

THE RADICAL HUMANIST



ESTABLISHED : APRIL 1937
(Formerly in the name of 'INDEPENDENT INDIA'
from April 1937 to March 1949)

Founder
M.N. ROY

Vol. 89 Number 04

JULY 2025

Rs. 15 / MONTH

**ONE DAY WHILE IN HEAVEN,
MK GANDHI WENT UPTO THE GOD &
ENQUIRED WHAT WAS THE STATUS OF
THREE MONKEYS ?**



**THEN GOD REPLIED :
"THEY WERE ALL VERY HAPPY.
THE BLIND ONE HAS BECOME JUDICIARY,
THE DEAF IS NOW THE GOVT &
THE MUTE ARE CITIZENS".**

664

QUOTES FROM SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY BY M.N. ROY

“Science is the most reliable guide to truth, and the only dependable instrument of progress.”

“Superstition and blind faith are the enemies of freedom, Philosophy must be brought down from the clouds and made to walk on the earth, hand in hand with science.

Man is not a fallen angel, but a rising animal.

“A moral order can be built on the foundation of reason and human solidarity, without the crutches of religion.

The dignity of man lies in his power to think, to reason, and to act with responsibility.”

“Freedom is not a luxury, it is the condition for the flowering of human personality.”

The individual is the end, not the means.

Religions were born out of fear and ignorance. They thrive on unreason.

“God is a hypothesis which is no longer necessary.

Radical Humanism is not just a philosophy, but a call to action –action guided by reason and a love for humanity.”

www.poorvansh.com

THE RADICAL HUMANIST

Vol. 89 Number 04, July 2025

Monthly journal of the Indian Renaissance Institute
Devoted to the development of the Renaissance
Movement and to the promotion of human
rights, scientific temper, rational thinking and
a humanist view of life.

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, 9760631181, 8433255386,
(Landline): 013-53549624.

or E-mail them to:

theradicalhumanist@gmail.com or
mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com

**YouTube: INDIAN RENAISSANCE
INSTITUTE; I.R.I. Website:**

www.indianrenaissanceinstitute.com;

Please send Subscription/Donation

Cheques in favour of :

The Radical Humanist to:

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

Please Note: Authors will bear sole
accountability for corroborating the facts that
they give in their write-ups. The Editor is
responsible for selection of the matter that is
published in the magazine.

CONTENTS :

Page No.

Articles and Features.:

Quotes from Science and Philosophy M.N. Roy	2
Election conduct rules amended at lightning speed despite objection by law officers, documents show, and more Arvind Gunasekar	4
Hypocrisy of RSS chief Dr. Suresh Khairnar	7
CDS Anil Chauhan says India suffered initial losses in the air, declines to give details The Hindu	9
The nationalism we forgot Yogendra Yadav	10
Patriotism of cowardice and enslaved Mind Prem Singh	12
Now charged by CBI, story of two allegations made by ex-J&K Governor Satyapal Malik Deeptiman Tiwary	18
Political Rent-seeking of Armed Forces is Detrimental to Democracy M.G. Devasahayam	20
Why RSS outfit members are at centre of a Rs. 14-crore scam at ICHR Ayush Tiwari	23
Who should Control Mahabodhi Temple ? Bodhgaya Ram Puniyani	29
SC Slams Misuse of Preventive Detention to Keep Accused in Jail After They Secure Bail Sanjeev Sirohi	31
Modi: 11 Years, 11 Big Changes R. Jagannathan	35
The Humanist Frame: The Roots of Virtue E.H. Erikson	37
Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting held at NOIDA on 11 May 2025	41
Poems: Ceasefire, Taking a break Raju Z. Moray	42

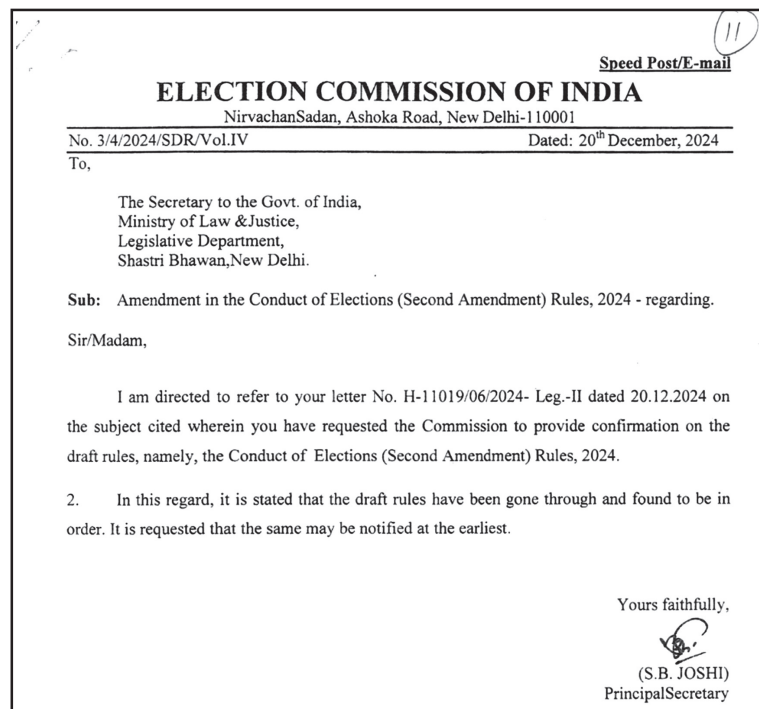
Articles and Features :

Election conduct rules amended at lightning speed despite objection by law officers, documents show, and more

The amendment that limits public access to election-related documents and recordings was cleared and notified in two days.

Arvind Gunasekar

On December 21, Scroll was the first to report that the Conduct of Election Rules had been amended to deny public access to election-related papers – a move that the Opposition said would reduce transparency in the electoral process. Documents accessed by Scroll now reveal that this amendment was made at lightning speed – despite the law officers of the Union Law Ministry objecting to the original draft proposed by the Election Commission. The Election Commission wrote to the Ministry of Law on December 17, proposing an amendment to the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961. The letter was received by the ministry on December 19. The very next day, December 20, officers of the law ministry and the Election Commission discussed the proposed amendment, made changes to the draft, which was cleared by the law secretary and the Union law minister and sent back to the poll panel. That day itself, the Election Commission responded to the Law Ministry, accepting the draft copy of the amendment, and requesting that “the same may be notified at the earliest”. The amendment was notified at 10.23 pm on December 20.



A week before the Election Commission had initiated the amendment process, on December 9, the Punjab and Haryana High Court had directed the Election Commission to provide video recordings and copies of documents related to polling in the Haryana assembly elections to advocate Mehmood Pracha. The amendment ensured the Election Commission would not have to make these disclosures.

Disagreement between law ministry and ECI

The amendment was cleared and notified in

less than two days despite law officers objecting to the language used in the original draft.

The Election Commission wanted to amend Rule 93 of the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961.

At that time, Rule 93 of the Conduct of Election Rules allowed public inspection of “all other papers relating to the election” except electronic voting machines, used and unused ballot papers, a marked copy of the electoral roll, and Form 17A, which is a register of voters who have cast their votes in an election.

This meant anyone could inspect electronic recordings like CCTV footage of polling booths and Form 17C, a document that records the total number of votes cast at a polling station for each candidate. Advocate Mehmood Pracha had sought access to Form 17C and CCTV footage from polling booths in Haryana citing this rule, and the Punjab and Haryana High Court had upheld his plea.

Within days of the court order, the Election Commission wrote to the law ministry, proposing Rule 93 be amended to limit public access to election-related papers and electronic recordings. Specifically, it proposed that sub-rule (2A) of Rule 93 be amended to add the word “statutory” before “papers”. At that time, the sub-rule said: “all other papers relating to the election shall be open to public inspection”.

In its letter, the poll panel argued: “Providing non-statutory papers and electronic recordings necessitates involvement of substantial manpower, which is impractical post-election, as administrative resources are significantly reduced.”

It added that since “the office of the Returning Officer ceases to exist” after an election is over, “assigning them additional workload of supplying non-statutory documents post elections, at such a large scale, will overburden and cripple the administrative functioning in the field”.

The Election Commission also argued that providing public access to “all other papers”

related to elections may “create confusion”. “Further, the term ‘all other papers’ is a wide term and can be interpreted to include all kinds of materials related to election, which may create confusion and unnecessary administrative burden, serving no legal purpose,” it wrote in its letter to the law ministry.

Correspondence between the poll panel and the law ministry accessed by Scroll reveals that the law officers objected to the proposed amendment.

The officers told the poll body that sub rules (1) and (1A) of Rule 93 of Conduct of Elections Rules provide a list of election records that cannot be accessed by public, and adding “statutory” in sub-rule (2) of Rule 93 would “impose further restrictions on the inspection of papers” which may not be the intention of Conduct of Elections Rules which have been in place for last 63 years.

“Putting the word ‘statutory’ before the word ‘papers’ will impose further restrictions on the inspection of papers which may not be the intention of sub-rule (2) of Conduct of Elections Rules,” law ministry officials wrote.

The officials further argued that “the word ‘statutory’ is not defined and inference of its meaning may not be ascertained from the construction of the language of the rules. This will lead to ambiguity to the provisions thereof.”

Documents accessed by Scroll show that at the insistence of law officers, the Election Commission agreed to replace “statutory papers” with “all other papers specified in these rules” in the proposed amendment to the Conduct of Elections Rules.

While the original amendment proposed by the Election Commission would have given it greater discretion to deny access to any document not defined or explicitly stated in the rules, the changed provision appears to leave room for the inspection of records that have not been explicitly denied to the public.

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, 12 Jun, 2025 🌈

Hypocrisy of RSS chief

Dr. Suresh Khairnar

All the heads of RSS have always been saying that RSS is a cultural organisation. And we only do the work of character building in our organisation. We have no connection with politics. This cleverness has been going on since the inception of RSS in 1925. And that is why RSS was never involved in the Indian freedom struggle. On the contrary, it worked to recruit people in the British army and police. Recently, at a book publishing ceremony in Nagpur, Mohan Bhagwat said that “India did not get independence because of a single person”. What is his hint? Everyone knows this. But he should have said that “RSS was never involved in the freedom movement”. On the contrary, in the Quit India Movement of 9 August 1942, Congress resigned from the governments of all the states and because of its involvement in the Quit India Movement, Hindu Mahasabha along with Muslim League had jointly formed governments in Sindh and Bengal. And Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, who was a part of the Bengal government, wrote a letter to the Viceroy asking how the Quit India Movement could be ended. For this he had given information on ten issues in writing.

On 21 October 1951, i.e. within twenty-five years of the establishment of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the then Sangh chief Mr. Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar established a political party named Jansangh. And initially Shyamaprasad Mukherjee was given the responsibility of this party. Despite this party being 100% a political unit of the Sangh, the Sangh’s claim that it is a cultural organization? The reason for establishing Jansangh was that after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, for six months (from February 1948 to July 1948), the then government, and the most prominent name in that was the then Home Minister

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, banned the Sangh in the case of Mahatma Gandhi’s assassination. And in this regard, correspondence between Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the then Sangh chief Golwalkar is available. And that is why Golwalkar thought that we should have our own political party. And that is the Jansangh of that time and the Bharatiya Janata Party after 1980. But from time to time, the song ‘We have no connection with politics’ from the Sangh’s side continues. And Jansangh had joined the Janata Party in 1977 after dissolving itself in it. But due to the daily interference of the same Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in the Janata Party, which is called dual membership in the popular notion (between the Janata Party and the Sangh), the Janata Party disintegrated within nineteen months. And the old Jansangh was brought into existence as the Bharatiya Janata Party on 6 April 1980.

And after that, to bring good days for BJP, Sangh’s pracharaks were sent to BJP to expand BJP. In which the current Prime Minister Narendra Modi is also one of those pracharaks. Like Ram Madhav to Vinay Sahasrabuddhe, Sanjay Joshi, and many more people have been sent by the Sangh to important posts in BJP. And in the current situation, to bring BJP to power from the streets to Delhi, this position has been achieved only and only by communal polarization. For which, from the Ramjanmabhoomi dispute to cow slaughter ban, madrasa, hijab and in many places, all political activities around various religious beliefs like Ramjanmabhoomi are being carried out under a conspiracy by the Sangh. And whenever there are elections from local bodies to national level, the people of the Sangh actively work for the BJP candidates from the Panna level. But we are the cultural organization of the Sangh chief.

We just do the work of character building. This tune continues to be sung.

But from 1951 to 14 June 2025, that is, today, from time to time, from 1951 to 1977 Jana Sangh and after 1980 Bharatiya Janata Party, to bring BJP governments to power in India and various states of India, the Sangh helps BJP to rule by putting in all its might through its members. The current BJP national president JP Nadda must have said a million times that “we do not need the help of the Sangh.” And perhaps that is why in the closing ceremony of the Sangh Shikshavarg in Nagpur, Sangh chief Mohan Bhagwat, while getting irritated, while counting the reasons for BJP’s defeat, has given a statement about the “violence going on in Manipur for more than a year.”

But hundreds of RSS pracharaks have been spread across the North Eastern states for more than 50 years. Manipur is also included in this. And I personally know some of these people. I had once visited a North Eastern state. So I got a chance to meet and talk with them. And since I lived in Calcutta from the 80s to 1997, these people used to meet me while coming and going from the North Eastern states. Except for the prominent names Eknath Ranade and Dr. Lakshmi, Balkishan, Prabhat Awasthi, all are Maharashtrian Brahmins. And what was going on in Manipur before this, did Mohan Bhagwat know more about it than anyone else, why did he remain silent? In fact, most of the disputes in the North Eastern states have started because of the people of the RSS. Because Balasaheb Deoras was the head of the Sangh from Nagpur sixty years ago. Since 1973, he has started entering the tribal areas and giving them a Hindu identity. In reality, the tribals, irrespective of where they live in India, are nature worshippers. And they do not belong to any established religion in the world at present. And this mistake is being made by Christian preachers, Muslims and currently the Sangh is trying to spread this misconception among the tribals by going among them. And the

Sangh is also involved in the discontent currently going on in Manipur. Before this, the Sangh has tried the same in Tripura through Sudhir Deodhar. BJP has got immediate benefit from this. But it should not be surprising if discontent arises there too in the long run. Saying this after the defeat of BJP in both the Lok Sabha seats of Manipur in the Lok Sabha elections is like rubbing salt on the wound.

Now, coming to the matter of ‘arrogance’, my close friend Digant Ojha, a senior journalist of Gujarati Loksatta newspaper in Ahmedabad, has said that Narendra Modi is arrogant. And what conspiracy did he hatch to defame Sangh Pracharak Sanjay Joshi, who was specially sent from Nagpur to Ahmedabad, and perhaps even to expel him from BJP? He has also written a booklet on this titled ‘Swayamsevak Number One’. And this booklet was specially released by me in Nagpur. And in this booklet, I have written about how Digantbhai Narendra Modi is behaving with the Sangh, with sufficient evidence.

But on 27 February, after the Godhra incident and the Gujarat riots, Narendra Modi, by claiming to have a 56-inch chest despite having a 44-inch vest, has achieved the status of ‘Hindu Hriday Samrat’. Did Mohan Bhagwat not meet Bhagwatji even after Sanjay Joshi returned to Nagpur after coming back from ‘Tere Kuche Se Beshabaru’ due to Narendra Modi’s obstinacy? And are Mohan Bhagwat and other RSS officials not aware of the matter of making a bogus CD to defame Sanjay Joshi and to defame his character? And the balance that Bhagwatji is talking about. Did Narendra Modi tell his ministers in a cabinet meeting after 27 February that “whatever reaction will happen in Gujarat from tomorrow, let it happen. No one will try to stop or interrupt the Hindus.” Was this statement made in the cabinet meeting also for balance? And before that, as soon as the matter of Godhra on 27 February came to light, going to Godhra 200 kms from Gandhinagar and handing over 59 half-burnt bodies to the

President of Vishwa Hindu Parishad despite Collector Jayanti Ravi's refusal, and taking them out in procession in Ahmedabad on open trucks, was that also for balance? Similarly, writing a letter to the Central Government to send the army, not allowing the army to come outside the airport of Ahmedabad for three days was also for maintaining balance as per your saying? And even senior volunteer Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the Prime Minister at that time. And during his visit to Gujarat after the riots, he said to Narendra Modi, "You should have followed the Rajdharma." Was this also for balance as per your saying?

After that Narendra Modi was the Chief Minister thrice. And in the meantime, in 2013, when he was the Chief Minister of Gujarat and when Nitin Gadkari was the National President of BJP, in the election held in the backdrop of Anna Hazare's so-called Jan Lokpal movement, the way you all gave Narendra Modi a free hand, and he campaigned in the Lok Sabha election as the biggest star campaigner, using his friend Gautam Adani's private planes, changing clothes ten times a day. And didn't the Sangh help BJP win more than three hundred seats? Narendra Modi looked very humble then? Then who took the decision to send thousands of volunteers from Maharashtra to Madhya Pradesh to Bengal in the 2019 election?

And in that election too Narendra Modi won more seats and became the Prime Minister, so that government became Narendra Modi's? And did you or any other RSS volunteer not see the corona certificates, the huge hoardings with Narendra Modi's photo at every petrol pump and important places in the country? And if all this was not enough, Narendra Modi has used the entire 2024 election to make Narendra Modi the Prime Minister for the third time, this is Modi's guarantee. Didn't any of you see it with utmost arrogance? Now after the seats have been reduced, are you seeing arrogance, Manipur, humility etc.? Seeing Narendra Modi for 11 years as the Prime Minister, and 13 years as the Chief Minister of Gujarat, how do you or any other RSS volunteer, who has been in the cabinet with Narendra Modi for 11 years, like Nitin Gadkari, who has been associated with the RSS since childhood, and Rajnath Singh, who has been associated with the RSS since childhood, feel about Narendra Modi? Don't you know this? If more than 400 Lok Sabha candidates had won at the behest of Narendra Modi in this election, would you have said what you said, Mohan Bhagwatji?

Courtesy **CounterCurrents.org.**, 15/06/2025.

Dr Suresh Khairnar is Ex. President of Rashtra Sewa Dal. 

Articles/Reports for The Radical Humanist

Dear Friends,

*Please mail your articles/reports for publication in the RH to:- **theradicalhumanist@gmail.com** or **mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com** or post them to:- **Mahi Pal Singh, Raghav Vihar Phase-3, Prem Nagar, Dehradun, 248007 (Uttarakhand)***

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

CDS Anil Chauhan says India suffered initial losses in the air, declines to give details

The Hindu

India switched tactics after suffering losses in the air on the first day of conflict with Pakistan earlier this month and established a decisive advantage before the neighbours announced a ceasefire three days later, Chief of Defence Staff Anil Chauhan said on Saturday.

General Anil Chauhan said in an interview that India suffered initial losses in the air, but declined to give details.

“What was important is, why did these losses occur, and what we’ll do after that,” he told Reuters on the sidelines of the Shangri-La Dialogue security forum in Singapore, referring to the Pakistani claim of downing jets.

“So we rectified tactics and then went back on the 7th, 8th and 10th in large numbers to hit air bases deep inside Pakistan, penetrated all their air defences with impunity, carried out precision strikes.”

The Air Force “flew all types of aircraft with all types of ordinances on the 10th”, he said.

India has previously said its missiles and drones struck at least eight Pakistani air bases across the country that day, including one near Islamabad. The Pakistan military says that India did not fly its fighter jets again in the conflict after suffering losses on May 7.

Director General of Air Operations, Air Marshal A.K. Bharti, had told a press conference earlier in the month that “losses are a part of combat” and that India had downed some Pakistani jets.

“Most of the strikes were delivered with pinpoint accuracy, some even to a metre, to whatever was our selected mean point of impact,” General Chauhan said.

General Chauhan, and Pakistan’s chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Gen. Sahir Shamshad Mirza, have both said there was no danger at

any time during the conflict that nuclear weapons were considered.

“I think there’s a lot of space before that nuclear threshold is crossed, a lot of signalling before that, I think nothing like that happened,” General Chauhan said. “There’s a lot of space for conventional operations which has been created, and this will be the new norm.

“It’s my personal view that the most rational people are people in uniform when conflict takes place,” he added. “During this operation, I found both sides displaying a lot of rationality in their thoughts as well as actions. So why should we assume that in the nuclear domain there will be irrationality on someone else’s part?”

General Chauhan also said that although Pakistan is closely allied with China, which borders India in the north and east, there was no sign of any actual help from Beijing during the conflict.

“While this was unfolding from (April) 22nd onwards, we didn’t find any unusual activity in the operational or tactical depth of our northern borders, and things were generally all right.”

Asked whether China may have provided any satellite imagery or other real-time intelligence to Pakistan during the conflict, General Chauhan said such imagery was commercially available and could have been procured from China as well as other sources.

He added that while hostilities had ceased, the Indian government had made it clear it would “respond precisely and decisively should there be any further terror attacks emanating from Pakistan.”

“So that has its own dynamics as far the armed forces are concerned. It will require us to be prepared 24/7.” Courtesy **The Hindu**, 31 May 2025. 🌈

The nationalism we forgot

If you needed proof of the backsliding of Indian nationalism, the recent India-Pakistan conflict and its aftermath provide that in ample measure. It is not that we have become “overly nationalist”. The real problem is that our nationalism has become overly imitative. The rich legacy of Indian nationalism has been appropriated by a copycat nationalism that parrots a German monster, mimics the Israeli state and attempts to clone a Hindu Pakistan. And we cannot blame just Narendra Modi, the BJP and the RSS for this.

The shocking thing about the Ali Khan Mahmudabad case was not just the final order that offered legal scaffolding to a political witch-hunt. The exchange that preceded the order was more shocking. The notions of rule of law, of constitutionally protected rights or the very idea of freedom of expression were conspicuously absent — as much from the Bar as from the Bench. Perhaps the astute advocate had read the mind of the Court and thought better of raising such abstract issues. The proceedings of the highest court sounded more like the chatter of uncles or an exchange between a headmaster and parents on whether a boy was well-behaved. It was understood that national interest trumps all rights, that a nation at war brooks no dissent, not even a different and nuanced articulation of the country’s stand, such as that of Mahmudabad.

This forced choice between nationalism and the citizen’s freedom is not the tradition of Indian nationalism. Ask Jayaprakash Narayan, the hero of the 1942 resistance, who saw no conflict between his nationalism and his duty to speak the truth on Kashmir or Nagaland or to declare his friendship for the people of China in the aftermath of 1962.

Positing nationalism against citizens’ freedom prepares the ground for positing

nationalism against democracy. Any demand for democratic accountability, even from those who heartily supported Operation Sindoor, is dubbed anti-national. The US President has made several



Yogendra Yadav

successively more embarrassing public claims that contradict our government’s official position on the ceasefire. Yet questions are hurled not at the government, but at those who interrogate the government’s silence. Once the government becomes a synonym for the nation, the “supreme leader” can step in. Anyone who questions him is doing politics, while he is free to unleash a propaganda war, army costumes and all. This is not our tradition. Think back to Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who demanded accountability for the 1962 debacle and ensured a special session of Parliament. Or Ram Manohar Lohia, the bitter critic of Jawaharlal Nehru’s China policy. No one called them anti-national.

The final step in this travesty is to posit the nation against its own people. Any expression of ideological, cultural or regional difference is enough to cry “anti-national”. Once you apply this label, logic can be made to stand on its head. It is Mahmudabad who faces the charge of creating a religious divide, not those who targeted Muslims and Kashmiris in the aftermath of Pahalgam. He is the one accused of insulting Colonel Sofiya Qureshi, not the BJP minister who called her the sister of Pakistan. An obsession with One-Nation-One-Something replaces unity with uniformity. This project needs an enemy, an internal enemy, even in moments of national unity like the

Pahalgam massacre that brought all Indians together. This is not what Indian nationalism was. Think back to Sardar Patel, who worked to stitch different communities and regions together in adverse times.

The nationalism we inherited from our freedom struggle was very different. To borrow an expression from John A. Powell, Indian nationalism was about “belonging without othering”. It sought to build the nation by creating a deep sense of national belonging without inventing external or internal enemies. Its adversary was colonialism, a system rather than a country or a race. Indian nationalism did not pit us against our neighbours, it bonded us with anti-colonial struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Indian nationalism was focused on fostering a deeper sense of unity among the Indian people. It respected the multiplicity of languages, regions and religions, and sought to weave a complementary Indian identity. It did not take national unity for granted but worked on it without demanding uniformity. Minority interests were advocated by the majority community. Their nationalism led Hindi speakers to defend the rights of non-Hindi regions, while non-Hindi speakers worked for the Nagari Pracharini Sabha.

Instead of copying the European nation-state model of uniformity, it created a new model of state-nation that reconciled democracy with deep differences. Unlike European nationalism, it encouraged debates on what it meant to be a nation.

This Indian nationalism is under assault today. The newfangled nationalism cannot think about fostering a sense of belonging without an aggressive campaign of othering. Advocates of this phoney nationalism have no time to resolve serious internal conflicts like Manipur or inter-state disputes like the ones between Punjab and Haryana or Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. It

cannot think beyond Kashmir, and that too, as a piece of property. It cannot but damage Indian unity by portraying Muslims as the enemy. Externally, this nationalism is all about muscle-flexing wherever possible and meek surrender wherever necessary. Its obsession with Pakistan has resulted in the coupling of India with Pakistan on the global stage. Bullying in the neighbourhood has meant that we are surrounded by hostile governments on all sides. This sham nationalism cannot gather the resources or the courage to take on China’s expansionism or Donald Trump’s bullying. Since its understanding of national interest does not involve any principle, India does not have reliable friends when it needs them, as in the recent episode.

This backsliding of Indian nationalism, from Vividh Bharati nationalism to Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan nationalism, is the deepest tragedy of our times. But it would be wrong and lazy to lay the entire blame at the doors of the present dispensation or its ideological patrons. India’s liberal, secular and progressive elite must take its share of blame for the present state of affairs.

If India’s expansive and positive nationalism has been captured by a narrow creed of bigotry and jingoism, it has something to do with the ruling ideology after Independence, an ideology of shallow modernity and deracinated cosmopolitanism. Shorn of emotional, cultural and spiritual content, this ideology failed to retain the deep connection that our nationalist movement had with the people of India. Carrying the vicarious guilt of the misdeeds of European nationalism, the Indian elite disinvested in the idea of nationalism altogether. No wonder nationalism was handed over to those who had made zero contribution to India’s freedom struggle.

Owning up and reclaiming the legacy of Indian nationalism is the most pressing political and intellectual challenge of our times. 🌈

Patriotism of cowardice and enslaved Mind

(This special article was written in the context of the terrorist attack on security forces in Pulwama, Jammu and Kashmir, on 14 February 2019. Six years after that tragic incident that happened to 40 soldiers and their families, 26 tourists were shot dead by terrorists in broad daylight in Pahalgam, Jammu and Kashmir, on 22 April 2025. I have nothing to say new this incident apart from paying tribute to the 26 civilians killed in the incident and expressing my deep condolences to their families. There is a lot of noise anyway.

However, I definitely want to point out a new phenomenon that has emerged after the Pahalgam terrorist attack – America has put the political and military leadership of India and Pakistan on an equal footing before the world; It has declared that Pakistan and India are of equal importance for it as markets. So far no ‘proud Indian’ has shown any anger at this nasty action of America.

The old article is re-issued as it is for new readers.)

1

The modern industrial civilization has witnessed two World Wars. The researchers of war have yet not been able to estimate the magnitude of casualties/deaths – both military and civilian – which occurred in these two World Wars. The estimated figure of people killed in both World Wars is between 10 to 15 crores. World Wars I and II were preceded and succeeded by many major battles. Wars of independence were invariably fought by all the colonized countries. Even the Cold War that began after the end of World War II and lasted until the dissolution of the USSR, has been described by the scholars as a special kind of world war. The Cold War was also characterized by a large number of deaths. There have been many direct and proxy wars during and after the Cold War involving sometimes two countries and sometimes five-six countries. In many wars of the nature of internal conflicts such as those that followed the dissolution of Yugoslavia, civil war was accompanied with racial massacre. In the last few decades, Islamic terrorists have redefined the concept of war which now includes the

features of traditional war, counter-war and civil war. In response a new concept of ‘War Against Terror’ (WAT), has emerged which is global in nature.

In the First World War, chemical weapons were used, but not nuclear weapons. World War II witnessed the emergence and consolidation of US supremacy over the erstwhile colonial powers primarily due to the former’s use of atom bombs on Japan’s Hiroshima and Nagasaki cities. Since then, on the one hand the world is living in the danger of a nuclear war, and, on the other hand, the same nuclear weapons are considered as a deterrent to the third world war. The weapon-manufacturing countries are competing against each other in the race to produce extreme weapons of mass destruction. Meanwhile, the discussion on the imminent third world war has also been continuously occurring on the world stage. Since the end of World War II, it is believed that Europe and America had sworn that the third world war would not be fought on their land. In this context it becomes pertinent to take note of Albert Einstein’s words, “I do not know with what weapons

World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones.”

India also played a role in these ongoing wars. The path of India’s colonization by the British was paved by numerous battles and treaties. Being a British colony, India participated in the two World Wars, even though the participation was limited in nature. In 1857 and 1942, India fought a direct war against the colonial power. In the middle of World War II, under the leadership of Subhash Chandra Bose and collaboration with the Axis countries, the *Azad Hind Fauj* (Independent National Army- INA) fought the freedom struggle of India in its own way. In the struggle of 1857, millions of Indians sacrificed their lives for the sake of independence. Also in 1942, according to Dr. Lohia, 50 thousand patriots were killed by the British. After independence, in 1948, 1962, 1965, 1971 and 1999 India fought wars with its two neighbors - Pakistan and China.

This brief recounting of wars has not been done to show the scale of the destruction of lives and resources or its drastic effects on human beings, although it is a matter of separate problem altogether. However, if the imperialists keep on looting, wars will also keep on occurring. The looters will continue to wage wars against the countries that are looted. Simultaneously, the imperialist forces will keep forcing these countries to wage wars against each-other and will also fight amongst themselves for the dominance on various resources. Further, the brokers serving the interests of the imperialist powers in the countries looted by the imperialists will keep waging war against the working classes of their own countries. Therefore, wars are inevitable until this exploitative capitalist system exists. The aforementioned details have been made in order to demonstrate that while living in the civilization of the wars, India’s mainstream civil society, which, to a large extent, includes the

intellectual class as well, has no serious understanding about war neither for their own sake nor for the country, nor for the world. The same civil society is not only ignorant of the world’s war-industry; it doesn’t have any idea about the potential role of India in current or future wars (if any). It has been said since World War II that the next World War, whatever form it takes, will be fought on the soil of Asia. But the Indian civil society has no anticipatory thoughts about the possible role of India in that war, and how the consequences of that war will impact/shape India. The same civil society has no knowledge of the reasons behind the success of the erstwhile invaders’ and colonists’ in defeating the Indian forces in the wars. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the civil society is an illiterate lot even regarding the two major wars of India’s independence - the armed struggle of 1857 and the peoples’ struggle of 1942.

It may be due to the fact that a civil society has decided to deliberately overlook the wars by focusing its attention on other areas of national life concerning the country’s strength and prosperity. There are many such countries in the world including Japan. In India, with Gandhi’s support it can be said that we, as a society, don’t endorse perpetuation of violent conflicts. But the dream of civil society in India is to see India as a superpower soon without being actually aware of the real network and pace of growing military-world. Rather, a part of civil society considers India as a super power owing to it being a huge market and the associated economy. This civil society of India displays its patriotism in a variety of bizarre ways and appears to be fiercely full of exhortations of war. In this context, the situation has now become catastrophic - that it attacks in groups, even sometimes alone, ‘the hidden traitors in the house’. It has become a common practice that such elements of civil

society openly abuse even women in the name of patriotism.

Needless to say, in reality, the civil society of India does not know its country. Nor does it feels any sincere attachment to it. It cannot even think of making any sacrifice for the country. In spite of this, it is seen always afflicted with patriotism and war hysteria posing itself as a sole master of the whole country. Such groups term themselves as civil society of India, but its members would be termed as illegitimate citizens of India if they are tested on the touchstone of the Indian Freedom Struggle and the Indian Constitution. In the words of Kishan Patnayak, this enslaved mentality has irreparably dented their minds. In my journalistic writings over the past 20-25 years I have written many times about this phenomenon of the Indian civil society. One may notice that this pathology shows no sign of abatement; rather it grows in intensity with the passage of time. So, despite the repetition, here it has been briefly considered once again.

2.

With the making of 'new India' with the New Economic Policies, patriotism possessed the civil society like a ghost. Simultaneously, it's already narrow sense of citizenship became narrower, and the virtues of humanity also decreased. The fact is known to everyone that the resources and labour of the country has progressively been robbed in the interest of corporate capitalism in the last three decades. In the rule of Narendra Modi, this process has turned into a blind race. The private sector is being promoted at the expense of the public sector against the spirit of the Constitution. All democratic institutions are being destroyed. Democracy is changing into a *mobocracy*. India is stuck badly in the clutches of neo-imperialism. The deeds of the political leadership which resulted in the loss of freedom, the Constitution, the resources, the labour, the constitutional institutions could not

have been done without the collusion of the civil society. But the civil society is not ready to accept the blame of being the country's traitor and imperialist forces' slave as the same civil society has unjustly enriched itself-socially as well as economically in the last three decades. As the treacherous conduct and slavery of the civil society of India increases, its pompous display of patriotism will also take new forms. Corporate capitalism will readily sponsor such performances in the full-fledged manner, so that the vast population devastated by robbing continues to be intoxicated by the drug of patriotism. The civil society will continue to tell this deprived and excluded population that the cause of their problems is not the loot of corporate capitalism, but the Muslims. However, the impact of this jingoistic atmosphere is such that even Muslims do not want to be behind anyone in the race of showing patriotism!

The ideals of patriotism projected by the civil society keep changing from time to time. But there is a fundamental condition for this ideal-man - his faith in capitalism should remain intact. For the past few years, its ideal have been Narendra Modi and *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS). Take the RSS first. Since its establishment the RSS has had a deep desire to be labeled as a patriot. It is said that God's bounty is boundless. Today's divinity resides in corporate capitalism. With the grace of corporate capitalism, RSS is distributing certificates of patriotism today! It tells that the army of his volunteers can take the front even before the Indian army! The bunker made from cow dung will fail China's invasion of Doklam! Nation-protecting *yagnas* safeguard the nation from external aggression! Soldiers should regularly read *Gita-Ramayana* to enhance their bravery! Through some of his leaders, it also tells that soldiers are meant to die in the security of the country as well as the seats which will be won

by BJP in the upcoming *Lok Sabha* elections in the atmosphere created by the death of soldiers in Pulwama and on the border! Its workers are caught while spying for the Pakistani intelligence agency ISI, but it does not matter to the patriotism of the RSS! Because in its eyes they are 'holy sinners'!

Narendra Modi, whose government allowed 100 percent Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the defense sector when he became the Prime Minister, explains that the traders take more risk than the soldiers for the country! He also tells that the business runs in his veins! 'Patriotic' businessmen are seen running with him in the country and abroad! Perhaps in this raid, Narendra Modi one day went to meet Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif without an official program! In the Rafale aircraft deal, the name of the public sector company Hindustan Aeronautical Limited (HAL) was removed and was replaced with the newly formed company of industrialist Anil Ambani! The way he openly and publicly announces his intimacy with his industrial friends, he also does the same about the army's operations! The interest of merchants is paramount for him, provided they are big businessmen! The risk takers of Modi, sometimes leave the country and flee abroad!

This personality called Narendra Modi is the ideal of patriotism of the civil society of India. In the case of patriotism, the civil society worships him unquestioningly. So, Narendra Modi too considers himself to be above the questions and is confident that his worshippers are capable of taking care of all the tasks. Even after the terrorist attack on security forces in Pulwama on 14th February, he was busy filming himself, inaugurating events and giving speeches to the election rallies by giving an open hand to his worshippers!

A little discussion about the Pulwama attack must be made here. In any systematic country, the task of investigating the deaths of

soldiers in a terrorist attack is the first and foremost. And so far some clues must have been found out by now. But nothing like this happened in India. So far the number of soldiers who were martyred in the attack is itself not clear to the public. Somewhere the number is written 42, somewhere 44 and somewhere above 40. If the mistake in the Pulwama attack has also happened due to same lapses on behalf of the government, as the Governor had said immediately after the attack, then it should have been honestly detected. Accountability should have been fixed, and under the law, the culprits should have been punished. The truth of taking responsibility for the attack by *Jaish e Mohammed* (JEM) should have been further ascertained for the sake of military security in future. But sadly, February 14th was sunk into the war cry. The death of these para-military soldiers carry no value, because they were not members of the civil society that has been well-fed by the loot of corporate capitalism. Yes, they could be used to do politics; and that use has been made thoroughly.

In democracy, the military establishment works under political leadership. But at the same time it is also necessary that political leadership is not working under the pressure of imperialist powers at least in the matter of security of the country. The Indian Air Force (IAF) entered into Pakistan in pre-dawn hours on February 26 and dropped bombs at the training camp of JEM situated in Balakot. According to the Foreign Secretary's statement, this was a 'non-military preemptive action' of the Air Force. The President of America had given a statement that India would do something big to avenge the Pulwama attack. In retaliation for the IAF action, the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) entered Indian territory and attacked a military base. Indian pilot Abhinandan Varthman had to land in Pakistani territory due to damage to the MiG-21 fighter aircraft. The US president again said

that good news will come from Pakistan. The Indian pilot was released by Pakistan.

After Indira Gandhi, America has been dictating India more or less during the tenures of all Prime Ministers. On October 1, 2001, JEM attacked the assembly in Srinagar, in which 27 people were killed and 60 were injured. The then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee wrote a letter pleading with US President George Bush to persuade Pakistan to stop facilitating terrorists on its soil. Until then, 9/11 had happened and Vajpayee had been first after Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair in joining the US's "new war" against terrorism. But America stood with Pakistan, it is with her even today. It is understandable that America dictates Pakistan, but how can it give directions to India?

There has been a continuous demand for war from the civil society in the events that took place from February 14 till today. There has been no war, and it was not meant to be. Of course, more than 50 Indian soldiers have received martyrdom in a fortnight. There's still no certainty regarding the number of terrorists that have been killed across the border in the air strike by IAF. Bombs dropped in Balakot were purchased from Israel. The war-mongers, in their enthusiasm for war, did not care to discuss why did India start buying arms from Israel, who used to buy arms from Soviet Russia and won three wars against Pakistan on their strength? Will India's security be predicated on weapons purchased from abroad forever? Will the weapon selling countries continue to provide India with weapons that could secure its boundaries in the possible third World War or in any other war? Will the security of India be given to the private companies established by the players of crony capitalists guided by the lust of profit at the expense of the Public Sector? Will America, the 'Mecca' of the civil society, to whom it has been worshipping for the last 40 years, will

stop giving arms and other financial assistance to Pakistan? And, will India become a superpower on the strength of the purchased weapons?

The air strike took place 12 days after the Pulwama incident. It was well thought out that there should be no civilian casualties in the attack. But what justifies the decision of keeping military bases of Pakistani Army, which caters the terrorists, out from the target of the attack in the war? Any war usually takes place between the two armies of the two countries. If the war-demanding civil society considers this action to be the destroyer of terrorism, then it is not aware of the nature of Pakistan-based and international network of terrorism. The business flows in the prime minister's blood. War cannot be fought with a commercial instinct; only political trade can be done in the name of war. War is the art of *Veer Rasa* (heroic essence). The *Sthayii Bhava* (enduring emotion) of *Veer Rasa* is *Utsah* (enthusiasm). Poetics have said that this feeling is found only in those men and women who attained the sublime nature. Those whose anger overturns their wisdom all the time cannot live in the spirit of valor associated with the war.

Actually, the war-mongers and their heroes are guided by the feeling of hatred. There is no need to state towards whom this hatred is directed. Every person knows his/her feelings well. Since India's defeat in the 1962 war China has occupied 20,000 square kilometers of land in India. The Parliament of India had passed the unanimous resolution to reclaim its lost territory. But the war-monger civil society of India never demands war against China. It also never demands for boycott of America, who has been the savior of Pakistan since the beginning, which kept Osama bin Laden hidden in its territory. The point to be stated is that the civil society always indulged in demanding war but is grossly unaware of the basic spirit

of the war with which it is fought in true national spirit. A civil society having coward and slave mind can make quarrels not war. The most worrying aspect of this negative mentality of the civil society guided by hatred can have an adverse impact on the psychology of the security forces in the long run.

3.

Considering RSS and Modi as their ideal for patriotism is not limited to the RSS/BJP camp only. There are a great number of people associated with political parties other than RSS/BJP supporters. With them, all the highly educated professionals and government officers are also involved, who, despite all their capabilities, are essentially political illiterates. The RSS/BJP brand patriotism derives a great strength from them. The secular progressive camp of the civil society is against the RSS/BJP brand patriotism. But it has been relegated to the margins. There is nothing in their kitty other than repeating some of the prevailing facts against the RSS/BJP or making jokes about and on the devotees of Modi on social media just to tease them or make fun of them. The secular progressive camp is not being able to regain its strength and there are several reasons for that. The most important reason is that by being a covert supporter of capitalism it automatically stands with the RSS/BJP. Apart from this, its strategy of sustaining 'war' status with RSS also strengthens the RSS/BJP. Its opportunistic behavior with non-BJP political parties and politicians hinders the strenuous political stream to set a decisive alternative to capitalism and thus brings lasting benefits to the RSS/BJP. Most of the intellectuals and activists who fight for social justice in this camp promote the political power of the RSS/BJP by abusing Hinduism and its Gods/Goddesses. There are also individuals and groups in the secular-progressive camp that are always full of anger towards the Indian

State. In anger, generally they forget to make a difference between the governments formed in the Indian State and the State itself. Their anger often leads them to the opposition of the Indian State. The advantages of this go to the RSS/BJP only. There is also a special group of *Bharatiyatawadis* (scholars interested in exploring and employing Indian systems of knowledge) in the civil society. They connect themselves with Gandhi. However, it is often found that most of them distort Gandhi and the RSS becomes their last refuge. A new 'ideologically neutral' group is also there which has come out of the womb of corporate capitalism directly. It has a long range from the *saffron* to the *red*. However, its brand of patriotism is identical to the RSS/BJP's.

In the last three decades, the secular progressive camp has not been able to comprehend a patriotic narrative apart from the RSS/BJP. Now it does not even seem to have this desire. It talks about the 'Idea of India' in such a manner as if India resides in any book. The secular progressive camp can be seen in using its intellect, which it never suspects, either in certain identity discourses or tie-ups or in the mugging for governmental posts and prizes. The RSS/BJP's brand of fake, hollow and hypocritical patriotism prevails because there is no authentic alternative to it. Therefore it is prevailing. As long as this brand of patriotism will run, the real crisis before the country - freedom from the anti-imperialist forces - cannot be resolved. This is a big 'achievement' of the RSS/BJP that, by making an alliance with corporate capitalism, it has provided credibility/reputation to the cowardice of the enslaved mind in the country.

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

Explained: Now charged by CBI, story of two allegations made by ex-J&K Governor Satyapal Malik

The former Governor, 78, who has been sharply critical of the BJP in recent years, is currently admitted in New Delhi's RML Hospital with a urinary infection and sepsis.

Deeptiman Tiwary



The agency had earlier examined Malik as a witness. In fact, it was on Malik's allegations that the case was first registered in 2022.

The CBI on Monday filed a chargesheet against seven people, including former Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) Governor Satya Pal Malik, in a case of alleged corruption in the award of a contract for a hydel project in Kishtwar district.

The agency had earlier examined Malik as a witness. In fact, it was on Malik's allegations that the case was first registered in 2022.

The former Governor, 78, who has been sharply critical of the BJP in recent years, is currently admitted in New Delhi's RML Hospital with a urinary infection and sepsis.

What Malik alleged

In October 2021, two years after leaving office as J&K Governor, Malik claimed he had been offered Rs 300 crore in bribes to clear two files: one concerning "Ambani" and the other an "RSS functionary".

"One of the secretaries told me that these are shady deals, but he can get Rs 150 crore each. I told him that I had come to J&K with five kurta-pajamas and would leave with that," Malik said at an event in Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan.

Malik was referring to the rollout of a group health insurance policy for government employees, for which the J&K government had tied up with Anil Ambani's Reliance General Insurance Private Ltd (RGIPL), and alleged irregularities in the award of a contract for civil works in the Kiru Hydro Electric Project (HEP) on the Chenab river.

Six months after Malik made these allegations, J&K Lieutenant Governor Manoj Sinha said that the government had decided to hand over the probe in these cases to the CBI. The cases were formally referred to the agency on March 23, 2022, after which the CBI registered two separate FIRs.

J&K medical insurance case

After the existing insurance scheme with ICICI Lombard came to an end in 2017, the J&K government floated tenders for a better and more expansive scheme for its employees. Upon receiving only one bid, the government hired Trinity Reinsurance Brokers Ltd (TRBL) to float tenders on its behalf.

This time, seven companies bid, and RGIPL was awarded the contract in September 2018, days after Malik assumed office as Governor, on L1 basis. (Its quoted annual premium of Rs 8,777 was the lowest.) The scheme became operational on October 1, and the J&K government disbursed Rs 61 crore to RGIPL as advance payment.

This transfer, allegedly made “without the necessary approvals of the Chief Secretary or the Governor”, raised red flags in Raj Bhawan, The Indian Express had reported in 2018. Amid protests by government employees about high premiums and the absence of an opt-out, Malik cancelled the deal, saying “it was full of fraud”.

Sources in the J&K government had told The Indian Express in 2018 that TRBL was allegedly a front for a major business conglomerate, and that “changes were made [to the tender process] to accommodate Reliance”.

In 2021, the Kiru hydel corruption case

The case pertains to the award of a contract for civil works to the tune of Rs 2,200 crore in the Kiru HEP in Jammu’s Kishtwar district by the Chenab Valley Power Projects Pvt Ltd (CVPPPL) in 2019 to Patel Engineering Ltd. The contract was for the construction of a diversion tunnel, concrete dam, pressure shafts, cofferdams, tailrace tunnels, and a powerhouse.

The CBI FIR notes that the ACB and the J&K power department had investigated the matter. “Perusal of [their] reports reveals that in award of civil works package of Kiru HEP, guidelines regarding e-tendering were not followed, and [although] a decision was taken in the 47th Board Meeting of CVPPPL for re-tender through e-tendering with reverse auction, after cancellation of ongoing tendering process, [the] same was not implemented and the tender was finally awarded to M/s Patel Engineering,” the FIR states.

The project, whose cost is estimated to be Rs 4,287 crore, has been marred by allegations of sub-standard work and failure to provide jobs

to local youths, one of its main selling points.

The ACB had observed that the tender for the project had been cancelled in 47th Board Meeting of CVPPPL, but was revived in the 48th Meeting and awarded to Patel Engineering.

The J&K Anti Corruption Bureau (ACB) said “no irregularity has been found in the matter”, but recommended the recovery of Rs 44 crore from RGIPL since the scheme was cancelled less than a month after it became operational.

The Finance Department in February 2022 opined that there were indeed irregularities in the award of the contract. A little more than a month later, the probe was handed to the CBI.

The central agency’s FIR named RGIPL and TRBL as accused, and said that the J&K government’s allegations “prima facie disclose that unknown officials of Finance Department...with TRBL, RGIPL and other unknown public servants and private persons have committed the offences of criminal conspiracy and criminal misconduct to cause pecuniary advantage to themselves... thereby in this manner cheated the government of J&K”.

The Enforcement Directorate is also investigating the matter. In January 2024, the ED provisionally attached immovable and movable properties worth Rs 36.57 crore linked to the case. “The investigation revealed that the Finance Department deliberately awarded the tender for engagement of intermediary [TRBL] for designing and floating the tender... by dubious or questionable selection/ shortlisting process,” the ED has said.

Apart from Malik, others named in the CBI’s chargesheet are: M S Babu, MD of CVPPPL; board directors M K Mittal and Arun Kumar Mishra; private secretaries Virendra Rana and Kanwar Singh Rana; Rupen Patel, MD of Patel Engineering; and a certain Kanwaljit Singh Duggal.

Courtesy **The Indian Express**, 24 May 2025. 

Political Rent-seeking of Armed Forces is Detrimental to Democracy

Political Rent-seeking of Armed Forces is Detrimental to Democracy



BJP supporters take part in a Tiranga Yatra to celebrate the success of Operation Sindoor and to express solidarity with the armed forces, in Nagpur, Monday, May 19, 2025. Photo: PTI

Rent-seeking is a concept in economics that states that an individual or an entity seeks to increase their own wealth without creating any benefits or wealth to the society. Rent-seeking activities aim to obtain financial gains and benefits through the manipulation of the distribution of economic resources. Economists view such activities as detrimental to the economy and society.

The practice reduces economic efficiency through the inefficient allocation of resources. Also, it commonly leads to other damaging consequences, including a rise in income inequality, lost government revenues, and a decrease in competition.”

Applied to politics, rent-seeking means political leaders seeking to enhance their power and influence without any benefit to the people. In politics, rent-seeking activities aim to create false narratives to manipulate people’s minds for covering up corruption, incompetencies and

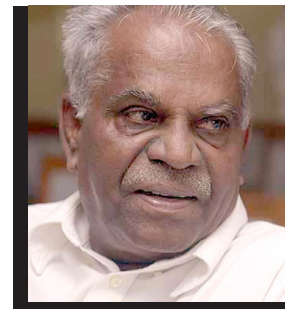
inefficiencies while gaining electoral advantages.

This is done through exaggerated claims put forth by ‘self-appointed experts’ and mass media indulging in ‘fake nationalism’ and ‘cult promotion’.

This kind of rent-seeking lowers nation’s honour and could result in damaging consequences to its democratic fabric.

More of symbolism than facts

This is precisely what is happening to the Armed Forces in the case of ‘Operation Sindoor’. The first major rent-seeking is the name “Operation Sindoor” itself. *The Wire* puts it succinctly by drawing comparison to the “Operation Trident” which was India’s deadly



M.G. Devasahayam

strike at the Karachi airport which broke the back of the Pakistan Navy in the 1971 war: *“Fifty-five years later, on the morning of May 7 (2025) Indians across the country woke up to another Indian operation in Pakistan, code-named ‘Operation Sindoor.’ This Indian operation that struck at nine strategic locations within Pakistan and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) to hit terrorist dens across the border, is not comparable to ‘Operation Trident’ – not in terms of its effect, certainly not in terms of its aim. That’s because unlike Operation Trident, Operation Sindoor is also expected to deliver dividends in domestic politics to the government of the day, or rather the Prime Minister.”*

The second rent-seeking is making two young female military officers (one Army colonel from corps of signals and one Air Force wing commander who is a helicopter pilot) as the mascots to brief about ‘Operation Sindoor’ along with the foreign secretary, Vikram Misri.

This looked bizarre because once military operations break out, it is the job of the Director General Military Operations (a Lt General rank officer) to do the briefing along with his counterparts in the Air Force and Navy. This time around it was more of symbolism than facts to show-case the government as launching a ‘military operation’ to safeguard Sindoor, a vermilion worn by many Indian women to indicate their married status!

Even the communal angle was also ruthlessly exploited when the Madhya Pradesh Minister Vijay Shah made a public statement referring to Colonel Sofiya Qureshi, one of the officers who made the briefing saying that *“those [terrorists] who wiped out the vermilion of our sisters [in the Pahalgam attack]... we avenged these people by sending their sister to destroy them.”*

Third is the whipping up of war frenzy through the vitriolic media which was

nauseating. The hate-induced warmongering which pervaded the news broadcasts from these media actually amounts to an abetment of waging of war against another country punishable under Section 153 of Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita.

Giving all the credit to the ruling politicians

War is the worst curse for humanity, especially for a country where a meagre income of Rs. 2.9 lakhs per annum puts you in the top 10% bracket! Besides, death and destruction, wars could lead to collapse of the economy and sharp fall in GDP resulting in accelerated poverty and unemployment.

In this context, the famous words of the most celebrated soldier of the modern era General Dwight D Eisenhower, who went on to become the President of the United States of America bears testimony:

“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in a final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. ... Under the clouds of war, it is humanity hanging on an iron cross... I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity.”

Then comes the exaggerated hypes of victory and giving all the credit to the ruling politicians in general and the Prime Minister in particular. Look at what the deputy chief minister of Madhya Pradesh Jagdish Devda said: *“Pradhanmantri ji ko bhi dhanyawad dena chahenge, aur pura desh, desh ki wo sena, wo sainik, unke charno mein natmastak hain. Unke charno mein pura desh natmastak hai. Unhone jo jawab diya hai* (We would also like to thank the Prime Minister; the entire country, the country’s Army,

its soldiers are bowing at his feet. The entire country is bowing at his feet. For the response he gave).”

In 2019 too, Yogi Adityanath, the chief minister of UP made a similar derogatory statement against the defence forces by calling it “Modiji ki sena”.

This mentality has even infested the Dravidian fortress of Tamil Nadu when a former minister of the AIADMK government, Sellur Raju made this rant while criticising a rally led by Tamil Nadu chief minister MK Stalin in support of Operation Sindoor and the Indian Defence forces: *“Did the Army men go and fight? It was the central government which brought all this technology. The Prime Minister bought and gave [it] when Defence Minister Rajnath Singh asked for them. So first you need to appreciate the Prime Minister, but instead DMK is doing it for Army men. What kind of drama is this?”*

Rantings of the chief minister and the ministers only showed their outright ignorance or disrespect for the letter and spirit of Article 53 of the Constitution of India, which defines executive power of the Union as follows:

“(1) The executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision, the supreme command of the Defence Forces of the Union shall be vested in the President and the exercise thereof shall be regulated by law.”

A reading of the Preamble of the Constitution of India shows that it was promulgated, with the intention of having India as a sovereign country, which would ensure all the citizens the unity and integrity of the nation. Indian Armed Forces exist to uphold the said ideals of the Constitution.

Accordingly, the Army Doctrine-2004 clearly lays down its primary role as preservation of national interests and safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of India against any external threat by deterrence or by waging war.

This is applicable to Air Force and Navy also. Armed Forces therefore have a constitutional duty to protect the country from any external aggression and internal turmoil. While undertaking any military operation it is this constitutional role that the Armed Forces play and therefore are not subservient to or beholden to any politician or political party in power.

Doing so, will seriously endanger India’s democratic fabric. As it is, due to the extreme asymmetry in state, money and media power there is no ‘level playing field’ among political parties while contesting elections.

BJP’s Tiranga Yatra is meant to further amplify this rent-seeking

Now, India’s Election System (IES) itself is being weaponised. EVM-centered IES has three technical components. Microcontroller, to record the votes cast by the voter, voter verifiable paper audit trail (VVPATs) to audit and verify that the votes are recorded as cast and counted as recorded and Symbol Loading Units (SLUs), the ‘device’ that feeds EVM candidate information.

Integrity of the microcontroller is suspect because their design and source of procurement are kept a closely guarded secret. According to technical experts, EVM contains multiple labile memories that records each vote as it is cast. It also has the key to candidate mapping in labile memory (through SLUs) since this varies in each constituency and is needed to print the contents of each VVPAT slip. The presence of labile memory through SLUs implies that those values can be manipulated. What is worse, SLUs are not subject to any security protocol!

(To be Contd....on Page -35)

Special investigation:

Why RSS outfit members are at centre of a Rs. 14 crore scam at ICHR

The Central Vigilance Commission has advised the government to act against four members of the Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana for their dealings.

Ayush Tiwari



Former and current ICHR officials and ABISY members Narendra Shukla, Om Jee Upadhyay, Saurabh Kumar Mishra and Umesh Ashok Kadam.

| Photos from Facebook and Twitter/X.II

Three years into the first term of the Narendra Modi government, several members of an outfit associated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh were appointed in key positions at the Indian Council for Historical Research in Delhi.

The appointment of members of the Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana, or ABISY, was part of the Sangh Parivar's stated objective of "rewriting" Indian history. The ABISY itself is housed in the Delhi office of the RSS.

While there is little doubt about the ideological transformation of ICHR led by handpicked members of the RSS outfit, what has gone hand in hand are allegations of

corruption and financial misdemeanours.

The grave charges have forced the Indian government to take notice.

Earlier this month, the Central Vigilance Commission indicted four members of the Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana for dubious financial dealings at the ICHR.

The CVC has advised the Ministry of Education to start penalty proceedings against the four, as well as 11 other current and former officials.

The problems at the institution came to light after two complaints alleging irregularities in its finances, appointments and promotions were filed with the Lokpal of India in 2022 and 2023,

show government documents seen by *Scroll*.

This led to parallel investigations by the CVC and the Ministry of Education, including an internal audit of ICHR's books by the ministry in 2023. The audit found financial irregularities to the tune of Rs 14.03 crore, including Rs 7.4 crore in unrecovered grants to scholars who had not submitted their work to the body. The audit flagged a "reckless spending spree" by senior officials – a striking example of which is the council's decision to splurge Rs 30 lakh on the publication of a book edited by senior ICHR officials.

"There is no transparency in decision making and there is large-scale violation of GFR [General Financial Rules] and other rules and regulations," concluded the audit, seen by *Scroll*.

The officials in the dock

On May 2, the Central Vigilance Commission advised the Ministry of Education to start penalty proceedings against 15 current and former officials of the ICHR.

One of them is Saurabh Kumar Mishra, a deputy director at ICHR, who is also the "head of publicity" of ABISY. Notably, Mishra is the nephew of the chief of the RSS outfit, Balmukund Pandey.

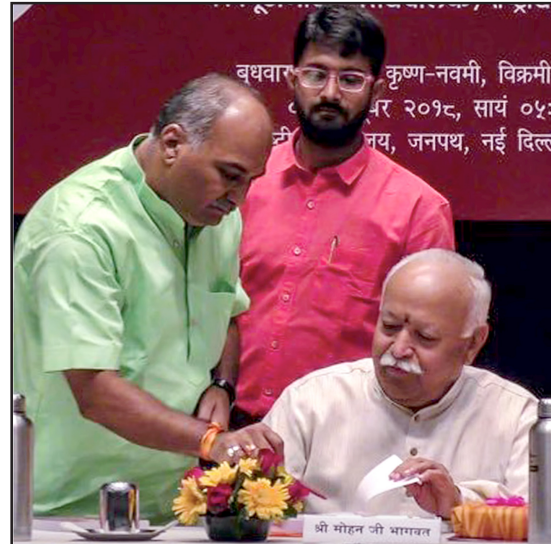
Another person indicted by the CVC is Om Jee Upadhyay, the director of research and administration, who also holds the most powerful position at ICHR – that of the member secretary. Upadhyay is a "senior writer" at ABISY, according to its website.

Upadhyay is often part of debates on TV news channels, usually defending the government's positions.

The CVC also recommended penalty proceedings against Jagdish Singh, the deputy registrar of Jawaharlal Nehru University, and Narendra Shukla, the head of research and publication at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

Both Singh and Shukla were part of a key decision-making committee at ICHR. Shukla

edited ABISY's journal, *Itihas Darpan*, till 2022, and organised events by the outfit.



ABISY chief Balmukund Pandey (left), his nephew and ICHR deputy director Saurabh Kumar Mishra (centre) with RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat at an event in 2018. Photo from Twitter/X.

The CVC also advised the government to probe two former ICHR member secretaries over the irregularities during their tenure – Umesh Ashok Kadam and Kumar Ratnam.

Kadam, who now teaches at JNU, is also an ABISY member. His JNU profile says he joined the outfit in 2022, the year he became ICHR member secretary.

The CVC's advice to initiate penalty proceedings is recommendatory but not binding on the government. If the government accepts the advice, the disciplinary authorities at ICHR will issue chargesheets to the officials named by the CVC.

Raghuvendra Tanwar, the ICHR chairman, told *Scroll* that the disciplinary authority at ICHR has issued the chargesheets, which shows that "the matter is being handled with all seriousness".

Scroll contacted Kumar Ratnam, Jagdish

Singh and Narendra Shukla for their response to the CVC's strictures. The story will be updated if they respond.

The outfit

Established in 1972, the Indian Council for Historical Research is a government-funded institution that funds and publishes historical research with the aim of fostering "objective and scientific writing of history".

ICHR comes under the Ministry of Education.

Since 2017, several members of the ABISY, which describes its function as "recompiling the history from the Mahabharata period to the present time on the basis of Indian chronology", have been appointed to the council.

In January 2022, this reporter had reported in *Newslandry* on how ABISY functionaries with inadequate credentials were hired at ICHR in 2018, followed by the entry of their friends and relatives at the institution.



The Indian Council of Historical Research in Delhi. Photo by Ayush Tiwari.

In June 2022 and July 2023, the Lokpal of India received two anonymous complaints against ICHR officials.

The 2022 complaint, seen by *Scroll*, levelled 14 allegations against five officials. It alleged wrongful and illegal appointments at the institution, violation of rules in organising seminars, research and procurement of electronic gadgets without due diligence.

The complaint also alleged "nepotism", or

the "appointment of blood relatives" at the institution, especially members of the Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana, or ABISY.

The 2023 complaint added that ABISY's "special ideology" controls the ICHR "with intent to loot government-funded money in a planned manner" with support from "powerful persons".

The Lokpal complaints travelled to the Ministry of Education, via the CVC. In March 2023, the ministry conducted a special audit of ICHR's books to investigate some of the allegations.



ICHR member secretary and ABISY member Om Jee Upadhyay in a TV news debate. Photo from Twitter/X.

'Serious irregularity'

The special audit found irregularities to the tune of Rs 14.03 crore at ICHR between financial years 2021-22 and 2022-23. It flagged 18 instances: 16 pertained to financial dealings and two to appointments and promotions.

It observed a "reckless spending spree neglecting rules and regulations" during the tenure of Umesh Ashok Kadam, the member secretary between August 2022 and May 2023.

The most prominent irregularity was the disbursement of Rs 6.26 crore to 397 scholars who had not submitted their final work to ICHR. According to the body's research funding rules, these scholars were liable to refund the grant to ICHR.

"No recovery of Rs 6,26,19,288 has been affected from 397 scholars as above provision

of rules have not been followed by ICHR authorities,” said the audit.

Similarly, an additional Rs 1.09 crore in project grants had not been recovered from 85 project directors whose work remains incomplete, in violation of ICHR rules.

Kadam also ordered repair and renovation work worth Rs 2.55 crore at the ICHR building “without the approval of competent authority” and without adhering to rules and regulations, the audit found, describing it as a “serious irregularity”.



*Former ICHR member secretary and ABISY member Umesh Ashok Kadam.
Photo from Twitter/X.*

Deputy director Saurabh Kumar Mishra also finds a mention in the audit. He, along with Kadam, awarded the work of creating an e-office application for ICHR to the Broadcast Engineering Consultants India Limited, or BECIL, a body under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

The decision to approach BECIL contradicted the ICHR general council’s decision that the work should be awarded to the National Informatics Centre, or NIC, says the audit.

According to the audit, Mishra claimed that NIC had sought time to develop the application, even though “no documentary proof of discussions with NIC is available in file”.

The audit found that the work was haphazardly awarded to BECIL with 100%

advanced payment, which was against laid down financial rules.

BECIL, in turn, roped in a firm called Iforaa Private Limited for Rs 12 lakh to provide “accessibility consultancy services”.

Firm documents filed with the Registrar of Companies shows that Iforaa’s directors are business associates of Kiram DM, a businessman linked to the RSS.

Kiran is the director of Sewa Bridge Foundation along with Keshav Govind Parande, the secretary of Sewa International, an overseas outfit of the Sangh. He has previously held top positions in Hindu Seva Pratishthana and Youth for Sewa, both affiliated with the RSS.

That’s not all. Iforaa’s balance sheets show that the work awarded by ICHR is the firm’s only business dealing since it was incorporated in January 2021. Between 2020-21 and 2023-24, the firm reported only Rs 12 lakh in operating revenue.

An executive at Iforaa said that the firm did not get the ICHR-BECIL contract because of Kiran’s links to the Sangh. “He is not a shareholder or employee at the firm,” the executive said. “We received the contract through an open tender process at BECIL.”

Scroll sent queries to BECIL about the deal awarded to them. The story will be updated if they respond.

Mishra directed *Scroll*’s questions to the disciplinary authorities at ICHR. “My comments would be against the rules,” he said.

‘Mother of Democracy’

The violation of financial rules and due process at ICHR is a running theme throughout the audit.

One of them involves a book called *India, the Mother of Democracy*, edited by Kadam and ICHR chairman Raghuvendra Tanwar.

The audit found that in July 2022, the Research Projects Committee at the institution had sanctioned Rs 20 lakh for the book and nominated four publishers.

The then Research Projects Committee of ICHR had four members – chairman Tanwar and members C.I. Issac, Himanshu Chaturvedi and Shridhar Madhukar.

Here, too, the influence of ABISY was evident. Isaac was at the time a member at ABISY and Chaturvedi is a former president of the ABISY's Gorakhpur chapter.

"The committee had given free hand to pick up any of the...[four] publishers to the member secretary without even giving a chance to other three to give competitive quotations," says the audit.

The audit found that Kadam chose a publisher called Kitabwale and spent Rs 30.1 lakh on the book's publication – exceeding the budget by Rs 10.1 lakh.

A company profile of Kitabwale mostly contains photos of its managing director, Prashant Jain, with senior functionaries of the RSS. Jain told *Scroll* that he was not a member of the Sangh Parivar, but aligned with it ideologically. "The irregularities are the concern of those at ICHR who took decisions on the book's publication," he said. "We simply published the book as we were told to."

The audit notes that ICHR and Kitabwale set the price of the book at Rs 5,000. "It is not mentioned anywhere in the agreement or in file how the sale price of the book was worked out," it adds.

The institution spent Rs 25 lakh to procure 1,000 copies of the book at 50% discount. It sold 26 copies, gave 94 copies to the Prime Minister's Office for free, and 880 copies remained unsold at the time of the audit.

Another Rs 5.1 lakh was spent to pay authors and proofreaders.

The audit concluded that the "publication of the book without adhering to rules and transparency is a serious irregularity".

In May 2023, soon after the audit results were shared with ICHR, Kadam left the body without completing his three-year long tenure

as member secretary. His tenure lasted nine months.

An official at the institution, who spoke to *Scroll* on the condition of anonymity, said that Kadam quit on the orders of the Minister of Education, Dharmendra Pradhan.

Kadam did not respond to multiple calls and messages for comment.

Appointments and promotions

In addition to financial irregularities, senior officials at ICHR were also under scrutiny for appointments and promotions.

The ministry's audit zeroed in on two officials.

One of them is deputy director Dharmendra Singh, who had been promoted from a section officer to "assistant director" in 2017 – a position that did not exist. Moreover, Dharmendra was promoted to deputy director in 2022, for which he did not have the required experience, the audit says.

The other official is section officer Sachin Kumar Jha. Jha was hired as an assistant in 2018 and promoted to a section officer in 2021. This was done despite him not meeting the age criteria or having the required experience, the audit adds.



Sachin Kumar Jha is a section officer at ICHR. Photo from Instagram.

Both Dharmendra and Jha have been recommended for major penalty proceedings by the CVC, along with one Davinder Singh, an assistant at ICHR.

A second official at ICHR told *Scroll* on the condition of anonymity that Dharmendra, Davinder and Jha were promoted to their positions because they made it easier for ICHR's senior management, especially the clique from ABISY, to spend the institution's money without any checks.

"Dharmendra and Davinder were in key administrative positions to sanction the money," said the second official. "They prioritised files that the ABISY people wanted to move quickly."

The first official, who is familiar with the CVC probe, told *Scroll* that director Upadhyay and former member secretary Kumar Ratnam came under scrutiny for approving Jha's appointment and promotion at ICHR.

The CVC has recommended minor penalty proceedings against Upadhyay and suggested a probe into Ratnam's "adverse role" in Jha's appointment and promotion.

Scroll contacted Dharmendra Singh and Davinder Singh for their response to the CVC's decision. The story will be updated if they respond.

The recruitment firm

In late 2018, ICHR had hired a private firm to conduct recruitment exams.

The Lokpal complaint from 2022 alleges that this firm was selected "without following e-tender process and GFR [general financial rules]", adding that it had led to the appointment of blood relatives and "nepotism".

ICHR documents from the time show the institution recruited 28 people after the exams, including Jha and Davinder.

Jha is a close associate of ABISY chief Pandey, the second ICHR official alleged, pointing to several pictures of the two on Jha's social media profiles before his recruitment.



*Sachin Kumar Jha and Balmukund Pandey in a picture from 2017.
Photo from Instagram.*

Jha told *Scroll* that he knew Balmukund Pandey "like I know many people", adding: "You should not pose your questions to me but to those who hired me."

In April 2023, the CVC investigated how ICHR hired the private firm and partly confirmed the allegation in the Lokpal complaint. It found that the firm was contracted without the due process of bidding on the government's e-marketplace portal, called GeM, which ensures efficient, transparent and competitive bidding.

The private firm was paid Rs 89.18 lakh by ICHR for the recruitment exams, according to a Right to Information reply.

In May 2024, the vigilance body identified three officials responsible for roping in the firm: Dharmendra Singh, Om Jee Upadhyay, and then member secretary Rajaneesh Kumar Shukla, now the vice-president of ABISY.

Upadhyay said that the CVC had closed the matter. In a written response seen by *Scroll*, Upadhyay told the body that the lapse had occurred because of "lack of awareness" of the GeM portal by the ICHR senior management.

Upadhyay, Shukla and Dharmendra were let off without a penalty in September 2024.

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, Jun 02, 2025. 🌈

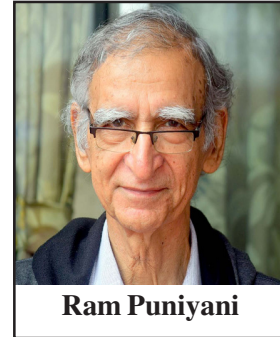
Who should Control Mahabodhi Temple Bodhgaya?

Mahabodhi temple in Bodhgaya, near Patna is of great significance to followers of Buddhism as Lord Gautam Buddha got Nirvana here. This temple has been controlled by the Bodh Gaya Temple Act 1949 and BTMC (Bodh Gaya Temple Management Committee) manages it. As per this the controlling board of the temple has an equal number of Buddhists and Hindus. From this February many monks are protesting against this Act of 1949 and want that only Buddhists should be part of the board, which controls the temple affairs.

The protests have a long history as due to the mixed nature of the controlling body there has been a gradual Brahminization of this temple. One Akash Lama sitting on the protest aptly put it, “This is not just about a temple; it’s about our identity and pride. We are putting forward our demands peacefully. Until we receive written assurance from the government, this protest will continue indefinitely.” The monks sitting on the protest say that “The Mahabodhi Mahavihara is being Brahminized. The influence of Brahminical rituals in the management and ceremonies of the temple is increasing, deeply hurting the faith and heritage of the Buddhist community.”

As such, Indian history is a long story of struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism. Buddhism gives the message of equality while Brahmanism is based on birth based hierarchy of caste and gender. Buddha’s primary message was against the then prevailing values of caste and gender based inequality. In due course Buddhism spread all over and with the embracing of this religion by Emperor Ashok, it spread further and to other countries also, particularly South East Asia. Ashok had sent his messengers to many countries to give the message of Lord Buddha.

Buddha also had called for stopping the unnecessary sacrifice of animals, particularly cows in the prevalent rituals. All this hurt the social and economic interests of the Brahmins, who were uncomfortable with the spread of Buddhism.



Ram Puniyani

To their great relief Pushyamitra Shung, the ‘Commander in Chief’ of Ashok’s grandson Brihadrath, murdered Brihadrath and came to power. He established the Shung dynasty. With this there was a resurgence of Brahmanism and eclipse of Buddhism. He “actively persecuted Buddhists... He is said to have burned Buddhist monasteries, destroyed stupas, and even offered rewards for Buddhist monks’ heads, leading to a decline in Buddhism’s influence and a shift in favor of Brahmanism.”

Later Shankaracharya of Kaladi, a very influential philosopher, argued for Brahmanical philosophy. His time period is mired in controversy; it is traditionally believed that he lived from 788 to 820 CE. However, some scholars propose earlier dates, with some suggesting a birth as early as 507-475 BC. Whatever that is, it preceded the ‘invasions’ of Muslim kings from the North West.

His aim was to sanitize Brahmanism by getting rid of unnecessary rituals. His focus was philosophically opposed to Buddhist philosophy. Sunil Khilnani writes, “Throughout the subcontinent, he engaged in verbal combat with Buddhist philosophers, who taught as Buddha had, such doctrines as the momentariness of all things and the denial of the existence of the deity.” (*Incarnations: India in 50 Lives*, p 84, Allen

Lane, UK, 2016) Shankar was for status quo and regarded 'World as an illusion'. Buddha regarded the World as real where miseries prevailed and by implication these should be addressed and rectified.

Overall due to these attacks Buddhism disappeared from the country till Babasaheb Ambedkar converted to Buddhism with a large number of his followers. Earlier Bhakti Saints also talked of some of the values originating from Buddha, like opposition to caste. Many of these saints were persecuted by the prevailing Brahmanism. The major transition for equality of dalits began during the freedom movement with Jotirao Phule and Savitribai Phule's yeoman efforts in the area particularly of education and other social reforms. As these started picking up, the values of Brahmanism were challenged. The reactions of Brahmanism to this emerging challenge came in the political form of Hindu Mahsabha and later more assertively through RSS. These organizations in a way were the expressions for maintaining 'status quo' and imposition of Brahmanical values. They upheld Manusmriti as a symbol of their goals.

India is a diverse country and imposition of caste and gender hierarchy is marching under the banner of Hindu Rashtra, Hindutva, and Hindu Nationalism. The march towards equality was primarily being articulated by Ambedkar through his Mahad Chavadar Talab, burning of Manusmriti and Kalaram temple entry amongst many others. The anti colonial National movement tried to accommodate the demands of this social change to some extent, while Hindutva politics either openly opposed it or bypassed these issues.

As far as religion's playground is concerned

this modern counter revolution led by RSS and company has a multipronged approach. As in the case of Mahagaya Bodhi temple they enter the management of temples which is a major strategy. The other one is to co-opt the dalits through social engineering and working amongst them and propagating that there should be harmony amongst all castes, Samajik Samrasta. This is in contrast to Ambedkar's goal of annihilation of caste.

On similar lines the attempt is also on to Brahmanize Sufi Dargahs. Baba Budan Giri in Karnataka and Haji Malang near Mumbai are the places which are being claimed to be Hindu places of worship. The most interesting example is that of Sai Baba of Shirdi. Yoginder Sikand in his book 'Sacred Spaces' gives a good glimpse of the syncretic nature of Shirdi Sai Baba. But now it's Brahminization is fairly complete, "Warren, an expert on Sai Baba's thought, points out: "While Sai Baba was claimed by both Muslims and Hindus, his core approach to God-Realization had a distinct Islamic stance, and he never taught specifically Hindu doctrines and rituals. Sai Baba has, however, been almost completely assimilated and reinterpreted by the Hindu community."

We are living in strange times where religion is being blatantly used for political agenda. The Buddha temple is being controlled by a Brahmanical path; the Sufi shrines are being Brahmanized. The agitation by Buddhist monks to restore their sacred place to their norms and beliefs is one such example of opposition to impose the norms which are totally opposed to equality and non violence as preached by Lord Gautam Buddha.

4 June 2025. 

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

SC Slams Misuse of Preventive Detention to Keep Accused in Jail After They Secure Bail

Sanjeev Sirohi

It is entirely in order and is absolutely in the fitness of things that the Supreme Court in a most learned, laudable, landmark, logical and latest judgment titled *Dhanya M vs State of Kerala & Ors* in Criminal Appeal No.2897 of 2025 (Arising out of SLP (Crl.) No.14740 of 2024) and cited in Neutral Citation No.: 2025 INSC 809 that was pronounced as recently as on June 6, 2025 in the exercise of its criminal appellate jurisdiction has minced just no words to hold in no uncertain terms that the State of Kerala has failed to demonstrate how the acts of the detenu, Rajesh, could justify the State's decision to curtail his liberty under a statute designed for extraordinary threats to public order. We thus see that the Apex Court took exception to States resorting to preventive detention to keep accused in jail after they secure bail. It was also made crystal clear by the top court that preventive detention is a Constitutional exception and not a substitute for regular criminal process and State authorities must not resort to preventive detention and bypass ordinary legal mechanisms like seeking bail cancellation unless there exists compelling reasons backed by concrete material.

It must be disclosed here that these observations were made while quashing the preventive detention of a Kerala-based private money lender under the Kerala Anti-Social Activities (Prevention) Act, 2007. This leading case sprang from a detention order that had been passed by the District Magistrate at Palakkad in Kerala on June 20, 2024 branding Rajesh – a registered lender running 'Rithika Finance' – as a "notorious goonda" based on multiple FIRs pertaining to alleged loan sharking and assault.

It must be revealed that though he was already on bail in all pending cases, the authorities invoked Section 3 of the Kerala Anti-Social Activities (Prevention) Act to detain him for six months. The Kerala High Court dismissed his wife – Dhanya M's Habeas Corpus plea against the detention. This led to the appeal before the Apex Court which set aside both the detention order and the Kerala High Court judgment. Very rightly so!

At the very outset, this brief, brilliant, bold and balanced judgment authored by Hon'ble Mr Justice Sanjay Karol for a Bench of the Apex Court comprising of himself and Hon'ble Mr Justice Manmohan sets the ball in motion by first and foremost putting forth in para 2 that, "The present appeal arises from the final judgment and order dated 4th September, 2024 passed by the High Court of Kerala at Ernakulam in WP(CRL)No.874/2024, whereby the order dated 20th June, 2024 passed by the District Magistrate, Palakkad, directing the husband of the appellant, Rajesh (Hereinafter "detenu") to be kept under preventive detention in prison in terms of Section 3 of Kerala Anti-Social Activities (Prevention) Act, 2007 (Hereinafter "the Act") was affirmed."

To put things in perspective, the Bench envisages in para 3 while elaborating on brief facts stating that, "The brief facts giving rise to the present appeal are that the detenu is running a registered lending firm in the name of 'Rithika Finance'. On 20th June, 2024, the District Magistrate, Palakkad, issued an order of detention under Section 3(1) of the Act, in furtherance of Recommendation No.54/Camp/2024-PKAA(P)A dated 29th May, 2024 by the

Palakkad District Police Head. It was stated therein that the detenu is a 'notorious goonda' of the district and is a threat to the society at large. The following cases were considered for such declaration:

i. Crime No.17/2020 under Section 17 of Kerala Money Lenders Act, 1958, and Section 3, 9(1)(a) of Kerala Prohibition of Charging Exorbitant Interest Act, 2012, at the Kasaba Police Station.

ii. Crime No.220/2022 under Section 3 read with Section 17 of Kerala Money Lenders Act, 1958, and Section 9(a)(b) read with Section 3 of Kerala Prohibition of Charging Exorbitant Interest Act, 2012, at the Town South Police Station.

iii. Crime No.221/2022 under Section 294(b), 506 (I) of the Indian Penal Code, 1860, and Section 3 read with Section 17 of Kerala Money Lenders Act, 1958, and Section 9 (a)(b) read with Section 3 of Kerala Prohibition of Charging Exorbitant Interest Act, 2012.

iv. Crime No.401/2024 under Sections 341, 323, 324, 326 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860; Section 17 of Kerala Money Lenders Act, 1958; Section 4 of Kerala Prohibition of Charging Exorbitant Interest Act, 2012, and Section 3(2), (va), 3(1) (r), 3(1)(s) of the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989.

As it turned out, the Bench enunciates in para 4 disclosing that, "Consequently, the detenu was taken into custody. Aggrieved by the order of detention dated 20th June, 2024, the appellant filed a writ petition before the High Court of Kerala assailing the order of detention and praying for a writ of Habeas Corpus to Respondent No.1 - the State of Kerala, against the illegal detention of her husband, Rajesh."

As we see, the Bench then lays bare in para 5 pointing out that, "Vide the impugned Judgment and Order, the High Court of Kerala dismissed the challenge laid to the order of detention with the following findings:

a. Whether the cases against the detenu will

result in an acquittal, is not an exercise that can be carried out by the detaining authority while passing the order of preventive detention.

b. In writ jurisdiction under Article 226 of the Constitution, the Court does not sit in an appeal against decisions taken by the authorities on the basis of the materials placed before it.

c. Procedural safeguards have been complied with in the impugned action."

As things stands, the Bench points out in para 6 revealing that, "Aggrieved thereof, the appellant has preferred an appeal before this Court. The significant point of challenge taken by the appellant is that in all cases against the detenu, he is on bail and is complying with the conditions laid down by the Court."

Needless to say, the Bench then states in para 7 mentioning that, "We have heard the learned counsel for the parties and perused the written submissions filed. Vide order dated 10th December 2024, the detenu was released by this Court, since the maximum period of detention under the Act was completed."

To be sure, the Bench then states in para 8 stipulating that, "The question that arises for consideration before this Court is - whether the preventive detention of the detenu is in accordance with law."

No doubt, the Bench very rightly points out in para 9 that, "It is well settled that the provision for preventive detention is an extraordinary power in the hands of the State that must be used sparingly. It curtails the liberty of an individual in anticipation of the commission of further offence(s), and therefore, must not be used in the ordinary course of nature. The power of preventive detention finds recognition in the Constitution itself, under Article 22(3)(b). However, this Court has emphasized in *Rekha v. State of Tamil Nadu* (2011) 5 SCC 244. that the power of preventive detention is an exception to Article 21 and, therefore, must be applied as such, as an exception to the main rule and only in rare cases."

While citing a recent and relevant case law, the Bench specifies in para 10 stating that, “The above position was succinctly summarized by this Court, recently in *Mortuza Hussain Choudhary v. State of Nagaland* and Ors. 2025 SCC Online SC 502., as follows:

“2. Preventive detention is a draconian measure whereby a person who has not been tried and convicted under a penal law can be detained and confined for a determinate period of time so as to curtail that person’s anticipated criminal activities. This extreme mechanism is, however, sanctioned by Article 22(3)(b) of the Constitution of India. Significantly, Article 22 also provides stringent norms to be adhered to while effecting preventive detention. Further, Article 22 speaks of the Parliament making law prescribing the conditions and modalities relating to preventive detention. The Act of 1988 is one such law which was promulgated by the Parliament authorizing preventive detention so as to curb illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. Needless to state, as preventive detention deprives a person of his/her individual liberties by detaining him/her for a length of time without being tried and convicted of a criminal offence, the prescribed safeguards must be strictly observed to ensure due compliance with constitutional and statutory norms and requirements.” (Emphasis supplied).”

Be it noted, the Bench notes in para 11 that, “Furthermore, given the extraordinary nature of the power of preventive detention, this Court in *Ichhu Devi v. Union of India* (1980) 4 SCC 531, placed the burden on the detaining authority to prove that such actions are in conformity with the procedure established by law, in consonance with Article 21. Similarly, in *Banka Sneha Sheela v. State of Telengana* (2021) 9 SCC 415, this Court reiterated that an action of preventive detention has to be checked with Article 21 of the Constitution and the statute in question.”

Do note, the Bench notes in para 13 that,

“Under Section 3 of the Act, the District Magistrate so authorized or the Government, may make an order directing detention of a ‘known goonda’, to prevent commission of anti-social activities within the State of Kerala.”

Do also note, the Bench then notes in para 14 that, “Section 7 mandates disclosure of the grounds of detention to the detenu along with relevant documents within five days of the preventive detention.”

Do further note, the Bench then also notes in para 15 that, “Section 12 of the Act specifies that the period of detention for any person shall not exceed six months.”

Quite significantly, the Bench mandates in para 16 holding that, “Coming to the attending facts and circumstances, we are of the considered view that the exercise of power under Section 3 of the Act, was not justified in law.”

It is worth noting that the Bench notes in para 21 that, “This Court in *SK. Nazneen* (supra), had observed that the State should move for cancellation of bail of the detenu, instead of placing him under the law of preventive detention, which is not the appropriate remedy. Similarly, in *Ameena Begum v. State of Telengana* (2023) 9 SCC 587, this Court observed:

“59. ... It is pertinent to note that in the three criminal proceedings where the detenu had been released on bail, no applications for cancellation of bail had been moved by the State. In the light of the same, the provisions of the Act, which is an extraordinary statute, should not have been resorted to when ordinary criminal law provided sufficient means to address the apprehensions leading to the impugned detention order. There may have existed sufficient grounds to appeal against the bail orders, but the circumstances did not warrant the circumvention of ordinary criminal procedure to resort to an extraordinary measure of the law of preventive detention.”

60. In *Vijay Narain Singh v. State of Bihar* [*Vijay Narain Singh v. State of Bihar*, (1984) 3

SCC 14: 1984 SCC (Cri) 361], Hon'ble E.S. Venkataramiah, J. (as the Chief Justice then was) observed: (SCC pp. 35-36, para 32)

32. ... It is well settled that the law of preventive detention is a hard law and therefore it should be strictly construed. Care should be taken that the liberty of a person is not jeopardised unless his case falls squarely within the four corners of the relevant law. The law of preventive detention should not be used merely to clip the wings of an accused who is involved in a criminal prosecution. It is not intended for the purpose of keeping a man under detention when under ordinary criminal law it may not be possible to resist the issue of orders of bail, unless the material available is such as would satisfy the requirements of the legal provisions authorising such detention. When a person is enlarged on bail by a competent criminal court, great caution should be exercised in scrutinising the validity of an order of preventive detention which is based on the very same charge which is to be tried by the criminal court." (Emphasis supplied)."

Most significantly, the Bench encapsulates

in para 22 what constitutes the cornerstone of this notable judgment postulating that, "Keeping in view the above expositions of law, we have no doubt that the order of detention cannot be sustained. The circumstances pointed out in the order by the detaining authority may be ground enough for the State to approach the competent Courts for cancellation of bail, but it cannot be said that the same warranted his preventive detention. We clarify that if such an application for cancellation of the detenu's bail is made by the respondent-State, the same must be decided uninfluenced by the observations made hereinabove."

Finally, the Bench then concludes by holding in para 23 that, "Therefore, the order of detention dated 20th June, 2024 and the impugned judgment dated 4th September, 2024 passed by the High Court of Kerala at Ernakulam in WP(CRL.) No.874/2024 are hereby set aside. In the attending facts and circumstances of this case, the appeal is allowed. Pending application(s), if any, shall stand disposed of."

Sanjeev Sirohi is advocate. 🌈

Political Rent-seeking of Armed...

Contd. from page - (23)

Through bluff and bluster Election Commission has reduced the VVPATs into meaningless 'bioscopes! According to experts, this deliberate denial of verifiability and auditability has facilitated spurious injection of votes in various constituencies by hiking of vote percentages in all phases of polling. Registration manipulation, which is the padding of the electoral roll facilitates this.

With the election system so weaponised, all that is needed is a media-driven 'nationalist narrative' to manipulate and steal people's mandate to capture power. That is why a military operation which should be 'secret and stealthy' is being given wide and wild publicity endangering the lives of defence personnel!

The 'Tiranga Yatra' BJP is hosting to "honour Indian army" is meant to amplify this rent-seeking further! The objective seems to be to win the forthcoming Bihar assembly elections like the party did post-Pulwama in the 2019 Lok Sabha election. This is detrimental to India's democracy.

Major M.G. Devasahayam, IAS (Retd), had fought in the Indo-Pak War, 1965 and also took part in counter-insurgency operations in Nagaland.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 23 May 2025. 🌈

Modi: 11 Years, 11 Big Changes

R. Jagannathan

His PMship has decisively altered polity, including BJP. The transformation ranges from religious/cultural assertion to nationalism becoming a primary political factor. Also, economic reform has lost steam

BJP's celebration of Modi's completion of its 11th year in power at Centre is a good time to take stock of what has changed in our polity and politics. At no one other time post-1947 has one man been in power continuously this long barring Nehru. Although Congress has held office at Centre for over five decades cumulatively, either on its own or in coalition, BJP's rise since 2014 has been qualitatively different in several ways.

Eleven things that have changed under 11 years of BJP-Modi tenure:

First, BJP too has changed. It is the new broad tent of the kind Congress was under Nehru, with a mild sprinkling of Hindutva as differentiator. Barring Nehru himself, who had no time for indulging religious activity, his party at the state level acted as a Hindu party that offered political protection to minorities. Under Modi, BJP is offering the same mix of cultural Hinduism and some form of recognition of Muslim interests, though minorities are currently against BJP.

Second, the polity is now in a divisive phase of religious and identity assertion, as BJP has made Hindu vote and caste coalitions count. This has led to consolidation of minorities that lean towards non-BJP parties. But this may not last as BJP itself has taken on coalition partners who retain their base that include minorities.

BJP itself is moving to a softer Hindutva stand. Measures such as Waqf amendment act are meant to send two messages – one to the party faithful that Hindutva isn't over, the other to minorities that voting against BJP isn't

in their interest. BJP has signalled that the Muslim veto will not work so it is best for minorities to move back to neutrality on politics.

Third, for the first time, BJP has shown a political party can be run on corporate lines, with a CEO on top and powerful cadre of workers at the core and a larger number of ordinary people as party members. Politics is now run like an FMCG campaign with both above the line and below the line promotions.

Fourth, Modi's power has pushed all parties towards a freebie culture. Rivals see no option but to counter PM's popularity with cash and other doles to the electorate. BJP too has accepted doles as an essential ingredient for electoral success.

Fifth, economic and political reforms have gotten tougher in a competitive political landscape. Any suggestion from BJP is opposed by other political parties merely because they need to stand out. After Modi 2.0's agriculture reforms failed because of a determined rich farmers' lobby that forced govt. to back off, the reforms agenda has lost steam.

Sixth, despite Modi's overwhelming supremacy in BJP, the party has managed to find new politicians who can pull in votes on their own – Yogi, Fadnavis, Himanta, for instance, and even some potential new faces in the south like K. Annamalai. While Annamalai has been asked to take a backseat before Tamil Nadu assembly elections 2026, he is one grassroots leader who can shake up the Dravidian political ecosystem, even in other

states, a new BJP second-line is emerging.

Seventh, under Modi, nationalism has re-emerged as a factor in politics and the country increasingly demands robust responses not only to perfidious Pakistan but also China. Never before has a decisive shift towards a more aggressive stance towards enhancing national power been more strong than now, surgical strikes, Balakot and Op Sindoor have now made the polity more inclined to enable a stronger defence and projection of national power outside India.

Eighth, having a powerful and popular leader has empowered to top brass in bureaucracy. Modi's PMO is probably the most powerful one after Indira Gandhi's. The downside is that investing so much power in PMO means cutting off the power centre from crucial political feedback from party and citizens. This could be one reason why BJP did not do so well in 2024, but it seems to have gotten its act together since then by using the Sangh as foil.

Ninth, Modi-Shah duet suggests that

successful govts need at least two powerful politicians at the top, one managing govt and the other the party and politics. Nehru and Sardar Patel, Vajpayee and LK Advani, the Manmohan Singh and Sonia Gandhi are references that come to mind.

Tenth, the polity has moved so decisively to the left with freebies galore, that govts are finding it tougher to deregulate and make life easier for businesses. Any change or reform favouring business is now being interpreted as cronyism, making it tougher to pass and implement laws making for ease of business.

Finally, the main national challenge remains: jobs. Modi's tenure has not done enough to make this happen, and party domination makes political consensus almost impossible to achieve. The only way to break this logjam is for Modi to use his own considerable political capital to build a consensus, but for that he must play better politics and not operate in isolation from it.

Courtesy **The Times of India**, June 10, 2025. 🌈

THE RADICAL HUMANIST SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Revised *w.e.f.* 1 August 2024

In SAARC Countries:

For one year - Rs. 300.00

For two years - Rs. 550.00

For three years - Rs. 800.00

Life subscription - Rs. 4000.00

(Life subscription is only for individual subscribers and for institutions Rs. 5000/- for 20 years)

In other Countries: Annual subscription (Air Mail) \$ 150.00; GBP 100.00

Donations and Subscriptions can also be transferred directly to The Radical Humanist, Current Account Number 0349201821034, IFSC Code CNRB0002024, Canara Bank, Totaram Bazar, Tri Nagar, Delhi- 110035.

Please send Subscription/Donation Cheques, along with your name and address, in favour of The Radical Humanist to:

SHEO RAJ SINGH, 3821/7, KANHAIYA NAGAR, TRINAGAR, DELHI – 110035.

(M) 9891928222, E-mail: srsingh3821@gmail.com

The Humanist Frame

The Roots of Virtue

E. H. Erikson

(Summarized by : **Vinod Jain**)

1. Ego and Virtue

In this essay I intend to investigate the genetic roots and the evolutionary rationale of certain basic human qualities which I will call virtues.

What we call virtue, we value; and in approaching the origin of value we face a dilemma which Darwinian biology and Freudian psychology seem to share. Together they have focused on what is popularly considered man's 'lower nature': the descent and evolution of the genus man from a pre-human state of animality; the emergence of civilized man from degrees of savagery and barbarism; and the evolution of individual man from the stages of infantality.

The fact is that the rapprochement between evolutionary biology and psychoanalytic psychology is one well prepared for by an aspect of Freud's thought which has not provoked the imagination of other scientists as his instinct theory has done: I refer to his Ego-Psychology. Almost from the beginning of psychoanalysis, Freud worked continuously on an area of enquiry concerning the 'coherent organization of mental processes' which, in all conflict and danger, guarantees to the human person a measure of individuality, mature sexuality, intelligence, and integrity.

Before indicating what the ego is, it is necessary to state what it is not; for the term has been much abused. Popularly, the term 'ego' implies an inflated sense of one's own importance, a precarious sense subject to sudden deflation by the pricks of fate—and of gossip. First studied clinically in its impaired states, the ego has also been revealed as a control regulator of remarkable endurance and power. It is the inner 'organ' which makes it possible for man to bind together the two great evolutionary developments, his inner

life and his social planning.

Man, who has evolved into a creature always in the process of readjusting to historical change in his man-made world, obviously over-reacts. To take his place more consciously in the succession of generations within his psychosocial universe, he must learn to know and to use what we here call the Ego.

I will call 'virtues', then, the specifically human qualities of strength which are implicit in man's psychosocial evolution, and I will relate them to that process, by which ego strength is both developed and imparted, from generation to generation.

2. A Schedule of Virtues

The paradox of human life is man's collective power to create his own environment, although each individual is born with a naked vulnerability extending into a prolonged infantile dependence. The weakness of the newborn, however, is truly relative. The newborn is endowed with an appearance and with responses which appeal to the tending adults' tenderness and make them wish to attend to his needs; which arouse concern in those who are concerned with his well-being; and which, in making adults care, stimulate their active care-taking. I employ the repetition of the words tending, concern, and caring, not for a poetic effect, but in order to underscore the fundamental fact, that in life in general and in human life in particular, the vulnerability of being newly born and the meekness of innocent needfulness have a power all of their own. Defenceless as babies are, there are mothers at their command, families to protect the mothers, societies to support the structure of families, and traditions to give a cultural continuity to systems of tending and training. All of this, however, the

human infant does need in order to evolve humanly: for his environment must provide that outer wholeness and continuity which, like a second womb, permits the child to develop this separate capacities in distinct steps, and unify them only in a series of psysocial crises....

I will speak of Hope, Will, Purpose, and Skill, as the rudiments of virtue Developed in childhood; of Fidelity as an adolescent virtue; and of Love, Care, and Wisdom as the central virtues of adulthood. In all their seeming discontinuity, these qualities depend on each other.

3. Hope

If we ascribe to the healthy infant the rudiments of Hope, it would, indeed, be hard to specify the criteria for this state, and harder to measure it: yet he who seen a hopeless child, knows what is 'not' there. Hope is both the earliest and the most indispensable virtue inherent in the state of being alive. Others have called this deepest quality 'confidence', and I have referred to 'trust' as the earliest positive psychosocial attitude: but if life is to be sustained, hope must remain, even where confidence is wounded, trust impaired.

The rudiments of hope rely on the new being's first encounter with trustworthy maternal persons who respond to his reach for 'intake' and 'contact's with appropriate provision, and prevent experiences of the kind which all too regularly bring too little too late.

Even as the infant learns to renounce and to repress, he also learns to dream of what is imaginable and to train his expectations on what promises to prove possible. All in all, then, maturing hopefulness not only maintains itself in the face of changed facts—it proves itself able to change facts, even as faith is said to move mountains.

4. Will

An exclusive condition of hopefulness, translated into various imaginable worlds, would be a paradise in nature, a Utopia in social reality, and a heaven in the beyond. Yet hope leads

inexorably into conflicts between the rapidly developing self-will and the will of others. As the infant's senses and his muscles grasp the opportunities for more active experience, he faces the double demand for self-control and for the acceptance of the control of others: he must learn to 'Will' what can be, and to convince himself that he 'willed' what 'hadn't to be.

5. Purpose

It is inherent in infantile man's prolonged immaturity that he must train the rudiments of Will in situations in which he does not quite know what he wants and why. By the same token he must develop in mere phantasy and play the rudiments of 'Purpose', a temporal perspective giving direction and focus to concerted striving.

Purposefulness should attach itself to a sense of reality which is defined by what 'can be attained' and by what can be 'shared in words'. Thus, conscience, the consistent inner voice which delineates permissible action and thought, finds a powerful ally in the structure of 'language', which makes reality an order

6. Skill

Ever since his expulsion from paradise [Christianity], man has been inclined to protest work as drudgery or as slavery, and to consider most fortunate those who seemingly can choose to work or not to work. The fact is that man 'must' learn to work, as soon as his intelligence and his capacities are ready to be 'put to work', so that his ego's power may not atrophy.

The rudiments of 'skill' add method to hope, will and purpose. Without skill man feels inferior in his equipment, and in the hope to match an ever-increasing section of manageable reality with his growing capacities.

7. Fidelity

When man's sexuality matures in puberty, he is not yet ready to be a mate or a parent. His ego-balance is, in fact, decidedly endangered by the double uncertainty of a demanding institutional machinery which must be kept in

balance in some of its functions * while he must prepare for his own place in the adult order. The adolescent thus often appears to be a contradictory combination of shifting devotion and general perversity: at times more devotedly perverse, at others more perversely devoted. In all of this, however, an ideological seeking after an inner coherence and a durable set of values can always be detected. I would now call the particular ego-quality which emerges with it and from it, 'fidelity'. The word combines a number of truths to which adolescents alternately adhere: high accuracy and veracity in the rendering of reality; the sentiment of truth, as in 'sincerity' and 'conviction'; the quality of genuineness, as in 'authenticity'; the trait of 'loyalty', of 'being true'; 'fairness' to the rules of the game; and finally all that is implied in 'devotion': a freely given but binding vow.

[* By complete abstinence; by sexual release without the involvement of another; by emotional love without sexual involvement; by sexual licence without genital involvement; by genital involvement without procreative commitment.]

8. Love

There must clearly be an important evolutionary function in the selectivity of sexual love: I think it is the mutual search for a shared identity, for the mutual verification through an experience of finding oneself, as one loses oneself, in another. While many forms of love can be shown to be at work in the formation of the various virtues, it is important to realize that only graduation from adolescence permits the development of intimacy. Intimate love is the guardian of that elusive and yet all-pervasive power — which gives and demands conviction in the shared patterns of living and thus guarantees individual identity in joint intimacy.

Entrance into adulthood is marked by geniality, the capacity for a full and mutual consummation of the sexual act. Freud observed that mature geniality alone guarantees that combination of intellectual clarity, sexual mutuality, and

considerate love, which anchors man in reality.

From here on, ego-strength depends on an affiliation with others equally whole and this means, soon equally ready and able to share in the task of 'caring' for offspring, products, and ideas.

9. Care

Care is a quality essential for psychosocial evolution: for we are the teaching species. Animals, too, instinctively encourage in their young what is ready for release; and, of course, some animals can be taught some tricks and services by man. Only man can and must extend his solicitude over the long, parallel, and overlapping childhoods of numerous offspring united in households and communities. As he transmits the rudiments of hope, will, purpose and skill, he imparts meaning to the child's bodily experiences; he conveys a logic much beyond the literal meaning of the words he teaches. It is essential that the control of procreation be guided not only by an acknowledgement of man's psychosexual needs, but also by a universal sense of generative responsibility towards all those brought more playfully into this world. Such care includes the guarantee to each child of a chance for such development as we are outlining here.

It is obvious that man must learn to accept the responsibility which evolution has given him, and must learn not only to develop but also to understand and planfully restrain his capacity for unlimited invention and expansion.

10. Wisdom

Psychosocial evolution with its biological and technical advances has not only elongated man's childhood but also his life-expectancy beyond the period of procreative power. In man's family or community the toothless oldster lives next door to the toothless baby, and the signs and signals both of the beginning and of the end exert a deep influence on the search for meaning in those in between.

Ego-strength in the old takes the form of 'Wisdom' in all of its connotations from ripened

‘wits’ to mature judgment, which constitute the ability to maintain the ‘wholeness of experience’ even as the body’s faculties gradually fall ‘apart’ and again become a conglomerate of parts which now weaken (as they are matured) at different rates.

Our society that had learnt that it is not enough to keep children alive, now learns the same truth about its old people. As children were brought up, according to the maturation of their various parts, so old people must be relieved gradually, according to their declining faculties, while their wisdom and experience is recognized and cultivated. This is not just a humanitarian duty but a Humanist obligation; for the expectation, now aroused in many children by the evidence of daily living, namely, that man’s prolonged life may only mean the return in old age a new kind of childishness, can only weaken their own vital fibres. Any span of cycle lived without vigorous meaning, at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end, endangers the sense of life and the meaning of death in all whose life stages are intertwined.

11. Conclusion

Our survey suggests an ‘evolutionary scheme’: the stages of childhood have evolved

in a pattern which permits the maturing ego, under the protection of the adult environment, to integrate those part-functions (biological, mental, emotional) which secure a measure of psychosocial adaptation. Man, not guided by a comprehensive and conclusive set of instincts, must ‘learn to wish’ strongly, learn to ‘control’ himself securely, learn to give ‘direction’s to his imagination, and learn to acquire ‘methods’ for his direction; and he must finally learn to bind all these with ‘devotion’. All this, ego-defence must guard, and virtue fortify. Hope, Will, and Purpose provide the human animal with the initial strength to take part in the space-time of human existence: hope provide the long-range vision which replaces the animal’s immediate certainty; Will, the psychological backbone for man’s physical and moral ‘uprightness’, his ‘standing on his own two feet’; and Purpose directs to a new variety of goals the energies of the bipedal hunter with special powers of visual perception. Finally, Skill develops man’s tool-using capacities, his reason, and his speech. But if man had all this, and had not Fidelity, he would not be able to attain his specific integrity: therefore, his need for styles of truth.

(To be continued....) 

The Radical Humanist Rates of Advertisement/Insertion

Journal size: 18cmx 24 cm- Print area: 15cmx20cm

	Ordinary	Special		Ordinary	Special
			For One year		
Second Back cover	Rs.2,500	Rs.3,000	2nd Back Cover	Rs.20,000	Rs.30,000
Third Back Cover	Rs.2,500	Rs.3,000	3rd Back Cover	Rs.20,000	Rs.30,000
Last Cover	Rs.3,000	Rs.3,500	Last Cover	Rs.20,500	Rs.30,000
Ordinary page:			Ordinary page:		
Full page	Rs.2,000	Rs.2,500	Full page	Rs.15,500	Rs.20,000
Half page	Rs.1,500	Rs.1,500	Half Page	Rs.10,500	Rs.15,000
Quarter page	Rs. 600	Rs. 900	Quarter page:	Rs. 6000	Rs. 9000

Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting held on 11th May 2025:

INDIAN RENAISSANCE INSTITUTE

The minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting held on 11th May 2025, at the residence of Sh. Vinod Kumar Jain, the Chairman of Indian Renaissance Institute at Noida (U.P).

The following Trustees and members attended the meeting.

Board of Trustees:

1. Mr. Vinod Kumar Jain
2. Mr. Mahi Pal Singh
3. Mr. Sheo Raj Singh
4. Mr. Rajender Kumar Sharma
5. Mr. Ved Prakash Arya
6. Mrs. Indira Verma
7. Mr. Hawa Singh Hooda
8. Mr. Rajesh Kumar Sharma

Members

1. Mr. Sanjeev Deswal, Advocate
2. Mr. Venkat Saini
3. Mr. Surya Kant Saini
4. Ms. Deepali Jain
5. Mr. Saurabh Chaudhary
6. Mr. Vivek Kumar
7. Mr. Kamal Kumar
8. Mr. Gaurav Singh
9. Mr. Praveen Kumar
10. Mr. V.K. Jain
11. Mr. Pulkit Chadha

The meeting was presided over by Sh. Vinod Kumar Jain, the Chairman of the Indian Renaissance Institute. The Secretary started the meeting by welcoming the present members and after some informal discussion the agenda of the meeting was taken up:

The Secretary presented the minutes of earlier Board of Trustees meeting dated 29.09.2024 which were unanimously accepted/adopted.

1. There was a heated discussion about the court case regarding the property at Dehradun. The working of Mr. Pancholi against the interest of IRI came for heavy criticisms. All the members unanimously criticized and condemned his anti IRI

activities.

2. Treasurer Mr. Sheo Raj Singh presented the audited financial results for the FY 2023-24, which was unanimously adopted.
3. The Secretary started the discussion on organizational matters wherein most of the members participated. Members expressed their concern about the diminishing strength of members particularly from out of Delhi. All unanimously resolved to make efforts to induct new members.
4. During the meeting of Board of Trustees it was decided to update/revise the Membership Register of Indian Renaissance Institute.

All the Members are, therefore, requested to submit their:

1. Personal Bio-data, supported by any identity proof.
2. Address proof.
3. Their E-mail ID and Mobile Number.

Annual members of Indian Renaissance Institute are also requested to ensure that their membership is renewed by depositing prescribed fee within the time period of 3 months after the expiry of earlier period of membership as per the rules of Societies Registration Act-1860.

A few other resolutions were also passed unanimously to run the affairs of Indian Renaissance Institute.

One new member, Shri Praveen Kumar, joined Indian Renaissance Institute as Life Member. The Board of Trustees sanctioned his membership unanimously. The meeting ended with thanks to the Chair and other members who attended the meeting.

Mahi Pal Singh, Secretary 

Ceasefire

Raju Z. Moray



Representative Image Only

It became dark
Though afternoon
And I heard thunder
What was happening
To spoil IPL and PSL
I began to wonder
 Mercifully it was rain
 But still I felt the pain
 Of those whose raindrops
 Were missiles and drones
 We watched in peace
 From safety of our homes
 Real and fake news from
 All the border war zones
All channels went hyper
Daily one city captured
Then enemy nation was
Destroyed completely
And millions clapped
Enraptured.

It was truly the golden hour
For every rumour monger
On sale or available on hire
When Uncle Sam
Stole my thunder and said
Stop your games
And restart IPL
Till I replenish arsenal
To supply all gullible
I direct you to ceasefire!

(Published on: 11 May 2025)

Taking a break

Raju Z. Moray



With so many arrears at stake
How can milords take a break?
 We love milords who work hard
 Not those who take coffee break
Habitually coming late to court
And rising early takes the cake
 We've scaled a Supreme peak
 We know well what's at stake
We must teach subordinates
From lectures there's no break
 Reserving judgments for years?
 What were you trying to rake?
Be warned you lazy aspirants
Up to you your future to make
 We're going on a vacation now
 We'll audit you after this break...

(Published on: 15 May 2025)



Raju Z. Moray

practices law in Mumbai. For more than 30 years, he has been a contributor of articles and poems to publications of the Lawyers Collective. He is the author of several books including Court Jester (2017), The Locked Down Lawyer (2020) and Tales of Law & Laughter. His new book *DYC: For Better or Verse*, circumscribing the former CJI's legacy, is now available. 🌈

Books written by M.N. Roy **available at our website:** **www.indianrenaissanceinstitute.com**

1. **If I Were Stalin**
2. **Beyond Communism**
3. **Cultural Requisites of Freedom**
4. **From Savagery to Civilisation**
5. **Historical Role of Islam**
6. **Fragments of a Prisoner's Diary**
7. **Materialism**
8. **M.N. Roy's Memoirs**
9. **Revolution and Counter Revolution in China**
10. **Men I Met**
11. **National Government or People's Government**
12. **New Humanism – A Manifesto**
13. **New Orientation**
14. **Politics, Power and Parties**
15. **Reason, Romanticism and Revolution – Volume 1**
16. **Reason, Romanticism and Revolution – Volume 2**
17. **Draft Constitution of Free India**
18. **M.N. Roy's Letters to the Congress Socialist Party
(Written in 1934-36)**
19. **The Philosophy and Practice of Radical Humanism**
20. **Problem of Freedom**
21. **Humanist Politics**
22. **Science, Philosophy & Politics**
23. **Vigyan Ki Kasauti Par Darshan, Sanskriti
Aur Dharam (Hindi)**
24. **Navmanavad (Hindi)**
25. **Islam Ki Etihadik Bhoomika (Hindi)**
26. **Hamara Sanskritik Darp (Hindi)**

Postal Regn. No.: DL(E)- 20/5537/2024-26

Total Pages : 44

RNI No. 43049/85

Posting: 1-2 July 2025 at Krishna Nagar H.O. Delhi-51

Date of Pub.: 27-28 June 2025



Printed and Published by **Sheoraj Singh**, on behalf of the Indian Renaissance Institute at
A-1/103, Satyam Apartments, Vasundhara Enclave, Delhi- 110096. (M.) 9891928222
printed at **Subhashini Offset Printers, F-10, Jagdish Nagar, Patel Nagar III, Ghaziabad-201001 (UP)**
Editor: **Mahi Pal Singh**, Raghav Vihar, Phase- 3, Prem Nagar, Dehradun- 248007. (Uttarakhand)