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Failure of Indian Diplomacy Post-Operation Sindoor

External Posturing and Internal Evasion

Pallab Sengupta

The brutal terrorist attack in Pahalgam, which claimed innocent lives and shocked the conscience of the nation, drew widespread condemnation and united the Indian people in grief and resolve. In the aftermath of the attack, the Government of India intensified its efforts to expose Pakistan's continued sponsorship of cross-border terrorism. Building on the momentum of Operation Sindoor, New Delhi launched a high-profile diplomatic offensive aimed at globally isolating Islamabad.

An all-party delegation was dispatched to key world capitals to mobilize international opinion and rally support for India's position. The twin objectives of this initiative were clear: to secure explicit diplomatic censure of Pakistan and to obstruct its access to financial support from institutions such as the **International Monetary** Fund (IMF) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

Despite the moral clarity of India's stance and the compelling evidence of Pakistan's complicity

in fostering terrorism, the diplomatic campaign faced formidable challenges. Major powers, driven by geopolitical calculations and strategic interests, remained reluctant to fully endorse India's efforts. Moreover, neighbouring countries were excluded from the itinerary of the all-party delegation; while they condemned the terrorist attacks, they remained silent on endorsing India's position on Pakistan.

The Communist Party of India has consistently

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Palestine Solidarity Day

On June 17, a significant gathering took place at Jantar Mantar, where citizens came together for a protest organized by various Left parties, including the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPIM), the Communist Party of India (CPI(ML), the Forward Bloc, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), and the Centre of Indian Trade Unions. This collective event aimed to express unwa-



vering solidarity with the people of Palestine, who continue to endure genocide and occupation at the hands of Israel.

The protest saw a no-

table turnout of prominent figures from the Left political spectrum. D.

Raja, the General Secretary of CPI, M.A. Baby, the General Secretary of CPI(M), and Dipankar Bhattacharya, the Gen-Secretary eral CPI(ML), were among them. R. S. Dagar, representing the RSP, and Harishankar from the Forward Bloc also made their voices heard. Birju Naik from the Centre of Indian Trade Unions was among those present, while Delhi lead-

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New Age Weekly

Marx, Engels and June Days Uprising in 1848



It was in the decade of 1840s, dominated by strikes and struggles and signified by upheavals and uprisings. Among them the most popular

but brutally suppressed one that remained alive only for four days – but has kept echoing even after almost two centuries — was the June uprising. It was in Paris. The tensions between bourgeoisie and the workers were most intense here. By February 1848, there was the transition and a new society started emerging , divided in two streams. One of them spent its labour power to produce commodities, that met the needs of the human want. The other was the owner who organized the production, with raw material, means of production, which in those days were looms, or primitive machines, huge and small both run with fuel or driven by horses. Steam power was discovered and its utility spread out in different kinds of machines, to produce and transport both. Gaining from paying less and buying the labour power at a cost that was cheaper than the cost of the products that were created by the labourer himself.

The days were unusual. It was a time when the entire superstructure was crumbling along with the agrarian system and the blind feudal rule. Kings were no more divinities. However there was one glaring and consistent factor and that was constant and all pervasive. It was the absence of food, and rule of hunger suffered by the larger masses. So far as the new government was concerned, it was content to recycle the slogans and symbols of the great 1789 French Revolution, proclaiming liberty, equality, fraternity, and flying the tricolour flag. They had lost all faith for the royalties. People were angry and devastatingly hungry. Another howling factor was bankruptcy, hover $ing\, over\, France.\, The\, situation\, was\, getting$ the outlines of new society, with new thinking. There was growing need for democracy and representative government. France was not alone in shaping the idea of democracy, with individual rights, equality. They were waiting for a new dawn. It was the rule of capital identified by not only France, but also in other countries. The results were amazing, though not unexpected.

It was industrial age that was getting ushered in, with new machines, and a democratic set up to rule over. During the 1830s and 1840s, socialist and communist ideas and organisations had proliferated with the expansion of the city's working class. These groups were interested in achieving working-class emancipation, which would mean going beyond the traditions of 1789. It was in 1848, in its beginning itself, when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had just got over the writing of the Communist Manifesto when a series of revolutions broke out in the European continent. These were not the communist revolutions, instead they were revolutions for liberal reforms against old European autocracies.

Marx and Engels had thrown themselves into the revolutionary movement, taking part in the democratic struggle in Cologne. On 1 June 1848, they launched a newspaper under Marx's editorship, the NeueRheinischeZeitung, with the subtitle 'Organ of Democracy'.

In 1848, France was in the middle of an economic depression with high unemployment. In the February revolution, armed

Editorial

workers demanded that the new government commit to the 'right to work', specifically to guarantee the welfare of the working class. This was only ever grudgingly conceded. The government set up national workshops for the unemployed, but these offered sporadic, low-paid work which was menial, monotonous and resented by the unemployed skilled artisans of Paris.

On June 22, the government terminated the national workshops, telling the workers who had enrolled in them that they would instead have to enlist in the army or be deported from Paris to work elsewhere.

That evening, workers began to build barricades. The June Days uprising had begun. From the moment they received news of the uprising, Marx and Engels supported the revolutionaries. This was an exceptional position to take; by contrast with the earlier wave of revolutions, the June insurrection had hardly any prominent defenders. As a result of their stance, identified by not only France, but also in other countries. The results were amazing shareholders. When the publication closed down the following year as

the counter-revolution gained ground, Marx had the final edition defiantly printed entirely in red ink. These red words proclaimed that the June insurrection was 'the essence of our paper'.

Marx and Engels were able to gain information about what was happening in Paris from two of their journalists who were based in France: Sebastian Seiler, who worked as a stenographer in the French National Assembly, and Hermann Ewerbeck, a doctor who treated the wounded revolutionaries and reported what they were telling him.

In The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote: 'The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.'

They were describing the way in which working-class revolution would necessitate a complete break with the old society. The truth of this was confirmed by the experience of the June Days which, as Ewerbeck told them, was very quiet compared to the February revolution: the barricade fighters in June were not singing songs about 1789.

This was why Marx characterised the February revolution as the nice revolution, when the class divisions in society were denied, obscured by the universalist rhetoric of brotherhood. June, by contrast, was the ugly revolution because it made those class divisions appallingly visible. The new French government went to war with the workers on the barricades: it called up the army.

Marx and Engels emphasised the scale of the violence employed against the June insurgents. It revealed the lengths to which a frightened bourgeoisie would go to safeguard their power.

In 1919, after a failed workers' uprising, the revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg wrote her last article hours before her murder by the proto-fascist Freikorps. She titled it 'Order reigns in Berlin'. That was a reference to Marx's article on the June Days, which recalled that the French government, like other repressive regimes, slaughtered in the name of 'order'.

It was only partly a satirical point. Marx, and later Luxemburg, were also making the point that fundamentally the bourgeois social order was based on violence and subjugation. That was why they dedicated their lives to overthrowing it.

Two telephone calls that shook me and are still haunting were that I made to my acquaintances today. I could feel the anguish when I called my friend in Srinagar whose son is studying medicine in Tehran and with whom they are not having easy contact in the present situation. The family is much worried about his welfare but find themselves helpless. They had not expected Israel's attack on Iran since the negotiations about Iran's nuclear programme were going on between the US and Iran. Another call I made was to my Iranian class mate during medical college days; fear and pain in his mind were quite apparent because of uncertainties in the time to come. His wife had been quite sick lately and in this advanced age they are not able to manage easily. Any violent situation, more so an all-out war brings about pain, fear, uncertainty which can become cause of mental health problems that continue for a long time and affect the mental faculties and capacity to perform even after the situation has improved.

Unfortunately the world is now passing through deep crisis of war and violence, probably worst ever after the end of the Second World War. As a teenage boy living near the India-Pa-

kistan border I had witnessed the pathetic condition of families who had to shift from the villages adjoining the border to the town and were depending on supply of food or other

Pain and Psychotrauma of Wars

essential items by the town people. Children were not attending school. There was no privacy of a family. This led to serious mental health issues among them. As a medical student watched the similar scenario again in 1971. Now when the wars have been imposed on the people to the worst scenario in the Middle East, it is easy $to \, comprehend \, as \, to \, what \,$ mental crisis they must be passing through.

Over 55000 people have been killed in the Israeli onslaught on the innocent civilians of Gaza, majority of them being women and children. Reckless attacks on Syria, Lebanon and the

Dr Arun Mitra

west bank coupled with forcefully made resettlement colonies in the west bank by Israel are matter of grave concern. The aggression started after the Hamas's violent attack on Israel on October 7, 2023. But response by the Israel has been disproportionate. As a result the humanitarian crises in Gaza is at its peak. After the unprovoked attack by Israel on Iran the war between the two has taken very serious turn. Netanyahu, the Prime Minister of Israel has in very explicit terms said that his aim is regime change in Iran. The US president Donald Trump is asking Iran to surrender unconditionally.

In 1979 the government of Shah of Iran was toppled by a people's movement lead by Ayotollah Khomeini. People were opposed to Shah as he was selling Iran's interests to US companies. There were several groups opposed to the Shah including liberals, communists but Ayatollah Khomeini led group emerged as the main force. However they established a theocratic fundamentalist state and unleashed repression against those who held different views, even eliminated many of them. Imposed several restrictions on the women. We have recently seen women's movement in Iran with the slogan 'Women, Life and Freedom'. The Iranian regime however essentially maintained an anti-imperialist character. On the other side the Jewish Theocratic state of Israel has been siding with US imperialism and flouting the international humanitarian laws with impunity. The Israel and the US have now made their intent clear that they want to control the resources of the Middle East and want to strengthen their geo political interests in the region.

There are reports in the social media that Israelis are asking Indians to go back. The Indian workers are not being allowed to go to shelters. What the government of India will do is to be seen. Indian students are stranded in Iran. Their being brought to India is a big task.

It is therefore important that war must end. Former Chief of Indian Army General MM Naravane has said while addressing a diamond jubilee function of the Institute of Cost Accountants of India in Pune in May 2025, 'that a war is not a romantic or Bollywood movie but a very serious and expensivelastresort'. When the war breaks out, there is death and destruction, Narvane said. "It has its own costs, the cost of rebuilding, but also the cost of military re-equipments that is lost."

Present day wars are being imposed upon the common civilians by the military industrial complex who are out to sell the arms and earn profit through falsification of the events and raising hyper-nationalism. The civil society has to raise its voice against such profitmaking business which is completely inhuman.

Police Crackdown on Protest against Israeli Genocide of Gaza in Mumbai

Massive police crackdown across Mumbai to crush Protest to Condemn Israeli Genocide of Gaza.

In the early hours of the morning, Mumbai police came to the houses of various Political Party leaders & Social Activists to detain them to prevent a peaceful protest that is scheduled to be held at the Azad Maidan in Mumbai today at 3.30 pm. The protests were part of the National Call issued by the Left Parties and were held across the country, but it's only in Mumbai that the state decided to crackdown.

Those detained include Com. Prakash Reddy (CPI), Com. Charul Joshi (CPI), Meraj Siddiqui (Samajwadi Party, Com. Raju Korde (PWP), Com. Shyam Gohil (CPI-ML Liberation), FerozeMithiborwala (India Palestine Solidarity Forum), Junaid Khan (PWP), and many Left Party cadres from across the city.

*This unprecedented crackdown is being orchestrated under intense political pressure by rightwing forces and is part of a series of draconian measures wrought upon the organisers to prevent the protest

from condemning the ongoing Israeli genocide in Gaza.*

The protest in Solidarity with Palestine is scheduled to be held today, 18 June, at the Azad Maidan, Mumbai!

We further condemn the detention of our comrades & condemn the draconian action by the police. This is clearly an attack on our basic fundamental & democratic rights and further evidence of the rising authoritarian fascism that is taking over our country.

CONDEMN ISRAELI GENO-CIDE OF GAZA

*DEMAND CHANGE IN INDIA'S STAND**ORGANISERS:*

CPI, CPI(M), CPI (ML) LIBERA-TION, SAMAJWADI PARTY, PWP, AIFB, RSP, RPI (SECULAR), ALL IN-DIA PEACE & SOLIDARITY ORGANISATION, INDIA PALES-TINE SOLIDARITY FORUM

Com. Prakash Reddy, Com. V i v e k M o n t e i r o , ShyamdadaGaikwad, Com. Shailendra Kamble, Com. Charul Joshi, Rahul Gaikwad&FerozeMithiborwala

Regime's Corporate Hindutva Divides Nation on Identity Lines

Millions have No Reach to **Even Basic Minimum**

The CEO of NITI Aayog has asserted that India has emerged as the fourth-largest economy. He was at least truthful enough to concede that this was based on the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) projections for 2025-26 in its World Economic Outlook. Through further elaborations, we precisely come to know that India's nominal GDP is projected to increase to USD 4,187.017 billion ahead of Japan's USD 4,186,431 billion by a whisker. It is altogether a different proposition that India's per capita income happens to be a mere one-thirteenth of Japan's in nominal dollar terms.

Therefore, the current excitement among the apologists of the Modi government's economic think tank which is further amplified by sycophants of the Godi media, sounds bizarre. Actually, this near-obsession with the overall GDP figures is not accidental. It is characteristic of the finance-driven neoliberal economic paradigm. It helps to conceal more about the condition of the people and their livelihood than it reveals. While part of a global trend, this distortion is particularly pronounced in India, now counted among the most unequal economies in the world.

According to the World Inequality Report 2022, the top 1 per cent of India's population holds more than 40 per cent of the nation's wealth, while the bottom 50 per cent holds just 3 per cent. Income inequality is equally stark — the top 10 per cent earn over 57 per cent of the national income. In this context, the obsession with overall GDP and even per capita GDP is not merely a misleading metric; it is a deliberate construct designed to distract public discourse from the cruelty being pursued by the corporate-communal nexus.

The underpinning is loud and clear. As Alfredo Saad-Filho, the noted Brazilian economist, observed in 2006, under the finance-driven

P Sudhir

speculative financial activities.

Mediated by finance, the control over three main sources of capital in the economy — state finance, the domestic savings pool, and the linkages between domestic and foreign capital — has grown increasingly unregulated and concentrated. This dynamic is reflected in the desperation with which the Trump adminseven dollars channelled into speculative instruments such as stocks and derivatives. Nearly a quarter-century later, the dominance of finance is even more pronounced. Clearly, the IMF's projected GDP figures do little to explain the inner workings of contemporary capitalism or its consedevastating quences for the working

In India, the top 1 per cent of the population controls 40 per cent of the total GDP. This means that nearly 1.4 billion people are left with a per capita income of just around USD 1,670. If we remove the top 5 per cent, who control 62 per cent of the nation's wealth, the average drops further to approximately USD 1,100 — less than Rs1 lakh annually. This reflects the grim reality faced by the overwhelming majority of the population.

Compounding this inequality is the sectorwise asymmetry in GDP contribution. The bulk of the GDP is generated by capital-intensive service sectors and large corporate enterprises. Meanwhile, those engaged in unorganised informal sectors and agriculture who constitute a significant portion of the cation, and healthcare, workforce – contribute only a minuscule share to the total GDP. As a regrowing unemployment is accompanied by deepening crisis in sustainable incomes and livelihoods.

Globally, policy capture by the wealthy has shaped tax policies, regulatory frameworks, and

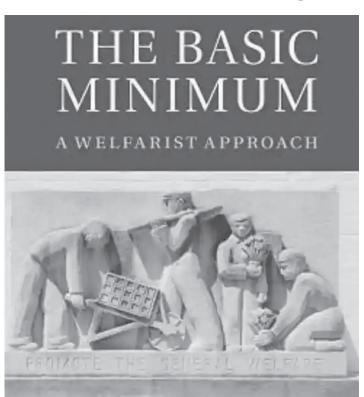
public investment decisions to their advantage. In India, this capture is even more acute. The increasing stranglehold of corporate interests, coupled with the rise of crony capitalism, has led to a systematic transfer of public assets — including natural resources into private hands. While corporate profits have soared, the share of labour in national income has sharply declined.

The situation in India is particularly dire. Demonetisation dealt a severe blow to the informal economy, which bore the brunt of the disruption. The aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic only worsened the condition. In such an environment, there is no scope for generating additional employment or ensuring sustainable incomes.

Even the nominal increase in total GDP offers no evidence of shared prosperity. Beyond the working poor and the unemployed, even the middle classes are increasingly vulnerable – not just being left behind, but at risk of sliding downwards.

In the absence of redistributive policies, the elite can afford to opt out of public services — relying on exclusive private schools, corporate hospitals, and gated communities. This erodes the political will to invest in universal public systems. For the 800 million Indians struggling with basic nutrition, housing, edu-GDP rankings are irrelevant.

The rise of a corporatecommunal nexus is not accidental; it serves to divide people along identity lines, ensuring the regime's continued dominance. In this context, united and collective struggles by the people remain the only viable path forward.



neoliberal regime, there is "exploitation and social domination based on the systematic use of state power to impose, under the ideological veil of non-intervention, a hegemonic project in all areas of social life." Under the dictates of financial markets and the global interests of US capital, the production of goods and services has ceased to be the principal function of capital. Instead, capital is now deployed primarily to generate short-term super-profits through istration pursued a tariff war in an attempt to revive domestic manufacturing jobs. Ironically, it was under the aegis of US-led imperialism that the global dominance of finance was first established.

At the turn of the century, in 2000, global foreign institutional investment (FII) soared to USD 400 trillion, compared to global foreign direct investment (FDI) of just USD 65 trillion for every dollar of direct investment, there were Even 78 years after independence, land ownership in villages is highly skewed. Richfarmers continue to own vast tracts of land while the small farmers possess only a negligible portion. Share of agriculture being mere 16 percent of GDP, eventually 65 percent of rural population are sustaining livelihoods in near poverty. Unless crores of landless get land and democratically participate in production process, it may not be possible to rise agricultural production, productivity and above all improverural livelihoods. Ironically, in present neoliberal times, distribution of surplus land has not only halted but land reforms are backtracked to benefit big corporations.

Food grain production touched 35.4 cr tons and milk output to 30 crore tons thanks to our hard working farmers. Yet, land less labourers and small farmers are half starved and are dependent on food rations dolled by government. Interestingly the structure of landownership in villages did not change significantly after independence. The lion's share of land continues to be in hands of the richmiddle peasantry. Only a minor share is owned by small-landless peasantry. Dalit and very backward sections make up a majority of this landless rural poor. As of 2022, small and marginal farmers (constituting 86.2 percent of the farming community), own

less than two hectares. These sections own only 45.2 percent of cropped area, while the remaining 47.3 percent (excluding



government owned land) is held by a mere 13.8 percent of large and middle sections of farmers. Among rich farming community, a handful of 4.9 percent of very rich farmers (0wning more than 10 ha own 32 percent of cultivable total land. This amounts that a rich farmer owns 45 times more land than a small farmer on average

above national pattern. For example in Punjab a mere 10 percent of rich farmers own as high as 80 percent of land. Although Dalits comprise 32 percent of state's population, they own almost no land. The assigned lands, distributed earlier by government (under land reforms) to Dalits and very back-

CPI Condemns India's Abstention in UN Vote on Palestine

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued on June 14, 2025 the following statement:

The Communist Party of India strongly condemns the abstention of the Government of India in the United Nations General Assembly voting held on June 14 on the resolution concerning the ongoing genocide in Gaza. This abstention is not merely a diplomatic maneuver — it is a grave moral failure and reflects the deep ideological affinity between Zionism and the Hindutva ideology pursued by the RSS-BJP and betrayal of the long-standing values of justice, non-alignment, and solidarity with oppressed peoples that have historically guided India's foreign policy.

At a time when the world is witnessing the relentless massacre of Palestinian civilians, including women and children, India's failure to support a resolution calling for an end to Israeli aggression amounts to complicity in war crimes. This abstention in the face of atrocities is unacceptable and goes against the very principles of humanity and international law. The CPI reiterates its solidarity with the people of Palestine and demands that the Indian government immediately reverse its pro-Israel stance and stand firmly with the global call for justice and peace in Gaza.

Landlessness in Rural India

(Agricultural census, 2022).

Ashigh as 56.4 percent of rural poor are land less, comprising mostly of dalits and very backward (Atipichadi) sections. While only 11.0 percent of land is owned by Dalits and 12.7 percent of women farmers have land rights.

In Different States

In different states land ownership patterns are more or less similar to the Dr. Soma Marla

ward sections and Sham and village community lands are occupied by rich high caste farmers in villages, denying rights of Dalit poor. In Rajasthan, Karnataka rich farmers constituting 10 percentof farming community own as high as 55 percent of cultivated land. In UP for example rich farmers comprising 15 percent own as high as 56 percent of total cultivated land. National Sample Survey, 2020 indicates a similar pattern of land ownership in Bihar. In A.P state 41.7percent of land is owned by a handful of 13.73 percent of rich farmers.

Pauperisation

Most farmers are turning into wage labourers since their land is lost. Subsequently land fragmentation increased resulting rise in individual farm holdings and very unprofitable cultivation due to rise in cost of cultivation. Small farmers are rapidlylosing their land due to escalation of the cost of cultivation-high costs of fertilizers, diesel, and seed. Small farmers are increasingly being exploited by markets and large agribusiness corporations. On the other hand, due to the lack of remunerative crop MSPs in markets, small farmers

On Page 06

CPI Expresses Deep Shock and Grief over Air India Crash in Ahmedabad

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued on June 13, 2025 the following statement:

The Communist Party of India expresses deep shock and grief over the tragic Air India crash in Ahmedabad, which claimed the lives of 241 passengers and crew on board. We extend our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families during this moment of immense sorrow.

We are also deeply saddened to learn that the crash caused further devastation on the ground, including the death of medical students from BJ Medical College and injuries to others in the vicinity. The victims on the ground must not be forgotten — their families deserve the same care and support.

We urge the government and authorities to extend all necessary assistance to the affected families, ensure sensitive and dignified handling of the situation and provide timely and adequate compensation to all victims — both in the aircraft and on the ground.

This catastrophic incident underscores the urgent need to reinforce air safety regulations and institute rigorous oversight of aviation operations. A thorough, independent, and transparent enquiry must be conducted to establish accountability and ensure that such avoidable tragedies do not recur.

Deliberate Innocence of A Fugitive Businessman

A recent podcast appearance by fugitive businessman Vijay Mallyahas stirred controversy, reviving debate over crony capitalism, political protection, and the double standards in India's loan recovery sys-

Mallya accused Indian banks and the government of India targeting him unfairly. He claimed that although the Debt Recovery Tribunal ruled in 2017 that he owed 16,848 crore, Indian authorities have already seized assets worth 1 14,000 crore - far exceeding the dues. Yet, he said, banks continue to assert that 17,000 crore remains unpaid.

Mallya portrays himself as a victim, but his narrative skips over a crucial detail: loans donot weights like Mallya, freeze in time. Over eight politics is often transacyears, interest and penal-tional - ideology takes ties compound, and a 2017 a back seat to influence.

TM Murthi

figure doesnot reflect today's burden. His interview, many observers note, gives the impression of deliberate innocence.

The businessman fur- $Speaking from \, the \, UK, \quad ther \, criticized \, the \, Indian$ system, saying that excessive political and bureaucratic interference has made it impossible to run a business in the country. The irony isnot lost on many — Mallya is no stranger to politics. From 2002 to 2008, he was a RajyaSabha MP with the support of Congress and Janata Dal (Secular), and he returned in 2010 with backing from both JD(S) and the BJP.

For corporate heavy-

More than just a borrower who defaulted, Mallya faces serious charges of financial fraud, including the diversion of loan funds abroad. He was booked under PMLA. He left India on May 2, 2016 – a day before he was to be expelled from Parliament. His departure raised many questions. His passport had already been revoked on April 24, and the Hyderabad High Court had ordered his arrest under non-bailable charges in March that year. Yet, he managed to board a flight to London without resistance.

In a 2018 interview, Mallya claimed he had "met senior ministers" and "paid a large amount" before being allowed to leave India – a claim never officially addressed. It was only after he landed in London

that authorities moved to formally bar him from leaving the country.

While Mallya's allegations of selective treatment might seem self-serving, they highlight a broader issue. India's "haircut", they somewhat hesitated to name it in Sanskrit, policy – under which companies are sold at a fraction of their debt value - has sparked outrage. In one high-profile example, the Adani Group acquired 10 heavily indebted companies owing ¹ 62,000 crore by paying just 1 16,000 crore, a 74 percent waiver. The All India Bank Employees' Association has released data pointing to dozens of such deals, often kept hidden from public scrutiny.

Mallya filed a case in the UK to block his extradition, but it was dismissed in 2020. Still, five years later, he remains in London. He now insists that the Indian government must offer legal assurances about his safety, detention conditions, and dignity before he re-

If Mallya believes he is innocent, the proper course is to return, contest the charges, and clear his name in court.

Critics say Mallya's case exposes a deeper flaw in India's financial system — one where the powerful can default with impunity, shielded by legal and political networks. As things stand, corporate borrowers are often not held personally liable when their companies collapse.

There are growing calls for reform. India needs a stronger legal framework to classify willful defaulters as criminal offenders, allowing authorities to seize their entire assets and prevent flight. Until then, cases like Mallya's continue symbolise not just financial fraud - but the impunity that shields it.

(The author is national executive member)

Landlessness in...

From Page 05

became vulnerable to rural indebtedness. This proved even more harmful in times of climate change with its more erratic rainfall and weather patterns. Small farmers became bankrupt in markets and turning tenant tarmers labourers.

Landless and small farmers have become tenant farmers and the numbers run to nearly 40 percent in states such as Telangana, Gujarat, Maharashtra, AP, and West Bengal. The tenant farmers are denied benefits provided by states such as PM Samman, RytuBandhu, seed, fertilizer subsidies, crop damage relief compensation, and other forms of relief.

Militant Land struggles

Large sections of farmers actively participated in freedom struggle hoping that independent India would bring freedom from feudal exploitation and land distributed to landless tillers. As a result of farmer struggles and pressure from Communists, Zamindariand Rytwari systems were abolished and some sections of tenant and small farmers did get some land. Militant peasant struggles- Telangana, Tebhanga

Punnapravalar otherswaged by CPI during the early 1950s led to the distribution of lakhs of acres of land confiscated from feudal landlords distributed to landless poor in the respective states. During the 1960s and 1970s, militant struggles waged by CPI, AIKS (All India KisanSabha) and BKMU (BharatiyaKhetMazdoor Union) brought land reforms as a major agenda to the mainstream again. These struggles forced the Government of India and various state governments to reconsider the implementation of land reforms. As a result, legislation was made in some states, land ceiling was imposed and some land was confiscated from landlords. But the implementation was feeble and token as they were not comprehensive and pro-people.

Flawed Land Reforms

After imposition of land ceiling limits, all over the country, 68.72 lakh acres of land was declared ceiling surplus, through partially implemented land reforms. However, under the guise of Benami ownership and complicated judicial court litigations large tracks of land parcels still continue (as high as 43 percent of cultivated land) to remain with rich

and feudal sections of farming community. During the last three decades as part of rapid implementation neoliberal economic resuccessive governments halted distribution of surplus land to rural poor. Instead governments brought forward Land acquisition, corporate farming and other anti farmer legislations and allocated large land parcels to mining and corporate houses.

Land question is central to accomplish national democratic revolution in India. Vast sections of rural poor should actively be mobilized in militant struggles for distribution of surplusland.

Manipur's Forgotten Conflict

Stories of Loss and Resilience

For over two years, hungeranduncertainty. Manipur, a small state in northeast India, has been her pain: "My husband, gripped by ethnic violence between the Meitei My in-laws are in another and Kuki communities. The conflict, sparked in bedsheets to separate us. $2023\,by\,demands\,for\,tribal\ I\,want\,a\,bright\,future\,for$ status, has left over 11,000 homes destroyed, and 386 religious structures (254 ing to give. It's breaking churches and temples), more than 250 lives lost, more than 60,000 people have been displaced, culminating in 170 relief camps sheltering thousands. Yet, the suffering of Manipur's people remains largely unnoticed by the rest of India. People have visited these camps to share the untold stories of those living through this crisis.

The ethnic conflict between the Meitei (majority in the Imphal Valley) and Kuki-Zo (tribal communities in the hills) erupted in May sions have forced loved 2023, triggered by disputes over affirmative action policies, particularly a Manipur High Court order recommending Scheduled Tribe status for the Meitei community.

In Manipur's relief camps, entire villages are squeezed into single rooms. Families - sometimes six or more – share one space, hanging bedsheets for a semblance of privacy. A single toilet serves over 100 people. When water tankers fail to arrive, families resort to drinking from contami- now makeshift camps nated ponds. Meals are with mosquito nets and repetitive: just rice and bed-sheets. A former lentils, day after day. Chil- labourer dren study under tents, Churachandpur said, their dreams limited by "Our house burned

One mother shared children, and I sleep here. corner. We my child, but when they ask for food, I have noth-

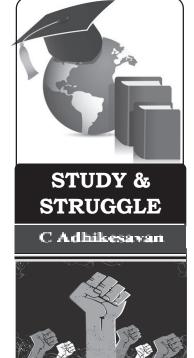
The violence has shattered not just homes but families. Ethnic divi-

down. Everything is gone." Now, he cooks rice and lentils for 1,500 people in a camp, but jobs are scarce. People line up with utensils, waiting for their share of the meagre meal.

The violence has left deep emotional wounds. Kajal, a young woman torn between Meitei and Kuki identities, struggles with nightmares. "I see people

flect the human toll of the conflict. "When rage takes over," one person said, "people become like animals. They see a crowd, but the faces blur."

With a population of just 3 million, Manipur's struggle for peace seems overlooked. "If this happened in another state, everyone would talk about it," one resident said. Instead, the na-



ebrated as a "golden land" in song, is now a place of loss and resilience. Its people live like refugees in their own state, their voices unheard. It's time to listen, to share their stories, and to help them rebuild.

Manipur remains a region of complex challenges, with ethnic divisions, intermittent violence, and natural disasters compounding the crisis. While President's Rule and increased security presence have reduced large-scale violence, the situation remains fragile. Lasting peace requires addressing root causes such as land rights and affirmative action disputes, disarming militant groups, and ensuring accountability for human rights violations. The RSS-BJP government's focus on reconciliation is ongoing, but deep-seated mistrust between communities persists. The double-engine government intentionally allowed the violence to happen. Prime Minister Narendra Modi never bothered to visit the state of Manipur till today.



ones apart. One man, his voice heavy with grief, said, "My wife is in Churachandpur. She's from another community. It's been over a year since we've spoken or met." He pleaded for peace: "Politicians need to do their job. Stop the fighting. We all have the same blood. Why can't we live together?"

The conflict has stripped people of their homes and their means to survive. Markets that once buzzed with life are killing each other in my dreams. A loud noise makes me jump." Another woman recalled a terrifying escape: "Tear gas filled our house. My sick child wouldn't move. I carried him and my mother-in-law as fire spread around us." Many now live in schools, colleges, or unfinished buildings, far from the homes they once knew.

"Walls of Remembrance" in Manipur are covered with photos of those who didn't survive. One man pointed to a picture of a high school junior, shot dead near his home. Two young women, who worked at a car wash, were raped and killed. These faces, now only memories, retional media has largely ignored the crisis. Families are split, with some registered in different camps, unable to reunite. One person said, "I don't miss my house anymore. We were treated badly. But I miss my childhood."

Despite the pain, the people of Manipur hold onto hope. "God has a plan," one said. "He won't abandon us." Others call for dialogue: "Fighting gives us nothing. Talking can solve everything." But after two years of violence, including horrific acts like rape and public humiliation, peace feels distant.

Manipur, once cel-

PHQ Branch Observes 'Solidarity with Palestine Day'

The PHQ branch of AjoyBhavan, New Delhi, observed the Day of Solidarity with Palestine on June 17 at the call of CPI and other *left parties.* A well-attended meeting of the central branches was held in CPI headquarters in Ajoy Bhavan here on the day. It was attended by the national secretariat members: PallabSengupta, Annie Raja and Azeez Pasha, and a large number of other comrades.

Secretary of the branch Anil Rajimwale introduced the subject and explained the purpose of the meeting. He explained the background of the Palestine problem since 1948. He described how Israel with the backing of US and British imperialism had been successively committing aggression upon the Palestinian ter-

ritories and had caused a number of wars and destruction. It had captured Gaza, Golan Heights, West Bank and other areas. It was trying to reduce the Palestinian areas.

Now with the help of the US, Israel is trying to out throw Palestiniansout of their territories. The real reason behind the acts of war are the huge oil and mineral deposits under the Gaza. The Men, women and children are being made particular targets, food is being denied and starvation is spreading, all to capture the natural resources. Even starvation is used as a weapon, killings those who ask for food.

Pallab Sengupta gave a detailed background to the war and said that it is a pity that the world pow-



ers and movements are unable to take any effective measures to help the Palestinian people. There is a worldwide anger and discontent on the Israeli and US actions. Most of the people and countries are against the aggression. People are protesting. We need to raise our voice

more loudly and create mass awareness and movements. The Arab world was divided, US trying its best to disrupt their unity.

Azeez Pasha regretted the disunity among the progressive forces. The left and democratic forces in India and the world over are coming out against the aggression. The agreements earlier in history have been inadequate. He explained how the PLO, the Palestinian Authority and other organizations emerged in the course of history. The countries of the world including the Arab countries need to assert themselves.

Palestine Solidarity Day...



From Front Page

ership members Dinesh Varshney and Anurag Saxena from CPI and CPI(M) also addressed the audience, emphasising the urgency of the situation.

The protest was enriched by the participation of representatives from the CPI's National Secretariat, which included Pallab Sengupta, who also serves as President of the World Peace Council, New Age Weekly

Syed Azeez Pasha, Ramakrishna Panda, and Annie Raja. Their involvement highlighted the importance of the issue on a national scale. Additionally, CPI(M) Polit Bureau members such as Nilotpal Basu and Arun Kumar were in attendance, along with R. Venkaiah, General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS), and Syeda Hameed, President of the National Federation Indian Women (NFIW), all expressing their solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

The protest particiuniformly condemned the Indian government's silence on the ongoing conflict and its regrettable abstention from supporting the recent United Nations ceasefire resolution. The gathering called for an immediate ending of all military ties between India and Israel. They emphasized the need for the Indian government to take a firm stance in support of justice and peace for the Palestinian people.

The message resonated powerfully throughout the gathering: Stop the genocide. End the occupation. Free

Palestine. The collective voice of the protestors served as a reminder of the ongoing struggle for justice, not only in Palestine but for all oppressed peoples around the world.

Tudeh Party of Iran and the Communist Party of Israel:

Stop the Killing!

End the War Now!

The Tudeh Party of Iran and the Communist Party of Israel strongly condemn the continuous Israeli aggression in the region, and its latest attack on Iran which is in direct violation of international law. We demand an immediate halt to all military action resulting in significant civilian casualties on both sides.

The crimes committed by the right wing reactionary government of Benjamin Netanyahu in Gaza and the West bank with the support of USImperialism, the UK and allies in the



EU has not only resulted in more than **55,000 Palestinians losing their lives and over18,000 children** being killed but hasalso given the Israeli government a green light for further aggression against countries of the region, with the aim of redrawing the map of the Middle East in accordance with the strategic goals of US imperialism. This is a government whose leaders have rightly been accused of crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court.

While we are witnessing war and destruction in Iran and Israel, we also warn against the exploita-

Palestine, We are with You!

Subodh Datta

KOLKATA:The state's left parties have called for a march on June 18, expressing solidarity with the rest of the country for Palestine.Left parties have called for a continuous struggle against the USbacked Israeli attack on Palestine by uniting people from all walks of life and demanding a change in the policy of the Government of India in this regard. This demand emerged from the grand march of left parties on Palestine Day on Tuesday. The huge procession was supposed to go all the way to Kolkata, ignoring heavy rain. The steps of the processionistsshookthe roads of Kolkata. According to the programme the march starting from Lenin Statue in Esplanade would march to the statue of Ho Chi Minh. But the march was forced to stop at Park Street crossing by the Police Force. The leaders and workers of the left parties sat there and began protesting. The march of this day was so huge that it could go ahead by breaking the barricade violating the law. But we did not. The demands raised in the march today is that Palestine should be given the status of an independent sovereign state immediately and that Zionist Israel should stop this genocide of Palestine.

The meeting was presided over by the chairman of the state Left Front, Biman Basu. He said that the leftists have always stood by the freedom aspirand anti-imperialist people, and will continue to stand by Palestine and fight continuously against the US-backed the Zionist Israel.

CPI State Secretary Swapan Banerjee said that it is not just a leftist verdict, India has a history of always standing by the freedom-seeking people of the world in the anti-im-



government has now taken the side of Israel, which is unfortunate for us. Every well-intentioned

the help of America and bombing the spots where number of women and children is high. The

Modi has abandoned traditional policies and is now siding with Israel. But whatever happens, we will always be with Palestine and also with democracy.

CPI(M) State Secretary Md. Salim said that on October 7, 2023, under the pretext of Hamas' attack, the attack on Palestine came down on America's terms. India abstained from voting in the UN on the ceasefire. Whenever we, the leftists came on the road to protest against any injustice or in supportof any justified cause, the state government deploys a huge police force on the streets we walk.

Among others who spoke on the day were All India General Secretary of RSP, Manoj Bhattacharya, CPI (ML) Liberation's Atanu Chakraborty, and Debabrata Roy.

Left Front Chairman Biman Basu, CPI State Secretary Swapan Banerjee, party's state secretariate member Prabir Deb, Sukumar Mukherjee, Gautam Roy, Gautam Panda, CPI(M) Secretary Mohammad Salim, politburo member, Sreedeep Bhattacharya party leader Hannan Molla and Suryakanta Mishra, Manoj Bhattacharya of RSP, Subhash Roy, (RCPI), Kartik Pal and Basudeb Basu (CPI (ML) Liberation)Prabir Ghosh of Bolshevik Party, Ashis Chakrabarti of MFB, and Dipankar Chakrabarti of Workers' Party and leadof the organizations of the left joined the procession.

युका नय, माङि

perialist struggle, but despite such peace loving democratic traditions and love for peace, anti-free-RSS-led Modi dom

freedom-seeking person in the world wants to take side for Palestine. Israel is committing genocide with

Middle East is rich in oil fields. The imperialist America wants to grab Unfortunately, them.

tion of the situation to intensify and continue the inhumane suffering and oppression of the Palestinian people in Gaza and the occupied West Bank. We call upon the international community to take real and concrete actions to prevent further disaster to the Palestinian people and to the peoples of the region.

Recognise a Palestinian state now! End the genocide in Gaza. Only imperialism, its client forces, reactionaries, and the ruling dictatorship benefit from tensions and war.

Israel and the US - after Iraq, Libya and Syria -are now determined to undermine Iranian sovereignty and will not stop until all regimes in the region are coerced under the same project of imperialism and hegemony in the Middle East that aims at subjugating the people's will and their right to self-determina-

We express our fundamental opposition to all nuclear armament programs in the Middle East and worldwide. The road to stop the nuclear race in the Middle East does not pass through an aggressive

war onIran, butrather goes via demilitarisation of the entire region of nuclear weapons, and the signing upof all its countries, including Israel, to a non-proliferation of nuclear weapons treaty.

We call upon on all progressive and freedom-loving forces in Israel, Iran, and the world to unite in condemning this blatant and brutal violation of international law and to focus all efforts on prevention of a far-reaching, destructive military conflict and the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

Tudeh Party of Iran

The global public must go beyond mere concern expressed by the UN Secretary-General over Israel's attack on Iran. All international mechanisms available through the United Nations and its Security Council must be used to stop the region from plunging into a catastrophic far-reaching war.

STOP the war and military escalation in the Middle East now!

End the war on Gaza, recognize a Palestinian state!

New Age Weekly

10 _____ June 22–28, 2025

Israel Call for Popular Revolt in Iran Doubtful

There is precious little good news to emerge from the Middle East since the IDF launched its spectacular blitzkrieg and leadership decapitation strike against Iran's nuclear asset and military/intelligence elite last Friday. This weekend was grim with Iran's ballistic missile strike on Haifa and Tel Aviv with even a real miss on the IDF command and control complex in Kirya. Netanyahu's boast that he would order IDF warplanes to destroy 100 buildings in Iran for every building destroyed by an Iranian missile in Israel also suggested a protracted, bloody conflict. Yet Brent has plunged to 71.80 as I

write with Nasdaq up 300 points on diplomatic signals that Iran wants to join Trump's call for immediate peace deal talk under his aegis.

It is also significant that Iran has dare not retaliate against US forces in the Gulf or Iraq. Since the IDF and Mossad destroyed Hezbollah in Lebanon last autumn and a Turkish backed insurgency overthrew its 54-year old Baathist dynastic vassal state in Syria last December, the Ayatollah's "axis of resistance" in the Levant no longer restrains Israel military strike, as Opera-Rising Lion suggests. In fact, the lion and sun were the ancient symbols of Iran's Zoroas-

Matein Khalid

trian imperial past and even adorned the flag of the last Pahlavi Shah. I wonder if Bibi wants to anoint Prince Reza Cyrus Pahlavi as the next Shah of Iran.

For Reza's sake, I hope he stays in Washington and does not allow himself to be used by this cynical Israeli megalomaniac. His life is too precious to his wife and daughters as well as his mother Empress Farah, who has faced so much tragedy in her life with the loss of her husband, younger son Ali Reza and daughter Laila. Prince Reza Cyrus should also remember the fate of BachirGemayel, whom another nutcase Israeli Prime Minister (Begin) had anointed President of Lebanon in 1982 after the IDF's Operation Peace for Galilee, which ensured no peace for either Israel or Lebanon, midwifed the rise of Hezbollah and claimed 20,000 civilian lives in siege of Beirut.

Even though the IDF has scored yet another military and intelligence coup against Iran, I doubt if Netanyahu's call for a popular revolt will happen, let alone succeed. After all, the Ayatollah regime has massacred tens of thousands of young Iranian lives in the periodic revolts against the Islamic Republic that

have occurred from the very first months of its existence in 1979.

It was surreal to see Bibi speaking the Persian words zan, zindagi, azadi (women, life, freedom). Anybody with a remotely humane moral compass wishes the beautiful Iranian people's liberation from this evil and nightmarish regime that has strangled Iran since 1979. Whatever happens, there is no doubt that June 2025 will join February 1979, August 1990, March 2003 and October 2023 as one of the decisive hinge months of Middle East history. That much, at least, is certain!

(By arrangement with the Arabian Post)

"Pattabakki", A Play...

From Last Page

suggestion that since K. Damodaran had some short stories to his credit, he should try his hand at writing the drama.

K. Damodaran had to accept that suggestion with great reluctance. The idea of staging a drama was taken just one week prior to the Farmer's Meet. Sitting in the attic of the KadalayiMana and in the light provided by an oil lamp, K. Damodaran completed the script in two days.

Actors like M.P. Bhattathiripad, Pariyanampatta, Kunnathulli Nampoothiri, Pathinethran Bhattathiri, who were already exposed to the nuances of acting, and some local youth rehearsed at KadalayiMana Kodamana itself. Narayanan Nair and the youngsters of Vailathur worked like a well-oiled machine for the success of the rehearsal camp and the Farmer's Meet.

The venue for the Farmer's Meet was named

'E.P.K. Panikkar Nagar' in memory of E.P.K. Panikkar, who had passed away a few days prior to the meeting. Leader of Farmers K.M. Ibrahim from Kochi presided over the meeting. Leader of the Labourers, short story writer, and novelist P. Keshavadev inaugurated the meeting.

The drama 'Pattabakki' that turned out to be a trailblazer was staged after the meeting. How feudalism paves way for caste discrimination and financial oppression of a majority of the population thereby making their life miserable is put forth very simply in 'Pattabakki'. People irrespective of caste creed or community sat together with bated breath and watched the drama unfold.

At the end when all the characters gathered on the stage and shouted the slogan 'Death to feudalism', the same was heard resonating through the throats of thousands who had gathered to watch the drama, many who had

witnessed it said later. The energy received from the first performance prompted the organisers to stage it in many parts of Kerala, especially the Malabar region. The play's impact was evident in the eventual abolition of the feudal system and the implementation of land reforms in Kerala.

'Pattabakki' was the first Political drama to change the history of Kerala. Exactly 20 years after the staging of the drama a unified Kerala saw the first Communist government under the leadership of E. M. S. On April 5th, 1957, after the first meeting of the ministers, an ordinance was passed prohibiting the eviction of tenants. Later a land reforms bill abolishing feudalism was tabled successfully. Feudal landlords and religious organisations and all those who hated democracy came together against the communist government. The riots and rebellion which later on came to be known

VimochanaSamaram toppled the government. But that was not the end. In 1969 a Communist Government was formed under the leadership of Comrade C. AchuthaMenon. It passed the land reforms bill on January 1, 1970 and the land held for hundreds of years by feudal landlords were confiscated and dis-

It's 88 years since the drama that paved the way for the end of feudalism and growth of communism and construction of a secular democratic society was staged.

tributed to lakhs of landless

farmers and labourers.

The play's legacy continues to inspire people today. Recently, a group of drama enthusiasts from Vailattur, where it was first staged, revived the play, under the direction of eminant playwright SangeethaNatakaAcademi award winner BabuVailattur. The play was performed on May 18, as part of the Communist Party of India's centenary celebrations. Both the centenary celebrations and the staging of the drama were inaugurated by CPI State Secretary comrade BinoyViswam. Many hundreds of people were gatherd to withess the play. The play's revival is a testament to its enduring relevance and impact.

The play's message of resistance against feudalism and oppression continues to resonate with audiences today. The revival of "Paattabaaki" is a reminder of the power of art to inspire social changes and challenge unjust systems.

The new production features a talented cast, including Sugathan Njamanengad, V.U. Raheem, Shashi Azhchath, and others. The play's music, lighting, and costumes have been designed by Bipash, Anish Velayudhan, and ShijuBhaskar, among others.

The play's revival is a significant event, not just for its artistic merits but also for its historical significance. "Paattabaaki" is a reminder of the struggles of the past and the ongoing fight for social justice and equality.

June 22–28, 2025 **11**

Only a few days ago on June 12, 2025, the Union Government released its inflation data based on Consumer Price Index (CPI) for May, 2025, and said that the year-on-year headline inflation of the country declined to 2.82 per cent (provisional) over May, 2024. It was lowest since February, 2019, when it was 2.58 per cent. Nevertheless, one thing is obvious that it does not reflect the backbreaking price rise, which the common men, especially the poor, are reeling under.

The yearly data of 2019 shows that inflation that year was at 3.5 per cent, despite the February 2019 inflation at 2.58 per cent, that the government referred, perhaps to mislead people about the real level of inflation. In 2017, headline inflation was 3.3 per cent, which rose to 6.7 per cent in 2020, 6.8 per cent in 2022, and came down to 5 per cent in 2025. Now in May 2025 it came down to 2.82 per cent. All these data show that during the entire period under PM NarendraModi's rule, inflation remained volatile. And who suffered this volatility most? The poorest.

Before going into the devastating impact of inflation on common people, that ishidden in the inflation data, just released by the government, few things must be taken into consideration first. PM Narendra Modi has just repeated the deception of India's economic growth in Cyprus, by telling the world that India would soon become the third largest economy of the world.

There is yet another fact that 80 crore people in India are currently depending on Pradhan MantriGaribKalyan Ann Yojna for food. Sonia Gandhi of Congress has pointed out that another 14 crore people are being denied free food grains. Theclaim is based on non-availability of data, because Modi government has delayed the census, which would now be held by March 2027.

World Inequality Report 2022, said that top 10 per cent had earned 57 per cent of the national income. Top 1 per cent controlled 40 per cent of GDP. If we remove top 5 per cent controlling 62 per cent of GDP, the 95 per cent of the people in the country will come down to less than Rs 1 lakh yearly. It means, impact of the inflation is felt most by these people, but the inflation data conceals it. Additionally, it should be noted that in 2022-23, the bottom 50 per cent earned only an average of Rs 71,163 yearly. Sufferings of these people are not being reflected either in the boasting of the government about India in the way to becoming third largest economy of the world, or in the so called coming down of the infla-

Only a fortnight ago, the World Inequality Lab had published a working paper titled "Measuring inflation Inequality in India". The authors Rohan Bansal and Pachi Bansal found in their study that the volatility of inflation is higher for the poor visà-vis the rich households and has persistently remained higher for the poor household and concluded that the inequality of inflation and high volatility is anti-poor and requires immediate policy intervention.

Though CPI inflation measures the average cost of living in India based on the spending pattern of an average household, it does not take into account the dif-

Back Breaking Price Rise for Poor Must be added to Inflation Data

ferences in the spending patterns of the households with respect to the changes in price of goods and services, the paper said.

There are two kinds of inequality that exist among the poor and the rich with respect to inflation. First, inflation erodes the purchasing power of the poor more than the rich and second, the rate of inflation faced by the poor is different than the rich. The cost of inflation is particularly devastating for the poor. Even the governor of the Reserve Bank of India in his statement on 4 May, 2023 also noted that high inflation has "pronounced adverse effects on the poorer segments of the population by eroding their purchasing power".

The authors said that in 2024, the bottom 5 per cent of the people faced 6.4 per cent headline inflation while top 5 per cent faced an inflation of 4.7 per cent only. Food inflation in 2024 was 9.5 per cent for the bottom 5 per cent while it was 6.4 per cent for the top 5 per cent. Such a glaring inflation inequality was found for every year since 2015, the year from which the data were examined, in the working paper.

The researchers have found pro-rich bias in the CPI food basket. The findings show significant distributional disparities, particularly in volatile staples like edible oils, vegetables, and pulses where poorer households face higher inflation for several years—highlighting the limitations of using an average CPI number to compute inflation.

Cereals constitute a substantial 19 per cent of the consumption basket

Dr Gyan Pathak

for the poorest households, compared to just 4.2 per cent for the richest. Ordinarily, such a disparity in budget share can potentially expose poorer households to a higher risk of inflation inequality in cereals. The next two sub-groups that constitute the largest shares in the CPI basket of the poor include vegetables and oils and fats. Vegetables constitute 9.7 per cent of the poor's basket whereas only 3.2 per cent of the rich's basket. Oils and fats comprise 4.8 per cent of the poor's basket whereas 2.1 per cent of the rich basket. Pulses also exhibit a similar pattern with the poor having 3.9 per cent of the basket whereas for the rich it is 1.2 per cent. These categories contribute significantly to the poor's consumption basket, suggesting that the average-based CPI may obscure real inflation pressures faced by poorer households in critical food items.

The paper argued that the CPI Food and Beverages index consistently understates the inflation faced by the poorest households, revealing a systemic pro-rich bias in inflation protection. In contrast, richer households consume more diversified food baskets. Since official CPI averdilute ages these class-based differences, policies indexed to CPI (e.g., wages, subsidies) fail to keep pace with the real cost pressures on the poor, deepening inequality.

The analysis also reveals that headline CPI averages mask these distributional disparities, leading to a pro-rich bias

ininflation measurement and protection. It confirms the presence of plutocratic bias in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) — that is, the index disproportionately reflects the consumption patterns of higher-spending households.

The analysis is constrained by the lack of latest consumption basket by CPI (the CPI basket is based on HCES 2011-12 and not 2022-23 or 2023-24), non-availability of data on consumption items provided under various government schemes like PMGKAY is not captured by CPI (these goods can be free or have zero prices, and thus result in overstating inflation, and methodological issues inherent to the CPI calculation (substitution bias as explained by Jorgenson).

The working paper has thus pointed out some of the serious concerns about India's inflation data. Apart from that, the current inflation data reveal some other concerns. Housing inflation has increased from 3.06 per cent in April 2024 to 3.16 per cent in May 2025. Education inflation is almost stagnant which was 4.13 per cent last year but now is 4.12 per cent. Health inflation has increased from 4.25 to 4.34 per cent. Transport and communication inflation has increased from 3.67 per cent to 3.85 per cent.

India must address the real price rise problem faced by the common people rather than tampering CPI in favour of the rich, and to show it lower than the real inflation faced by the poor people.

External Posturing and...

From Front Page

viewed this entire exercise as a reflection of the flawed and diversionary priorities of the ruling regime. While the government found time to send a high-level delegation to court foreign sympathies, it deliberately avoided convening the Indian Parliament the highest democratic forum in the country to discuss the implications, objectives, and consequences of Operation Sindoor. This deliberate bypassing of Parliament reflects an authoritarian attitude and a deep disregard for democratic accountability. Instead of informing and involving the elected representatives of the Indian people, the government chose to project its narrative abroad, more concerned with international optics than internal transparency.

We believed that any operation with significant strategic, political, and regional implicagovernment's decision to treat foreign capitals with more respect than its own legislature is an affront to the principles of port to India?"

While our delegations were visiting various countries, Pakistan remained diplomatically

strategic partner. The U.S. President Donald Trump took public credit for "settling the conflict" between India and Pakistan — a narrative that portrayed the crisis not as a legitimate defensive



parliamentary democ-

Moreover, the CPI views with concern the government's over-reliance on militaristic narratives and external posturing, while failing to achieve any substantive diplomatic gains. The dispatch of delegations to 33 countries was accompanied by highpitched media rhetoric, jingoistic nationalism,

engaged with major powers, and the internacommunity tional showed no willingness to impose meaningful sanctions or cut off financial aid. The IMF, despite Indian objections, approved a bailout for Pakistan. The ADB, instead of freezing assistance, continued to support developmental projects there. These developments laid bare the operation by India, but as a bilateral dispute that was mediated and resolved by Washington. Far from highlighting India's strategic autonomy, such statements reduced India's standing to that of a pliant regional actor managed by external powers. This diplomatic embarrassment went unaddressed by the Indian government, further eroding its claim of conducting a successful foreign policy campaign.

This episode is emblematic of a broader shift in Indian diplomacy under the current regime one that prioritizes spectacle over substance, unilateralism over consensus, and external validation over internal democratic processes.

The CPI reaffirms its long-standing position that the fight against terrorism - real or perceived - must not become a pretext for adventurism authoritarianism. Neither militarism nor global lobbying can be a substitute for democratic debate, regional diplomacy, and an independent foreign policy rooted in peace and justice. The government's attempt to project strength through symbolic international outreach, while weakening domestic democratic institutions, is a dangerous path that undermines both national unity and international credibility.

Furthermore, the government's claim that it united all political parties for an external campaign rings hollow when it actively silenced dissent at home, labeled critics as unpatriotic, and refused to place the matbefore ter Parliament. A truly foreign democratic policy must emerge from internal democratic consensus. By failing to convene Parliament, the government ensured that alternative voices - including those of peace advocates, regional experts, and opposition leaders - were excluded from shaping India's response.

The post-Operation Sindoor diplomatic effort - marked by high-profile delegations, media sensationalism, and hollow claims of isolating Pakistan — stands exposed as a failure. It showcased the inability of the current government to convert military actions into meaningful diplomatic outcomes. More importantly, it reflected a disturbing pattern of bypassing democratic processes and seeking legitimacy abroad while denying transparency at home. The CPI calls upon the Indian people to reject this undemocratic approach to foreign policy and join in the demand for a return to democratic accountability, regional peace, and principled diplomacy. ■



tions must be debated in Parliament. If the situation warranted sending a multi-party delegation to other countries, why were the democratic institutions in our own country kept in the dark while global audiences were given selective briefings? These quesremain tions unanswered. The

and claims that India was about to "diplomatically isolate Pakistan." However, the outcomes tell a different story. Abhishek Banerjee, TMC MP and a member of one such delegation that visited Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, questioned: "How many countries extended explicit sup-

limited influence India actually wields in global financial institutions and, more importantly, highlighted the government's failure to build enduring, issue-based global alliances.

What is even more alarming is that India's narrative was undermined by its own

New Age Weekly

"No Kings" Protests Erupt Across US Over Trump's Immigration Policies

On June 14, 2025, the "No Kings" protests swept the U.S., opposing President Donald Trump's deportation policies and a 25 to 45 million dollar military parade in Washington, D.C., celebrating the U.S. Army's 250th anniversary and Trump's 79th birthday. Millions rallied in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Houston, decrying what organizers call an authoritarian overreach.

Sparked by Trump's aggressive immigration crackdown, including ICE raids detaining 538 people on January 23 and plans to deport 1 million annually, the protests highlight public outrage. In Los Angeles, clashes followed Trump's deployment of 4,000 National Guard troops and 700 Marines against Governor Gavin Newsom's wishes. Tear gas dispersed crowds near the Federal Building, but peaceful marches continued. Jose Azetcla of the Brown Berets told the BBC, "It's not harsh, it's evil. You don't separate families." In Philadelphia's Love Park, nurse Karen Van Trieste, 61, protested Trump's public health cuts and immigration policies, saying, "We need to defend our democracy."

The D.C. parade, featuring soldiers, tanks, and bands, drew criticism as a "vanity project." Trump saluted troops, declaring, "They fight, fight, fight. And they win, win, win." Security expert Barbara Starr noted the "uneasy juxtaposition" of soldiers marching while troops confronted Los Angeles protesters. Smaller crowds attended due to rain, unlike the 800,000 at the 1991 Gulf War parade.

Public opinion is divided. A June 2025 CBS/YouGov poll shows 54 percent approve of Trump's deportation policy, with 53 percent believing it targets dangerous criminals. However, 50% say deportations

exceed campaign promises, and 47 percent disapprove of military deployment in Los Angeles. Legal challenges, including California's lawsuit against the Guard's use, and reports of ICE targeting schools and citizens fuel criticism. Federal judges have halted some deportations, citing rights violations.

The "No Kings" movement, named to reject perceived presidential overreach, vows

scarcity hits hardest, and where children are most vulnerable.

Yemen International Agency for Development (YIAD) is actively addressing this crisis. They are on the ground, providing targeted aid to the areas most affected as shown on the map. Our efforts focus on delivering immediate food relief and sustainable education support.



continued resistance with over 2,000 planned rallies. While Trump's supporters see border security, opponents view the policies as inhumane. As protests disrupt cities and spark arrests, the nation grapples with its identity, balancing law and compassion.

The hunger crisis in Yemen is a humanitarian catastrophe, with over 17 million people—more than half the population—facing acute food insecurity, and millions teetering on the brink of famine. The Integrated Food Security Phase

Yemen's Hunger Crisis Turning Statistics into Stories of Hope

Across the map of Yemen, the hunger statistics are not just numbers — they represent real people in desperate need. Millions face severe starvation, with entire regions on the edge of famine.

These numbers tell a story of daily struggle, of families fighting to survive in the face of overwhelming odds. The map reveals the widespread impact, highlighting areas where food Classification (IPC) reports that as of 2022, 17.4 million Yemenis were at crisis levels (IPC Phase 3) or worse, with projections estimating an increase to 19 million by year-end. Specific regions like Hajjah, Hodeida, and Taizz are among the hardest hit, with 2.2 million children under five and 1.3 million pregnant or breastfeeding women acutely malnourished. In some districts, conditions have reached catastrophic levels (IPC



Diary of International Events

C. Adhikesavan

Phase 5), with famine-like scenarios affecting tens of thousands.

The Yemen International Agency for Development (YIAD) is making critical interventions by delivering food aid and education support to these vulnerable areas. Their work aligns with efforts to address immediate needs while fostering long-term resilience, as seen in similar initiatives by organizations like the World Food Programme (WFP), which provides food rations, cash assistance, and nutrition programs to millions. However, ongoing conflict, economic collapse, and reduced humanitarian funding - exacerbated by events like the 2023 Cyclone Tej and global crises – hamper these efforts. Only 39.3 percent of the 2023 Humanitarian Response Plan and 9.1 percent of the 2024 plan were funded, leaving significant gaps in aid delivery.

YIAD's focus on targeted relief in high-risk zones and sustainable education is vital, as education access is disrupted for 3.2 million children, many forced into labour or early marriage due to economic desperation. The map of Yemen's hunger crisis is a stark reminder of the human toll behind the statistics. Collective action with organizations like YIAD can shift the narrative from despair to hope, but it requires an urgent, sustained commitment to address both immediate needs and systemic challenges.

Was Israeli Attack Against Iran...

From Page 15

Interestingly, Israel gave advance information to the US President after attack, after that only Trump said that it was Israel's war against Iran, the US had nothing to do with it. Days before, the US government warned its citizens in Israel and asked the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem embassies to be careful in the next few days and look for shelters.

An analysis by ZainebRiduoa for the Washington-based Hudson Institute says that, Israel prepared for its June 13 operation over years of sustained intelligence preparation, real-time intelligence, surveillance, and recon-

naissance (ISR), and deep infiltration. Israeli military planners achieved full-spectrum disruption by dismantling and infiltrating Iran's command and control networks, severing high-level communications, and injecting uncertainty into the regime's decision-making processes.

As our IPA analyst AsadMirza mentioned in his piece on June 16, by the time Tehran could react, the damage was already done. Its upper command was wiped out, and its defensive systems were disabled. Crucially, Israel did not rely on cross-border operations. It had pre-positioned remoteactivated strike platforms inside Iran and deployed them with surgical precision. This shows its preparations and depth of its infiltration of the Iranian security apparatus.

Israel combined a decapitation strike with cognitive disruption. The psychological warfare element - that the strike had come from Iranian soil - amplified the attack's kinetic effects, leaving Tehran paralysed. Unable to determine whether it had been infiltrated outmanoeuvred, the regime's ability to respond took time to recover and initiate countermeasures. But these were inadequate to penthe highly etrate sophisticated air defence system to protect Tel

In the last 48 hours, there have been intensive discussions about the possible US role in Israeli attacks. In US media, the right wing channels and podcasts have been showing how the Israeli defence forces have shattered the defence system of Iran and how Teheran has got isolated. Among the conservative whites, there is a sort of pleasure at the humiliation of a Muslim nation. Experts mention that the Trump-Netanyahu duo are planning for a regime change though officially, the US state secretary Marco Rubio has ruled that out. The leaders at G-7 however in a signed statement supported Israel's right to self defence and put the blame on Iran for bringing insta-

bility in Middle East.

The G-7 leaders ruled out regime change as a solution in Iran but their identification with Israeli attack against Iran calling it right of self defence, makes it apparent that despite some high sounding liberal sentiments occasionally, they will go with Trump on Iran. Trump earlier wrote a post in his media platform saying that he had given Iran many chances to reach a nuclear deal with USA' He even said that he warned Iranian leadership that they are facing an attack that's much worse than anything they could imagine. What more is needed to prove that Trump and Netanyahu was in collusion?

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Was Israeli Attack Against Iran A Part of Trump's Game Plan?

Israeli missile strikes against Teheran and Iran's counter offensive entered its fifth day on June 17 with U.S. President Donald Trump dramatically cutting short his stay in Canada for G-7 meeting for Washington indicating that he would be busy in peace moves in the next few hours for organizing a ceasefire between Israel and Iran. French President Emanuel Macron also informed at the summit venue that Iran sought Trump's assistance for ending the war.

If we look at the chronology of the developments since the early morning of June 13, we will see that the entire course from the beginning of the sudden Israeli strikes to the dramatic exit of Trump from G-7 meeting, was a part of a stage managed event prepared by Trump-Netanyahu duo to achieve the Trump objective of Iran coming to the next round of US-Iran nuclear talks with bended knees with virtually little bargaining power. Trump wants to emerge as a peace maker by bringing victorious Netanyahu and shattered Iranian leaders in the negotiating table.

The sixth round of talks on Iran's nuclear programme was scheduled for June 15 in Oman. Trump wanted to precipitate the deal on his own terms, but he did not get positive signal. The Iranians with their nuclear programme monitored by some top scientists, were not in a mood to surrender to the US President's diktat. They were getting ready for hard bargaining which Trump could not

Nitya Chakraborty

tolerate. The missile strikes by Israel began

nuclear facilities have missiles could not dambeen damaged in a serious manner, nine top scientists have been killed. With Israel guar-



two days before the scheduled meeting. In the last four days, the

anteeing high tech protection to Tel Aviv's air defences, the Iranian

age much. It was an uneven war between Israel and Iran in terms of missile quality and technology.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was candid when he said that the Israeli objective was to eliminate any Iranian threat to Israel. He even gave a call to Iranians to rise in revolt. In fact, the Israeli defence forces are still targeting Iran's supreme head Ali Khamenei who has been shifted to a secret shelter by the Iranian authorities fearing attack on him. Trump himself said that Israel had a plan to kill Khamenei, but he rebuffed that. This was a way of making it clear that he was not involved if by any chance the Iranian supreme leader got killed.

On Page 14

On Record ...

Underlining that it's part of freedom of speech and expression to have a different view on a matter, the Supreme Court Tuesday told the Karnataka Government that the rule of law demands that any film with a CBFC certificate should be allowed to be screened, and the state should ensure law and order.

Hearing a PIL seeking its intervention for the smooth release of the Kamal Haasan film Thug Life in Karnataka following threats by some groups against its screening in the wake of his statement that Kannada was born out press, June 17. of Tamil, a two-judge bench of Justices Ujjal Bhuyan and Manmohan also criticised the state High Court for asking the actor to apologise for his alleged remarks before it can rule on the plea.

"Why should the HC say regret, apologise? It's not the business of the HC to ask for an apology from anybody just because he has expressed a view," said Justice Bhuyan. - The *Indian Express,* June 17.

A sessions court in Goa has directed the Goa Police to register an FIR to investigate bribery allegations raised by BJP leader and

former Goa transport minister Pandurang Madkaikar.

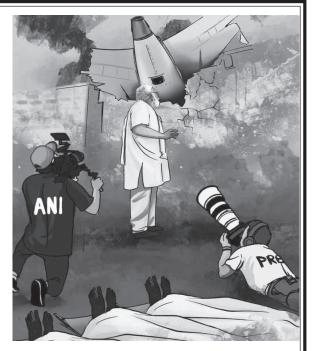
In March, Madkaikar alleged that ministers in the ruling BJP government were "busy counting money" and that he had paid a bribe of Rs 15-20 lakh to the personal assistant of a minister to process a file. Later, Madkaikar withdrew the allegations.

However, a group of activists led by one Kashinath Shetye lodged a complaint with the anti-corruption branch of the Goa Police in March, seeking an investigation into the matter. The complainants also sought action against Madkaikar if the investigation proved that he had made a false statement. - The Indian Ex-

The catastrophic crash of Air India Flight 171, a Boeing 787 Dreamliner, has raised urgent questions about a plane long dogged by safety concerns - including, specifically, aircraft delivered to India, says The American Prospect, a well-regarded independent U.S. publication.

The jetliner, en route to London, fell out of the sky just after takeoff from Ahmedabad airport on Thursday, slamming into a medical student hostel.

Air India pilot Sumeet Sabharwal and copilot Clive Kundar issued a "mayday" call to



Air Traffic Control (ATC) after the aircraft began an abrupt descent after reaching an altitude of 625 feet. Video footage shows the plane sagging mid-air, nose up, suggesting a catastrophic loss of power.

Two people that The American Prospect said were "deeply familiar with the Charleston 787 plant" told the publication they had grave concerns about the quality of 787s sent specifically to Air India. - The *Telegraph*, June 17.

- Compiled by C. Adhikesavan

New Age

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"Pattabakki", A Play that Changed History, Makes a Comeback



CPI Kerala state secretary and national secretary Binoy Viswam addressing the gathering

Two years before the existence in 1925. Com-Communist Party of India in Kerala, 88 years Namboothiripad, and ago, on a full moon night N.C. Sekhar were memin December 1937, a play called "Paattabaaki" was staged at Vailattur, in the General Secretary of CPI, Kuranjiyur, Kuttadan fields near Guruvayur, Kerala. Written by CPI founder leader comrade K. Damodaran, the play was a landmark in Kerala's social and politilandscape. highlighted the struggles of farmers and the injustices of the feudal system, sparking awareness and inspiring change.

The communist ideologues who had till then worked with the Congress party for the freedom movement had formed the Congress Socialist Party under the leadership of P. Krishna Pillai and E.M.S. This coincided with the first meeting in Kozhikode of the Kerala group of the Communist Party of India, which came into

official formation of the rades K. Damodaran, P. Krishna Pillai, E.M.S. bers of that first meeting. Com. S.V. Ghate, the then also took part.

> The meeting decided to unite the farmers who were struggling under British rule to fight against the injustice they faced and thereby bring them en masse to the Communist Party. Farmcommittees, including financially broken families of middle-class landown-

E M Satheesan

ers and tenants, were constituted in the southern regions of Malabar, including Ponnani, Eranad, and Palakkad.

PonnaniTaluk formed a Karshaka Sangham with M. Kesavan Namboothiri as President, K.S. Narayanan as Secretary, and Kodamana Narayanan Nair, K.C.S. Panicker, M.P. Bhattathiripad (Premji), V.M. Kunju, Karatt Raman Menon, P. Kanaran Master, O.K. Mammunni, Kuttikrishnan

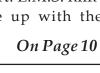
Ezhuthachan, M.K. Raghavan, and E.P.K. Panicker as members.

Under the leadership of this committee and M.P. Bhattathiripad (Premji) as Captain, a farmer's procession was taken out PonnaniTaluk. The tremendous support it received from the farmer community prompted the committee to hold the first Taluk Farmers Meet at Vailathur, a nondescript village.

The members of the elite Vailattur Kadalayi Mana were a progressive and humanitarian lot.

KadalayiAshtamoorth iNamboothiripad was educated and had taken part in many reform movements and the independence movement. It was there that the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party, P. Pillai, Krishna K. Damodaran, E.M.S. Namboothiripad, A.K.G., and the leaders of the KarshakaSangh, Keraleeyan, Gopalan, Kodamana Narayanan Nair, and others gathered to discuss plans for the successful conduct of the PonnaniTaluk Farmer's Meet.

K. Damodaran suggested having some cultural program to attract people and confirm their presence. E.M.S came up with the idea of staging a drama. But who would write the drama? None of them had any prior exposure to that form of art. E.M.S. himself came up with the





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