

THE RADICAL HUMANIST



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Founder

M.N. ROY

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We are happy to announce that
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By clicking at the three horizontal lines on the top right corner of the Home page
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1. **M.N. Roy** section gives the introduction of Roy and some of his close associates.
2. **The Radical Humanist** section contains
 - (1) all the issues of The Radical Humanist since February 2015;
 - (2) the two volumes of '**Selections from The Radical Humanist**';
 - (3) list of cities from where readers have accessed these two volumes at www.academia.edu;
 - (4) Compiled Record of Articles and Writers published in The Radical Humanist since April 1970;
 - (5) Articles by prominent writers like M.G. Devasahayam, Yogendra Yadav, Prem Singh, S.Y. Quraishi, S.N. Shukla and others on Indian democracy and the challenges faced by the people;
 - (6) Books written by M.N. Roy;
 - (7) Four published volumes of '**Selected Writings of M.N. Roy**' edited by Sib Narayan Ray;
 - (8) Books by other writers on radical humanism and related issues;

M.N. Roy and Justice V.M. Tarkunde Memorial Lectures

Narisetti Inniah's writings

'The Truth about the Gita' (Text) by Late V R Narla &

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Film on M.N. Roy in French with English subtitles (in Four Parts).

3. **Organisation** section has
 - (1) *Photos of 13 Mohini Road, Dehradun where M.N. Roy and Mrs. Ellen Roy lived;*
 - (2) *Constitution of the Indian Renaissance Institute and the list of Members of the IRI;*
 - (3) *Present Office-bearers and Members of the Board of Trustees of the IRI;*
 - (4) *Previous Office-bearers of the IRI since 2017;*
 - (5) *Minutes of the General Membership Meetings and the Board of Trustees since 2017.*
4. **Indian Radical Humanist Association (IRHA)** section has information about the IRHA and its Constitution.

You are welcome to visit the website.

Mahi Pal Singh, 27.6.2024

THE RADICAL HUMANIST

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Founder Editor:

M.N. Roy

Advisor:

Dr. Narisetti Innaiah

Editor:

Mahi Pal Singh

Editorial Board:

Vinod Jain, Dr. Ramesh Awasthi,
Bhaskar Sur, Dr. Dipavali Sen,
Mahi Pal Singh- Editor (Ex-Officio)

Printer and Publisher:

Sheoraj Singh

Send articles and reports to:

Mahi Pal Singh at Raghav Vihar, Phase- 3,
Prem Nagar, Dehradun- 248007. (Uttarakhand)
(M) 9312206414, (Landline): 013-53549624.

or E-mail them to:

theradicalhumanist@gmail.com or
mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com

Please send Subscription/Donation
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Sheoraj Singh,
3821/7, Kanhaiya Nagar,
Tri Nagar, Delhi- 110035. (M) 9891928222.
Email ID: srsingh3821@gmail.com

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CONTENTS :

Page No.

The Website of the Indian Renaissance
Institute Launched 2

Editorial:

How Long Will the Modi Government Last? 4
Mahi Pal Singh

Articles and Features.:

The Humanist Frame – Preface 6
Julian Huxley

**‘Spike in Final Voter Turnout Greater Than
NDA’s Thin Victory Margin in 79 Seats’
: Citizens’ Body** 9
The Wire Staff

**Elections 2024: Democratic Ethos and Plight
of Minorities** 10
Ram Puniyani

**Letting govt officers take part in RSS will
spell disaster for governance** 12
M.G. Devasahayam

**New India’s ‘Mission Karmayogi’ and the Rot
in Civil Services** 15
M.G. Devasahayam

**Supreme Court verdict on caste sub-
classification is a landmark and benchmark** 18
Yogendra Yadav & Prannv Dhawan

**Quit India Movement: The violence-non-
violence question** 20
Prem Singh

**The Quit India Movement in literary
imagination** 21
Prem Singh

**SEBI chief’s consulting firm shares address
with its auditor** 24
Ayush Tiwari

Alarming Pendency in SC and HCs 26
S.N. Shukla

Political Scenario 30
P.A.S. Prasad

**List of visitors of ‘Selections from
The Radical Humanist’ at www.academia.edu** 32-42

Editorial :

How Long Will the Modi Government Last?

Mahi Pal Singh

With the declaration of the results of the Parliamentary elections on 4th June 2024, in which the ruling party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), did not get a majority and remained restricted to only 240 seats as against the 272 majority mark, although the slogan of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his second in command, Amit Shah, was '*abki baar char sau paar*', (this time more than 400 seats). He, however, could succeed in cobbling up a majority along with his pre-poll alliance of NDA partners, the Janata Dal United (JDU), with 12 seats, and the Telugu Desha Party (TDP), with 16 seats, and a few other smaller parties, and become the Prime Minister for the third time, his top cherished and only dream and wish. On the basis of that he himself and his deputy and some more leaders of his party tried to compare him with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the country, who was a great statesman, scholar and a world leader and who also became the Prime Minister of the country for three consecutive terms because of the respect and support of the people he enjoyed. He built the country in the initial years of attaining the freedom by building the big public sector undertakings (PSUs), dams, the railways network and above all the parliamentary system and the democratic institutions, much of which has been sold away or destroyed by Mr. Modi and company. His only achievement during the last 10 years of his rule has been his winning of elections and ruling the country by dividing the people on religious basis through his hate-speeches. Modi is a mere Lilliput in comparison with Nehru in spite of declaring himself a non-biological person, meaning thereby, an incarnation of God. His not attaining a majority in parliament in his third attempt and leading a

coalition government and the later events show that his stature has got a serious drubbing in his own party as well as in the country as a whole. His popularity has come much below that of Rahul Gandhi, his main opponent, as several surveys show. That is what the working of the coalition government and some other events also show. He is unable to face the questions that the powerful opposition speakers from the INDIA block, including Rahul Gandhi, Akhilesh Yadav, Dharmendra Yadav, Ekra Hasan, Deependra Huda, Mahua Moitra, Jaya Bachchan, Sanjay Singh and a host of other young speakers, put to the government. He has only failures, misdeeds, policy paralysis, mere slogans and lots of blatant lies on his back. Throughout his tenure as the P.M. he has been seen working for the top industrialists like Goutam Adani and Mukesh Ambani and neglecting the issues of the people like unemployment, healthcare, education and price rise. He cannot defend his actions and policies in the Parliament. That is the reason why he remained absent from the Parliament session during most of the important debates.

Rahul Gandhi on the other hand has not only got promoted as the Leader of Opposition (LOP) through the massive support of the people in the recently held parliamentary elections to the Indian National Congress as well as the INDIA block of parties giving the country a powerful Opposition in Parliament, but also matured into a very powerful speaker and leader of the masses as evidenced in his speeches in the Lok Sabha while speaking on the Vote of Thanks on the President's address and the Union Budget presenting the 'Pappu' of Narendra Modi, as he called him before these elections, transformed into his 'Pappa' instead. His

championing the cause and freedom of the journalists who were confined in a glass enclosure outside the Parliament House and also of the farmers and the locomotive drivers showed his concern for the freedom of the press and the rights of the farmers and workers as envisaged in the Constitution of India. He has undoubtedly inherited the qualities of his great maternal grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru and also the determination of his grandmother, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

A majority cobbled up through deceptive and fraudulent manner, as his party won in 79 seats by adopting dubious and fraudulent means, thanks to the completely partisan role of the Election Commission of India, particularly of the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. Rajiv Kumar, as pointed out by several research groups on the basis of electoral data declared by the Election Commission itself, which shows that more than five lakh extra votes were counted than the actual votes polled in the Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) by the Election Commission which completely changed the results in these constituencies in favour of the BJP, and the coalition of contradictory ideological partners based purely on mutual self-interests and not on a common desire to provide a government for development and welfare of the people through a common minimum programme, could only have reduced his stature and image than even what it was before during the last 10 years in spite of the massive promotion by the Modi sponsored cheer leaders, the *godhi* media.

He does not enjoy and command the same respect and power that he had accrued to himself by manipulating the *godhi* or lapdog media and the army of blind followers in the party and social media earlier. That is the reason why he had to compromise his stand and backtrack on two important bills introduced by his government in Parliament – The Waqf Board Amendment Bill and the Broadcasting Bill. He

cannot face the opposition on demonetisation, implementation of the GST, role of his government during the Covid-19 period and on the farmers' agitation demanding legal guarantee of Minimum Support Price (MSP) for their products in which more than 700 farmers sacrificed their lives. Can he or his government, which is the most corrupt government in independent India, face the people or their representatives in Parliament on the question of corruption and which is directly involved in one of the biggest corruption scams called the Electoral Bond Scheme brought by none other than Mr. Modi himself with the aim of collecting huge amount of money through an opaque and surreptitious scheme for financing his own and his party's multi million election campaigns.

The people like the Reddi brothers in Karnataka, and B.S. Yediyurappa, a former Chief Minister of Karnataka who were considered to be most corrupt, were already in the BJP when Mr. Modi assumed office in 2014, and those who were declared most corrupt in other political parties even by the Prime Minister himself, like Ajit Pawar, the Deputy Chief Minister in the coalition government with the BJP in Maharashtra and Chhagan Bhujbal, who were brought from the Nationalist Congress Party after contriving a defection in the party as in so many other cases; Hemant Biswa Sarma, who was brought from the Congress and is the present Chief Minister heading the BJP government in Sikkim and Suvendu Adhikari from West Bengal who was brought from the Trinamool Congress, were forced to join the BJP by showing them the fear of being jailed, courtesy his other aides-at-command, the Enforcement Directorate (ED), the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and the Income Tax Department who worked day and night at the beck and command of Mr. Modi and Amit Shah. That is how he broke other parties and governments and formed the governments of

the BJP in several states. Those who did not bow before him, like Arvind Kejriwal, and Hemant Soren, the Chief Ministers of Delhi and Jharkhand respectively, and also Sanjay Singh, a leader of Aam Aadmi Party, a firebrand critic of Modi and his party, and Manish Sisodia, the education minister of Delhi, were booked in cooked up cases through the E.D. and kept in jail for long terms till the Supreme Court did not find any evidence against them and released all of them, except Arvind Kejriwal who is awaiting his release soon. Only enquiries held by another government which will come to power after the present one, will tell whether the Prime Minister's Cares Fund is even a bigger corruption scam than the Electoral Bonds Scheme through which he and his party extorted more than eight thousand crores of Rupees. One thing is certain – the day their corruption deals come to light, Mr. Modi, Mr. Amit Shah and Mr. J.P. Nadda will go to jail. That day does not seem to be too far. And they too know it well. That is why they do not want to lose power at any cost. For that they have contrived to hold the state assembly polls during the later half of September and the

beginning of October for only Jammu & Kashmir and Haryana through the Election Commission of India, although elections to the Maharashtra and Jharkhand assemblies are also due at the same time. They know that they are going to lose the elections in Haryana and J&K, and in Jharkhand and Maharashtra too whenever they are held. Mr. Modi wants the shock of losing these elections to come in instalments. Those losses will surely pave the way for his departure from the government and maybe also from politics forever; he wants them to be delayed to the extent possible by using the good offices of his obliging electoral aide Mr. Rajiv Kumar. Even his coalition partners, the TDP and the JDU, will jump off his boat as soon as they realize that his boat is going to sink. They are just waiting and watching till that crucial moment comes, which is not farther than the day when the results of all these four state assembly elections get declared latest by November 2024. And that is the longest this government of Mr. Modi can survive. The writing is already writ large on the wall; when they read it and react to it is only a matter of time. After all nobody would like to ride a boat which they see as sinking. 🌈

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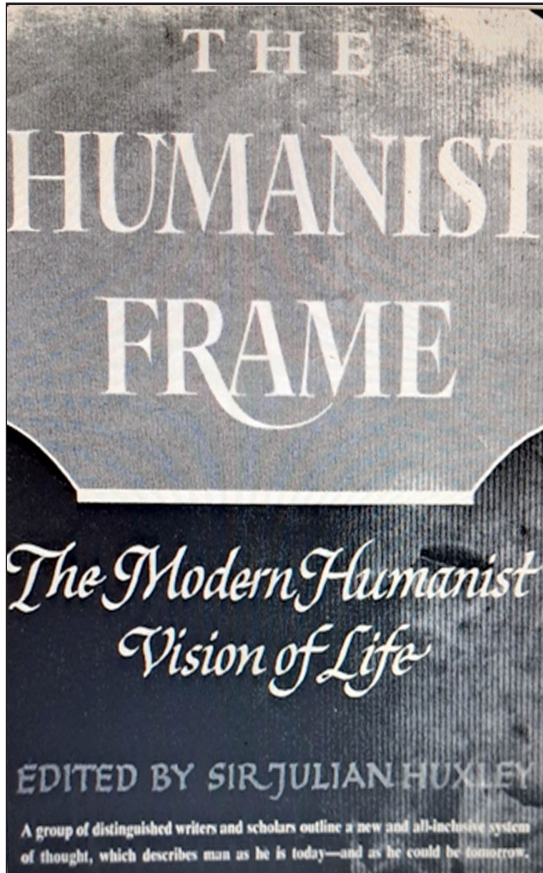
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Articles and Features :

THE HUMANIST FRAME

Edited by: **Sir Julian Huxley**



In the middle of the 20th century a book was published (1961) which incorporated the contributions by scientists, thinkers and writers of that period. Here they handled the “knowledge explosion” of the previous hundred years. It was organised and edited by Sir Julian Huxley. This book on Humanism builds a picture of man, of his place in the evolution of the Universe, of his present purposes and the power he has to change himself and the world.

This is a major compendium of where we stand today, and of our likely future — physically, biologically, economically, politically, psychologically, ethically.

We shall start here with the Preface of the book: “The Humanist Frame”.

– Vinod Jain

Preface

This book is an attempt to present Humanism as a comprehensive system of ideas. It is no sudden venture, but the natural outcome of a long process of gestation and development, begun more than half a century ago in an attempt to reconcile or integrate various aspects of my life — my biological training, my twin loves of nature and poetry, my wrestlings with the problems of morality and belief, and continued in the effort to extend the concept of evolution over the widest possible range of phenomena.

The idea of evolution had kindled my imagination while I was still at school. As an undergraduate I became a firm Darwinian. As a young teacher, the first public lecture I gave was on the evolutionary relativism of the senses, the second on the critical point or discontinuity between biological and human evolution. In the twenties I became concerned with the idea of progress as an evolutionary movement in a certain definable direction; and with religion as a general human function, not necessarily involving a belief in God or in revelation....

My subsequent period as Director-General (Unesco) made me realize what a vast quantity of knowledge was lying about unused, for lack of any such 'philosophy', and indeed of any agreed system of concepts and ideas to order the disorderly facts and put them to useful work; and after leaving Unesco I got together a group of friends and colleagues in very various fields to wrestle with the problem....

The implication of this integrated idea-system seemed fairly satisfying. It related every kind of human activity to the yardstick of desirable evolutionary direction. It related individual and community within the frame of the continuing psychosocial process. It recociled 'mind' and 'matter' in a dual aspect monism, and put all phenomena, cosmological and biological, material and human, short-term and long-term, into relation with the embracing process of evolution....In its light man's higher activities, of science, art and religion, appeared not as independent entities but as interlocking functions of our evolving species....It could provide an all inclusive aim for the human species, in the shape of greater fulfilment through increased realization of possibilities. It assigned man to his proper place in nature and showed him his true destiny. It was not a rigid set of dogmas, resistant or impervious to change: it was an open system, capable of indefinite further development. Above all it could give reassurance to all those searching for some firm ground of belief and moral direction in the violence and disorder of contemporary existence.

So it seemed to me: but how to get it across to others? How to persuade people that it was both coherent and comprehensive, and relevant in every aspect of life? I decided that I must enlist the help of fellow humanists in various fields of human endeavour. I feel happy in having persuaded them that, like Monsieur Jourdain in the matter of prose they had been Humanists all their lives without knowing it.

And I am grateful to all my twenty-five distinguished contributors for their valuable contribution to the clearer definition of an effective Humanism.

The gist of the book can be summed up in a few sentences. There have been two critical points in the past of evolution, points at which the process transcended itself by passing from an old state to a fresh one with quite new properties. The first was marked by the passage from the inorganic phase to the biological, the second by that from the biological to the psychosocial. Now we are on the threshold of a third. As the bubbles on a cauldron on the boil mark the onset of the critical passage of water from the liquid to the gaseous state, so the ebullition (bubbling) of humanist ideas in the cauldron of present-day thought marks the onset of the passage from the psychosocial to the consciously purposive phase of evolution. evolutionary process is at last becoming conscious of itself and is beginning to study itself with a view to directing its future course. Human knowledge worked over by human imagination is seen as the basis of human understanding and belief, and the ultimate guide to human progress. The distillation of raw knowledge according to Humanist recipes can produce ideas and principles which illuminate the human condition in general and have the widest range of particular application.

A prerequisite for the safe passage of this critical threshold, and for the efficient working of the evolutionary process in its new self-conscious state will be the emergence of a new comprehensive pattern or system of ideas, beliefs and guiding principles which are of general validity for the entire human community. I hope that this book will help in indicating the outline of that pattern and in laying foundations on which that system can later be erected.

Julian Huxley, London, March 1961 

‘Spike in Final Voter Turnout Greater Than NDA’s Thin Victory Margin in 79 Seats’: Citizens’ Body

The Wire Staff

The Election Commission is yet to respond to the report compiled by Vote for Democracy, a Maharashtra-based citizens platform, which has made at least three sets of claims over election results in the recently concluded Lok Sabha polls, notable for a polarised environment and the absence of a level playing field for all parties.

New Delhi: The 18th Lok Sabha elections were marked by widespread allegations against the Election Commission of India’s (ECI) partisan conduct by both opposition parties and civil society members alike. The ECI’s failure to conduct regular press conferences, address code of conduct violations and ignore reports of voters’ suppression and EVM malfunctioning amplified the already polarised environment around the fairness of the Lok Sabha elections that were being held in the clear absence of a political level-playing field.

A month after the results, Vote For Democracy (VFD), a Maharashtra-based citizens’ platform, has further muddied the waters by making some sensational claims that may raise concerns about the conduct of the ECI. VFD, apart from pointing out some glaring loopholes in the election process, has made three significant assertions.

One, it has claimed that the difference between approximate votes polled shared by the ECI on polling days at around 8 pm and the final voter turnout is nearly 5 crores. “...4,65,46,885 to be precise,” a report released by VFD said, contending that the sharp increase in the number of total votes cast doubts on the fairness of the election process. The VFD said that the figure was arrived at after a careful reading of “phase-wise extrapolation in number of votes”.

The report claimed that while in the previous elections, the percentage increase between the estimated voter turnout on the evening of the

polling day and the final turnout was approximately 1%, in the 18th Lok Sabha elections the variation was in the range of “3.2% to 6.32%” across all the seven phases. It said that the figure was a “staggering 12.54% in Andhra Pradesh and 12.48% in Odisha”, even as the cumulative average of the increase in the final voter turnout is 4.72%.

“...ECI has, so far, not been forthcoming with any credible reasons for the hike,” the report said.

Two, the VFD claimed that the sharp increase in the final voter turnout was greater than the margin of victory of the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance in 79 seats across 15 states, many of which were narrowly won by the NDA candidates. The report said that 79 seats included 18 in Odisha; 11 in Maharashtra; 10 in West Bengal; seven in Andhra Pradesh; six in Karnataka; five each in Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan; three each in Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Telangana; two in Assam; and one each in Arunachal Pradesh, Gujarat, and Kerala.

The VFD, therefore, urged the ECI to allay the doubts and lay out reasons for the sharp hike in voter turnout transparently.

The report, however, does not go into the number of seats where opposition candidates, too, may have won with smaller margins than the increase in the final turnouts. A comparative study of both the contrasting scenarios would have made VFD’s assertion distinctive.

(To be Contd....on Page -14)

Elections 2024:

Democratic Ethos and Plight of Minorities

The recent order requiring eateries in Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand to display name plates — which has been stayed by the Supreme Court — has drawn chilling comparisons to apartheid-era South Africa and Nazi Germany, where Jews were forced to identify their businesses, precursing brutal persecution.

In the 2024 general elections, the decline of the electoral clout of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its failure to reach the majority mark sparked hope that the democratic decline in values of pluralism and diversity may see a recovery.

During the elections, himself having realised that Ram Temple magic is no longer effective, Narendra Modi resorted to divisive language all through. He blamed the INDIA bloc for doing *mujra* (a bowing salutation, in Muslim tradition) for the minorities, whom they want to please. It was also said that the INDIA bloc will change the Constitution to take away reservations of SC/ST/OBC and give it to the Muslims.

To add further punch to his rhetoric, the prime minister frightened the Hindu majority by saying that Hindu women's mangalsutra (chain indicating the marital status of some Hindu communities) will also be taken away and given to Muslims, among other such derogatory issues. As the matters stood, this hate speech failed to benefit the BJP, and it slid down from 303 seats to 240 in the Lok Sabha.

This gave hope that now minorities will be targeted less often and an atmosphere of amity may get promoted. The developments of the past few weeks in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by the BJP, have dashed this hope. The statements and actions of the saffron party leaders and the government in the BJP-ruled states show that they will pursue their old tactics as far as possible.

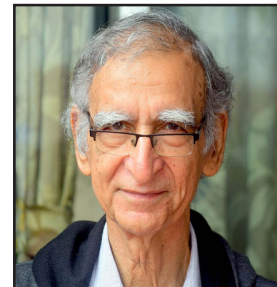
Hemant Biswa Sarma, the Assam chief minister, notorious for such outpouring, stated that Assam will soon become a Muslim majority state. As per him, the percentage of Muslims in 1951 was

12% (later he revised this figure to 14%) and now Muslims are 40% of the state population. His figures are totally fake, intended to stir up fear and alarm among Hindus. The percentage of Muslim population in 1951 was 24.68% as per census figures and as per 2011 census figures Muslims in Assam are 34.22%. Old habits die hard for many. A classic case is here to be witnessed.

In West Bengal, where the BJP bit the dust coming down from existing 18 MP seats to 12 this time, party leader Suvendu Adhikari, put the blame of BJP's decline on Muslims, and proclaimed: "We do not need to talk about *Sabka Saath* and *Sabka Vikas* (everybody's development, taking along everybody). We will decide who supports us, and we will support them. Stop this talk of *Sabka Saath*, *Sabka Vikas*." Many from the BJP stable disowned his statement, but Adhikari's words and tenor reveals the real political goals of this party.

To cap it all in Muzaffarnagar, the deputy inspector general of police (DIG) issued instructions that on the route of the Kanwar Yatra (a Holy procession devoted to Lord Shiva) all the eateries, stalls and hotels should display the names of owner and workers right in front.

Notably, the Supreme Court on Monday (July 21) stayed these directions issued by the Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand governments, that



Ram Puniyani

directed eateries in Kanwar Yatra route to display names. A bench of Justices Hrishikesh Roy and S.V.N. Bhatti passed an interim order prohibiting the enforcement of the government directives.

As per the directive that was issued by the Uttar Pradesh local administration, “All the food outlets, eateries and food joints across the state will have to put up a “nameplate,” displaying the names of owners/proprietors and staff members.”

“This has been done to maintain the ‘purity of faith’ for Hindu devotees who undertake the Kanwar Yatra, in the month of Shravan (a holy month as per the Hindu calendar),” the administration had claimed, justifying the move. Uttarakhand had joined Uttar Pradesh in announcing the rule, and multiple other BJP-governed states were set to follow suit, signalling a broader adoption of this policy.

In the face of criticism, the state administration added that this has to be done *voluntarily*. This is a very interesting order, where does the volition exist for those who are supposed to follow it? The honourable prime minister, the supreme leader has maintained a stoic silence on this order, indicating that this is the policy of the party. This move has been criticised by the BJP’s NDA allies like Janata Dal United (JD(U)), Lok Janshakti Party (Ramvilas Pasvan) (LJP (Ramvilas Pasvan)), among others. This is a case where we come to know that in the coalition, the allies of the BJP don’t matter to the prime minister, and the BJP will rule the roost.

However, this is probably the most divisive step taken by the BJP. Already Muslims employees of Hindu establishments on the route have been laid off. The whole notion of purity and pollution should not be applicable in present times. The Kanwar Yatra from Haridwar to the local Shiva temples is a fairly old phenomenon. It became more prominent during the last few decades, from 1980s onwards, quite in tune with the rise of politics in the name of religion, beginning

with the Ram Temple movement. Now lakhs and lakhs of people participate in it.

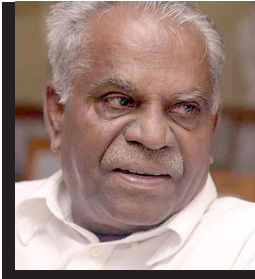
Let’s imagine the implications of such a directive. Most commentators recalled the apartheid regimes of South Africa and Nazi Germany. In Nazi Germany, the Jews were on the receiving end of fascist politics. They were asked to display the ‘Star of David’ in front of their establishments and wear the same on their body. Their persecution became easy as already their establishments could be easily identified. On the Kanwar route the step seems to be an anticipatory one and it is likely that the BJP in other states, on other pretext may find this an easy way to identify Muslims.

At present, it seems that sectarian politics has deep roots in the body politic of the nation. Electorally defeating this party and its opportunist allies is a mere first step to restore pluralism in the country. The targeting of Muslim community is also running parallel to decline in their political representation. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-BJP (RSS-BJP) ideologues are arguing that they tried to de-communalise Muslim politics.

It is a hoax as the present episode shows. Still they are totally silent on why the BJP does not have a single Muslim MP in Lok Sabha, not a single Muslim minister in the Cabinet at any level. They argue that now the BJP is trying to link with the Pasmanda Muslims. Do they realise who is the biggest victim of the BJP’s politics? Just in the case of the present Kanwar Yatra episode, one can tell that the Pasmanda Muslims would have been the biggest losers with the present move of the BJP, if the apex court didn’t stay the directions.

One feels the INDIA coalition should vociferously oppose such a move of the BJP as it is imperative that the inclusive values have to be brought to forefront to confront such regressive policies aiming at further splitting the society and taking one more step towards a Hindu nation. 🌈

Letting govt officers take part in RSS will spell disaster for governance



M.G. Devasahayam

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) loves to boast about being the world's biggest political party, and ruling the largest democracy on the planet. The truth however is that it's a part of the rabid Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which has managed to build a Hindutva empire of hate and bigotry. The present government, far from upholding the ideals of democracy, has instead crowned this empire by removing the six-decade old 'ban' on government employees taking part in RSS activities through a Government Order, which removes the ban by reviewing three circulars issued in 1966, 1970 and 1980. And with this move, whatever semblance of governance that is left in this country is ready to sink.

First, let's look at what The Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1964, clause 5, has to say on government servants taking part in politics:

1. No Government servant shall be a member of, or be otherwise associated with, any political party or any organisation which takes part in politics nor shall he take part in, subscribe in aid of, or assist in any other manner, any political movement or activity.
2. It shall be the duty of every Government servant to endeavour to prevent any member of his family from taking part in, subscribing in aid of, or assisting in any other manner any movement or activity which is, or tends directly or indirectly to be, subversive of the Government as by law established and where a Government servant is unable to prevent a member of his family from taking

part in, or subscribing in aid of, or assisting in any other manner, any such movement or activity, he shall make a report to that effect to the Government.

3. If any question arises whether a party is a political party or whether any organisation takes part in politics or whether any movement or activity falls within the scope of sub-rule (2), the decision of the Government thereon shall be final.

The RSS was initially declared an unlawful organisation in 1948 due to concerns over its activities after a member, Nathuram Godse, assassinated Mahatma Gandhi. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the then Union Home Minister who imposed the ban, wrote to RSS Chief MS Golwalkar on 11 September, 1948: "Organising Hindus and helping them is one thing but going in for revenge for its sufferings on innocent and helpless men, women and children is quite another thing... All their speeches were full of communal poison. It was not necessary to spread poison in order to enthuse the Hindus organize for their protection... As a final result of the poison, the country had to suffer the sacrifice of the valuable life of Gandhiji. Even an iota of the sympathy of the Government, or of the people, no more remained for the RSS. In fact, opposition grew. Opposition turned more severe, when the RSS men expressed joy and distributed sweets after Gandhiji's death. Under these conditions it became inevitable for the Government to take action against the RSS..."

Subsequently, the ban was withdrawn on assurances of good behaviour. Even after this, the RSS never flew the national flag in Nagpur. In 1966, a fresh ban was introduced. As certain doubts were raised about the government's policy with respect to the membership of and participation in the activities of the Rashtriya

Swayamsevak Sangh and the Jamaat-e-Islami by government servants, it was clarified that government has always held the activities of these two organisations to be of such a nature that participation in them by government servants would attract the Central Civil Services Conduct Rules. The 1970 Circular reiterated the 1966 directive and stressed disciplinary action against violators.

The 1980 Circular emphasised the need for secularism among government servants and reiterated previous orders against communal organizations.

Since the present government is communal and anti-secular, it has now interpreted Rule 5 (3) in favour of RSS and has allowed government servants to take part in its activity.

The question is whether such an interpretation is tenable and legal. The answer is no; in fact, it is unconstitutional.

The truth is that the BJP, which is ruling the country and many states, is the political wing of the RSS. Its gargantuan size and octopus-like tentacles can be seen from the graph below.

This leviathan has reached every nook and cranny of the government and the state and is the greatest predator of the established institutions and instruments of democratic governance within and outside the Constitution.

In 1977, soon after the formation of Janata Party government, dual membership of the government and the RSS became an existential issue for the government, eventually leading to its fall. The Janata Party was formed by an amalgamation of several political parties opposed to the Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi, and one of the parties in this merger was the Jan Sangh — the predecessor of the BJP.

In 1977, soon after the formation of the Janata government, Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan (JP), the architect of that government, said this: “RSS identifies the Indian nation with Hindu Rashtra. Such identification is pregnant with national disintegration, because members of other

communities can never accept the position of second-class citizens. Such a situation, therefore, has in it the seeds of perpetual conflict and ultimate disruption. RSS should ‘give up the concept of Hindu Rashtra and adopt in its place Indian nationhood, which is a secular concept and embraces all communities living in India.’ RSS should disband itself and merge with the youth and cultural organisations of the Janata Party and admit Muslims, Christians and members of other communities. RSS should give up the concept of Hindu Rashtra and adopt in its place that of Indian nationhood, which is a secular concept and embraces all communities living in India.”

In 2005 as BJP was celebrating its silver jubilee, its president LK Advani openly admitted that the party would not have been born in 1980 had the Janata Party not raised the issue of dual membership in the manner they did. “The Janata Party parliamentary board put forward the excuse of our dual membership as they thought that they would not be able to progress if we stayed with them,” Advani said after releasing a book on 25 years of BJP.

According to him, the rationale behind the birth of BJP lies in the fact that they opposed a ban on members’ ties with the RSS, which was sought to be imposed by Janata Party leaders. RSS sahasarkaryavah, Madandas Devi, who presided over the function, put it more bluntly when he said: “BJP stands on the backdrop of Jan Sangh and Jan Sangh stood on the backdrop of RSS.”

Without doubt, RSS is a political entity and is now part and parcel of the governance system. Instead of disbanding it as suggested by JP himself, it has been made to grow colossal and like the carnivorous Madagascar Tree is sucking out and draining all democratic institutions that are fast losing their strength and vibrancy. The way RSS operates, the membership of this communal organisation could soon become an essential qualification for entry into government service. As it is, several senior functionaries in

government including Governors are actively participating in RSS activities including holding of Shakas.

There are also reports of an RSS-backed IAS institute that has been quietly grooming 'nationalist' civil servants since 1986. The report further says: "At a time when minority institutes like Jamia and Zakat Foundation are in the middle of a row over the rising number of Muslims cracking the Civil Services Examination, an RSS-backed coaching institute, Samkalp Foundation, has claimed a 61 per cent success rate in this year's exam. Of the 759 candidates picked by the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) to enter the civil services this year (2020), as

many as 466 had undertaken Samkalp's Interview Guidance Program (IGP), the foundation claims."

Even in the famed IAS Academy at Mussoorie where civil servants are trained one could see the shades of RSS Shaka!

Now by formally merging the government servants, which include civil servants belonging to All India Services, with this entity, whatever semblance of governance is left will also sink.

MG Devasahayam is an economist and a former Army and Indian Administrative Service officer.

Courtesy:

The News Minute, 25 Jul 2024. 

'Spike in Final Voter Turnout Greater...

Contd. from page - (9)

Three, the report also claimed that the NDA candidates won by very thin margins in 18 seats across 10 states. In all these constituencies, serious concerns were raised by both civil society members and opposition candidates regarding alleged malpractice and EVM malfunctioning during voting and the counting process.

Some of these seats include Saran in Bihar, Mumbai North-West in Maharashtra, and Farrukhabad, Bansgaon, and Phulpur in Uttar Pradesh where NDA candidates won by razor-thin margins. The report goes on to point out various incidents of voter suppression, EVM malfunctioning, contentious transfers of important officials in opposition-ruled states during the elections, alleged misconduct of returning officers, unattended complaints raised by the opposition and similar doubts raised during the election campaign by many observers.

The VFD report was authored by former bureaucrat M.G. Devasahayam and activist Dr. Pyare Lal Garg. The VFD was founded by activists Teesta Setalvad, Dolphy D'Souza, Father Frazer Mascarenhas and Khalil Deshmukh.

The report noted, "While we do not doubt the credibility of the ECI, its conduct during this Lok Sabha election has made us, as citizens and voters, seriously concerned about the fair outcome of the electoral process." While releasing the report in Mumbai on July 22, the VFD team called for "an independent investigation under autonomous supervision" into all the doubts and allegations raised during the elections.

Section 80 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, allows a candidate or a voter to challenge the outcome of an election within 45 days of the declaration of the results.

"The question that is being posed is has the 2024 mandate been stolen from the people? It is for the ECI to respond to the issues raised in this report with detailed and credible responses to ensure that faith in the free and fair election process is restored," the report said.

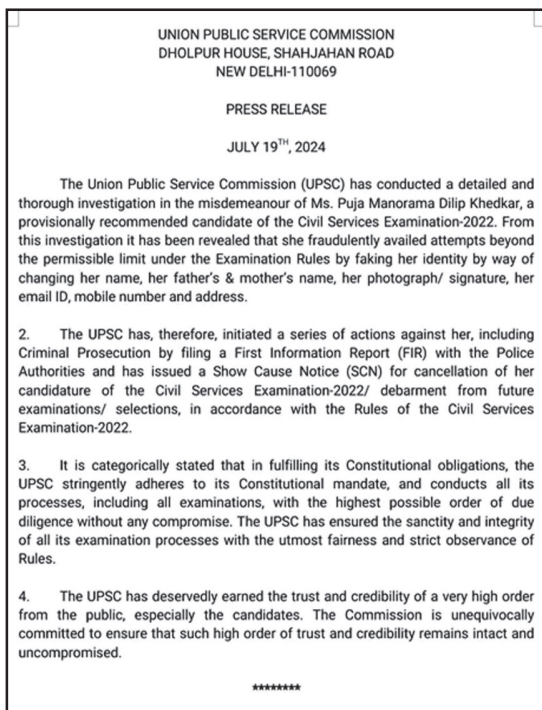
The Wire has asked for a response to the report from the ECI. The story will be updated when it responds.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 26 Jul 2024. 

New India's 'Mission Karmayogi' and the Rot in Civil Services

M.G. Devasahayam

Probationer Puja Manorama Dilip Khedkar has played havoc with the 'sacred grove' of the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) and its 'sanctum sanctorum', Indian Administrative Service (IAS). Perhaps for the first time in its history, the Commission has issued a press release like this:



Even in this rot, UPSC is indulging in self-praise! But for stinking corruption and gross incompetence in UPSC, how could this 'super-fraud' called Puja take 12 attempts at the civil service examination, take privileges under OBC (Other Backward Class) and disability quotas and while being ranked at lowly 821 get into the IAS get allotted to her own state cadre and posted at her very home?

And the historical scandal has taken its first

Once the Civil Service gets muddled and corrupted, there is little hope for the Union, states and the citizens. Let the Puja Khedkar case be a shake-up call for the Civil Service, the Government of India and the UPSC. New India cannot afford such 'Karmayogis'!

toll. UPSC chairperson Manoj Soni has resigned due to "personal reasons," almost five years before his tenure ends in 2029. Soni, who joined the Commission as a member in 2017, was sworn in as the chairperson on May 16, 2023. Soni is considered close to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who had picked him as the Vice-Chancellor of Vadodara's (Gujarat) famous MS University in 2005 when he was 40 years old, making him the youngest V-C in the country. This says a lot.

Mission Karmayogi

This horrendous scam brings to mind 'Mission Karmayogi' launched with all fanfare to build future-ready civil servants with the right attitude, skills and knowledge, aligned to the vision of a "New India". Within days of announcing the National Recruitment Agency (NRA), which will conduct a computer-based common eligibility test for central government jobs, on September 2, 2020, the Union Cabinet approved Mission Karmayogi – "the biggest human resource development programme in the government" – for bringing post-recruitment reforms in civil services. The scheme aims to standardise training and create shared faculty and resources that would offer officers and government employees an opportunity to improve their performance. 'Young' Puja would

have been part of this Mission soon!

On this 'Miracle Mission,' Union minister of state for personnel, Jitendra Singh, had this to say: "Mission Karmayogi is an endeavour to reincarnate a government servant into an ideal karmayogi (a man driven by his work) to serve the nation by enabling him to be creative, to be constructive, to be pro-active and technically empowered. The endeavour is also to end the culture of working in (departmental) silos; to overcome the multiplicity of training curriculum by the introduction of a common platform for the realisation of the nation's vision and of our shared aspiration and future goals."

To become a Karmayogi, one has to get trained from a younger age and not after decades of service that has bred greed and a lethargic attitude. Let us look at the salient features of the Mission.

- Laying the foundation for capacity building of civil servants, so they remain entrenched in Indian culture while they learn the best practices across the world.
- Through the National Programme for Civil Services Capacity Building (NPCSCB), the mission seeks to transform Human Resource Management from 'rules-based' to 'roles-based.'
- Through post-recruitment reforms in the government preparing Indian civil servants for the future by making them more creative, constructive, imaginative, innovative, proactive, professional, progressive, energetic, enabling, transparent and technology-enabled. This will help end subjective evaluation, and ensure scientifically-devised, objective and real-time assessment of employees.
- Endeavouring to end the culture of working in silos and to overcome the multiplicity of training curricula which

we have because of the institutions spread all over the country,

- Introduction of a common platform for the uniform realisation of the nation's vision and of our shared aspirations and our shared future goals.

NPCSCB will be governed by the Prime Minister's Human Resource Council, which will also include state chief ministers, Union Cabinet ministers and experts. This council will approve and review civil service capacity-building programmes. Besides this, there will be a Cabinet Secretary Coordination Unit comprising select secretaries and cadre controlling authorities. Also, there will be a Capacity Building Commission, which will include experts in related fields and global professionals. This commission will prepare and monitor annual capacity-building plans and audit human resources available in the government. At the end of the day, Mission Karmayogi will produce the ideal civil servant-karmayogi with all qualities of head and heart to serve the 'New India' vision under the direct command and control of the Prime Minister himself!

In theory and on paper this Mission could cater to the long-felt need for civil servants to gather the stellar attributes envisaged. But the reality is that over the last few years, senior civil servants of the All India Services have been subjugated by the prime minister and his highly centralised establishment by adopting various devious and divisive means. Like many institutions and instruments of democratic governance, IAS has also been under severe assault.

First came the steep reduction of the role of IAS at the decision-making level of Joint Secretaries in the Government of India (GoI) and replacing them with personnel from other services that have no all-India character or exposure. Then came the proposal to trash the merit list for civil services recommended by the constitutionally mandated UPSC and instead allotting service as

well as cadre based on the trainee's performance at the Academy during the short Foundation Course. Soon thereafter through 'lateral-entry' private sector personnel were inducted as Joint Secretaries to GoI.

Within days of NDA-3 taking over Department of Personnel & Training started preparing a proposal for inducting 400 'domain experts' to fill the Deputy Secretary/Director post in the Central Government. This constitutes 60 per cent of the 650 posts at this level under the Central Staffing Scheme which are currently available mostly to IAS officers. This is nothing but choking and strangulation of the service from within!

While so, poodles among these mandarins are hand-picked and rewarded with key and coveted appointments in government and sinecures outside including constitutional positions. The only consideration is bigoted loyalty and almost slavish adherence to the credence of 'yes, prime minister.' In the event merit through innovation and creativity is thrown over the roof and mediocrity has become the mantra of governance. Instead of mentoring, reforming and rejuvenating the IAS, which is the bulwark of India's democratic governance, the Service and its members are being dishevelled and dismembered through the devious means of large-scale lateral entry of corporate candidates.

Now the worst has come with l'affaire Puja Manorama Dilip Khedkar, whatever her real name is! Wonder how many more skeletons are going to tumble out of the cupboard! Are these the 'Karmayogis' who are going to build the 'New India'?! This is a pertinent question which assumes significance from the way civil servants are being recruited and trained. There are a great number of windows and special staircases for entering the Civil Services beyond merit making it vulnerable to misuse and manipulation as happened in the Puja case.

And there are also reports of an RSS-backed IAS institute that has been quietly grooming

'nationalist' civil servants since 1986. The report further says: "At a time when minority institutes like Jamia and Zakat Foundation are in the middle of a row over the rising number of Muslims cracking the Civil Services Examination, an RSS-backed coaching institute, Samkalp Foundation, has claimed a 61 per cent success rate in this year's exam. Of the 759 candidates picked by the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) to enter the civil services this year (2020), as many as 466 had undertaken Samkalp's Interview Guidance Program (IGP), the foundation claims." A question arises whether the Pujas of this world are part of this unholy charade.

Then comes the feedback received from former civil servants who have recently visited the LBSNAA on the way 'Karmayogis' are being trained as 'non-dissenting compliant managers' to pursue Prime Minister's agenda than as compassionate civil servants administering India's parched millions. Some of them see the shades of RSS Shaka in the famed Academy!

As admitted by the Commission itself, episode Puja is an alarming case of fraud, arrogance and misuse of many procedures. Obviously, there has been a dilution of competence, vigil, or integrity in more than one place. There could be more such cases, and it may be warranted to carry out due diligence for other cases of special categories over the last few years. Those persons who are found to have misused their powers of certification are equally liable to face stern action.

A very strong demand must be made from civil servants, past and present, as well as the citizenry, to take stern and strong measures to maintain merit, and merit alone, in the appointment to the premier civil and public services. Appointments of the UPSC chairperson and members from the Services and academic streams should be made on the basis of known integrity, competence, and a reputation for being uncompromisingly upright.

(To be Contd....on Page -19)

Supreme Court verdict on caste sub-classification is a landmark and benchmark

It affirms the long-standing requirement of evidence-based policies of social justice

Yogendra Yadav & Prannv Dhawan

The Supreme Court has finally removed a long-standing legal obstacle to fine-tuning the existing policies of social justice. The seven-member bench of the apex court has allowed state governments to sub-divide the reservation quota meant for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). The Court has also opened the door for identification and exclusion of the “creamy layer” in the SC and ST categories from the benefits of affirmative action. While there can be many issues with the exact formulation and implementation of this judgment, especially the part on the creamy layer, this is a step forward in the long history of India’s rich jurisprudence on reservation. On balance, this judgment would help fine-tune and deepen policies and politics of social justice in an era where the very idea of affirmative action faces an onslaught.

The Court’s much awaited judgment in the State of Punjab vs Davinder Singh case marks the conclusion of a 20-year-long legal struggle by state governments to liberate themselves from the limits upon their power to sub-classify Scheduled Castes. The point of contention was the correct interpretation of Article 341 of the Constitution that empowers the President to notify the list of castes to be deemed as Scheduled Castes throughout the country. In 2004, a five-member bench of the Supreme Court had outlawed any policy that sought to sub-divide this category for purposes of creating sub-quotas. In this E V Chinnaiah case, the bench unanimously took an ultra-technical view of Article 341 and held that all the Scheduled Castes, across the diverse social geographies within the states, were a homogenous class that

could not be sub-divided.

The judgment in E V Chinnaiah suffered from a basic disconnect with social reality. It failed to acknowledge that categories like Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe are very large baskets that contain social groups of different status, based on different traditional occupations and, therefore, varying degrees of disadvantage. Historically, they had very uneven exposure to modern education and were therefore unequally placed to take advantage of policies of affirmative action. Just look at the stark inequalities of educational levels shown by the latest caste survey data among different castes within the SC category in Bihar. Of every 10,000 persons, 124 Dhobis had decent (PG or professional) higher education degrees, while this number was 45 for the Dusadh community and just one for the most disadvantaged Musahar community. In Tamil Nadu, while Arunthathiyars were about 16 per cent of the SC population of the state, their presence among SC government employees was just about 0.5 per cent. The commonsensical solution to this gross inequality was to divide the category into two or more sub-categories and earmark separate quotas for each sub-group depending on their share in population. Yet, attempts by the state governments in Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar fell foul of the court’s ruling.

At long last, following the observations by CJI R M Lodha in 2014 and a five-member bench judgment in 2020, the case was referred to a seven-member bench for final disposal. The majority decision of the court, authored by the CJI himself, has firmly prioritised substance over

form and held that the state governments are competent to sub-classify the Scheduled Castes in order to identify groups that merit more beneficial treatment. The judgment authored by Chief Justice D Y Chandrachud appreciates the import of distributive justice within the extremely heterogeneous Scheduled Castes. It affirms that equal protection of the law is not a rule that forbids both “the beggar and the king” from begging in the streets.

By shedding the formal legalism that underlay E V Chinnaiah, the court has demonstrated sensitivity towards the most disadvantaged sections within the Scheduled Castes and charts the course for resolving their historic grievances. At the same time, notwithstanding contrary remarks by Justice Pankaj Mithal, the judgment consolidates and reinforces the socio-legal consensus on the necessity of a principled caste-conscious affirmative action regime that was established in the Indra Sawhney judgment of 1992. It thus enriches the struggle for a broader, more effective and fairer, affirmative-action regime.

The spirit that pervades the majority opinions is that any classifications within the social justice policy must be reasonable and rational. It affirms the long-standing requirement of evidence-based policies of social justice, something the court had nearly abandoned in its curious judgment upholding the EWS quota. Incidentally, this reminder of data-driven policy fortifies the imperative for a nation-wide caste Census.

Can the same logic be extended for the “creamy layer” within the Scheduled Castes? So far, the policy of excluding the privileged sections (“creamy layer” in the language of the Indra Sawhney judgment) within the reserved category was applicable to the OBC, but not to the SC or ST category. While this issue was not referred to the Constitution Bench, Justice B R Gavai held that the ground reality of the disparities within the beneficiary groups are too pronounced to be ignored. He puts it eloquently

that treating the child of a bureaucrat and a manual labourer alike, even if both belong to the SC community, would defeat the constitutional mandate. At the same time, as Justice Vikram Nath clarifies, the criteria for identification of “creamy layer” would have to be different from that used in the case of OBCs.

A landmark judgment like this is bound to be disputed both in legal and political circles. This might be seen as the thin end of the wedge that may lead to dilution of the affirmative-action regime. Politically, it may be seen as aiding the current regime’s designs to divide Dalits. Frankly, both these readings ignore the ground reality of internal differences and discrimination accompanied by political resentment among the most disadvantaged Dalit communities. Those committed to the policies and politics of social justice must not push such issues under the carpet. Instead, they should welcome this judgment and demand careful evidence-based identification of the most disadvantaged communities and provisions to ensure that the sub-division and the creamy layer do not become a route to divert SC/ST quota seats to non-reserved categories. 🌈

Contd. from page - (17)

New India's ‘Mission...

Past members of the UPSC lending themselves to commercial coaching institutions, of any hue whatsoever, should be totally banned.

Once the Civil Service gets muddled and corrupted, there is little hope for the Union, States and the citizens. Let the Puja Khedkar case be a shake-up call for the Civil Service, the Government of India and the UPSC. New India cannot afford such ‘Karmayogis’!

M.G. Devasahayam is a former Army and IAS officer and coordinator of the *Citizen's Commission on Elections*.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 23 July 2024. 🌈

Quit India Movement: The violence-non-violence question

Prem Singh

The Quit India Movement, also known as the August Kranti (Revolution), was a pivotal chapter in India's freedom struggle. This movement was country-wide in which the people of India participated on a large scale and showed unprecedented courage and tolerance. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, while quoting Russian revolutionary thinker Leon Trotsky, stated that in Russia's revolution one percent of the population took part, while in India's August Revolution, 20 percent of the country's people participated.

But, every now and then, it is at the centre of a debate on whether it was a non-violent or a violent movement. Mahatma Gandhi's speech on August 8, 1942, the eve of the movement's launch, has its own place in history. An excerpt from the speech goes: "Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: 'Do or Die'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery. Every true Congressman or woman will join the struggle with an inflexible determination not to remain alive to see the country in bondage and slavery. Let that be your pledge."

It is clear Gandhiji, let alone direct violence, never even hinted at any form of provocation. This call for non-violent resistance was unique at a time when humanity was engulfed in the fire of World War II. The All India Congress Committee passed the Quit India resolution on August 8, 1942. By the following night, top Congress leaders had been arrested. Thanks to their arrests, an action plan for the movement could not be prepared and communicated. The relatively young leadership of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) became active but had to

work underground. Jayprakash Narayan (JP) wrote two long letters while in hiding to guide the revolutionaries, and to explain the character and mode of action of the movement.

Despite facts to the contrary, Viceroy Lord Linlithgow alleged that the Congress had tried to overthrow British rule through armed resurrection during the movement. Ram Manohar Lohia wrote a long letter from jail to the viceroy on March 2, 1946. The letter brings out the brutal and conspiratorial character of British imperialism during the Quit India Movement. After playing an underground role in the movement for 21 months, Lohia was arrested in Bombay on May 10, 1944. He was first imprisoned in Lahore Fort, and then in Agra. He suffered inhuman torture at the hands of the British police in Lahore. He was released in June 1946. In the interim, his father passed away, but Lohia refused parole on a matter of principle.

In his letter, Lohia refuted Linlithgow's accusations and spoke about the latter's administration committing horrific atrocities on unarmed participants. He said that the British suppression of the movement led to many Jallianwala-Bagh-like incidents, but the people of India persevered non-violently for their freedom. He wrote, "If we had planned an armed insurrection and our crowds were asked to resort to violence, believe me, Linlithgow, Gandhiji would today have been securing a reprieve for you from the free people and their government."

Confronting the viceroy over the barbarism of his administration, he wrote, "You talk of fascist reprisals; your men have raped and killed wives of patriots you could not seize. Yes, the time will soon be ripe for you and your people

to face this evidence.” In those moments of distress, Lohia was still filled with hope that the sacrifices of tens of thousands of Indians during the movement would be paid for, and wrote, “But I am not unhappy. It has ever been the destiny of India to suffer for others and to take man away from his erring path. The history of the unarmed common man begins from the Indian Revolution of August 9.” He further clarified, “We are curious about the future. Whether you win or the Axis, there will be gloom and darkness all around. There is a glimmer of hope. Free India might be able to bring this war to a democratic termination.”

JP’s two letters to “the soldiers of freedom” were written in December 1942 and September 1943. In both his letters, especially in the first, he raised, and deliberated upon, the question of violence-non-violence at length. He slammed the British government, saying it did not have the right to weigh in on what was the method the people of India used to fight for their freedom. He said

that at the core of the Quit India Movement was the resolve not to kill or hurt.

He wrote, “To create hurdles for the British Raj, to overthrow it by paralysing it by every non-violent means, is the basic mantra of that program and ‘you can do everything within the realm of non-violence’ is our pole star. There is no doubt that the intellectual basis of the program which has been followed by the Congress bodies since August 1942 till now is non-violence - non-violence in the sense which has been suggested by its masters during this period.”

How a non-violent movement was made possible amidst a raging World War certainly demands serious analysis, if only to give those intellectuals who fixated on the Indian role in violence in 1942 (and also in 1857) a much-needed perspective.

(The writer associated with the socialist movement is a former teacher of Delhi University and a fellow of Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla) 🌈

The Quit India Movement in literary imagination

Prem Singh

A major event in a society and civilization has an impact on literature and other art forms. The 1857 revolt against colonial subjugation, which is called India’s first freedom struggle, was definitely a major event in the national life, as it was, of India. Call it the fear of the British or the inherent conflict between patriotism and loyalty to the Raj, the 1857 revolt remained exiled from the creative imagination of the authors of elite literature (*shisht sahitya*) for a long time. However, the revolt made a strong presence in folk literature. Bharatendu Harishchandra, “a pioneer of the renaissance” in the Hindi region, has mentioned 1857 in only one couplet - “Kathin Sipahi Droh Anal Ja Janbal Nasi/Jin Bhay Sir Na Hilai Sakat Kahun Bharatwasi”. However, in contrast to this, several British writers wrote more than 50 novels/fictional accounts based

on the ‘mutiny’ of 1857 between 1859 and 1964. (Shailendradhari Singh, *Novels on the Mutiny*, Arnold-Heinemann India, Delhi, 1973) Gautam Chakravarty, in his study on this subject, has included 70 selected novels written mainly in Britain between 1859 and 1947. (*The Indian Mutiny and British Imagination*, Cambridge, Delhi, 2005)

Rishabh Charan Jain wrote the first Hindi novel *Ghadar* (1930) on the 1857 revolt after a long gap of 73 years. The same was immediately confiscated by the British government. Before this, Mirza Hadi Ruswa’s Urdu novel *Umrao Jaan Ada* (1899) reflects the 1857 revolt in a subtle manner. The number of novels written on the 1857 revolt in other Indian languages including the Indian English, is very few even after *Ghadar*.

The Quit India Movement or August Revolution, launched by Gandhi with the call of 'Do or Die' aiming the liberation of India from British imperialism, too was a major event in Indian national life. This event is different from the event of 1857 in the sense that it attracted the creative imagination of Indian writers immediately and on a large scale. Some writers played an active role in the movement and pen down their experiences in the novel genre. Ku. Rajavelu (Tamil), the writer of *1942* (1950), Nityananda Mahapatra (Oriya), the writer of *Gharadiha* (1975), Phanishwar Nath Renu (Hindi), the writer of *Maila Anchal* (1954) etc. also served prison sentences.

The Quit India Movement has been depicted as the most important political event in Indian literature after the partition. The reason for this seems to be that Gandhi's political endeavours and ideas had cut off the fear of colonial power and the lure of capitalism from the psyche of the Indian elite to some extent; and, thanks to the long struggle and sacrifices of the Indian people, the goal of independence was not far away.

When Soviet Russia joined the Second World War, the Communist leadership of India declared the imperialist war as a 'people's war' and decided to oppose the Quit India Movement and support the British. That decision not only became the cause of a bitter clash between the Congress Socialists and the Communists, but due to it the activists of the Communist Party became victims of confusion and dilemma regarding the definition and criterion of patriotism and treason. This clash is described in detail in Satinath Bhaduri's *Jagari* (1945), Samaresh Basu's *Jug Jug Jiye* (1977) written in four parts, Yashpal's *Deshdrohi* (1943), *Geeta Party Comrade* (1946) and the last monumental novel *Meri Teri Uski Baat* (1979) and to some extent in Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya's *Mrityunjay* (1970).

During the last months of his underground phase of the Quit India Movement, Dr. Lohia

wrote his long but incomplete essay 'Economics after Marx'. Lohia's biographer Indumati Kelkar has quoted Lohia about the purpose of this article: "In 1942-43 when the movement against the British was on, the socialists were either in jail or were being pursued by the police. That was also the time when communists, following their foreign masters, had given the slogan of 'People's War'. I was totally confused by the spectacle of Marxism in all its contradictions. Then I decided that I would discover the essential truth of Marxism and purge it from falsehood. Economics, politics, history and philosophy have been the four main facets of Marxism and I deemed it necessary to analyze all these. But as I was in the midst of analysis of its Economics I was arrested." (*Ram Manohar Lohia* (Abridged Edition), Indumati Kelkar, p. 54, National Book Trust, 2010)

Obviously, the communists of India would have taken Lohia's comments and the essay 'Economics after Marx' in distaste. However, no novelist, including Yashpal, has mentioned the communist reaction to this episode. Only a glimpse of the communist reaction can be seen in Doodhnath Singh's important novel *Aakhri Kalaam* (2006). This important novel, written on the demolition of Babri Masjid, dates back to the forties, i.e. the Quit India Movement. The communist reaction to the article, quoted by the protagonist, a Communist Party theoretician professor, was that how dare Lohia write such an article!

Many important novels in almost all Indian languages and Indian English have been written on the Quit India Movement, or have been influenced by that event. But the socialist-communist conflict is not the only theme in all such novels. The portrayal of the courage and sacrifice of ordinary satyagrahis who remained steadfast to the mode of non-violence and civil disobedience under the influence of Gandhi in the face of the oppression of British rule happened to be the main theme in most of the

novels. Further, human relational tussles and mental dilemmas of the characters have been delineated while participating in the movement. RK Narayan's *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955) carries this theme poignantly. The time of the Quit India Movement is also known for the terrible Bengal famine of 1943. Bhabani Bhattacharya's novel *So Many Hungers* (1947) gives a creative and compassionate expression of this predicament by juxtaposing the hunger arising from the famine deliberately created by the British and the hunger for freedom of the people.

The phenomenon of the depiction of the Quit India Movement in Indian novels shows that the movement has become a part of the national memory of India; and, hence, it has abundant potential of creative content. In future, the Quit

India Movement would continue to be depicted in literature and other art mediums. Satakadi Hota's novel *Mukti Yudha* (2021), a Hindi translation of Khushwant Singh's novel *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale* (1968) as *Bolegi Na Bulbul Ab* (2014) can be perceived to be an indication of this possibility. Both the novels are based on the Quit India Movement. The recently released film 'Ae Watan Mere Watan' can also be seen in this series. There could also be a possibility that some painters, alone or in a group, prepare a series of paintings on the episodes/characters of the Quit India Movement in the future.

(The writer associated with the socialist movement is a former teacher of Delhi University and a fellow of Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla) 🌈

Reader's Comments

Congratulations for the launch of IRI website. I am pleasantly surprised to see the photo of M.N. Roy with visitors at his residence, Humanist House, 13 Mohini Road, Dehradun, which includes my maternal uncle Dr. Seshagiri Rao, extreme right. I am happy that the photo I sent found the right place on the website.

– P.A.S. Prasad

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SEBI chief's consulting firm shares address with its auditor

A consulting firm linked to Madhabi Buch, and mentioned in the Hindenburg report, has the same address as the firm scrutinising its financial statements.

Ayush Tiwari

A consulting firm set up by Madhabi Buch before she became a member and chairperson of the Securities and Exchange Board of India is registered at the same address as its statutory auditor, regulatory filings by the firm show.

Such arrangements raise “questions about conflict of interest between the firm and the auditor, and about the independence of the auditor”, said Amarjeet Chopra, a former president of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India.

The firm, Agora Advisory Private Limited, has come under scrutiny after a report by Hindenburg Research on August 10 highlighted it as part of possible conflicts of interest on the part of Buch. The report also alleged Buch and her husband Dhaval had invested in offshore funds linked to the Adani Group. The Buchs denied all the allegations. “All disclosures as required have already been furnished to SEBI over the years,” their statement said.

Documents with the Registrar of Companies show Agora was incorporated on May 7, 2013, with Madhabi Buch as one of its two directors. Buch, then based in Singapore, also registered another firm, Agora Partners Pte Ltd, in Singapore.

The Indian firm's incorporation certificate states its address as “201, RNJ Corporate, Next to Samrat Hotel, Jawahar Road, Ghatkopar (East), Mumbai”. The same address has been cited in the firm's latest balance sheets for the year 2023-'24.

These balance sheets have been audited by a chartered accountancy firm called Shah and

Savla LLP. Its registered address, according to its filings as well as its website, is “201, 2nd floor, RNJ corporate bldg, Jawahar Road, Ghatkopar East, Mumbai” – the same as Buch's consulting firm.

In fact, two other firms founded by Madhabi Buch, Aarnaira Impact Solutions Private Limited and Aarnaira Development Foundation, also have the same address. She resigned from their boards before joining SEBI in 2017. Dhaval Buch has been a director in these firms since 2019.

Scroll visited the address in Mumbai. The second floor of the RNJ corporate building houses the office of Shah and Savla LLP. The partners of the firm were not present, but a guard at the building and a person at the reception of the audit firm did not seem to know about Agora Advisory.

Statutory auditors are third party firms that evaluate financial records of their client firms and assess their accuracy. Shah and Savla have been Agora's auditors since the financial year 2015-'16 at least, and in July 2024, their role was extended till the financial year 2028-'29, show official documents.

Experts said a firm and its auditor sharing the same address was a “shady” and a “lazy” practice usually restricted to medium, small and micro enterprises in the informal sector. “In the formal sector, it is usually a sign of bad corporate governance,” a faculty member at a prominent management institute told *Scroll*, on the condition of anonymity.

Pooja Madhan, a chartered accountant at the Delhi-based Pooja Jagdish and Associates,

told *Scroll* that an auditor sharing its address with the auditee firm may not necessarily be a red flag, but it can lead to questions about other links. “Other connections like shared ownership, management control, or familial relationships could potentially compromise the auditor’s objectivity and independence, warranting closer scrutiny,” she said.

Madhan added that the ICAI code of ethics requires statutory accountants to protect their judgement from bias, conflict of interest or undue influence.

A Delhi-based corporate lawyer said that if an auditor and an auditee have the same address, “the relationship between the parties is to be looked at”.

“If it is a lessor-lessee relationship, it may be said that independence of the auditor may be compromised,” said the lawyer. “[There is] no real law on this except for the fact that the auditor has to be a neutral and independent third party.”

Queries sent to Shah and Savla and Madhabi and Dhaval Buch did not elicit a response.

Dormant or active?

Beyond the overlap between the address of Buch’s firm and its auditor, documents filed with the Registrar of Companies also reveal Madhabi Buch continued to hold 99% stake in Agora Advisory till as late as March 2024, even though she had stepped down as director in 2017. Her husband, Dhaval Buch, replaced her.

In its latest annual returns, the firm says it is engaged in “management consultancy services”. Hindenburg pointed out that the firm

had reported revenue of Rs 1.98 crore in 2021-’22, more than four times Buch’s salary as SEBI chairperson.

Seeking to explain Agora’s revenue, the statement by Buchs noted that after he retired from Unilever in 2019, where he worked as chief procurement officer, Dhaval “started his own consultancy practice through these companies”.

However, the statement by Madhabi and her husband also claimed somewhat contradictorily that the two consulting firms “became immediately dormant on her appointment with SEBI”.

The Indian firm’s statutory documents show that is not entirely the case.

Between 2019 and 2024, Agora made Rs 3.63 crore in revenue from operations. Most of this was made between 2019 and 2022, when Madhabi was a whole-time member at SEBI. Madhabi was appointed SEBI chief in March 2022. Between 2022 and 2024, Agora made about Rs 41.75 lakh in revenue from operations.

The statement noted that “Dhaval’s deep expertise in Supply Chain allowed him to work with prominent clients in the Indian industry”.

In response, Hindenburg Research asked the SEBI chairperson to disclose the names of these clients. “What other investments or business has the SEBI chairperson engaged in through her husband’s name while serving in an official capacity?” it asked.

Prayag Arora-Desai contributed reporting from Mumbai.

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, 13 August 2024. 🌈

The Radical Humanist on Website

‘The Radical Humanist’ is now available at <http://www.lohiatoday.com/> on Periodicals page, thanks to Manohar Ravela who administers the site on Ram Manohar Lohia, the great socialist leader of India.

– Mahi Pal Singh

Alarming Pendency in SC and HCs

Responsibility lies mainly with the Law Ministry & CJs

S.N. Shukla

Over the years the problem of delay in disposal of cases and consequently their increasing pendency has been plaguing our constitutional Courts. At the end of January 2024 the number of cases pending in the Supreme Court was 80,221. In 2023, the Supreme Court had 78,400 pending cases at the end of January. At the same time in 2022, there were 70,101 cases pending. According to information furnished by the Union Minister for Law & Justice in Lok Sabha on 26.7.2024 in response to an unstarred question by CPI(M) MP K. Radhakrishnan, as per the information available on the National Judicial Data Grid (NJDG), presently, 50 Constitution Bench matters were pending in the Supreme Court. Out of these, 35 cases are pending before 5-Judge Bench, 8 cases are pending before 7-Judge Bench and 9 cases are pending before 9-Judge Bench for adjudication. In response to the query about whether the government's lack of interest is causing the pendency of cases before Constitution Benches, *the Law Ministry clarified that the disposal of these cases lies exclusively within the judiciary's domain.* According to National Judicial Data Grid, as on 4.7.2022 total number of cases pending in various High Courts was 60,11,925, out of which **about 45% were more than 5 years old**, 22 % were more than 10 years old, 4% were more than 20 years old and 1% were more than 30 years old.

A major cause for this grim situation has been shortage of judges due to inadequate sanctioned strength and large number of vacancies even against the sanctioned strength. While presently the Supreme Court has full strength of 34 judges, as on 1.12. 2022 it had as many as 7 vacancies. Likewise, as per the information available on the website of Department of Justice, as on 1.7.2024

as many as 351 (nearly one third) positions of judges in the High Courts against their sanctioned strength of 1114 were vacant.

The enlightened and foresighted founding fathers had very thoughtfully provided in the Constitution for a situation like this. The relevant Articles 128 as amended in 1963 and 224 substituted as Article 224-A in 1956 are reproduced below.

“128. Attendance of retired Judges at sittings of the Supreme Court.— Notwithstanding anything in this Chapter, the Chief Justice of India may at any time, with the previous consent of the President, request any person who has held the office of a Judge of the Supreme Court or of the Federal Court or who has held the office of a Judge of a High Court and is duly qualified for appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court to sit and act as a Judge of the Supreme Court, and every such person so requested shall, while so sitting and acting, be entitled to such allowances as the President may by order determine and have all the jurisdiction, powers and privileges of, but shall not otherwise be deemed to be, a Judge of that Court:

Provided that nothing in this article shall be deemed to require any such person as aforesaid to sit and act as a Judge of that Court unless he consents so to do.

224A. Appointment of retired Judges at sittings of High Courts.—

Notwithstanding anything in this Chapter, the Chief Justice of a High Court for any State may with the previous consent of the President, request any person who has held the office of a Judge of that Court or of any other High Court to sit and act as a Judge of the High Court for that State, and every such person so requested shall, while so sitting and acting, be entitled to

such allowances as the President may by order determine and have all the jurisdiction, powers and privileges of, but shall not otherwise be deemed to be, a Judge of that High Court: Provided that nothing in this article shall be deemed to require any such person as aforesaid to sit and act as a Judge of that High Court unless he consents so to do.”

Encouraged by the statement of the *present* Chief Justice of India, reported in the Indian Express dated 25.9.2019, that “*I see no reasons to not appoint ad hoc judges in High Courts with large vacancies*” Lok Prahari filed a PIL WP (C) No. 1236 of 2019 for use of Articles 224-A and 128 for expediting disposal and reducing pendency in High Courts and Supreme Court. This non-adversarial PIL was filed so that the purpose of making these provisions to expedite dispensation of justice is fulfilled and the litigants’ right to speedy justice promised in the Preamble, guaranteed under Article 21 and mandated under Article 39-A is not thwarted due to chronic shortage of judges in the higher judiciary resulting in delay in disposal and consequent huge pendency.

It was brought out in the said petition that despite the aforesaid provisions and the concern expressed by the Apex Court from time to time – as in (1980) 1 SCC 81, (1997) 9 SCC 377, AIR 1999 Del. 80 and recently in 2017 (1) SCALE 164 -*speedy justice has been eluding litigants mainly due to shortage of judges*. Also, as noted in D.D. Basu’s Commentary on the Constitution, while absence of quorum of permanent judges is a condition precedent for exercise of power under Article 127, *there is no such condition precedent under Article 128* and he may be appointed *in addition to* sanctioned strength. Hence, the provision in Article 128 can be gainfully used to augment the working strength of the Apex Court. By appointing 4 ad hoc Judges to sit in the regular Benches for disposal of routine cases, four permanent judges (may be future Chief Justices-to ensure

continuity and consistency) can be spared to have a standing Constitution Bench, which may be expanded from time to time to larger Bench for disposal of old cases pending before such Benches for years. *Their disposal will also contain unnecessary multiplicity of litigation in various High Courts and, consequently, the Apex Court, due to authoritative settlement of important constitutional issues involved in such cases.*

In the well considered detailed judgment dated **20.4.2021**, reported in [2021] 3 SCR 317, by a 3 Judge Bench presided by the then CJI Mr. Justice S.A. Bobde under the heading ‘The Challenge Before the Judiciary’ the Court observed as follows-

“20. It is trite to say that we have a docket explosion in our country and that it is difficult for adjudication to take place within a reasonable period of time. This crisis situation must be tackled. Some innovation is always the rule of the game. In the present context, may be a slightly different view has to be taken in respect of the avowed purpose of Article 224A providing for ad hoc judges.”

After discussing the existing system of filling up the vacancies, the Hon’ble Court under the heading ‘The Challenge Ahead’ observed as follows-

“40. We have little doubt that challenge of mounting arrears and existing vacancies requires recourse to Article 224A of the Constitution to appoint ad-hoc judges which is a ready pool of talent, (of course subject to their concurrence) as a methodology especially for clearing the old cases. The existing strength of permanent and additional judges can be utilized for current and not so old cases. The ad-hoc judges are absolved even from the administrative responsibilities. They can concentrate on old cases which are stuck in the system and may require greater experience. For example, it is often perceived that a Regular Second Appeal is an area of concern and the more experienced judges are able to attend to

this area with more promptness.

41. We see no reason why there should be an unending debate of taking recourse to Article 224A when such a provision exists in the Constitution. It should not be made a dead letter, more so when the need is so pressing.

42. We are unable to accept the plea of the learned Attorney General that though the Government of India may not have any in principle opposition to the aforesaid, first the existing vacancies should be filled in. In our view, this would be a self-defeating argument because the very reason why at present Article 224A has been resorted to is non- filling up of vacancies and the mounting arrears. We may, however, hasten to add that the objective is not to appoint ad-hoc judges instead of judges to be appointed to the regular strength of the High Court (apprehension expressed by Mr. Vikas Singh, Senior Counsel, President of the Supreme Court Bar Association). The very provision makes it clear that it does not in any way constrain or limit the regular appointment process and consent of the retired judge is sought to sit and act as a judge of the High Court. One may say that this largely a transitory methodology till all the appointment processes are in place, though that may not be the only reason to take recourse to the aforesaid Article.”

Finally, while noticing that “*it is a common case that the present proceedings are not adversarial but a method to make the provisions of Article 224A into a practical and working arrangement*” the Hon’ble Court was pleased to issue detailed guidelines to activate the dormant provision in Article 224-A and the matter was ordered to be listed ***after four months*** calling upon the Ministry of Justice to file a report in respect of the progress made. However, for some inexplicable reason, best known to the SC Registry, despite repeated requests of the petitioner in person (General Secretary, Lok Prahari) up to the highest level it was listed only after 16 months on 14.9.2022 *without even*

notice to him. On that date Id. AG sought time to file a status report and the case was ordered to be listed on 27.9.2022 but was not taken up. Thereafter, it was listed on 7.12.2022, but had to be adjourned to 8.12.2022 due to non availability of Id. AG. On 8.12.022 it was ordered to be listed on 8.2.2023, but was again not listed .Upon mention by Amicus Curiae on 16.3.2023 it was ordered to be listed on 25.4.2023, but again was not listed and for some inexplicable reason *has remained unlisted so far* despite repeated requests at various levels including the present Chief Justice of India *whose suggestion had prompted this PIL*. Evidently, nothing substantial has been done in the last three years. So much for the implementation of the Court’s own well considered judgment in this matter of great importance to litigants whose cases have been languishing in High Courts for decades.

Not only this, a copy of the status report mentioned in the order dated 8.12.2022 was not served on the petitioner before filing, nor has it been made available even till now despite emails dated 7.12.2022 and 15.12.2022 to the Registrar. Also, copy of any note filed by the Id. Attorney General and Amicus Curiae in terms of the order dated 8.12.2022 has also not been received so far. The Union of India and the Supreme Court have also not filed their response to the following applications dated 29.6.2021 of the petitioner-

- (i) IA No. 72382 of 2021 for modification of the order dated 20.4.2021 to provide that, *in view of the unquestionable need to appoint more judges urgently* the Registrar Generals of High Courts shall also file similar progress reports to the Secretary General of the Apex Court.
- (ii) IA No. 72386 of 2021 for further relief by way of utilization Article 128 also to augment the working strength of the Apex Court for having a standing Constitution Bench and expedite disposal of old cases in terms of suggestion in para 10 of the IA.

The reluctance of the Ministry to act on the judgment dated 20.4.2021 is also evident from the failure of the Id. Attorney General and his associates to bring the correct position to the notice of the Court at the time of hearing on 14.9.2022 and 8.12.2022. The judgment dated 20.4.2021 did not put any “*bar of not more than 20% vacancies for making recommendations for ad hoc judges*” as mentioned in the order dated 14.9.2022. In fact, as per para 53 of the judgment, the very first ‘Trigger Point for activation’ of Article 224-A is “*if the vacancies are more than 20% of the sanctioned strength*”. The only “embargo” in para 54 of the judgment was that “*if recommendations have not been made for more than 20% of the regular vacancies then the trigger for recourse to Article 224-A would not arise*”. Thus, while this stipulation in para 54 of the judgment also needs to be addressed, *upon making recommendations for 80% vacancies, ad-hoc judges could very well be appointed pending regular appointments. Hence, there was no valid excuse for the Chief Justices of the concerned High Courts and the Ministry of Law & Justice not to act on the judgment to the detriment of the hapless litigants waiting for years for their cases to be heard.*

Vide email dated 30.3.2023 the Secretary General of the Supreme Court was requested to enlighten us as to why the matter was not being listed despite categorical date fixed order dated 8.12.2022. After emails dated 28.4.2023 and 10.5.2023 the Branch Officer vide email dated 16.5.2023 informed that no further email will be entertained in future in this regard in accordance with the provisions of the Supreme Court Rules. Thereupon, vide email dated 17.5.2023 the Registry was requested to enlighten about the specific relevant Rule in the Supreme Court Rules which empowers the Registry to ignore or modify a categorical date fixed judicial order of the Court. However, there has been no response to it despite over half a dozen emails to the

Secretary General and even the Chief Justice as Master of Roster.

Consequently, the two Interlocutory Applications filed on **29.6.2021** for modification of the order dated 20.4.2021 and for further relief regarding utilization of Article 128 to augment working strength of the Apex Court have also have also remained unheard due to non-listing of the main matter. The aforesaid applications have remained pending despite being mentioned on the last date. Accordingly, an IA dated 2.2.2023 was filed online for disposal of the aforesaid applications. It is, therefore, necessary that to ensure meaningful implementation of the judgment dated 20.4.2021-

- (i) The order dated 14.9.2022 for invoking Article 224-A is clarified in terms of paras 53 and 54 of the judgment dated 20.4.2021.
- (ii) The IAs no. 72382 of 2021 and 68129 of 2022 are allowed.
- (iii) Such other order or direction is passed as may be considered fit to ensure that the judgment dated 20.4.2021 is acted upon *in its true spirit in a time bound manner* both by the High Courts and the Ministry.

It is distressing that instead of taking prompt effective steps for utilizing the beneficial provision in Article 224-A, for some inexplicable reason the Central Government and the Chief Justices of High Courts with huge pendency have been dragging their feet for the last three years in acting on the well considered judgment dated 20.4.2021 to provide relief to the litigants, and thereby frustrating the mandate to provide speedy justice as envisaged in Articles 21 and 39-A of the Constitution and the decisions of the Apex Court itself. One fails to understand the reason for non listing of the matter for more than one and a half years after December 2022 even though the PIL itself was prompted by the statement of the present CJI cited above.

(To be Contd....on Page -31)

Political Scenario

P.A.S. Prasad

1. For dog bite, there is a cure but for chairbite no cure.

Anonymous quote.

2. When I use a word it means what I choose it to mean. Nothing more, nothing less.

Humpty Dumpty in Alice in Wonderland.

3. Ambition enters unobservedly.

T.S. Eliot - Murder in the Cathedral.

4. Power goes to the head in every human being.

Ram Charitra Manas - Tulsidas.

The above quotes apply aptly to Modiji's thirst for power. In the recent past he remarked that Naidu used Polavaram project as his ATM for financing his family dairy business, but after the elections when he lost majority, he had to rope in Naidu for stability and for having cobbled-up majority to stay in power. In spite of knowing Naidu is corrupt, he got a big chunk in the budget running into crores for development and progress of AP on various counts.

This is classic case of chairbite infection which has no cure. Modiji did not care for self-respect and dignity and the image of the BJP as the biggest party. He wants his chair and the grandeur that chair implies. His plane on a par with US Airforce One, globe-trotting wherever he is required to go, the salutes of the armed personnel, his flatterers and sycophants singing peans of praise and praising his incomparable leadership, the attention he gets wherever he goes and whenever he enters into a meeting or a congregation, and other innumerable situations, his many layered security for his protection, the adulation and flowers being showered on him during his road shows and processions, economists and financial experts rationalising his ill considered decisions like demonetisation and lockdown which caused terrible misery and deprivation, hardship and death to the ordinary and poor of the country.

For him the words like constitution, which meant the usual meaning for the rest, meant

something malleable and ductile for his advantage and retention of power. This was the reason why he ardently desired a majority of 400+. So are terms like parliament, where he could have his way with a small majority, he could conveniently get any bill passed without debate or discussion. According to him China did not occupy a single inch of India, means what remains after being grabbed by them now, protected well and effectively with Indian armed might.

When he inaugurated the Ram Mandir, Ayodhya, he proudly proclaimed that it coincided with Vivekananda's birthday. It means he did not read the opening sentences of Vivekananda's famous Chicago Address as well as his letters to his friends, India proclaiming the great tradition of India's inclusiveness and offering of refuge to those who sought such protection without discrimination of race and religion. He would also have found that Vivekananda roundly condemned priesthood and desired driving out all the priests from the country. He held them responsible for the backwardness and superstition in the country. Vivekananda also found that Hindu thought, lofty in thought and precept, was exploitative and oppressive of the downtrodden. Modiji would not have meditated at the Vivekananda Rock Memorial. He was total antithesis of Vivekananda's precept and practices. Modiji would surround himself with plane loads of

priests for every important event.

Modiji got the statue of Netaji Subhas Bose with great fanfare. Actually had he studied the life of Netaji and what he practiced in embracing all religions, Modiji, perhaps would not have praised and installed the statue of Netaji!

Coming to the post poll scenario, Modiji having lost the majority mark, has been rendered lame having Naidu and Nitish Kumar as crutches to move about. He is limited to the extent his crutches help him move!

First time since 2014, he has to consult his NDA partners while embarking on making new govt. policies.

Gone are the days he would be praised for success of any venture, whether directly connected with him or otherwise for his dynamic leadership by his sycophants' club and expressing their faith in his leadership, e.g., the successful tunnel rescue operation was attributed to his dynamism and coordinating skills, even though he never went anywhere near it. But he proudly stated that the world was watching in awe at the rescue as it was only one of its kind, even though greater, risky, involving about two hundred people sometimes were carried out in the coalfields of coal India with no fuss or publicity rescuing from the depths of the earth, with no light, no ventilation,

general managers risked their lives in reaching the trapped workers!

Modiji has been fond of garnering all the glory for himself in as many events as possible even flagging of trains.

Now that is all over. Old order changes giving place to the new. He is faced with a formidable array of young well educated articulate members in the opposition like Rahul Gandhi as LoP, Akhilesh Yadav, Mahua Moitra, and quite a few others in the making. Actually this kind of opposition was long overdue to bring an egocentric hubris intoxicated ruling party to begin a real democratic way of functioning inside the parliament and also from the outside, grassroots up to the top.

British parliament has a history of utilising the ablest from the opposition, actually it is termed as his majesty's loyal opposition. During World War II Churchill handed over the internal administration of the country to Attlee, leader of the opposition while he looked after the conduct of the war.

In India also we have the example of Nehru taking those who opposed him like Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Ambedkar and others into his cabinet. Narasimharao requested Atalji to lead the Indian delegation to the UN. Both sides had great respect for each other. 🌈

Alarming Pendency in SC and HCs

Contd. from page - (29)

Not only this, the petitioner's application dated 29.6.2021 for utilization Article 128 also to augment the working strength of the Apex Court for having a standing Constitution Bench to expedite disposal of Constitution and larger Bench cases has also remained unheard till now despite the reported statement of the present CJI last year that Constitution benches of different strength shall henceforth be a permanent feature.

Inaction by the Ministry of Law & Justice and Chief Justices of Supreme Court and High Courts on the *available* relevant constitutional provisions for checking increasing pendency and reducing the mounting backlog of old cases leaves one wondering as to whom to look for the solution of this serious problem faced by hapless lakhs of litigants whose cases remain pending *not for years but for generations* making a mockery of the hackneyed saying 'delay defeats justice'.

S.N. Shukla is I.A.S.(retd.), Advocate, General Secretary, Lok Prahari 🌈

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6	Agra, India	47	Auckland, New Zealand
7	Agumbe, India	48	Augusta, GA, the US
8	Ahirka, Indfia	49	Aurangabad, India
9	Ahmedabad, India	50	Aurora, IL, the US
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11	Aizawl, India	52	Azamgarh, India
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17	Albion NY, the US	58	Baharampur, India
18	Alcobendas, Spain	59	Bahawalpur, Pakistan
20	Alegre, Brazil	60	Balham, the UK
21	Aligarh, India	61	Balham, the UK
22	Allahabad, India	62	Balotra, India
23	Almere Stad, the Netherlands	63	Balurghat, India
24	Alpharetta, Georgia, the US	64	Bangalore, India
25	Altona, Australia	65	Bang Phli, Thailand
26	Altoona, Iowa, the US	66	Bang Khae, Thailand
27	Alwal, India	67	Bangladesh
28	Ames, Iowa, the US	68	Bansberia, India
29	Amherst, MA, the US	69	Banská Bystrica, Slovakia
30	Amritsar, India	70	Baran, India
31	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	71	Barcelona, Spain
32	Anantapur, India	72	Barzewo, Poland
33	Ancaster, ON, Canada	73	Bareilly, India
34	Angeles City, The Philippines	74	Barguna, Bangladesh
35	Ängelholm, Sweden	75	Barnala, India
36	Angul, India	76	Barsat, India
37	East Hanover, New Jersey, the US	77	Barcelona, Spain
38	Ann Arbor, Michigan, the US	78	Basel, Switzerland
39	Antwerp, Belgium	79	Basti, India
40	Araihasar, Bangladesh	80	Batala, India
41	Arima, Trinidad and Tobago	81	Bath, the UK

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
82	Bedford, VA, the US
83	Beighton, the UK
84	Beirut, Lebanon
85	Beijing, China
86	Belgaum, India
87	Belgrade, Serbia
88	Bellville, South Africa
89	Bénin, Nigeria
90	Benoni, South Africa
91	Beograd, Serbia
92	Berhampore, India
93	Berlin, Germany
94	Birmingham, the UK
95	Bethlehem, PA , the US
96	Bettendorf, Iowa, the US
97	Betws, the UK
98	Bhagalpur, India
99	Bhandara, India
100	Bhavnagar, India
101	Bhilai, India
102	Bhimavadiaram, India
103	Bhimavaram, India
104	Bhopal, India
105	Bhubaneswar, India
106	Bien Hoa, Vietnam
107	Bilaspur, India
108	Birkirkara, Malta
109	Birmingham, the UK
110	Blackburn, Australia
111	Blacksburg, VA, the US
112	Boise, Idaho, the US
113	Boisar, India
114	Bolpur, India
115	Bolton ON, Canada
116	Boston, MA, the US
117	Boydton, VA, the US
118	Bradford, the UK
119	Brasilia, Brazil
120	Brighton, The United Kingdom
121	Brisbane, Australia
122	Bronxville, New York, the US
123	Bogotá, Colombia
124	Boston, Massachusetts, the US

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
125	Boulder, Colorado, the US
126	Bradford, the UK
127	Brahmapur, India
128	Brampton, Ontario
129	Brighton, the UK
130	Brisbane, Australia
131	Bristol, the UK
132	Brno, the Czech Republic
133	Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, the US
134	Brockton, Massachusetts, the US
135	Bronx, NY, the US
136	Brooklyn, NY, the US
137	Brownsville, Texas, The US
138	Bucharest, Romania
139	Buchholz, Germany
140	Budapest, Hungary
141	Budva, Montenegro
142	Buffalo, NY, the US
143	Buford, GA, the US
144	Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada
145	Burdwan, India
146	Burgkirchen An Der Alz, Germany
147	CA US
148	Caico, Brazil
149	Cairo, Egypt
150	Calgary, AB, Canada
151	Cali, Colombia
152	Calicut, India
153	Camberwell, the UK
154	Camborne, the UK
155	Cambridge, the UK
156	Cameroon
157	Canberra, Australia
158	Cape Town, South Africa
159	Carbondale, Illinois, the US
160	Caracas, Venezuela
161	Carbondale, Colorado, the US
162	Carlsbad, California, the US
163	Carmona, The Philippines
164	Carson, California, The US
165	Central Point, Oregon, the US
166	Central, Hong Kong
167	Centre de Flacq, Mauritius

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
168	Chandannagar, India
169	Chandigarh, India
170	Chandipur, India
171	Charlotte, North Carolina, the US
172	Charlottesville, Virginia, the US
173	Chembra, India
174	Chennai, India
175	Chermside West, Australia
176	Cheyenne, Wyoming, The US
177	Chicago, Illinois, the US
178	Chirala, India
179	Chitradurga, India
180	Chittagong, Bangladesh
181	Chongqing, China
182	Chlef, Algeria
183	Cincinnati, Ohio, the US
184	Civil Lines, India
185	Cloquet, MN, the US
186	Cluj- napoca, Romania
187	Chuncheon, the Republic of Korea
188	Cochin, India
189	Coimbatore, India
190	Colonnella, Italy
191	Columbus, Ohio, the US
192	Columbia, Missouri, the US
193	Colorado, the US
194	Colorado Springs, Colorado, the US
195	Copenhagen, Denmark
196	Cork, Ireland
197	Corona, CA , the US
198	Cote D'Ivoire
199	Cotonou, Benin
200	Council Bluffs, Iowa, the US
201	Coventry, the UK
202	Coupeville, Washington, the US
203	Croydon, the UK
204	Curepipe, Mauritius
205	Cuttack, India
206	Cyprus
207	Dacula, GA, the US
208	Dakshim, India
209	Dakshin, India
210	Dallas, Texas, the US

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
211	Dambatta, Nigeria
212	Dammam, Sourth Africa
213	Darbhangha, India
214	Dar Es Salaam, UR of Tanzania
215	Dammam, Saudi Arabia
216	Dearborn, Michigan, the US
217	Dehradun, India
218	Deland, FL, the US
219	Denmark
220	Denver, Colorado, the US
221	Des Moines, IA, the US
222	Deventer, The Netherlands
223	Devgad, India
224	Dewas, India
225	Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
226	Dharogra, India
227	Dhaka, Bangladesh
228	Dibrugarh, India
229	Dindigul, India
230	Diss, the UK
231	Diu, India
232	Doddipatla, India
233	Doha, Qatar
234	Dolgoprudnyy, the Russian Federation
235	Dover, New Jersey, the US
236	Downers Grove, Illinois, the US
237	Dubai, the UAE
238	Dublin, Ireland
239	Duncannon, PA, the US
240	Durban, South Africa
241	Durgapur, India
242	East Brunswick, NJ, the US
243	East Hanover, New Jersey, the US
244	East Lansing, Michigan, the US
245	Ecublens, Switzerland
246	Edappal, India
247	Edava, India
248	Edgware, the UK
249	Edinburgh, the UK
250	Edmonton, AB, Canada
251	Eindhoven, the Netherlands
252	Electronics City, India
253	El Khroub, Algeria

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
254	Ellicott City, Maryland, the US
255	Emmitsburg, Maryland, the US
256	Encinitas, CA, the US
257	Enfield the U.K.
258	Englewood, CO, the US
259	Ernakulam, India
260	Essey-les-Nancy, France
261	Ethiopia
262	Etobicoke, ON, Canada
263	Eules, Texas, the US
264	Europe
265	Exeter, the UK
266	Ewa Beach, HI, the US
267	Fairfax, Virginia, the US
268	Fairfield, Connecticut, the US
269	Fair Oaks, CA, the US
270	Fakenham , the UK
271	Falls Church, VA, the US
272	Faridabad, India
273	Faridpur, Bangladesh
274	Farmington, Michigan, the US
275	Florence, SC, the US
276	Flowery Branch, Georgia, the US
277	Fes, Morocco
278	Footscray, Australia
279	Forest, Virginia, the US
280	France
281	Frankfurt am Main, Germany
282	Frederiksberg, Denmark
283	Fremont, CA, the US
284	Fritzlar, Germany
285	Fulham, the UK
286	Gainesville, Georgia, the US
287	Gandhidham, India
288	Gangtok, India
289	Gateshead, the UK
290	Gatineau, Quebec, Canada
291	Gaya, India
292	Gazipur, Bangladesh
293	Georgetown, DE, the US
294	Georgetown, Guyana
295	Georgia, the US
296	Ghaziabad, India

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
297	Gimhae, the Republic of Korea
298	Gig Harbor, Washington, the US
299	Glasgow, ther UK
300	Godhra, India
301	Goharganj, India
302	Gold Canyon, AZ, the US
303	Gonder, Ethiopia
304	Gorontalo, Indonesia
305	Göteborg, Sweden
306	Göttingen, Germany
307	Grahamstown, South Africa
308	Granger, Indiana, the US
309	Greater Noida, India
310	Greeley, CO, the US
311	Grimsby, Ontario, Canada
312	Groningen, the Netherlands
313	Guadalajara, Mexico
314	Guararema, Bazil
315	Guareña, Spain
316	Guatemala, Guatemala City
317	Guelph, ON, Canada
318	Guntur, India
319	Gurdaspur, India
320	Gurgaon, India
321	Gustavo Adolfo Madero, Mexico
322	Guwahati, India
323	Gwangjin-gu, The Republic of Korea
324	Habiganj, Bangladesh
325	Hackettstown, New Jersey, the US
326	Hagen, Germany
327	Haldia, India
328	Haldwan, India
329	Haldia, India
330	Halmstad, Sweden
331	Hamilton, Newzealand
332	Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
333	Hamirpur, India
334	Hamma Bouziane, Algeria
335	Hamtramck, Michigan, the US
336	Hanamkonda, India
337	Handwara, India
338	Harare, Zimbabwe
339	Hardenberg, the Netherlands

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
340	Hasanpur, India
341	Hassan, India
342	Hassi Bahbah, Nigeria
343	Hattiesburg, Mississippi, The US
344	Hayes, the UK
345	Hazro, Pakistan
346	Heidelberg, Germany
347	Heidenheim, Germany
348	Helsinki, Finland
349	Henrico, Virginia, the US
350	Herne, Germany
351	Hillsborough, New Jersey, the US
352	Hilo, HI, the US
353	Hisar, India
354	Hoffman, New Jersey, the US
355	Hohhot, China
356	Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam
357	Hong Kong
358	Hopkins. MN the US
359	Höxter, Germany
360	Howrah, India
361	Hubli, India
362	Huddersfield, the UK
363	Huelva, Spain
364	Huntington Park, California, the US
365	Huntsville, Alabama, the US
366	Hyderabad, India
367	Ithaca, New York, the US
368	Ilford, the UK
369	Illorin, Nigeria
370	Imphal, India
371	Indianapolis, IN, the US
372	Indore, India
373	Innsbruck, Austria
374	Irapuato, Mexico
375	IR of Iran
376	Irvington, NJ, the US
377	Islamabad, Pakistan
378	Istanbul, Turkey
379	Itawah, India
380	Izmir, Turkey
381	Jabalpur, India
382	Jacksonville, Florida, the US

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
383	Jagdalpur, India
384	Jaipur, India
385	Jakarta, Indonesia
386	Jalandhar, India
387	Jalpaiguri, India
388	Jammu, India
389	Japan
390	Jeddah, Saudi Arabia
391	Jersey City, NJ, the US
392	Jessore, Bangladesh
393	Jhelum, Pakistan
394	Jind, India
395	Jodhpur, India
396	Johannesburg South Africa
397	Johnson City, Tennessee, the US
398	Jorhat, India
399	Jose C. Paz, Argentina
400	Kaithal, India
401	Kalamazoo, Michigan, The US
402	Kalutara North, Sri Lanka
403	Kalyandurg, India
404	Kalyani, India
405	Kakinada, India
406	Kampala, Uganda
407	Kampong Ulu Jurong, Singapore
408	Kanchipuram, India
409	Kannur, India
410	Kanodar, India
411	Kanpur, India
412	Kansanshi, Zambia
413	Karachi, Pakistan
414	Karaikudi, India
415	Katy, Texas, the US
416	Karur, India
417	Karwar, India
418	Kathmandu, Nepal
419	Katsina, Nigeria
420	Kenya
421	Khagaria, India
422	Khilgaon, Bangladesh
423	Khopoli, India
424	Kiel, Germany
425	Kigoma, the UR of Tanzania

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
426	Killaloe, Ireland
427	Kingston, Jamaica
428	Kingston, ON, Canada
429	Kissimmee, FL, the US
430	Koani, UR of Tanzania
431	Kochin, India
432	Kochi, India
433	Kabul, Afghanistan
434	Kaithal, India
435	Kalimpong, India
436	Kaliningrad, the Russian Federation
437	Kamam, India
438	Kangar, India
439	Kannur, India
440	Karachi, Pakistan
441	Karaganda, Kazakhstan
442	Karnal, India
443	Khandagiri, India
444	Khandwa, India
445	Khilgaon, Bangladesh
446	Khulna, Bangladesh
447	Kochi, India
448	Kolhapur, India
449	Kolkata, India
450	Kollam, India
451	Köln, Germany
452	Koraput, India
453	Kota, India
454	Kottayam, India
455	Kowloon, Hongkong
456	Kozhikode, India
457	Krugersdorp, South Africa
458	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
459	Koch Bihar, India
460	Kuju, India
461	Kulgam, India
462	Kulu, India
463	Kumbh, India
464	Kuwait
465	Kuwait City, Kuwait
466	La Crosse, Wisconsin, the US
467	Lagos, Nigeria
468	Lahore, Pakistan

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
469	Laitumkhrah, India
470	Laitumkhrah, India
471	La Mesa, CA, the US
472	Lake Zurich, Illinois, the US
473	Lakshmîpur, Bangladesh
474	Lamongan, Indonesia
475	Lancaster, the UK
476	Larissa, Greece
477	Las Vegas, Nevada, the US
478	Lakshmîpur, Bangladesh
479	Ledyard, CT, the US
480	Leeds, the UK
481	Leicester, the UK
482	Leipzig, Germany
483	Lepe, Brazil
484	Le Roy, NY, the US
485	Lima, Peru
486	Lincoln, Nebraska, the US
487	Lisbon, Portugal
488	Loganville, GA, the US
489	Lonavala, India
490	London, Ontario, Canada
491	London, UK
492	London SOAS University, UK
493	Loveland, Colorado, The US
494	Los Angeles, CA, the US
495	Lubbock, TX , the US
496	Lucknow, India
497	Lüdenscheid, Germany
498	Ludhiana, India
499	Lusaka, Zambia
500	Lynchburg, Virginia, the US
501	Machhagan, India
502	Madanapalle, India
503	Madison, WI, the US
504	Madurai, India
505	Mahendragarh, India
506	Mahesana, India
507	Makkah, Saudi Arabia
508	Malabar Hill, India
509	Malappuram, India
510	Malda, India
511	Manchester, the UK

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
512	Mandi, India
513	Mannheim, Germany
514	Mapo, Republic of Korea
515	Marietta, Georgia, the US
516	Marikina City, The Philippines
517	Marquette, Michigan, the US
518	Martinsicuro, Italy
519	Mathikere, India
520	Mathura, India
521	Mau, India
522	Mbabane, Switzerland
523	Meerssen, The Netherlands
524	Meerut, India
525	Medan, Indonesia
526	Medellin, Colombia
527	Medford, MA, the US
528	Melaka, Malaysia
529	Melbourne, Australia
530	Melbourne, Florida, the US
531	Melton Mowbray, the UK
532	Menifee, California, the US
533	Menomonee Falls, WI, the US
534	Meridian, Idaho, the US
535	Miami, Florida, the US
536	Middelburg, the Netherlands
537	Middlesbrough, the UK
538	Middletown, Connecticut, the US
539	Middletown, OH US
540	Milan, Italy
541	Milton, Ontario, Canada
542	Minchinbury, Australia
543	Minneapolis, MN, the US
544	Miraj, India
545	Mirpur Khas, Pakistan
546	Moline, Illinois, the US
547	Monnickendam, The Netherlands
548	Monrovia, Liberia
549	Monterotondo, Italy
550	Montgomery, AL, the US
551	Montreal, Quebec, Canada
552	Montrose, the UK
553	Mont-Saint-Hilaire, Quebec, Canada
554	Morbi, India

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
555	Morgantown, West Virginia, the US
556	Morigaon, India
557	Mormugao, India
558	Morristown, NJ, the US
559	Moscow, the Russian Federation
560	Mossel Bay, South Africa
561	Mountain View, California, the US
562	Mount Gravatt, Australia
563	Muktsar, India
564	Monrovia, Liberia
565	Mulavukad, India
566	Multan, Pakistan
567	Mumbai, India
568	Mundamveli, India
569	Munich, Germany
570	Murshidabad, India
571	Mumbai, India
572	Muscat, Oman
573	Muzaffarpur, India
574	Mymensingh, Bangladesh
575	Nadiad, India
576	Nagar, India
577	Nagoya, Japan
578	Nagpur, India
579	Nagykozar, Hungary
580	Nahan, India
581	Nairobi, Kenya
582	Naples, Florida, the US
583	Nashua, New Hampshire, The US
584	Nashville, Tennessee, the US
585	Navi Mumbai, India
586	Nawada, India
587	Nassau, The Bahamas
588	Nepal
589	Neuvic, France
590	Newark, NJ , the US
591	Newburyport, Massachusetts, the US
592	Newcastle upon Tyne, the UK
593	New Delhi, India
594	New Haven, Connecticut, the US
595	New Kensington, PA, the US
596	New London, CT, the US
597	New Milford, Pennsylvania, the US

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
598	Newport, Kentucky, The US
599	New York, the US
600	Nigeria
601	Noakhali, Bangladesh
602	Noida, India
603	Norman, Oklahoma, the US
604	North Adams, MA , the US
605	North Bergen, New Jersey, the US
606	North Las Vegas, NV, the US
607	Northolt, the UK
608	Northridge, CA, the US
609	Nottingham, the UK
610	Novi, MI the US
611	Oak Forest, Illinois, the US
912	Oakville, ON, Canada
613	Odense, Denmark
614	Ojo De Agua, Mexico
615	Oklahoma City, OK, the US
616	Oldham , the US
617	Olney, MD, the US
618	Ongole, India
619	Oral, Kazakhstan
620	Orem, Utah, the US
621	Orlando, Florida, the US
622	Osaka, Japan
623	Oslo, Norway
624	Ottawa, ON, Canada
625	Owings Mills, MD, the US
626	Oxford, Mississippi, the US
627	Pacoima, CA, the US
628	Padaebom, Germany
629	Pagadian, The Phillipines
630	Palakkad, India
631	Palm Coast, FL, the US
632	Palmerston North, New Zealand
633	Pamplemousses, Mauritius
634	Panampilly Nagar, India
635	Panipat, India
636	Panjim, India
637	Pardi, India
638	Paris, France
639	Parksville, BC, Canada
640	Paterna, Spain

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
641	Pathanamthitta, India
642	Patna, India
643	Pattambi, India
644	Payyanur, India
645	Peachland, British Columbia, Canada
646	Pekanbaru, Indonesia
647	Pennsylvania, the US
648	Pérama, Greece
649	Perambalur, India
650	Perumbavoor, India
651	Peshawar, Pafkistan
652	Petaling Jaya, Malaysia
653	Peterborough, Ontario, Canada
654	Petlâd, India
655	Phagwara, India
656	Pharr, TX , the US
657	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the US
658	Philadelphia, PA, the US
659	Phoenix, Arizona, the US
660	Phoenix, Mauritius
661	Phnom Penh, Cambodia
662	Pickering, ON, Canada
663	Pikeville, KY, the US
664	Piscataway, NJ , the US
665	Pithoragarh, India
666	Placentia, California, the US
667	Plainview, Texas, the US
668	Planegg, Germany
669	Point Cook, Australia
670	Ponnur, India
671	Poona, India
672	Poplar, the UK
673	Portes-les-Valence, France
674	Portland, Oregon, the US
675	Port Louis, Mauritius
676	Porto Alegre, Brazil
677	Potsdam, Germany
678	Port Moresby Papua New Guinea
679	Poughkeepsie, New York, the US
680	Prague, the Czech Republic
681	Prayagraj, India
682	Pretoria, South Africa
683	Prince George, British Columbia, Canada

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
684	Princeton Junction, New Jersey
685	Princeton, NJ, the US
686	Proctorville, OH, the US
687	Provo, Utah, the US
688	Pulwama, India
689	Pune, India
690	Puruliya, India
691	Puyallup, Washington , the US
692	Queanbeyan, Australia
693	Québec, Quebec, Canada
694	Querétaro City, Mexico
695	Quito, Equador
696	Rahway, New Jersey, the US
697	Raiganj, India
698	Raipur, India
699	Rajkot, India
700	Ramanathapuram, India
701	Rampur, India
702	Ramban, India
703	Ranchi, India
704	Rangpur City, Bangladesh
705	Rawalpindi, Pakistan
706	Reading, the US
707	Ribeirão Preto , Brazil
708	Reisterstown, Maryland, the US
709	Renton, Washington, the US
710	Rewari, India
711	Richmond, the UK
712	Ridge Spring, SC, the US
713	Rio De Janeiro, Brazil
714	Rivas-Vaciamadrid, Spain
715	Riverside, CA, the US
716	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
717	Roanoke, VA, the US
718	Rocky River, OH, the US
719	Rodenbach, Germany
720	Rohtak, India
721	Rome, Italy
722	Rotterdam, the Netherlands
723	Rourkela, India
724	Rupandehi, Nepal
725	Ruwais, Qatar
726	Ryde, Australia

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
727	Saharanpur, India
728	San Antonio, Texas, the US
729	Sagar, India
730	Saint-cloud, France
731	Saint-Hilaire-des-Loges, France
732	Sakhigopal, India
733	Salar, India
734	Salem, India
735	Salford, the UK
736	Samalkha, India
737	Samalkot, India
738	Sambalpur, India
739	San Antonia, TX, The US
740	San Diego, California, the US
741	San Francisco, California, the US
742	San José, Costa Rica
743	San Jose, CA, the US
744	San Nicolás De Los Garza, Mexico
745	San Ramon, California, the US
746	San Salvador, El Salvador
747	Santa Barbara, California, the US
748	Santa Fe, NM , the US
749	Santa Monica, CA, the US
750	Santiago, Chile
751	San José, Costa Rica
752	Sao Jose Do Rio Preto, Brazil
753	São Paulo, Brazil
754	Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
755	Sargodha, Pakistan
756	Seattle, WA US
757	Secunderabad, India
758	Serampore, India
759	Seri Kembangan, Malaysia
760	Shillong, India
761	Shimoga, India
762	Shirdi, India
763	Shreveport, Louisiana, the US
764	Shymkent, Kazakhstan
765	Sikar, India
766	Siliguri, India
767	Singida, of Tanzania
768	Sirajganj, Bangladesh
769	Siwan, India

S.N. City, Country

770 Seymour, IN , the US
771 Shah Alam , Malaysia
772 Sharjah, the UAE
773 Sibsagar, India
774 Sikar, India
775 Siliguri, India
776 Singapore, Singapore
777 Skokie, Illinois, the US
778 Slovenia
779 Solan, India
780 Solapur, India
781 Sonari, India
782 Sonapat, India
783 South Carolina, the US
784 South Orange, New Jersey, the US
785 Springfield, MO, the US
786 Springfield, Virginia, the US
787 Srikakulam, India
788 Srinagar, India
789 St-Albert, Ontario, Canada
790 St Andrews, the UK
791 Stamford, Connecticut, the US
792 Stanford, California, the US
793 Sterling, Virginia, the US
794 Stretford, the UK
795 Streatham, The UK
796 Stockholm, Sweden
797 Skokie, Illinois, the US
798 Stony Point, New York, the US
799 Stourbridge, the UK
800 Sunbury, Ohio, the US
801 Surabaya, Indonesia
802 Surat, India
803 Suri, India
804 Suva, Fiji
805 Swartruggens, South Africa
806 Switzerland
807 Sydney, Australia
809 Sylhet, Bangladesh
810 Tacoma, Washington, the US
811 Tadepalligudem, India
812 Taguig, The Philipines
813 Talavera, the Philippines

S.N. City, Country

814 Tall Timbers, Maryland, the US
815 Tampa, Flthe US
816 Tampines New Town, Singapore
817 Tallinn, Estonia
818 Tampa, Florida, the US
819 Taoyuan, Taiwan
820 Tashkent, Uzbekistan
821 Tejgaon, Bangladesh
822 Tegucigalpa, Honduras
823 Tel Aviv, Isael
824 Tempe, AZ, the US
825 Tenkasi, India
826 Teresina, Brazil
827 Thane, India
828 Thanyaburi, Thailand
829 Thimphu, Bhutan
830 Tiruvalla, India
831 Thiruvananthapuram, India
832 Thoothukudi, Indias
833 Thornhill, Ontario, Canada
834 The Hague, the Netherlands
835 Thrissur, India
836 Tiruchi, India
837 Tirunelveli, India
838 Tirupati, India
839 Tiruvalla, India
840 Tiruvallur, India
841 Todmorden, the UK
842 Tokyo, Japan
843 Toledo, OH US
844 Tomsk, ther Russian Federation
845 Toronto, ON, Canada
846 Tower Hamlets, the UK
847 Tracy, California, the US
848 Traverse City, MI, the US
849 Trier, Germany
850 Trivendrum, India
851 Troutville, VA, the US
852 Troy, NY, the US
853 Uganda
854 Ujjain, India
855 UR of Tanzania
856 Ust-Kamenogorsk, Kazakhstan

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
857	Vadodara, India
858	Valencia, Spain
859	Valsad, India
860	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada
861	Vandavasi, India
862	Vapi, India
863	Vellore, India
864	Vernon Hills, Illinois, the US
865	Vijayawada, India
866	Vienna, Austria
867	Vilnius, Lithuania
868	Virginia, the US
869	Vishakhapatnam, India
870	Vizianagaram, India
871	Vuyyuru, India
872	WA, The United States
873	Waalre, The Netherlands
874	Wada, India
875	Waltham, MA, the US
876	Walworth, NY, the US
877	Warsaw, Poland
878	Washington, District of Columbia, the US
879	Weimar, California, the US
880	Wellington, New Zealand
881	West Bengal, India
882	West Chester, Ohio, the US
883	West Hartford, CT, the US
884	Westfield, New Jersey, the US
885	Whitechapel, the UK
886	Willard, Missouri, the US
887	Wilmington, DE, the US

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>City, Country</u>
888	Winchester, the UK
889	Winnipeg, MB, Canada
890	Witney, the UK
891	Witten, Germany
892	Wolfforth, Texas , the US
893	Wolverhampton, the UK
894	Woodbury, Connecticut, the US
895	Wood Green, the UK
896	Wood River, Illinois, the US
897	Woodstock, New York, the US
898	Worcester, South Africa
899	Wroclaw, Poland
900	Würzburg, Germany
901	Wuxi, China
902	Wynberg, South Africa
903	Yamunanagar, India
904	Yangon, Myanmar
905	Yardley, Pennsylvania, the US
906	Yekaterinburg, the Russian Federation
907	Yogyakarta, Indonesia
908	Yonkers, NY, the US
909	Yukon, Oklahoma, the US
910	Zagreb, Croatia
911	Zambia
912	Zoetermeer, the Netherlands
913	Zurich, Switzerland

Cities Indian	274
Cities Foreign	639
Total	913

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Dear Friends,

*Please mail your articles/reports for publication in the RH to:-
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Please send your digital passport size photograph and your brief resume if it is being sent for the first time to the RH.

A note whether it has also been published elsewhere or is being sent exclusively for the RH should also be attached with it.

- Mahi Pal Singh, Editor, The Radical Humanist

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