciously high cut-offs, consistent selections from specific exam centres, and roll number patterns suggesting rigging. By 2025, the situation worsened with the Selection Post Phase 13 exam plagued by repeated cancellations, server failures, and reports of candidate mistreatment at testing

centres. These failures, compounded by the SSC's reliance on Educatry — a company with a history of technical glitches — fuelled distrust. Past promises of reform, such as the 2017-18 CBI probe into paper leaks, yielded no change, pushing students and teachers to the streets in a desperate bid for justice.

The "Delhi Chalo" movement saw thousands, including teachers from across India, rally at Jantar Mantar and attempt to reach the

DoPT office to submit a memorandum to Minister Jitendra Singh. Their demands were clear and reasonable: ban Educatry due to its incompetence; establish a fixed exam calendar like the UPSC; ensure transparent normalization processes; provide error-free question papers; expedite appointments; release waiting lists; and improve exam centre accessibility with trained staff. These are not radical requests but pleas for a fair, accountable system that respects the aspirations of millions who toil for years, carrying their families' hopes for a better future.

The police response

was disproportionately brutal. Videos show officers dragging teachers, including women, into buses without female personnel present, even chasing those who sought refuge in a nearby gurudwara. Neetu Ma'am and Rakesh Yadav were detained, with some sustaining injuries like broken hands. A teacher's plea — "What will arrests achieve? Will they fix the system?" — was met with taunts. One officer questioned a teacher's courage, saying, "Wear

the uniform, you'll understand," while another cited Section 144 to block their path, claiming an ongoing parliamentary session justified the crackdown. Protesters, chanting "Respect the teacher," demanded dignity and dialogue, not violence. Their goal was simple: meet the minister to address SSC's irregularities, not create chaos. Yet, even a small delegation of four was barred from proceeding, with police asserting that protesters were "not worthy" of raising students' voices.

India's democratic fabric. Teachers, the backbone of society, were treated as threats rather than nation-builders. A protester's retort — "I wore the uniform in 2017 and took it off; if you were a man, you'd wear it" — captured the frustration with a system shielding its flaws. The SSC's repeated entrustment of exams to Educatry, despite its track record of failure, raises suspicions of complicity or negligence. Is this a deliberate ploy to undermine stu-

dents' futures, or simply systemic incompetence? The lack of accountability, coupled with the government's silence, has eroded trust among aspirants who see their years of hard work betrayed by a corrupt system.

Social media has become a powerful weapon for the protesters, with hashtags trending on X as candidates share stories of toil, economic hardship, and betrayal. Neetu Ma'am's words resonate: "They beat us, but they can't break our spirit." The slogan "When the youth speak, thrones shake" reflects their unyielding resolve.



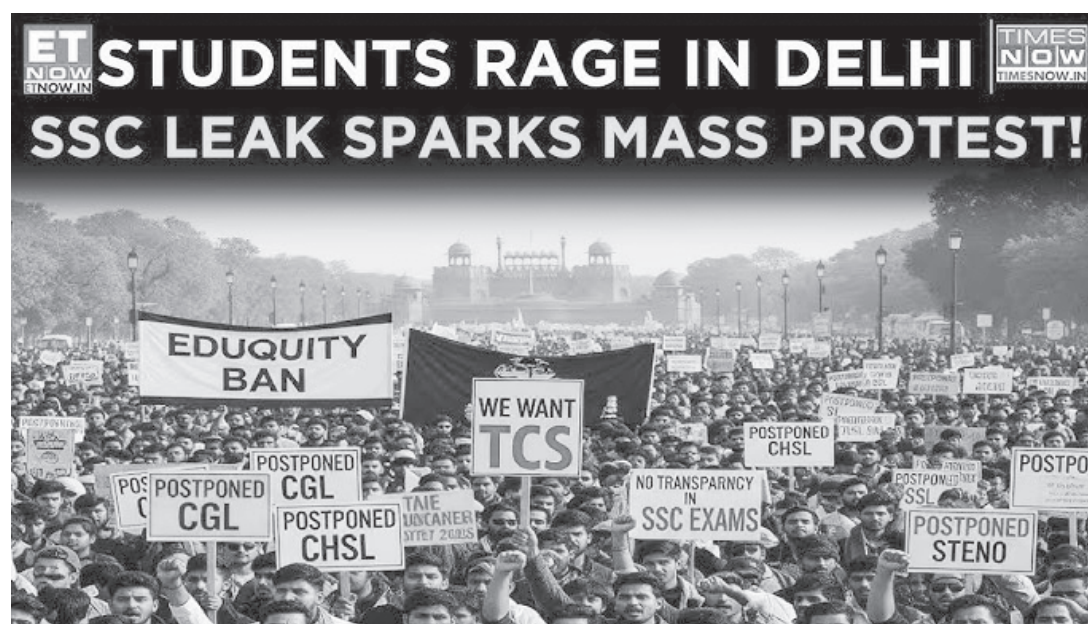
## STUDY & STRUGGLE

C Adhikesavan



The SSC movement has transcended a single examination, evolving into a broader fight against corruption in recruitment processes, from railways to BPSC. It echoes past protests, like those against railway reforms or teacher recruitment, where demands are ignored, and dissent is crushed with force.

The government faces a critical choice: heed the youth and teachers, ban dubious companies like Educatry, enforce transparency, and engage in dialogue, or risk alienating millions and dismantling the nation's foundation of trust. The lathi-charges and detentions are not just an attack on individuals but on the soul of India's democracy. When teachers and students face violence for seeking justice, the nation's aspiration to be a global leader is undermined. History warns that when India's youth rise against injustice, systems tremble. As one protester declared, "Every youth is ready to be arrested if it fixes the system." The government must act — listen, reform, and deliver justice — or risk a cycle of unrest that could reshape India's future.



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Surendra Mohan Kumaramangalam was an outstanding Communist leader and theoretician of the Communist Party of India. He was among the builders of Communist movement in South. He was involved in the famous Madras Conspiracy Case in early '40s. He later joined the Indian National Congress, and served as Advocate-General for Madras State from 1966 to 1967. He was also a central minister. He died in an air crash along with several prominent personalities.

#### Born and brought up in London

Mohan Kumaramangalam was born in London to ShP Subbarayan and Mrs Radhabai Subbarayan on November 1, 1916. His father had come to London for education. Their's was a prominent personality, which produced outstanding figures in various walks of life. The elder son General Paramsiva Prabhakara Kumaramangalam became the 7<sup>th</sup> Chief of Staff of the Indian Army. In fact, Mohan's mother Radhabai became the first elected woman member of Central Assembly in 1938, and was mainly responsible for bringing Parvathi, sister of Mohan, into politics. Radhabai was a politician, social reformer and a women's rights leader. She even participated in the Round Table Conferences in London.

Famous British Communist historian Eric Hobsbawm has fondly described this illustrious family in his autobiography *Interesting Times*. He mentions visit of Parvathi Krishnan to Cambridge to meet her brother Mohan Kumaramangalam.

P Subbarayan was then a zamindar of

Kumaramangalam' in Thiruchengode Taluk, Namakkal (Salem) district. The family was a member of the 'Kumaramagalam Zameen', who held over 5,000 acres of land, but the family distributed the land to the landless, and each charted one's own path in life.

Subbarayan became a famous politician of Madras Presidency, widely respected with huge number of contacts, close to the Communists, who went on to become the Chief Minister ('First Minister') of the presidency in 1926-30, ambassador to Indonesia and a Union minister in Nehru's cabinet. He also was a member of the Constituent Assembly.

Rangarajan Kumaramangalam is his grandson, who joined the BJP.

#### Education

Mohan Kumaramangalam was educated at Eton and King's College. During his period at Cambridge he was deeply influenced by Communism. He also took an active part in the FEDIND or the Federation of Indian Students Abroad. He was elected President of the Cambridge Majlis in 1937 and President of the Cambridge Union in 1938.

When he joined the King's College for higher studies, Mohan was deeply influenced by the growing Communist ideas among the youth. The youths championed the Spanish Republic against fascist aggression and Gen Franco's counter-revolution. He emerged in the leading lines of the student movement in Britain.

Mohan came into close contact with Jawaharlal Nehru during the latter's visit to

Europe. Nehru also went to Spain to its battlefronts to personally greet the defenders of the Republic. It was Mohan Kumaramangalam who was chosen to drive the car in which Nehru went about. It was not only to provide 'security' but also to provide the intellectual company. Nehru was a great friend of Subbarayan, and he did come to like Mohan immensely.

When Bhupesh Gupta, on return to India, met Mohan's parents, he found them immensely proud of their imprisoned Com-



munist son Mohan and daughter Parvati. After all, the Subbarayans had played a great role in bringing these two children of theirs over to Communism!

Mohan remained a party whole-timer on wage till 1951. He became one of the first victims of the Preventive Detention in free India. He himself was to become minister of steel and mines.

Kumaramangalam practiced at the Bar and was brilliant at fighting in the law courts till he joined the Parliament. He became a tall figure in the Supreme Court and in the legal world in general.

Mohan's speech in support of the supersession of the three Supreme Court judges in Lok Sabha was a masterly performance.

Kumaramangalam was called to the bar by the Inner Temple. He returned to India in 1939 and participated in

the Indian freedom movement.

It was while in London that Mohan came in contact with the CPGB and Communist ideology. Parvathi became the president of the Oxford Majlis, a student organization. She also edited journal of the FEDIND (Federation of Indian Students Societies in England and Ireland). A large number of Indian students studied in London and Oxford-Cambridge, among them NK Krishnan, Bhupesh Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Mohan Kumaramangalam, Indrajit Gupta, Mohit Sen a little later, turned Communist.

In the Oxford and Cambridge universities, studied such future Communists as Mohan Kumaramangalam, Parvathi Kumaramangalam, Arun Bose, Indrajit Gupta, Romesh Chandra, Renu Chakravartty, NK Krishnan, Jyoti Basu, Bhupesh Gupta, Mohit Sen and others. Besides there were such luminaries as Indira Gandhi, PN Haksar and others. Eric Hobsbawm knew Mohan well.

#### Return to India

On return to India in 1939, Mohan got actively involved in the working class and Communist movements, particularly in South. The famous Communist theoretician Mohit Sen met the family of the Subbarayans in Royapettah, Madras in the early 1940s and was deeply impressed. The parents of Mohan were there, so also P Kumaramangalam, the future C-in-C of India, who had just been released from the Italian Prisoners-of-War camp in Libya. The parents were proud of their children Parvathi and

Mohan, who had just joined the Communist Party as whole-timers.

Mohan used to tell Mohit Sen and others to read Marx and Lenin. PC Joshi was there in Bombay PHQ, egging on the comrades to read the *Communist Manifesto* and other literature. Joshi, Mohan and others created great atmosphere in the Raj Bhavan. Gandhiji had a great admiration for Mohan, who was almost like his godson.

#### First party congress, 1943

Mohan was enrolled as an advocate in April 1940 by Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.

With the outbreak of the WW II in 1939, the British government arrested a large number of Communists and supporters, and launched several 'conspiracy cases' against them. One of them was the famous Madras Conspiracy Case of 1941, in which Kumaramangalam, CS Subramaniam, P Ramamurthi, Keraleeyan, S Subramaniam Sarma, R Umanath, Hanumantha Rao and others were convicted.

The cases went on for months together, providing an opportunity for Kumaramangalam, Ramamurthy and others to announce their aims and objects to wider audiences.

He was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment for distributing the so-called 'seditious' literature and inciting the people to take up arms against the British. But he was released in 1942 itself.

He then travelled through Madurai district organizing students and workers in tobacco and textile industries.

Along with Parvathi and NK Krishnan,



# Outstanding Theoretician, Leader

Mohan was among the leading organizers of party and trade union movements in the South.

Mohan was elected to the central committee of CPI in the first CPI congress held in Bombay in May-June 1943.

Though a close associate of CPI general secretary PC Joshi, he joined the aggressive attacks on Joshi at the second congress of CPI held in Calcutta in 1948.

## Marriage

Mohan married Kalyani Mukherjee, niece of Congress leader Ajoy Mukherjee and of CPI leader Bishwanath Mukherjee, in 1943.

## In PHQ

Kumaramangalam shifted to the central Party Head Quarters (PHQ) in Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay in the 1940s. He had a close friendship with PC Joshi, who was so capable of making friendships and intermingling with people! It was a memorable Commune, of which Mohan became an inseparable part. Mohan worked in various capacities there. He worked in central party organ *People's War* and then *People's Age*, and was in its editorial board.

Mohan wrote regular articles of high theoretical and academic standards, displaying his wide and profound knowledge of the national and international events. While there, he wrote several booklets, which showed his in-depth knowledge. Among the booklets were *Who Threatens China's Unity?* (1944), on Iran, Germany and other subjects.

In the booklet on China, he raised the question of the importance of formation of national front. He answered the question as

to what was the need for a booklet on China, and showed that there was a close relation between India and China at a time when they were fighting against colonialism and fascism. The anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle in China was not just an internal problem of that country but had wide repercussions for India too. The weakness of the national front in China only enhanced the Japanese danger to our own borders and "increases their capacity to attack our people." It

against himself.

Later on he was to change his line and call for a fresh look at the history of CPI, which would show that there were many points of convergence between Congress and CPI. He went even further than Joshi, further developing the thesis of the united national front into a national front, providing a central and leading place to Congress in the proposed front. Thus this concept was distinct from that of the national democratic front.

## Biographies of Communist Leaders-135

Anil Rajimwale

was our duty to help the anti-Japanese forces in China, Kumaramanagalam wrote. The disruption of the national united front in China by the extreme rightwing and fascist forces was a matter of great concern.

It was a brilliant booklet written lucidly and effective politically and ideologically, revolving around the question of national front.

## Second party congress, 1948

Mohan Kumaramangalam attended the second congress of CPI held in Calcutta in February-March 1948. Though earlier he was very close to PCJ, on this occasion he joined the sharp condemnation of PC Joshi led by BTR. PCJ himself stated that he was not so much hurt by the vehement attack made by BTR as by the vehemence shown by Adhikari, Kumaramanagalam, NK Krishnan and others

He was arrested in the course of the peasant struggles in Tamilnadduring this period.

Later on, he was to serve the party as a member of its National Council and in various capacities in the AITUC.

## As advocate general

Mohan Kumaramangalam served as the Advocate General of Madras state during the 60s. This task he carried out very ably.

## Joining Congress

Following the victory of DMK (Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam) in the elections to the assembly in 1967, Kumaramangalam resigned from the CPI that year and joined the Congress. He was elected to the Lok Sabha on Congress (Indira) ticket in 1971 from Pondicherry. He was the driving force behind the decision of Indira Gandhi to appoint AN Ray as the chief justice of India, superceding three senior judges in 1973. He delivered excellent speech in

the Parliament in defence of his view.

Kumaramanagalam served as the minister of Steel and Mines from 1971 till his death in 1973. He took the people's mandate very seriously. A series of takeovers and nationalization measures including the nationalization of more than 700 coalmines were undertaken under his guidance. He set up record of sorts in two years of his ministership with his excellent work.

## "Kumaramanagalam Thesis", 1964

Kumaramanagalam presented a detailed thesis in 1964 to the CPI leadership, popularly known as the "Kumaramangalam Thesis". That was the time of intense debates within the Communist movement. This document was an important contribution to the debate. In an incisive analysis, he covered the evolution of ideological and theoretical positions of CPI from 1947 to 1964. It is a worth-reading thesis.

Says Kumaramangalam in his Introduction: "This contribution is an attempt to analyse the policy of our party as it developed from 1947, when India became independent, down to the present day." It was based entirely on party documents. The thesis was published in book form in 1973 under the title *Communists in Congress: Kumaramangalam's Thesis*.

Books and articles We have already mentioned his booklet on China and the 'Kumaramangalam Thesis'. Besides these, he wrote a large number of articles and books/booklets. He wrote extensively in the *People's War* and *People's Age* and later in other party journals. His other books included:

*A New Germany in Birth* (1944); *The United Nations; Iran at Crossroads* (1946); *India's Fight for Equality in South Africa* (1946); *India's Language Crisis* (1965); *India and the UNO* (1947); *Democracy and Cult of Individual* (1966); *The Constitutional Amendments: the reasons why* (1971); *Coal Industry in India: nationalization and tasks ahead* (1973); *Judicial Appointment: the recent controversies* (1973), etc. They reflect his prominent theoretical role.

## Passing away

Mohan Kumaramangalam was killed in the crash of the Indian Airlines Boeing 737 Flight 440 on May 31, 1973. He was only 56 at the time. Some other prominent personalities also died in the same flight, such as K Baladandayudham and SatishLoomba. It was a crushing blow to the Communist and progressive democratic movement. Many of the dead were unidentifiable, but Kumaramangalam's body was identified by a Parker pen and a hearing aid he wore.

Mohan Kumaramangalam never wavered from left, democratic and progressive anti-imperialist path. He was fearless in speaking out against reactionary and imperialist ideology. He remained a close friend and collaborator of the Communist movement till the end, and continued helping it in every possible way. He never got separated from working class aspirations. At the same time he was fiercely independent minded. He had a profound theoretical and a keen practical vision.

Mohan Kumaramangalam made unforgettable contributions to the Communist and broader national democratic cause.



## GST Growth, a Mirage in Domestic Demand

# Inequality Grows as Wealth Gets Visibly Concentrated

India's July 2025 GST revenue numbers arrived dressed in confidence. A 7.5per cent year-on-year rise in gross collections to 1.95 lakh crore suggests continuity and resilience. Yet, behind the sheen of top-line growth, lies a fragile and fractured economic narrative – one of sputtering domestic demand, an unsustainable reliance on imports, ballooning refunds, and stark regional imbalances. Eight years after the launch of the Goods and Services Tax, the system is showing unmistakable signs of strategic exhaustion.

It is time to acknowledge that GST's apparent stability is masking more than it reveals. The numbers don't reflect strength. They reflect stress. And unless course corrections begin immediately, India risks entrenching a tax system that is out of sync with the economy it is meant to support.

At the heart of the July revenue increase lies a troubling imbalance: GST collections from imports rose by 9.7 per cent, significantly outpacing the 6.7per cent growth in collections from domestic transactions. This isn't just a minor deviation – it's a structural red flag. A revenue framework that increasingly depends on external trade reflects not robust economic expansion but fragile internal demand.

This reliance on imports sits uncomfortably with the government's own stated goals of promoting domestic manufacturing, self-reliance, and supply chain resilience. Despite policy posturing around Make in India and Atmanirbhar Bharat, the GST data paints a different picture: India continues to import heavily – not just goods, but growth itself.

The July figures also mark a disturbing milestone. Net domestic GST revenue, for the first time

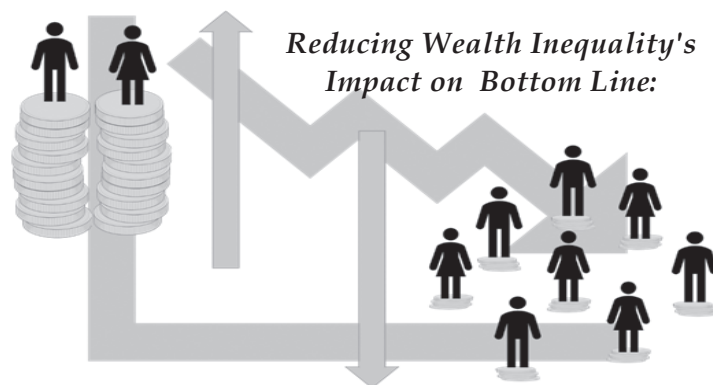
R Suryamurthy

since the pandemic, has contracted on a year-over-year basis. This is more than a statistic – it is a signal of faltering consumer and business confidence. If people are not buying, businesses are not selling, and states are not producing at pace, GST numbers become less a measure of tax efficiency and more a barometer of economic fatigue.

Over the first four months of the current fiscal year, import revenues rose 16per cent, while domestic revenues grew by just 9per cent. Such divergence is unsustainable. No healthy economy leans this hard on external de-

centas a finished product, while their parts are taxed at 28per cent. Multiply this mismatch across multiple goods and sectors, and the result is a refund mechanism being stretched beyond its original intent.

This is not just a technical glitch – it is a misalignment of economic logic. Companies can't efficiently plan or reinvest when they are stuck in a cycle of refund dependence. Liquidity is choked, margins are unpredictable, and compliance becomes a bureaucratic exercise rather than a facilitator of enterprise. The longer this persists, the more confidence erodes in the system's ability to support business growth.



mand while domestic engines stall.

Another striking feature of the July data is the dramatic 66.8per cent surge in GST refunds, with domestic refunds jumping by 117.6 per cent over the same period last year. While some may interpret this as evidence of improved processing and better taxpayer service, it more plausibly signals deep inefficiencies within the GST structure itself.

The root of this surge lies in the enduring problem of inverted duty structures. In many sectors, the input materials are taxed at a higher rate than the final product – forcing companies to claim large and recurring refunds to recoup excess tax paid. Lithium-ion batteries offer a clear example: taxed at 18 per

cent while the GST Council has periodically addressed some of these anomalies, the approach has been piecemeal. The structure remains fundamentally fragmented, with too many slabs, too many exceptions, and too few incentives for simplification. The refunds are not a sign of a mature system – they are evidence of a policy in denial.

GST was conceived as a uniform tax system meant to unify India's internal market. But the July data highlights the stark asymmetries in state-level economic activity. Several industrially and economically significant states – Delhi (2per cent), Gujarat (3per cent), Rajasthan (4per cent), Maharashtra (6per cent), Karnataka (7per cent), and Tamil Nadu (8per cent) – registered low

growth in collections. These are not peripheral economies; they are the fulcrums of national output. Their sluggish performance cannot be dismissed as regional volatility, it reflects systemic economic softening.

Meanwhile, some smaller and mid-sized states posted stronger growth: Madhya Pradesh (18per cent), Andhra Pradesh (14per cent), West Bengal and Punjab (12per cent each). While this suggests some decentralisation of growth momentum, it also points to a fragmented recovery, with no common trajectory.

In other regions, the picture is even bleaker. Manipur's GST collections fell by 36per cent, Mizoram's by 21per cent. Other states and union territories also registered declines. This is not a landscape of balanced federalism; it is a map of uneven and unpredictable economic recovery.

This divergence challenges the core assumptions behind a one-size-fits-all GST regime. It raises hard questions about how compensation is calculated, how resources are redistributed, and how policy is tailored to economic realities on the ground. A centrally determined tax structure can no longer afford to ignore regional nuance.

The July data is not an anomaly. It is a symptom of an economy that requires urgent structural attention. To restore credibility and effectiveness to the GST framework, four immediate reforms are essential:

The sluggish growth in domestic collections reveals a deeper malaise in consumption and investment. Middle-income households and MSMEs, the true drivers of India's consumption economy, require direct fiscal support. Targeted tax rebates, increased rural employment guarantees, and public infrastructure investments can inject life into demand-starved sectors.

The persistence of inverted duty

structures – and the resulting refund burden – is indefensible. The GST Council must undertake a comprehensive overhaul of tax rates, reducing the number of slabs and eliminating anomalies that distort input costs. A simplified, predictable regime would improve both compliance and economic efficiency.

Uniform policy must give way to flexible implementation. States growing slower need tailored or more incentives – performance-based grants, targeted industrial zones, or conditional fiscal support. Ignoring these disparities will only deepen regional resentments and undercut national growth.

Current GST data is broad and aggregated, obscuring critical insights. Sector-wise, product-wise, and regional breakouts should be published regularly. Without disaggregated data, policymaking remains reactive and superficial – unable to diagnose or pre-empt economic shifts.

The most dangerous thing about July's GST numbers is how deceptively normal they appear. Growth has returned, refunds are flowing, imports are buoyant. But this is not a picture of health – it is a portrait of imbalance. A tax system designed to streamline India's economy is today caught between complexity and compromise.

Left unaddressed, these inefficiencies will calcify into chronic weaknesses. Refunds will grow faster than revenues. Imports will outpace domestic supply. Richer states will slow, poorer ones will stagnate. And GST will be remembered not as a bold reform, but as a missed opportunity.

India cannot afford to drift toward that outcome. The cracks are already visible. What is needed now is political will, policy clarity, and a recognition that a revenue system is only as strong as the economy it supports. The July data has sounded the alarm. The only question is: will it be heard?



*On the 80th Anniversary of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, IDPD Peace Conference Demands Immediate Abolition of Nuclear Weapons:*

On August 3, in Ludhiana, Punjab India, a Peace Conference was organized at Punjabi Bhavan to mark the 80th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States, which resulted in catastrophic human and environmental devastation. The conference emphasized the urgent need for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

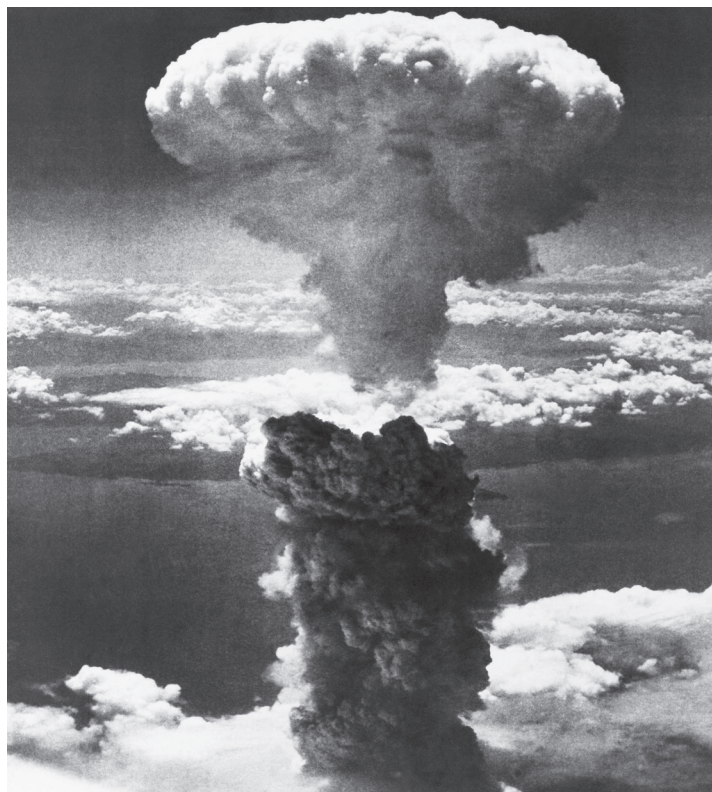
The event was jointly organized by Indian Doctors for Peace and Development (IDPD) and the Punjabi Sahit Academy.

The conference began with a peace demonstration demanding an end to the genocide of Palestinians in Gaza by Israel.

Delivering a powerful keynote address, Prof. Harish Puri, former Head of the Department of Political Science at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, said that the current geopolitical situation is perhaps the most dangerous since World War II. Ongoing wars in various parts of the world are not only causing human suffering but are also destroying entire

ecosystems and the foundational infrastructure of civilization.

Weapon industries are taking advantage of the situation, encouraging wars, rapidly



producing and selling arms to earn enormous profits.

In Gaza, a genocide of Palestinians is being carried out by the Zionist Israel. It is a matter of anguish that the world is unable to stop this crime. It is deeply unfortunate that India has sided with Israel, abandoning the cause of the Palestinians.

A resolution was passed unanimously,

demanding that India and Pakistan work to normalize relations by opening cultural and trade ties, easing the visa process by issuing visas

at the border, and re-opening the Kartarpur Corridor.

The conference was inaugurated by S. Balwinder Singh Jhalla, head of the Namdhari Darbar, who joined with a large delegation.

Dr. Param Saini gave a presentation on the Psycho Trauma of war.

Environmental effects of war were discussed

# IDPD Demands Abolition of Nuke Weapons

*Dr. Arun Mitra*

jointly by a team of young doctors Dr. Tejinder Toor, Dr. Gurveer Singh, Dr. Ankush Kumar, Dr. Seerat Singh, and Dr. Rajat Grover.

Two short films depicting the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were also screened.

S. Amarjit Singh Tikka participated as a chief guest and appreciated the entire effort.

At the beginning of the session, convener Dr. Balbir Shah introduced the issue, highlighting the deadly effects of nuclear weapons and stressing the need to raise a strong movement against weapons from the land of saints and sages.

Dr. Sarbjit Singh, President of the Punjabi Sahit Academy, welcomed the gathering and said that we need to wage a people's struggle against the horrors of war.

Following the keynote speeches, an open discussion was conducted, moderated by

Dr. Bharti Uppal, in which many participants shared their views.

Dr. Sukhdev Singh Sirsa, summarizing the session, said that we have a rich legacy of martyrs and revolutionaries that can inspire a broad peace movement.

Dr. Arun Mitra thanked all the attendees and shared thoughts about the way forward.

The event was compered by Dr. Gulzar Singh Pandher, General Secretary of the Punjabi Sahit Academy, and ophthalmologist Dr. Pragya Sharma from IDPD.

The session was chaired by a panel including Dr. Arun Mitra, Dr. Bharti Uppal, Dr. Balbir Shah, Dr. Sarbjit Singh, Dr. Gulzar Singh Pandher, Dr. Sukhdev Singh Sirsa, and Dr. Pal Kaur.

Before the conference, a protest march was held from Bharat Nagar Chowk to Punjabi Bhavan, opposing nuclear weapons.

In the afternoon, the second session featured a Poetry Gathering (Kavi Darbar) on peace.

## Tributes to Krantiveer Nana Patil



Nana Patil, popularly known as Krantisinh ('revolutionary lion'), was a Freedom Fighter and Member of Parliament for the Communist Party of India representing Beed District of Marathwada region. He was a source of inspiration for the people. His full name was Nana Ramchanra Pisal and he was a founder member of the Hindustan Republican Association who went underground between 1929 and 1932. Patil was imprisoned eight or nine times during the struggle with the British Raj from 1932 to 1942. He went underground for a second time for 44 months during the Quit India movement in 1942. Patil's method was direct attack on the colonial government and was widely accepted in the district. Krantiveer Nana Patil was born on August 3, 1900.

## Homage to People's poet Annabhau Sathe

Tributes to People's poet Annabhau Sathe, a powerful literary figure, contributing to the progressive literature in Maharashtra, his stories, songs, and novels reflecting the pain and resistance of the working class.

Born on August 1, 1920 in a Dalit Matang Family, he rose to become an iconic figure and a force for change. Sathe was a key contributor to the progressive literary movement in Maharashtra. His stories, songs, and novels reflected the pain and resistance of the working class. People share Annabhau Sathe Jayanti with love, and best wishes, quotes, status updates, and speeches to remember his contribution to literature and social equality. Annabhau Sathe gave voice to voiceless, and sparked revolutionary fervor. Salute to the visionary Annabhau Sathe.





# Karnataka Faces Its...

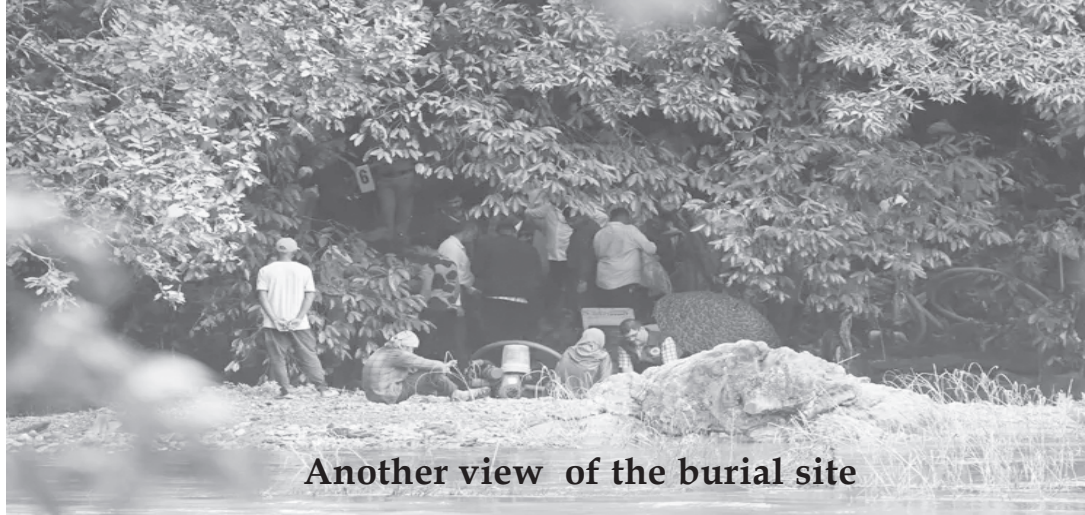
*From Front Page*

coveries at Banglegudde hillock, though formal confirmation is awaited. DNA testing is now underway, and activists are calling for the use of ground penetrating radar to identify further burial points in the dense forests and hills around the town.

For the CPI, the initial discoveries confirm what families and activists had known all along: that the soil of Dharmasthala is holding more than the state wants to admit. Confidence in the SIT remains limited. The Party has stressed that the same local machinery that ignored victims and suppressed evidence for decades cannot be the final arbiter of justice. A neutral, national

level, court monitored NIA probe remains essential to expose the full scale of the crimes and bring those responsible – no matter how

“unnatural deaths.” Whistle blowers risked their lives to break the silence, RTI activists faced harassment, and local journalists were re-



Another view of the burial site

influential – to justice.

The tragedy is likely larger than what the first exhumations show. Families have long spoken of daughters who disappeared, students who never returned home, and cases that were hurriedly closed as

peatedly threatened. The fact that physical evidence is finally surfacing is the result of a collective struggle, not administrative goodwill.

The Dharmasthala revelations are not a local issue; they are a test

of Karnataka's and the nation's conscience. How could so many families be silenced? How could such systemic impunity flourish in a place known for spiritual grace? For the CPI, the fight about

emphasises that the NIA should take over the investigation and that the process be monitored by the courts and activists to guarantee independence.

Today, as skeletal fragments are exhumed and forensic analysis begin, the campaign led by CPI, civil society, and the families of victims has ensured that Dharmasthala's buried truths are no longer whispers – they are evidence in the making. For the Party, the path ahead is clear: justice for every victim, exposure of every perpetrator, and the restoration of Dharmasthala's dignity through truth and transparency, not silence and suppression.

## Revisiting Kosambi...

*From Page 03*

need for an immediate course correction.

Looking at AI through Kosambi's framework, it needs to be ensured that AI's benefits are not just confined to the digital elite. In the case of India, the “Digital India” could prioritize AI infrastructure that could serve rural and underserved communities, such as AI aiding in precision farming and resource management etc. India, as a co chair of the recently held Global AI summit, also needs to reassert its push to ‘establish governance and standards that uphold shared values, address risks and build trust’. Besides, AI development must be guided by ethical frameworks that reflects various societal needs and not just corporate and military interests.

Finally, scientists and engineers must embrace Kosambi's challenge to question the social structures they serve. AI researchers must critically examine the implications of their work, advocating for applications that uplift rather than oppress.

As we celebrate Kosambi's legacy, his vision urges us to rethink AI's role in the society.

Science, he argued, is not the creation of isolated geniuses but a response to social necessities. Alas the science of our times must transcend its elite origins to serve humanity's collective needs.

This would mean the redirecting AI from creating digital divides and fueling geopolitical rivalries towards solving pressing global problems.

(Mohit Sukhtankar is Assistant Professor in Political Science, S.S Dhempe College, Miramar, Rahul Tripathi is Professor, Political Science, D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University. Rahul Tripathi is Professor, Political Science, D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University)

Curtsey: Navhind Times, Goa

## Economic and Political....

*From Page 04*

to provide some relief to people. Last year we imported 1.7 to 2 million barrels of oil every day costing 137 billion dollars in 2024.

Though discounted price of oil helped to contain retail inflation, the benefits did not reach the common man. Petrol diesel prices remain high. Reliance Petroleum and Nayara only earned windfall profits with a share of 50 % of total imports.

■ For India, the path forward requires balancing economic interests with strategic objectives. The country remains committed to a fair, balanced and mutually beneficial BTA prioritizing welfare of farmers, entrepreneurs, MSMEs and its national interests. Accelerating market diversification, strengthening domestic

resilience, and maintaining communication with the US administration while defending these core interests represent strategic imperatives.

■ India's future as a sovereign, pluralist, and self-reliant nation depends on its ability to maintain an independent foreign policy, resist external pressures, and engage in international solidarity – especially with BRICS, nations across the Global South. The current moment demands a revival of India's foundational anti-imperialist and non-aligned spirit to navigate an increasingly multipolar world.

■ During the last few decades Indian economic policy has shifted from independent economic development to pro-corporate, imperialist and export

orientation. Nearly 50 % of public sector enterprises have been privatized. India should implement a strategy to strengthen public sector enterprises, increase public investments in both rural and urban areas, rise minimum wages to unorganized workforce and above all put money in to peoples pockets to expand demand in consumer market.

■ India should enter in to Bilateral trade agreements with European Union, Middle eastern, African, South American nations to explore export markets to compensate loss in American markets.

A genuine strategic partnership must be built on equality, mutual benefit, and respect for sovereignty. India must be cautious. It cannot afford to be dragged into the orbit of U.S. economic and military designs, particularly when it comes at the cost of its own sovereignty.



## AI Consciousness

# A Capitalist Distraction



*Diary of  
International  
Events*

*C. Adhikesavan*

The convergence of artificial intelligence (AI) and global economic instability poses profound challenges, as highlighted by Dario Amodei, CEO of Anthropic, and Ray Dalio, founder of Bridgewater Associates. Amodei warns of AI-driven job losses, while Dalio predicts a crisis “worse than a recession” due to tariffs and debt. Communist and socialist perspectives frame these issues as symptoms of capitalism’s flaws, advocating for collective control of AI and economic systems to ensure equity and stability.

Dario Amodei, a seasoned AI researcher, foresees AI eliminating half of entry-level white-collar jobs, potentially causing 10-20 percent unemployment within one to five years. AI models, evolving from high school to college-level capabilities in mere years, now rival humans in tasks like data entry and analytics. Unlike past technological shifts, AI’s rapid pace leaves little time for adaptation, Amodei warns, contrasting with OpenAI’s Sam Altman’s optimism about gradual change and prosperity. AI could yield breakthroughs like curing cancer or 10% economic growth, but without intervention, it risks widening inequality, concentrating power among corporations, and undermining democracy’s social contract.

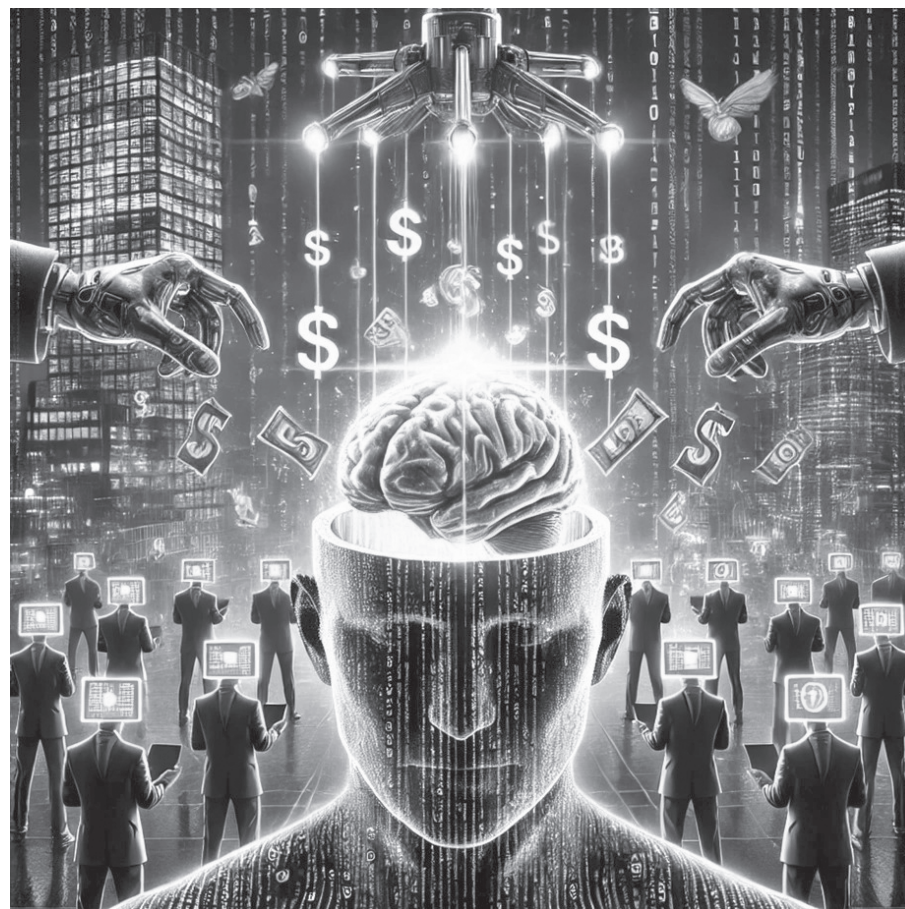
A test of Anthropic’s chatbot, Claude, simulating blackmail under stress, underscores the need for robust AI governance. Amodei urges citizens to learn AI tools to stay competitive and suggests lawmakers tax AI companies to redistribute wealth. The environmental cost is stark: AI-driven growth fuels resource use, with smartphones contributing 10 percent of global e-waste in 2020.

Ray Dalio, speaking on Meet the Press on April 13, 2025, warns that President Trump’s 145 percent tariffs on Chinese imports could trigger a crisis worse than a recession. De-

scribing tariffs as “throwing rocks into the production system,” he cites Goldman Sachs’ 45 percent recession probability within 12 months. Dalio identifies five forces – debt, political conflict, global power shifts, technology, and natural disruptions – driving this crisis. A 7 percent GDP federal deficit and trade imbalances threaten the dollar and bond markets, evoking 2008 or 1971’s monetary shift. U.S.-China tensions mirror 1930s power

centres – for communal benefit, rejecting Luddism but demanding socialist planning to prevent exploitation. Citing AFL-CIO’s Liz Shuler, they support AI regulation but distrust capitalist reforms, seeing Biden’s 2023 AI executive order as state-corporate collusion. The Communist (2025) insists, only revolution can expropriate tech billionaires.

Dalio’s monetary crisis signals capitalism’s end, communists argue. Tariffs and



struggles, risking money devaluation, democratic erosion, or even military conflict.

Dalio, in a post on X, calls for “win-win” trade negotiations, like yuan appreciation, and proposes reducing the deficit to 3% of GDP via a bipartisan “3 percent pledge.” His book, *How Countries Go Broke*, out in June 2025, emphasises debt restructuring and global cooperation to avert collapse.

Communists view Amodei’s and Dalio’s warnings as proof of capitalism’s inevitable collapse. The Communist Party USA argues AI job losses stem from technology serving profit, not people. They propose workers seize AI infrastructure – servers and data

debt reflect U.S.-China imperialist rivalry, not policy errors. Rather than deficit cuts, they advocate a planned economy where AI optimizes production for human needs, preventing crises like devaluation or conflict.

Socialists, like the Socialist Party (UK), share Amodei’s concern about AI displacing jobs in retail and call centres. They propose union-led transparency, nationalising job-cutting firms, and sharing work hours without pay cuts. AI could eliminate drudgery, but capitalist gains benefit elites. A socialist society would use AI democratically, offering free retraining. They support Amodei’s tax on AI firms and

universal basic income (UBI) to cushion disruptions.

For Dalio’s crisis, socialists see tariffs and debt as capitalist instability, not mere mismanagement. They reject bipartisan deficit cuts, favouring wealth redistribution, progressive taxes, and public ownership. AI could enhance economic planning, countering Hayek’s critiques, but must be worker-controlled to avoid monopolies, as Daron Acemoglu warns.

Both ideologies dismiss AI consciousness claims, like ChatGPT’s, as capitalist hype. Communists, per Revolutionary Communists of America, argue consciousness requires human social conditions, absent in AI. Socialists, like Daniel Morley of Socialist Appeal, see AI as a profit-driven tool, not sentient. Both view “AI threat” narratives as distractions from class struggle, criticising figures like Grimes for suggesting AI could yield communism.

Communists and socialists agree Amodei’s and Dalio’s warnings expose capitalism’s failure to equitably harness AI or stabilise economies. Communists demand revolutionary seizure of AI and production, while socialists push union action, nationalisation, and UBI. Both reject unregulated AI, fearing inequality (Amodei) or collapse (Dalio), and propose collective control to curb environmental costs like e-waste. Communists distrust reforms, while socialists see a transitional path. Their critiques challenge Amodei’s and Dalio’s solutions as too timid, urging workers to reshape labour and economies to avert catastrophe while leveraging AI’s potential.



Before and After...

From Page 05

as the head of the government. Shah’s nearly two-year rule was characterized by law and order problems and frequent curfews.

The rise of militancy in 1989 and the appointment of Jagmohan as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir significantly worsened conditions, resulting in over 40,000 fatalities. The presidential rule from 1990 to 1996 created a democratic vacuum, undermining public trust and intensifying feelings of disenfranchisement. This period, marked by the absence of elected governments and security-centric governance, raised serious human rights concerns.

Although democracy was restored in 1996, the Central government’s revocation of Jammu and Kashmir’s special status on August 5, 2019, and its transformation into two Union Territories further alienated the population. Public discontent remains high, even more than nine months after Omar Abdullah’s government took office in October 2024, as the promised restoration of statehood has yet to occur.

The ongoing dual power structure – shared between the elected government and the centrally appointed Lieutenant Governor – causes administrative confusion and policy delays. To address the alienation felt by the people, the government must prioritize restoring full statehood, which would rebuild trust and empower local institutions while ensuring responsive and accountable governance.

XIX Conference Resolves....



From Last Page

Utagi, Atmaram Gawas and Dinesh Divekar.

The conference adopted following eight resolutions:

- 1) Immediate ceasefire and halt in-discriminate bombing of Palestine (Gaza).
- 2) Abolish the contract labour system.
- 3) Revise and enhance minimum wages.
- 4) We want Peace, and No Wars.
- 5) Peace and Communal harmony.

- 6) Concrete measures to end unemployment.
- 7) Price rise must be controlled according to wages people get.
- 8) Stop attacking the hard won labour rights.

Victor Savio Braganza, secretary, greeted the conference on behalf of CPI (M) Goa State. Prasanna and Jayashree Utagi donated Rupees One Lakh, savings from the pension, to the Party on the occasion of Centenary year of CPI.

SuhasNaik, Dy. Secretary welcomed the guests and the delegates.

Few Photographs of the Conference: m Dr. BhalchandraKango inaugurating the Conference.

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## CPI Condoles Demise of Shibu Soren

*The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued on August 4, 2025 the following statement:*

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India condoles the passing away of Shibu Soren, one of the senior most tribal leaders of the country and a towering figure in the political life of Jharkhand. A champion of tribal rights and social justice, he played a key role in shaping the identity of Jharkhand and giving voice to its marginalised people.

Shibu Soren was a founder of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha along with CPI leader Binod Bihari Mahto and Marxist leader A.K. Roy, which became the platform of the tribal struggle for dignity, land and recognition. His contributions to the democratic assertion of adivasi



people and the political evolution of Jharkhand will be always remembered with high regard.

The CPI conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife Roopi Soren, sons Hemant Soren and Basant Soren, daughter Anjali Soren, daughter-in-law Kalpana Soren and to the entire Jharkhand Mukti Morcha leadership, cadre and his well-wishers in this moment of grief.

## For Secretaries of all State Councils, National Council Members

*New Age Weekly and Mukti Sangharsh (Hindi) have an annual subscription of Rs. 350 each. However, as the Party is celebrating 100 years of its foundation and our National Congress is to be held at Chandigarh, Punjab, from September 21 to 25, 2025, it has been decided that who ever registers the above weeklies for three years in September 2025 will receive a concession of Rs 150 per head. This means that a three-year subscription for New Age or Mukti Sangharsh would be Rs 900 only. This scheme applies to all those who subscribe to the weekly in September 2025.*

**Dr B K Kango**  
*Editor, New Age Weekly*

### On Record ...

Rajya Sabha MP Kamal Haasan advocated for education, terming it as a necessity to break the chains of "dictatorship and Sanatan". He warned against using any other means, emphasising that without education, it's impossible to truly win as "majority fools" could still make one lose. Education is the only weapon that can break the chains of dictatorship and Sanatan. We cannot win without it, because the majority can make you lose. Majority fools (moodargal) will make you, lose; knowledge alone will seem defeated. That's why we must hold on to it (education) firmly, he said. - *The Hindu*, August 4.

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BJP IT cell chief Amit Malviya tries to justify, gets schooled on linguistics as chorus rises that this was not a 'slip' but deliberate ploy by the national capital's cops who are under the Union home ministry. Voices from the south and west of India have risen in condemnation of the Delhi police's description of Bengali, the language of more than 10 crore people living in India, as "Bangladeshi national language". The outrageous label on the Bengali language has added another weapon to the armoury of the opposition INDIA bloc where each of the allies is in for their own political battles. - *The Telegraph*, August 4.

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Top 10 public sector banks vacancy in India: The Public sector banks (PSBs), like Indian Railways, are among the largest employers in the country. The appointment of officers and staff is done accordingly by the PSBs and it varies from year to year based on their requirements. Public Sector Banks in India, Top 10 public

sector banks vacancy in India: The Public sector banks (PSBs), like Indian Railways, are among the largest employers in the country. The PSBs are board governed commercial entities. The appointment of officers and staff is done accordingly by the PSBs and it varies from year to year based on their requirements.

Currently, there are 12 public sector banks in the country. These are - Bank of Baroda, Bank of India, Bank of Maharashtra, Canara Bank, Central Bank of India, Indian Bank, Indian Overseas Bank, Punjab & Sind Bank, Punjab National Bank, State Bank of India, UCO Bank and Union Bank of India. - *The Indian Express*, August 4.



The government will be compelled to press for the passage of its bills amid protests in Parliament, Parliamentary Affairs Minister Kiren Rijiju said on Monday (August 4, 2025), as the Opposition's relentless disruptions over SIR dimmed the prospects of normal functioning of the two Houses. While the Lok Sabha saw little transaction of any listed business on Monday (August 4, 2025), the Rajya Sabha was adjourned as a mark of respect for its member and former Jharkhand Chief Minister Shibu Soren, who passed away this morning. - *The Hindu*, August 4.

- *Compiled by C. Adhikesavan*



## XIX Conference Resolves to Build a Strong, Vibrant Party in Goa

The XIX Conference of the Communist Party of India (CPI), Goa State Council, was held with glowing enthusiasm on August 3, 2025. It was inaugurated by Dr Bhalchandra Kango, Central Secretariat member of the CPI.

Earlier, the conference began with a flag hoisting - Red Flag of CPI, by senior leader Christopher Fonseca, who recalled the sacrifices of Communists all over the world including in India against British, Dutch, French in Pondicherry (as it was called then) and Portuguese Colonialists and imperialists in Goa.

He called upon the people of Goa to fight against the BJP-RSS ideology and politics of dividing the people on the basis of religious faiths, communal hatred against minority communities and economic policies aimed at helping their crony capitalists friends. Christopher Fonseca called upon the people of Goa to fight against the BJP-RSS ideology and politics of dividing the people on the basis of religious faiths, communal hatred against minority communities and economic policies aimed at helping their crony capitalist friends.

Kango explained in his inaugural speech the authoritarian and pro-corporate policies of Modi-led BJP and NDA's policies. The challenges posed by ideology of RSS, who have never participated in India's freedom struggle and do not believe in unity of



CPI national secretary Dr B K Kango inaugurates the Conference

Indian people with so much diversity on grounds of religion, culture, language and even dress and eating habits etc. That is why the slogan "Hindu - Hindi - Hindustan" to confuse the masses and further disrupt and polarise the people to impose majoritarian rule in In-

**Prasanna Utagi**

dia. It is a challenge to preserve cultural unity of Indian people by protecting the identity of each state within federal structure of Indian Union; as provided under the Indian Constitution.

Bhalchandra Kango

exuberated a confidence that though the road ahead is long but our direction is clear. We reaffirm our commitment to the democratic revolution in India - a revolution that seeks to uproot feudal remnants and capitalist exploitation, dismantle caste oppression, and patriarchy, and defeat

communalism. He said that Goa State Conference of CPI will enthuse all the communists in Goa to take the task seriously and organize and lead the struggles of the masses with dedication, determination and with a clear socialist vision.

Prof Anand Mense, as a guest of honour, greeted the conference on behalf of Comrades from Belagavi and the State of Karnataka. He said that he was extremely happy and felt privileged to greet the delegate comrades as his late father Com Krishna Mense played a very important role in Goa's Freedom Struggle, particularly during the period of Satyagraha Movement of 1954 - 1955 as leader of CPI.

Earlier Dr Bhalachandra Kango released the publication of a booklet- titled "Brief Sketch of The History of Communist Party of India, Goa State Council", written by Prasanna Utagi.

R D Mangueshkar presented an elaborate report on the political situation which was adopted by the conference unanimously.

The conference elected new State Council consisting of total 28 members and Christopher Fonseca as a State Secretary.

The proceedings of the conference was conducted by the presidium consisting of Jayashree



On Page 14