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'Secularism and democracy can be saved only with socialism'
Dr. Prem Singh

**The Great Betrayal of the Liberation War Led by Subhash
Chandra Bose by the Hindutva gang**
Shamsul Islam

**The Sohrabuddin Judgment Is a Mockery of Justice,
the CBI Must File an Appeal**
Dushyant Dave

Why Do Minority Massacres Lead to Election Gains?
Ram Puniyani

**Bulandshahr: Human rights probe panel claims
Bajrang Dal's role in Dec 3 clashes that killed cop in cold blood**
NCHRO

Correspondence between Allen Roy and Warren Allen Smith
Dr. Narisetti Innaiah

Democracy Derailed
Jawaharlal Jasthi

God, Heaven, and Evil
Ken Levy

587

Photographs of the demonstration in protest against the recent killing of seven civilians by security forces in Pulwama district in J&K. Demonstration was held by members of civil society on 19th December, 2018 at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi organized by National Alliance of People's Movement, Khudai Khidmatgar, P.U.C.L. (Delhi), Delhi Solidarity Group, Socialist Yuvjan Sabha (SYS), Sadbhav Mission, Pakistan India People's Forum For Peace & Democracy, National Movement Front and many others.



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CONTENTS :

Page No.

Articles and Features:

Can see 'replay' of 1977 in 2019 elections: Author-historian Gyan Prakash PTI	4
Government meddling in RBI could undermine India's financial stability: S&P Global Etnownews.com	5
In RTI Replies, Evidence of How Modi Dragged His Feet on Lokpal Appointment Gaurav Vivek Bhatnagar	6
The Great Betrayal of the Liberation War Led by Subhash Chandra Bose by the Hindutva gang Shamsul Islam	8
Why Do Minority Massacres Lead to Election Gains? Ram Puniyani	15
Death of a Cow Has More Significance Than That of a Police Officer: Naseeruddin Shah	17
Bulandshahr: Human rights probe panel claims Bajrang Dal's role in Dec 3 clashes that killed cop in cold blood NCHRO	18
The shrinking space for public intellectuals Ramin Jahanbegloo	19
The Sohrabuddin Judgment Is a Mockery of Justice, the CBI Must File an Appeal Dushyant Dave	23
Gujarat Police Under Modi Confirmed Sohrabuddin Encounters Were Fake, Not CBI Sarim Naved	27
Thirty seven academics write to ISCA: 'Deeply shocked, disturbed' Abha Goradia	30
Democracy Derailed Jawaharlal Jasthi	31
'Secularism and democracy can be saved only with socialism' Dr. Prem Singh	33
God, Heaven, and Evil Ken Levy	34
Reader's Comments Bimal Kumar Chatterjee	38
Correspondence between Allen Roy and Warren Allen Smith Dr. Narisetti Innaiah	41
Readers of Hetuvadi Telugu Monthly Magazine Conference Report by Dr. Gumma Veeranna	42

February 2019

THE RADICAL HUMANIST

3

Can see ‘replay’ of 1977 in 2019 elections: Author-historian Gyan Prakash

Like Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister Narendra Modi also has traits of an authoritarian leader, said the professor of history at Princeton University whose latest book “Emergency Chronicles” hit the stands recently.

PTI @moneycontrolcom

The 2019 election could see a replay of the 1977 polls when the ruling Congress was routed if opposition parties are successful in reflecting discontent on the ground, says author-historian Gyan Prakash, drawing parallels between post-Emergency India and now.

Like Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister Narendra Modi also has traits of an authoritarian leader, said the professor of history at Princeton University whose latest book “Emergency Chronicles” hit the stands recently.

He also believes the situation in the country is far more “ominous” today than it was in 1975 when Gandhi imposed Emergency and Modi enjoys the same position she did at that time.

“It is clear that there is a very enduring crisis in the farms. The farmer crisis is real. Job growth hasn’t happened even for young people. So if political parties actually reflect the discontent on the ground on the issues, you could have a replay of 1977,” Prakash told PTI while discussing his recently out book.

In the 1977 elections after the end of Emergency, the Janata Party — a hurriedly stitched alliance of several parties against then prime minister Gandhi — defeated the ruling Congress and formed the government under the leadership of Morarji Desai.

While the Janata Party won 298 seats, the Congress tally plunged from 350 seats to 153.

There are many comparisons to be made between Modi and Gandhi, Prakash said.

“Recently I was reading a news item in

which PM Modi said ‘every booth in the country should know him’. He didn’t say my political party but ‘me’, it is as if the whole fate of democracy rests entirely on his 56-inch chest.

“So that’s a very, very big claim. This is what leads to the rise of an authoritarian leader. You could see shades of the same in Indira Gandhi too. He looms as large in Indian politics as Indira once did. His photographs, slogans... appear everywhere as hers once did,” the historian said.

The regime today enjoys unprecedented power and you don’t really need to declare an Emergency, he argued.

“Support by ground troops — Bajrang Dal and the like — which Indira’s Emergency rule never enjoyed, and a largely compliant or corporatized electronic media, which did not exist in 1975-77... this regime enjoys unprecedented power.

“It is also equipped with the powers of the administrative state, including the law against sedition, AFSPA (Armed Forces [Special Powers] Act) for use in so called ‘disturbed areas’... with all these resources available you don’t have to declare an emergency,” he said.

In Gandhi’s case, Prakash added, the decision to impose Emergency was, in a way, an “acknowledgment of her weak power”. She might not have resorted to Emergency had the verdict of the Allahabad High Court gone in her favour. The Allahabad High Court in 1975 convicted Gandhi of electoral malpractices, debarring her from holding any elected post.

“Today, there is no formal declaration of Emergency, no press censorship, no lawful suspension of the law. But the surge of Hindu nationalism has catapulted Narendra Modi into the kind of position that Indira occupied only with the Emergency,” he writes in the book. But Indian voters, especially the poor of the country, are very smart and have consistently “spoken loudly” with their votes, showing the door to those who they thought didn’t fulfil their expectations, the author told PTI.

“You think those (poor) people are not educated so they will not understand the true value of democracy? The truth is that they do understand. It is the middle and upper class who have abandoned democracy, the poor understands its value

“In fact, I think one of the lessons of

Emergency was they spoke, they spoke loudly, they corrected her (Indira), and three years later when Janata Party did not delivered they corrected them too,” Prakash noted.

Prakash, who is the Dayton-Stockton professor of history at Princeton University, is also the author of several books, including “Bonded Histories” and the widely acclaimed “Mumbai Fables”, which was adapted for the film “Bombay Velvet”.

Published by Penguin Random House India, his latest “Emergency Chronicles”, priced at Rs 699, argues that Emergency, from June 25, 1975 to March 21, 1977, was as much Gandhi’s doing as it was the product of Indian democracy’s troubled relationship with popular politics, and a turning point in its history.

Published on Jan 8, 2019 

Government meddling in RBI could undermine India’s financial stability: S&P Global

S&P’s lead global sovereign analyst said last week that India’s 7 percent annual growth would be enough to keep the Indian government’s investment grade BBB- rating stable.

London: The increasing involvement of the Indian government in the affairs of the country’s central bank is a negative for the ratings of giant Asian economy’s banking system, S&P Global said on Monday.

“S&P Global Ratings views as credit negative the circumstances leading to the recent resignation of Urjit Patel, governor of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI),” S&P analysts Michael Puli and Andrew Wood said in a note.

“Sustained and intense external pressure from the Indian government risks eroding these (central bank independence and prudent policy) settings over time, and could also undermine the long-term financial stability in the country.”

S&P’s lead global sovereign analyst said last week that India’s 7 percent annual growth would be enough to keep the Indian government’s investment grade BBB- rating stable.

Courtesy **Etnownews.com**, Dec 17, 2018 

The Radical Humanist on Website

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

- Mahi Pal Singh

In RTI Replies, Evidence of How Modi Dragged His Feet on Lokpal Appointment

The selection committee of the Lokpal met for the first time more than 45 months after the BJP came to power, an RTI query has revealed.

Gaurav Vivek Bhatnagar

New Delhi: In the first 45 months of Modi's reign, he didn't chair a single meeting of the Lokpal selection committee. In response to a Right to Information (RTI) plea, the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT) further reveals that no meeting of the search committee was convened during that time either.

The Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act was passed in 2013 to set up an independent and empowered body to look into cases of corruption. Although the BJP came to power on the plank of anti-corruption, the government has failed to appoint a single Lokpal so far, said RTI activist Anjali Bhardwaj, who filed the plea.

A member of the National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI), Bhardwaj filed the query to learn about the status of the selection and search committees which are needed to appoint the Lokpal.

Activists had flagged this issue in January

In January, NCPRI wrote a detailed letter to Modi stating that the delay in the appointment of Lokpal has "created a strong perception that your government does not wish to put in place an effective anti-corruption institutional framework."

It noted with concern that while the Act was passed in December 2013 and was notified in the gazette on January 1, 2014, not a single Lokpal has been appointed till date. "The Lokpal law was demanded by the people of the country as there was a need for an independent and empowered body to look into cases of corruption of public servants," it pointed out.

In her application, Bhardwaj asked for information regarding the selection committee constitution under the Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013. In particular, she sought details of the number of meetings of the committee held since January 1, 2014; dates and minutes, discussions and proceedings of these meetings and the name and designation of persons who attended them.

In response, the DoPT on December 13 disclosed that the first two meetings of the selection committee were held on February 3 and February 21, 2014 respectively under the chairmanship of then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. They were both attended by Lok Sabha Speaker Meira Kumar, Leader of the Opposition Sushma Swaraj and Justice H.L. Dattu of the Supreme Court. The second meeting was also attended by eminent jurist P.P. Rao.

Fast-forward to 2018 – six meetings of the selection committee were held under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The first two of these meetings were convened on March 1 and April 10 this year. These were also attended by Lok Sabha Speaker Sumitra Mahajan and former Chief Justice Dipak Misra.

Four more meetings were held under Modi on July 19, August 21, September 4 and September 19. Apart from Mahajan and Justice Misra, these were also attended by eminent jurist Mukul Rohatgi.

For nearly 45 months in the middle, no meetings were convened.

Minutes ‘shared as secret documents’

Answering another query from Bhardwaj, DoPT said it did not have the “authorship” of documents like minutes of the meeting, since these were attended by 3-5 very “high level dignitaries”. It said these minutes have only been “shared as secret documents” and therefore their copies could not be provided by the concerned central public information officer.

The department revealed that in its second meeting, “the selection committee made recommendations to constitute a search committee of eight persons”. However, it said, “two of the persons declined to accept the offer and the action taken at that point of time was rendered infructuous”.

The DoPT also stated that former Attorney General of India, Mukul Rohatgi was nominated as the “eminent jurist” member of the selection committee by the president of India against the vacancy that arose on the passing away of P.P. Rao.

Order for constituting search committee issued in September 2018

The selection committee, in its subsequent meeting, also constituted a search committee for the purpose of recommending a panel of names for consideration of the positions of chairperson and members of the Lokpal. The order was issued on September 27.

Reacting to the response, Bhardwaj said while the selection committee of the Lokpal met for the first time more than 45 months after the BJP came to power, no meeting of the search committee has been held till date. “This,” she said, “betrays the commitment of the government in setting up the Lokpal.”

‘Denial of information blatantly illegal’

On denying the minutes of the meetings on the pretext of them being “secret documents”, Bhardwaj insisted that this “denial of information is blatantly illegal”. She said the PIO has not cited any of the exemptions

allowed under the RTI Act while denying the information.

“The long delay and the opacity in the process of appointment being followed by the government will undermine public trust even before the Lokpal is set up,” she cautioned.

Gandhi attacked Modi for protecting ‘super rich’, not appointing Lokpal

Incidentally, the delay by the Modi government in appointing a Lokpal has also been criticised by his main political opponents.

In the wake of the multi-crore Nirav Modi-Mehul Choksi scam with Punjab National Bank earlier this year, the Modi government was attacked for delaying the appointment of Lokpal. Congress president raised the issue during a rally in Karnataka – where he lashed out at Modi for favouring the “super rich” and questioned why he had still not appointed a Lokpal to fight corruption.

“In Gujarat, Modi *ji* did not implement Lokayukta. It has been four years since he became prime minister... He did not implement Lokpal even in Delhi,” Gandhi charged.

SC found Centre’s approach ‘wholly unsatisfactory’

In July, the Supreme Court also asked the Centre to disclose its stand on the appointment of a Lokpal. It was hearing a contempt petition filed by senior advocate Prashant Bhushan on behalf of the NGO, Common Cause, against the government for not appointing a Lokpal despite an April 2017 judgment by the court.

In his plea, Bhushan said: “They [the government] are just dragging their feet. The court should start the procedure of appointing a search committee [to shortlist the candidates for Lokpal].”

The Supreme Court then acknowledged that the government’s stand on completing the appointment process for getting an ombudsman to protect the citizens from corruption was “wholly unsatisfactory.”

Courtesy **The Wire**, 21. 12.2018. 

The Great Betrayal of the Liberation War Led by Subhash Chandra Bose by the Hindutva gang: Shocking Documents from the Hindutva Archives

Hindutva brigade continues to pretend to have great admiration for Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who attempted to organise a military campaign to force the British out of India. But for unknown reasons the world remains oblivious of the terrible betrayal of his cause by Hindu Mahasabha under the leadership of Savarkar who also happened to be a mentor of the RSS. There is a mine of contemporary documents available to show that when Netaji during World War II was trying to secure foreign support for liberation of the country and trying to organise a military attack on the northeast of the country with the help of Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army), it was Savarkar who offered full military co-operation to the British masters.

One needs to access the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS publications and documents of that period to know the shocking reality of the Hindutva gang turning into stooges of the British rulers against Netaji. Savarkar while addressing 23rd session of Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur in 1941, he said:

— **The second most important and urgent item on which the Hindu Sanghatanists [Hindu Mahasabhaitis] all over India must bend all their energies and activities is the programme for the militarization of Hindus. The war which has now reached our shores directly constitutes at once a danger and an opportunity which both render it imperative that the militarization movement must be intensified and every branch of the Hindu Mahasabha in every town and village must actively engage itself in rousing the Hindu people to join the army, navy, the aerial forces and the different war-craft manufactories. || 1**

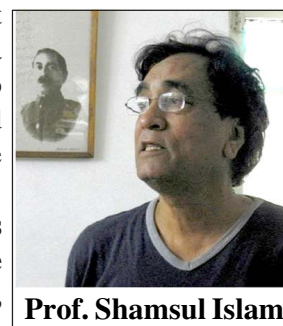
To what extent Savarkar, the Hindutva icon, was willing to help the British would be clear by the following words of his:

— **So far as India's defence is concerned, Hindudom must ally**

unhesitatingly, in a spirit of responsive co-operation with the war effort of the Indian government in so far as it is consistent with the Hindu interests, by joining the Army, Navy and the Aerial forces in as large a number as possible and by securing an entry into all ordnance, ammunition and war craft factories...Again it must be noted that Japan's entry into the war has exposed us directly and immediately to the attack by Britain's enemies. Consequently, whether we like it or not, we shall have to defend our own hearth and home against the ravages of the war and this can only be done by intensifying the government's war effort to defend India. Hindu Mahasabhaitis must, therefore, rouse Hindus especially in the provinces of Bengal and Assam as effectively as possible to enter the military forces of all arms without losing a single minute. || 2

Savarkar called upon Hindus "to flood the [British] army, the navy and the aerial forces with millions of Hindu warriors with Hindu Sanghatanist hearts" and assured them that if they,

— **stick to this immediate programme and take advantage to the fullest extent possible of the war situation with the Hindu**



Prof. Shamsul Islam

Sanghatanists ideal full in view, pressing on the movement for the militarization of the Hindu race, then our Hindu nation is bound to emerge far more powerful, consolidated and situated in an incomparably more advantageous position to face issues after the war— whether it be an internal anti-Hindu Civil War or a constitutional crisis or an armed revolution. || 3

While continuing his address at Bhagalpur, Savarkar once again stressed upon the Hindus of India to join war efforts of the British government. He categorically stated:

— Whatever, again, be the position and the fate of nations after the war, today under the present circumstances taking all things together, the only feasible and relatively beneficial attitude which the Hindu Sanghatanists can take up is doubtless to ally ourselves actively with the British government on the point of Indian Defence, provided always that we can do so without being compelled to betray the Hindu cause. || 4

The following concluding words of his Bhagalpur address made it clear that as per his wisdom, sub-serving the British war efforts would herald a great future for the country:

— If ever the saying was true that the darkest hour of the night is nearer the golden rise of the morn, it holds good today. The war that has approached our shores from the East and may threaten us in due course even from the West is a danger which may prove unparalleled in its magnitude, ravages and results. But it is also bound to break into a new day for the world and there are no signs wanting to show us that not only a newer but a better Order [*sic*] may ensure out of this world chaos. Those who have lost all may gain much in the end. Let us also bide our time and pray and act for the best. || 5

Savarkar's total support to the British war

efforts when leaders like Subhash Chandra Bose were trying to chalk out a strategy to throw out the British rule from India through armed struggle was the result of a well-thought-out Hindutva design. It was in Madura (22nd session of the Hindu Mahasabha, 1940) that he made his choice clear. His support to the British rested on the logic that “it is altogether improbable that in this war England will be defeated so disastrously as to get compelled to hand over her Indian Empire, lock, stock and barrel into German hands”⁶ thus believing in the invincibility of the British Empire.

His presidential address at Madura is a living testimony to his unabashed support to the British imperialistic designs. He out-rightly rejected Netaji's plan to liberate India. He declared:

— Not only on moral grounds but on the grounds of practical politics we are compelled not to concern ourselves on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha organisation with any programme involving any armed resistance, under the present circumstances. || 7

There was absolutely no ambiguity in his support to the British military designs. He presented a strange alibi in order to justify the unashamed support to the colonial masters. According to his logic,

— Thus after taking stock of all other courses and factors for and against us, I feel no hesitation in proposing that the best way of utilizing the opportunities which the war has afforded to us cannot be any other than to participate in all war efforts which the [British] government are compelled by circumstances to put forth in so far as they help in bringing about the militarization and industrialization of our people. || 8

When the British government in the wake of the World War II decided to raise new battalions of its armed forces, it was Hindu Mahasabha under direct command of Savarkar which decided to enroll Hindus in a big way in this venture. This

is what Savarkar reported to the delegates at the Hindu Mahasabha session at Madura:

— **Naturally, the Hindu Mahasabha with a true insight into a practical politics decided to participate in all war efforts of the British government in so far as they concerned directly with the question of the Indian defence and raising new military forces in India. || 9**

It was not as if Savarkar was unaware of the strong resentment which was brewing in the ranks of common Indians against such an approach. He brushed aside any criticism of Hindu Mahasabha's decision of co-operating with the British in war efforts as,

— **political folly into which the Indian public is accustomed to indulge in thinking that because Indian interests are opposed to the British interests in general, any step in which we join hands with the British government must necessarily be an act of surrender, anti-national, of playing into the British hands and that co-operation with the British government in any case and under all circumstances is unpatriotic and condemnable. || 10**

If on the one hand, Bose was working on the military strategies to take help of the German and Japanese forces to liberate India, on the other hand, Savarkar was busy in directly assisting the British colonial masters. This amounted to the betrayal of the cause espoused by Netaji. Savarkar and Hindu Mahasabha openly stood with the British government which later was able to kill and maim thousands of brave cadres of the Indian National Army (INA). While greatly eulogizing the British masters, Savarkar told his followers at Madura that due to the ever-advancing forces of Japan with a declared objective of freeing Asia from European influence, the British government needed Indians in large numbers in its armed forces which must be helped. While praising the British war strategy, he said:

— **The British statesmanship, far sighted as it usually is, realised this also that if ever war broke out with Japan, India itself must be the centre of gravity of all war preparations...chances are that an army with the strength of a couple of millions shall have to be raised, manned by Indians under Indian officers as rapidly as Japan succeeds in advancing near our Frontiers. || 11**

Savarkar spent the next few years in organizing recruitment camps for the British armed forces which were to kill large number of the INA personnel in different parts of North-East later. The Madura conference of Hindu Mahasabha concluded with the adoption of an „immediate programme which stressed “to secure entry for as many Hindus recruits as possible into army, navy and the air forces”.¹² He also informed them that through the efforts of Hindu Mahasabha alone, one lakh Hindus were recruited in the British armed forces in one year.

Astonishingly, despite all these terrible anti-national ideas and practices of Savarkar, there are people who continue declaring him as a great patriot. How sturdily Savarkar and Hindu Mahasabha rode the British bandwagon can be known by simply peeping into a pre-Independence publication of the Hindu Mahasabha. This book published in 1941, had rather a longish title *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar's Whirlwind Propaganda: Extracts from the President's Diary of his Propagandist Tours Interviews from December 1937 to October 1941* and was edited by A. S. Bhide, a close confidant of Savarkar himself. This book, as stated in the preface, was primarily meant to serve as an authoritative text and faithful guide to the propagandists, workers and leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha movement in particular and the Hindu public in general, enlightening the lines of practical application of the fundamental ideology of the Hindu Sangathan Movement to the various detailed questions and problems which the Hindus face today.

It was mandatory for every unit of the Hindu Mahasabha to keep it as a help book not only for political education of the cadres but also for articulating stands on different issues. The crucial fact should not be overlooked here that this „Hindutva Guide contained material written and spoken exclusively by Savarkar. The excerpts from the book show the real face of Hindutva which stood as a stooge of the British under the leadership of Savarkar. The Savarkarites complain that „pseudo-secularists after independence conspired to sideline Savarkar, who in the Hindutva brigade's opinion was a great thinker and nationalist. If they are so sure about the greatness of Savarkar, it is high time that they should reprint this book so that the present generation too, comes to know about his greatness! According to documents available in this book, Savarkar, while emphasizing the need to join the British war efforts, gave following direction to the Hindu Mahasabha cadres:

— **Turn this inevitable co-operation with the British as profitable to your own country as it is possible under our present circumstances to do. Because let it not be forgotten that those who fancy that they can claim of not having co-operated with the government and helped the war-efforts either on account of the demoralising and hypocritical fad of absolute non-violence and non-resistance even in face of an armed aggression or as a matter of policy simply because they do not join the fighting forces, are but indulging in self-deception and self-complacency.** || 13 [Underlined as in the original text.]

His call to the Hindus had no ambiguity: “Let the Hindus therefore come forward now and enter the army, the navy and the air-forces, the ordnance and other war-crafts factories in their thousands and millions.”¹⁴ Hindu Mahasabha under Savarkar's leadership organised high-level Boards in different regions of the country to help the Hindus seeking recruitment in the British

armed forces. We come to know through the following words of Savarkar that these Boards were in direct contact with the British government. Savarkar informed the Hindus,

“**To deal with the difficulties and the grievances which the Hindu recruits to the Army find from time to time, a Central Northern Hindu Militarization Board has been formed by the Hindu Mahasabha at Delhi with Mr. Ganpat Rai, B.A., L.L.B Advocate, 51, Panchkuin Road, New Delhi, as convener. A Central Southern Hindu Militarization Board is also formed under the Chairmanship of Mr. L.B. Bhopatkar, M.A., LL.B., President Maharashtra Provincial Hindusabha, Sadashiv Peth Poona. All complaints or applications for information etc. should be addressed by those Hindus who want to enter the forces or have already enlisted themselves in them, to the above addresses. Sir Jwala Prasad Shrivastav; Barrister Jamnadasji Mehta, Bombay; Mr. V.V. Kalikar, M.L.C., Nagpur and other members on the National Defence Council or the Advisory War Committee will certainly try their best to get these difficulties removed so far as possible when they are forwarded by these Militarization Boards on to them.** || 15

This clearly shows that the British Government had accommodated leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha on its official war committees. Those who declare Savarkar as a great patriot and freedom fighter must bow their heads in shame when they read the following instruction from Savarkar to those Hindus who were to join the British forces:

— **One point however must be noted in this connection as emphatically as possible in our own interest that those Hindus who join the Indian [read the British] Forces should be perfectly amenable and obedient to the military discipline and order which may prevail there provided always that the**

latter do not deliberately aim to humiliate Hindu Honour. || 16

Astonishingly, Savarkar never felt that joining the armed forces of the colonial masters was in itself a great humiliation for any self-respecting and patriotic Indian. Bhide's book also tells us that he alone drafted the following resolution titled „Maha Sabha and the Great War“ which read:

— **As the task of defending India from any military attack is of common concern to the British government as well as ourselves and as we are unfortunately not in a position today to carry out that responsibility unaided, there is ample room for whole-hearted co-operation between India and England.” || 17**

World War II was also the period when different groups of revolutionaries and Subhash Chandra Bose were trying to secure help from countries like the USSR. But here we find Savarkar advising the British masters to beware of such dangers. We also find him offering total support to the British in this venture unabashedly. His main aim seemed to eliminate Muslims and not the British rule. How he twisted facts to serve his anti-Muslim rhetoric will be clear from the following words of his:

“The probable entry of Russia in the war against England may threaten India with a far more serious danger of an invasion through Afghanistan [*sic*]. The treacherous conduct of a very large section of the Moslems in India in the Khilaphat (*sic*) agitation during the last Great War in 1914 has taught us a lesson never to be forgotten as it is almost sure to be repeated in any future attack on India on the North Western Frontier by any alien power. The tribesmen and the Moslem forces throughout Punjab, Sindh etc. are very likely to betray the Hindus and rise en masse in pursuance of the pan-Islamic designs to carve out an independent Moslem State or Federation stretching out from Baluchistan—to Kashmir—to Delhi. In

view of the attitude of many a responsible Moslem Organisation in India as revealed by their resolutions passed in their open sessions betraying their extra territorial sympathies it would be nothing short of a suicidal and purblind step on the part of the Hindus to make light of this serious danger threatening them. Under such an emergency they will have to ally themselves with the British forces in the common objective to avert this National calamity. || 18

A. S. Bhide's book containing the authentic official Hindu Mahasabha position on different issues brings out a fact repeatedly that the British military recruitment agencies were in direct contact with Savarkar and Hindu Mahasabha. Savarkar informed the Hindu Mahasabha cadres about this welcome development in the following words:

— **The recruiting commissioners and officers for example in Bombay Presidency are actually establishing a contact with Hindu Militarization Boards started by the Hindu Mahasabha and trying to help to some extent at any rate to enable Hindu candidates to enter the navy, secure commissions and in training in the aerial, naval and land forces. The Bevin scheme is actually working and Hindu mechanics in larger proportion are getting into it.” || 19**

His precise advice to Hindus in Sind (now in Pakistan) was to join the British armed forces. He also shared with them the information that he was in contact even with the Viceroy on this issue. Providing minute details he said:

— **Let the Hindus in Sindh [*sic*] enter the army, the navy and the air forces in as large a number as they find practicable...If anyone wants any definite information regarding the rules or address, let him write to Dr. N. D. Savarkar, Hindu Militarization Board, Dadar Hindusabha office, Lady Jameshetji Road, Dadar**

Bombay, 14 Or to Syt. Shivrampant Damle, Secretary Maharashtra Mandal, Poona 2. These two centres have already succeeded in securing entry into the navy, air-forces and the army in cases of several patriotic Hindus youths and have also secured the Vice regal and the King's Commissions for able and talented Hindus. 20

Savarkar used the occasion of his 59th birthday also for promoting Hindu Mahasabha's call for large-scale Hindu recruitment to the British military forces. In his birthday message, he called upon every,

— Hindu who is capable to put in military service, join the land forces and the air forces or secure entry into the ammunition factories and such other manufacturing workshops in connection with war crafts. 21

Bhide's book also informs that a senior leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, Sir Jawala Prasad Shrivastav, on the instruction of Savarkar, met the Commander-in-Chief of the British armed forces in May, 1941. According to the records available in the Hindu Mahasabha archives, the press note released by the Hindu Mahasabha after this meeting was titled „His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief & Shri Jwala Prasad and read as follows:

— As announced previously, the interview between Sir Jwala Prasad Shrivastav and His Excellency the Commander-in-chief took place at Delhi Sir Jwala Prasad represented the view point of the Hindu Mahasabha under instructions of Veer Savarkarji, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha in connection with the general political and military policy and the special difficulties which confronted the Hindus in the army, the navy and the air-forces. His Excellency gave a very sympathetic hearing and promised to do all he could to remove Hindu grievances regarding military service and expressed his grateful appreciation of the lead given

by Barrister Savarkar in exhorting the Hindus to join the forces of the land with a view to defend India from enemy attacks. 22

The British Government was in regular touch with Savarkar so far as the organisation of its highest war bodies was concerned. It included individuals whose names were proposed by Savarkar. This is made clear from the following thanksgiving telegram Savarkar sent to the British government. Bhide's volume tells us that,

— The following Telegram was sent by Barrister V.D. Savarkar [sic], the President of the Hindu Mahasabha to (1) General Wavell, the Commander-in-Chief; and (2) the Viceroy of India on the 18th instant (July 18, 1941).

**YOUR EXCELLENCY'S
ANNOUNCEMENT DEFENCE
COMMITTEE WITH ITS PERSONNEL IS
WELCOME. HINDUMAHASABHA
VIEWS WITH SPECIAL SATISFACTION
APPOINTMENT OF MESSERS
KALIKAR AND JAMNADAS MEHTA.
23 [As per the original text.]**

It is important to note here that even Muslim League, sub-serving the interests of the British rulers, refused to align in these war efforts or join Defence Committees established by the government. Moreover, it is to be noted that the Congress had declared this War as imperialist war like other patriotic Muslim organizations namely Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind, Momin Conference, Ahrars, Ahle Hadis and Shia Political Conference. Their slogan „not a brother, not a penny for the War became a popular slogan.

That Savarkar was also involved in secret parleys with the British Government is made clear from the following passage in Bhide's book which reports that he met the viceroy in Simla on July 5, 1940:

— (Viceregal Interview) Veer Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha after his

return from H.E. the Viceroy was surrounded by group of Press representatives to know the details of his interview. Veer Savarkar informed them that he agreed with H.E. the Viceroy that the talk of the interview was to be kept absolutely confidential.” 24

Savarkar was not willing to share information about whatever transpired in the meeting with anyone, not even with his followers. This also becomes clear from the following description in the book:

— After interviewing H.E. the Viceroy on Friday the 5th of July, 1940 Bar. V.D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha was pressed by Simla public reception programme. But important political interviews left him no time. Only a programme of five minutes Darshan’ was arranged on his way to station.” 25 [As per the original text]

Bhide s Diary also discloses the fact that Savarkar was often invited to many *boudhik shivir* (intellectual camps) of the RSS for “Advising the students to join Military forces [The British]”.26

The Modi government has recently put 100 hitherto secret Netaji files in in public domain. However, he and his government which are the product of Hindutva heritage and treat „Veer Savarkar as their hero will surely work over time to keep under wrap the above described anti-national bloodied record of the Hindutva Gang against the Indian freedom movement and its leaders like Netaji. It becomes the duty of all those Indians who respect and honour the heritage of our great liberation struggle to expose the criminal deeds of the Hindutva Gang.

1 Cited in Savarkar, V. D., *Samagra Savarkar Wangmaya: Hindu Rashtra Darshan*, vol. 6, Maharashtra Prantik Hindusabha, Poona, 1963, p. 460-461.

2. Ibid, p. 460.

3 Ibid, p. 461.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid, pp. 461-462.

6 Ibid., p. 419.

7 Ibid, p. 421

8 Ibid., p. 427.

9 Ibid., p. 428.

10 Ibid, pp. 428-429

11 Ibid., p. 435.

12 Ibid., p. 439.

13 Bhide, A. S. (ed.), *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar’s Whirlwind Propaganda: Extracts from the President’s Diary of his Propagandist Tours Interviews from December 1937 to October 1941*, na, Bombay, 1940, p. xxiv.

14 Ibid., p.xxvi.

15 Ibid, p. xxvii.

16 Ibid, p. xxviii.

17 Ibid., pp.153-154.

18 Ibid, pp. 149-50.

19 Ibid, p. 354.

20 Ibid, p. 398.

21 Ibid, p. 414.

22 Ibid, p. 418.

23 Ibid, p. 451.

24 Ibid, pp. 625-626.

25 Ibid, p. 626.

26. A. S. Bhide, *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar’s Whirlwind Propaganda: Extracts from the President’s Diary of his Propagandist Tours Interviews from December 1937 to October 1941*, na, Bombay, 1940, pp. 219-20.

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[For complete study of VD Savarkar s pro-Casteism, pro-Imperialism, pro-Racism, pro-Totalitarianism & anti-Indian Freedom Movement views and deeds see HINDUTVA: SAVARKAR UNMASKED published by Media House. Email:mediahousedelhi@gmail.com]

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Why Do Minority Massacres Lead to Election Gains?

Assured impunity is leading to horrid forms of violence against non-Hindus

Ram Puniyani

Sajjan Kumar, former Congress leader and MP, finally surrendered on December 31, the deadline set by the High Court in Delhi which gave the verdict about his involvement in the 1984 anti Sikh massacre.

This anti Sikh pogrom took place in the aftermath of the assassination of then Prime Minister India Indira Gandhi. Several commissions of inquiry later Kumar was finally implicated in 2005 by the Justice Nanavati Commission investigating the massacre.

Last month, Justices Muralidhar and Goel who gave the verdict hit the nail on the head when in their judgment they observed, "There has been a familiar pattern of mass killings since the Partition, including Mumbai in 1993, Gujarat in 2002, and Muzaffarnagar in 2013... Common to these mass crimes were the targeting of minorities and attacks spearheaded by dominant political actors facilitated by law enforcement agencies. The criminals responsible for the mass crimes have enjoyed political patronage and managed to evade prosecution and punishment."

The tragedy of rising communal violence is due to communal forces, the apathetic political leadership, which is either promoting or letting it happen, the biased administration and police apparatus, and loopholes in the justice delivery system. All this has led to the impunity being enjoyed by leaders and footsoldiers involved in violence.

Violence against the religious minorities can be broadly categorized into two groups. One

is the anti Sikh violence, which was a one-off event and came up as a sort of insane political revenge against the hapless Sikh community.

The other is regular, repeated violence against Muslims and Christians - which is part of the Hindu Nationalist or Hindutva agenda.

While the Congress led the violence against the Sikh minority, it is Hindu communal groups who have been orchestrating the violence against Muslims and Christians.

An interesting observation, backed by the research of scholars of ethnic violence, is that the forces which orchestrate communal violence become electorally stronger in the region.

While in the aftermath of anti Sikh pogrom the Congress emerged as more powerful in Delhi, in the case of Mumbai 1992-93 and Gujarat 2002 the BJP emerged stronger, even planting roots in areas where it had been minuscule in strength.

The most significant such study comes from Yale University - it demonstrates that the BJP's electoral strength goes up in the post violence scenario. By contrast, in Delhi where in the post pogrom phase the Congress emerged stronger, it gradually weakened.

As far as the anti Sikh pogrom is concerned, exclusive blame is put on the Congress. No doubt this is most of the truth - but there is another aspect which has been conveniently put under the carpet. And that is the support and involvement of the RSS-BJP in this tragic incident.

The Hindustan Times of February 2, 2002

reported that in the 1984 pogrom names from the BJP were also there in those involved in the violence. The Pioneer of April 11, 1994 reported the “BJP move to shield its cadre’s involvement in the 1984 violence.”

Khabar Bar (linked above) reports that by 2014 a total of 14 FIRs had been registered “against 49 BJP-RSS leaders for their role in the anti-Sikh riots of 1984.” According to the same report, incumbent chief minister of Punjab Amarinder Singh had also named many BJP and RSS leaders like Ram Kumar Jain, Pritam Singh and Ram Chander Gupta, to name a few, who were involved in the massacre, and had questioned Sukhbir Singh Badal for maintaining a sheepish silence about their involvement, only because they belonged to an allied party.

Contrary to Shiromani Akali Dal’s Sukhbir Singh Badal’s claims that BJP members courageously saved the lives of Sikhs in 1984, records as per the Jain-Aggarwal committee included several names of prominent Delhi BJP and RSS workers being a part of the massacre.

But the revelation came in an article by the major RSS ideologue Nanaji Deshmukh. In an article in Pratipaksh on November 25, 1984, Deshmukh wrote that the anti Sikh violence was due to ‘a genuine feeling of anger among Hindus of India’ and that the Sikh community should bear it silently.

He also says that Rajiv Gandhi needs all the support in this hour of national crisis.

The document itself was circulated on November 5, 1984 when the peak of the violence was underway.

George Fernandes, then editor of Pratipaksh, published it with this editorial comment: “The author of the following document is known as an ideologue and policy formulator of the RSS. After the killing of the Prime Minister he distributed this document among prominent politicians. It has a historical

significance that is why we have decided to publish it, violating the policy of our Weekly. This document highlights the new affinities developing between the Indira Congress and the RSS. We produce here the Hindi translation of the document.”


While Congress complicity has been criticised time and time again, and correctly so, the aspect of the RSS-BJP attitude to the Sikh religious minority has been hidden from popular understanding. The BJP and the Akali Dal allied in Punjab to be in power there for a long time, despite their ideological differences - but why the Akali Dal has maintained a silence on the RSS role in the 1984 massacre is a matter of deep concern.

This document coming from a prominent RSS ideologue puts the blame of violence on Sikhs themselves, whereas Indira Gandhi’s assassins in no way represented the whole community.

The major failure since the anti Sikh pogrom has been the failure of justice delivery. It’s true that major Congress leaders like Sonia Gandhi and Manmohan Singh expressed deep remorse and regret over the 1984, while one has yet to hear any pain and anguish from RSS-BJP circles over the regularly occurring anti-Muslim and anti-Christian violence.

One hopes that the phase of anti-Sikh has passed never to repeat. But violence against Muslims and Christians is on the rise, and is assuming horrid forms.

While feeling some relief that Sajjan Kumar is in jail, where he should have been years ago, the wish is that all those responsible for the massacres of Mumbai 1992-93, Gujarat 2002, Kandhamal 2008 and Muzaffarnagar 2013, among others, are punished as per the law - and that we rid our society of the ill of impunity enjoyed by the planners and executors of these macabre acts.

3 January 2019. 

Death of a Cow Has More Significance Than That of a Police Officer: Naseeruddin Shah

“There is complete impunity for those who take the law into their own hands. The poison has already spread and it is difficult to put this jinn back into the bottle.”

New Delhi: Speaking to Karwan-e-Mohabbat India, Naseeruddin Shah expressed concern over the Bulandshahr violence and said that, “the death of a cow has more significance than that of a police officer.” He also said that he doesn’t see “the situation improving anytime soon”.

The veteran actor further said, “There is complete impunity for those who take the law into their own hands. The poison has already spread and it is difficult to put this jinn back into the bottle.”

On December 3, mob violence broke out in Uttar Pradesh’s Bulandshahr over an incident of alleged cow slaughter in the Mahaw village of the district. It led to the death of two men, including that of police inspector Subodh Kumar Singh.

Soon after, the Uttar Pradesh police stated that their main concern was to uncover who

had killed the cows and UP chief minister Adityanath also ordered a probe into the alleged cow slaughter, choosing to ignore the killing of Singh.

In an over two-minute video, Shah also expressed anxiety for his children if they were asked about their religion. “I feel worried about my children. They do not have a religion. I had received religious education as a child. Ratna belongs to a liberal household, so she had received none,” he said.

The actor added, “I feel anxious for my children because tomorrow if a mob surrounds them and asks “are you a Hindu or a Muslim”, they will have no answer.”

Shah also said, “I want every right-thinking person to feel angry and not scared. This is our home. Who can dare to evict us from here?” he said.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 20. 12. 2018. 

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Bulandshahr: Human rights probe panel claims Bajrang Dal's role in Dec 3 clashes that killed cop in cold blood

Police inspector Subodh Kumar Singh and Sumit (the local) were killed in the violence that broke out after cow carcasses were found strewn in the jungle.

NCHRO

Bulandshahr: A six-member probe team of the National Confederation Of Human Rights Organizations (NCHRO) on Sunday revealed chilling accounts of the Bulandshahr violence that took place on December 3 that killed a police inspector in cold blood, and said that the incident was fuelled by Hindutva elements.

Police inspector Subodh Kumar Singh and Sumit (the local) were killed in the violence that broke out after cow carcasses were found strewn in the jungle. The demonstrators loaded the carcasses on tractor trolleys and took out a protest on a busy road, leading to a huge traffic jam.

“Local members of Hindutva group Bajrang Dal - Yogesh Raj and Shikhar Agrawal - pounced on the opportunity and fueled the fire. They instigated the mob and slowly people from nearby villages also gathered at the scene. By 10:30 am, there were over 300 people at the scene... They gheraoed the police station that had six police personnel in it at the time. The police sought reinforcement from the police headquarters... Subodh Kumar reached the spot around 11 am, an FIR was lodged and assured assistance and help,” Manoj Kumar from the probe team said at a press conference today.

The probe team said that Subodh went to the mob and tried to pacify it and said, “We will conduct a detailed probe in this matter. Please maintain law and order.” But, Raj continued to incite the mob, which is why it became difficult to control the mob, the panel said.

Eyewitnesses told the probe team that they could hear sounds of firing as the mob turned violent. Many said that Bajrang Dal's Yogesh Raj and Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha's Shikhar

Agrawal kept inciting people to turn violent. In the exchange of fires, local boy Sumit died.

Furthermore, the investigation revealed that the violent mob not only shot Subodh Kumar close to his eyes but also lynched him mercilessly with sticks and stones till he died on the spot. The other police personnel who were with Kumar in the jeep apparently fled from the spot to save their lives.

The mob that was carrying out the protest were drawn from the Bharatiya Janata Party, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal, and Hindu Yuva Vahini, an earlier report had said. Of the 27 people named in the FIR, at least four are workers and functionaries of the above-mentioned organisations.

When a team of police reached the spot, miscreants allegedly pelted stones at the cops and ransacked a police station, setting ablaze several police vehicles.

Earlier, there were conflicting reports on how Inspector Subodh Kumar was killed. While a few reports had claimed that the police officer was attacked by blunt objects and stones, a video that surfaced on the social media showed the slain cop hanging upside down from his official vehicle, apparently shot in the head.

A post-mortem report later confirmed that the cop was both hit by a hard and blunt object and also suffered gunshot injury. Some reports also said that the inspector was shot by his own pistol.

The First Information Report has mentioned Yogesh Raj, reportedly a senior Bajrang Dal leader who had earlier filed an FIR alleging cow slaughter, as the main accused in the case. However, Raj has not been arrested yet.

Courtesy **Times Now Digital**, Dec 30, 2018 

The shrinking space for public intellectuals

Today, critical intellectuals are an endangered species. What will it take for ‘superheroes of the mind’ to be fighters of human dignity?

Ramin Jahanbegloo



(From left) Dipankar Gupta, Romila Thapar, Ashis Nandy, Arundhati Roy and Bhikhu Parekh. Photo: Anshuman Poyrekar/Hindustan Times

Talking about the public role of intellectuals in today's world, and more specifically in India, is of great significance given changes taking place in culture and politics. It is not simply enough to talk about the role of Indian public intellectuals in the making and preserving of critical mindedness and democratic engagement in Indian academia. One should also pay attention to the role which could and should be played by public intellectuals in promoting moral and political excellence and civic friendship among the future generation of Indians.

However, to do so, public intellectuals in India need to challenge the traditional assumptions that have reinforced positivistic methodologies, apathetic scholarship and an increasing fascination with a calculative leadership which refuses to listen and to learn instead of leading.

Fortunately, many Indian intellectuals—such

as Romila Thapar, Ashis Nandy, Dipankar Gupta, Arundhati Roy and Bhikhu Parekh—continue to engage with Indian public and strengthen the concepts of democratic dissent and civic questioning. Yet, we should not forget that the notion of critical thinking and the business of questioning, more than being an act of political partisanship, are essential components of the definition of “intellectual” in modern times.

Decline of the Intellectual

When Thomas Mann left Europe in 1938 to escape Nazi terror and to settle in the United States, he responded to a journalist upon his arrival in New York by saying: “Wo ich bin die ist deutsche Kultur” (wherever I am, there is German culture). Today, if any of us here present situates oneself in Thomas Mann's footsteps, he or she has earned the right to say: “Wherever

I am, there is human culture and a struggle for human dignity.” But unfortunately, in the age of political demagoguery and #Trumpization of politics, things seem to be quite different from the time of Thomas Mann.

The 21st century represents in general a separation between intellectuals and the public space. Seldom have intellectuals and the political world diverged so much. As such, intellectuals are no more described as “superheroes of the mind”, but simply as critical idealists who look beyond the scope of our everyday life. Today, critical intellectuals are an endangered species. Today’s intellectuals have a fear of the political and it seems as if the political has also a terrible indifference to what could be called “intellectual”.

Many others have seen this process as a decline of the intellectual. This decline is usually described as a process of distancing from the public sphere toward an increasingly professionalized, corporate and managerial world. In other words, intellectuals are losing their public authority and their moral legitimacy of speaking truth to power, while becoming incapable of carrying on their independent and critical functions as thinkers and animators of ideas.

The 21st century shows a separation between intellectuals and the public space. Seldom have intellectuals and the political world diverged so much-

The move away of the intellectuals from the public sphere can be described as an effort to renegotiate the purpose and boundaries of the public sphere without taking into consideration the ethical imperatives of a dialogue with the political. As such, today’s intellectuals seem to think that since all moral truths are relative, there is no more a need to represent a moral voice in a voiceless world. The attempts of the intellectuals in the academia and other professional institutions to pretend that it is politically correct and wise to be dismissive of

moral imperatives in the public sphere is a way of coinciding the humanitarian urge of our world with the special needs of career-making.

Salaried, tenured and pensioned, many intellectuals find themselves chained to the wheel of a respectable career and profession which grounds their capacity of critical mindedness in a non-adversarial context. More precisely, narrow professional self-interests have destroyed the so-called public interests of the intellectuals. Quickly and unrepentantly forgetting their moral and political responsibilities, many intellectuals in today’s world have degraded and abandoned the idea of public sphere evolving into uncritical supporters of mass culture.

The new stars

It is by virtue of this uncritical public stance that political and cultural experts and media pundits have replaced intellectuals as the sociological actors of our contemporary world. Engaged solely in discussing facts—that is, facts dictated by the economic laws of the market or by the political decisions of governments around the world—today’s media celebrities are no more interested in discussing values.

As such, with the rise of the post-industrial global village, dominated by media networks and technology-led communication in which critical voices are often drowned, what can be called the “epidemic of conformism” has completely paralyzed and rendered impotent the critical questioning of the intellectuals.

This is an age of “#Trumpization of politics”. An age that has brought with it the rise of populist politicians and loudmouth demagogues-

That said, the category of “intellectual” remains a problematic concept and difficult to define. However, in order to question the role of intellectual engagement in the context of twenty-first century, we need to start with some of the salient features of the intellectual in history. It goes without saying that the intellectual

has always been a social-historical figure that has emerged from a cultural background, but with a public function that relates to a universal consciousness.

This emphasis on the universal task of the intellectual and its presence as a socio-political figure in the public space, reinforces the distinction between “intellectuals” and “academics”. Moreover, with “intellectuals” the focus is not only on the transmission of ideas, but with the act of universalizing awareness through a process of questioning. In other words, the critical mode of questioning which is proper to the work of intellectuals is an engagement with the problem of questioning itself and not only the capacity to question and to doubt.

So perhaps the basic question of intellectual questioning is about the meaning, validity and legitimacy of questions. Therefore, by definition, society for an intellectual is a space of active questioning and unlimited interrogation in such a way that the questions of freedom, justice, equity and equality can always be posed anew and not taken for granted.

The first intellectual

So, it doesn't come to us as a surprise that the history of political thought began with an act of intellectual questioning, that of Socrates, the Athenian philosopher and gadfly, against his judges who condemned him to death. If Socrates can be considered as the first public intellectual in the history of humanity, it is certainly because he is something other than a simple Athenian picked out of the crowd. He is an individual who takes his distance from his own heritage by questioning the nature of Greek myths and ideas.

Socrates's main accomplishment is to call into question the conventional forms of authority and heteronomy in his time. As such, Socrates is not only a philosopher-citizen but also a philosopher-dissenter. This idea of “dissent” is the key feature to the existential presence and

epistemological attitude of the intellectual in all times. Though the term “intellectual”, as we know it today, has been fabricated very late in human history, the critical function of intellectual thinking and the dissenting attitude of those who went against the tide, has always been a mode of being of disobedient minds all through history.

It is with the Dreyfus Affair in 19th century France (when Alfred Dreyfus was imprisoned in 1894 on charges of leaking secrets to the German army) that the category of the “intellectual” became recognized for the first time, accompanied by a slightly different interpretation of its “public” role. Despite the ideological differences among intellectuals during the Dreyfus Affair, both sides agreed that the intellectual should be engaged. But what an intellectual like Emile Zola saw at stake in the Dreyfus Affair was to use his ideas as a way to denounce injustice. Zola's pamphlet, *J'accuse*, became the critical spear of many writers, artists, journalists and academicians who jointly signed a “Manifesto” and declared Dreyfus innocent and wrongly imprisoned.

Intellectuals are not only individual thinkers, but also public servants of humanity who stand for something far larger than the discipline from which they originated. They are constantly balancing the private and the public. That is to say, an intellectual's personal commitment to an ideal must have relevance and respect for the society. This is how the intellectual engages himself or herself with the changing issues of society while remaining true to certain ethical principles. This is how intellectuals appear as the moral conscience of their societies.

As such, one of the tasks of the intellectual is to think. But can we think without disobeying and without questioning and without dissenting? “The most thought-provoking thing about our thought-provoking age”, wrote Martin Heidegger, is, “that we are still not thinking.” Thinking, Heidegger observes, is questioning. To think is to put the world and ourselves into

question. In other words, thinking is determined by a person who questions. It involves not only our receptivity to freedom but also the necessity to disobey. The call of thought is, thus, the call to freedom. There has been, since Socrates, the tradition of a public intellectual as the supporter and guardian of civic freedoms.

In conclusion

Let us ask what public intellectuals should stand for and fight for in today's world. Passive intellectualism and intellectual elitism are both precisely what intellectuals cannot afford at a time when they are trying to bring together a global community of shared values in order to confront global challenges all together. However, it happens that the specialization of intellectual life together with the dominance of mass culture have provided the disappearance of the charismatic public intellectual figure and the decline in the quality of what we call "public".

Today, intellectuals play no more the role of critical counter power to liberal oligarchies and populist regimes around the world, and they have lost their ability to think independently without

being an actor of the "celebrity culture". With the banalization of cultural life, intellectuals have been transformed into insignificant figures who find their homes in the universities and think tanks around the world, where they have no moral legitimacy in their specific disciplines.

This is an age of "#Trumpization of politics", an age of ignorance, arrogance and mediocrity. This is an age which has brought with it the rise of populist politicians and loudmouth demagogues around the world. However, the rise of the demagogues is the symptom, not the cause of erosion of public trust and engagement. But what is often lost in the debate is the role that needs to be played by the intellectuals as agents to transform the public discourse and move the society toward new social imaginaries and new modes of thinking. It is time, once again, for public intellectuals to be the uncompromising fighters on behalf of human dignity.

Ramin Jahanbegloo is professor, vice dean and director of Mahatma Gandhi Centre for Peace Studies at O.P. Jindal Global University.

Courtesy **Live Mint**, Dec 28, 2018. 

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- Mahi Pal Singh, Editor, The Radical Humanist

The Sohrabuddin Judgment Is a Mockery of Justice, the CBI Must File an Appeal

The judgment makes it clear that the learned judge was bent upon acquitting the accused by totally disregarding the evidence – oral and documentary – placed before him.

Dushyant Dave

The judgment delivered last month in the Sohrabuddin Shaikh fake encounter case is the greatest mockery of justice and reflects the malaise that has taken hold of the administration of justice in the country.

Delivered on December 21, 2018 (but signed on December 31) by S.J. Sharma, additional sessions judge, city civil and sessions court, Greater Mumbai, this judgment is a direct insult to the Supreme Court and the law laid down by it, not just in the instant case – in which it had directed the CBI to investigate the killings of Sohrabuddin, his wife Kausarbi and their associate Tulsiram Prajapati – but also in terms of the settled law on encounter killings by the police.

The 358 page judgment reflects a complete non-appreciation of facts, lack of understanding of the law and is bereft of any concern for human lives. When read as a whole, it is clear the learned judge was bent upon acquitting the accused by totally disregarding the evidence – oral and documentary – placed before him. His approach is to reject everything that is inconvenient and to build a farcical story in holding that there was no evidence to link the accused to the wanton killings.

The judgment is a bundle of contradictions. Consider this: from paragraphs 244 to 259, the judge discusses the law on sanction under Section 197 of Code of Criminal Procedure. But then, he records something extraordinary in paragraph 260:

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the 21 accused who are police officials and who were found doing the act and deed in discharge of their official duty, are entitled for the benefit

as contemplated under Section 197 of Code of Criminal Procedure... In absence of the sanction the accused are entitled for acquittal.

The judge also says in paragraph 262:

I am not unaware of the degree of agony and frustration that may be caused to the society in general and the families of the deceased in particular, by the fact that a serious nature of crime like this goes unpunished, but then the law does not permit the court to punish the accused on the basis of moral conviction or suspicion alone.... It is no doubt a matter of regret that there is reported killing of Sohrabuddin and Tulsiram Prajapati which is going unpunished.

Just to be clear, the judgment categorically

1. finds that the accused were acting in discharge of their duties in what they did,
2. finds that three persons have been killed, and
3. records that after those killings in alleged encounters the Gujarat Police had filed FIRs/chargesheets expressly narrating the details of the encounters and the role played by the 22 accused (and others who were earlier discharged in the same).

What more was required to establish culpability is unfathomable.

Despite this, the bulk of the judgment – paragraphs 1 to 243 – is devoted to establishing that there is no evidence to establish beyond doubt that the 22 accused were involved in the killings of the three persons.

Perhaps the learned judge is unaware that the Supreme Court, in *Munshi Singh Gautam v*

State of MP, has categorically settled principles for appreciation of evidence in such killings in the following terms:

“6. Rarely in cases of police torture or custodial death, direct ocular evidence of the complicity of the police personnel alone who can only explain the circumstances in which a person in their custody had died.

7. The exaggerated adherence to and insistence upon the establishment of proof beyond every reasonable doubt by the prosecution, at times even when the prosecuting agencies are themselves fixed in the dock, ignoring the ground realities, the fact situation and the peculiar circumstances of a given case, as in the present case, often results in miscarriage of justice and makes the justice-delivery system suspect and vulnerable... The courts must, therefore, deal with such cases in a realistic manner and with the sensitivity which they deserve.”

Judge Sharma reflects complete ignorance of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 and many of its provisions which were so crucial in deciding the matter before him. Section 106 categorically provides for “burden of proving fact especially within knowledge”.

It is settled law that Section 106 is designed to meet certain exceptional cases in which it would be impossible for the prosecution to establish certain facts which are particularly within the knowledge of the accused.

The law in this regard has been settled from 1956 in *Shambu Nath Mehra v State of Ajmer* to *Prithipal Singh v State of Punjab* in 2012. In the last referred judgment, the Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of police officers guilty of killing a human rights activist in Punjab holding, inter-alia, as under:

“1. Police atrocities in India had always been a subject-matter of controversy and debate. In view of the provisions of Article 21 of the Constitution, any form of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment is inhibited.

2. Extraordinary situations demand

extraordinary remedies. While dealing with an unprecedented case, the Court has to innovate the law and may also pass an unconventional order keeping in mind that an extraordinary fact situation requires extraordinary measures.

3. In a case where the person is alleged to have died in police custody, it is difficult to get any kind of evidence.

4. Tolerance of police atrocities, as in the instant case, would amount to acceptance of systematic subversion and erosion of the rule of law.”

How the CBI came into the picture

It is deeply disturbing that Judge Sharma in his entire judgment does not even refer to the judgments of the Supreme Court by which the investigations were ordered to be transferred to the CBI. In the judgment of *Rubabbuddin Sheikh* in 2010, the Supreme Court categorically recorded:

“54. It is also well known that when police officials of the State were involved in the crime and in fact they are investigating the case, it would be proper and interest of justice would be better served if the investigation is directed to be carried out by the CBI Authorities...”

81. In the present circumstances and in view of the involvement of the police officials of the State in this crime, we cannot shut our eyes and direct the State police authorities to continue with the investigation and the charge-sheet and for a proper and fair investigation, we also feel that CBI should be requested to take up the investigation.”

In *Narmada Bai v State of Gujarat*, the Supreme Court even went further to hold:

“59. The fact that in the case of murder of an associate of Tulsiram Prajapati, senior police officials and a senior politician were accused may shake the confidence of public in investigation conducted by the State police. If the majesty of the rule of law is to be upheld and if it is to be ensured that the guilty are punished in accordance with law notwithstanding their status

and authority which they might have enjoyed, it is desirable to entrust the investigation to CBI.”

It is an admitted position that Prajapati, while being in jail in Udaipur, had represented to the authorities – including National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) – that he would be killed in a fake encounter by the Gujarat Police while being taken to Ahmedabad in a pending criminal case.

This letter was forwarded by the NHRC to the police authorities of Rajasthan and Gujarat to protect his life. Yet what happened on December 27, 2006 was exactly what he had feared and from what he was to be protected at the instance of the NHRC.

It is also a matter of record that the DIG of the Anti-Terrorism Squad (Gujarat), which had killed Sohrabuddin and Kausarbi in November 2005, was transferred as DIG (border range) just before the killing of Prajapati. The killing took place in the area under his control.

Narendra Modi, then the chief minister of Gujarat, was holding charge of the home ministry and Amit Shah was minister of state for home. It is a matter of record that in a 2007 public rally in Mangrol, Gujarat, Modi owned up the killing of Sohrabuddin in public.

He said Sohrabuddin “got what he deserved” and asked people, “Congress in Gujarat is raising its voice on the Sohrabuddin issue. But it should explain to the people what should be done to a man who stored illegal arms and ammunitions. You tell me, what should have been done to Sohrabuddin?” The crowd echoed, “Kill him, Kill him” and Modi responded, “Well that is it. Do I have to ask Sonia Gandhi’s permission to do this?”

Subsequent to the judgment, Vanzara himself stated in a press conference that, “But for the encounters, it might have become difficult to ensure the safety of Modiji and Pakistan by now would have succeeded in turning Gujarat into another terrorist-ridden Kashmir.” He also referred to the killing as a “pre-emptive

encounter”.

Post-judgment, Modi in a television interview cited the Sohrabuddin case as an example of “how institutions were misused” by the Congress. Arun Jaitley, a lawyer par excellence and whom I hold in high respect, said in a blog post titled “Who killed the Sohrabuddin investigation” that “the detractors should seriously introspect as to what they did to the CBI when they were in power.” Smriti Irani said that, “Nobody killed” Shaikh and “he just died” and said Shah was “targeted by CBI as part of a political conspiracy”.

However, what the nation must know is how the entire trial was deflected, if not manipulated, at the instance of those in power. The CBI, which investigated and was prosecuting the case, is under the Centre’s control.

When so many police officers turned hostile, the CBI and the judge should have taken appropriate measures for their re-examination in a proper manner. The judge should have exercised his powers under Section 162 of the Evidence Act to elicit the truth. The police officers who have turned hostile are also under the control of the BJP-run Gujarat government. Modi and his colleagues must take moral responsibility for this failure rather than claim victory.

Choice of judge

The Supreme Court, while affirming bail granted to Amit Shah in its judgment in 2012, had categorically directed while transferring the two cases to Mumbai as under, “The Administrative Committee would assign the case to a court where the trial may be concluded judiciously...The Administrative Committee would also ensure that the trial should be conducted from beginning to end by the same officer.”

It is a matter of public knowledge that judges were transferred, while one judge died in what his own family categorically claimed to be suspicious circumstances. The Supreme Court wished away these claims by holding that only

snippets of the interview were produced, while neither questioning the genuineness of what was produced nor asking for the full recording at any stage.

The appointment of S.J. Sharma as the last judge assumes importance because he was to retire by December and was given extension for a few weeks to write the judgment. The Bombay high court and the administrative committee owe a full explanation as to how they selected this particular judge who reflects complete lack of understanding of the law.

Someday, the Supreme Court will have to examine why the administrative committee of the Bombay high court vitiated this direction. Does this not render the judgment completely void *ab*

initio, requiring a full and proper retrial?

The CBI was not misused by the Congress. It was at the instance of the Sohrabuddin's brother and Prajapati's mother that the Supreme Court transferred the cases to the agency. Some of us took up the task in persuading the Supreme Court to do so, for the protection of human rights and not for political gains.

Let us hope the CBI now appeals against the judgment and let us hope and trust that the Bombay high court will deliver justice in the matter.

Dushyant Dave is a senior advocate and former president of the Supreme Court Bar Association.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 8 January 2019. 🌈

An Obituary – Sunity Ranjan Mukherjee

Veteran Radical Humanist Sunity Ranjan Mukherjee passed away at 84 at his residence at 3, Champatala Lane, Serampore, Hooghly in West Bengal on 8th January, 2019 after a brief illness. A matriculate from Chatra Nandalal School and a graduate from Serampore College, Sunity Ranjan Mukherjee obtained Bachelor of Law Degree from the University of Calcutta. He began his career in the Secretariat of the Government of West Bengal in the mid-fifties of the last century. At that time, he used to join the Study Camp of the Radical Humanists at Mussoorie and was greatly influenced by the discourses in the Camp. During his service career, he was one of the co-founders and a pioneer of an employees' association which acted totally outside the influence of any political party, particularly the Marxists who used to treat the employees as tools for furthering their party interests in preference to the welfare of the employees. He used to circulate radical humanist literature among his fellow employees and was thus able to inculcate the ideals of radical humanism in them. After his retirement as Assistant Secretary in the Land & Land Reforms Department in 1992, he took up legal practice in the High Court at Calcutta. During his stint in the High Court, he left a stable imprint as a Radical Humanist on his fellow advocates. An ardent follower of The Radical Humanism propounded by the great philosopher revolutionary, M.N.Roy, he was closely associated with the personalities like V.M. Tarkunde, Shibnarayan Roy, Amlan Datta and many others. He founded a study circle entitled "Ganatantri Mahal" at Chatra, Serampore with a view to disseminate the message of democracy, decentralization and rationalism as a way of life. He was a bachelor and left behind a rich collection of books, friends and followers and upheld the rich tradition of untiring criticism of the status quo based on secular morality and rationalism in all spheres of life.



Goutam Bhattacharya 🌈

Gujarat Police Under Modi Confirmed Sohrabuddin Encounters Were Fake, Not CBI

The Supreme Court had to directly intervene and transfer the case to the CBI because it was convinced that the Gujarat police was impeding the investigation.

Sarim Naved

It's odd that both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and finance minister Arun Jaitley have characterised the Sohrabuddin Sheikh -Tulsi Prajapati murder investigation as politically motivated and biased. For the key premise of the case – that they were murdered by the police in a fake encounter – was actually built by the

the case?

Was the case politicised?

The charge of political bias is easily thrown around in these polarised times. In a way, the judgment in the Sohrabuddin Sheikh triple murder case last week has become politicised through the judgment itself; the presiding judge



Sohrabuddin Shaikh was killed in an alleged staged encounter. Credit: PTI

Gujarat police itself when Narendra Modi was chief minister.

The case was then taken to the Supreme Court by Sohrabuddin's family, which sought a CBI investigation because they felt the Gujarat police would not conduct an unbiased investigation against their own officials.

The CBI came into the picture only after the Supreme Court concurred with this plea and agreed that the case had to be taken out of the hands of the Gujarat authorities. Even the trial was shifted to Mumbai. And all this happened under the Supreme Court's monitoring.

So, are Modi and Jaitley suggesting the Supreme Court was also biased in supervising

accused the CBI of carrying out a pre-determined investigation.

The judgment, for the purpose of arriving at this conclusion, relied on a large number of witnesses – 92 out of 210 – turning hostile. It further disbelieves the prosecution case regarding simple details like Sohrabuddin's travel to Hyderabad and then his journey to Sangli, during which he and Kausar Bi were kidnapped and later murdered.

What is curious in the ultimate indictment of the CBI is that many, if not most of these details regarding Sohrabuddin Sheikh and Kausar Bi's final journey, had been investigated by the Gujarat police when Modi was chief minister.

In fact, in 2010 when the case was finally transferred to the CBI, the then Gujarat government staunchly opposed the move as it had already filed the chargesheet and said it was committed to bring the accused to justice.

The Supreme Court was not convinced and the CBI only built on that investigation. It's surprising now that the entire investigation is being attacked politically, especially when it was conducted on the orders – and under the supervision – of the Supreme Court, wherein the victim's families, the accused, the CBI as well as the Gujarat government participated in every hearing.

The conclusion of the trial court judge – that words had been put in the mouth of the witnesses by the CBI – is curious as none of them, including the accused and the Gujarat government, had brought this alleged large-scale fabrication of evidence to the attention of the apex court when they could easily have done so.

On the contrary, at least one witness, Azam Khan, stated that he was being forced by the Gujarat police to retract his statement given to the CBI and the magistrate on an earlier occasion.

What the Supreme Court observed, at the time of transferring the investigation, was:

“Since the high police officials of the state of Gujarat are involved and some of them had already been in custody, we are also of the view that it would not be sufficient to instil confidence in the minds of the victims as well as of the public that the State police authorities would still be allowed to continue with the investigation when allegations and offences were mostly against them.

In the present circumstances and in view of the involvement of the police officials of the state in this crime, we cannot shut our eyes and direct the state police authorities to continue with the investigation and the charge sheet, and for a proper and fair investigation, we also feel that the CBI should be requested to take up the investigation and submit a report in this court

within six months from the date of handing over a copy of this judgment and the records relating to this crime to them.”

A person's guilt or innocence cannot be subject to a political debate, and should be left to the courts. The judgment will be challenged. The victims' side will point out the infirmities, while the exonerated will surely uphold its virtues. What, however, should be a matter for public and political debate is the process that led to the judgment.

This is a case where the Supreme Court had to directly intervene to initiate an investigation, then to monitor it and transfer it to the CBI because it was convinced that the state police was impeding the investigation under pressure. Even after the transfer of the investigation, the trial was transferred to Mumbai to be heard by a single judge.

A botched prosecution?

This very abnormal case has ultimately fallen to the most normal threat to prosecutions in India, i.e. witnesses turning hostile. Witnesses who haven't turned hostile are disbelieved for reasons of inconsistencies – at least some of which can be attributed to the fact that the investigation became protracted and that witnesses were afraid for their safety.

Much has been said about witnesses who gave additional details to the CBI as opposed to the Gujarat police earlier. This is completely believable as the Supreme Court held that the Gujarat police investigation was far from satisfactory. In fact, when Sohrabuddin's brother Rubabuddin testified that Tulsiram gave him blank signed sheets to be used for whatever purpose he deemed fit – as Tulsiram was sure he would be killed – the same has been disbelieved despite the signature being confirmed to be his.

Tulsiram's lawyer, who argued that he was afraid for his life and had complained to the courts at Udaipur where he was imprisoned – has also been disbelieved as no *vakalatnama* was produced to show that he was representing

Tulsiram.

One more class of judicial officers hard-done by in this prosecution are the magistrates who recorded the statements of various witnesses which were discarded by the prosecution. Surely, there can be no doubt they recorded these statements truthfully. Short of going into the quality and valency of recording these statements, the same cannot be ignored.

In a case where all the accused were police personnel – all the politicians had been discharged earlier – for almost half the witnesses to turn hostile creates grave suspicion regarding either the investigation or the conduct of the prosecution.

No attempt was made to safeguard witnesses. Statements recorded before magistrates during the investigation were not even exhibited during trial, and a majority of the witnesses were not even examined. They were simply not summoned by the prosecution, which closed its evidence just a fortnight before the final arguments were heard.

None of the accused felt compelled to produce any evidence in their defence – so weak was the prosecution's case. While the judgment shows concern towards witnesses who stated their statements were wrongly recorded by the CBI, no attention is paid to the possibility that these hostile witnesses may not have been free of fear or pressure.

This is not merely an idle concern. Azam Khan has been seeking protection from the Rajasthan high court regarding the torture and threats inflicted upon him by one of the accused and another serving police personnel in Udaipur a couple of months before his deposition. He was threatened by one of the accused on the morning of his deposition. After he named D.G. Vanzara – who had been discharged earlier – he alleged he was tortured.

He approached the court seeking to be re-examined as crucial parts of his testimony were left out and sought to avail the new Witness

Protection Scheme brought into force by the Supreme Court. He was not the only one who suffered. The mother of one of the victims, Tulsiram Prajapati could not be 'traced' by the CBI even though warrants to produce her were issued.


She was, however, easily traced by *The Wire's* correspondent, to whom she narrated her travails and her utter exhaustion. Inspector V.L. Solanki had publicly stated his fears about testifying and had sought protection. When the same was not provided to him by the CBI, he went to court to give a truncated version of the testimony he gave during the investigation.

A bare reading of all the chargesheets filed show that there are around 500 witnesses in the case, out of which 210 were examined. The prosecution stated that re-examining Azam Khan, Mahendra Jhala, and summoning additional witnesses, including the initial investigating officer Rajnish Rai was not required as their testimonies pertained to the discharged accused.

These witnesses, if they had been allowed to complete their testimonies, would have been able to complete the chain of circumstantial evidence which is required to prove a conspiracy. As such, the conspiracy could not be proved because many conspirators were discharged on the technical ground of non-availability of sanction. Once that happened, the evidence regarding them was disbarred from being recorded, further damaging the prosecution's case.

The point is that all necessary evidence must be presented to the court, after which it is responsible for sifting out the irrelevant material. The CBI's prosecutorial 'own goal' ensured that an incomplete picture was presented to the court. Failure to ensure any support to the witnesses perforce contributed to large numbers of them turning hostile.

Sarim Naved is a lawyer and film enthusiast based in New Delhi.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 4 January 2019. 

Thirty seven academics write to ISCA: 'Deeply shocked, disturbed'

**Scientist Kannan Jegathala Krishnan, on the other hand, dismissed
Albert Einstein's Theory of Relativity, Isaac Newton's Law of Gravity
and Stephen Hawking's theories about Black Holes.**

Abha Goradia

Thirty-seven distinguished science academics and communicators on Wednesday signed a letter against the "unscientific claims" made at the Indian Science Congress this year that was sent to the general president of the Indian Science Congress Association.

"We are deeply shocked and disturbed that false claims, based on confusing episodes in mythology as science, have been made in the 106th Indian Science Congress, that too in scientific presentations made to the Children Science Congress. Such content in the ISC undermines the long scientific tradition of the ISC which, in the past, has been led by outstanding scientists such as Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, Sir Ram Nath Chopra and Prof P Parija. Such claims tarnish the image of Indian science globally, and also undermine the credibility of the genuine contributions of the great science personalities of yore, that too, in front of young and impressionable minds. Stories from our epics are poetic, enjoyable, rich in moral elements and in imagination but are not scientifically constructed or validated," reads the letter.

Noted academics who have signed the letter include astrophysicist Jayant V Narlikar, molecular biologist at IISC Bengaluru Dipankar Chatterji, scientists at Homi Bhabha Centre for Science Education Aniket Sule, MC Arunan and G Nagarjuna, faculty member at IIT Bombay Abhijit Majumder, science educator Arvind Gupta, faculty member at Jawaharlal Nehru University Dhruv Raina, and faculty member at Centre of Excellence on Basic Sciences SG

Dani.

"We hope you will find out how the speakers were deemed fit to address the gatherings, and we hope stronger steps are planned to ensure that the ISCA actually promotes and advances the cause of science," the letter to the ISCA general president adds.

Some of the contentious claims which led to an outcry at the ISC this year included Andhra University V-C G Nageswara Rao statement that Kauravas of Mahabharata were born out of stem cell research and test tube fertilisation process and that Raavana had more than 24 types of aircraft, the Pushpaka Vimana just one among them.

Scientist Kannan Jegathala Krishnan, on the other hand, dismissed Albert Einstein's Theory of Relativity, Isaac Newton's Law of Gravity and Stephen Hawking's theories about Black Holes.

This is not the first time unscientific and false claims have been propagated in the ISC, the letter points out.

In response to similar occurrences in the 2015 edition of ISC, an online petition was signed by over 1000 science academics and communicators and was submitted to the president of ISC.

Recently, the Indian Science Congress Association has passed a resolution to obtain written declarations from every speaker, invited to the programme in future, stating that they would not speak anything "unscientific".

Courtesy **The Indian Express**,
10 January 2019. 

Democracy Derailed

Jawaharlal Jasthi

Every country in the modern world has a constitution of its own, whatever it may contain. In a democracy the constitution provides for the three branches of government – executive, legislature and judiciary. The rights and responsibilities of each of the branches are well defined in the constitution and the constitution of the United States of America is not an exception to it. The intention is to ensure that the government governs the country properly. Whatever happens, the show must go on. For that purpose funds are provided by the legislature – they call it Congress consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate – by passing budget every year. The peculiar system of America allows Congress to provide funds on selective basis, that is, for different periods for different departments. Thus, the funds provided for about nine departments expired by the midnight of 23 December, 2018. Those departments cannot function unless funds are provided by the legislature for extended period. For them the financial period ends by September every year. Accordingly, the House of Representatives passed a stop gap arrangement to ensure funds for those departments and the bill was sent to the Senate. At that time the President announced that he would not sign the bill, even if it is passed by the Senate, as there are no funds provided for building the wall on the Mexican border. It is a bone of contention between the Democrats and Republicans, the two main parties ruling the country. The wall happens to be one of the main offers made by the President at the time of election and he is particular that it must be built at any cost. Everybody has a right to have his own opinion regarding the need or legitimacy of the wall. But the question now is that the government is paralysed and closed partially for want of funds. Is it justified to prevent the flow of funds to certain departments of government unless funds are provided for a project envisaged by the President?

The President of America is an office sui generis.

The entire administration depends on the whims and fancies of the person occupying the position. It is the most powerful office in the modern world having control of the most powerful military and economic strength. Such concentration of power in the hands of one person is inconsistent with principles of democracy. But it is justified in the USA as the person is elected directly by the people of the entire country. The Representatives and Senators are also elected but only by a fraction of the people. Even then, the President is bound by certain restrictions mentioned in the constitution. No bill passed by the Congress becomes law unless it is signed by the President. But his discretion in this regard is limited. Section 7 of Article I clearly states that the bill passed by the Congress shall be submitted to the President for his approval. The President shall sign it or he may send it back to the House where it originated with his objections within ten days after he receives the bill. Then if the two Houses pass the bill again with two thirds majority, the bill becomes law as if it is signed by the President. Even if he keeps quiet for more than ten days after receiving the bill, it is deemed to have been approved and becomes law.

The present situation is more piquant. The bill providing funds for the departments is passed by the House of Representatives and held up in the Senate. It is not passed in the Senate to be submitted to the President for his signature. So the President cannot be held directly responsible for the present stalemate. He only said that he will not approve the bill as it does not contain provision of \$5 billion required to build the wall on Mexican border. But the Republican members of Senate do not like to put the President in embarrassment by presenting the bill to him which he would not approve and earn the blame for it. They are trying to get a compromise by providing some funds for the wall. But the objection of Democrats is on principle that the wall is an aberration and unconstitutional. To

provide for token amounts to satisfy the President makes no meaning as it amounts approval of the wall. In fact when the House of Representatives passed the bill in December there was a majority of Republicans in the House. Even then the Republican members in the Senate did not pass the bill to be presented to the President.

In January, 2019 Democrats got majority in the House of Representatives and reiterated the passing of the bill without any funds for the wall. Republicans are in majority in the Senate and they are trying again for a compromise to satisfy the President. He asserted that he would never approve funds for the rest of the departments unless funds are provided in the bill for the wall as he demanded. The Senate could have passed the bill and submitted it to the President for him to return the same with objections. That is the process envisaged under the constitution. By not presenting the bill to the President, the Senate obstructed the constitutional process. But can the President find fault with a bill just because it does not contain some item of his choice? Does it amount to a legitimate objection for reconsideration of the bill by the House? Any objection that the President could raise must be in relation to what is contained in the bill but not on what is not included in the bill. For any item there could be a separate bill if the Congress or President wants. The President can always suggest that funds shall be provided for any purpose envisaged by him in the form of a separate bill. But to refuse consent for a bill as it does not contain provision suggested by him appears childish to say the least. It is like the son refusing to go to school unless he is given a Buick car.


It is true a long time back they have declared "The business of America is business." Now they are treating the government as a business organization and the country a business asset. Any business organization closes a loss making line of business. They have done the same with the government. About a quarter of the government is closed.

About nine cabinet level departments remain

closed from 23 December, 2018 and about a million employees are going without salaries on which they depend exclusively. Now the President threatens that he is prepared to let the closure continue indefinitely and also to declare emergency so that the Congress is suspended and he could do whatever he wants. But it is doubtful whether he has such powers under the constitution. Such powers are subject to approval or consent of the Senate. The very fact that the situation is allowed to come to this stage shows something lacking in the system of democracy prevailing in the United States of America. After all, it is the primary duty of government to see that all the functions of government are being carried out regularly for the benefit of the people. The government or any branch of it does not have a right to hold the country to ransom, particularly the President who is directly elected by the people.

In all this chaos, murmurs are heard that the President can be impeached. But it is highly impossible to materialise. There may be so many instances where the President said and did things that look incongruous and inconsequent. But they could not form basis for impeachment as they do not constitute "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

The present situation appears to have precipitated more because of partisan politics rather than because of the intransigent President. There has been a shutdown of government 13 times since 1981. But no effort appears to have been made to prevent recurrence of such a situation. It only shows a callous attitude on the part of political agencies. Closing the functions of government does not constitute democracy. Even a dictator does not resort to it. Dictators run the government as they like but never close it. Closure of government means some of the services to the people are not made available. That is failure of the system, whether you call it democracy or autocracy. It exposes some radical defect in the system. It is strange that nobody tries to address the same.

5 January, 2019 

Report: Seminar held in memory of Justice Rajindar Sachar in Jalandhar

‘Secularism and democracy can be saved only with socialism’

Socialist Party, on the occasion of 95th birthday of Justice Rajindar Sachar, founder member of the party, organized a one-day seminar on 22 December 2018, on the topic ‘How to Save Constitutional Institutions and Values?’ in Jalandhar city of Punjab. Citizens from different parts of Punjab reached Jalandhar to pay their homage to Justice Sachar on this occasion.

The seminar was inaugurated by Dr. Prem Singh, president, Socialist Party. In his inaugural address, he said that neither the secularism nor the democracy can be saved by sacrificing the value of the socialism which is enshrined in the Constitution of India. By adopting the New Economic Policies in 1991, the political and intellectual leadership of the country had dropped the constitutional value of socialism. With this, the path of corporate politics was cleared in the country. Constitutional values of secularism and democracy cannot be saved without correcting this blunder. To save the constitutional institutions too, the re-establishment of socialism and send-off of neo-liberalism is a necessity. Because these constitutional institutions were not set up to serve the private sector. Dr. Singh conveyed to the audience that the Socialist Party will organize seminars and discussions on the topics of education, constitution and mutual brotherhood in the small towns and cities of the country in the memory of its three late leaders - Bhai Vaidya, Rajindar Sachar and Kuldip Nayar. In this series, party's next program will be held in Indore in the memory of Bhai Vaidya and in the memory of Kuldip Nayar in Amritsar.


Chief guest/speaker at the program, ND Pancholi, vice president, PUCL, paid tribute to Justice Sachar remembering his unwavering loyalty to the Constitution. He told that PUCL and PUDR filed petition in the Delhi High Court

Dr. Prem Singh

on the 1984 Sikh massacre. Justice Sachar issued a notice to the government to respond to the questions posed in the petition. But the bench of hearing of the petition was changed and the High Court dismissed the petition. The Supreme Court did the same. Pancholi underlined the serious crisis to the constitutional values and institutions particularly during the present regime. He specifically cited the Congress's 1931 Karachi convention, saying that the values of freedom struggle contributed to the Constitution of India. Those who opposed the struggle of independence, they are destroying most the constitutional institutions and values. He emphasized that the constitutional institutions and values can be saved by uniting the peoples' power all over the country.

Lohian thinker Prof. SS Chhina while addressing the seminar said that the rapid privatization of education and health is a direct violation of the constitutional institutions and values. There are 12 private universities in Punjab and out of these 3 are situated in Jalandhar itself. Prof. Jagmohan Singh, an exponent/activist of revolutionary socialist ideology, said that the slogan of socialism was first given by Bhagat Singh and his comrades. He emphasized on the awakening of the revolutionary spirit in order to save the constitutional values and institutions. Several citizens/civil society activists from the audiences also took part in the discussion and expressed their views on the topic.

Balwant Singh Kheda, senior vice president, Socialist Party, presided over the seminar. Harendra Singh Mansaia, president, Socialist Party, Punjab, welcomed the delegates/guests and general secretary Om Singh Satiyana conducted the proceedings of the seminar.

Report by **Dr. Hiranya Himakar** 

God, Heaven, and Evil

A Renewed Defense of Atheism

Ken Levy

After EgyptAir Flight 804 crashed on May 19, 2016, I asked the same question that many others undoubtedly asked as well: How could God let this happen? Of course, this plane crash is just one relatively small tragedy in the whole scheme of things. When we add in all of the other tragedies—all the violence, pain, suffering, and premature death that occur on this planet—the same question becomes correspondingly more difficult to answer.

This is the problem of evil, an argument that is typically used in support of atheism. If God were omnibenevolent, He would want to minimize such evils as violence, pain, suffering, and premature death; if God were omniscient, He would know everything that is happening in the universe; and if God were omnipotent, He would be able to act on His omnibenevolence and omniscience to prevent most or all evil from occurring. Yet all of this evil still occurs. Therefore God—an omniscient, omnipotent, and omnibenevolent being—probably does not exist. If a higher intelligence exists at all, it probably lacks at least one of these three qualities.

Theists, or believers, generally respond to this argument by proposing two reasons to believe that God's existence is perfectly compatible with all of the evil that we observe and experience:

1. Despite His omnipotence, God simply could not have created a world that lacked evil. If there is to be good, there must also be evil. The existence of evil makes good possible.

2. Evil contributes to a much greater or higher good. For example, suffering builds moral character or brings victims much closer to God or to each other.

Believers always have at least these fallback answers at their disposal to allay any

theological doubts. But the very fact that these two hypotheses can be applied no matter the kind or degree of evil in question should make us suspicious. Quite simply, they prove too much. They commit theists to the incredible position that God's existence should not be doubted even if the degree of evil in the world far outweighs the good. Atheists are right to respond to this theistic "spin": if God exists no matter how much evil there is, then what good is He in the first place? Better, it would seem, to have much less evil and no God than much more evil and God.

Believers typically supplement (2) above with the "free will defense": God preferred to create a world in which humans have free will and therefore the capacity to perform evil acts rather than a world in which they lack free will. He preferred this world, a world in which humans are free to do wrong, because it is far more valuable, both in itself and to humans themselves, than a world in which they are forced always to be good. Humans who consciously make the choice to follow God's commands—notably the moral laws embodied in the believer's holy text, such as the Ten Commandments—experience and exhibit a much more profound knowledge of, and love for, God than humans who follow them out of either primitive fear or blind compulsion, or don't follow them at all.

So on the free will defense, the mere existence of God is hardly a guarantee of the non-existence of evil. What is required to wipe out evil is humans freely deciding to turn away from it and toward God. As the Christian apologist C.S. Lewis said in his classic 1952 book *Mere Christianity*, we live in "enemy-occupied territory": only by freely choosing to follow God can we eventually escape it.

President Kennedy echoed this sentiment in the close of his Inaugural Address on January 20, 1961: “[L]et us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth, God’s work must truly be our own.”

Does the free will defense work? Not really. Consider nonhuman animals. While hunting and factory farming evidence humans’ great capacity for evil in the form of cruelty—not to mention our equally great capacities for denial and rationalization—believers still try to reconcile these activities with the existence of God simply by falling back on the free will defense. On this view, it is preferable that humans gradually phase out violence against animals on their own than that they had never been violent toward animals in the first place. Better a victory earned along with some collateral damage than a game never played. The animals, however, would beg to differ. And one wonders why an omniscient, omnipotent, and omnibenevolent deity would not take *their* feelings and preferences into account. Because they’re just animals? Because animals just don’t matter? This is an all-too-human response. Such speciesist partisanship seems grossly unfair and therefore entirely unbefitting of a supposedly morally perfect being.

The free will defense runs into several other problems as well. First, some philosophers and neuroscientists have offered compelling arguments against the very possibility of free will. According to these skeptics, free will requires something that is at least physically, if not metaphysically, impossible: full self-determination. Full self-determination is impossible because the self (or agent or person or soul or spirit) is or must ultimately be determined by factors outside its control, some combination of its brain, genes, personality, past experience, chance, and the laws of nature.

Second, even if full self-determination is physically or metaphysically possible, many of

the people who commit the most evil in the world—violent criminals—suffer from debilitating mental illnesses such as psychopathy, psychoses, and schizophrenia. So the free will defense does not even apply to a large quantity of the very evil that it is designed to explain.

Third, even if the free will defense succeeded in explaining and justifying all human-caused evil, it does not help to explain or justify two other kinds of evil: “natural” and “accidental.” Consider animals again, this time wildlife. The very fact that there are carnivores means that there are inevitable victims. Lions, for example, could not have survived and evolved over the past 11 million years if there had not been billions of herbivores for them to stalk, chase, attack, kill, and devour. It would be one thing if their more gentle victims were, like plants and trees, incapable of suffering. But most lion prey are higher mammals and are therefore not only sentient but also capable of both deep emotions and deep relationships. So if God exists, He basically set these innocent creatures up. He subjected billions of feeling, thinking beings to the constant terror of being chased and killed, the excruciating pain of being shredded by sharp teeth and nails, and the anguish of losing close companions. The free will defense fails to justify any of this violence and suffering—this natural evil—because even higher animals like lions presumably lack free will, at least the level of free will that Christian doctrine attributes solely to humans.

Some philosophers have tried to get around this last argument by simply “biting the bullet” and denying the assumption that animals can suffer in the first place. For example, 17th-century philosopher René Descartes maintained that animals lack souls and are therefore nothing more than very sophisticated machines which exhibit, but do not actually enjoy, consciousness or the attendant capacity to suffer.

William Lane Craig, a philosopher of religion, does not go quite as far as Descartes, but he still goes pretty far. According to Craig, animals' suffering is ultimately inconsequential:

[A]nimals like horses, dogs, and cats...do not experience a third level pain awareness, which is the awareness of second order pain, that is, the awareness that one is oneself in pain.... [T]herefore, even though animals are in pain, they aren't aware of it. They don't have this third order pain awareness. They are not aware of pain, and therefore they do not suffer as human beings do.... [O]nce we understand the biology of animals, what we see is that God in his mercy has spared the animal world the experience of suffering such as human beings exhibit.

Similarly, 18th-century philosopher Immanuel Kant claimed that animals do not possess a concept of the future or of death and therefore lack a conscious preference to continue living.

Such are the lengths that some believers will go to maintain their faith in the face of overwhelming natural evil. But they are simply wrong. As Gary Francione says in his brilliant book *Introduction to Animal Rights* (2000):

[D]eath is the greatest harm for any sentient being and...merely being sentient logically implies an interest in continued existence and some awareness of that interest.... Sentience is not an end in itself—it is a means to the end of staying alive. Sentient beings use sensations of pain and suffering to escape situation that threaten their lives and sensations of pleasure to pursue situations that enhance their lives.... Sentience is what evolution has produced in order to ensure the survival of certain complex organisms.

Francione goes on to offer several more persuasive arguments for the same intuitively obvious point: animals more intelligent than insects (and possibly insects as well) can indeed suffer pain, not to mention other negative feelings and emotions such as fear, loneliness,

and grief. When we combine this (again, obvious) point with believers' insistence that these animals lack souls and therefore cannot get into heaven, we are forced to conclude that God is a bad—in fact, the baddest—Samaritan, just sitting by and letting billions of His creatures suffer and die for no good reason, at least as far as they are concerned. Quite arguably, it would have been far better for all of these animals never to have lived at all than to have endured all of that misery without any eternal reward. Martin Luther King, Jr. said that “unearned suffering is redemptive.” For humans maybe, but not for animals—again, according to Christian doctrine. This is completely unfair.

I turn finally to accidental evil—the seemingly senseless hardships that so many humans (and nonhumans) have suffered and continue to suffer through no fault of their own. Examples include poverty, disease, war, tyranny, mental disorders, physical disorders, serious birth defects, natural disasters, traffic accidents, and plane crashes. In most of these situations, there is not necessarily any free will involved. But if the free will defense is inapplicable, what else could possibly justify God's allowing all of these evils to afflict so many sentient beings? How can God just let all this happen? Where is He when we need Him most? Believers generally offer this response:

3. Similar to (2) above, while all of this accidental evil may appear to be unnecessary, it isn't. God caused it or let it happen as a means to some higher good.

Because (3) is logically possible and beyond empirical evaluation, atheists cannot disprove it. But (3) is still highly unpersuasive.

Consider this example. Suppose that I have a terrible—many would say irrational—fear of flying. Suppose also that I happen to be on an airplane when it suddenly starts spinning, wobbling, and dropping from the sky. My very worst fears are being realized. Five minutes later, like EgyptAir Flight 804, it crashes into

the sea and kills everybody aboard.

In order for this horrific event to be consistent with (3), it must be the case that there was a greater good that justifies those five minutes of terror and premature death for me alone, not to mention the terror and premature deaths suffered by all of the other passengers. What could this greater good possibly be?

Theologians have offered four answers to this question:

4. At least some of us deserved this terrifying, fatal accident because of our prior bad behavior. It was “divine justice.”

5. For those of us who did not deserve this terrifying, fatal accident, we will go to heaven. And heaven is such a great place that it will more than make up for it.

6. Many other human beings will be better off as a result. For example, maybe there was a future Hitler on board, somebody who would have taken over a country and orchestrated genocide. Or maybe society will learn the cause of this accident and help to secure all airplanes from the same kind of malfunction.

7. There is some higher good that only God, not us mere mortals, can understand. Try as we might, we simply cannot know what this higher good is. It is “inscrutable.”

None of these responses, however, constitutes a persuasive theodicy. First, response (4) applies only to people who have committed comparable acts against others—that is, terrorizing and killing them. And while there is a very small chance that one or even two people on my flight had committed these crimes, most of us—certainly the young children and I—have not. So (4) remains inapplicable to most victims on my flight and, we may safely assume, to most victims of accidental evil generally.

Response (5), the “heaven hypothesis,” is just as weak as (4) for two reasons. First, it conflicts with (1) above. If heaven is such a

great place—presumably a place where its occupants enjoy a permanent blissful existence, completely free of (accidental) evil and suffering—then why didn’t God make Earth like this in the first place? Why did I first have to go through those five minutes of terror and premature death? The same questions apply to all other (undeserving) victims of (accidental) evil. The stark contrast between Heaven and Earth once again throws God’s perfection into doubt.

Perhaps my terror and premature death are what *earned* me a spot in heaven. Perhaps this “cleansing ritual” was necessary to reverse my ultimate destination from hell to heaven. But even if we concede this entirely speculative—and presumptively harsh—point, it still fails to address the young children and all other passengers who were much more good than bad. They were already innocent (enough) and therefore heaven-worthy. So their suffering was gratuitous; they could have gotten into heaven without it.

Second, as bad as the plane crash was for me, an older man, it was many times worse for the infants and young children, who were deprived of so many more years of earthly life—all of that opportunity for love, enjoyment, achievement, and growth (moral, spiritual, and intellectual).

Third, all of this lost opportunity is infinitely worse if there is no heaven to begin with, which is very possibly the case. The heaven hypothesis is just that—a hypothesis. We have absolutely no evidence that this hypothesis is true. We also have good reason to believe that it is not true: the concept of heaven is virtually impossible to reconcile with the material universe as we know it. This is why the death—especially premature death, including suicide—of loved ones is so painful. Most of us have an instinct—some deep, primal knowledge—that death of the body, whether human or nonhuman, is the very end; that there is no

consciousness or soul that somehow—in conflict with nature as we observe and understand it—lives on afterward in some mysterious, non-physical realm.

Response (6) is even weaker than (4) and (5). It privileges other humans over my fellow passengers and me. Yes, *they* may—*may*—enjoy safer travel because of the information that may—*may*—be learned from our own tragedy. But what about *us*—the victims? *We* never got to enjoy this benefit; at best, we suffered and died for *them*. God *used* us to make other people's lives better. Such unfair exploitation is entirely inconsistent with His supposed perfection.

Given all of the problems with (4) through (6), believers are really left only with response (7). The idea behind (7) is that humans' finite intellects cannot possibly understand God's reasons for causing or allowing accidental evil. We can speculate, as (4) through (6) do, but these speculations will not come even close to the reasons that God actually has. All we *can* know is that God does indeed have these reasons and that they are very good, infinitely good actually.

The notion of an inscrutable good can mean one of two things: humans are either (7a) "cognitively closed" or (7b) only "informationally closed" to it. On (7a), inscrutable good is "noumenal"; our finite intellects are in principle incapable of comprehending it in just the same way that even the smartest dogs are incapable of comprehending calculus. On (7b), inscrutable good is incomprehensible only relative to the information that we currently have; if we received enough new and relevant information, the inscrutability would disappear and we would understand the good that God had in mind. An example of (7b) would be rocket science for the ancient Greeks. Given all of their scientific knowledge, they could not possibly have understood this field. But with certain

additional information, they could have.

(7a) is nonsensical, as nonsensical as inscrutable moral principles. Because normative concepts like good and right are human constructs, it is difficult to accept the possibility that they could ever lie beyond human understanding. "Good" has meaning only insofar as we humans give it meaning; so "inscrutable good" as defined in (7a) is oxymoronic. If my five minutes of terror and premature death are justified by a higher good that no human being can possibly understand, then there is no meaningful sense in which this so-called higher good is good in the first place.

To suggest, then, that a victim of evil (or her loved ones) should still take a more positive attitude toward her plight because God has an inscrutably good reason for it makes very little sense, as little sense as telling an intellectually disabled person simply to *trust* that his captors are torturing him for reasons that are good but, given his mental deficiencies, beyond his capacity to understand. Whether or not he trusts them, he is significantly worse off than if they were not torturing him to begin with.

Response (7b) makes more sense than (7a). It certainly cannot be disproven, any more than the ancient Greeks could have disproven rocket science. But it still fails. The only additional information that could possibly help us to cross the line from ignorance to understanding how my five minutes of terror and premature death are actually good is some subsequent state of affairs in which they are far outweighed by a much more pleasant and enriching experience. And the shorthand term for this offsetting or redemptive experience is "heaven." So (7b) really reduces to, and therefore runs into the very same problems as, the heaven hypothesis.


In the end, we can certainly understand believers' motives. Suffering and premature death are often so terrible, so disturbing, and so unfair that we need some story to help soften the blow. Unfortunately, the very

comforting story that Christians have developed inevitably unravels under close, rational scrutiny. It is just too speculative and implausible. It requires us to posit some fictitious, invisible compensation for all of the evil that we observe, to treat it all as somehow a blessing in disguise. This kind of conversion of evil into its very opposite is a species of magical thinking and denial. And denial is not only irrational and insulting to victims; it also encourages complacency and fatalism.

Instead, we should be willing to acknowledge evil for what it is, or at least for what it appears to be. We should take it at face value. With this much more hard-nosed, realistic attitude, we will feel much more deeply for its victims and act much more vigorously both to learn from it and to minimize its future occurrence.

There is no heaven. The heaven hypothesis is too fantastic, in both senses of the word.

But rather than despairing about this harsh truth, rather than continuing to dream of some blissful redemption in the afterlife, we should do everything within our power to approximate that blessed state in *this* life, in the here and now. To the extent that evil—human, natural, and accidental—impels us toward this noble, life-affirming goal, it may not be justified, but it is at least partially excused.

About the Author : Dr. Ken Levy is the Holt B. Harrison Professor of Law at LSU Law School in Baton Rouge, LA. He received his J.D. from Columbia Law School (2002) and Ph.D. in Philosophy from Rutgers (1999). His principal areas of expertise are constitutional interpretation, criminal law, criminal psychology, criminal theory, ethics, and metaphysics. He is currently finishing up a book, *Free Will, Responsibility, and Crime*. 

Reader's Comments

Dear Sir,

Shree K. Pratap Reddy's essay on "Independent Judiciary – Concept and Practice" published in "The Radical Humanist" in its volume 82 Number 9 for the month of December, 2018 is a commendable essay as it in a very short compass has dealt with the issue with reference to relevant provisions of the Constitution. I fully agree with Shree Reddy that independence of judiciary very much depends on the character and commitments of the people who are to be selected to run the administration of judiciary and dispensation of justice i.e., the judges.

With due respect to Shree Reddy I beg to enter a small caveat in the context of Shree Reddy's submission made in paragraphs 36 to 39 of the essay in regard to Articles 124 (7) and 220 of our Constitution. Shree Reddy seems to wonder why the said provisions still remain unchallenged by the retired judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts in spite of the fact that neither of the said Articles begins with a non-obstante clause.

Article 124(7) provides that no retired judge of the Supreme Court shall plead or act in any court or before any authority within the territory of India. Article 220 similarly provides that no judge of a high court shall plead or act in any court or before any authority in India except the Supreme Court and other high courts. It is true that neither of the Articles has any non-obstante clause e.g. "notwithstanding any provision in the Constitution". Shree Reddy's submission appears to be that Article 19(1)(g) of the Constitution could therefore be a good ground for the challenging Article 124(7) and 220 being against Article 19(1)(g) which guarantees fundamental right to

practice any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

I am of the view that no fundamental right guaranteed under Chapter III of the Constitution is absolute. All fundamental rights are subject to reasonable restrictions. So also the fundamental right under Article 19(1)(g). May I draw the attention of the readers to Article 19(6) in the context which reads as follows:

“Nothing in sub-clause (g) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause, and, in particular, [nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to,

- i) the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or
- ii) the carrying on by the State, or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise”]

My further submission is that the issue is no longer debatable or res-integra in view of several judgements of the Supreme Court including the judgements reported in (2012) 6 Supreme Court cases 502 (Brij Mohan Lal vs Union of India) and in (2012) 4 SCC 653 (N.K. Bajpai vs Union of India) in spite of the fact that neither of these judgements deal with Article 124(7) and/or Article 220. The Constitution has conferred a right under Article 19(1)(g) and the same Constitution itself has also restricted enforcement of that right. It is trite that our Constitution is the mother of all other laws in the country. It is therefore no wonder why the retired judges of the Supreme Court or High Courts have not challenged those two Articles on the ground submitted by Shree Reddy or on any other ground as such a challenge would have embarrassed them.

I am rather apologetic in entering my caveat. My endeavour in this letter is to see that the learned readers of “The Radical Humanist” have a fair understanding of the issue as far as possible. We the readers of the great journal are grateful to Shree Reddy for drawing our focus on the subject so neatly.

Yours sincerely,

Bimal Kumar Chatterjee

Senior Advocate, Kolkata High Court,

Former Advocate General of West Bengal &

Former Chairman, Bar Council of West Bengal

19th December, 2018

Correction

The 43 page picture in the January 2019 issue was that of Mrs. Dorothy North (and not Mrs. Barbara) w/o Professor Robert C. North who wrote the book on Roy’s Role in China. The photo was taken in Stanford University faculty club. Professor North is no more. The error is regretted.

- Editor

Correspondence between Allen Roy and Warren Allen Smith

Dr. Narisetti Innaiah

It was rare and surprise news that there was correspondence between Allen Roy and Humanist Warren Allen Smith (1921-2017). In a meeting Mr Warren exhibited the letter of Allen Roy. That was welcome surprise to us.



Warren Allen Smith

This happened during 1992 in New York. Mr Warren lived in 10 Jane Street, Village, New York. At that time Mr Warren lived in a single room and often conducted small meetings on roof top. In one such

meeting, myself, my wife Komala, and Mr Aramalla Purnachandra (humanist) attended. During his speech Mr Warren exhibited the letter from Allen Roy and surprised us.

Mr Warren Allen was famous humanist in USA. He was the author and compiler of 'Who's Who in Hell'. That is a monumental work in which I also contributed a big article about humanists, rationalists, atheists in India. (This historical book is available with [amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com)). Mr Warren carefully gathered and compiled the names of persons who lived in hell. He meant that the people with humanist, agnostic, rationalistic, atheistic background are all sinners

from religious point of view. The book was received well.

I had the great opportunity to spend time with Mr Warren and discuss several things. Our friendship grew and we corresponded through internet. He also maintained a studio of art and website.

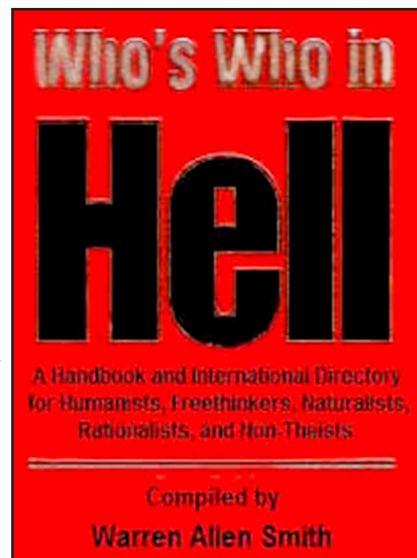
As a humanist Mr Warren worked relentlessly.

It is curious to know that Mr Warren lived and died as unmarried humanist.

He lived long life of 97 years and died during 2017.

Mr Tim Madigan, now professor of philosophy in Rochester University is a close friend of Mr Warren. They corresponded and worked together. Mr Warren also worked with Prof Paul Kurtz.

Another welcome fact is that Mr Warren came to the rescue of Taslima Nasrin, when she was harassed by extremist Muslims. In fact he gave shelter to her which is admirable deed.



When atheists conducted public rally and meeting in mall of Washington DC I participated in it along with Warren. He was one of the signatories of Humanist Manifesto in 1933.

Warren was an art lover and for several years managed art studio in New York. He was close friend of several eminent personalities like Isaac Asimov.

I am happy to be able to spend time with him on several occasions and corresponded regularly. 🌈

Readers of Hetuvadi Telugu Monthly Magazine Conference

Hetuvadi, a Telugu rationalist Humanist Telugu monthly magazine was established by **Ravipudi Venkatadri** as owner and editor in September 1982. The aim of magazine is to propagate rationalist and humanist aims and views. It has been published for the last 37 years continuously.

The Readers of Hetuvadi magazine met in a conference held on 18th November 2018 in Radical Humanist centre, Inkollu from 10 AM to 6 PM on the occasion of publishing a special issue numbering 400 issue. Over 30 readers expressed their views on the publication of Hetuvadi.

The special issue of Hetuvadi was released by

Ravipudi Venkatadri and appealed the readers to contribute for the easy running of the magazine.

On this occasion rationalist humanist study classes were held

Meduri Satyanarayana, Managing editor of Hetuvadi spoke on the “Necessity of the publication of Hetuvadi Telugu magazine.

‘**Aadisankaracharya – the man and his achievements**’ written by **Ravipudi Venkatadri** was released by **Meduri Satyanarayana**

Dr. Gumma Veeranna, president of A.P. Rationalist Association and **Shaik Babu**, Treasurer, Rationalist Association of India spoke on “Religious Fundamentalism and Rationalism”.

Meduri Satyanarayana spoke on,” physical realism and Rationalism”

Sreenipattathanam, vice chairman, Rationalist Association of India spoke on “The entry of women into sabarimala Temple”.

Kurra Hanumantha Rao, President of Rationalist Association of India spoke on “Rationalism and Humanism”

Kurra Hanumantha Rao Released the book



“**Narahanthakulu**” (The Murderers of Humans by **Dr. N. Innaiah**).

Kari Haribabu, general secretary of Radical Humanist centre, Inkollu, **Shaik Daryavali** general secretary of A.P Rationalist Association, **Kaki Rajasekar**, general secretary of Prakasam District Rationalist Association, **K. Sreenivasa chari**, from Telangana Rationalist Association, **Adiala Sankar**, President, Telangana Rationalist Association, **Jitta Venkatesham** general secretary, Telangana Rationalist Association, **Simhadri Yellamanda Reddy**, **Sathi Raju**, **Rachapalem Raghu**, **B. Hussaini**, **Rambabu**, **Latif**, **Arun kumar**, **Kannaiah** and other, participated

Report by **Dr. Gumma Veeranna**,

President, AP Rationalist Association. 🌈

A Very Rare & Unique Picture



**All India Conference of
Indian Radical Humanist
Association - 1975
From Left : Paul Kurtz,
V.M. Tarkunde, J.B.H.
Wadia,
Dr. Lakshman Shastri
Joshi & Chandrakant
Daru (Standing)**

A rare photo of Humanists assembled at Hyderabad Nizam College during 1975



Justice Avula Sambasivarao; Justice Ekbote (from Andhra Pradesh High Court); G R Dalvi from Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad; Prof Alam Khundmiri, philosophy department, Osmania University; Abburi Ramakrishna Rao, veteran radical humanist; Mr A.L. Narasimharao, humanist; Mr Kosaraju Sambasivarao, humanist, Mr Sulapani, humanist; Mr A H V Subbarao, journalist; Mr. Innaiah Narisetti; Prof P.V. Rajagopa, Principal, Nizam College; A.S. Wadvalker, advocate humanist