

- Misinformation Impedes Future Planning.....05
- Jai Bhimnagar Demolitions in Mumbai: A Case of Fundamental Rights Violations 10-11

Manipur First to have State CPI Conference Beginning on May 16

Gears up to Continue Fight against Divisive Forces



CPI general secretary D Raja addressing the state conference

Manipur state unit of the Communist Party of India had its 24th conference at Irawat Memorial Hall, Chalou, Lamalai, Imphal East District here, on May 16 to 18, 2025. The celebration was organised just before the 25th party congress of the Communist Party of India to be held in September, 2025.

The conference was inaugurated by CPI National Secretary Pallab Sengupta on May 16, 2025. It was a well-attended event. The meeting was also addressed by former State Secretary and current Chairman of the State Control Commission, Langol Iboyaima, Central Control Commission member Nara Singh, and State Secretary Leisangthem Thoiren.

This was the first in a series of state conferences leading up to the 25th Congress of the CPI,

scheduled to be held in Chandigarh from September, 21 to 25, 2025.

All the speakers highlighted the current political situation in the country, particularly the complex and volatile circumstances in Manipur. They called upon party members and sympathizers to intensify the struggle against the RSS/BJP-led government at the Centre as well as in the state. The speakers specifically condemned the BJP's divisive tactics, which have fueled ethnic conflicts. These tactics have not only caused immense human suffering and loss but have also posed a serious threat to the unity and territorial integrity of Manipur. They emphasized the urgent need to defend democracy, peace, and social justice.

Following the open session, the delegate session began. The political report was presented by State

Secretary Leisangthem Thoiren, and the organizational report was presented by Assistant Secretary Joy Kumar.

The political report addressed the multifaceted problems facing Manipur, the failure of both the central and state governments in resolving them, and the party's role in leading a year-long campaign under the slogan "Save Manipur, Save Humanity." It also highlighted the successes of the campaign and the demand for a political resolution to the ongoing crisis, among other critical issues.

On May 17, discussions on both reports began. Over 40 delegates participated, offering

valuable inputs. Both reports, with some amendments, were unanimously adopted.

In the evening session of May 17, D. Raja, General Secretary of the CPI, delivered a powerful address. He praised the courage and resilience of the people of Manipur and the unwavering commitment of the CPI's Manipur unit in standing up against communal forces and state repression. He reiterated the party's principled stand in defending secularism, democracy, and federalism. Raja condemned the BJP's policies which, he said, were responsible for deepening divisions

among communities in the region. He called for broader unity among all secular and democratic forces to resist authoritarianism and communalism. Raja also stressed the need to strengthen the party organizationally to meet the challenges of the coming period and prepare for the 25th Congress with renewed determination and clarity of vision.

A t h o k p a m Nabachandra was elected as the new state secretary of the Manipur State Council. Nongthombam Sinhajit Singh and S. Sorojini Devi were elected as Assistant Secretaries by the 24th State Conference.

Additionally, a 13-member Executive Committee, a 35-member State Council, and a 5-member State Control Commission were also elected during the conference.

The state conference has decided to organize a state level massive rally on September 29, to highlight the people's demands.



CPI national secretary Pallab Sengupta addressing the state conference



Birth-day of Ho Chi-minh Celebrated in PHQ

The birth-day of the legendary leader of the liberation movement of Vietnam and an outstanding figure of the world Communist movement Ho Chi-minh (born May 19, 1890) was celebrated in CPI Headquarters, Ajoy Bhavan, New Delhi on May 19th last.

The meeting was attended by the comrades of Ajoy Bhavan as well as others also. It was addressed by the CPI general secretary D Raja. Also present were the members of national secretariat of CPI Pallab Sengupta and Dr BK

Kango. Several other outstanding figures of the Communist movement in India were also celebrated and remembered. Among them were CPI leaders KTK Thangamani and Lokanath Choudhury, as birthdays of both of them also fell on May 19. Raja also paid tribute to KTK and Lokanath Choudhury and remembered their contributions. Pallab Sengupta described the great days of inspiration for the student movement in Bengal and elsewhere during the solidarity upsurge with Vietnam in the pre- and post-independence days.

The meeting ended with offering floral tributes and distribution of sweets.

‘They Want You to Beg on Your Knees’

It is about a report on 423 criminal cases registered against 427 scribes spread over 28 states and Union Territories of India. It has a database also that analyses information on 423 criminal cases, between 2012-2022. It seeks to bring light on the offences most used against journalists, the reporting that led to the cases, and the journalists’ experience of the criminal justice system. The study was conducted by the National Law University in Delhi in collaboration with the Clooney Foundation for Justice’s TrialWatch initiative and the Human Rights Institute at the Columbia Law School.

In our country, there is freedom for media guaranteed under the Constitution, and Supreme Court has stressed on the importance of journalists being able to do their jobs without the threat of reprisal. Despite the securities promised, the journalists are always under the threat of criminal laws. They have to face charges for reporting on public officials, which is significant for a journalists’ job. A country cannot be run without the honesty of bureaucracy and that is something more often missing. This has its role as the scribes have to get at the helm of the affairs, but it has become a challenge as state apparatus itself is not always prepared to face it. Any initiative in this direction have been devastating for the work and also the lives of the journalists and also on the constitutional right of freedom of expression in general and press freedom in particular.

As part of this project, 48 journalists were interviewed, reflecting a representative cross-section of the journalists in the broader dataset. Based on these interviews, the report looks at what are the inevitable fallouts along with the impact on their lives and on their families and the profession itself.

The reality that is reflected through the data signals, speaks mostly about the horrors the journalists face. At least forty

percent of the journalists selected for study are in jail. Those in small cities and in remote towns and rural areas are really bearing the brunt. There are those also reporting for local publications, in Hindi or other local languages, whose cases often did not receive national or international media attention. While many of the most-commonly-charged offences entailed a potential sentence of less than five years in prison, the wording of these laws is so vague and broad that they can be readily interpreted against the press, involving journalists in the criminal justice system.

Importantly, almost every case in the dataset invoked multiple offences. In fact, close to 90 per cent of the incidents in the dataset included more than one offence, indicating that the authorities concerned do not generally carefully consider the offence

Editorial

to be applied to the allegedly ‘criminal’ activity of the journalist, but rather slap a wide range of offences against them, creating a further chilling effect. Moreover, the allegations against the journalists are often in relation to their conduct while reporting, in addition to the content of the speech – a tactic witnessed in over 100 incidents in the dataset. And the data suggests that the authorities may not differentiate between coverage of a protest and participation in it.

Moreover, the apparent legal harassment found in the dataset was not only widespread, but deep. Of the 427 journalists who faced criminal action, 60 had more than one case filed against them, with 36 journalists facing multiple cases for the same incident.

The report has found significant delays when the case starts. This happens at each stage of a case, with the result that the ‘process is the punishment’ for journalists across Indian states. Out of 244 cases, for which

the data on the status of the case was collected, more than 65 per cent had not been completed as of October 30, 2023; in fact, the police had not even completed their investigation in 40 per cent of these cases. And only 16 cases (6 per cent) saw a concluded trial – ending in conviction or acquittal.

Yet, the registration of the case itself had harsh impacts on journalists and their loved ones – the possibility of arrest, intimidation by the police or politicians, as well as social stigma. Journalists reported losing career opportunities and being trolled and ostracized by those around them. One journalist said, “My daughter faced severe bullying in school. For nearly 2 years, they would mock and humiliate her.”

Cases against journalists in India do not, however, always take the same course. For instance, defamation charges, which are prosecuted privately rather than by government authorities, are more common against journalists in larger cities and against investigative journalism. Offences against public servants are more common in smaller towns and are invoked in relation to journalists’ on-ground news-gathering activities. Further, offences geared at limiting disruptions to public order are used against national-level journalists, as well as against digital media or social media, presumably because of their larger audiences and the concern that what they said might ‘go viral.’

The cases have profound ramifications for journalists’ ability to continue to do their crucial work. One journalist had said, “My family was deeply harrowed by my absence [following his arrest], especially my little children who were so worried. Cases like these don’t just target individuals; they tear families apart. Ultimately, they make you beg on your knees.”

CPI Condoles Death of Our Two Well Known Scientists

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued on May 21, 2025 the following statement condoling the death of two prominent Scientists of our country:

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has condoled the deaths of eminent veteran nuclear scientist M.R. Srinivasan, who passed away at the age of 95 and well-known Indian astrophysicist Dr. Jayant Narlikar, who passed away at the

age of 87 in Pune. Their deaths are a great loss not only for India but for science community of the entire world. Science movement in India will always remember them for their contributions and always feel their absence. Dr. Narlikar had contributed immensely to the development of an alternative model of universe along with his mentor, Fred Hoyle.

Com. Lokanath Choudhury: A Legendary Hero

Ramkrushna Panda

Comrade Lokanath Choudhury was a legendary hero and fighter for the rights of the millions of downtrodden in Odisha.

He was elected to the Odisha Legislative Assembly for three terms from his home constituency, Kujang-Erasama during 1957 elections. He was the youngest legislator in the Odisha Assembly at the age of 27, being born on May 19, 1925. He became a legend in fighting for the landless, tenants, peasants, fishermen, sharecroppers, port workers of Paradeep port both outside and inside the Assembly.

He was elected twice to Lok Sabha. During 1989 he had the outstanding achievement of polling the largest number of votes in the state. Next time he was elected again in 1991.

Com Loknath Choudhury proved himself to be a parliamentarian of outstanding

merit and was popular all over the country for his sacrifices and exemplary courage, both in course of political and social upheaval going on in the country.

On March 3, 1993, Com. Choudhury made his epic speech in Parliament regarding the plight, agony and the misery of the people of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput districts of Odisha and issued an ultimatum to the Prime Minister and Government of India, to the effect that unless specific steps are being taken by the Government within a week he will fast-on-to-death in front of Parliament from March 10, 1993. Government of India was forced to take up the issue with seriousness it deserved and ultimately a specific plan was drawn out after discussion, deliberations and liaison between Com. Choudhury and Prime Minister, and soon after presently running KBK plan was born. Com Choudhury had the distinguished credit for being the father of



CPI national secretary Ramakrushna Panda paying tributes

KBK scheme, which is now successfully implemented.

Com. Choudhury joined AISF as a student of Ravenshaw Collage and led many militant student movements including burning of Union Jack. He joined CPI in 1946 and led many struggles. He was the secretary of Odisha state, CPI and for a long years a national council and central executive committee member of CPI.

He was also sent to United States to represent India in UN. He made an

effort to meet all the NRI Odiasthere and asked them to invest for the betterment of Odisha.

Although he was the major architect of Nandini Satpathy government he refused to be a part of the government (CPI refused) in the interest of party. But due to his effort direct payment to teachers and land reform act was implemented.

Com. Choudhury was a Marxist politician, outstanding parliamentarian, and social activist. His mission of life was to unite the people from

every walk of life, peasants, workers, students, teachers, cutting across all barriers of political party divisions. He profoundly believed that, until and unless the people at large are not united, emancipation cannot be achieved, and thus the development of this historic land does not become possible.

He passed away May 12, 2003.

We pay our respectful homage to the legendary leader of Indian communist movement on his Birth Anniversary.

Concept of Reciprocal Tariff not to Succeed Today

Dr Nilanjan Banik

Renowned Nobel laureate economist Robert Solow was once asked if having a trade deficit is bad for any economy. He answered by saying he would always have a trade deficit with his barber and would always run a trade surplus with his students. Such is the nature of the game in the realm of economic transactions. Some countries are always better at producing certain goods and services, which they export, and they gain by importing those they are not as good at producing. Arguing that the US

should impose equal reciprocal tariffs is fundamentally flawed, it contradicts the principle of comparative advantage - the very foundation of international trade since the beginning of modern civilization.

If the US were to implement reciprocity in tariffs, it risked a short-term recession and, potentially, a trajectory resembling that of Argentina - a once economic miracle at the beginning of the 20th century that ultimately declined as a result of protectionist measures. Beginning

in the 1930s, Argentina imposed restrictions on labor immigration and sharply increased tariffs, resulting in long-term consequences that have contributed to its current status as a struggling and under performing economy.

If history and economic policies are any indication, then Trump had to back down. It is not surprising that on May 12, 2025, the US and China agreed to a significant 90-day suspension

of tariffs, with both nations committing to reduce duties on each other's goods. The US tariffs on Chinese imports will decrease from 145 percent to 30 percent, while China's tariffs on US products will drop from 125 percent to 10 percent. China on their part has also agreed to remove all trade restrictions, including the ones they imposed on rare earth materials, so important for the US electronic, defense, and green energy sectors. If China, according to the US, is successfully addressing the fentanyl

crisis by strengthening domestic regulations on synthetic opioids, then this existing 30 percent tariff will be reduced further to 10 percent at the end of the 90-day period. Fentanyl, a powerful and often lethal drug, has fuelled a public health crisis in the US, contributing to tens of thousands of overdose deaths annually.

Trump, being an astute businessman, always believed in the principle of testing the waters first, negotiating aggressively, and ultimately

SC Rectifies a Flawed Policy After two Decades

Silent Victims Remain Wronged for Ever

The Supreme Court's revocation of the 2002 provision allowing fresh law graduates to apply for civil judge posts marks the end of a deeply flawed and impractical policy that persisted for over two decades. While the phrase "better late than never" may feel appropriate on the surface, it hardly captures the depth of the issue or the long-standing consequences that arose from what was, in hindsight, an ill-conceived judicial experiment.

For 23 years, the Indian judiciary functioned under a decision that ignored the critical value of practical legal experience, permitting individuals with no courtroom exposure, and often no real-world legal understanding, to ascend to positions of great judicial responsibility. It is not merely a matter of policy correction; it is a belated recognition of a fundamental truth: that there is no adequate substitute for experience in the practice of law, especially in the judiciary.

The 2002 decision, which opened the gates for fresh law graduates to become civil judges, was defended at the time as a move to democratize and accelerate the entry of new talent into the judicial system. Yet this justification crumbles when placed under the weight of the consequences it triggered.

Law, unlike many other professions, is intrinsically linked to the lived realities of people. A lawyer in the courtroom does not merely argue statutes and precedents; they navigate complex human situations, societal dynamics,

and the intricacies of legal institutions. Expecting a fresh graduate, who has never even appeared in court, to interpret, analyse, and deliver just verdicts was an act of undue optimism at best and judicial irresponsibility at worst.

What perhaps is most damning about this decades-long allowance is the silence that surrounded it for so long. Even though the system bore the brunt of inexperienced judges struggling to cope with their responsibilities, it took 23 years for the highest court in the land to admit what was evident to practitioners, litigants, and academics alike — that a foundational period of legal practice is indispensable before one can fairly and competently occupy a judicial role.

It is hard to calculate the true extent of damage this policy may have done, but anecdotes and inside accounts paint a troubling picture. Stories have surfaced of young judges writing their orders in pencil, presumably so that mentors or well-wishers from outside the court could later review and correct them. These are not apocryphal tales intended to malign individuals; rather, they expose the systemic inadequacies that such a policy nurtured.

The judiciary, unlike the legislative or executive branches, relies almost entirely on public trust and the perceived competence of its members. Every time an underprepared judge delivers a poorly reasoned verdict or fumbles

K Raveendran

in the conduct of a trial, that trust erodes.

When litigants and lawyers notice that a judge is still learning the basics of procedure, it undermines confidence not just in that individual, but in the institution as a whole. For a system that already grapples with backlog, inefficiency, and resource shortages, inserting untrained adjudicators into its midst was not just mis-



guided — it was detrimental.

The tragedy of the 2002 decision also lies in its disregard for the evolution of professional competency. In nearly every field that deals with people's lives and futures — medicine, education, engineering — practical experience is a non-negotiable precondition for responsibility.

We would not dream of appointing a fresh medical graduate as a head surgeon or allow someone with a teaching degree but no classroom experience to lead a school. Why then was the judiciary, a profession that demands intellectual rigour, psychological maturity, and real-time decision-making, treated differently? The answer may lie in an overromanticised view of

merit and academic brilliance. But legal excellence does not develop in the vacuum of classrooms or the neat world of textbooks; it is forged in the messiness of real cases, tough negotiations, and ethical dilemmas.

Moreover, the decision, though intended to fast-track careers, in fact may have stunted the professional growth of many young appointees. Without adequate grounding in actual legal practice, many of these judges likely lacked the intuitive understanding of legal processes that only comes from experience. They may have had to rely excessively on court staff or senior clerks, further entrenching existing hierarchies rather than democratizing the judiciary.

Their early entry into the judiciary may have seemed like a leap forward, but in reality, it may have been a premature push into waters they were not yet prepared to navigate. The results were predictable: hesitancy, poor decision-making, and an excessive dependence on informal support systems.

It is worth noting, too, that the responsibility for this lapse does not rest solely with those who designed or defended the 2002 policy. The judicial community as a whole bears some responsibility for not confronting the obvious shortcomings of this approach earlier. There was no shortage of data, research, or testimony that could have compelled a re-examination of the decision much

earlier. Yet institutional inertia and an unwillingness to admit past mistakes allowed the policy to persist long after it had outlived any presumed utility.

One must also consider the silent victims of this flawed policy — the litigants whose lives and futures depended on fair and competent adjudication. Justice delayed is justice denied, but justice delivered incompetently is arguably worse.

How many individuals suffered miscarriages of justice at the hands of inexperienced judges who were still learning on the job? How many appeals had to be filed, how many judgments overturned, and how many careers damaged before the systemic impact of the policy became undeniable? These are not mere statistical questions; they are deeply human ones, with implications that reach into every corner of society.

The Supreme Court's decision to finally revoke the provision is, therefore, not a moment of celebration but of sober reflection. It reminds us that even the most august institutions can err and that the costs of such errors can be both deep and enduring. In acknowledging the mistake, the Court has taken a crucial step — but the legal fraternity must now commit to ensuring that lessons are learned and embedded in future policymaking. Reforms in judicial appointments must be guided not by expedience or ideological aspiration, but by a clear-eyed understanding of what makes a good judge.

Deaths due to COVID 19

Misinformation Impedes Future Planning

The number of deaths due to COVID-19 in India during the peak of COVID as reported by the Government of India were 3.3 lakh. As per the worldometers website (<https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/>) the number of death due to COVID till May 12, 2025 is 533570. According to this information India stands at no.3 after USA with 1219487 deaths and Brazil 711380 deaths.

If we go by the total population our performance in managing the COVID appears to be better than many countries. The government of India has been patting its back on the basis of this information. But latest revelations from the government's own sources, the Central Registration System (CRS), Sample Registration System (SRS) and Medical Certification of Cause of Death (MCCD) have brought forward startling difference between the number of deaths due to COVID projected by the government in 2021 when the COVID was at its peak.

There were several reasons to doubt government's information about number of deaths being given at that time. Number of cases reaching the hospitals but not getting beds for treatment was very high. The cremation grounds were over worked and people had to wait for long hours to cremate their kins who unfortunately could not survive. We cannot forget the scenes of dead bodies being cremated at the bank of the rivers. Assessments by researchers had put the number of deaths to be much higher than the claim made by the government. The WHO had put this number at nearly 47 lakh that is 10 times of the government's claims. But all this was denied by the government blaming that these estimates are motivated.

But the new information that has come out now from the CRS, the number of deaths registered in 2021

was 10224506 while in the previous year this number was 8115882 deaths which



means 2108624 more than 2020.

Similarly the Sample Registration System (SRS) which calculates deaths per 1000 of population showed Crude Death Rate to be 7.5 per 1000 in 2021 against 6 in 2020 that is an increase by 1.5 per thousand. Looking at the death data of previous years the average rate of death has been 6.35 per 1000 between 2014 to 2019 in six years. Slight variation in number of deaths can occur from time to time. But when the figure is substantially different, this is to be pondered over. For excess deaths to occur there has to be some specific situation like any natural calamity, war or some man-made event. If we look at the years 2020-2021 the only unforeseen event that occurred was the COVID pandemic. Therefore it is obvious that the excess deaths which occurred in 2021 were due to COVID 19.

In an article 'Analysis of errors in Medical Certificates of Cause of Death (MCCD) at a tertiary care institute in 2022' published

Dr Arun Mitra

in the Springer Nature Link on September 17, 2024, it has been pointed out that errors in MCCD are frequent. According to earlier research conducted in India, between 50 and 60 percent of medical certifications indicating the

cause of death filed to death registrants are erroneous. This suggests that while reporting the cause of death exact information is not taken care of(1).

The World Health Organization (WHO) Defines the Cause of Death (COD) in relation to writing MCCD. The Underlying Cause of Death (UCOD) is 'the disease or the injury which initiated the train of morbid events leading directly to the death or the circumstances of the accident or violence that produced the fatal injury. Immediate Cause of Death (ICOD) is 'disease or condition directly leading to death(2).

Medical certification of the cause of death provides epidemiological information for developing cause-specific mortality and disease trends, guiding the monitoring of health programmes and allocating health resources. Therefore, providing correct information on the cause of death is essential.

It is important to provide true data particularly in the cases of health issues. The researchers build their hypothesis on the basis of

this data. With this we can study the social and economic trends, track the spread of diseases, and monitor environmental changes. Data also helps in decision making process. The research done is also authenticated. Therefore the data should not be misleading and should be away from any prejudice and political considerations. Science should be only central point to study and project the data.

It must be understood here that we have achieved success in eliminating small pox, Polio and now trying to control Tuberculosis, based on the data. Any falsification of information leads to complacency. This can further lead to faulty planning. In such emergency situation as COVID-19 in particular, all concerned must be careful in projecting the information. Any misinformation can cause difficulties in planning for the future.

CPI Decries Extrajudicial Killing of Maoist Leader, Adivasis in Chhattisgarh

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued on May 21, 2025, the following statement:

CPI strongly condemns the cold-blooded killing of a senior Maoist leader along with several Adivasis in Chhattisgarh, it is to be another instance of extrajudicial action carried out under the guise of counterinsurgency operations.

The repeated use of lethal force instead of lawful arrest raises serious concerns about the State's commitment to democratic norms

and the rule of law. If the authorities had credible intelligence about the whereabouts of the leader, why was a legal arrest not pursued? Why was due process – guaranteed by the Constitution – so blatantly ignored?

These killings not only point to a dangerous pattern of State violence but also expose the ongoing marginalisation of Adivasi communities in the region. Time and again, these communities are caught in the crossfire of a conflict they did not initiate, and are treated as collateral in operations marked by impunity.

CPI demands an independent judicial inquiry into this entire episode and the entire Kagar operation. The people of Chhattisgarh – and India at large – deserve to know the truth.

A democratic society cannot allow the State to become the judge, jury, and executioner. Justice must be served, and the dignity and rights of Adivasi lives must be upheld.

CPI calls upon all democratic and progressive forces to raise their voices against this injustice and stand in solidarity with the people of Chhattisgarh.

For Freedom, For Land

Farmers' Struggle Goes on

The 30th National Conference of All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) has just concluded in Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu and in its report it has correctly identified the present struggle of farmers in India and all over the world, as struggle against multinational capital and its dominance with the help of the nation state. The farmers' independence and their land is targeted in the process and in return, farmers have been resisting.

Since its formation in 1936, Kisan Sabha has been fighting for the independence of farmers from feudal lords and their domination, along with freedom from colonial rule. The existence of socialist countries under Soviet leadership, need of capitalism to fight against feudalism, and farmers struggling for independence from colonial power, brought newly formed nation state to make laws against feudal domination and help farmers.

However, with the new policy of LPG, the role of nation state to protect the interest of farmers and workers is rapidly compromised or is under attack from multinational capital. This can only be challenged by unity of workers and peasants. In this background the general strike call given by joint action committee of Trade Unions and Sanyukt Kisan Morcha is a welcome step.

The consistent increase in farmers suicide and huge number of farmers leaving their farms as farming is becoming uneconomical is posing a challenge before the society. There are two main issues confronting the farmers:

1. **How to increase the income?**
2. Social security for

Dr B K Kango

struggle the nation state must support petty producers and farmers through access to finance as a legal right with cheap and subsidised loan for productive activities rather than consumer loans. This activity will be adversely affected if banks are privatised. To compel the nation state to work for farmers and petty producers political pressure on government is needed and organisations working with these sections of the people must work for this. Similarly political parties of the Left, com-



the issue. This commission of which Com. Atul Kumar Anjaan, general secretary of AIKS and National Secretariat Member of Communist Party of India (CPI), recommended MSP with Comprehensive cost of production plus 50 percent profit should be offered by the central and state governments to farmers to protect their income.

Role of Petty Producers and Farmers

The role of this section of the society becoming very important, especially at a moment when intense struggle is going on against the multinational capital. In this

mitted to people's welfare must address this issue. Experience of 'Kutumb Shree' scheme of Kerala is an example in this direction.

In its Aurangabad National Conference AIKS demanded pension for farmers as a social security measure. The same demand is again raised at Nagapattinam Conference and active state interference is needed to get it implemented. Farmers are struggling for their cause.

BJP government had falsely claimed that by 2022 the farmers income would be doubled. This has not happened and

hence no government or BJP leaders talks about it.

Sanyukt Kisan Morcha (SKMS) is demanding legal guarantee for MSP but government is refusing to accept it. In fact the Central government passed the three black laws without considering the interest of the state government and farmers though the agriculture is in concurrent list. After an agitation going for 11 months, the SKMS succeeded in compelling the government to withdraw the acts. However, now the Modi government is trying to implement the same strategy by using state governments and hence, farmers are resorting to agitation.

The crisis of 1967 led to creation of rationing system and also for procurement of supply. MSP was introduced. Farmers have been struggling to increase this MSP. However, with introduction of reforms and change in the functioning of the nation state, the interest of the farmers are adversely affected and there is an attempt to stop rationing system. This will stop the procurement need of the government and farmers will be at the mercy of market forces dominated by multinationals and big capital. Hence, in the interest of people and farmers we must support the demand for legal MSP as demanded by SKMS.

The SKMS should also insist on financial support from the nation state and also for new technology to improve productivity. Technology plays a very important role in in-

creasing the productivity of farmers. However, because of its control on technology the multinationals are influencing the nation state to implement the policies that the multinational want. The AIKS can play an important part in the process of compelling the nation state to help farmers to get new technology. For a long time land to the tiller and distribution of land to the farmers was the demand of AIKS. But now with the changing scenario, assistance to farmers through technology and capital should be demanded and state power should be compelled to accept it.

In the struggle against multinationals and big capital, farmers struggle cannot succeed without the support of state power. This is the political message which must go to the farmers.

The role of the central government in China is to be noted in this context. China supports its farmers and at the same time because of pro-active role of the government the dominance of multinational is also avoided. There was much euphoria and discussions when China dismantled the state farms and even farming cooperatives but now, the Chinese government has tackled the issue keeping in mind the interest of farmers. As the issue stands resolved, it is rarely talked about. But it shows how the imperialist propaganda functions and we should be aware about it. It is also to be noted that Chinese farmers get interest free loan.

Constitution is Supreme: Supreme Court of India

The Supreme Court of India, established under Article 124 of the Constitution, is embroiled in a heated debate following President Droupadi Murmu's submission of 14 questions under Article 143(1) on May 13, 2025. These questions challenge the Court's April 8, 2025, ruling in the Tamil Nadu government vs. Governor Case, which mandated that Governors and the President must decide on state bills within three months under Articles 200 and 201. The ruling introduced "deemed assent" if deadlines are missed, sparking controversy over the judiciary's authority to issue directives to constitutional authorities like the President. As of May 18, 2025, no formal reply to the President's reference has been issued, but senior judge Justice Pardiwala clarified that the decision was grounded in Union government guidelines, not judicial overreach, reigniting discussions about the balance of power among India's constitutional institutions.

The Supreme Court's primary role is to uphold the Constitution and serve as the final arbiter of legal disputes. Under Article 13, it can strike down laws or executive actions that violate the Constitution, and its rulings are binding on all authorities, including the President, unless overruled by a larger bench or nullified by constitutional amendments. The Indian Constitution establishes a delicate balance among the executive (President, acting on the Council of Ministers' advice), the legislature (Parliament), and the judiciary (Supreme Court). Each institution is supreme in

its domain, with checks and balances ensuring no single entity dominates. The Supreme Court can review and nullify actions of the President or Parliament if they contravene the Constitution, such as striking down ordinances or emergency proclamations. Conversely, the President influences the judiciary by appointing judges and holds powers like granting pardons under Article 72, which can override judicial sentences in specific cases.

The Tamil Nadu Governor case ruling set a precedent by imposing a three-month timeline for



Governors and the President to act on state bills. The Court held that delays beyond this period require valid, documented reasons, and failure to act could result in "deemed assent." This decision aimed to prevent indefinite delays on state legislation, ensuring governance efficiency. However, it drew sharp criticism, notably from Vice President Jagdeep Dhankhar, who questioned whether the judiciary could issue orders to the President, arguing that the Supreme Court is not superior to the head of state. Tensions escalated when President Murmu, acting on behalf of the

Union government, referred 14 questions to the Supreme Court. These questions probe the constitutional validity of judicially imposed timelines, the scope of the Court's powers under Article 142, and whether the judiciary can direct the President's actions.

The appointment of Chief Justice B.R. Gavai, following Chief Justice Sanjeev Khanna's retirement, coincided with this controversy. The President's reference, seen by some as a strategic move by the Narendra Modi-led BJP-RSS government, placed the new CJI in a challenging po-

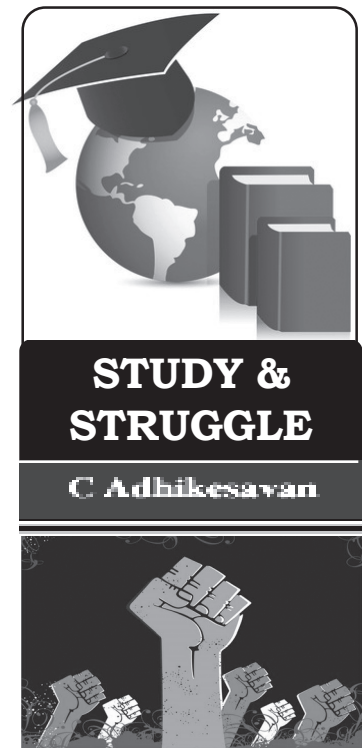
sition. A central question among the 14 stands out: Is the Constitution, the Supreme Court, or the President supreme? Can the judiciary issue binding directives to the President? These queries underscore a broader debate about the hierarchy of constitutional authority and the limits of judicial intervention.

Justice Pardiwala clarified that the three-month timeline was not a judicial invention but was based on two office memoranda issued by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs in 2016. These guidelines set a three-month period for the President to decide

on bills, a standard the Supreme Court adopted to ensure timely governance. The Court emphasized that if delays exceed three months, the President or Governor must provide recorded reasons and inform relevant parties, preventing bills from being held indefinitely. This mechanism protects the legislative process and upholds democratic principles.

The Court's clarification shifts focus to the Union government, particularly the Ministry of Home Affairs under Home Minister Amit Shah. Critics who accused the Court of overstepping now face the reality that the three-month rule originated from executive guidelines. The Court's adoption of these guidelines underscores its commitment to enforcing government policies rather than creating new ones. The ruling ensures that neither the Governor nor the President can delay state bills indefinitely, a practice that could undermine state legislatures' autonomy.

The controversy highlights the dynamic interplay of India's constitutional framework. The Supreme Court's decision does not imply that it is "bigger" than the President or the executive. Instead, it reinforces the judiciary's role as a guardian of the Constitution, ensuring all authorities operate within its framework. The President, while a symbol of the state, is bound by constitutional norms, and her actions, particularly on bill assent, are subject to judicial review if they violate legal principles. The executive, led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, must



navigate the fallout of its own guidelines being upheld by the judiciary.

Claims that Modi and Shah were "stunned" by the Court's stance appear exaggerated, as the Court's clarification aligns with existing government policy. Similarly, assertions of a direct confrontation between the Supreme Court, the Union government, and President Murmu overstate the conflict. The President's reference is a legitimate use of her advisory jurisdiction under Article 143, and the Supreme Court's eventual response, likely through a Constitution Bench, will carry persuasive weight, though it will not be binding.

This episode underscores the importance of clear executive policies to avoid governance delays. As the Supreme Court prepares to address President Murmu's 14 questions, the nation awaits clarity on how this dialogue between institutions will shape the balance of power. For now, the Court has reaffirmed that no constitutional authority — be it the President, the executive, or the judiciary — is above the Constitution itself.

TN Approaches SC against Centre's Funding Freeze

Children Deprived of their Fundamental Right

Children of Tamil Nadu are caught in the political crossfire between PM Narendra Modi led NDA government at the Centre and CMM K Stalin led INDIA bloc government in the state.

Centre insists on implementation of the three-language formula under New Education Policy (NEP) 2020, and the State refuses to implement it. It has led to a situation in which children's fundamental right under Right to Education (RTE) is being violated.

Supreme Court of India had said on May 9, 2025, that Court can not enforce any state to adopt the NEP. Nevertheless, to enforce implementation of three-language formula, the Centre has frozen release of funds, resulting in delay in Right to Education admissions. Now, Tamil Nadu has moved to Supreme Court against Centre over Rs 2,151 crore education fund freeze.

Tamil Nadu has accused the Union Government of coercive federal over-reach by linking the disbursal of funds to the State's acceptance of the NEP 2020 and the PM SHRI Schools Scheme. "Such coercive tactics are neither legally permissible nor consistent with State legislation, particularly in light of the two-language formula adopted by the State," the suit filed by the state read. Tamil Nadu seeks release of Rs 2151 crore in education funds under the Samagra Shiksha Scheme (SSS) for 2024-25, with 6 per cent interest on the principal amount. Thus the total claim is Rs 2291.3 crore.

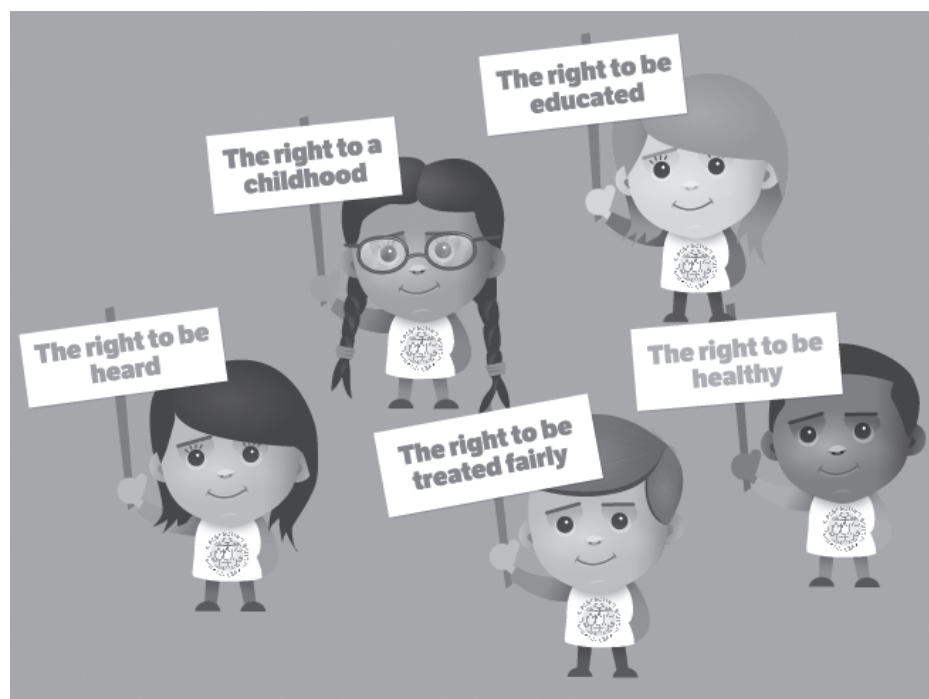
Tamil Nadu has stated in their petition that the Centre's withholding of its "obligatory share" under the SSS has crippled the implementation of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE Act) and the constitutional rights of over 43.94 lakh students, 2.21 lakh teachers and 32,701 school staff in the state.

Tamil Nadu says that the Project Approval Board (PAB) of the Ministry of Education, Union of India, had approved Rs 3,585.99 crore for the state under the SSS in its February 2024 meeting of which Rs 2,151.59 crore was the Centre's share based on the 60:40 cost-sharing formula. Nevertheless, Centre has not released even a single instalment. The state alleged that the Centre has done this due to state's refusal

Dr Gyan Pathak

to fully adopt NEP 2020 and sign an MoU for the PM SHRI Schools scheme.

Tamil Nadu has two-language policy – Tamil and English. It has consistently opposed imposition of Hindi since 1968, when a resolution was passed in this regard in the Legislative Assembly of the state. Not only that the Tamil Nadu Tamil Learning Act of 2006 mandates compulsory teaching of Tamil from Class I to X. There is another act called Tamil Nadu Uniform System of



School Education Act of 2010.

Nevertheless, these legislations are being undermined by the Centre for imposition of NEP- 2020, which is merely a policy and vision statement ... that lacks any executive or legislative force binding on the state.

The petition filed by Tamil Nadu says that the Centre has released funds under Samagra Shiksha Scheme to all states except Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and West Bengal.

It was only on May 9, 2025, the Supreme Court of India had declined to entertain a PIL seeking direction to Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Kerala governments to implement NEP 2020, saying that the court could not compel any state to adopt it. The Supreme Court bench led by Justices J B Pardiwala and R Mahadevan said that they will intervene only if a state's action or inaction related to NEP 2020 violates any fundamental right. The PIL was filed by a

Tamil Nadu based lawyer and BJP leader.

Only a few days ago on May 16, Tamil

Nadu government had urged Union government to release the pending dues of Rs 2151.59 crore under the SSS, which included Rs 617 crore for RTE admissions.

AIADMK, which is BJP's ally in the state, has been criticising the state government for delaying RTE reimbursement funds to private schools for the past two years leading to delayed RTE admissions this academic year.

The state government has also submitted a proposal to the Union Government for 2025-26 during the project approval board meeting, which resulted in a approval by the Centre for an outlay of Rs 2,733.58 crore, in which Centre's share would be Rs 2151.59 crore. Tamil Nadu has requested the full release of funds for the year 2024-25 along with the release of the first instalment for the current fiscal year 2025-26.

The Madras High Court had directed the Tamil Nadu government on May 15, 2025, to respond within a week to a petition challenging the delay in commencing admissions under the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, in private schools.

It should be noted that under the RTE Act 2009, private unaided schools are also required to reserve 25 per cent of entry-level seats for children from economically weaker sections and provide them with free education.

The petition in the Madras High Court was filed by Marumalarchi Makkaliyakkam president V Eswaran, who said that the RTE admission process typically concludes by May 20 each year. All schools in Tamil Nadu are scheduled for reopening on June 2. However, the Tamil Nadu government has completely neglected its responsibility to ensure the educational rights of lakhs of poor children as mandated by law. No steps have been taken so far regarding the admission process.

Nevertheless, the Minister of School Education Anbil Mahesh Poyyamozhi has said the Centre is yet to decide on release of frozen funds for education to Tamil Nadu. He said,

"Centre has to release RTE funds. ... Not releasing funds is like acting against human rights."

Peshawar Conspiracy Cases and Rise of Communism in India

By the end of the first world war, many people died of hunger, unemployment, epidemics, recession throughout the world. The positive result of this was that revolution came in Russia where the masses overthrew the Tsar regime and for the first time, power came into the hands of the proletariat and a socialist government was formed. This was a ray of hope for exploited and downtrodden people, particularly those in colonial countries, as it gave them the confidence that a proletariat government, like the one in Russia, could also emerge in their own nations. This inspired the freedom movement of our country. Several organizations including Indian National Congress, Leftist, Terrorist outfits, and revolutionaries were struggling for the freedom of India. Some freedom fighters inspired by the October revolution were attracted towards scientific socialism.

Turkey had an alliance with Germany in the first world war. In order to get support and cooperation from the Indian Muslims, the British government assured them that they would adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Turkey. Germany lost to the British, and the British betrayed their promise and divided Turkey in parts. Not only this, the post of Caliph, (religious priest) whom the Islamic world respected as their religious leader, was abolished. Therefore, Indian Muslims had developed a hatred for

Britishers. Thus, the khilafat movement started. In 1920, tens of hundreds of Muslims made their mind to leave this country as it was not safe for Muslims. Ghazi Amanatullah Khan, the ruler of Afghanistan promised that he would allow them to settle in his country. So, they left India without any documents, passports, visa, etc. The British government in India did not intervene but rather helped them in doing so. In Indian history, it is known as the Hizarat movement. This movement became one of the streams for the early communist movement. It is also an important part of the Indian communist movement, that the first Indians to face prosecution and long jail terms for being communist were young Muslim men.

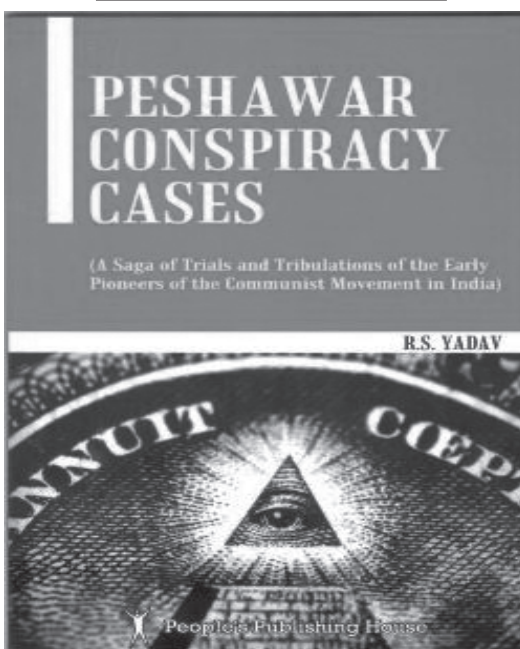
Some young men among these Mujahirins marched toward Turkey in order to join the Turkish army to fight against the British. Without any passport or valid documents, it was not possible for them to go to Turkey or pass through Russian territory. After crossing mountains, hostile terrain on foot and rivers by swimming, they were captured by the Russian army. They succeeded in convincing the army that they were Nationalists going to Turkey, and the army provided them two boats to cross the Amu River. They had covered a little distance when into the river when they were

Tikaram Sharma

arrested by anti-revolutionary forces and were asked to stand in a queue. Every individual was to be shot by these anti-revolutionaries, when the indication of the presence of the Red Army was felt nearby. The counter revolutionaries

Book Review

Peshawar Conspiracy cases, by RS Yadav, People's Publishing House, July, 2022, Pp. 72, Rs 135



ran away and these young men were lucky enough and had their lives saved.

Meanwhile, they were captured by a contingent of Red Army. However, these young men were able to convince them that they were not the enemies of the Soviet Union. Suddenly the counter revolutionaries attacked the red army and these young men fought against the counter revolutionaries shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army and were successful in repel-

ling the counter revolutionaries. When this news reached Moscow and among soviet people, these young men were given a warm welcome. They were sent to Tashkent and Moscow where they came in contact with the Bolsheviks and became communists.

These fellows took political training in Tashkent and Moscow and said goodbye to Pan-Islam. They were the young men who found the Communist Party of India in exile in Tashkent in 1920. It is interesting to note that all these individuals were Muslims.

Now, they wanted to liberate the country from British yoke and they planned to return to India. While coming back, some were caught by government authorities at the border itself while some were arrested soon after reaching India, all of them had to face same charges of conspiring to overthrow the

British rule in India. Peshawar was chosen as the venue of sham trials so that the accused would not get the benefit of the jury system. Many of laws that were promulgated throughout the country were not applicable in Peshawar.

In total, there were five conspiracy cases launched against budding communists between 1921-1927, and became a part of the glorious history of our freedom movement. The first Peshawar con-

spiracy case was "Crown v/s Mohammad Akhbar, Oursi and others, 1921" the other two were Bahadur aged about 18 years and Hafizullah Khan, Bahadur's father, of age 52 years. The judgment was pronounced on 31st May 1922 in which Akhbar Khan was sentenced to 3 years rigorous imprisonment, Bahadur was given the same punishment with one and a half years while Hafiz was acquitted and released.

The second case under reference, with the title "Crown v/s Mohammad Akhbar and others" was of March 1923. Mohammad Akhbar Khan, the same fellow who was convicted for 3 years in jail in the first conspiracy case along with Mohammad Hassan and Gulam Mehboob were co accused in above case also with the same charges. The sentence was pronounced on 27 April 1923 and Mohammad Akhbar Khan was sentenced to 7 years rigorous imprisonment including 3 months in solitary confinement. This had to be commenced on the expiry of the sentence then being undergone. The co accused were awarded 5 years of rigorous imprisonment with 3 months solitary confinement.

In the third case, while Akhbar Shah, Firozuddin, Abdul Majeed, Habib Ahmed, Rafik Ahmed, Sultan, Abdul Kadir and Gahur Rehman were accused, Gulam Ahmed and Fida Ali became approvers. The judg-

On Page 12

Jai Bhimnagar Demolitions in Mumbai: A Case of Fundamental Rights Violations

Shivam Tyagi, Chanchal Agrawal

On June 3, 2024, the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) announced the demolition of Jai Bhim Nagar. Subsequently, on June 6, 2024, BMC officials, joined by bulldozers and numerous police personnel, started the demolition process, displacing approximately 600 families who had resided in the area for nearly thirty years. The affected residents approached the Bombay High Court, requesting compensation and prosecution of concerned officials. Unfortunately, no substantial relief has been granted yet and these individuals continue to suffer hardship in meeting even their basic needs and rights. The demolition has forced many residents to take refuge on the streets, depriving them of their right to a dignified life, shelter, and adequate health care, resulting in the violation of Article 21 of the Constitution.

This article analyses the demolition undertaken by BMC, asserting that it contravenes the fundamental rights enshrined under Article 21 and the due process of law. Additionally, it examines the obligation to abide by the international conventions and treaties ratified by India relating to the right to shelter. Finally, this article advocates for the application of the doctrine of an unconstitutional state of affairs by the judiciary to identify, rectify and prevent the lawlessness of the executive.

The right to life enshrined under Article 21 encompasses the essential elements of adequate housing, healthcare, education, and proper sanitation. The top Court in *Kharak Singh v. State of Uttar Pradesh* (1962) had ruled that the expression 'life' encompasses more than mere animal existence and extends to all the means through which life is experienced and enjoyed. In the landmark case of *Olga Tellis v. Bombay Municipal Corporation* (1985), based on similar facts of unannounced eviction, the Court established that the right to life includes the right to livelihood and shelter which cannot be taken away without following the due process of law. No eviction can be ordered unless it facilitates public purpose and

ensures the adequate rehabilitation of the aggrieved. Additionally, in *Sudama Singh v. State of Delhi* (2010), the Delhi High Court ruled that all eviction orders must be accompanied by adequate compensation or provision of alternate accommodation.



Furthermore, the principles of natural justice encapsulate the idea of due process of law. In *A. K. Kraipak v. Union of India* (1969), it was affirmed that the principles of natural justice are not only restricted to judicial function but also extend to administration matters. The act of demolition without adhering to principles of natural justice and the due process of law demonstrates the state of lawlessness. Firstly, the authorities acted prejudicially by blatantly supporting the builder despite being acquainted with its unlawful activities.

Secondly, the authorities failed to grant the opportunity for a fair hearing and denied the legal recourse to the aggrieved. The notice regarding the demolition was provided during the period when the courts were closed and no consultation regarding their rehabilitation was done which is repugnant to the ruling of *Sudama Singh*. Thirdly, the notice was served merely 3 days before demolition, and the dwellers' demand for time to respond was denied. Finally, the Maharashtra government disregarded the Urban Department's order prohibi

ting demolitions during the monsoon season and ordered the demolition without appropriate reasoning.

India has ratified various international human rights treaties regarding the right to

right to a standard of living for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

However, the demolition drive has resulted in residents taking refuge on the streets, violating their rights to dignified life, shelter, and healthcare, and even jeopardising women's privacy and safety. Additionally, the demolition has deprived the children of education leading them to a dubious and bleak future. Consequently, the conventions and treaties ratified by India are not adhered to in the demolition process.

In the demolition of Jai Bhim Nagar, several governmental departments and authorities colluded to uphold the interest of the Hiranandani Group. Additionally, the authorities have moulded laws, used legal loopholes and overlooked the due processes to advance their interests.

Directions in the matter of demolition of structures (2024), a four-stage process for property demolitions was established, including a 15-day notice, a formal hearing, a final order explaining demolition necessity, and a 15-day appeal window for implementation. However, this is a fragmentary remedy and the judiciary can invoke the doctrine of an unconstitutional state of affairs, originated in Colombia, for continuous involvement to combat the tyranny of the administrative authorities.

An 'unconstitutional state of affairs' is a situation where the violation of rights is not individualised, but structural. When the executive commits any malfeasance, then preventing abuse of power is necessary instead of individual remedy as reiterated in *Nilabati Behera v. State of Orissa* (1993). This doctrine acknowledges the

Platform of CTUs Defers Nationwide General Strike to July 9, 2025

The following joint statement was issued to the press after meeting of the Joint Platform of Central Trade Unions and Independent Sectoral Federations/Associations on May 15, 2025

The meeting of the Joint Platform of Central Trade Unions and Independent Sectoral Federations/Associations was held on May 15, 2025 in New Delhi to review the preparatory activities for the countrywide General Strike on May 20, 2025. It also took note of the unfolding political developments in the country after the heinous terrorist attack in Pahalgam killing 26 innocent people, and the response of the Indian Armed Forces in their combat strike actions.

The Joint Platform in its press statement on May, strongly condemned the terrorist attack on in-

nocent people in Pahalgam. It had also urged the government to ensure measures against those who are resorting to divisive hate campaign inside the country at such critical times. We had also applauded the immediate collective response by the working people throughout the country including in Jammu and Kashmir condemning terrorism and hate campaign asserting their unity and solidarity in the all-out fight against terrorism.

After due consideration of the prevailing situation throughout the country, the Joint Platform as an integral part of the responsible patriotic citizenry of the country decided to re-schedule the Nationwide General Strike from May 20 to July 9, 2025 against implementation of Labour

Codes and other legitimate demands of the workers, farmers and people in general. It was resolved that on May 20, massive demonstrations/mobilisations should be held at State Capital/District/Industry level/Workplace.

However, most appallingly, even in the midst of such critical situation prevailing in the country owing to terrorist massacre and consequent developments, the employers' class actively supported by the governments at the centre and in many states is carrying on its onslaughts on the workers and employees across the establishments. Working hours are being unilaterally increased; statutory minimum wages and so-

cial security benefits are being flouted. Workers, particularly contract workers are being re-trenched with impunity. These are nothing but heinous attempts to implement notorious Labour Codes through backdoor. At the same time despite repeated persuasion by trade unions, the government did not bother to meet and consult the Central Trade Unions or to hold Indian labour conference, despite receiving notices for strike from all corners of the country across the sectors.

In this background the Joint Platform of Central Trade Unions and Independent Sectoral Federations/Associations calls upon the working people and their unions

throughout the country to keep vigorous continuity of their preparations for the General Strike and make the rescheduled call for countrywide General Strike on July 9, 2025 a massive success.

At the same time, the Joint Platform also demands upon the government of India to reciprocate the positive approach of the trade union movement and desist from any unilateral precipitative move in the matter of Labour Codes and other legitimate demands relating to working conditions and workers rights, both individual and collective and create any kind of provocations in this trying hour before the entire country.

government's failure to enforce policies against fundamental rights violations, justifying judicial intervention to combat structural causes and to restore constitutional order.

The Colombian Court identifies unconstitutional situations as violations of constitutional rights, owing to prolonged omission by authorities, and widespread endorsement of unconstitutional practices, indicating the use of state authority in ill faith, executive incompetence, and insensitivity.

The aforementioned area was legalized through a loophole in a Union government legislation stipulating the construction of low-cost apartments only. However, the BMC ignored the construction of high-rises by the builder violating the said stipulation. The Maharashtra State Human Rights Commission issued a suo moto order leading to demolition and unlawful detention of residents. The Maharashtra Slum Area Act of 1971 specifies procedures for surveying and consulting residents to determine the period of prior residence and rehabilitation. However, the authorities ig-

nored the three-decade-old residence without providing adequate rehabilitation.

The authorities not only demolished during the monsoon season, but also prevented the residents from retrieving their



possessions, and prohibited the recording of the data of injured by police atrocities. Despite the declaration by the investigation committee rendering the demolition invalid, no action has been taken against the authorities. These instances highlight the abuse of power and blatant omissions on the part of administrative authorities.

Herein, the issue is not the demolition of the allegedly illegal buildings, but rather the process adopted to do the same. The tainted procedures and

violation of Article 21 would be enough to fulfil the prescribed conditions for the applicability of the doctrine of unconstitutional state of affairs by the judiciary to keep a check on the executive and to further the

cause of justice.

Despite the filing of petitions and lawsuits by the affected parties, no substantial remedy has been conferred to the aggrieved, and the position remains largely unchanged even after nine months. This prolonged delay is noteworthy and raises concerns about the efficacy of both the executive and judiciary.

To address this pressing issue, the application of the doctrine of unconstitutional state of affairs may be war-

ranted, along with the proactive and continuous involvement of the judiciary through a 'writ of continuing mandamus'. This doctrine can be implemented by ensuring first, that the court actively monitors compliance with its directives along with imposing penalties on the concerned body for non-compliance. Second, regular hearings should be conducted to review progress on the matter. Third, appropriate orders ensuring alternative and adequate rehabilitation should be issued based on the current status of the situation. Finally, a framework for institutional dialogue should be encouraged among the various branches of government regarding the issue.

This approach highlights the necessity for a constitutional commitment to transition from insufficient actions toward a progressive and gradual transformation of the circumstances. By employing this doctrine, the court can effectively embody the principles of judicial activism while maintaining a careful balance to avoid overreach and uphold the principle of separation of powers.

Courtesy: The Leaflet

Peshawar Conspiracy Cases...

From Page 09

ment was delivered on May 18, 1923, in which Akhbar Shah and Gauhar Rehman were given two years rigorous imprisonment each and others got 1 year rigorous imprisonment each. Abdul Kadar was acquitted and released.

The fourth case was "Crown v/s Mohammad Shafiq". Mohammad Shafiq surrendered himself to the British consulate in Siestan (Iran) on December 10, 1923. Like the other accused convicted in the Peshawar conspiracy

cases, nothing could be proved against him except that he went to Soviet Russia and received revolutionary training in Tashkent and Russia. The sessions court judgment in this case was pronounced on April 4, 1924 and he was sentenced to 3 years of rigorous imprisonment.

The fifth and last case was with the title "Crown v/s Fazal Illahi Qurban, 1927". Qurban was arrested on April 5, 1927 in Bombay. His case was transferred to Peshawar. He was sentenced to 5 years rigorous imprisonment however he filed an

appeal against this conviction and the time of his imprisonment was reduced from 5 years to 3 years.

After being released from imprisonment, most of these young men continued to work in political fields. Akbar Shah studied law from Aligarh University and started his practice in Nowshera and later on worked in Badshah Khan's Khidmatgars party. He was instrumental in planning execution of great escape of Netaji from Calcutta to Berlin in January 1941. Mir Abdul Majeed attended

the first communist conference in Kanpur. He was co-founder of Naujawan Sabha with Bhagat Singh associated with Kirti Kisan Party under the leadership of Sohan Singh Josh. Besides this, he was elected in the executive committee of the Communist Party of India in May 1927, apart from that he was in the trade union movement and was accused in the historic Meerut conspiracy case.

Firozuddin Mansoor, Gauhar Rehman, Habib Ahmad, also worked in the party. Mansoor worked both in party as well as Trade Union movement and was the first general sec-

retary of the Communist Party of Pakistan. Fazil Illahi Qurban, an active trade union leader of Punjab, worked in India, right up to partition and after that he settled in Pakistan.

Author R S Yadav is former editor of Party weekly Mukti Sangharsh and was national council member for several years. He has written several books on history, politics, economics, labour problems, etc, apart from numerous articles on party history, labour problems and contemporary issues. The book in hand would be a great help for research in party history, and would be liked by everybody.

Concept of Reciprocal Tariff ...

From Page 03

mately settling somewhere in between. But in this case, China seems to have the upper hand. China was always defiant, as it had little to lose. A post by a Chinese social media influencer saying, 'Our ancestors didn't cave in - why should we give up what we have?' is gaining millions of views. Last March, a Chinese spokesperson publicly stated, 'If war is what the U.S. wants, be it a tariff war, a trade war, or any other kind, we are ready to fight until the end'.

The US tariffs had never been effective containing the Chinese imports. The average annual trade deficit between the US and China went up from 311 billion Dollar during the tenure of Barack Obama (2009–2016) to 361 billion Dollar under Trump 1.0 (2017–2020), despite his aggressive stance toward China.

There are ways to evade tariffs. Since tariffs

target a country's exports, the simplest workaround is to shift the production base and export from a third country - something the Chinese have mastered. The loss in exports from China to the US is increasingly being offset by exports from countries in Southeast Asia, with US imports from the region rising by 14 percentage points between 2018 and 2023. Vietnam, Malaysia, and Thailand have emerged as primary beneficiaries. Vietnam's exports to the US surged by 40 percent between 2018 and 2023, reflecting the broader trend of Chinese manufacturers shifting final assembly to third-party countries in order to bypass tariffs.

Similarly, to benefit from the US-Mexico-Canada trade alliance, Chinese firms are relocating their production base closer to the US. Take for instance, Mexico. In April 2024, the US Trade Representative Katherine Tai accused China of disguising its

steel products as Mexican steel to enter the US market. In 2023, US imports of Mexican goods totalled 475 billion Dollar, approximately, 20 billion Dollar more than in 2022. During the same time the US imports of Chinese goods amounted to 427 billion Dollar, around 10 billion Dollar less. An estimated 3.7 billion of Chinese FDI came to Mexico in 2023, significantly higher with an average flow of 1.3 billion Dollar during the past decade. At least 30 Chinese firms now operate out of Mexico including Chinese automobile giants such as BYD and Cherry International. The flow of Chinese FDI to Mexico has also increased by 30 percent during the last two years.

On the contrary, trade interdependence between the US and China has decreased during the past decade. Between 2018 and 2024, China's share of trade with the US has fallen from

15.7 percent to 10.9 percent. Since China has already diversified its export routes by channeling products to the US through third countries, US non-tariff measures have also become less effective. The Global Trade Alert database, reveals US has initiated more than 4525 protectionist measures against Chinese exports. However, the US trade deficit with China continued to rise.

China has enhanced the competitiveness of its manufacturing exports by continuing to shift production to locations with lower input costs. Much of the Chinese investment in the Greater Mekong Sub-region is driven by lower land and labor costs in countries such as Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Vietnam. China has invested around 1 trillion Dollar to countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia. This has helped reduce China's energy requirements, allowing Beijing to secure cheaper foreign energy sources (oil and

power) and minerals. Chinese companies have built six hydropower plants and one thermal power station in Myanmar and invested in power transmission and copper processing units in Vietnam. In countries like Sri Lanka (Hambantota port), Pakistan (Gwadar port), and throughout the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia, Chinese investments are being used to develop port infrastructure, so that the cost of shipping Chinese products falls.

The concept of reciprocal tariffs will never succeed, as it assumes that a tariff on China will not impact US imports from any other third-country. Retaliation by trading partners can also impact US exports, and value of dollars which can again impact trade balance. Real world does not operate with ceteris paribus (holding other factors constant) assumption, and sooner Trump understands this the better it is for the US economy.

(The author is Professor, School of Management, Mahindra University).

Nakba Day 2025: Palestinian Resilience and Global Protests



Diary of International Events

C. Adhikesavan

On May 15, 2025, global protests marked the 77th anniversary of the Nakba, commemorating the displacement of over 700,000 Palestinians during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. The Palestinian BDS National Committee urged mass mobilizations and civil disobedience to end international complicity in what they describe as Israel's settler-colonial apartheid and ongoing genocide in Gaza. Protests spanned multiple continents, demanding a ceasefire, justice, and the Palestinian right to return.

The ultra-right, Islamophobias and Zionist Israel supporters will never ever agree with the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis. In April 2025 alone, 2,037 Palestinians were killed in Israeli air and ground attacks. In the last two days, more than 200 Palestinians lost their lives. Since October 7, 2023, a total of 53,384 Palestinians have been killed, 94 per cent of whom were civilians – 51 per cent children, 16 per cent women, and 8 per cent elderly.

After denying the entry of aid trucks for more than two months, Israel has permitted only nominal aid to enter Gaza. As a result, we see extreme levels of starvation. Encouraged by US support, Israel is now talking about occupying the entire Gaza strip.

The BJP led Government of India should exert pressure on Israel to stop its genocidal attacks. It should join the demand for trying its leaders for war crimes and genocide.

The CPI reiterates its solidarity with the people of Palestine and for their just demand for a Palestine State with pre-1967 borders and East Jerusalem as the capital.

Personal stories underscored the enduring trauma. Ruwaida Amer, whose grandparents survived the 1948 Nakba, described living through a "second Nakba" in Gaza, facing hunger and displacement. Another account detailed a grandfather's death in 2025, weakened by starvation and lack of medical care, highlighting the ongoing humanitarian crisis. These narratives reflect both suffering and resilience, with some

Palestinians emphasizing the need to celebrate their cultural heritage beyond pain.

Fears of further displacement intensified amid reports of U.S.-Israeli discussions about relocating Palestinians from Gaza, drawing parallels to 1948. The UN and others warned of a potential repeat of ethnic cleansing, amplifying Nakba Day's significance. Protests in 2025 built on 2024's momentum, with up to 250,000 people rallying in London alone last year, signalling growing global solidarity.

However, protests faced challenges. In Berlin, police intervened

deepening humanitarian crisis. The global protests underscored both the movement's growing support and the contentious debates surrounding it, as calls for justice and accountability continue to resonate worldwide.

India-Pakistan ceasefire: Can trust overcome betrayal?

On May 10, 2025, a ceasefire was announced between India and Pakistan, mediated by the United States. India's Foreign Secretary Vikram Misri stated that Pakistan's DGMO contacted India's DGMO at 3:35 p.m., agreeing to halt all military actions from 5 p.m. IST. However, hours later,



citing safety concerns, while in the UK, arrests followed violent chants. Organizations like Samidoun, designated as a terrorist group in several countries, endorsed the protests and praised Hamas's October 7, 2023, attacks. Critics, including some Israeli voices, argued the protests glorified violence, while Palestinian organizers framed them as resistance against oppression.

The protests revealed a global divide: supporters saw them as solidarity against ethnic cleansing, while detractors, including some Western governments, accused them of fuelling antisemitism or terrorism. Amnesty International criticized crackdowns on pro-Palestinian voices, urging authorities to protect peaceful assembly rights.

Nakba Day 2025 highlighted Palestinian resilience amid ongoing displacement fears and a

Pakistan allegedly violated the ceasefire, raising doubts about its reliability. Reports indicate Pakistan shelled civilian villages along the Line of Control (LoC), killing 16 civilians and injuring 59, including 44 civilians, in Poonch. A tragic example is Rizwan, whose twin children, Zain and Zoya, died in the shelling.

Pakistan's history of supporting terrorism fuels skepticism. The Pahalgam attack, claimed by the Pakistani terror group TRF (a Lashkar-e-Taiba offshoot), prompted India's Operation Sindoor, targeting nine terrorist camps, including Lashkar-e-Taiba's headquarters in Muridke and Jaish-e-Mohammad's base in Bahawalpur. These strikes, based on credible intelligence, avoided civilian infrastructure. Yet, Pakistan's retaliation targeted Indian civilians, suggesting complicity with terrorist elements.

Evidence of Pakistan's duplicity is overwhelming. Satellite imagery from 2024 shows Jaish-e-Mohammad's Bahawalpur base doubling in size post-2022, when Pakistan was removed from the FATF's Grey List. Reports confirm ongoing terrorist recruitment and training, with facilities like Markaz Subhanallah and Usman-o-Ali Masjid operating near military bases. In 2022, Jaish-e-Mohammad acquired land through Masood Azhar's brother, Abdul Rauf, a designated terrorist. Photos even show Pakistani military personnel at terrorists' state funerals, draped in national flags.

Pakistan's leaders, like former PM Imran Khan and Defense Minister Khawaja Asif, have admitted past support for jihadi groups but deny current involvement. Asif claimed Lashkar-e-Taiba is "defunct," despite evidence to the contrary. Congress leader Shashi Tharoor called Pakistan a "master of denial," citing its initial denials of the 26/11 Mumbai attacks and Osama bin Laden's presence.

The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) has overlooked Pakistan's ongoing terror links, removing it from the Grey List in 2022 despite continued violations. Pakistan's actions – supporting terrorism while securing IMF loans – undermine its credibility. For the Pakistani public, this truth is often obscured by their media and government. The international community must demand accountability, potentially reinstating Pakistan on the FATF Grey List based on this evidence.

India seeks peace and economic growth, not conflict. However, Pakistan's pattern of ceasefire violations and terrorism sponsorship makes trust elusive. Without concrete action against terror networks, Pakistan's commitments remain questionable.

AIYF 17th National Conference...

From Last Page

A. A. Rahim MP, national president of DYFI, representatives from Sundarrajan, RYF, Jagadeesh of AIYL, Ravula Venkaiah, AIKS general secretary, Nisha Siddhu, NFIW general secretary, N. Periyasamy, BKMU national president,

AISF national president Viraaj Devang, general secretary Dinesh Sreerangaraj, AITUC national executive committee member Kondal Rao greeted the conference.

Former general secretary of AIYF Thirumalai Raman placed the political, organisation and work report in the conference. There was detailed

discussion and delegates from all states participated in it. Thirumalai Raman replied to the questions and initiated a discussions on the reports. Ultimately it was unanimously accepted.

On the evening of May 16, a seminar was held. C.H. Venkatachalam, General Secretary of AIBEA spoke on the topic "Jobless Growth and Unemployment Crisis". Ashwani Bakshi, former leader of AISF and lawyer in Punjab Haryana High Court spoke on "Electoral Reforms".

On the last day, 17th National Conference of AIYF elected a new general council, National

Working Committee and new leadership.

List of office bearers:

President: Raushan Kumar Sinha

General Secretary: Sukjinder Mahesari

Vice-presidents:

1. Bharathi
2. Pradeep Sethi
3. Himanshu
4. Arthi Redekar

Secretaries:

1. T.T. Jismon
2. Harish Bala
3. Dr. Syed Valli Ullah Khadiri
4. Parchuri Rajendra Babu

The conference resolved to organise 5 crore signature campaign for

electoral reforms in the month of July and to organise a long march in October demanding the

Union government to enact Bhagat Singh National Employment Guarantee Act BNEGA.



P. P. H. PUBLICATIONS

S.No.	Title	Author Name	Price
1	In Defence of Materialism in Ancient India	Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya	150
2	Socio-Political Views of Vivekananda	Binoy K. Roy	80
3	What is the Theory of Relativity	L. Landau, Y. Rumer	50
4	Emergence of A Slave Caste Pulayas of Kerala	K. Saradmoni	450
5	Communist In Indian Women's Movement	Renu Chakravartty	300
6	Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism	Lenin	100
7	Dialectics of Nature	Engels	350
8	Comrade Chandrappan (Memories)	Trans. By V.I. Thomas	150
9	Che Guevara A memoir by Fidel Castro	Ed. David Deutschmann	185
10	Frederick Engels A Short Biography	John Keracher	40
11	Gandhi Ambedkar and the Extirpation of Untouchability	Hirendra Nath Mukerjee	50
12	Marx's Legacy in 21st Century	Samit Kar	170
13	The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis	Conrad Wood	250
14	The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis	Conrad Wood	350
15	Physics for Entertainment	Ya Perelman	230
16	The Geography of the Puranas	S. Muzafer Ali	325
17	Tales of the Amber Sea	Irina Zheleznova	350
18	Ajoy Ghosh : Life and works	Anil Rajimwale	60
19	Understanding the French Revolution	Albert Soboul	400
20	Victims of the world Unite Against Exogenous Pandemics	K.S. Chalam	100
21	What is Living and what is dead in Indian Philosophy	Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya	300
22	Lokayata	Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya	350
23	The Talwars of Pathan land and Subhash Chandra's Great Escape	Bhagat Ram Talwar	200
24	The Students' Marx	Edward Aveling	200
26	The Rise and growth of Economic Nationalism in India	Bipan Chandra	600
27	Crisis of Corporate Capitalism	A.B. Bardhan	75
28	What is Marxism	Anil Rajimwale	75

Please send your order to:

■ People's Publishing House (P) Limited
5-E, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi -110 055
Phone: 011-23523349, 23529823
Email: pph5e1947@gmail.com
Website: <http://www.pphbooks.net>

■ CPIHQ Showroom: Ajoy Bhavan, 15 Com. Indrajit Gupta Road, New Delhi-110 002
■ PPH Showroom JNU Near Central Library JNU, New Delhi-110 067

■ PPH Showroom 22, Qaiser Bagh Lucknow (UP)
■ PPH Showroom, 18 Marina Arcade, G-Block, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001

Current Account Details:
State Bank of India
A/c. No. 320 746 74 284
In favour of: People's Publishing House (P) Ltd

Homage to Jayant Narlikar

Prof Jayant Vishnu Narlikar, a doyen of Astrophysics and Cosmology, passed away on the night of May 19, 2025.

He was an astrophysicist and emeritus professor for Astronomy and Astrophysics at the Inter-University centre for Astronomy and Astrophysics (IUCAA), Mumbai. At an early age, as a post graduate student at Cambridge University, UK he worked with renowned astrophysicist Sir Alfred Hoyle and developed the conformal gravity theory, known as Hoyle-Narlikar theory.

The theory synthesises Einstein's theory of relativity and Mach's principle, that the inertial mass of a particle is a function of the masses of all other particles, multiplied by a coupling constant, which is a function of cosmic epoch. Narlikar is known for his work in cosmology, especially in championing models alternative to the popular Big bang model (1994-1997), which is the standard explanation for creation of universe.

He was actively propagating application of dialectics in scientific research though all his life, he had worked for scientific temper both in scientific community and among students.

Jayant Narlikar was born in July, 1938, at Sholapur, Maharashtra a family of scholars. His father was a renowned mathematician and mother, a Sanskrit scholar. His wife Mangala Narlikar too was a mathematician.

He was himself a renowned science fiction writer and his books on mathematics, cosmology such as "The return of Vamanas" "Cosmic adventures", "Robots" propagated scientific temper, disproved superstitions in society. Though he was great scientist, he actively propagated scientific temper and readily accepting to speak in various popular science such as AIPSN. He was recipient of various awards such as Padma Vibhushan, Padma Bhushan, FNA, FASc, Tyson Medal for Astronomy (1960), Kalinga prize (UNESCO) and several others. He was chairman of the text book committee for NCERT school books for Mathematics



and astrophysics. His science fiction books and short stories in English, Marathi and Hindi are a favourite for children,

His demise is a big loss to society, especially today when right thinking civic society is fighting against superstitions, pseudoscience and other regressive tendencies in society.

On Record ...

Reading modules on Covid-19 prepared by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) glorify the role of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in "effectively managing" the pandemic, but are silent on the death toll.

The apex textbook-preparing body has come out with four modules on the subject as additional reading material for students of pre-school to Class II, Classes III-V, Classes VI to VIII, and Classes IX to XII. None of them talk about Covid deaths. The modules have been released at a time latest government data has found that the number of Covid deaths was six times more than the official data released in 2021. The new data from the Civil Registration System, published on May 7, shows that about 21 lakh more deaths were registered in 2021 against the Centre's claim that year that 3.3 lakh people had died of the virus. - *The Telegraph*, May 22.

The Centre-run Film and Television Institute, Arunachal Pradesh, lacks basic infrastructure and academic necessities, which has prompted students to boycott

classes from May 15.

The institute, under the Union ministry of information and broadcasting, started operating in the 2024-25 academic session. The administration of the Satyajit Ray Film and Television Institute (SRFTI), Calcutta, looks after the management of the Arunachal Pradesh FTI, the third national film institute in the country. According to the



students, the institute lacks infrastructure such as a classroom theatre and post-production blocks. The gym, library and technical resources remain defunct. It has failed to provide basic living conditions as electricity is not available 24x7. There is no power backup, campus security, function-

ing classrooms and digital access, they say." Students continue to fall sick due to unsafe water, face frequent Internet blackouts, and attend classes in unsafe or unfinished spaces," the students said. - *The Telegraph*, May 22.

The amendments expand government control over waqf properties at the cost of the autonomy of the Muslim community to manage them. On April 17, the Court recorded the Centre's assurance that waqf properties, including "waqf by user", will not be de-notified and appointments will not be made to the Central Waqf Council and State Waqf Boards, based on provisions of the new law till May 5, the next hearing. The Centre thus preempted a judicial order which appeared possible during the hearing. The Court had raised concerns about the provisions in the new law which discontinued the category of waqf

by user, made non-Muslims eligible for appointment in the council/waqf boards, and gave the state unilateral power to take over the control of waqf properties in the event of a dispute, pending its final resolution. - *The Hindu*, May 22.

- Compiled by C. Adhikesavan

AIYF 17TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ENDS WITH PROMISES

- **Resolves to collect Five Crore Signatures in Campaign on Electoral Reforms in July**
- **Long March to Enact BNEGA in October**



CPI general secretary D Raja addressing the conference

As the banners and festoons were seen everywhere in Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh), the city had turned Red, decorated with AIYF flags on the occasion of 17th national conference of All India Youth Federation. The conference had started on May 15 and continued upto

May 18, 2025.

Attended by 700 delegates from 28 states, the conference started with a grand public meeting, held at Indira Maidan, in the city. AIYF National President Sukhjinder Mahesari presided over the meeting. AIYF

Harish Bala

Andhra Pradesh state secretary Parchuri Rajendra Babu welcomed the gathering. AIYF former general secretary and General Secretary of CPI D.Raja delivered the inaugural address. In his speech he explained about the unemployment issues in the country, importance of electoral reforms in line with the parliamentary committee led by Com.Indrajit Gupta.

CPI national secretary and the conference reception committee chairman K.Narayana, CPI Andhra Pradesh State Secretary Ramakrishna, AIYF former general secretary and CPI Rajya Sabha Floor Leader Sandosh Kumar and others addressed the gathering.

AIYF National Secretary Lenin Babu delivered the vote of thanks.

On May 16, delegate session started. Former AIYF leader and CPI national secretary Narayana welcomed the delegates.

Delegate session was inaugurated by former Supreme Court justice

Chalameshwar. In his inaugural address he stressed about the elections becoming costly affair. He also spoke on the importance of electoral reforms. He urged the delegates to take part more actively in elections and politics, since it had its own importance.

On Page 14



Newly elected AIYF general secretary Sukhjinder Singh Mahesari addressing the conference



Newly elected AIYF president Raushan Kumar Sinha addressing the conference