

# THE RADICAL HUMANIST



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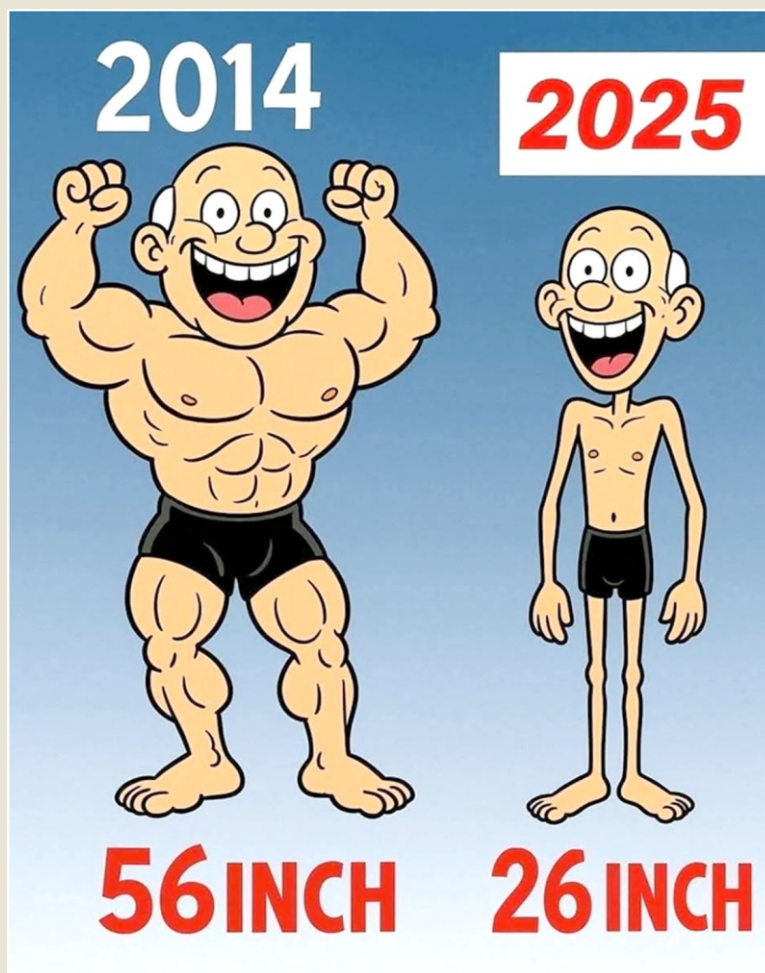
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## The EC Has Weaponised India's voting system

There is an urgent need to decentralise India's electoral machinery and process to fit into the federal concept of "Union of States" as enshrined in Article 1 of the Constitution.

Recent developments have demonstrated the highly centralised, authoritarian and autocratic functioning of the Election Commission of India (ECI). By its commissions and omissions, the ECI has displayed that it is secretive, stealthy and does not respect the will of the people. It has become dysfunctional and has lost its capacity to hold free and fair elections which is its *raison d'être*.

When Rahul Gandhi, Leader of the Opposition (LoP) pointed out that 1,00,250 of around six lakh voters in Bengaluru's Mahadevapura assembly constituency are bogus, and alleged that this helped the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) win the seat in a close contest, EC responded with passive-aggression, shaky legalese and intimidation of the LoP.

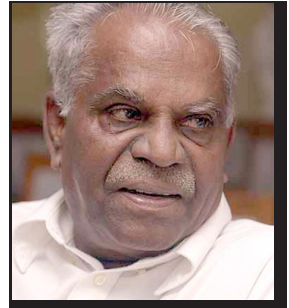
It has offered fact-checks that check no facts, demanded oaths, and done everything possible to avoid confronting the

problem. Similar was its response to the exposure of voter fraud in the Aland Assembly Constituency.

In recent years ECI has weaponised India's voting system by facilitating spurious injection of votes after the end of polling hours.

And now there are reports of large-scale manipulation of electoral rolls and the Commission's refusal to cooperate with the investigation into this serious fraud. All these show that the Commission is intoxicated with the unlimited and arbitrary powers it enjoys under Article 324 of the Constitution and the immunity provided to the Commissioners by the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners Act 2023!

Way back in 1984 in the *AC Jose vs Sivan Pillai & Ors* case, Supreme Court had sounded the alarm of this distinct possibility. The judgment



**M.G. Devasahayam**

dealt with the argument that Art. 324 of the Constitution gives full powers to the Commission in matters of superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of electoral rolls and also for the conduct of elections to the Parliament and state legislatures.



It was argued that the Commission, being a creature of the Constitution itself with its plenary powers flowing directly from Art. 324, will prevail over any Act passed by the Parliament or Rules made thereunder. The Court disagreed and ruled that it is not possible to read into Art. 324 such a wide power entrusted to the Commission.

The Court rationalised the ruling thus:

“If the Commission is armed with such unlimited and arbitrary powers and if it ever happens that the persons manning the commission shares or is wedded to a particular ideology, he could by giving odd directions cause a political havoc or bring about a constitutional crisis, setting at naught the integrity and independence of electoral process, so important and indispensable to the democratic system.”

With the recent confrontation between the Chief Election Commissioner and the LoP, it appears that the Supreme Court’s prophecy is coming true and the abruptly ordered Bihar Special Intensive Revision (SIR) of electoral rolls, which is being extended to the whole country, only confirms it.

With extreme role concentration, a completely distorted and partisan appointment process and almost total impunity from dismissal or prosecution, Election Commissioners have become centres of absolute power as far as elections are concerned. And as the famous adage goes – “power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

Such arrogance has led the ECI to treat the voting public as dirt whose role is only to stand in ‘Q’ and press a button and nothing else. Commencing from 2018 Delhi’s Nirvachan Sadan has been hermetically sealed and has been functioning more as a secret society obeying orders from North/South Block and not as a public authority with a constitutional mandate to conduct free and fair election!!

All representations, requests and suggestions from the public, civil society and political parties are trashed with authoritarian contempt.

With disdain the Commission also refuses to respond to queries under the Right to Information (RTI) Act. Even when they reply it is either false or patchy. While the ECI demands complete accountability from citizens to produce records to validate their existence, voting rights, and citizenship, it refuses basic transparency itself under the RTI Act.

Things have come to such a pass that ECI in reply to RTI query says that they have no information about the Returning Officers who conducted the 2024 Lok Sabha election under its own direction and supervision!

What makes things worse is that India’s election machinery has become too massive, unwieldy and unmanageable. India’s electorate grew more than five-and-a-half times from around 173 million in 1952 to 968 million eligible voters in 2024.

From 2.25 lakh polling stations it is now 10.5 lakhs deploying 1.5 crore polling officials and 2,100 general, police, and expenditure observers on election duty. In the event ECI is compelled to conduct Lok Sabha election in seven phases thereby compromising its sanctity and integrity.

Without free and fair elections there is no democracy. This cannot be allowed to happen in the world’s largest democracy. There is an urgent need to decentralise India’s electoral machinery and process to fit into the federal concept of “Union of States” as enshrined in Article 1 of the Constitution.

And the best way is to return to the original Constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly wherein Article 289 provides for separate (Central and State) Election Commissions for ‘superintendence, direction and control’ elections to Parliament and State Legislatures:

“Article 289. (1) The superintendence, direction and control of all elections to Parliament and of elections to the offices of President and Vice-President held under this Constitution, including the appointment of election tribunals

for the decision of doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the elections to Parliament, shall be vested in a Commission to be appointed by the President.(2) The superintendence, direction and control of all elections to the Legislature of a State for the time being specified in Part I of the First Schedule and of elections to the office of Governor of the State elections to constitute a panel for the purpose of the appointment of a Governor of the State held under this Constitution including the appointment of election tribunals for the decision of doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with elections to the Legislature of such State shall be vested in a Commission to be appointed by the Governor of the State.”

It was Dr BR Ambedkar who later reversed it with this explanation:

“The original proposal under Article 289 was that there should be one commission to deal with the elections to the central legislature, both the Upper and Lower Houses, and that there should be a separate election commission for each province and each state, to be appointed by the governor or ruler of the state. This [new Article 324] proposes to centralise the election machinery in the hands of a single commission to be assisted by regional commissioners, not working under provincial governments... As I said, this is a radical change.”

Little did Ambedkar realise that this “radical change” would prove very costly to the very survival of electoral democracy in the country. Dr Ambedkar might have opted for this centralised solution considering the intimidating prospect of setting up Election Commissions in all the states to conduct Assembly elections.

But this is no longer the case now with every state having State Election Commissions (SEC) which are autonomous constitutional authorities responsible for administering elections to the 3rd tier of democratic governance i.e. the Local Self Government, which includes the panchayati raj

Institutions and the urban local bodies.

Before 1992, elections to these bodies were conducted by the respective State Governments. The Constitution was amended in 1992 through the 73rd and 74th amendments in order to provide legal sanctity to the Local Self-Governments (LSGs), giving LSGs their rightful place in the process of nation building.

Article 243 K & Article 243 ZA were inserted to establish a SEC in every state as a constitutional body with powers of ‘superintendence, direction and control’ of the preparation of electoral rolls for, and the conduct of, all elections to the Panchayats and Municipalities in the State.

SEC consists of a State Election Commissioner, who is appointed by the Governor for a fixed tenure of 5 years and cannot be removed from his office except in like manner and on the like grounds as a Judge of a high court. As per the constitutional provision, ‘superintendence, direction and control’ of the conduct of Elections to Urban & Rural Local bodies vest in the SEC.

The SEC is also responsible for delimitation of all the constituencies, which is done before every general election to the local bodies i.e. after every 5 years. The SEC is also empowered to register and deregister political parties in the state. SEC ensures a level playing field for the political parties in the election fray, through strict observance by them of a Model Code of Conduct evolved with the consensus of political parties.

As we see the structure and functioning of SECs are almost the same as that of the ECI and they are equipped to take upon the role of conducting elections to the State Assemblies also. By decentralising the election machinery and the process we can prevent India from morphing into an ‘electoral autocracy’ which it is fast becoming!

**MG Devasahayam**, *formerly of the IAS, is coordinator, Citizens Commission on Elections.*

Courtesy **The Wire**, 04/Oct/2025 

# On SIR, all did not end well

**Rahul Shastri, Yogendra Yadav**

Now that the final electoral rolls for Bihar are out, as is the election schedule, here is a provisional audit of the SIR exercise. We assess the quality of the new voters' list in Bihar on three globally accepted parameters of voter registration — completeness, equity and accuracy.

The first measure of the quality of electoral rolls is completeness, measured by the proportion of the eligible population that figures on the voters' list. After the publication of Draft Electoral Rolls in Bihar, we had recorded on these pages ('The missing voters', IE, July 31) how the SIR resulted in a shocking drop in the proportion of adults who figured on the voters' list, from 97 per cent to 88 per cent. The final voters' list is somewhat of an improvement — 90 per cent of adults have made it to the list. However, the big picture has not changed. As Graphic 1 shows, the SIR has caused the sharpest drop in the electoral-population ratio. In September 2025, Bihar should have had 8.22 crore voters — the state's adult population estimated by the Government of India's Technical Group on Population Projections. The actual figure of 7.42 crore on the final electoral rolls indicates as many as 80 lakh potential voters missing from the list. Hardly a cause for celebration.

There is a mistaken sense of relief about the final figures, largely because the exclusions from the final list are less than the 65 lakh excluded from the draft rolls, and much smaller than the apprehension of deletion of up to 2 crore voters. If that level of mass disenfranchisement did not happen, the reason is not the SIR or the ECI, but the Supreme Court of India. Thanks to the constant monitoring by the Court, the ECI

was forced into "damage control" mode, bypassing its own order and procedures. First, the non-submission of enumeration forms by a vast number was whitewashed by the filling of at least 20 per cent of the forms by BLOs, a forgery reportedly encouraged by the ECI. Second, as reported in this paper, the non-availability of the required documents with nearly two-fifths of the potential electors was made up by offering most of them a bypass through the dubious means of vanshavali — tracing current voters to someone in their family who featured on the electoral rolls in 2003. Finally, the SC's belated order on Aadhaar served to check the disenfranchising impulse of the SIR.

The second parameter, "equity", offers evidence of worsening. Equity is about representing all social groups in proportion to their share of the eligible population. While we await a deeper analysis of the impact of the SIR on various marginalised groups like Dalits and circular migrants, we do have evidence that the SIR has adversely affected the representation of women and Muslims. The accompanying graphic shows that the proportion of women in Bihar's voters' list has always been lower than their share in the population. Over the years, this gap had narrowed from 21 lakh in 2012 to just 7 lakh in January this year. The SIR has reversed this historical trend, reduced the share of women, and increased the number of missing women voters to 16 lakh.

The evidence is less clear for Muslims, since they are not an official category in the ECI's record. But the use of name recognition software brings out an alarming fact: Muslims were 24.7 per cent of the 65 lakh voters excluded from the draft electoral rolls and

33 percent of the 3.66 lakh names deleted from the final list, against their population share of 16.9 per cent in the Census. This translates to nearly 6 lakh “excess exclusion” of Muslims.

On the third parameter, “accuracy”, the SIR may have worsened the voters’ list. While we need a full audit that compares the accuracy score of the pre-SIR and the post-SIR lists, a preliminary analysis of some of the most common errors does not support the ECI’s claim of “purification” of the electoral rolls. The final voters’ list of Bihar has more than 24,000 gibberish names, about 5.2 lakh duplicate names, over 6,000 invalid gender entries (outside M, F, and T), over 51,000 invalid relations (other than mother, father, husband etc.), and over 2 lakh blank or invalid house numbers (discounting house number “0”). This is hardly a model of purification. In substantive terms, there are now more than 24 lakh households in Bihar with 10 or more electors (prima facie suspect, as defined by the ECI itself), housing 3.2 crore electors in total. In most of these, the final electoral rolls are worse than the draft rolls.

And what about the oft-repeated claim by BJP leaders, endorsed by the CEC, of cleansing the rolls of foreigners, allegedly Bangladeshis and Rohingyas? Curiously, the ECI’s daily bulletin on the SIR gave data on various reasons for exclusion, but never for the number of foreigners detected during house-to-house verification. The BJP did not file a single objection to any elector on this ground. The website of the CEO of Bihar displays 2.4 lakh readable records of objections to draft rolls. Of these, only 1,087 cases (0.015 per cent of the total electorate) were about someone not being an Indian citizen. Even these cases were mostly dubious (779 of these were self-objections, someone complaining against himself for being a foreigner!) or presumably Nepali (since only

226 names were that of Muslims). In any case, the ECI has accepted only 390 of these objections (of which only 87 are Muslims) and deleted their names. No wonder the CEC is not keen to share the data on foreigners whose names were deleted.

To these three substantive measures of quality of voter registration, we could add two process-related parameters — transparency and fairness. On these two counts, we don’t need to wait for a full future audit of the SIR. Sadly, the entire exercise has been anything but transparent or fair. Beginning with the refusal to publish or even respond to an RTI application seeking a copy of the Intensive Revision order of 2003 to refusing to release the final rolls data in the standard template, the ECI has gone against its norms, precedents, and its own manual, which mandated disclosures. The Supreme Court had to order it to publish the names of the 65 lakh persons excluded from the draft rolls. As a rule, the ECI withheld every piece of information that it was not legally mandated or ordered to disclose, just the opposite of what a poll body should do or the ECI used to do. The lack of prior consultation, the haste in implementation, the secrecy surrounding all decisions, and the combative mode of the CEC vis-à-vis the Opposition leaders — all contributed to an impression that the ECI was not a neutral umpire.

This provisional audit makes for sad reading, especially for an institution that has been a model for election bodies across the Global South and enjoyed a very high level of trust within the country. Any attempt to replicate the SIR outside Bihar, without learning lessons from this experiment, could open the floodgates for mass disenfranchisement. At the very least, it could erode popular trust in elections and hasten the backsliding of India’s electoral democracy. 🌈

# CEC is ‘protecting’ those ‘destroying’ democracy, says Rahul Gandhi

Mounting a scathing attack on Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) Gyanesh Kumar, the Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, Rahul Gandhi, on Thursday accused him of “protecting” those “destroying” Indian democracy by refusing to share technical details of persons behind an attempt to delete names of voters from the electoral rolls of an Assembly seat in Karnataka. Mr. Gandhi said that 6,018 names were sought to be deleted in the Aland constituency using centralised software and mobile phones registered outside Karnataka. In the past 18 months, the State’s Criminal Investigation Department had written 18 letters to the EC for details of the IP addresses used to fill online applications for the deletions, but the EC did not respond, he said. The EC must stop protecting “vote chors (thieves)” and provide information sought by the Karnataka CID within a week, he said, adding that if the EC does not oblige, it will be known for being “complicit in the murder of the Constitution”. Mr. Gandhi said, “I am going to make a serious claim about Gyanesh Kumar. I am not saying this lightly, I am the Leader of Opposition. The CEC is protecting vote chors and the people who have destroyed Indian democracy,” adding, “Our demand is, Gyanesh Kumar, do your job, you have taken an oath, you are India’s Chief Election Commissioner, you must give evidence to the Karnataka CID.” In a subsequent post on X, he said the CEC should stop giving “excuses” and added had the alleged “vote theft” not been caught, the Congress candidate would have lost the Assembly seat. The Election Commission of India (EC) rejected his allegations as “incorrect and baseless”. It said that “no deletion of any voter can be done online by any member of the public, as

‘misconceived’ by Mr. Gandhi”. A senior EC official said that in “2023, certain unsuccessful attempts were made for deletion of electors in the Aland Assembly constituency in Karnataka and an FIR was filed by the authority of EC itself to investigate the matter”.

Recently, The Hindu had reported on the Karnataka CID’s probe into a systematic attempt to remove names of 5,994 voters from electoral rolls by forging Form 7 in the Aland constituency of Kalaburagi district ahead of the 2023 Assembly election.

Before making a detailed presentation on the Aland seat, Mr. Gandhi clarified that that these revelations were not the “hydrogen bomb” that he had talked about earlier and promised that too will come soon. “I am just creating the foundation. This is going on for 10-15 years. India’s democracy has been hijacked. Democracy can only be saved by the people of India. Rahul Gandhi can show the truth. The day the people realise that their democracy and Constitution have been stolen, the job will be done,” he said. Elaborating on the attempted voter deletions in Aland, the Congress leader alleged that the top 10 booths with maximum deletion applications were Congress strongholds. Citing examples, he said, in one case, someone had used the name of a 63-year-old woman Godabai to apply for 12 deletions and then played out a video in which she denied having anything to do with such an application. Mr. Gandhi called on stage a voter, Suryakant, whose identity was used to apply for 12 deletions in 14 minutes, but the Karnataka resident said he had no knowledge of it. The Congress leader gave the example of Maharashtra’s Rajura constituency where he claimed 6,850 voters were added in a fraudulent manner using automated software.

“We are pretty sure that this is being done using a software at a call centre,” he said, adding, “Same system is doing this. It is doing it in Karnataka, Maharashtra, it has done it Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and we have proof of it”. The poll panel is not giving the details because it will lead to where this operation is being conducted, Mr. Gandhi said. “EC knows who is doing this. I want every youngster in India to know this. They are doing this to your future. When they are not giving this information, they are defending the murderers of democracy,” he said. Mr. Gandhi said it will take two-three months for the research and presentations on alleged “vote chori”. “When we are done with these presentations, you will have no doubt in your mind that State after

State (elections) and Lok Sabha after Lok Sabha are being stolen. My job is to lay bare the truth and show it to the people of the country,” he added. The Bharatiya Janata Party accused Rahul Gandhi of levelling baseless charges, alleging that the Opposition was demonstrating an agenda of “infiltrators-first politics”.

Addressing a press conference at the BJP’s national headquarters in New Delhi on Thursday, former Union Minister and BJP leader Anurag Thakur said Mr. Gandhi’s repeated accusations against the Election Commission showed his lack of faith in Indian democracy.

Courtesy **The Hindu**, 19 September 2025. 

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– **Mahi Pal Singh**

# Voters alleged election fraud in UP bye-poll. Now data mirrors their claims

*Election Commission data suggests Muslim voters were targeted, with deletions and suppression in an election where the BJP pulled off an unprecedented victory.*

**Ayush Tiwari & Aryan Mahtta**

The first time that the Samajwadi Party's Mohammad Rizwan contested against the Bharatiya Janata Party's Ramveer Singh in Kundarki assembly segment in Uttar Pradesh, he won by more than 17,000 votes.

That was 2012. The two clashed again in 2017. Despite a triangular contest and a BJP wave, the Samajwadi Party pulled through. Rizwan won by more than 10,000 votes. In 2022, the Samajwadi Party won with an even larger margin: 43,162 more votes than the BJP.

Kundarki, a constituency in Moradabad district, was a hard fort to breach for the BJP. Barring a stray victory in the 1990s, the Hindutva party had always lagged behind in the majority-Muslim constituency. But that changed in 2024.

In November, Rizwan and Singh locked horns once again in Kundarki, this time in a bye-poll. It had become necessary because its former legislator, Zia ur Rehman Barq, had been elected member of Parliament in the Lok Sabha elections earlier that year.

In a shock result, Singh won the bye-poll with an unprecedented margin of 1.4 lakh votes. The BJP secured nearly 77% of votes, up from 30.4% in 2022, while Samajwadi Party collapsed from 46.3% in 2022 to a mere 11.5%.

What led to this remarkable reversal? When *Scroll* reported from the constituency in 2024, Muslims alleged large-scale voter suppression by officials during the bye-poll. Some claimed that their Aadhaar cards had been taken away before the election so they could not establish their identity at the booth, some had not received their

voter slips and some who did said that they had been turned away from the booth by police officials.

They alleged that voters who were likely to vote for the BJP were allowed into the booths because they had special voter slips that were distributed by BJP workers.

*Scroll's* ground reporting on allegations by Muslims that their votes had been suppressed in the Kundarki bye-poll is now mirrored by data.

Publicly available booth-level statistics in Kundarki released by the Election Commission show that the BJP vote share is high even in booths with a high proportion of Muslims – an anomaly, given that all other data points to the Hindutva party getting very few Muslim votes in Uttar Pradesh.

This is likely to have been due to Muslims not being allowed to enter booths on voting day, as community members alleged to *Scroll*. Even more tellingly, *Scroll's* analysis found that there was a higher rate of non-Muslim voters being added to the voter rolls and of Muslims being deleted.

## **BJP vote share and Muslims**

*Scroll* analysed data on voter turnout and vote share at all 436 polling booths in the Kundarki assembly constituency during the 2024 bye-poll and compared it to the data at the same booths during the Lok Sabha elections in May 2024. The parliamentary poll saw few complaints of voter suppression.

We digitised the voter lists that were used during these two polls. These voter lists include

details of all registered voters in Kundarki. They also have names of all voters that were added or deleted between October 2023 and October 2024.

We calculated the share of Muslim voters at every booth using a tool called “It’s all in the name”, which infers whether a voter is Muslim or non-Muslim by analysing their name and the name of their parent.

Our analysis shows that during the Lok Sabha polls, the more Muslim voters were registered at a booth in Kundarki, the lower the BJP vote share. BJP votes were highest in villages dominated by non-Muslims.

This is an expected trend – only 2% of Muslims voted for the BJP in Uttar Pradesh during the Lok Sabha polls, according to the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.

However, the assembly bye-poll in Kundarki six months later defied this. As graph 1 shows, the BJP vote share remained high irrespective of the religion of voters at the booth – around 70%, no matter what the proportion of Muslims was in a booth. Oddly, in booths where Muslims are more than 85%, the BJP’s vote share starts to increase sharply.

Were Muslims in the Kundarki bye-poll suddenly voting for the Hindutva party? Or was something else responsible for this unusual correlation?

**Graph 1:** BJP vote share versus booth-level Muslim population share in the Lok Sabha election and the bye-poll.

#### **Voter turnout anomaly**

A further clue can be found if we analyse voter turnout data. Voter turnout is the percentage of registered voters who cast their vote in an election.

During the Lok Sabha polls (see graph 2), voter turnout in Kundarki hovered around 70% across all booths. The demography of a booth had little to do with turnout – an expected outcome.

But during the bye-poll, as graph 2 shows,

the turnout strongly changes with booth demographics. Turnout drops sharply as Muslim voters increase. In effect, this means more Hindus as a proportion managed to vote than Muslims in the bye-poll even though no such pattern was observed in the Lok Sabha election just a few months before.

**Graph 2:** Voter turnout compared to booth-level Muslim population share in the Lok Sabha election and the bye-poll.

Another way to confirm this turnout trend is to map it against the BJP’s vote share. In the Lok Sabha election, the voter turnout was stable at between 65% and 75% at all booths, regardless of the BJP’s performance.

But in the November bye-poll, as graph 3 shows, the turnout was the highest in polling stations where the BJP performed well during the Lok Sabha polls in May – crossing 80% where it had gathered the most votes. It fell dramatically in booths where the BJP had performed poorly.

**Graph 3:** Voter turnout in the Lok Sabha election and the bye-poll compared to booth-level BJP vote share in the Lok Sabha election.

This data suggests that many people who voted for non-BJP parties in the Lok Sabha election did not cast their votes in the assembly bye-poll.

On one hand, this drove down the overall turnout in Kundarki: from 67.6% in the Lok Sabha election to 57.7% in the bye-poll.

On the other hand, it pushed up the BJP vote share in the constituency from 32.5% in the Lok Sabha election to 76.7% in the assembly bye-poll.

This phenomenon was observed in our ground reporting. Muslim voters in Hameerpur village alleged to *Scroll* in 2024 that they had been barred from voting by the police during the bye-poll. They claimed that only Hindu voters were let into the booth.

Election Commission data shows that the turnout in this village fell from 70% in the Lok Sabha polls to 18.5% during the bye-poll.

The BJP's vote share there climbed up from 17.6% to 84.1%. While this data points to Muslim voters not being allowed to vote, it also suggests something more disturbing: the possibility of voter roll tampering.

#### **Deleting Muslims, adding non-Muslims**

Consider the Election Commission data on the addition and deletion of names on the Kundarki voter roll. Kundarki's voter list went through five rounds of revisions between October 2023 and October 2024, just before the bye-poll. The first two rounds occurred before the Lok Sabha election – between October 2023 and April 2024.

Overall, the constituency's electorate grew by 4.19% during the pre-Lok Sabha phase – climbing from 3.76 lakh voters to 3.92 lakh voters. As graph 4 shows, the deletion rate does not change with the demography of a booth. The addition rate increases slightly with the percentage of Muslim voters, driven likely by higher Muslim birth rates.

**Graph 4:** Addition and deletion of voters before the Lok Sabha election compared to the booth-level Muslim population share.

This trend was reversed after the Lok Sabha election. In the three rounds of revisions that followed between June and October 2024, the electorate reduced by 1.9% – that is, more voters were deleted than added in this period.

This is unusual because Uttar Pradesh's total fertility rate has been one of the highest in the country in the last few decades. A growing population should mean a growing electorate.

Election Commission data shows that the deletions were higher in Muslim-dominant booths than non-Muslim-dominant booths, as graph 5 demonstrates.

In places where Muslims made up 70%-90% of the population, deletions were mostly above 5%. In booths with 70%-90% non-Muslims, the deletion rate was in the range of 3%-4%.

Moreover, as the population of Muslims rises at a booth, the overall addition of voters decreases. Booths that are 90% Hindu have an

addition rate of almost 4% but booths that are 90% Muslim only have an addition rate of around 1%.

**Graph 5:** Addition and deletion of voters after the Lok Sabha election compared to the booth-level Muslim population share.

The same trend holds when additions and deletions are charted against the BJP vote share in the Lok Sabha polls. As graph 6 shows, most additions occurred in booths where the Hindutva party performed best, and most deletions were recorded where it performed poorly.

**Graph 6:** Addition and deletion of voters after the Lok Sabha election compared to the BJP vote share in the 2024 Lok Sabha election.

We can zoom further into these addition and deletion trends. For example, in the constituency's Sardar Nagar village, about 73% of voters are Muslim. But during the revision, 86% of those deleted were Muslim.

There seems to be a similar trend in the addition process – among freshly enrolled voters, Muslims are underrepresented across Kundarki. In Sardar Nagar, only 61% of new voters during the revision were Muslim.

As graph 7 shows, in a proportionate addition and deletion process, the trend would have followed the pink line: Muslims added or deleted would have been consistent with their population numbers. But the actual trends differ. The orange line, which depicts the share of Muslims among deleted voters, is mostly above the pink line.

The black line, representing Muslim share in voter additions, is always below it. Our analysis shows that in 58% of booths in Kundarki, the Muslim community's share in deletions is greater than 5% than its share in the electorate.

Similarly, in 62% of booths, their share of additions is less than 5% than its share in the electorate.

**Graph 7:** Share of Muslims among added and deleted voters after the Lok Sabha election compared to booth-level Muslim population share.

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, Sep 26, 2025. 

# Attack on CJI Gavai: How casteist assertion throws a shoe at fragile constitutional ideals

*The incident shows how deeply caste continues to shape our social and political imagination.*

Aniruddha Mahajan

Advocate Rakesh Kishore's gesture of hurling a shoe at Chief Justice of India BR Gavai inside the Supreme Court on Monday exposes deeper anxieties about authority, belief and

Ambedkar's Constitution: that birth should not determine destiny.

Gavai's elevation followed the collegium process of being endorsed by senior colleagues,



*Presiden's Secretariat (GODL-India), GODL-India, via Wikimedia Commons*

hierarchy in contemporary India, revealing how fragile respect for constitutional institutions becomes when social hierarchies are challenged.

The attack seemed to have been a response to Gavai's remarks, about a damaged idol of Vishnu in Madhya Pradesh, which some claimed were disrespectful.

Gavai is only the second Dalit and first Buddhist to hold the post of the chief justice of India. His journey, from a Scheduled Caste background in Maharashtra to the pinnacle of the judiciary, symbolised the promise of BR

reflecting individual merit and the aspiration for a judiciary that mirrors India's diversity.

The attack on the chief justice of India, a constitutional figure representing the rule of law, underscores how deeply caste continues to shape our social and political imagination.

## **Limits of affirmative action**

Affirmative action in India, through reservations in education, employment, and politics, was a corrective measure intended to dismantle entrenched exclusion and open spaces of power to historically oppressed communities. These policies have transformed India's

institutions, producing leaders, scholars, judges and the Other Backward Classes communities who reshape public life.

Yet, the attack on Gavai is a reminder that representation, while necessary, is not sufficient. Social mobility does not automatically translate into social dignity.

Caste is not shed through success. It follows individuals in surnames, social media comments, casual jokes, and, even acts of physical hostility. Affirmative action has opened doors, but it cannot change the mindset of those who see

caste prejudice.

To question mythological narratives, or interpret them differently, is increasingly framed as an attack on faith. But when the person doing so is Dalit, it provokes a deeper anxiety, the fear of losing control over who can speak about gods, history, and morality. In this sense, the attack on Gavai is not just about religion but is about power and who defines the limits of public discourse.

Gavai's presence in office unsettles the caste order. His authority, grounded in the



*BR Ambedkar hands over the final draft of the Constitution to President Rajendra Prasad. Credit: अनामिक CC0, via Wikimedia Commons*

hierarchy as natural.

### **Caste in the age of majoritarianism**

This moment is particularly troubling in today's ideological climate. India celebrates itself as meritocratic and post-caste. Beneath this rhetoric lies a hardening of majoritarian and casteist sentiments. When the highest judicial authority, himself a Dalit, becomes a target over alleged comments on a deity, it reveals a dangerous fusion of religious intolerance and

Constitution rather than birth, embodies Ambedkar's vision of a society governed by reason and equality. It is this vision that remains intolerable to those seeking to preserve social hierarchies under the guise of tradition or divine order.

### **Myth of a 'caste-blind' India**

Some argue that reservations in educational institutions and government jobs have "outlived their purpose" and that society should now adopt

a purely merit-based system. Yet, the very idea that a Dalit chief justice can still be attacked for his views dispels this illusion. How can we claim to be caste-blind when caste shapes perceptions of success, intelligence, and legitimacy?

To believe that caste ends with economic or professional success is to misunderstand its endurance. Casteism operates not only by excluding people from opportunities but also by resenting them when they succeed. It punishes dignity as much as it punishes poverty.

The hostility faced by Dalit leaders, scholars, and professionals across sectors reflects a deeper discomfort that equality is not merely about redistribution but about recognition, about accepting that those once seen as “untouchable” now hold power, interpret law, and command authority.

### **Moral reform**

The attack on Gavai is a moral crisis exposing the limits of institutional achievements. The law can legislate equality, but it cannot legislate fraternity. The law can prohibit discrimination, but it cannot compel respect. A broader moral revolution is required, one that must begin in our homes, class[caste]rooms, and religious spaces.

This challenge manifests even in small gestures. During Gavai’s first visit to Maharashtra in May after assuming office, top officials were conspicuously absent at an event to felicitate him. The chief justice noted this lapse was a sign of the respect with which holders of constitutional offices accorded to each other.

His observation, dignified and pointed, underscored the fact that equality is not only a legal norm but a social ethic. That such a reminder had to come from the head of the judiciary reveals how easily hierarchy seeps into the grammar of protocol, and how India’s journey toward constitutional fraternity remains incomplete.

Ambedkar’s project encompassed more than political democracy; he envisioned social democracy grounded in liberty, equality, and fraternity. As he warned in *Annihilation of Caste*, political equality without social equality is a contradiction that cannot last. The attack on the chief justice is more than just personal but an attack on fraternity.

### **Unfinished revolution**

Justice Gavai’s calm dignity and constitutional faith embody the possibility of an India where birth no longer dictates destiny. Yet the incident exposes how far the country still must travel.

Gavai’s rise to the position of Chief Justice of India represents the constitutional ideal of equality in India where birth no longer limits potential. But the very fact that an advocate tried to throw a shoe at Chief Justice Gavai shows that casteist prejudice has evolved to operate in subtle ways: through social attitudes, professional bias and hostility and against those from marginalised backgrounds, who attain positions of authority.

Caste has adapted, surviving in everyday exclusions, online hatred and violent gestures which seek to discipline those who cross invisible social boundaries.

Until these moral foundations of caste are challenged in how Indians worship, whom we befriend, and what we normalise, the Republic will remain haunted by its oldest inequality.

The attack on Chief Justice Gavai is a wake-up call and a reminder that the promise of the Constitution will remain incomplete until the social revolution Ambedkar envisioned becomes a lived reality.

*Aniruddha Mahajan is a doctoral researcher at the University of Edinburgh, UK. His research interests include caste inequalities, student activism, nationalism, contemporary regional and national politics, and intellectual history of South Asia.*

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, Oct 11, 2025. 

# **‘We have been made fools’: Why J&K’s hopes for Omar Abdullah government have soured in a year**

*Voters and political observers say the National Conference has neither delivered on governance, nor on larger political issues.*

Safwat Zargar



*Omar Abdullah attends Independence Day celebrations in Srinagar. | Tauseef MUSTAFA/AFP*

During his Independence Day speech in Srinagar in August, Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Omar Abdullah struck a sober note.

“The last time I stood here, I was chief minister of a state,” Abdullah said, addressing an official function in Bakshi stadium. “We had an Assembly that made decisions, and a cabinet that implemented them. We had our flag, our constitution, our laws.”

He went on: “Today, I am chief minister of a Union territory. Cabinet decisions are passed, but many don’t get cleared. Some files don’t return. Some disappear.”

The admission of powerlessness was a far cry from Abdullah’s campaign speeches for the assembly last year.

At the time, Abdullah’s party, the National Conference, had promised to strive for “full

autonomy” of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Constitution, to undo the Narendra Modi government’s decisions to scrap the state’s special status and downgrade it into a Union territory.

The party promised to restore Articles 370 and 35A, which had till August 2019 granted locals of Jammu and Kashmir exclusive rights over owning immovable property and jobs in the troubled region.

The party had also promised to put an end to “unjust terminations” of government employees on the grounds of national security, which had become common under the Lieutenant Governor’s rule, make efforts to release prisoners, repeal the draconian preventive detention law, the Public Safety Act, and create one lakh jobs for the youth.

It was a winning manifesto. The National Conference secured a landslide victory in the first ever assembly elections held in the Union territory.

On Thursday, as Abdullah's government completes one year in office, however, there is a pervasive sense of disappointment in its performance.

A large section of voters and political observers told *Scroll* that Abdullah's first year has been "a failure in governance". "As anticipated by many, the National Conference government has failed to deliver both on governance and political issues," said a political observer, who declined to be identified.

Another political commentator in Srinagar held the chief minister responsible for the drift. "Nobody would have expected them to get back Article 370 but to put up a strong fight for statehood was expected. However, here we are in a situation where the CM himself seems to be helpless and confused about his position and powers."

On the ground, the mood against the National Conference is one of dissatisfaction.

"There has been no change in the Centre's strong-arm approach towards Kashmir and the elected government is acting as a spectator," said a Srinagar businessman, who requested anonymity.

He was referring to the Abdullah government's silence on the termination of government employees or the use of the Public Safety Act against ordinary people as well as politicians. "They can't escape the moral responsibility by saying law and order isn't under our jurisdiction," the businessman said. "This government does not [seem to voice] what people are going through."

The leaders of the National Conference, however, say the party has fulfilled the "promise of intent and direction."

Tanvir Sadiq, chief spokesperson of National Conference, argued that it's too early to judge

the performance of the government.

"No government can fulfill every promise in its first year of a five-year mandate, but what distinguishes us is our clarity of purpose and visible progress," Sadiq told *Scroll* in a written response.

### **Waiting for statehood**

When the National Conference government was sworn in, several political observers expected it to have a hostile relationship with the Centre and the Lieutenant Governor administration, akin to the Arvind Kejriwal's confrontations as chief minister of Delhi.

Barely a week after taking oath as the chief minister last October, Omar Abdullah extended a hand of cooperation. He landed in New Delhi to submit a cabinet resolution asking for the restoration of Jammu and Kashmir's statehood to Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Union Home Minister Amit Shah.

On his two-day visit, Abdullah presented Kashmiri shawls to several BJP leaders – what the Opposition in Kashmir derisively called "shawl diplomacy".

That set the tone of the National Conference's engagement with New Delhi. In contrast, the Centre has barely reciprocated.

After his first meeting with Modi and Shah, Abdullah had said that he had "received assurances at the highest level that the commitments made to Jammu and Kashmir, particularly with regard to our governance model, will change."

But the restoration of statehood does not appear to be anywhere close to reality. On August 15, Abdullah announced a door-to-door campaign for statehood.

Even otherwise, New Delhi has made no bones of its unequal relationship with the elected chief minister in a setup where the Centre-appointed Lieutenant Governor has key powers.

In September, the *Telegraph* reported that the chief minister was not able to enter the main sanctum of the most revered Muslim shrine of

Hazratbal in Srinagar allegedly at the behest of Bharatiya Janata Party-controlled Waqf Board.

Similarly, during the Union Home Minister Amit Shah's visit to Jammu last month to assess damage caused by floods, the National Conference found itself in the middle of another embarrassing moment. Pictures of Shah inspecting damages while Abdullah remained in the background behind officials and security personnel, triggered an online storm against what many called "humiliation" of the elected representative. Among those who stood with Shah were Lieutenant Governor Sinha and Sunil Sharma, Leader of Opposition from BJP.

But it is not the marginalisation of an elected chief minister alone. "The present administrative structure which is hostage to two rival political dispensations has worsened the quality of governance," said the first political commentator.

Several observers conceded that the government has little wiggle room in the current set-up.

As the elected government of a Union territory, it has no say in areas like security and law and order. This is a major handicap for any government in a region where security and control over forces takes precedence over almost every other aspect of governance.

The transaction of business rules that would have offered clarity on the demarcation of powers between the Lieutenant Governor administration and the elected government has still not been finalised.

Sadiq, the National Conference spokesperson, admitted that the dual power set-up was a problem. "We have faced genuine challenges, operating under a dual power centre where even elected MLAs had to wait months for their Constituency Development Funds..." he added.

### **Report card**

For its governance record, the National Conference government has not much to show,

except for its social welfare schemes for the underprivileged – giving 200 units of free electricity and 10 kg rice to the poorest families, free bus travel for women across the union territory, and Rs 75,000 assistance for young women at marriage, among others.

When it comes to the larger anxieties of the people of Jammu and Kashmir after August 2019, people have not found any succour. For example, there has been a marked silence from the National Conference on issues like political prisoners or detentions under the notorious Public Safety Act.

The National Conference, however, says it has repeatedly raised these issues with New Delhi. "Time and again, the chief minister has raised these issues with the Union Home Minister," Sadiq said. "In the current setup, our role is to highlight and raise such concerns and we are doing exactly that. Once law and order returns to the government's hands, we will address these matters transparently and resolve them effectively."

Yet, the party has clearly avoided being too harsh in its criticism of the Centre. For example, when the Aam Aadmi Party's Doda MLA, Mehraj Malik, was detained under the Public Safety Act in September, the National Conference government did not make much noise about the detention.

While Abdullah said that there's "no justification" for detaining Malik and called it wrong, his government ignored the Aam Aadmi Party's request of convening a special session of the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly to pass a resolution against Malik's detention.

### **Reservation policy**

Many youngsters who voted for the National Conference in the last election feel dejected – especially on the question of reservations. "They have made a fool of us," said Nasir Ahmad, a 27-year-old student from South Kashmir's Kulgam district who voted for the first time last year.

( To be Contd....on Page -25)

# SILENCE FOR NON-VIOLENCE

**On a Thread of Creation, In a Global Circle, A Pilgrimage of Silence, Seeking in Orbit A Moment of Enlightenment, Of Peace and Truth, Within and Without**

How do we observe with significance the **2nd October** and accept the challenge of Non-violence at Individual and collectively levels?

**Let us visualize a cosmic thread flowing from the wheel of eternity. This will be a flow of harmony that can orbit the Earth in 24 hours, starting at midday sharp of the 2nd October from Japan, and after 1 minute of silence and introspection by the humanity, it moves westwards to encircle the whole Earth in 24 hours. This can be a celebration of our consciousness for homage to non-violence in today's context.**

In the flow of this silence, through introspection, we, the children of Mother Earth, pay homage to the greatest spiritual and creative flows of man and nature, of past and present, which have kept the spark of eternal love still glowing in each one of us.

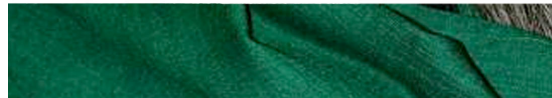
**We have observed saving of electricity for one minute all over the world. A minute of silence will be a global moment of enlightenment.**

**We are in the context of the world wide celebration of the concept of Satyagraha – truth and non-violence as experienced, experimented and lived by Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi. I wonder if at any time in the history of humanity, the philosophical and moral concepts of truth and compassion have been a subject of such collective and conscious celebration throughout the earth.**

Gandhi belongs to the entire Humanity and his life, philosophy and thought will remain a constant subject of study, analysis and



**Tara Gandhi Bhattacharjee\***



reverence as well as strong negative reactions.

The 2nd October – the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi – has been declared as the International Day of Non-violence by the United Nations. With the worldwide reality of consciousness of non-violence, there are also the terrifying contradictions of the reality of appalling and environmental pollution, horrifying human violence and terror with the threat of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons and a global chain of sentimental fear.

Yet the strongest force is inherent in truth, courage and compassion that are the desperate need of today. The philosophy and the practice of non-violence and peace are needed for the very survival of life and environment now.

**\*Tara Gandhi Bhattacharjee** is granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi. 🌈

# Did RSS Sacrifice for Freedom of India?

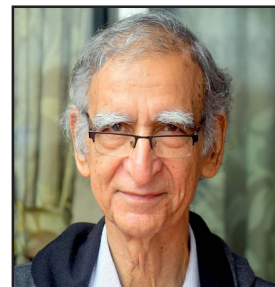
On the occasion of 100th year of foundation of RSS, Prime Minister Modi, the ex-Pracharak of RSS, paid eulogies to the RSS. He said that RSS has sacrificed tremendously for the freedom of the country and in places like Chimur RSS organized a protest also. As per him the contribution of RSS to Nation building is tremendous.

What is the real story? Freedom movement was for composite Indian Nationalism; inclusive to the core. Muslim Communalists were struggling for Muslim Nation and Hindu Communalists (RSS, Hindu Mahasabha) for Hindu nation. While Savarkar was not part of the RSS, he was a sort of Patron and ideologue of Hindutva and Hindu Nation. He was the guiding icon of RSS to a great extent. After apologizing and getting released from Andmans and later Ratnagiri jail, Savarkar never supported the freedom movement and was receiving a princely pension of Rs 60 per month, (close to Rs 4 Lakh of today) He helped the British in getting recruits for their army.

Hedgewar who was to be the first Sarsanghchalak of RSS did participate in Khilafat movement and was imprisoned for a year. With this taking along of Muslims and later Mopilla revolt of Kerala (Which was primarily the struggle of peasants against landlords) his Hindu Nationalism came to the fore and he left the Congress. Later he was part of the foundation of RSS, along with other Chittapavan Brahmins. They were disturbed due to the coming up of dalits in the form of movement against Landlord-Brahmin (Non Brahmin Movement). The other factor of foundation of RSS was the attempt of Gandhi to make

the movement all inclusive, including Muslims. The third core factor for formation of RSS was inspiration from Mussolini and Hitler.

The major evidence of 'their' nationalism being different was manifest when Pundit Nehru gave the call for unfurling tricolor on January 26, 1930. Hedgewar also called for unfurling the flag but it was to be a saffron flag. Currently even when the RS 100 coin has been issued to commemorate the 100th year of RSS, the coin has the picture of Bharat Mata with the Saffron flag, not Indian tricolor. The Tricolor was accepted by the Constitution and the Government planned to unfurl it on 15th August 1947. Shamsul Islam an eminent scholar of RSS writes "RSS English organ *Organizer* in its issue of August 14, 1947, denigrating the National Flag wrote that it would "never be respected and owned by Hindus. The word three is in itself an evil, and a flag having three colors will certainly produce a very bad psychological effect and is injurious to Country"



**Ram Puniyani**



Hedgewar did participate in salt Satyagrah as he saw this as an opportunity to expand his organization by trying to lure the freedom fighters who were jailed. So he resigned from the post of Sarsanghchalak and went to jail and upon return assumed the same post again. During this period he dissuaded others from participating in the movement. RSS as an organization did not take part in any anti British movement.

In the wake of 1942 'Quit India' Movement many claims and their hollowness came out. Atal Bihari Vajpayee claimed that he participated in the freedom movement, "In the wake of 1998 general elections, he had issued an appeal for seeking votes; he wrote that not only was he working for the RSS at shakha level but he also participated in the freedom movement ." As such he was part of RSS that time and as schools/colleges were closed he had gone to Bateshwar, his native village. He became an onlooker to the procession which was part of the Quit India movement. As an onlooker he was arrested. He immediately gave a letter dissociating from the procession and was released in a couple of days. "On August 27, 1942, at about 2 p.m. Kakua alias Liladhar and Mahuan came to the Ala and delivered a speech and persuaded the people to break the forest laws. Two hundred people went to the Forest Office and I along with my brother followed the crowd and reached Bateshwar Forest Office. My brother stayed below and all other people went up. I do not know the name of any other person, except Kakua and Mahuan, who was there."

Golwalkar was SarsanghChalak at this time. "In 1942 also there was a strong sentiment in the hearts of many. At that time too routine work of the Sangh continued. Sangh vowed not to do anything directly." (Shri Gururji Samgra Darshan, Vol IV, page 39-40).

**This ideologue of the RSS clearly spells out that fighting against the British has not**

**been part of their agenda. "We should remember that in our pledge we have talked of the freedom of the country through defending religion and culture, there is no mention of the departure of the British from here." A longish quote from Golwalkar clarifies their whole attitude** "There was some unrest in the mind due to the situation developing in the country from time to time. There was such unrest in 1942. Before that there was the movement of 1930-31. At that time many other people had gone to Doctorji (Hedgewar). The delegation requested Doctorji that this movement will give Independence and Sangh should not lag behind. At that time, when a gentleman told Doctorji that he was ready to go to jail, Doctorji said 'definitely go, but who will take care of your family then?' That gentleman replied, 'I have sufficiently arranged resources not only to run the family expenses for two years but also to pay fines according to requirement', then Doctorji told him 'If you have fully arranged for the resources then come out to work for Sangh for two years'. After returning home that gentleman neither went to jail nor came out to work for the Sangh."

Golwalkar also stated that "At that time too the routine work of Sangh continued. Sangh vowed not to do anything directly. However, upheaval (uthal-puthal) in the minds of Sangh volunteers continued. Sangh is an organization of inactive persons, their talks are useless, not only outsiders but also many of our volunteers did talk like this. They were greatly disgusted too." However, there is not a single publication or document of the Sangh which could throw some light on the great work the RSS did indirectly for the Quit India movement."

Modi's assertions have nothing to do with the truth. RSS is an organization working for Hindu Nation and had nothing to do with the freedom movement which aimed at a secular, democratic inclusive nation. 🌈

# Kannan Gopinathan: A New Hope for India's Politics

Today (13 October) marks a hopeful day for India — former IAS officer Kannan Gopinathan has joined Rahul Gandhi's New Congress, signaling not just a political shift but a moral awakening in Indian politics. His decision embodies integrity, conviction, and the promise of a politics rooted in service, not power.

## **Early Life and Social Commitment**

Born on 12 December 1985 in Kottayam, Kerala, Kannan Gopinathan grew up in a modest middle-class family. His father, K. N. Gopinathan Nair, served as a government clerk, and his mother, V. R. Kumari, was a homemaker.

After completing his B.E. in Electrical and Electronics Engineering from BITS Mesra (Ranchi), Kannan began teaching underprivileged children in the slums of Noida. He launched a community-driven education initiative to empower slum children with literacy, critical thinking, and self-confidence.

"Education," he said, "is the only power that prevents a person from becoming a victim of circumstance."

This commitment to equality and service laid the foundation for his future in public administration.

## **The Journey to IAS**

Before entering civil services, Kannan worked as a VLSI Design Engineer in the private sector. But his calling was different — he wanted to change the system from within. In 2012, he cleared the UPSC exam and became an IAS officer (AGMUT Cadre).

His administrative career was marked by grassroots transformation:

- In Mizoram, he launched Project Himna and MADAT, focusing on de-addiction and youth rehabilitation.
- Revived the Chite Lui river and

## **Pratap Saharan**

introduced community-led environmental initiatives.

- As Secretary of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, he turned the state's power distribution company from loss to profit and completed long-delayed infrastructure projects.

Throughout his service, he was known as a people's officer — transparent, empathetic, and unafraid to question complacency.

## **Resignation as a Moral Stand**

In 2018, during the devastating Kerala floods, Kannan secretly volunteered in relief camps — refusing to publicize his identity as a District Collector. When later discovered, his humility became a symbol of silent service.

A year later, following the abrogation of Article 370 and the communication lockdown in Jammu & Kashmir, he resigned from the IAS in protest.

"If citizens cannot speak, I have no moral right to remain a civil servant," he declared.

His resignation wasn't an act of rebellion — it was an act of conscience.

## **The Voice of a Citizen**

Post-resignation, Kannan became a strong advocate of civil liberties, constitutional rights, and democratic accountability.

He participated in movements against the CAA-NRC, was detained multiple times, and continued to write and speak on governance and equality.

"Patriotism," he said, "is not flattery of power but defense of truth."

## **Joining the New Congress**

On 13 October 2025, Kannan Gopinathan joined Rahul Gandhi's New Congress.

Welcoming him, K. C. Venugopal said — "We are proud to welcome a man of integrity, empathy, and moral strength into our fold."

( To be Contd....on Page -25)

# 1. Decoding Aadhaar: Proof of Identity vs. Proof of Citizenship – See What the Law Says

The question of Aadhaar card as a proof for citizenship again came for discussions and debates as the Election Commission of India (ECI) not included Aadhaar card in the list of 11 documents for claiming identity in the ongoing Special Intensive Revision (SIR) for the electoral rolls in Bihar. Although the list of documents is given, the ECI has already expressed that the list is 'illustrative' and not exhaustive. This will raise a concern regarding what are the other kinds of documents that can be given to and accepted by the ECI as a proof of identity. However those listed documents includes;

- Any identity card/Pension Payment Order issued to a regular employee/pensioner of any central or state government or a Public Sector Unit (PSU).
- Any identity card/certificate/document issued in India by the government/local authorities/banks/post office/LIC/PSUs prior to July 1, 1987.
- Birth certificate issued by the competent authority.
- Passport.
- Matriculation/education certificate issued by the recognised boards/universities.
- Permanent residence certificate issued by the competent state authority.
- Forest right certificate.
- OBC/SC/ST or any caste certificate issued by the competent authority.
- National Register of Citizens (wherever it exists).
- Family Register, prepared by state/local authorities.
- Any land/ house allotment certificate by the government.

This exclusion bewildered the people of Bihar

as most of the people are not able to submit many of these documents because of their poor knowledge of administrative matters as well as the lower socio-economic and educational conditions of the state.

According to a 2024 survey conducted by the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, Bihar, 33.1% of the voters were illiterate, while 22.2% had only received primary education. The survey also revealed that 53.1% of voters did not read newspapers or magazines, and 29.4% did not watch television. That 70% did watch television did not necessarily mean that they actively engaged with government initiatives or programmes. Further, nearly 41% of respondents reported not using the internet at all. Also the "Vital Statistics of India Based on the Civil Registration System" (2022) report, the percentage of registered births in the state is 71.6%, significantly lower than the national average of 89.1% and among this only 2.8% people born between are having a Birth certificate. When it comes to passport, as per the MEA performance smart board of May, 2025 shows that only 2.51% of the Bihar population holding a passport, which made them fall among the list of last 10 states with least number of passports. While fixing the NRC (National Register of Citizens) document as a proof is not pragmatically possible as it is not implemented nationwide by the Union government. Assam is the only state to implement the NRC that is too only followed from an order



**Arjun Rajeev kumar**

of the Supreme Court of India in 2014. Also the state of Bihar itself in February, 2020 passed a unanimous resolution against the implementation of a state specific NRC. Rather it given as a dead point, may be for provoking a thought of necessity of NRC in the minds of people in a Tricky way. But when it comes to giving any land/ house allotment certificate as a proof, this might be the only certificate hold by most of them among the other ten, since a large part of Bihar population is agriculture dependent.

On September 08, 2025 while dealing with a concatenation of petitions regarding the ongoing SIR of electoral rolls in Bihar, the bench of Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi clarified and allowed Aadhaar card as a stand-alone 12th document, which can be produced as a proof of identity for the purpose of inclusion in the revised voter's list of Bihar. Along with this the court made it obvious that Aadhaar is not a proof of citizenship. The Court recorded the undertaking from ECI and poll panel that Aadhaar card will be accepted as proof of identity.

While on 16th September, 2025 the same Bench of justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi refused to modify its September 6th September Interim order. The Bench said that the order was only interim and the question of Aadhaar card as a proof of identity remained open. The Bench pointed out that other commonly accepted identity documents like ration cards or driving licences were as much prone to forgery and Aadhaar could not be singled out for exclusion.

When it comes to the question of Aadhaar card's validity as a proof of citizenship, rather than only as a proof of identity, a large group of Indians have a notion that Aadhaar card is a proof of citizenship. But the legislative intention of The Aadhaar (targeted delivery of financial and other subsidies, benefits and services) Act 2016, i.e the actual purpose or aim of the Act as given in the Preamble of the Act is "An Act to provide for, as a good governance, efficient, transparent,

and targeted delivery of subsidies, benefits and services, the expenditure for which is incurred from the Consolidated Fund of India, [or the Consolidated Fund of the State] to individuals residing in India through assigning of unique identity numbers to such individuals and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto". In Section 9 of the Act also to avoid the ambiguity and doubt regarding citizenship, it is enumerated that "The Aadhaar number or the authentication thereof shall not, by itself, confer any right of, or be proof of, citizenship or domicile in respect of an Aadhaar number holder".

All this what the law says. But concerning the people in India, a large section of Indian residents has a thought that Aadhaar card is a proof of citizenship. Even though the Latin maxim *Ignorantia juris non excusat* (ignorance of the law is no excuse) has legality in the Indian Context, on the other side India as a developing nation in all aspects, the sources available to the middle and lower class people to know the law are very limited. When it comes to documents like voter ID card, PAN card, common people have knowledge about its use and purpose. It's the government and the expeditious procedure that they followed which made the public provoke a thought of citizenship regarding the Aadhaar card. This because of the constitution of Aadhaar Seva Kendras for the purpose of enrollment along with the capturing and collection of biometrics and the long queues before schools and other local level bodies made a strong impression on public regarding the validity and position of Aadhaar as a proof document which tied to their identity and citizenship. Also the tagline of Aadhaar card - मेरा आधार, मेरी पहचान (my Aadhaar, my identity) itself caused the people to concretize their identity as a Indian which also means a citizen of India.

The wrong perception which was carried and still carried by the Indian populace is not because

of themselves at large, but it was the flaw from the government not to conduct proper guiding and awareness campaigns and also of us who ourselves perceive socially committed and politically aware. It is not only a matter of correction rather, it wounded the heart of many when

they came to know the plain and undeniable purpose of Aadhaar.

**Arjun Rajeevkumar** is a 3rd year law student at KC Law College, Churchgate, Mumbai, hailing from Alleppey district of Kerala. 🌈

## 'We have been made fools': Why...

Contd. from page - (18)

Like thousands of open merit or general category students in Jammu and Kashmir, Ahmad had voted for the National Conference because of its promise to “review” the existing reservation policy for jobs and education. Over the last year, the Lieutenant Governor administration has altered the reservation allotments to breach the 50% cap set by the Supreme Court. While that has benefited the million-strong Pahari speaking community, it has led to massive protests by general category students, who account for 69% of Jammu and Kashmir’s population.

In the run-up to the 2024 Assembly elections, the National Conference had promised that the new reservation policy “will be reviewed and any injustice and imbalance will be corrected”. “Now, the very same leaders who convinced us to elect them are telling us that they don’t have powers to even transfer a peon. Isn’t this cheating?” Ahmad asked.

After coming to power, the Abdullah government tasked a cabinet sub-committee to review the reservation policy and asked it to submit a report within six months. To the utter frustration of thousands of youths, once the report was tabled in June, the government forwarded it to the law department for opinion and comments. Since then, the needle has not moved an inch.

Sahil Parray, a student activist who has been actively pursuing the matter of rationalisation of reservation policy, said the government’s attitude has not been encouraging. Parray said the government told the students that the law department has “identified some errors” in the committee’s report and as a result it has been returned to the social welfare department for corrections. “In short, they seem to be avoiding the issue and stalling for time,” Parray said. “We are very disappointed by their lack of seriousness.”

Nasir Ahmad, the student from Kulgam, pointed out a fundamental contradiction. “If my vote elects a leader who doesn’t have any power, then what’s the value of my vote?” asked Nasir Ahmad, the student from Kulgam.

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, 16 October 2025. 🌈

## Kannan Gopinathan: A New...

Contd. from page - (22)

His entry represents the moral renewal of a party seeking to rebuild itself on transparency, compassion, and constitutional values.

### The Symbol of a New Political Ethos

From Noida’s slums to India’s power corridors, and now into public politics, Kannan Gopinathan’s journey proves that truth and service can still find space in our democracy. His joining Congress is not about party politics — it’s about restoring ethics and empathy to governance. Perhaps this is the beginning of a new chapter — where citizens come before power, and the Constitution stands above all. 🌈

## 2. We Need To Go Back To The Agriculture And Rural India

As Indian ruling elites claim growth and prosperity to this country, these claims shatter when we visit the rural households in this country. The recent growth in this country has been only accessible to people who can afford English education or to extraordinary individuals who broke their chains to enter the clubs of those educated elites, despite the initial struggles with their regional language. However, it is not necessary that everyone could achieve these extraordinary and those who are not extraordinary are the people who need to be served by the Indian state.

These aspirational economic growth rates in India have been only limited to Urban spaces, where FDIs and establishment of SEZs have helped cities reach an annual growth rate of 7-8 per cent. On the contrary, rural India has been growing very slowly at the average rate of 2-3%, this clearly indicates the policy gap which our states have hidden deliberately to portray a certain image of India, which is positive in the lens of the Western investors. The policy makers coming from Kennedy Schools, LSE and IIMs clearly lack the understanding of Rural India. In recent years it seems our policy makers have almost given up on agriculture and have been believing that MSPs and subsidies are the only way of sustenance of agriculture in this country. This prejudice is itself destructive to rural India. It is because, when agriculture suffers around 85% of households suffer in the country. Distress in agriculture means the craftsmen will not find employment during festivals, painters of the countryside will have no walls to paint, this creates a rural distress and this distress forces these semi skilled workers to migrate to urban areas. This creates another problem for Urban centres, which cannot support every incoming migrant.

In recent decades at the policy level, it seems that Indian economists have accepted this forced

migration as an indicator of growth, which is far from true. The aspirations of rural India have not been understood by our policy makers. Indian policy makers have to go back to villages and understand the rural distress which is coming from the primary

sector. As global warming increases agriculture is the most vulnerable, which will create a severe crisis in Indian society. Business school experts argue that Indian farmers should shift to new modes of agriculture, integrating their farms to technology like the USA. Here lies the basic issue in their assumption itself where they believe that Indian farmers have access to land and capital. Unlike the USA, Indian farmers do not hold big farms and they are not integrated with factories and other cash driven industries. Most of Indian agriculture is based upon basic sustenance crops which is being done by using traditional or by using basic methods. Secondly, the majority of agriculture production is done by landless labourers or by farmers who are working on the rented lands. The policy makers need to understand, rural India needs an equal focus. The rural inflation is higher than ever, climate change has started showing its impact and our urban centres cannot afford this much influx of migrants due to the policy paralysis by our policy makers. It's high time our policy makers understand the issue of young farmers who hold two cows and a small plot of land for their survival before it is too late. Otherwise, Capitalism which is being adopted blindly as a tool of development will be built upon the ruins of rural India.

*Shantanu Deepak is BA (Hons) Political Science (2022-26) student at University of Delhi.* 



**Shantanu Deepak**

# The Overview of the Theory of Humanism

*(Journal of Indian Council of Philosophical Research, 2024)*

Obviously, the Theory of Humanism is a brand new theoretical system of philosophy. It provides a new interpretation of philosophy, reorganizes and redefines the main subjects involved in philosophy, and in particular provides the final answer on how society should develop. Of course, as a complete philosophical theoretical system, its hundreds of thousands of words cannot be presented in a single paper, so this paper can only be an outline or introduction to it. If there are opportunities in the future, it can be gradually elaborated in other papers.

Below, this paper will start with the four main subjects of philosophy: What is philosophy? What is man? What is the world? What is society? So as to outline my whole philosophical theory. And in the subject of what philosophy is, it briefly describes the four core propositions of philosophy: ontology, epistemology, essentialism and the theory of human nature, so that you will have a general grasp of my philosophy, or in other words, you will have a clear understanding of philosophy at a glance!

## 1. What is philosophy?

This seems to be the simplest question, but in fact, there are not many people who really understand this question. Most people are half-baked and even muddled. In my opinion, philosophy is just the way of human survival. In popular terms, it is the program that guides people on how to live the best. I also refer to the way or program as principle. Therefore, philosophy is a discipline to study principle. In fact, the fundamental problem of mankind is that once this principle is incorrect, the whole world will inevitably live in error, and the occurrence of wrong people and wrong things will become a very

normal and inevitable phenomenon; In other words, there are only wrong principles in this world, and there are absolutely no wrong people or things, and under the guidance of correct principle, there will naturally be no wrong people or things, and everything will become so harmonious, eternal, and perfect!

And this clear interpretation about philosophy is actually the overall guiding ideology of my whole philosophical theory, and it is precisely because no one can explain the question, including Locke, that man must be muddleheaded, society must be chaotic, and more there is no a standard answer to the world. In fact, whether it is theology, metaphysics (mainly referring to rationalism), or matterology (including materialism, naturology and science), they all hope to point out a bright path for human development, or in other words, who doesn't hope that everyone can live well! However, because their principles are all incorrect, it is impossible to persuade each other, and therefore they must be mutual suspicion, mutual suppression, mutual attack. That is to say, these doctrines must speak themselves high-end, sophisticated and classy on the surface, but in their hearts they know that each other are all deceiving, hoodwinking and cheating. The truth behind this is that, in situations where principle is unclear, in order to gain benefits, one can only resort to deception; Otherwise, if you don't use deception, you will be put to mortal danger by other people who use deception, and therefore, this is an endless vicious cycle.



**He Wan**

And what exactly is this perfect principle? The principle may seem very complex, and from the perspective of the whole history of philosophy, it is undoubtedly numerous and complicated, magnificent, and opinionatively various, but in reality, this principle is very simple because the more true and correct something is, the more simple it will inevitably be! Actually, let's put it this way, it mainly involves four philosophical core propositions — ontology, epistemology, essentialism and the theory of human nature, as long as you grasp the thread of problems, there are no things that cannot be seen clearly, let alone problems that cannot be solved. Everything is so clear and plain! In terms of ontology, Protagoras had made the noumenon very clear more than 2000 years ago — “Man is the measure of all things, all things exist when it exists, and all things do not exist when it does not exist”, but why do so many people must extol God and heaven (includes natural rules and matters)? This involves the issue of the theory of human nature. In terms of the theory of human nature, Qian Sima clearly described human nature when he said that “all the hustling people to hustling in the world are for interests to come, and all the bustling people in the world are for interests to go”, which is the root of all problems. God and heaven are just tools used by some people for their own narrow interests! And how can these problems be thoroughly exposed and solved? This again involves the issue of epistemology and essentialism. In terms of epistemology, as I put it in my words, everything is nothing but the stuff of man's ideas. Whether it is the existence of God or the existence of heaven, they are only a sensory idea and a reflective idea of man. In other words, if this world is detached from human ideas, it itself has nothing, which is equivalent to the world of the dead, where nothing exists, that is, the deserted universe.

In terms of essentialism, if use my remark to specifically interpret the essence of man, it means that in the reciprocity criterion of man-oriented mutual trust and mutual concession, achieve the maximization of everyone's interests! And this is precisely the specific content of human essential reason (I extend this word and reasonism from Locke's reason to distinguish it from rational and rationalism) real knowledge, that the essence represents a unique reasonal ability of man and is displayed through the form of real knowledge. If going after profits and avoid disadvantages is a common nature between man and all other animals, then real knowledge is the best profit model unique to man that is different from animals, that is, the biggest difference between man and animals. And through this advanced lofty new profit model, the existing low-grade narrow profit models will be eliminated, thus achieving the true top-level form of man — perfect man! Isn't this world so simple and clear!

At this moment, in the end, what I want to say is that, on the surface, the chaos in the world and the suffering of mankind are caused by religion and capitalism, who have not scrupled to fabricate various lies to deceive the public in order to grab the narrow and extreme self-interest; But in essence, in fact this is to have no option but to do so, in other words, there is nothing wrong with religion and capitalism themselves, but it is the mistake that there is no completely correct theory for them to exercise, and Locke's theory can only be said to solve some problems on the surface of the material level, but not solve the problems of the essential spiritual level. Therefore, the fundamental core issue now still lies in how to create a sound guiding theory, which is precisely the mission and significance of philosophy. And so, a truly philosophy to be universally applicable will not attack whom, oppose whom or eliminate

whom, but will only correct whom, guide whom, and unify whom. As long as there is such a perfect philosophical theory, everyone can believe that I can gain those benefits through your theory, especially to achieve my maximum interests. I believe that under such situation, there will never be people who insist on their previous wrong theories, in fact, in the final analysis, it is still a matter of interests. Anyway, as long as there are errors in your theory, discerning people can tell at a glance, so, inevitably they will still uphold the old theory in order to protect their vested interests, therefore, in essence it is just a question of how to make principles correct. That is to say, there are only wrong principles in this world, and there are absolutely no wrong people or things, and under the guidance of wrong principles, wrong people and wrong things are inevitable phenomena; On the contrary, under the guidance of correct principles, there will naturally be no wrong people or wrong things, and everything will become so perfect!

Now the topic of what philosophy is has been discussed, next it is time to briefly describe the topics of what man is, what the world is, and what society is. And these topics are obviously also the main subjects that religion and other philosophies must explore, so as long as these questions are answered, the wrong theoretical foundations of religion and other philosophies are basically corrected.

## **2. What is man?**

Man is the foundation of everything, everything serves it and it governs and operates everything. It is precisely with this source, namely the noumenon, that we can explain all problems as plain as daylight and deal with them in perfect order. All other philosophies, on the other hand, are necessarily wrong, chaotic and absurd because this issue is not solved well, and therefore the whole world must be in chaos all the time. For

example, from my point of view of humanism, this humanism only means to be just human consciousness, that is, human consciousness is regarded as the noumenon of everything, also that is, everything can only exist within the scope of human consciousness, but not outside the scope of human consciousness. However, the fundamental mistake of materialism and rationalism is to put their so-called noumenon, such as matter and God, outside the scope of human consciousness, as things independent of and beyond man. But in fact, all these things are merely human ideas!

From another perspective, man exists with the existence of human consciousness. When a person's consciousness does not exist, the person does not exist (at this time, it can be completely assumed that his body exists forever), but because other people still exist, the world still exists. When human beings do not exist, it means that the consciousness of the world does not exist, so the world does not exist like that person, even if the world's body is eternal!

## **3. What is the world?**

This world is composed of consciousness, idea and thing. Consciousness is noumenon, idea is substance and thing is belonging. You can never say that thing is substance or noumenon, it can only be belonging! That is to say, if all kinds of everything in the boundless universe can not form the ideas of man, they will have no meaning or are nothing; On the contrary, only those stuffs that can constitute man's ideas are meaningful or form their existence, and I call these stuffs things, that is, belongings, that is, the various of things existing in man's ideas, such as the external things of sensation and the internal things of reflection, as Locke said. In this way, consciousness (noumenon) - idea (substance) - thing (belonging), it is precisely these three that constitute an organic whole and constitute

the real existence of man and the universe.

To be more precise, idea is all the sensible and knowable things observed by consciousness through experience, that is, the carrier of all things, also that is, the object of consciousness, and in fact, it is the real world we live in and because there are differences in ideas among individuals, everyone's world is not exactly the same. That is to say, only the perceived world is the real world, that is, the substance, while the so-called world outside idea is empty and nonexistent. Therefore, the idea is the window of consciousness, and only what you see through this window is the actual stuffs and the basic material for human survival to rely on. At the same time, in addition to knowing new ideas, consciousness will also process the original ideas and form new ideas, and new things will be generated accordingly, so that the world will become larger and larger in the continuous strengthening and change of ideas. Therefore also, it can be said that man's idea is the world and the world will be as big as the idea can be. For individuals, in addition to those common basic ideas (mainly external things), such as gold, wood, water, fire and earth, due to people's different environment and knowledge level, there will be many individual or some people's special ideas (mainly internal things), such as quantum mechanics, monsters of every description, and guqin, chess, penmanship and painting. Of course, even for the same thing, people will also have different ideas, such as dragon. Some people think it is auspicious, while others think it is ominous. In short, everything is the idea of human consciousness.

#### **4. What is society?**

In fact, society refers to the main form of organization formed among the members of the social animals to survive, while solitary animals are not social; Moreover, as long as it is a society, there will inevitably be its

corresponding organizational rule, and this rule is the social system, which is also the direct factor that determines whether the members of the society can obtain happiness. Of course, as a higher animal with high-level conceptual logical thinking, man's social system is obviously different from that of ordinary animals with only low-level perceptual logical thinking. But is this artificial social system superior to the natural one? It's really hard to say!

Looking back at the entire human history, before the slave society, people in the primitive high mutual altruism, through the collective strength and wisdom not only stubbornly survived, but also became the lord of creation to master the world. It is also at this time, without the threat of other animals, with life to be guaranteed, selfish nature instead began to be exposed without scruple, and the internal oppression, exploitation and war are then constantly staged and escalated. From slave society to feudal society, and then to capitalist society, the tragic scenes are visible before the eyes.

Of course, compared to the previous two social systems, the capitalist social system definitely has progress, especially after World War II, while the bourgeoisie ate meat, it also made the mass class drink soup. Locke's theory undoubtedly played a huge practical role in it, especially on the basis of his empiricism and utilitarianism theory, he also put forward his theory of separation of powers, which played a huge role in balancing interest relations, effectively avoiding the opportunity for dictatorial autocracy to seize the maximum extreme selfish interests, and at the same time causing a huge change in the social system of Western countries — from autocracy to democracy. However, although the capitalist democratic system has replaced the feudal autocratic system, improved the distribution of benefits to a

certain extent, and reduced some deceptive practices, this change is not complete and still does not eliminate the existence of the deceptive methods in religious forces. In the so-called new system, you cannot see any leaders of Western countries opposing God, as it seems that God is also very useful to them. Therefore, the current Western society can only be said to be a dilettante. The reason why Locke drew a line between faith and reason is both a compromise move and a helpless move, but in any case, it is better to change half than not to change at all, and the wheel of history will always come to the day when all deceptions will be completely changed — entering the final stage of higher society — the all-fairism's society!

In fact, it is not difficult to find that if Locke's separation of powers is not handled properly, it will develop into mutual handicaps of the three powers, mutual demolitions, partisan disputes, and national tearing, from which there is no standard, fairness, and justice. The reason for this is still the lack of a unified, correct and perfect spiritual idea, and in this state of lack of unified goal, unified cognition and unified criterion, the world is inevitably filled with contradictions, crises, and struggles. That is to say, as long as the problem of the spiritual level is solved well, people will naturally consciously maintain social order and morality through the way of principle, and there is no need for law to restrict and force, that is, there is no need for the rule of law model of separation of powers to impose hard constraints. As the old saying goes, it's not sweet to forcibly pick a melon. Even if your rule of law system is strong and strict, it must be full of loopholes, it is impossible to have no holes to exploit, especially there will be too many hidden rules, which are simply unable to catch by law. Compared with the past rule of man society, the current

rule of law society has only shifted from the bare ground to the extremely hidden underground, but its essence has not changed. Therefore, the entire society is still full of chaos and constant struggles. After all, the idea of the rule of law is a mechanical and passive mode, which treats the symptoms rather than the root cause. The fundamental problem is that for those who abide by the rules and regulations and are above board, they will not get the benefits they deserve. On the contrary, those who secretly violate the law and discipline are very popular and make abundant money. In other words, laws that rely on punishment mechanisms cannot contain those who seek to grab extreme self-interest. And what is the root cause of these phenomena? Or, how can we completely change all the false appearances? This is a question of how to understand principle, respect principle and abide by principle, and thus establish a new era of ultimate rule of principle society after the rule of man society and the rule of law society!

Of course, from a broad perspective, this paper of mine and the whole theory of mine are discussing the issue of this principle and providing an overview. But from a narrow perspective, this principle is actually that remark: In the reciprocity criterion of man-oriented mutual trust and mutual concession, achieve the maximization of everyone's interests! This is also the specific application level of principle, or in other words, the specific way of governing the world, that is, the best way of survival. Firstly, what needs to be changed in this world is to pull God and heaven (includes nature and various concepts and rules) from their noumenal positions. They are just human ideas and man is the true noumenon of the world, and only then can we completely unify our thoughts and regard the real knowledge of man as

faith. Furthermore, only by putting man oriented can man move towards human law, or in other words, the law of the true knowledge —mutual trust and mutual concession, thus completely drawing a clear boundary with the law of the jungle of nature, that is, the law of instinct — the weaks are the prey of the strongs. In fact, the laws used by divine law's society and natural law's society are that the weaks are the prey of the strongs, so man is not happier than animals. It can be said that mutual trust and mutual concession is a new way of profit. Finally, from the perspective of real knowledge, achieving the maximization of everyone's interests is the most genuine and unique ultimate goal, and if other goals are touted, such as go to Heaven, they are undoubtedly deceiving. And how can we achieve this goal? In fact, unifying thinking and adopting the new way are preparations for it. You can just think, in the case of a unified belief, can everyone not trust each other? And in the case of mutual trust, do we still worry that the criterion of mutual reciprocity of mutual concession that needs to be carried out in order to achieve the maximization of interests, cannot be implemented effectively? And in this situation, does mankind still need the law? Or rather, how can there still be contradictions, conflicts, crises and wars in this world? Actually, the urgent task at present is nothing more than to establish the correct thought of putting man oriented. As long as this problem is solved, everything else is not a matter at all! This is also the most fundamental problem that no philosopher has been able to solve for thousands of years — faith!

The main purpose of this paper is that let people know the basic content of that perfect philosophical theory, and thus achieve the fundamental goal of it: under the

guidance of correct principles, there will naturally be no wrong people or wrong things, and everything will become so perfect!

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### **Additional information**

During this period, I often think of a person — Protagoras. In fact, he is the greatest philosopher in the world, because he created a man-oriented ideological system, which is why I regard him as the first ancestor of humanism. But what is regrettable is that his entire theory has been stifled and has not been passed down, resulting in a delay of more than two thousand years in the entire human development process. Although there have been a large number of excellent philosophers such as Locke and Feuerbach since the Renaissance, none of them have been able to solve the ontological problem like Protagoras, so as to solve the problems fundamentally. And now, my main task is to reproduce and reconstruct Protagoras' theory, in order to fill a significant gap in philosophical theory. In short, now I firmly believe that the human tragedy of Protagoras will not be repeated!

**He Wan writes about himself:** I am an independent scholar and poet from the Chinese folk, and I have taught myself English. My philosophy is unique and I have named it "Humanism". It is obvious that this is the most advanced, standard, simple and practical philosophical theory to date. 🌈

## He Wan's mail to the Editor:

**Dear Mahi Pal Singh,**

I'm very glad to receive your letter and deeply appreciate the opportunity to have my article published in your journal. My email address is 18369068635@163.com.

It is obvious that M. N. Roy is a profound and great thinker. His humanism undoubtedly points out the direction for human development! In fact, whether in the past or now, the biggest and most fundamental problem that humanity faces is still the religious issue. The reason why the religious problem has not been eradicated is that the humanism since the Renaissance is still not perfect and has not formed a unified, complete and standard humanist philosophical theory. The biggest deficiency lies in the fact that the ontology of humanism has not been formed, and thus it is impossible to eliminate religious theology!

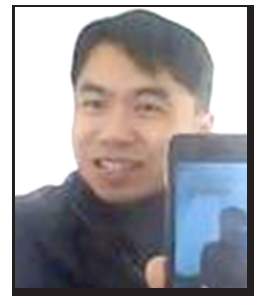
After six years of research, I have finally completed a comprehensive humanism theory. It is also the ultimate improvement of the entire philosophical theoretical framework. In fact, contemporary Western philosophy has long stagnated. To be precise, it is all about aimless nonsense, and they are all indulging in it, being complacent and lacking the spirit of progress. It is precisely in this situation that I came to Academia.edu to seek other opportunities. Since I have published articles in India before, I have some understanding of the research level and academic attitude in India, and I am well aware of its spirit of seeking truth from facts and striving for progress. When I saw your webpage, I was surprised to find that there is a specialized humanism journal in India. This touched me deeply, so I quickly followed you. As the saying goes, great minds think alike. We met and got to know each other unexpectedly in this way!

In my opinion, philosophy is actually very simple. It's like a riddle or a brain teaser. Once you fully understand it, all problems can be easily solved quickly. But as long as the guiding question of philosophy remains unsolved, or in other words, as long as humanity has not found that philosophical truth, the world will inevitably remain in chaos, conflict, contradiction and pain. Of course, a new theory may emerge, but that doesn't mean it will develop rapidly around the world smoothly because many regions do not want to break their established rules and ideological foundations. Therefore, it must first develop in the most suitable emerging region and prove everything in practice!

At present, I have several important papers under review in multiple Western journals. Meanwhile, I have compiled some related papers into a book and am planning to find a publisher to release it in book form. In this way, a systematic and complete philosophical theory can be made available quickly, thus saving a lot of time and enabling it to enter the practical stage as soon as possible. This book is the essence and summary of my entire humanism theory. It is also full of spirituality and vividness, and forms a complete guidance system from theory to practice. Undoubtedly, this is my main life's work and achievement! Once this book is published, I will have fulfilled my main mission. Additionally, I firmly believe that as long as the right place is found, practice is an easy thing - for thousands of years, there have never been a lack of excellent practitioners, but rather a lack of a correct guide!

Since I met you, I suddenly had an idea: Would you be willing to offer a favor by recommending or contacting an Indian publisher to publish this book? I would be deeply grateful for that! Of course, some of the papers were directly translated by translation software without thorough checking and revision, so there might be some inaccuracies and awkwardness. I plan to make corrections after getting the publishing opportunity. In the attachment, I have attached a rough draft of the book. Please take a look and offer your corrections.

Best wishes.



**He Wan**

# Possibility of Synthesizing the Thoughts of Gandhi - Roy-Ambedkar and Upadhyay

**Dr. Vidyut Joshi**

## **Introduction:**

Academic discourse in India is more on finding differences rather than seeking similarities between thoughts of any two scholars. Unlike the tradition in the west, synthesis of ideas is found much less here. As a result, Indian literature is filled with many such debates and contradictions. Amartya Sen, in his book, *The Argumentative Indian*, discusses how Indians engage in debates and tries to explain it through the concept of pluralism. Similarly, Bhikhu Parekh has outlined the tradition of Indian debate in his book *Debating India*. Both the great scholars have written about ancient and medieval India. However, in the first 55 years of the 20th century, India saw emergence of four humanist thinkers, and their followers still debate how different they were. This difference is not limited to debates alone but follows the idea of “as many opinions, as many points of view”, and this pluralism has not diminished but perhaps continues to increase. If India has to show a distinct political culture, it is time that we synthesise thoughts of four giants and present Indian Humanism view before the scholarly world. This is also a need of the time. political need for this becomes more pronounced when scholars are seeking a way of the ills of neo liberalism, India must show its distinct national character.

A special feature of Indian society is that it is not just a plural society but one with complexity in its pluralism. Here, there are multiple castes, diverse ideological traditions, multiple religions, languages, economic systems, subcultures, and different social and economic stages coexisting together. This complex tapestry provides each citizen with multiple identities. Every citizen is a follower of some

religion or sect, a member of some caste, a member of some language group, a native of some region, a member of some occupational group, and a member of some socio-cultural institutions. In such a society, when “you” and “I” meet as professionals, there is unity as professionals, but we may still differ as members of different caste groups or religious groups or even language groups. So, while our professional interests and identity may align, in other identities, we are distinct. This increases the complexity of our relationships. In such a complex society, no single dominant authority or principle can endure. Perhaps because of this, an established religion with a single text feels less fitting. Here, only the eternal (Sanatan) culture survives. Even in philosophy, there is diversity.

Indian philosophy has nine schools of thoughts-six theistic schools and three non-theistic schools existing side by side. In such complexity, the tendency to emphasize differences in debates is greater and also easier, and the tendency to seek similarities is somewhat difficult and found less. However, the resolution of differences must come through some enlightened (in the sense of enlightenment) and critical approach, by discussing and building consensus. This critical approach is not merely a cynical stance, but involves finding commonality (commonness) across various perspectives and harmonizing them. Despite all this diversity, consensus can only exist as human beings. Because we are all divided into multiple identities, yet as humans, we are all one. Not only that, but the coexistence of differing opinions is also possible here. The idea that human existence is more important than thought or opinion is at the core of humanism. With this

introduction, the paper discusses four political thinkers-activists of modern Indian humanism and the integration of their thoughts.

The four thinkers we are going to discuss are: (1) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (henceforth Gandhi), (2) Manavendra Nath Roy (henceforth Roy), (3) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (henceforth Ambedkar), and (4) Deen Dayal Upadhyay (henceforth Upadhyay). The reason for arranging them in this order is merely their chronological sequence. These four thinkers were also high-level political activists, yet, let me say that for all of them, holding political office was not important. What was important was shaping India according to their thoughts. Now, the reality is that two of them - Gandhi and Ambedkar - had already worked together and resolved some of their differences.

The Indian freedom struggle was carried out under Gandhi's leadership, while Roy was initially a member of the Congress and had contested election for its presidency and Upadhyay was the president of the Bharatiya Janata Sangh (Indian People's Union), the earlier incarnation of Bharatiya Janata Party. The organization had resolved to go for Gandhian socialism. So, there was some basic integration of each thinker's views with the others. However, during that time, no effort was made for them to work together, perhaps due to India's complexity. The situation now is that followers of all four thinkers have come face to face due to differences in time, place, class, and other contextual situations. Not only that, followers have even critiqued one another in ways that the great figures themselves did not. Therefore, perhaps the integration of these four thinkers' humanist thoughts has not yet taken place.

I believe that if the thoughts of these four humanist thinkers can be integrated into a coherent philosophy, it could offer the world a modern vision of life. This idea is still in its

embryo stage and is being expressed for the first time, so logically, there are still many gaps in it. The details of its completion are yet to be worked out. Therefore, this article will only discuss the beginning of the integration. This article is written in narrative style and not written in the typical format of a research paper with references.

### **Humanism:**

Let's define humanism then. It means that the spiritual life of a human being can only be understood in the context of rational philosophy. The process of thinking, when shifted away from overly humanistic elements, should turn toward the individual and human affairs. It should explore how humans can shape and lead their lives and how they can build social institutions. In this sense, the 'existence' of a free human being can be understood and fulfilled through humanism. It is important to remember that we are speaking of the whole of humanity, not individual humans. In this context, humanism is not only a political ideology, but it becomes a school of thoughts - a philosophy of life. Let's now look at the main features of this perspective. At a time when the world is governed by neo liberal forces adopting liberalization, privatization and globalization. The results may be faster growth with issues like we experience the environment crisis, inequality, terrorism, artificial lifestyle resulting in many lifestyle diseases and tariff wars. We will have to find a way out. There is a possibility for the world to receive a new perspective from the four abovementioned Indian thinkers and that that can become known as Indian humanism.

### **Features of Humanism:**

1. The fundamental belief of humanism is that the spiritual (not necessarily religious) life of a human being should be rational and that human beings should be at the foundation of philosophical thinking. If people are not

free enough to shape their own lives, then they remain enslaved and subordinate. Of course, some branches of humanism may even deny the importance of spiritual life, but Indian humanism accepts spirituality. However, to explain any event in the world, it is necessary to find fundamental causes within this world. When the state makes efforts to end poverty and destruction, it cannot blame sin, virtue, or God for it. Yes, Indian humanism rejects ritualism, but if a high-level collective consciousness exists, it accepts it.

2. Humanism rejects all deterministic and monolithic theories and, instead, emphasizes human efforts. If it weren't for this, these four great thinkers - political activists - would not have become what they were. Therefore, humanism does not accept the belief that even a leaf cannot move without God's will.
3. With humans at the centre of thought, the knowledge of the world should be human-centred. This was acknowledged in the West, after which all social sciences emerged. Various academic disciplines came up that were centred around human study. Since humans are at the centre, human - to-human relations became essential in all studies. The primary goal of humanism has been to find and establish harmony (in the sense of peaceful coexistence) in human-human relationships and in the relationship between humans and nature.
4. Humanism is rooted in the freedom of the human being. This is not just about political freedom. Every human has the freedom to shape their own life. The

question is to understand one's freedom and apply it in the shaping of one's life. Without this, human life would not have expressed itself in music, literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, and other aesthetic and creative abilities. Freedom, while being an individual trait, is also connected through dialogue with other humans. Humanism acknowledges nature. Nature consists of three biotic elements 1. Plants, 2. Animals, including humans, and 3. Microorganisms and five abiotic elements (the 'PanchMahabhut'). These eight elements are interlinked and interdependent. Therefore, humans must live in harmony with nature. This rationality gives birth to science. All of these aspects are not separate from humans or beyond their understanding.

5. Human relations with other humans are based on harmony. Society has been built through reciprocal relationships. The relationship between humans and nature, and between humans themselves, forms a harmonious structure. However, sometimes competition and conflict may arise between different humans and elements of nature. But their extent is limited. Social harmony is fundamentally about the relationship between self and others. In ideal Western liberal thought, social harmony is seen as a state of society in which its constituent parts - individuals, groups, organizations, and ethnic groups - rarely experience contradictions or conflicts.
6. Humanism holds that all humans are equal. This equality is not mechanical. Therefore, not everyone automatically

gets the same status and economic conditions. This equality is in terms of human rights and citizenship. Each individual has unique abilities and various rewards, and thus, economic differences do exist. However, these differences will not be in a form that diminishes their equality as humans. Therefore, a humanistic society will be egalitarian.

7. Despite some economic inequality according to human diversity, the humanistic state will be one of social justice and welfare. It will provide the means for everyone to live a quality life. However, this separation sustains diversity. Of course, the humanistic society will ensure that there is no vast gap between the poor and the rich.
8. Humanism believes in equal justice. Justice means the standards of who should receive what and how much. The humanistic state will be a welfare state. It will ensure that every citizen receives what is necessary for a quality life. Centralization of wealth goes against human freedom. Therefore, such a humanistic society will have a decentralized economic structures.
9. In such humanism, education is not

just liberal or vocational education. The edifice of education stands on four pillars known as four 'H' - intellect (head), skill (hand), character (heart), and harmony (mutuality). In this education, adequate opportunities will be provided to develop human capabilities.

10. In such a humanist state, the economy will be based on cooperation, not competition. The market will be decentralized. At its core will be the human needs as the foundation, not some individuals' profit. Science will remain universal, but technology will be locally developed.

### **Three Worldviews and Humanism:**

When the Enlightenment era arrived in the West, Immanuel Kant said that henceforth the philosophical discourse will be on 'me' and 'the other', and no more on God, the philosophy started discussing man's relationship with the other elements of the cosmos. Since then, social sciences have emerged, and three dimensions of human relationships (conflict, competition, and cooperation) gave rise to three global perspectives. These three perspectives still exist today in a widespread form and remain a fundamental part of social science thinking. Let's now look at the details of these three perspectives.

### **Three Global World-views' Spectrum**

| Human Relationship | Conflictual  | Competitive | Harmonious                    |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| Core Value         | Equality     | Liberty     | Fraternity                    |
| Ideology           | Socialism    | Capitalism  | Humanism                      |
| Social Structure   | Classless    | Stratified  | Harmonious                    |
| Power              | Totalitarian | Centralized | Egalitarian                   |
| Economy            | Public       | Private     | Cooperative and Decentralized |
| Modernity          | Acceptable   | Acceptable  | Partially                     |
| Acceptable         |              |             |                               |
| Violence           | Direct       | Structural  | Minimal                       |

 (To be continued...)

# **The Humanist Frame**

## **Social Purpose and the Integrity of the Artist**

**Stephen Spender**

(Summarized by : **Vinod Jain**)

Evolutionary Humanists hold that evolution, which has ceased to occur on a large scale in the world of nature, has become, or should become, the conscious and purposive aim of human beings. People must be awakened to the idea that there is an evolutionary obligation which has to be fulfilled not only through organs of government and public opinion, but also by every means of bringing such a purpose into consciousness.

In common with theories like those of Marx and Freud, which make behaviour conscious that was previously unconscious, this inevitably involves reconsideration of the past. Every advance in consciousness has to be confirmed by evidence that it realizes conditions already implicit in human nature, though not before stated. Conscious processes are unconscious ones made conscious. If it is true that evolution has become the responsibility of which Evolutionary Humanists have to persuade their fellow-beings, then this task is all the more pressing at a time when the future of the human species seems itself in balance.

Here I shall discuss the visual arts as a function of evolving human consciousness. In a way such a discussion may seem superfluous. For obviously it would be simple to trace the evolution of art from the cave painting to the modern, and to point out that as images, architecture and sheer accumulation of styles and objects, art expresses the growth of human awareness and even reflects history. Art is a central medium for the realization of man's search for significance in life. Art provides a record of the stored history of events, of rulers, of religions, of fashions. In the development of the artist himself from the primitive magic-man

to the artisan and craftsman, and thence to the artist prince, Leonardo or Michelangelo, Degas or Picasso, the historic development of consciousness from anonymity to individuality is epitomized: hence, no doubt, our preoccupation with the biographies of artists. At a time when individualism is threatened, if not a lost cause, the artist tends to be regarded as a hero, his works his deeds.

The visual arts tend towards the multiplication of images, which in effect means polytheism, as is evident in Hindu religion and the Catholic Church.

The relationship of artistic to social consciousness varies from time to time and place to place. Society is at liberty to dominate it, but at the price of there being no art. And where there is no art, the spiritual health of the community is in danger because the expression of perceptive sensibility has been over-ruled.

In the past priests and princes have, not without success, enlisted art to enhance their glory. In civilizations like the Egyptians, where the greatness of the pharaohs, and the mythology of the after-life were visualized, art was fused with the sacred, just as in Hebrew civilization laws and poetry were one, or in Greece, poetry and religion. In Egypt, art, although attached inseparably to the power of the State, remained imaginative, because the authority of the State itself rested on a powerfully imagined mythology.

The history of the development of art is, largely, the history of the attempts of the artist to create his own vision, with or without the approval of society. Historically the development of art has been mainly in the direction of greater realism: e.g. Egyptian and Greek sculptures and painters developing the technique to represent

figures seen from the front and not only in profile, the spectacular growth of naturalism in Greek art, the exploitation of the laws of perspective in Renaissance art, etc.

The Evolutionary Humanist, wishing to relate his conscious purposiveness with the kind of consciousness realized in art, will ask, 'What is art for?' When he looks back on history he will see a mass of objects embellishing cities and filling museums which were produced within various cultures which, in turn, existed within various histories. He may be disposed to think that art is an expression of historic consciousness in symbolic forms through the medium of the artist's sensibility.

In part this is true, but in part it is also untrue. The two parts, historic social consciousness, and individualist-aesthetic consciousness, are not always easy bed-fellows in the lives of artists. Sometimes the individualist-aesthetic strangles the historic-social, and sometimes the historic-social alters, bowdlerizes, falsifies the unborn work which it does not allow the individualist-aesthetic to produce.

Art whose lines meet philosophy on some graph of the ideal, enslaves the material to the idea. This suggests that there are self-sufficient and independent elements in art. Such is the material — paint, wood or stone — of which the artefact is made; another, that part of the sensibility of the artist which is, as it were, the material of himself, of his own sensibility. The artist's sensibility decides, for example, the subject-matter and the style of his work cannot be imposed by anything but the direction of his talent and his sympathy, in a word his truth.

The artist may be like his contemporaries in social attitudes and may very well share their interests. He may, like them, accept the beliefs current in his time. The medieval craftsman who builds the cathedral or sculpts the images on its facade, shares the faith of his contemporaries and undertakes in common with them the great social enterprise of his time — cathedral-

building.

At this point, the reader may, with justice, protest that there have been wars, revolutions and churches which have inspired art. Yet a certain reserve we feel when we speak of 'war artists' or even of 'religious art' reveals our sense that the intoxication of artists with a public cause does not necessarily produce aesthetically good results.

It is extremely important to bear these considerations in mind. For perhaps the greatest danger which threatens the arts today is not dictatorship, or even commercialization and those much-cited enemies the 'mass media', but the unified consciousness within modern societies which secretly unites everyone—even opponents—in striving towards the same goal of material progress.

'Idealist materialism' is dangerous because it invites us to undertake the pursuit of social happiness, and having done so to sacrifice our own judgment wherever this seems to oppose that goal. Traditions, beliefs, tastes, all have to be washed out like stains in the laundry of necessity. If we need a philosophy which reconciled art with progressive ideas, it must do so in a way which respects the independence and integrity of art, treats art as a separate power, regards what it expresses—I shall insist—as a separate kind of consciousness. For art is concerned with individual feelings, mysteries of technique, stones and paints, and minutely observed particulars of experience which fascinate the artist however much they may obstruct progress or evolution. Art is not only clear vision, it is also the faithful record of the mote in the artist's eye, which becomes an integral part of that vision.

Modern dictatorships indirectly pay a compliment to the power of art. More than democrats, the ideologists realize its power to distract public attention from policy, by drawing attention to that which society wishes to ignore, by depicting values and aims which are not those of a central committee. Yet the vitality of art is

dependent on those qualities in a work which, from the point of view of progressive society, may seem the most irrelevant, irritating and, above all, unnecessary.

Broadly speaking, today in the world there are two kinds of art: conscripted [called up for compulsory military service] art, in those countries where art is simply regarded as a special area, appealing to the visual senses, to which the central political will of the rulers of the state extends; and the much more complicated phenomenon of 'free' art in supposedly free societies. In the countries where there are mono-ideologies the artist produced only official art unless he is a subversive, in which case his art will have no public; yet in the countries in which he is not directed by the state, he nevertheless may feel himself alienated from society.

The Evolutionary Humanist, with his ideas for bringing forward social consciousness to the stage where man believes that society should be occupied with deciding and planning its own evolutionary future, should ask himself what role he expects the artist to have in such an future. Would it simply be an extension of socially conscious evolutionary purpose into the sphere of the visual arts? And if he does not desire this, how can he prevent art from becoming such an extension of the social consciousness, since it is evident that the dynamic ideas and the scientific methods of modern societies often have the effect, either of liquidating the arts or alienating the artist's?

What is needed I think is a theory of art as the expression of a kind of consciousness which is different from the social, even though it functions within the society and is influenced by it and which may express its aspirations and record its history. The difference is essentially a difference of scale which puts society and art in a relationship to one another which may be complementary, and may also become hostile. It is essentially a relation in which each one has values which measure and criticize and judge the other.

Society—or rather its mouthpiece—thinks according to the scale of history. Art—or rather the artist—creates according to the scale of individual birth-and-death-bound sensuous living.

It seems strange that men can think according to the scale of history—but history proves that they do so. Whoever thinks socially or historically does not think according to the scale of his own life-span. He thinks in terms of a future which perhaps he will never see. Thus history achieves real progress: in fact, history IS progress and countries without progress also have no history. Historic progress consists in the social development superseding itself, producing as the result of the efforts of those who think and act in social terms, situations which leave them, the instigators, far behind. The immortality of the actors on the stage of history consists in their becoming the landmarks along a journey which has rendered them completely anachronistic [an old-fashioned or out-dated person or thing].

But the immortality of art rests on the ability of one man quite to identify himself with the experiences of another man living at another time and place but absorbing that time and place, through his senses, into the measure of his individuality and expressing it in signs which that other perceptive spectator of that other time and place can share. Art makes of history a kind of geography, so that to the spectator the work of the artist which derives from his personal experience and which he makes with his hands, is the report of a traveller who expresses strangeness as a personal experience of coldness, heat and shock which the spectator can share in his imagination. We need a view of the relations of art and society that reasserts the scale of the human individual as a measure of the social consciousness. Art is supremely the realization of the individual human scale within and against the social scale. Art, working from the human individual scale, depicts the relation of the individual to the given society.

 (To be continued .....)

## **Readers' Comments on reading 'Selections from The Radical Humanist Vol I and II' at [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu)**

***Kuldip Kumar left a reason for downloading Who will Save India's Democracy***

Respected Mahi Pal Singh ji,

Where has been democracy for a common Indian ever? Did any poor, particularly SC ST OBC, ever taste democracy? What difference does it make to a daily wage earner as to who and how a leader occupies the chair of Prime Minister, CJI, CEC, President, VP, Speaker or anything like that?

We the so-called activists of democracy never cared for them. Today when our pen is being crushed we cry democracy!

Yesterday TOI reported one Verma who was appointed as justice by a self designated collegium has been found with keeping some 50 crore cash in his bungalow. Today the HOD and fire chief yell no cash found! But Kejariwal, Lalu, Soren etc are kept behind bars even if a single piece of paper is not found.

Revolutions have always been generated by common man; may it be Kabir, Ravidas, Nanak, Ambedkar, Phule or like that. Sir democracy will be saved only if exists for common man.

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***Akhilesh Mohan left a reason for downloading The Radical Humanist Volume-I***

Dear Mr Mahi Pal Singh,

My interest in RH is mostly personal than academic. My father who was a close associate of M N Roy read RH to his very old age. He used to discuss Roy's ideas and about his remarkable life in the family. After my father's death in 2003 I retrieved whatever books by Roy and RH volumes I could find not destroyed by weather or pests, and have kept these as memorabilia in my house. Today when cleaning the shelf I had the urge to find out

about the current state of the movement and I searched and discovered your site. It is heartening to see the movement is drawing lot of interest still.

Thanks and Regards.

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***P.K. Rajan left a reason for downloading The Radical Humanist Volume I***

Dear Comrade Mahi Pal Singh,

As you I too have spent 40 years in CPI-M. But disillusioned. I tried very hard to reform but being an ordinary member I was unable to do much. I realized it is not because of my handicaps -which cannot be said as the whole and sole reason- I am in search. I found many points raised by Com. M.N. Roy are relevant. Hence my interest has increased in his tradition.

Thank you.

Yours comradely

**P.K. Rajan**

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Soumen Chatterjee left a reason for downloading The Radical Humanist Volume I  
Respected sir,

Hope you are well. I am working on the local history of Kheput, the birthplace of M.N. Roy. I need the following article by Roy: "The Dissolution of a Priestly Family," in The Radical Humanist, XVIII, Nos. 6-7, Calcutta, February, 1954, 66-68, 72-74. Will you please help me in this matter.

Thanking you,

**Soumen Chatterjee**

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***Mallikarjuna Sharma left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

Thanks for this collection of articles in the Radical Humanist of which I was an occasional reader.

***Eugenio Mendoza left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

Dear Mahai Pal Singh,

I am very interested in learning how the term neo-humanism and radical humanism have been coined. I am Mexican living in Venezuela, and have been studying the socio-economic Progressive Utilization Theory.

I sense MN Roy ideas are very important to study to make this a world free of exploitation. Thank you for posting the book.

My email is

borjas\_mendoza@petalmail.com

Please let me know how I can contact you.

***Avnish Panwar left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

A proper history of Hindu radicalisation...

***Anirban Banerjee left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

Dear Mahi Pal Singh,

I am interested in Marxism. I will be benefited by the Radical Humanist. Thank you.

With regards,

**Anirban Banerjee**

***Swadesh Mahajan left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

Thank you for keeping this great tradition alive.

***Chandrasekhar Atla left a reason for downloading The Radical Humanist Volume I***

Thanks a lot for sharing the literature and magazine articles on 'The Radical Humanist'. This type of sources will make the present day

people to look back and make his own identity with free thought process.

***Bhaskaran Kesavan left a reason for downloading The Radical Humanist Volume I***

My research on the Life and Works of M.N. Roy sparked the downloading of this paper.

Bhaskaran Kesavan left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II

I am interested in the Life and Works of M.N. Roy and hence this downloading.

***Muthu Kumar left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

Dear Mahipal ji,

The present situation in the country with the government and the media promoting elitist right wing philosophy leading to a situation of a near breakdown of civil life. Need to read up on these ideologists.

***Moazzam Wasti left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

U have a very interesting selection of articles from those who are often overlooked. Keep it up. U can contact me because I am also a researcher in history.

Regards

**Moazzam Wasti**

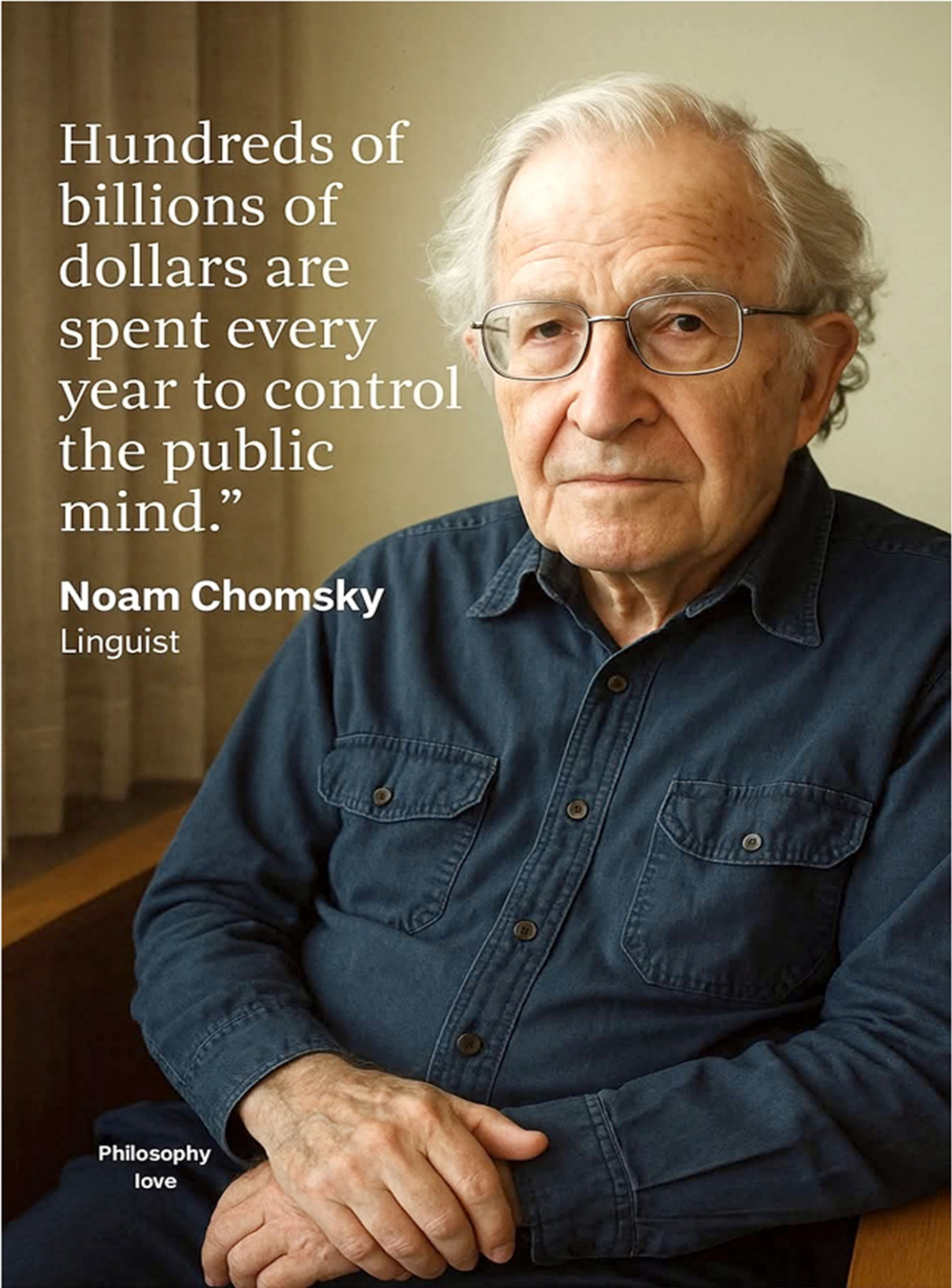
emdublew@yahoo.com

***Mostafa Mostafavi left a reason for downloading Selections from The radical Humanist Vol. II***

Dear Mahi Pal

Thanks a lot for your paper. My paper in this regard also is available here in this address:

[http://mostafa111.ir/images/file-down/Globalisation\\_and\\_Hindu\\_Radicalism\\_in\\_In.pdf](http://mostafa111.ir/images/file-down/Globalisation_and_Hindu_Radicalism_in_In.pdf)

A portrait of Noam Chomsky, an elderly man with white hair and glasses, wearing a blue button-down shirt. He is sitting with his hands clasped in front of him. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

Hundreds of  
billions of  
dollars are  
spent every  
year to control  
the public  
mind.”

**Noam Chomsky**  
Linguist

Philosophy  
love

**‘Selections from  
The Radical Humanist,  
Volume I and II’ reach still bigger  
readership : A record of more  
than 1,030 cities of the world**

**As reported by [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu):**

**‘The Radical Humanist Volume I’** was your top paper  
last week - 2,035 Views till 06.02.2024

**‘Selections from The Radical Humanist Vol. II’**  
was your top paper last week - 3,517 Views  
till 21.12.2023 ‘You have 580 highly  
engaged readers till 19.04.2025.

A total of 2,127 people have read your papers on  
Academia till 30 August 2025. 2,700 papers mention  
Mahi Pal Singh including one by a highly followed  
author with 15890 followers, as reported on 12.6.2025

The two volumes have been read in  
**284 cities in India and 746 foreign cities,**  
a total of 1,030 cities of the world.

**Editor, ‘The Radical Humanist’**