

# THE RADICAL HUMANIST



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Founder

M.N. ROY

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**MG Devasahayam**

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**600**

# THE RADICAL HUMANIST

**Vol. 83 Number 12, March 2020**

## Monthly journal of the Indian Renaissance Institute

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

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## **Editorial :**

# **Writing Reports for the RH**

**Sangeeta Mall**

The city of Mumbai, where this writer lives, has hardly anything to recommend it. Outsiders find it dirty and chaotic, ill-managed to the point of being anarchic, crowded and noisy. Almost no law is followed, and in this trait, the political class far outstrips the rest of the citizenry. To feel despair at one's daily life would be expected and normal. The overarching narrative of corruption and bigotry in the ruling class threatens to drown all other conversation. Traditional and social media are both in pursuit of the latest scandal, and the smallest controversy gets blown up out of all proportion, adding even more anxiety and stress to our existence. At times, one is almost convinced that humanity isn't deserving of happiness. It would be easy to believe that in India, we continue to inhabit a superstitious, intolerant, lawless country where progress and development inhabit a minuscule corner of mindshare.

The gamut of problems that we face in this land is unimaginably large, and it isn't unnatural to feel defeated. The situation of women, the divisiveness of caste and religion, obscurantism and superstition, the criminally pathetic state of education and healthcare, the woeful condition of farmers, and the creeping effects of climate change...the list seems endless. Militant Hindutva and its political ramifications have added to the toxic mix, perhaps irremediably. More and more space is being ceded to an intolerant political narrative. Over the last six years, the instances of intolerance and blatant discrimination have risen to the point that it almost seems normal to spew venom against members of another community. Hatred and hate speech have now become a part of the discourse, with people in constitutionally appointed positions constantly making

unconstitutional references. Not a single part of the country is now proof against the toxicity of intolerance.

In this atmosphere, one would imagine that there's hardly any space for liberal thoughts, ideas and action, that the Radical Humanism envisaged by M N Roy and his colleagues has died a quiet, slow death. Where is the fight against superstition, the push for a scientific temper, the thrust on education, the struggle against the caste system, the struggle for religious tolerance, the focus on rule of law, the campaign for freedom of expression, and all the other activities striving to uphold the Constitution of India and adhere to the tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

The Radical Humanist is a platform for debate and discussion, and is one of the few remaining journals in the country that continue to represent values enshrined in our Constitution. It has always stood for freedom of expression and has built a strong legacy of upholding liberal values. Over the years, it has published articles on every subject that has political, social and economic ramifications for this country. It has retained an independent voice, at various times criticising populist acts by the government like becoming a nuclear power or revoking Art 370 in Jammu and Kashmir. It has freely censored any political dispensation that has attacked freedom of expression, and has never shied from upholding constitutional values, engaging in debate with bodies like the National Human Rights Commission. For over seventy years, it has built upon the proud legacy left by M N Roy, of being independent, impartial and always speaking truth to power.

There are many paths to upholding our Constitution. Debate and discussion are amongst

the most powerful. Across the country, people have awakened to the power of peaceful protest, and many forums are inviting speakers to discuss the political developments in the recent past. But equally riveting, if less publicised, are the campaigns of various Humanist organisations, campaigns to induce upward mobility in the most depressed classes, to uphold the rights of women, to provide empowerment through education to the most oppressed, to enable access to government funding to the poor, to teach Humanist values in schools, to challenge caste-based professions, and hundreds of other small initiatives that are shining a light upon state oppression and corruption. Building Humanist libraries, creating community centres for Dalits, introducing anti-superstition courses in schools, demonstrating the myths behind religious practices, battling the superstitions surrounding lunar and solar eclipses, waging campaigns against witch-hunting and sorcery, all these initiatives are taking place across the country, slowly introducing change at the micro level, so that future generations in India are able to think differently and are better equipped to live in the modern age. India has one of the largest number of grassroots organisations in the world, and many of these organisations are proudly carrying the Humanist legacy forward.

All of us are aware of the myriad challenges surrounding these organisations. Aside from the obvious one involving lack of funds, hostility from vested interests, obstruction by law enforcement officials, government lethargy, grassroots corruption and entrenched practices are some of the obstacles that many organisations face. Poor infrastructure and lack of resources and people also come in the way of effectiveness. In spite of so many hurdles, these organisations soldier on, driven by the conviction of their founders in their ability to make a difference. Hence, it's a pity that their efforts don't reach a wider audience. For a lot of the voluntary organisations, their efforts at

changing lives remain unrecognised and unsung. Even worse, they remain unaware of similar work being done by other organisations, and are deprived of the learning from others' experience.

For all these reasons, it behoves journals like *The Radical Humanist* to highlight the work that's being undertaken at the grassroots. From April onwards, the journal will carry a separate section on reports from various Humanist organisations. There's enough and more work going on across the country, work to protect our civil liberties and human rights, to promote freedom of expression, to protest state violence. Seminars, protest meetings, conferences, as well as campaigns and ongoing work, reports on all these will be published. The journal will proffer an opportunity to organisations to highlight their successes, their challenges as well as to promote their work. Notices of proposed meetings and invitations for papers, all these will become a part of the new section called 'Radical Reports'.

Readers are requested to contribute to this section enthusiastically and voluminously. It is going to be this journal's humble attempt to spread the word about the plethora of voluntary activities that pepper the length and breadth of this country, and give readers a perspective on how the defence of Humanism is gradually influencing people's worldview. The deadline for accepting write ups is the 10th of the previous month. Word length of a maximum of one thousand words with pictures would be accepted. Contributors are requested to include their social media details like their website address, FB page, Twitter and Instagram handles and so on. Any crowd-funding initiatives can also be highlighted.

Radical Reports is foreseen as a place for sharing experiences, transmitting knowledge and inviting interest from like-minded organisations, activists and individuals. Readers are invited to participate.

Please send all contributions to:

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## Articles and Features :

### **A Bridge Too Far**

*The centre's three projects CAA, NPR, NRC are unimplementable and extremely costly. When the needed data is already available through Aadhaar, why incur such a massive expenditure?*

**MG Devasahayam**



The nation is on the boil over the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA), National Population Register (NPR) and National Register of Citizens (NRC). People see these as communal and unconstitutional. They see these as threatening to turn Muslim citizens into “infiltrators” and non-Muslim citizens into “refugees” which will make them stateless. There is intense resistance throughout the country with students and young women in the vanguard. In many places, the internet has been banned, road and rail traffic restricted, Section 144, CrPC, imposed in BJP-ruled states and students and other protesters brutally thrashed, shot at, blinded, maimed, even killed.

India has not witnessed such a widespread upsurge leading to State oppression and repression in recent history. All in the pursuit of

an unnecessary and unimplementable agenda.

Both the NPR and NRC exercises flow out of the 2003 amendments to the Citizenship Act, 1955, and the Citizenship (Registration of Citizens and Issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003, thrust by the then BJP-led NDA-1 government. The NPR has nothing to do with the Census of India, which is conducted every 10 years and is due next in 2021. While the Census collects information about all residents of India without listing their names, the NPR is a list of names of all persons usually residing within a specified local area for over six months, regardless of their nationality.

The NRC will effectively be a subset of the NPR. The 2003 Rules provide for verification of the details by the local registrar (normally a taluka or town functionary) who will segregate



cases of doubtful citizenship and conduct further inquiries. Based on the inquiries he will prepare a draft local register of Indian citizens, which would exclude those not able to establish, through documentary proof, their claim to be citizens of India.

This is where the real danger lurks because, as brought out by the experience in Assam, citizens are required to establish their citizenship, irrespective of their religious affiliation. NPR 2020, unlike NPR 2010, asks not only for the names of the parents of the resident, but also their date and place of birth. A person who is unable to furnish these details of his parents or, for that matter, of himself, could well be classified a “doubtful citizen”.

The 2003 amendments to the 1955 Act and the consequent introduction of the 2003 Rules reveal an undue obsession with illegal migrants, without any factual basis. Nationwide identification of “illegal migrants”, which is what the NRC in effect amounts to, is an unnecessary and futile exercise when Census statistics over the past seven decades do not show any major demographic shifts, except in certain small pockets of north-eastern and eastern India adjoining our neighbouring countries. It is eminently unimplementable and extremely costly. Based on the expenses in Assam (Rs 1,600 crore), a pan-India NRC could cost around Rs 70,000 crore. When the needed data is already available through the Aadhaar system, there is no need to incur such a massive expenditure towards NPR or NRC.

The Assam NRC exercise, with a three-crore population, has thrown up the dangers of such a large-scale exercise: millions of citizens have been made to spend their life’s savings running from pillar to post to establish their citizenship credentials.

The vast powers vested in the bureaucracy at junior levels to include or exclude a person from the local register have the scope to unleash arbitrariness, discrimination and corruption.

Added to this is the provision for objections to the draft local register from any person. The Assam NRC exercise, with a three-crore population, has thrown up the dangers of such a large-scale exercise: millions of citizens have been made to spend their life’s savings running from pillar to post to establish their citizenship credentials. Doing so at the national level with a 130-crore population can be cataclysmic, particularly so with our highly chaotic and inefficient birth registration systems.

Within a day of the BJP forming the NDA-2 government, the home ministry directed governments and district magistrates of all states and Union Territories to set up tribunals to identify “foreigners” living in India illegally. This was followed by directions to set up detention centres. The experience with these tribunals in Assam has been traumatic for those at the receiving end. After running in panic to gather documents to prove their citizenship, “doubtful citizens” had to contend with these tribunals, the composition and functioning of which were highly discretionary and arbitrary. Consequently, several citizens lost their lives or had to suffer the indignity of incarceration in detention camps. When there is no need for the NRC, why set up foreigners’ tribunals and detention camps in the manner of Nazi Germany?

The stated purpose of the CAA is to allow non-Muslim immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan who have entered India before December 31, 2014, a faster route to become Indian citizens. According to an Intelligence Bureau report in 2016, there were 31,313 of them. As per the Standard Operating Procedure notified in 2011, any refugee could apply for Long Term Visa (LTV). Those who get LTVs can obtain a PAN card, Aadhaar card, driving licence and even buy property. Between 2011 and 2018, LTVs were granted to some 45,000 persons.

So, most of the proposed beneficiaries of the CAA can and have already got LTVs to stay

and earn in India and can get these cards and driving licences, and buy a house. Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman has stated that in the last six years, as many as 2,838 Pakistani, 914 Afghan and 172 Bangladeshi refugees, including Muslims, have been given Indian citizenship.

If this is the case, why this autocratic exercise of CAA, NPR and NRC? The “brains” behind this agenda have planned it meticulously. First bulldoze a CAA to implement NRC throughout the country, then introduce a clause to give one’s parent’s place and date of birth in NPR, which many cannot do, and mark them as “doubtful” to be hounded and disenfranchised through NRC. This design came out when a majority of states asked for removal of this clause. Instead of doing so, the home ministry advised that those who do not have this information can skip this column. This is a clear trap to bring the maximum number of people under the “doubtful” category and then deprive them of citizenship.

There is another dubious ploy. While people are up in arms and even before the formal commencement of the NPR process, the ever-obliging RBI issued directions to banks to treat the letter issued by NPR as an Officially Valid Document for Know Your Customer purposes. IDBI Bank and Central Bank of India have already complied with this direction. This is obviously meant to force bank customers to enrol in the NPR by making it mandatory later as was done in the case of Aadhaar through blackmailing and intimidation like “freezing of accounts” or “no withdrawal of money until Aadhaar card is linked to the bank account”. Repeating the same to force through an unconstitutional government agenda can aggravate the credibility of the RBI and the banking sector that started with demonetisation and is continuing with mounting Non-Performing Assets.

The real purpose of this farce was revealed when immediately after the enactment of the CAA, BJP’s WhatsApp messages unleashed a

“four-step” process for India becoming a Hindu Rashtra—starting with the CAA, followed by the NRC, then a law to control population, ultimately followed by a Uniform Civil Code.

The arrogance of the politicians who are leading this questionable venture is revealed from statements of the home minister on the ruthless implementation of the NRC and throwing out of all “termites” from the country. In an interview by Times Now, he was asked whether a passport, Aadhaar or Voter ID constitute proof of citizenship. He replied: “Bilkul nahin. Aadhaar jarasa bhi nahin. (Not at all, Aadhaar, absolutely not).”

All these incomprehensible happenings raise one basic question. Is the BJP copying Hitler’s Citizenship Laws? Just two years after Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, he introduced laws to redefine its citizenship. The Nuremberg Laws may have started with the segregation of Jews from non-Jews, but there were further supplementations that included all manner of “undesirables”. These finally paved the way for massive disenfranchisement and even murder of not only Jews, but Communists, indigenous people, the disabled and anyone who criticised the Nazi establishment and those the German State saw as *Staatsfeind*, an enemy of the State. Nazi propaganda had already prepared the ground and saw the construction of ghettos and concentration camps.

The RSS has always ignored India’s Constitution and admired Hitler’s fascist policies. Its Sarsanghchalak and icon, Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, described Hitler’s purging of Germany’s Jews as “race pride” and “a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by”.

In the event, CAA, NPR and NRC are outright Nazi projects and should be rejected. And the massive outrage only proves that the vast majority has already done so.

—The writer is a former Army & IAS officer

Courtesy **India Legal**, 25 January 2020 

# CAA-NRC-NPR, part of Hindutva project: N. Ram

Ajeet Mahale

## They are not a mere distraction from economic crisis: Ram

N. Ram, Chairman of The Hindu Group Publishing Private Limited, said on Saturday that it would be a serious mistake to see the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, the National Register of Citizens and the National Population Register as a mere distraction from the current economic crisis. He said it was part of the larger Hindutva project being pushed by the BJP government.



Photo: Vivek Bendre

He made the remarks at the inaugural session of the two-day Mumbai Collective, during a panel discussion, on the 'Rising Tide in Indian Politics', with Prof. Gopal Guru, Editor of the Economic and Political Weekly.

### 'Serious mistake'

"We would be making a serious mistake if we see this as merely a diversionary tactic because this is a project that they long had in mind. This is a project of Hindutva," Mr. Ram said. He highlighted that the citizenship issue had never been part of the debates in the Constituent Assembly and had only featured in the debates post partition, when Hindus who had come from Pakistan were labelled refugees, but Muslims who went to Pakistan and came back were called migrants and were treated with suspicion by several members of the Constituent Assembly.

Prof. Guru said the protests were producing a new kind of politics and giving a new dimension to politics. "They are actually bringing us back into the close relationship with the Constitution. That is the constitutional consciousness we are getting from these protests," he said. Hardly

anyone used to discuss the Constitution a few months ago.

The panel was chaired by Irfan Engineer of the Centre for Study of Society and Secularism. He said the incidents of communal violence had come down, but that wasn't a good thing because structured communal violence was being perpetrated by the state.

Mr. Ram said it needed to be seen whether the current wave of protests against the CAA-

NRC-NPR was truly a rising tide or a reaction. "At the end of the day, I am very optimistic about what is ahead. There is nothing for us to lose. We have to go ahead without doubts, without inhibition, while adhering to the completely peaceful nature of this mass upsurge," he said.

He urged the audience to read debates on the Constitution, especially the last speech of B.R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly, wherein he highlighted the importance of equality, liberty and fraternity and how the three could not be divorced from each other. "The relationship [among the three] goes to the heart of the present political situation, the upsurge we are talking about."

Calling the NRC in Assam a horror story, he said that of the nearly 1.9 million people omitted from the list, around 1.2 million were Hindus; this was the real problem for the BJP. "Amit Shah, before and after he became Home Minister, went on record that this was going to be a nationwide project," Mr Ram said. He also quoted the BJP's manifesto to say the party would implement a pan-India NRC.

Courtesy **The Hindu**, 1 February 2020. 🌈



# Shaheen Bagh Movement: Deepening Democracy-Uniting India

**Ram Puniyani**

As democracy is seeping in slowly all over the world, there is an organization which is monitoring the degree of democracy in the individual countries, The Economist Intelligence Unit. As such in each country there are diverse factors which on one hand work to deepen it, while others weaken it. Overall there is a march from theoretical democracy to substantive one. The substantive democracy will herald not just the formal equality, freedom and community feeling in the country but will be founded on the substantive quality of these values. In India while the introduction of modern education, transport, communication laid the backdrop of beginning of the process, the direction towards deepening of the process begins with Mahatma Gandhi when he led the non-cooperation movement in 1920, in which average people participated. The movement of freedom for India went on to become the 'greatest ever mass movement' in the World.

The approval and standards for democracy were enshrined in Indian Constitution, which begins 'We the people of India', and was adopted on 26th January 1950. With this Constitution and the policies adopted by Nehru the process of democratization started seeping further, the dreaded Emergency in 1975, which was lifted later restored democratic freedoms in some degree. This process of democratisation is facing an opposition since the decade of 1990s after the launch of Ram Temple agitation, and has seen the further erosion with BJP led Government coming to power in 2014. The state has been proactively attacking civil liberties, pluralism and participative political culture with democracy becoming flawed in a serious way. And this is what got reflected in the slipping of India by ten places, to 51st, in 2019. On the index

of democracy India slipped down from the score of 7.23 to 6.90. The impact of sectarian BJP politics is writ on the state of the nation, country.

Ironically this lowering of score has come at a time when the popular protests, the deepening of democracy has been given a boost and is picking up with the Shaheen Bagh protests. The protest which began in Shaheen Bagh, Delhi in the backdrop of this Government getting the Citizenship amendment Bill getting converted into an act and mercilessly attacking the students of Jamia Milia Islamia, Aligarh Muslim University along with high handed approach in Jamia Nagar and neighbouring areas. From 15th December 2019, the laudable protest is on.

It is interesting to note that the lead in this protest has been taken by the Muslim women, from the Burqa-Hijab clad to 'not looking Muslim' women and was joined by students and youth from all the communities, and later by the people from all the communities. Interestingly this time around this Muslim women initiated protest has contrast from all the protests which earlier had begun by Muslims. The protests opposing Shah Bano Judgment, the protests opposing entry of women in Haji Ali, the protests opposing the Government move to abolish triple Talaq. So far the maulanas from top were initiating the protests, with beard and skull cap dominating the marches and protests. The protests were by and large for protecting Sharia, Islam and were restricted to Muslim community participating.

This time around while Narendra Modi pronounced that 'protesters can be identified by their clothes', those who can be identified by their external appearance are greatly outnumbered by all those identified or not identified by their appearance.

The protests are not to save Islam or any other religion but to protect Indian Constitution. The slogans are structured around 'Defence of democracy and Indian Constitution'. The theme slogans are not 'Allahu Akbar' or 'Nara-E-Tadbeer' but around preamble of Indian Constitution. The lead songs have come to be Faiz Ahmad Faiz's 'Hum Dekhenge', a protest against Zia Ul Haq's attempts to crush democracy in the name of religion. Another leading protest song is from Varun Grover, 'Tanashah Aayenge... Hum Kagaz nahin Dikhayenge', a call to civil disobedience against the CAA-NRC exercise and characterising the dictatorial nature of the current ruling regime.

While BJP was telling us that primary problem of Muslim women is Triple talaq, the Muslim women led movements has articulated that primary problem is the very threat to Muslim community. All other communities, cutting across religious lines, those below poverty line, those landless and shelter less people also see that if the citizenship of Muslims can be threatened because of lack of some papers, they will be not far behind in the victimization process being unleashed by this Government.

While CAA-NRC has acted as the precipitating factor, the policies of Modi regime, starting from failure to fulfil the tall promises of bringing back black money, the cruel impact of demonetisation, the rising process of

commodities, the rising unemployment, the divisive policies of the ruling dispensation are the base on which these protest movements are standing. The spread of the protest movement, spontaneous but having similar message is remarkable. Shaheen Bagh is no more just a physical space; it's a symbol of resistance against the divisive policies, against the policies which are increasing the sufferings of poor workers, the farmers and the average sections of society.

What is clear is that as identity issues, emotive issues like Ram Temple, Cow Beef, Love Jihad and Ghar Wapasi aimed to divide the society, Shaheen Bagh is uniting the society like never before. The democratisation process which faced erosion is getting a boost through people coming together around the Preamble of Indian Constitution, singing of Jan Gan Man, waving of tricolour and upholding the national icons like Gandhi, Bhagat Singh, Ambedkar and Maulana Azad. One can feel the sentiments which built India; one can see the courage of people to protect what India's freedom movement and Indian Constitution gave them.

Surely the communal forces are spreading canards and falsehood against the protests. As such these protests which is a solid foundation of our democracy. The spontaneity of the movement is a strength which needs to be channelized to uphold Indian Constitution and democratic ethos of our beloved country. 🌈

## Articles/Reports for The Radical Humanist

Dear Friends,

Please mail your articles/reports for publication in the RH to: **mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com**, or **theradicalhumanist@gmail.com** or post them to: E-21/5-6, Sector- 3, Rohini, Delhi- 110085.

Please send your digital passport size photograph and your brief resume if it is being sent for the first time to the RH.

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

- Mahi Pal Singh, Editor, The Radical Humanist

# The Grand Hoax : 'Act won't even help beneficiaries' Group'

*Suhas Chakma said centre must be open to discussion  
on CAA once again in next session of Parliament*

**Debananda Medak in Guwahati**

Think tank organisation, Rights and Risks Analysis Group's director Suhas Chakma on Monday said the Centre must scrap the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) as it is not even helpful for the beneficiaries.

Chakma stressed that instead of implementing CAA, the Centre should be open to dialogue to find a lasting solution for the issues related to the foreigners settled in the country.

"The government of Assam as well as the Union government must consider withdrawing CAA and start consultation process where we could find maximum acceptable solutions. The Centre must be open to discussion on the Act once again in the next session of Parliament," Chakma said.

Chakma, who is also one of the petitioners challenging the constitutional validity of the Act before the Supreme Court, said, "The Centre should also start talks with the governments of neighbouring countries like Bangladesh and Nepal."

Asserting that CAA is enacted essentially to address the crisis arising out of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) in Assam, Chakma said, "CAA actually fails to address the issues

of the problems arising out of the NRC. The government is trying to basically make a pool (segregated unit) of the excluded people."

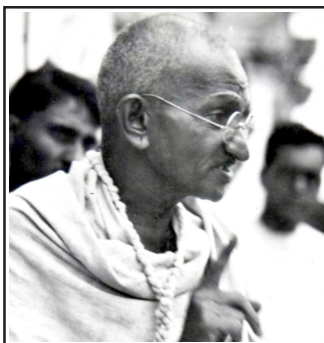
Chakma said all the 19 lakh people still shall have to go through the entire trial process before the foreigners' tribunal (FT). If the applicants are not happy with the judgment of the FT, they have to move the high court and the Supreme Court, he added.

"So the sufferings of the 19 lakh people actually do not end irrespective of whether you are a Muslim, Christian or Buddhist," Chakma said.

"It is very clear that many of the people from this 19 lakh people will not get citizenship in their lifetime. On an average, the ministry of home affairs processes about 100 applications a year; which means that only 100 people are given citizenships in a year," he said.

Stressing that CAA is not the solution, Chakma said even the indigenous tribal and other communities like the Bodos, Misings, Bhojpuris and Nepalīs will face trouble to get citizenship for neither have they documents to prove nor can they claim to fled persecution in Pakistan, Bangladesh or Afghanistan

Courtesy **Telegraphindia**, 14.01.20. 🌈



*"Many people, especially ignorant people, want to punish  
you for speaking the truth, for being correct, for being you.*

*Never apologize for being correct, or  
for being years ahead of your time.*

*If you're right and you know it, speak your mind. Even if you  
are a minority, of one, the truth is still the truth.*

*- Mahatma Gandhi*

## **Incitements by BJP leaders aim to polarise society, create violent identities — not just win elections**

*We had always assumed that politics is deeply decentralised in India: Caste, community, language, and region, provide natural breaks on any national agendas. These are still important. But they no longer provide the deep social bulwarks against the consolidation of national agendas. So violence can acquire a different logic.*

**Pratap Bhanu Mehta**

The incitements by Anurag Thakur, Amit Shah or Yogi Adityanath are not simply dictated by the demands of a local election. (ANI photo)

When the protests against the CAA gained momentum, many thought the government would have a dilemma: Will it risk suppressing the protests or let them continue? But as the events in the lead up to the Delhi elections have made it clear, the BJP government will now use these protests to exercise the third option: Provoke more communalisation and violence. In India, the use of communal instigation has often been associated with the demands of electoral mobilisation — episodic violence as a means of securing votes. This was always a blot on Indian democracy. But in a strange way, we also used to find it reassuring: It somehow signalled that the use of violent provocation had its spatial and temporal limits. It will be used fleetingly, in local contexts, but will not become a continuous strategy. After 2002, for almost a decade, there was even a significant decline in this form of violence. But the course of events in Delhi politics should be a reminder that just as we were complacent in assuming that India's traditional political centralism will electorally tame fanaticism, we could also be making the mistake of reading the reassurances on the limits of violence, in the past, into the present. The structure of Indian

politics has changed.

The calculus on the relationship between elections and violence has been changing fundamentally since the BJP assumed office, even more so after its second victory. The conventional logic about politics naturally containing violence will not apply to it. First, the ideology and structure of the party is now suffused with violence. The BJP wants to win elections. But it also draws its strength from the fact that its logic is not entirely instrumental. In fact it is important to the BJP to signal to its core base that while other parties engage in the petty politics of mere self-interest, the BJP is ready to take on the mantle of “saving the nation,” willing to do what it takes to defend the nation from assorted traitors. Its appeal requires it to act non-instrumentally. And the only way in which it can signal that is to act out its ideology in a dramatic, militarised language.

The incitements by Anurag Thakur, Amit Shah or Yogi Adityanath are not simply dictated by the demands of a local election. They keep the party and its base united and energised. They give a vicarious sense of masculinity to the party — something that now thousands of youth, without a future or any social basis of self-esteem now find appealing. The ability to cross all moral limits in speech and discourse is also a kind of test of party loyalty. This is what makes a true

BJP man. This is what is rewarded. Which is why all BJP leaders, whatever their background, will have to, at some point, publicly participate in a discourse tinged with violence. The logic may be instrumental, but its effects are to create a set of people whose sense of political self cannot help thinking outside of the framework of communalisation and violence. Would you really be a BJP man if you said something as decent as “let us listen to the protestors?” Would you really be a BJP man if you did not say “all disagreement is an act of treason?” Would you really be a BJP man if you even think outside of an explanatory framework that blames everything on a cabal of minorities, liberals and leftists?


Second, the BJP wants to win elections. But it also has an agenda beyond elections and the normal workings of politics: The cultural transformation of India. Elections will come and go. But the BJP will measure its success by a longer-term cultural transformation. The goal of this cultural transformation is twofold. It is to assert Hindu majoritarianism. But it is also to transform Hinduism from a variety of religious practices into a consolidated ethnic identity. This is frankly why the project of “let us teach the BJP the real meaning of our tradition or of Hinduism” so spectacularly misses the point. It assumes that what the BJP is doing is misinterpreting Hinduism to convert it into Hindutva. So, if only we could get the “correct” Hinduism out to people, fill the void that secular deracination produces, all will be good.

The BJP is not playing in that corner of the field. It is not engaged in a debate over values or norms or texts of traditions or even cultural identity. It has one *raison d'être*: The consolidation into an ethnic identity. The only thing that glues an ethnic identity together is an enemy, a sense of threat. So, it cannot oscillate between instrumentalism and the

normal give and take of politics. To satiate its psychological needs, it has to ensure that the enemy remains a permanent construct. This is what it is using the CAA protests for. But previously, identities were used instrumentally for elections. Now the BJP wants to use elections to consolidate identities, whether it is winning or losing.

We had always assumed that politics is deeply decentralised in India: Caste, community, language, and region, provide natural breaks on any national agendas. These are still important. But they no longer provide the deep social bulwarks against the consolidation of national agendas. So violence can acquire a different logic. In the old framework, the question we would have asked is: Does fomenting violence pay electoral dividends in Delhi? Is votes for violence a good local strategy? This may or may not still be true. But the big payoff is not here. Even if BJP loses Delhi (assuming the plan is not to scuttle the election), it feels that the gains from a longer-term consolidation of identity will come elsewhere — at a national level. It is banking on the fact that polarisation in Delhi, the fact that it can display its agenda with all its might, will help to consolidate support behind it elsewhere. We are focussed on the moral success of the anti-CAA protest, in lifting the pall of fear. But the ominous news is that there might also be a quiet Hindutva consolidation against the protests happening in places like UP and Rajasthan. The gains may not be apparent in immediate electoral dividends. They will be more apparent in how India is transformed: The creation of a country where the political justifications of violence are not merely episodic, but routine and perpetual. That is the long-term prize the BJP is after; not just a short-term logic of electoral dividends.

Courtesy **Indian Express**,

February 1, 2020. 



# On the streets, India's youth are completing the unfinished business of the freedom struggle

*They have demonstrated conclusively that there is no hegemonic consensus in support of the idea of a Hindu Rashtra.*

Many supporters of the ruling regime justify legislating differentiated citizenship rights based on religious identity, and the planned National Register of Citizens, as necessary for completing the unfinished business of Partition. In spirited denial, tens of thousands of youthful, middle- and working-class peaceful protesters coursing on to the streets around the country are completing the unfinished business of the freedom struggle and healing the wounds of Partition.

The Hindutva right believes that Partition will be complete only with the transfer of Muslim Indians to Pakistan and Bangladesh, and of the Hindus from these nations to India. They see Hindus as persecuted and trapped in the Muslim-majority countries in our neighbourhood, as well as in Muslim-majority Kashmir. They demonise Indian Muslims as a security threat to India, as violent, disloyal, intolerant – and misogynist and reproductively irresponsible. They never acknowledge the daily discrimination that Indian Muslims wrestle with.

The freedom struggle, on the other hand, was founded on the idea of equal rights of Muslims, and acknowledgment of their immense contributions to the making of India, to India's social, cultural and economic life, and to the struggle for independence. This tradition, and the resolve to build a diverse, egalitarian and humanist nation, was first imperilled by the catastrophic ruptures of Partition. It was the moral lodestar of Mahatma Gandhi in the final months of his life which steadied India and steered it back in the direction of the values of the freedom struggle, aided by leaders like Nehru, Maulana Azad and Ambedkar.

But as the decades passed, with the rising

clout and influence of Hindutva politics, and the parallel moral and political enfeeblement of secular political formations, it appeared that the legacy of the freedom struggle of humane and inclusive nationalism was fading and spent. In recent years, it appeared instead that muscular Hindutva nationalism had triumphed, that most of India had coalesced against the common “adversary” within, the Indian Muslim, and the enemy outside, Pakistan.

Political leaders felt emboldened to resort to openly venomous hate speech against Muslims, to communal distortions of history, to steps to “cleanse” our public life of Islamic influences by renaming roads and cities reflecting our common legacy, and to politically marginalise Muslims. A social climate of hate became increasingly normalised with brutal lynching of unarmed men by fevered crowds.

The 2019 elections results and the months that followed seemed to signal the hegemony of this social and political consensus, of the prior and higher right of the Hindu majority to the nation. Political parties almost across the spectrum, and all public institutions including the higher judiciary, the civil services, the armed forces, universities and the media seemed to accept this new consensus. The letter of India's secular constitution was not altered, but its spirit and indeed its practice increasingly stood reversed.

But this long night of darkness has suddenly been interrupted by bursts of light in every corner of the land. I have in these weeks attended and spoken in protests in various corners of the country. Our young people are rebelling against the hate that older generations have raised them

in. The popular movement led by India's young for solidarity, for Hindu-Muslim unity, for a just and kind country, is picking up the unfinished business of the freedom struggle.

### **Three icons**

In every one of these, you find people of visibly Muslim identity walking, standing, cheering in the company of non-Muslims, waving the national flag, holding defiant posters opposing division and celebrating our unity and solidarity. It greatly reassures Muslim citizens that the attempts to reduce them to the orphans of Partition have failed, that millions in this country emphatically reject the divisive imagination for India of the Hindutva right, that this remains the India of Gandhi and Ambedkar, whose pictures are raised high in every protest.

These two leaders together embody both the politics and ethics of the movement stirring India today. There are three icons of every protest – the national flag, the national anthem and the preamble of the Constitution. With these, India is reclaiming the idea that to love one's country and one's religion, we don't have to hate any other; that true patriotism and faith include within these the love of all humanity.

The running idea of every protest is the idea of solidarity, discovered and expressed by young people in their own ways. Students are thrashed by the police in their library in Delhi's Jamia Millia Islamia and then detained; within hours, the same cold winter night, hundreds gather outside police stations and the police headquarters, refusing to disperse until the students are all released. Students are battered by masked goons in New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University, and the same nights students gather at the Gateway of India in Mumbai in spirited protest. Universities across the country follow.

You see solidarity shining through the posters. One reads: "There are two words which break my heart: These are – Except Muslim." Another is "You divide. We multiply." To protest the

Prime Minister's taunt that he can recognise protestors by their clothes, carol singers in Kerala wear skullcaps and hijabs while they perform Christmas songs. A young Hindu man travels from Jabalpur to the protest in Delhi, strips in the cold to his boxer shorts, and then asks the Prime Minister to recognise him by his clothes. In Jamia, Muslim students wear Santa caps on Christmas at protest sites. Newlyweds circulate pictures holding posters – "Say no to CAA NRC NPR." Many write these in henna on their hands. Even dating sites like Tinder are used to spread information about the latest protests.

### **Resisting the Hindu Rashtra**

The protest have also broken the fear. The posters are creative and cheeky. Many speak about the dangers of fascism, and the eerie echoes of Nazi Germany in India today. The similarities with Nazi Germany are indeed many. But Germany in the 1930s never saw the kind of pushback from non-Jews that India is witnessing today. And it never saw the federal resistance that many state governments are offering, by refusing to implement the National Register of Citizens.

Regardless of how long the current protests against the amended citizenship regime, and attacks against university students persist, they have accomplished one thing. They have demonstrated conclusively that there is no hegemonic consensus in support of the idea of a Hindu Rashtra. That significant numbers of people of various religious identities, including Hindu, are opposed passionately to the divisive and majoritarian Hindutva idea of India. That the idea of India for which millions battled during the freedom struggle, of a country which would belong equally to people of every faith, of which the markers would be hope and equality rather than fear and dominance, were still precious to millions in this land. They are on the streets reclaiming these values of our freedom struggle.

Courtesy **Scroll.in**, 30 January 2020. 🌈

# Omar Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufti booked under Public Safety Act

*Besides the two former J&K CMs, two senior leaders each from  
Mr. Abdullah's NC and Ms. Mufti's PDP have also been booked under the law.*

The Jammu and Kashmir administration on February 6 slapped the stringent Public Safety Act (PSA) against former Jammu and Kashmir Chief Ministers Mehbooba Mufti and Omar Abdullah besides two political stalwarts from the National Conference and the Peoples Democratic Party. "Yes, my mother received it around 9.30 p.m.," Ms. Mehbooba Mufti's daughter Iltija Mufti told The Hindu.

"As a child, I have memories of my mother going from pillar to post to free boys wrongfully detained by security forces. Today, as I fight for her freedom life has come full circle. We live to fight another day," Ms. Iltija Mufti said.

A magistrate accompanied by police served the order to Ms. Mehbooba Mufti at the bungalow where she has been detained, officials said. Mr. Abdullah was also booked under the PSA, they said.

The Act was also slapped on NC general secretary Ali Muhammad Sagar and PDP general secretary Sartaj Madni. This comes on a day when Prime Minister Narendra Modi, in Parliament, accused the regional leaders of attempts to foment trouble in the run-up to the revocation of Article 370 and 35A on August 5, 2019.

Both Mr. Omar Abdullah and Ms. Mehbooba Mufti were booked under Section 107 along with Section 151 (for apprehension of breaching peace).

Earlier in the day, officials said former Minister Sagar, a close confidant of incarcerated NC patron Farooq Abdullah, along with Mr. Madni, a former Deputy Speaker and uncle of Ms. Mehbooba Mufti, were shifted from the MLA Hostel sub-jail to the M-5 guest house on Gupkar

Road, which is also designated as a sub-jail.

Mr. Madni, according to the PSA dossier, was booked for his role during a civilian agitation that followed the double-rape and murder of Asiya and Nelofar

in 2009 and for "his role in conceiving the self-rule doctrine". Mr. Sagar's dossier underlined his statements made "against the vision of India, Article 370 and Article 35 A" and "his potential to mobilise people."

Dr. Farooq Abdullah became the first mainstream leader to face the PSA in September 2019. The recently released Peoples Conference chief Sajjad Lone and PDP youth president Waheed Parra were also placed under house arrest.

Officials said the multi-storey MLA Hostel in Srinagar was likely to be vacated of all detained mainstream leaders.

Reacting to the development, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) said the BJP-led government at the Centre is "testing the patience" of the people by such "undemocratic moves".

Jammu and Kashmir unit of the CPI (M) also condemned the slapping of the PSA on the prominent Kashmiri leaders, while the Congress termed the decision as "unfortunate".

Courtesy, **The Hindu**,  
Srinagar, February 06, 2020 🌈



**Peerzada Ashique**

# Extended folly: On invocation of PSA against Omar Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti

## *Detention of former CMs under Public Safety Act will delay return of normalcy in J&K*

Six months after the BJP government at the Centre revoked the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir and reduced it to two Union Territories, several senior leaders of the erstwhile State continue to be in detention. On Thursday, the controversial Public Safety Act (PSA) was invoked against former Chief Ministers Omar Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti, among others. They were in preventive detention without charges until then. The 83-year-old Farooq Abdullah, another former CM, had earlier been detained under the PSA, and he remains in detention. There is no clarity regarding the number of prisoners or the future course for J&K, despite the elaborate rhetoric from Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Parliament on Thursday on the subject. With the dilution of Article 370 that accorded special status to J&K in August last year, the region has now been fully integrated with the rest of the country, the Prime Minister claimed. Indeed, the malevolent instruments of power deployed in J&K have since then dangerously spread to other parts — the crackdown on legitimate political activities, the vilification of leaders critical of the government as anti-India, and high-handed policing that is not merely condoned but glorified. The PM defended the indefinite and arbitrary detention of people as essential, and accused the former CMs of making “unacceptable” statements.

If the executive were to draw boundaries on what statements are ‘acceptable’ and arrogate to itself the authority to punish unacceptable ones, it would be dangerous for a constitutional democracy. The Supreme Court had in January chided the government for the indefinite restriction on Internet in J&K, following which services have been partially restored. The Court cited the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, and also criticised the frequent and widespread use of Section 144 by governments. While the Court order was rousing in its tone, it did little to restrain the government. The changes to Article 370 and the manner in which they were effected, are under the consideration of the top court, which has not shown the sense of urgency these questions deserve. Though the BJP has always had an ideologically deterministic approach towards J&K, its policy has been nothing more than improvisation. At least at this late hour, the Centre must make an honest approach to restart a political process in the Valley. Indiscreet moves such as attempts to graft an inorganic layer of leaders into Valley politics are destined to fail. With all their follies, regional outfits and their leaders remain India’s best bet in J&K. Their continuing detention betrays a perturbing lack of awareness of this basic fact in decision-making in New Delhi.

Courtesy **The Hindu**, Editorial, February 08, 2020 

### **Reader’s Comments**

Dear Mahipal ji,

I have gone through RH February issue. It has come off well with covering wide range of issues. You have presented about Koganti Subrahmanyam, a rare humanist from Andhra who edited Radical Humanist Telugu monthly in difficult times.

**Dr. Narisetti Innaiah**

## Our Voices Have Been Silenced : Zaira Wasim on Kashmir's 'Reality'

She continues by asking a multitude of questions. "Why do we have to live in world where our lives and wills are controlled, dictated and bent? Why is it so easy to have our voices silenced? Why is it so easy to curtail our freedom of expression? Why aren't we ever allowed to voice our opinions, let alone our disprovals to decisions that are made contrary to our wishes? Why is it that instead of trying to see the cause of our view, our view is just condemned ruthfully? What is so easy to curb our voices so severely? Why can we not live simple lives without always having to wrestle and remind the world of our existence. Why is that life of a Kashmiri is just about experiencing a lifetime of crisis, blockade and disturbance so abundantly that it has taken away the recognition of normalcy and harmony from the hearts and minds?"


Zaira also warned that the rosy picture that the media has been painting about the reality of Kashmir is not to be believed. "Do not believe the unfair representation of the facts and details or the rosy hue that the media has cast on the reality of the situation. Ask

questions, re-examine the biased assumptions. Ask questions. For our voices have been silenced- and for how long....none of us really know!"

For nearly six months, the Indian government had shut down Internet services in Jammu and Kashmir - the longest shutdown in the world. The blockade began on the night of 4 August. The next day, the government scrapped Jammu and Kashmir's special status under Article 370 and split the state into two Union Territories.

Earlier, Zaira had taken to social media to assure fellow Kashmiris that "this too shall pass."

On 30 June last year, Zaira had announced her "disassociation" from the field of acting, stating that she was not happy with the line of work as it interfered with her faith and religion. In a detailed text note on her Instagram page, which she later shared across all social media platforms, the Kashmiri-born star who debuted only 5 years ago in the Aamir Khan starrer Dangal said she realised "though I may fit here perfectly, I do not belong here".

Courtesy **The Quint**, 5 February, 2020. 

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## 'CAA Violates Secularism, Basic Structure of Constitution' : A. P. Shah

*In an interview with Karan Thapar that is likely to annoy the government and the SC, the former Chief Justice of the Delhi high court says that the apex court "has abdicated its duty to defend civil rights".*

**Karan Thapar**



In an interview that is likely to annoy the government and upset the Supreme Court, Justice Ajit Prakash Shah, former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court and former Chairman of the Law Commission, has said that the Citizenship Amendment Act “unquestionably violates secularism and, therefore, the basic structure of the constitution”.

Later in the interview, Justice Shah said he was “deeply disappointed” by the Supreme Court’s prioritisation of important cases connected with fundamental civil rights and, in particular, habeas corpus.

He said, “The Supreme Court has abdicated its duty to defend civil rights and is behaving like an executive court that defends the government.”

In a comprehensive 40-minute interview to Karan Thapar for The Wire, Justice Shah said that there could be no second opinion about the

fact that the Citizenship Amendment Act violates the constitution. He said at five different levels it negates Article 14’s guarantee of equal treatment under the law. He said it was neither reasonable nor rational but, in fact, arbitrary. Justice Shah said he could not understand the deadline of December 31, 2014. It suggested that either persecution of minorities stopped after that date or the Indian government did not care about it.

Justice Shah said what is more important is that the CAA violates the basic structure of the constitution as laid down by Kesavananda Bharati in 1973 of which secularism is a key point. He said the discrimination against Muslims was itself a violation of the basic structure. He said India’s constitution-makers – 80% of whom, he added, were Hindu – would be offended and feel betrayed by the CAA.

Questioned about the prime minister’s claim

that the “Act illustrates India’s centuries-old culture of acceptance, harmony, compassion and brotherhood”, Justice Shah said that whilst he agreed India has a culture of acceptance and brotherhood the Act does not illustrate it but contradicts it. He said he completely disagrees with the prime minister.

Speaking about home minister Amit Shah’s claim that “Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist and Christian refugees from Pakistan have as much right over India as you and I ... (because) they are the sons and daughters of India”, he said this was not a position supported either by the constitution or by the facts of history. The constitution does not grant these religions a greater claim over India than Islam. Secondly, if refugees from these religions have a claim because they were once part of pre-partition India then so do the muslims of Pakistan. They too were a part of pre-partition India.

Speaking about the manner in which CAA has altered the Indian concept of citizenship, Justice Shah said that the constitution-makers had refused to define citizenship in terms of religion. Instead, they had opted for citizenship by birth. Anyone born in India is a citizen. Later, in 1986 and 2003, citizenship by parentage was added. That, he said, was understandable. However, the CAA has now conferred citizenship on the basis of religious identity and this goes against what our constitution-makers stood for.

At one point in the interview Justice Shah said, “The Citizenship Act must be stopped at all costs.”

Speaking about the law of sedition, Justice Shah said that since 1962 in the Kedar Nath Singh case, the Supreme Court has read down Section 124A (which is the sedition law) and it now only applies if there is actual incitement to violence. He says this was reiterated by the court in the 1995 Balwant Singh case and, more explicitly, in 2016. Therefore, there could be no doubt whatsoever that sedition only applies where there’s incitement to violence. He added

that governments, at the Centre and the states, and many police forces were misusing and abusing the sedition law.

Asked specifically about Yogi Adityanath’s statement that people who call for ‘azadi’ but do so peacefully and non-violently will be charged with sedition, Justice Shah said that the Yogi “has made up his own law of sedition”. He said peaceful non-violent calls for ‘azadi’ are not sedition.

Asked whether Sharjeel Imam’s call to peacefully block roads connecting Assam to the rest of the country amounted to sedition and whether the police were right or wrong to so charge him, Justice Shah said that on the basis of what he had read in the papers this was not sedition. He said Imam’s call was to peacefully block roads without violence. Secondly, he said ‘raasta roko’ is a well-established Indian protest tradition.

Questioned closely about Thursday’s (30/1) incident at Jamia, when a man called Rambhakt Gopal shot and injured a student whilst shouting ‘ye lo azadi’, Justice Shah said this was “prime facie proof” that Anurag Thakur’s slogan-shouting two days earlier at an election really had incited violence. He said he was “deeply disappointed” that the Election Commission had not responded with tougher action. He said it was “a reluctant body”.

In fact, Justice Shah said that not only were there grounds for believing Anurag Thakur had incited violence but, equally importantly, speeches by Amit Shah (asking people to press the vote button so hard a current is sent to Shaheen Bagh) and Ravi Shankar Prasad (referring to Shaheen Bagh as the ‘tukde tukde gang’) were also responsible for creating division and inciting people to behave violently.

Most importantly, Justice Shah said there was a good case for saying that the sedition law applied to Anurag Thakur. He said the slogans that he repeatedly encouraged at a public rally were clearly an incitement to violence. If the

sedition law has to be used this is a case where it is possibly applicable.

Finally, Justice Shah spoke at length about the Supreme Court. He said he was “deeply disappointed” by the way the Supreme Court was prioritising cases in front of them. He said habeas corpus and other fundamental civil rights cases were being pushed back. Consequently, he said “the Supreme Court has abdicated its duty to defend civil rights”. He said the Court is “behaving like an executive court that defends the government and not like a rights court”. He said the Court should be “the sentinel on the qui vive” but it was not performing that duty.

Justice Shah said he could not understand why the Supreme Court, “which is considered the most powerful Court in the world” because it even appoints itself, was unable or unwilling to stand up on issues to do with the basic structure of the constitution or the human rights of the Indian

people. He said he was “deeply disappointed” by its functioning. He said he had frequently heard the view that the Court is behaving with the same pusillanimity it showed during the Indira Gandhi’s Emergency of 1975-77.

Commenting on Chief Justice Bobde’s remark that the Supreme Court will only take up CAA cases after the protests stop, Justice Shah said that this made no sense because “good conduct is not a pre-requisite” to get the attention of the court. He agreed that the opposite was true – not that protests need to stop for the court to take up cases but that once the court takes up cases the protests are likely to cease.

Asked what this means for our democracy and the future so far as it can be seen, Justice Shah said that he hoped the court would assert itself but if it did not the future was “dim, dark, dismal and bleak”.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 31.January 2020. 

## FORM - IV

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I, Satish Chandra Varma, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

**March 1, 2020 .**

**Satish Chandra Varma, Publisher,  
The Radical Humanist**

# CAA AND INDIAN CITIZENS

**N.D. Pancholi**

In defending the Citizens Amendment Act, 2019 (CAA), the ruling party's main argument is that the amendment does not deprive Indian citizens of any of their rights. The government argues that it confers rights on members of the persecuted minorities belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Parsee, Jains religions except Muslims who have migrated from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan till 2014 and have been residing in India for more than six years. Speaking on floor of the Lok Sabha on 6th Feb. 2020, the Prime Minister Mr. Modi during his thanksgiving speech to the Presidential address, said that CAA was not going to impact any Indian citizen, whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian or any other community. This argument is totally undemocratic and opposed to basic human values. In essence the argument appeals to the ignoble selfish instincts of an individual which advises him to be concerned with his own self interest irrespective of what is happening to other fellow human beings. This kind of approach is detrimental to the values of a civilized society. The basic premises of human progress is cooperation and fraternity among fellow human beings. In this context the following excerpts from the famous speech made by Charlie Chaplin in his movie "The Great Dictator" are significant:

"...I should like to help everyone if possible, Jew-Gentile-Black Man, White.

We all want to help one another, human beings are like that.

We want to live by each other's happiness. Not by each other's misery. We don't want to hate and despise one another.

And this world has room for everyone and the Good Earth is rich can provide for everyone..."

These are the values of human civilization. Our national ethos are on the same lines. Our saints and preachers from ancient times to modern era like Lord Buddha, Mahavira, Guru Nanak, Kabir, Mahatma Phule. Swami Vivekanand, Gandhi have always taught us to inculcate the values of love and compassion to all without any discrimination. CAA is opposed to all what these great preachers have taught us. It is ironical that our government has enacted such a degrading law at a time when we are celebrating 550th and 150th birth anniversaries of Guru Nanak and Mahatma Gandhi respectively. This Act is also in total contravention of articles 14 and 21 of our Constitution. Article 14 states that "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." Similarly Article 21 gives protection to the life and liberty of every person in accordance with procedure established by law. That procedure has to be fair and non-discriminatory.

How Hindus will feel if any foreign government, say USA or UK, passes any law to the effect that persons belonging to only Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Christian religion from India will be provided citizenship in its country when such a provision excludes Hindus by necessary implication? Freedom, equality and fraternity are three fundamental democratic values which have evolved after a long arduous struggle of humanity. Fraternity is one of the most important values which emphasize the cooperative and compassionate nature of human beings. Gandhi had this favorite song "Vaishnav Jan To Tene Kahiye, Jo Peer Parayee Jano re" i.e. Ideal human being is he who feels another's suffering. Such democratic and human values are not restrictive to any national, regional or religious boundary. Therefore it does not behove any democratic government to tell its citizens to

weigh the relevance or justifiability of a law on the anvil of their personal self interest irrespective of its consequences to fellow human beings or its detriment to human values on the ground that deprived fellows do not belong to

their religion. Human society is not human if it is based on values which border on selfishness. Thus CAA is a flagrant violation of all which is human, democratic, constitutional and civilized. It must be opposed at all costs. 🌈

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## Narendra Modi Misused Gandhi's Name to Promote Himself, Says Ramachandra Guha

*He also criticised Sabarmati Ashram and other Gandhian institutions such as Gujarat Vidyapith (which was founded by Gandhi himself) for not speaking up against the CAA.*

PTI

**Ahmedabad:** Renowned historian Ramachandra Guha on Thursday alleged that Prime Minister Narendra Modi misused Mahatma Gandhi's name to "promote himself", and asked if he was "fond of" Gandhi before becoming prime minister.

Guha, here to deliver a lecture on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's death anniversary, also slammed the BJP-led Union government over the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA), saying Gandhi would have opposed it if he were alive.

In a piece of advice for Kartikeya Sarabhai, a trustee of the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust, Guha said the Ashram should have maintained a distance from Modi after he became prime minister.

He also criticised Sabarmati Ashram and other Gandhian institutions such as Gujarat Vidyapith (which was founded by Gandhi himself) for not speaking up against the CAA.

"After May 2014, you (Sarabhai and other trustees) should have kept the PM at arm's length. Was he fond of Gandhi before he became PM? He misused Gandhi's name to promote himself," Guha, who has penned a two-



Historian Ramchandra Guha

volume biography of the Mahatma, said.

"If Gandhi was alive, he would have opposed CAA. It is deceitful for the PM to misquote Gandhi," said Guha during a question-hour session after his lecture.

The CAA -- which grants citizenship to non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh

-- is "illogical, immoral and ill-timed", he said.

Any morally upright person who believes in the Constitution and non-violence would oppose it, he added.

"Even if the Supreme Court upholds it, CAA must be resisted, but non-violently," the historian said, before slamming Union Home Minister Amit Shah over his comments about the ongoing protest at Shaheen Bagh in Delhi.

"It's the obligation of political class to try and contain, manage, tame and overcome violence. But here, record of our political leadership has been unfortunate," Guha said.

"Just look at the violence in the language of the two of the most important people in India," he said.

"For the Home Minister of India, the remarks he made about the women in Shaheen Bagh are



unconstitutional. In any decent democracy, he should have been dismissed overnight. It is because of what the Home Minister said, the junior minister said even worse things," said Guha.

He did not specify exactly which remarks he was referring to. Guha also accused the PM of using "abusive and demeaning" language for his political opponents.

To a question about why he declined to accept Ahmedabad University's offer of a teaching post in 2018, Guha blamed the BJP, saying "the ruling party did not allow me".

The Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad, the

student wing of the RSS, had submitted a memorandum to the private university, seeking cancellation of Guha's appointment.

"Remember, there was Gujarat before Modi and Shah, and there will be Gujarat after Modi and Shah," said Guha, addressing the audience which included prominent intellectuals, lawyers, university students and civil rights activists.

After the lecture, Guha visited Rakhial area of the city where Muslim women have been staging a Shaheen Bagh-like sit-in protest for the last one week against the CAA.

Courtesy **News18**, January 31, 2020. 

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## **SC's decision not to decide on validity of restrictions in Kashmir is not just deferral, it is abdication**

**It has taken the Court five months to decide on the challenge to the communications lockdown. If the government now fails to comply with the judgment, will it take another five months for the issue to be decided? By that stage, the damage would already have been done.**

**Chintan Chandrachud**

*After expounding upon the relevant principles in this way, the Court abandoned its tasks of deciding whether the suspension orders and Section 144 orders were valid or invalid, and what consequences would follow.*

On January 10, the Supreme Court delivered a judgment in a case challenging what is now widely known as the "communications lockdown" in Jammu and Kashmir. On August 4, 2019, mobile phone networks, internet connectivity and landlines were disabled in large parts of the state, in anticipation of the monumental constitutional changes that would follow. This was coupled with restrictions on physical movement in several areas with political leaders of the region also being placed under house arrest.

The lockdown comprised two legal components: The first being orders under the temporary suspension of telecom services rules (suspension rules), which enables the central or state government to suspend telecom services

when there is a public emergency or a risk to public safety. The suspension rules establish a modest review mechanism, requiring a three-member committee of bureaucrats to meet once, within five days, to determine whether a suspension order is appropriate. The second component included orders made under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which enables magistrates to restrict physical movement in an area in the interest of public safety.

In deciding this case, the Supreme Court would have been expected to undertake three tasks. The first was to expound upon the relevant rules and principles. In this case, the constitutional and statutory provisions — the suspension rules and Section 144. The Court's

second task was to determine, based on its conclusions, whether the orders made under the suspension rules and Section 144 were valid or invalid. The Court's final task was to determine what to do if any of the orders were invalid — this would typically entail the Court setting aside the orders, resulting in them ceasing to have legal effect.

The Supreme Court performed its first task in a robust way, arriving at a series of significant findings. The Court held that the right to freedom of speech and freedom of trade through the medium of internet were constitutionally protected, implying that only constitutionally authorised limitations on those rights were acceptable. Any orders made under the suspension rules would need to be published, even though the rules did not require publication. A single round of review of suspension orders by the review committee would not suffice. Rather, a periodic review would need to be undertaken every seven working days to assess whether the suspension order remained appropriate or not. The Court also held that Section 144 orders should be published and be accompanied with reasons, enabling citizens to meaningfully challenge them in the courts.

However, after expounding upon the relevant principles in this way, the Court abandoned its tasks of deciding whether the suspension orders and Section 144 orders were valid or invalid, and what consequences would follow. The 130-page judgment yields no decision on the most important issue before the Court — whether various components of the communications lockdown were invalid and should be set aside.

Why did the Court decide not to decide? Two reasons can be inferred from its judgment. First, the status of the communications lockdown, and the orders in place that put it into effect, evolved during the course of the proceedings. The Court was not apprised about precisely which orders were in place, for what period and when. While the Court lamented the government's failure to


produce these orders, it did not take the logical next step of directing the government to produce them.

Second, the Court envisaged that the government should have the first opportunity of testing the constitutionality of the lockdown following its decision. For example, a review committee would need to convene within seven working days to determine which suspension orders should remain intact and which of them should be withdrawn, based on the principles in the Court's judgment.

At first glance, this approach seems perfectly sensible. All governments need to be put to the test of thinking carefully about the constitutionality of their own orders before the Court does so. The trouble in this case is that inertia is highly prejudicial — it has taken the Court five months to hear and decide on the challenge to the communications lockdown. If the government now fails to comply with the principles set out in the Court's judgment, will it take another five months for the issue to be decided? By that stage, the damage would already have been done, and it would be impossible to turn the clock back to award 10 months of freedom to the millions affected.

It is also puzzling that the Court chose to dismiss the petitions rather than keep them pending to monitor the government's compliance with its directions. The Court has deployed the strategy of keeping petitions pending in dozens of other cases that pale in significance compared to this one — from the running of the cricket board to red beacon lights on cars. The inevitable conclusion is that the Court's decision not to decide on the validity of the orders giving effect to the lockdown is not just deferral — it is abdication.

Courtesy **Indian Express**, January 16, 2020.

*This article first appeared in the print edition on January 16, 2020 under the title 'Abdication, not deferral'. Chandrachud is the author of The Cases that India Forgot. Views are personal.* 

# CAA Protests: Case By Case, This Lawyer Is Fighting The UP Police's Arbitrary Arrests

*Ashma Izzat, a lawyer in Lucknow, says cold hard facts will be the undoing of the arrests in UP. She hopes the courts remain neutral in the process.*

**Courtesy Ashma Izzat** Ashma Izzat, a lawyer in Lucknow, is representing some of the poorest and most vulnerable people caught in the violence in Lucknow on 19 December.



**Ashma Izzat**

**LUCKNOW, Uttar Pradesh** — “This is the time for lawyers to come forward and help. There are a lot of people that mean well, but law is the only way to fight the injustice we are facing from this government,” said Ashma Izzat, a lawyer in Lucknow.

Izzat was meeting her client Pawan Rao Ambedkar, a Dalit activist and mathematician who was beaten by the Uttar Pradesh Police on 19 December, the day a peaceful protest against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the sceptre of a nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC) was disrupted by the police.

Ambedkar, who says a woman constable smashed a helmet on his head, was among the more than 200 people arrested in Lucknow by the UP police that day. Chief Minister Ajay Singh Bisht, who calls himself Yogi Adityanath, and his Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government have vowed to crush any protests against the controversial new citizenship law.

Izzat, the lawyer, said the police's attacks on activists like Ambedkar had attracted at least some media attention.

“What about the people who are very poor, who have no voice, who don't have a roof over their heads, and who have no idea what is even happening to them,” she said. “No one asks about them. The media does not report on them. Who is going to help them?”

32-year-old Izzat, who was born in Sikandarpur,

a small town in the district of Balia, grew up in Ghazipur in eastern UP, and studied law at Kanpur University, says she will.

Beginning on the day after the violence in Lucknow, Izzat stood outside the Lucknow jail for several days in a row, waiting to meet the families of those who had been swept up by the state police. She also studied First Information Reports (FIRs) filed by the police about the incident.

So far, Izzat says that she has found 17 clients and has won bail for all of them despite the grave charges against them. Almost all of them are economically marginalised Muslims. Izzat is representing them pro bono.

“There are a bunch of us lawyers who are doing this kind of work,” she said. “We can expose the UP government's lies, case by case in the courts.”

In the case of one Mohammad Hafeez, Izzat said that her client was walking home from the bakery where he worked in the evening on 19 December, when he was picked up by the police and booked under at least 15 sections of the Indian Penal Code including attempt to murder and arson. His only fault, she said, was wearing a kurta-pyjama and sporting a beard.

“This is wrong. This is communal,” she said.

## **Bail Orders**

Hafiz's bail order, written by Additional Session Judge Sanjay Pandey had three points.

First, the order said, the UP Police had made no effort to inform the public that Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which prohibits the assembly of more than four people in one place, was in place at the time. It noted there is “no direct evidence” that Hafiz was involved in arson. It also said that according to the case diary of the police, the Lucknow-based policemen, including Superintendent of Police (SP) Suresh Chandra Rawat, did not sustain any grave injuries.

In five bail orders, which *HuffPost India* perused, Judge Pandey has made the same three observations.

The bail hearings and the orders that follow had become predictable, said Izzat.

Judge Pandey, she said, now gets straight to the point, asking the government if there is any evidence against the specific person in his courtroom. In one instance, Izzat said, the police responded by claiming that smoke billowing from the burning vehicles made it hard for them to capture clear images of people.

“Is this a joke for the police?” said Izzat. “You cannot beat people and arrest people on a whim. Do lives and dignity have no meaning for the UP Police?”

You cannot beat people and arrest people on a whim. Do lives and dignity have no meaning for the UP Police.

Uttar Pradesh has witnessed to the highest number of arrests, detention and deaths in connection with the anti-CAA protests that have swept across the country. The law, critics say, violates the principles of India’s secular constitution by making religion a basis for granting citizenship to refugees.

While clips circulating on social media suggest much of the violence has been enacted by the poorly-trained UP police, which has a documented history of human rights violations stretching back decades; Chief Minister Bisht has blamed “violent mobs” for attacking UP Police personnel, police posts and destroying public

property.

Shrikant Sharma, Uttar Pradesh energy minister and govt spokesperson, said in an interview that activists who alleged brutality by the police should move court or complain to the SITs (Special Investigation Teams) being set up to investigate the violence which erupted in UP in December.

With women venturing out to join peaceful sit-ins — almost a month after the crackdown on 19 December — the UP Police is once again using force to break up all the all-women gatherings in several cities and lodging FIRs against hundreds of protestors.

#### ***Blame it on Muslim ‘outsiders’***

The UP Police has consistently sought to blame outsiders from Bangladesh and Kashmir for the violence in Lucknow.

On December 22 2019, the police announced they had arrested 6 men from Malda in West Bengal. UP’s Deputy Chief Minister Dinesh Sharma claimed these six men had links to the Popular Front of India (PFI), a Kerala-based group, which is in the news for being the radical Islamists that instigated the violence in UP.

Izzat said that she has represented the six men from West Bengal, and her clients were not involved in the violence in Lucknow on 19 December.

All six men, booked for crimes like rioting, attempt to murder and arson, have been granted bail.

In the bail orders for two of them, Shah Alam and Sanjur Ali, which *HuffPost India* perused, Judge Pandey wrote there was “no direct evidence” against them.

#### ***Stroke of luck?***

Izzat says that having Judge Pandey is a stroke of luck. “He is neutral. Thank goodness,” she said. “In this day and age, who knows when the courts sing the tune of the government.”

In Muzaffarnagar, District Judge Sanjay Kumar Pachori recently granted bail to at least 14 people. The tally of those released in the district

in western UP is now 33. Ten of them were released following a probe by the Special Investigation Team (SIT), set up by the state government in each violence-hit district.

With their cases failing in Muzaffarnagar, *The Indian Express* reported, the UP Police have now invoked Section 82 of the Juvenile Justice Act, claiming that protesters used children “for illegal activity.”

While granting bail to two persons accused of attempt to murder and rioting in Bijnor, the national daily reported that Additional District and Sessions Judge Sanjiv Pandey tore into the police, saying they had provided no evidence against the allegations.

#### ***Getting bail, making bail***

Izzat said the six men from West Bengal, arrested by the UP police, were extremely poor daily wagers who worked as waiters and cooks in Lucknow.

A team from Mamata Banerjee’s Trinamool Congress (TMC) in West Bengal visited Lucknow, offering these men financial and legal help, but human rights activists say they never followed through on their assurances.

Even with the bail orders going in their favour, Izzat’s clients cannot always afford the bail bonds of Rs. 50,000 each, which they need to pay in order to walk out of jail. Some of her clients have a cycle or motorcycle, but the value of these modes of transport depreciates, every year.

In addition to her legal work, Izzat spends time working the phones, speaking with the people who might step forward to provide the sureties. This is especially hard when the accused are from another state because any guarantor fears they might run away.

In some of the cases of the men from West Bengal, Izzat said, the restaurant owners have offered to stand surety. She added, however, “People say they will do a lot of things but they don’t always end up doing it.”

People say they will do a lot of things but they don’t always end up doing it.

#### ***‘The lady lawyer’***

The street where the six men from West Bengal live and work is lined with restaurants, offering some of Lucknow’s most famous meaty delights. A large number of cooks and waiters serving these restaurants are from Malda district in West Bengal. The cooks earn between Rs.10,000 to 15,000 per month. The waiters earn Rs. 5000 to 6,000 per month. Some people have worked here for almost 20 years. Their younger siblings have followed them to the city known for its cuisine. With most of their families living in Bengal, brotherly ties and friendships count for a lot in this tightly knit community.

Hundreds fled after the crackdown on 19 December. Many have returned following pleas and reassurance by the restaurant owners who depend on them. Those that *HuffPost India* spoke with say they live in fear, never going anywhere without a government issued proof of identity on them.

“We had never felt fear in Lucknow. We did not feel like outsiders. It was home. We would walk home from serving at a party or an event at one and two in the morning,” said Akbar Ali, a cook and the brother of Sagar Ali, who was arrested on 19 December. “Now, I’m afraid to sleep. I wake up in the middle of night thinking the police have come to take my family away to a detention centre. How will we cope inside a detention centre?”

I wake up in the middle of night thinking the police have come to take my family away to a detention centre.

When it was pointed out that the Narendra Modi government has repeatedly said that no Indian Muslim will be hurt by any of the laws and schemes it is attempting to put in place, Ali said, “I don’t believe them. You tell me how you would feel if your brother is beaten and thrown in jail without any reason. It really feels that people don’t want Muslims in India.”

( To be Contd....on Page - 42 )



# Over 300 International Academics Condemn ‘Politically Motivated’ JNU Attack

*The signatories accused the administration of dereliction of duty and demanded the vice chancellor’s resignation.*

The Wire Staff



JNU students and faculty members protest against the January 5 attack on their campus. Photo: Ifra Auyub

**New Delhi:** Over 300 academics from international institutions of higher education have signed a statement condemning the attacks by “politically motivated hoodlums” on the students and faculty members of JNU. They said the attack constitutes one of the most “egregious examples of violence, repression, and mob impunity directed against Indian universities since 1947”.

“It is evident that the Delhi police were indifferent at best and collusive at worst with the politically driven attacks of the last few days and weeks in which peaceful protesters have met with ferocious repression from state and security apparatuses while those attacking them have been allowed to act unhindered,” they said.

The signatories include Arjun Appadurai, Priyamvada Gopal, Akeel Bilgrami, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhaba, Francesca Orsini, Dibyesh Anand, Dipesh Chakrabarty among several others.

Accusing the university’s administration, especially vice-chancellor Mamidala Jagadesh

Kumar, of ‘dereliction of duty’, the statement says, “This active abandonment of responsibility includes administrative blindness to partisan mob violence, complicity with the Home Ministry’s repression of lawful and peaceful protest against a viciously discriminatory new citizenship law (CAA), and open collusion between rampaging hooligans and the current regime.”

“Whatever the Vice-Chancellor’s personal views and political affiliations, he has manifestly failed in his duty of care towards the students and staff of his university. This renders him unfit to hold the highest post in an internationally recognized institution of higher education,” they say.

The signatories demanded the immediate resignation of VC Kumar, the appointment of a non-partisan investigative panel to identify the “criminals who broke into the campus” and a judicial initiative from the Supreme Court to “hold the Delhi Police to account for their actions against students as well as non-action against criminals”.

The complete statement has been reproduced below.



### **International Statement From Academics Regarding Attacks on JNU**


The recent attacks by politically motivated hoodlums on the students and faculty of India's Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, constitute one of the most egregious examples of violence, repression, and mob impunity directed against Indian universities since 1947, the year of Indian independence. It violates every norm of democracy, of academic freedom, of the protection of universities from arbitrary state power, and of the duty of university administrators to protect their students and faculty.

The physical and emotional injuries sustained by JNU students and faculty, in their dormitory rooms, their classrooms and their campus spaces has been shocking by any standard. It is evident that the Delhi police were indifferent at best and collusive at worst with the politically driven attacks of the last few days and weeks in which peaceful protesters have met with ferocious repression from state and security apparatuses while those attacking them have been allowed to act unhindered.

The administration of the University, and especially the Vice-Chancellor, Mamidala Jagadesh Kumar, have lost all national and international credibility. The violence against members of the JNU community should have provoked a massive effort by the senior administration to protect them and to ensure their well-being. This was not done, and this dereliction of duty is part of the systematic hostility of the Vice Chancellor and his administration towards all forms of peaceful protest, democratic dissent and secular debate at and around JNU. This active abandonment of responsibility includes administrative blindness to partisan mob violence, complicity

with the Home Ministry's repression of lawful and peaceful protest against a viciously discriminatory new citizenship law (CAA), and open collusion between rampaging hooligans and the current regime. Whatever the Vice-Chancellor's personal views and political affiliations, he has manifestly failed in his duty of care towards the students and staff of his university. This renders him unfit to hold the highest post in an internationally recognized institution of higher education.

In this context, we the undersigned, academics and administrators, from across international institutions of higher education call for (a) the immediate resignation of Vice-Chancellor Kumar and (b) the appointment of a non-partisan Investigative panel to identify the criminals who broke into the campus and (c) a judicial initiative from the Supreme Court to hold the Delhi Police to account for their actions against students as well as non-action against criminals. The reputation of the Indian government has suffered massively in the international public sphere over the last six months as a consequence of a series of policies, speeches, and actions by the current political regime which reveal its thorough contempt for the Indian Constitution, and its ideals of diversity, secularism and inclusion. It has also abandoned the customary and legally-protected regard for the dignity and sanctity of India's university campuses in allowing police to enter some campuses without the VC's permission even as the JNU VC shockingly failed to ask police to intervene in a massive mob criminal attack on his community. Simultaneously he has registered criminal complaints against injured students, including the President of the JNU Students Union, in a particularly egregious example of victimizing the victims. We believe his position to be untenable and call for his resignation with immediate effect.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 9 January 2020. 

# Republic facing its fourth crisis: Ramachandra Guha

*Historian describes the deepening religious divisions as the gravest threat; says the present crisis is not apocalyptic yet*

Staff Reporter

The Indian Republic, as it completes seven decades, is living through its fourth big crisis, historian Ramachandra Guha said while delivering a lecture, 'The Republic at 70', at Bengaluru International Centre on Sunday.

He said the earlier three crises were in the 1960s, which saw the death of two Prime Ministers, India being defeated by China and food shortage; the Emergency of the 1970s; and the rise of communalism in the early 1990s.

Exploring the contours of this crisis, Mr. Guha listed four aspects: deepening religious divisions, persistence of social inequality, growing environmental degradation and decline in autonomy of democratic public institutions.

He termed the deepening religious divisions the most grave threat. "We have a majority of people today who think we should be a Hindu country, and Hindus have really become a majority with a minority complex. This is manifested in the most blatantly discriminatory Citizenship (Amendment) Act. The CAA will change the very character of India."

Uniform civil code

He was also critical of the Congress,

especially Rajiv Gandhi, who, in the 1980s, 'lost an opportunity' to usher in uniform civil code, but instead wilted and ceded ground to Hindutva. He termed the period from 1989-1993, which saw the rise of communalism, riots, destruction of Babri Masjid and economic crisis, as one of the earlier crisis the republic had been through.

The undermining of public institutions, including the RBI, the Army and the Election Commission of India in recent times, he said, was another fault line of the crisis that the republic faces today. He drew comparison to the Emergency in the 1970s, which he termed the second crisis the republic faced. But he said he was sceptical of the 'hyperbole' comparing the situation today to Nazi Germany. He said the present crisis was not apocalyptic yet, and said the republic had been through such crises before and had come out of it.

He said federalism, with many States outside the Bharatiya Janata Party's grip today, unlike during the Emergency when most States were ruled by the Congress, was a bulwark against creeping authoritarianism.

Courtesy **The Hindu**, 27 January 2020. 

## All India Conference on CAA, NPR & NRC

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## Need of the Day is the Renaissance Movement

Late V.M. Tarkunde, a colleague & associate of Late M.N. Roy, the expounder of the basic tenets of the philosophy of Radical Humanism, had defined the philosophy of Radical Humanism as an attribute of mind which gives primacy to the human individual and recognizes his or her right to live with freedom with dignity. Its basic tenet is that man is the measure of things, that he is an end in himself and not the means to any superior end.

This definition can safely be accepted as correct and true definition of the ideology of Radical Humanism.

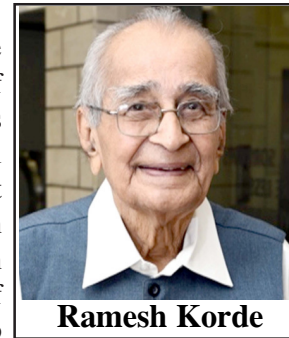
This objective could be achieved if we develop loyalty to entire human species living on planet earth. This objective needs to inflame with cosmopolitan humanism with scientific outlook that can vanish racism, casteism, religious bigotry and antiquated nationalism from the soil of earth. This will result into and create a society where all the constituents of our earth have an equal opportunity to develop his or her personality and flourish to the fullest of their potentialities. The object is that all human beings live in peace and harmoniously. This should never become irrelevant to political, economic and social life system of entire humankind.

This is how I understand the basic tenets of the ideology of Radical Humanism initiated by Late Roy. This philosophy will never become dogmatic because it does not claim truth to be absolute but truth to be evolutionary.

Radical Humanism ideology is founded on scientific naturalism with special reference to biological evolution of life. Its concept of tenets, theories and even basic ideology are subject to experimental test like science. It does not claim absolute truth because it is evolutionary process of ideas which knows no finality. It has adopted scientific methodology. This methodology is universal and reaches the same conclusion throughout the world and scientific truth is

universal.

The main objective of philosophy of Radical Humanism is to removal of all obstructions that impede the realization of cosmopolitan freedom in respect of entire humankind who



**Ramesh Korde**

have made this planet earth their home for unfolding their innate potentialities. This could be achieved only under socially, politically and also economically and culturally free and open society.

Radical Humanism is the philosophy of freedom for the entire humanity residing on planet earth. This freedom is to be enjoyed by each and every sane member of society except who do not respect individual freedom. In fact it is an anti-freedom philosophy.

The only available means to achieve freedom for all is reason. Both reason and freedom can be traced to biological evolution of human being as human being is the product of biological evolution and is not the creation of any supernatural being or any other being.

It is now well established beyond and reasonable doubt that life is evolved as the result of biological evolution from inanimical matter. It is an historical truth that life had to always struggle for survival and this is still continued even today. This goes on throughout the long process of evolution resulting into diversification, different species are evolved. Homo Sapiens is the apex.

When Homo Sapiens first appeared on earth, he became aware of natural environment which is benign as well hostile. Hostile environment was trying to destroy its very existence. This struggle for existence under hostile environment, intelligence must have developed to combat the

destructive tyranny of natural environment. This is on higher level of human intelligence is called the urge for freedom.

The struggle for existence amounts to freeing human beings from hostile tyrannical natural forces that have the capacity to destroy human beings. This struggle for existence is nothing but the urge for freedom from hostile tyrannical natural forces that could have wiped out human species.

When Homo Sapiens evolved as the result of the process of biological evolution he was forced to combat hostile natural environment. This hostile environment was trying to crush Homo Sapiens. This struggle for existence was the striving of Homo Sapiens to free itself from the tyranny of hostile nature. This is how the urge for freedom in human being was born. Therefore human freedom can be traced to biological evolution.

Evolution of life is founded on biological evolution. The life was not created by any supernatural being be it non existing God or any other being. Life was evolved as the result of mechanical biological evolutionary process. The innate function of life is to live. The struggle for survival is the basic incentive of life that leads to free man from hostile environment.

Life expresses through individual human being. Therefore individual freedom must never be suppressed. The capacity to acquire knowledge about natural environment differentiates man from his animal ancestry.

Knowledge endows man with power to carry on endless struggle for greater and greater freedom and also for search for truth that can enhance human freedom.

The universe is law governed. Nothing happens without a cause. Law Governed-ness is a reason in nature. Man is evolved from law governed nature, he inherits this and therefore man is potentially rational.

Nature is benign as well hostile. Knowledge

acquired regarding the working of nature mitigates hostility and becomes friendly. This knowledge of working of nature can be obtained through scientific method. What cannot discover man would not know. Therefore it can be safely said that scientific outlook is the only means available to man to find out the truth.

Main and important objective of Radical Humanist ideology is to liberate people from the religious obscurantism and outdated, antiquated and anti-cosmopolitan ideology of nationalism with the help of science and scientific outlook with particular reference to science of biological evolution of life that resulted into the evolution of man. This has the potentialities to stimulate intellectual reasoning faculty and capacity of man to achieve unity among the entire humankind.

At present in India all political parties are devoted to capture state political power and aggrandize their wealth and riches. This has led to disparities, inequality and injustice in respect of common man who forms the majority of population. These power hungry politicians have absolutely no desire or even intention of applying the principle of democracy to the organization of economic activities. These economic activities on the part of power hungry politicians supported by rich elites do not satisfy the basic need of life in respect of majority of common human beings.

The present Indian society is ruled and dominated by power hungry politicians and rich capitalists. They have failed to lead common man to comprehensive freedom. They have developed technology with the help of various discoveries of science sacred instead of being used as means to eradicate miseries and poverty. A large section of people are suffering from and to make their life human. They made the technology an end in itself.

Today the entire social and familial environment comes under the inescapable



influence of commercial television that make it impossible to protect human beings from the world of glamour, money and power that has potentialities to kill the critical reasoning faculty of large section of Indian population. The result is people become intellectuality docile and have become slaves of environment. This environment had facilitated the power crazy, unscrupulous politicians and rich elites to exploit them to achieve their nefarious ends.

In addition to this as observed by Arthur Koestler that continuous disasters in the history of man are due to his excessive capacity and urge to become identifies with tribe, nation, religion and espouse its creed uncritically and enthusiastically even its tenets are contrary to reason, devoid of self interest and detrimental to the claims of self-preservation.

He further observed that when a man identified himself with nation, religion his reasoning faculty is diminished and his blind passion is enhanced by kind of emotional resonance. Faith in religion or nationalism works as anesthetized the critical faculty of individual and rejects rational doubt as something evil.

Man's greatest enemy is his own language. He is hypnotized by slogan which is infectious disease. In India power crazy unscrupulous power hungry politicians freely make use of this to capture state political power.

The generation born into the age of television not only habit of reading but also their faculty of thinking capacity has also blurred and weakened providing open field to power hungry politicians to exploit to achieve their nefarious inimical ends.

At present common man who forms the majority of population, the contemporary political, economic and social conditions have degraded them and also have demoralizing effect.

Political doctrine of social justice is still preached by those who control political and

economic power. However in reality they contradict their preaching. Promising political, economic and social doctrine all has been practiced and all equally forced wanting.

So long as capture of state political power is the objective of political parties, moralizing politics is not possible because it is guided by the principle that end justifies the means that gives freedom to all the political parties to adopt fair or foul means to achieve their objectives. In practice they use foul means to achieve their nefarious ends. These have debased Indians to the level of unthinking animals to serve the purpose of power politicians because they need votes of people to come to power. They find it easier to sway the people by appealing to their base instincts, emotions and prejudices rather than reason. The more the backward and ignorant the people are the more easily can be swayed by appealing to emotions and prejudices. Therefore to keep the voters backward and ignorant has become the main object of power politicians of Indian parties.

These power politicians always glorify state to attract votes of people. But state is our abstract concept, cannot think or feel pain or pleasure, no hopes or fear. Its purpose is really the purpose of those who control and direct the state. So in fact glorification of national state in reality is the glorification of those minorities who governed the national state.

Power politics practiced by present political parties in India is concerned with herds rather than individual human beings and the passions that are important in power politics are those which the various members of herds can feel alike cooperation within one's herd and hostility and animosity towards other herds. This is known as the philosophy of nationalism that can never lead to unity of entire humanity.

Need of the day is to liberate man and woman from the clutches and enslavement of religious dogmas and from antiquated, antedated and myopic nationalism that can

never lead humanity to comprehensive freedom but on the contrary they enslave man and woman and will inhibit his or her critical reasoning faculty.

History has corroborated that only dissemination of scientific education can lead humanity to all round progress and freedom in every walk of life of all human beings where freedom of each is the condition for all freedom of all.

Humanist man is who has emancipated himself from the likes of soil, blood, loyalty to national state, class, political parties and religion. Nothing human is alien to him. He loves and respect life. Equality means that every human being is an end in him and not means for the end of anyone else. Only the ideas of enlightenment can teach man to trust his reason as a guide to establish moral norms.

The doctrine of Radical Humanism is totally concern with life of human being. It was Renaissance Humanist movement of Europe of 14th century which directed attention of man away from speculation about God and inspired man to study the lives of human beings as revealed in history, literature etc. It further asserted that evolution is the fundamental modality of all changes in the universe. All that retard changes are described as pernicious. Only mutual aid is the necessary condition for successful and creative social life.

Evolution from savagery to the present civilization is not biological but cultural and ideological changes because man has embarked on psycho social stage of evolutionary humanism. This can help understand human being and his relation with the rest of his environment. Man is an integral part of his comprehensive evolutionary process and cannot avoid struggle for existence is replaced by the struggle between ideas and values produced by man and nobody else.

Human equality springs from two source, nature and nurture. Equality of citizens and equality of opportunity are not depended on genetic endowment. Science has shown that

genetic equality is a myth because what is stored in genes is not identical. Human equality is derived from human rights of universal validity.

Science is the intellectual and practical activity encompassing the systematic study of the structure and behavior of the physical world through observation and experiment. It never claims finality. It is continuous evolutionary process and therefore it can never be dogmatic. Only through the growth of scientific knowledge imbibed by human beings can liberate man from his spiritual enslavement. This knowledge can be derived only from the study of science.

It was the scientific knowledge and outlook that inspired Renaissance movement in Europe. Renaissance Humanist movement rescued European humanity from the degeneration. Then prevailing darkness was dispelled by this renaissance movement. This starting point was a revolt against religious dogmas. It was inspired by conviction that this is the source of man's strength and must have convinced him that he is the maker of his future destiny and none else.

It was this European Renaissance Humanist movement created an intellectual atmosphere in which germs of scientific knowledge could fructify.

It is an historical fact that man cannot outgrow of its own creation until he has created something new which is bigger and brighter than the old one.

This is what Renaissance Humanist movement placed man in the center of universe and looked at everything in terms of human interests and needs to be achieved through exercise of human reasoning power.

The European Renaissance movement was called rebirth of man after those dark ages of Europe. It is called Renaissance because man inherently was not a animal but curious and enquiring one possessing critical reasoning faculty.

These attributes of man were resurrected, rehabilitated by than Renaissance Humanist movement. This movement did lay the intellectual and moral foundation on which

structure of democratic freedom could be raised. Both liberation and democracy is the product of individualistic and humanistic spirit of the Renaissance movement.

European Renaissance movement was revolt against the otherworldiness of medieval and also from pre-occupation of personhood immortality, helped people to make the best of life on this earth. Asceticism was not its idea but desired that man must delight in every kind of earthly achievement. It had also replaced the traditional notion of man as helpless, hopeless and sin ridden propagated by the religion and its priests by a man as unique and having inescapable potentialities as maker of his destiny.

Need of India is the Renaissance Humanist movement on the pattern of European Renaissance Humanist movement of 14th century.

The basic tenets of philosophy of Radical Humanism, as I understand are if not all but substantially founded on European Renaissance Humanist movement of 14th century.

Radical humanist philosophy is neither dogma nor a creed. It is an outlook and affirms man's attachment to nature and all life on earth, cherishes values like genuine organized democracy, human freedom in all aspects of life but not licentious freedom, cherishes and adopts scientific method and outlook, egalitarian economic progress. It is against cultural oppression, religious obscurantism, parochial, myopic aggressive nationalism and the rule of rich elites. It is committed to the application of reason and discoveries of science to the understanding of universal natural phenomena and to seek remedial measures to solve the problems confronting humanity and ascertaining that humanity is capable to achieve joyous and happy life for the entire human beings residing on planet earth.

This humanist philosophy has emerged as an answer to the question of how to safeguard and enlarge comprehensive freedom in respect of

entire human beings. It advocates that every human being is potentially capable of rational judgment and that therefore main function of society is to facilitate to unfold innate capacity of all human beings. Therefore main objective is to pursuit of knowledge and its dissemination that can expand freedom of all human beings.

To obtain this India needs Renaissance Humanist movement on the pattern of European Renaissance Humanist movement which can lay intellectual and moral foundation that will help to build structure of democratic and egalitarian economic system.

It will further subject these traditional ideas to critical criticism thereby positive essence of it brought up to the standard of modern scientific knowledge to reevaluate old values.

India needs philosophy that fosters intellectual freedom by encouraging and encourages cosmopolitan human freedom. This will free man from enslaving religious dogmas and also from parochial ideology of nationalism.

On our earth man is the only agent to make his own laws and history. No divine supernatural being called God will rescue man because it does not exist. Man alone is responsible for his intellectual courage of conviction and compassion to achieve his dream and aspiration that good life is possible on our earth. Science and scientific outlook imbibed by people can achieve this objective.

Ideology of Radical Humanism developed by Late Roy has the potentialities to lead humanity to freedom and happiness. In both science and humanism have many important common factors. Both are evolutionary and universal, experience and experiment guides their course of evolution. Reason is their common stone. Being evolutionary in the light of new experience and experiment, they will never become dogmatic. Both respect objective truth and honesty of facts. Both are naturalistic and does not believe in supernatural things.

(To be Contd....on Page - 39 )

## **In Man's Own Image: By Ellen Roy and Sibnarayan Ray**

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### **Towards a Free Society-III**

Simplified by **Vinod Jain**

#### **3. Radical Democracy**

Neither liberalism nor socialism thus has solved the problem of reconciling individual freedom with social organization. This may seem to justify the prevailing attitude of cynicism and despondence which maintains that no such reconciliation is possible. While this despondency may be partially justified by the experience of the two world wars and the disastrous decades in between, there is no reason to believe that man will not be able to overcome the present catastrophe and resume his endeavour for a rational and free society which is at the root of the story of human civilization.

Such an endeavour must begin with a recognition of the achievements and deficiencies of both liberalism and socialism. Liberalism was perfectly sound in maintaining reason to be the abiding source of all voluntary cooperation. It was however wrong in its indifference to the need of economic equality and participation of the common people in the administration of social affairs.

Socialism was fully justified in pointing out the inconsistency between liberal profession and liberal practice, in demanding social and economic equality as a necessary prerequisite of freedom, and in protesting against private ownership of social wealth. It was however wrong in depending on group solidarity and class conflict for the resolution of social inequality, and its method of dictatorship was fraught with great dangers.

The resumption of the endeavor to achieve freedom in social life can be fruitful; a. If the importance of both economic equality and individual liberty are equally recognized; b. If the influence of both economic and moral

cultural factors in social change and progress is appreciated; c. If individuals can be persuaded to develop a sense of personal dignity and social responsibility; and d. If a close cooperation between the educated few and the uneducated many can be brought about in such a way that, in the process of dissemination of knowledge, more and more individuals can be made to develop discriminative ability, moral sense and cooperative spirit.

We propose to offer in these concluding pages a brief outline of a truly democratic society growing out of the achievements and limitations of the present civilization.

Democracy is not a static ideal or a distant utopia. It is a way of living which can be made more real and widespread in the process of our endeavor. Freedom is an experience which accumulates increasing wealth of meaning and content as more and more people become alive to its value and try to enjoy it. The aim of a free society is the harmonious and creative unfoldment of individuals. Its method is education and cooperation. It is an unending process.

One of the main obstacles to cooperative living is the limitation of resources in a community. A moral society requires freedom of individuals from the menace of non-fulfilment of basic needs. A technologically advanced society is more feasible to the democratic spirit. (because surplus production will be of great help).

But surplus production or introduction of technic by itself does not mean necessary advancement of a democratic way of living. There must be proper arrangement for equitable distribution of social wealth.

In liberal economy production and distribution were regulated by a. profit motive, b. effective demand (i.e. Demand backed up by purchasing power measured in terms of money) and c. The so-called price mechanism. These have evidently failed to achieve or even to further economic inequality in social life.

Socialism proposed the method of nationalization of the means of production which however in practice became state monopoly, and made more noticeable the already existing inequalities in the distribution and enjoyment of social wealth.

The basic institutional unit of a democratic economy shall be the cooperative. This can be of various nature, but the fundamental principles will be the same: to try to bring about co-operation of the entire adult population of the locality in the formulation of plans and the administration of them, covering multifold aspects of social life, especially the production, distribution and exchange of social wealth. On the one hand, the introduction of technic and scientific knowledge in production, transport, exchange etc. and, on the other, the system of distribution of surplus through utility services sustained by the institutional framework of cooperatives — these shall constitute the main structure of democratic economy.

The principles followed in the economic reorganization of society shall have to be complemented by their simultaneous application in political life. In fact, economy cannot be democratically planned unless it derives its life from a politically democratic order. Without political democracy, economic planning would mean dangerous concentration of power in a few hands.

The central programme of democracy is education of the people. But education requires qualified educators. There must also be an atmosphere of eagerness to learn and grow if education is not to become stereotyped.

Education for democracy must therefore start from two fronts. The beginnings shall have to be made by those who, in the present society, already had the opportunity of some education and of developing a comparatively larger outlook of life. This is what we have described towards the close of our last section as the movement for social renaissance.

Simultaneously with this broad cultural movement, democratic institution based upon the participation of more and more people in the administration of social affairs shall have to be built up. These institutions, which we have called the People's Committees, shall be the effective centers of organized democracy, bridging in the process of their growth and development the existing gap between state and society.

The constitution of a democratic state shall have thus to incorporate initially two distinct types of institutions working in cooperation and complimenting each other. There shall have to be advisory council or similar bodies of educated intelligent people with special and comparatively more developed aptitudes — scientists, technicians, medical men, teachers, economists, artists etc.

At the same time there must be representative assembly based upon universal adult suffrage with legislative as well as executive functions working with the help of these advisory councils. And the basic condition for cooperative work of these two bodies will be the general programme of social renaissance by which the margin between the two will be narrowed and more and more people become equipped with knowledge, competence and initiative.

The aim of democratic politics is to build up a state based upon popular initiative, social cooperation and increasing participation of the people in the administration of all political affairs. Whereas in most modern states administration is run by a small permanent



bureaucracy and legislation is the responsibility of a small group of representatives.

In the case of socialism, power is obviously concentrated in a few hands without popular sanction. In the case of democracy power is delegated with the formal sanction of popular sovereignty. In neither case, however, do people themselves as a whole exercise political power except, as in representative governments, by a mere casting of votes once in a while.

It must be clarified that neither technic nor the state is in itself harmful or inimical to human interest; besides, both are equally essential for the growth and development of communities. These should be safeguarded against perversion and misuse, and made to serve their human purpose to the best of their potentialities.


While the formal technical guarantees (such as the rights to employment, education, security, medical treatment etc.) demand further improvement and are of great importance in the development of democratic polity, the essential condition of a truly libertarian state is enlightened and democratically active citizenship. The main source of sustenance and growth of democratic institutions is a democratic tradition. The fundamental task of the leadership of a democratic movement, as Aristotle realized long ago, is to bring about widespread

democratic education of the people.

A democratic education and tradition will bridge the gulf between state and society — by drawing-in the entire society in the administration of state affairs.

And finally, as is obvious, such a society of enlightened cooperation, a society in which the people will consciously and deliberately work to achieve greater equality and freedom, will require a congenial cultural-moral atmosphere.

The cultural atmosphere of democracy shall have to be one of cosmopolitan humanism in which the scientific spirit of enquiry, openness, toleration and precise thinking must guide human behavior. For such an atmosphere scientific knowledge shall have to be made available to all and this knowledge shall have to be employed to the purpose of individual happiness. Such an atmosphere of democracy shall gradually remove all false divisions and boundaries between man and man, geographical, racial, political, economic and cultural. It is only when a new renaissance movement spreads over the world, based upon a wide recognition of the abiding importance of scientific attitude and individual freedom in social organization that a radically democratic world order shall come to prevail.

*Concluded...* 

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## **Need of the Day is the Renaissance...**

**Contd. from page 36 ...**

Ideology of Radical Humanism is based on and founded on findings and discoveries of science with particular reference to biological evolution of life that culminated in Homo Sapean and also taking into accounts the human experience. As science claims no finality, ideology of Radical Humanism since it is based and founded on science and its discoveries claims no finality. Science is an evolutionary process; similarly ideology of Radical Humanism is also an evolutionary process.

**Mr. Ramesh Korde** is a Radical Humanist of 92 years of age, associated with the Radical Humanist movement since 1948.

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**On the request and insistence of Mr. Ajit Bhattacharyya the following note sent by him is being published in The Radical Humanist – Without comment and Unedited. – Ed.**

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## **“KOLKATA SEMINAR- 17-8- 2019, A REJOINDER**

1) I beg to give my opinions on some remarks expressed on party less democracy. (RH- November 2019). Mahi Palji's assertion that my proposal on participation in elections was rejected by the CFD is out right misinformation. It is based on his aging and failing memory, I think, The study camp was originally

meant to be held by the IRI. But due to some reasons it lingered on, Pancholiji came forward and told me that the CFD may hold the same.

I agreed. The agenda was notified with electoral participation as no. one agendum. But long after the delegates had booked their passage and accommodations, it was placed to No. 2 in 2nd. session. Prof. Anjali Chakrabarti conveyed her remorse and objection personally to Pancholij for this last minute change. He also sought my post facto approval. I told him that it was not a good practice. It was better to have a meeting on the prevailing situation with invitee guest speakers, without deflecting the main thrust in the evening.

2) The CFD Constitution clearly direct to “develop appropriate local organisations so as to increase people's participation in the affairs of the Stats.” (p-1). Certainly it can make addition and alteration but how can it reject the same?

Practically it did not. There was lively discussion during the rest of the two sessions. An 11 members sub committee was formed to find ways and means for non party electoral participation. But not a single meeting was held till date. At least I was not informed though I am member of the sub committee. May be the CFD Executive body is hesitant to do its constitutional duties.

2-b) The dissolution of RDP was done by its elite high ups not by its 'workers'. The Indian Federation of Labour was also dismantled. Together the two had about half million members. Was any preliminary. any Congress, any voting

by this vast multitude was held? I met several hundred former RDP and IFL Members all these long years who frankly told me that they were suddenly abandoned without their consent, Even men like late Nalini Kumar Sengupta, the last Bengal RDP Secretary and a practicing advocate often told us that he know party and labour politics but could not understand the new found non party intellectual postulates.

2-c) Now to Mahi Palji's diversionary spin. Certainly, he has not taken the pain of going through my Papers while super imposing Roy's basic pyramidal postulations on his last formulations on taking part in the new opportunity of free India's general election. I wrote “ While Roy never gathered mosses and adapted himself with new wisdom through his life, we are struck to certain fixations and thus unable to look out of the book. So Roy did not discard the new opportunity opened up by the coming general election. He recommend participation in it without waiting for his visionary pyramidal democracy. Roy wrote,” Let us have no illusion. Working for two years we may not return a single candidate of the first election to come. But even then we shall achieve something. In every constituency where we shall worked in this spirit, a group of local people will have arisen with some judgement of their own... will act as a catalytic agent and radiate the spirit far beyond their constituencies... This process will increase in speed... there is no reason .. that in the third election in free India, we shall not have created a large number of local republics on the foundation of which a real democracy can be built up.— (the PPP -Reprinted in RH, August-2015, also see RH, May, 2016”

If it is not a 'top down approach. then what it is? Then who is confused or confusing? Also late Paul Krutz asked to 'recognize the need for Neo- Humanists, (Both non believers and

believers) to engage actively in politics.’

It is no use keeping ourselves safe from the risky electoral fields on conventional excuses. We have to move on despite repeated failures. But un connect individuals are not capable to do that. Hence the “ United Independents “ It is to be

developed.

The single most reason for our sliding down to far below 100 from half million, is this escape from the field. you may agree

HAPPY NEW YEAR— 2020.— ajit  
bhattacharyya, bajitrh@gmail.com” 🌈

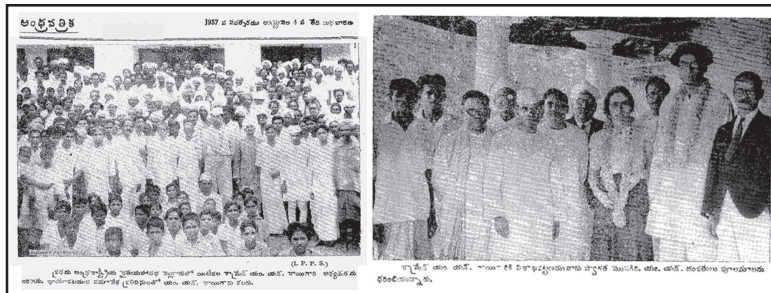
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## M.N. Roy`s first entry into politics in India, particularly Andhra Pradesh

M.N. Roy participated in congress politics from Faizpur congress held in Maharastra, India during 1936. Faizpur is a small rural place and all the national leaders participated in it. For the first time M N Roy attended the conference by joining congress party. He wore Khadi dress and Gandhi

socialist ideas in the congress party. He was district board president of Nellore too. Later Raghavaiah`s daughter and V V Giri`s son married. Thus Raghavaiah played important role in congress socialist politics during 1930s and 40s.

M N Roy accepted the invitation of Raghavaiah



and came to Nellore, a coastal town in Andhra near Madras. That was 1937-38. Roy addressed the agricultural labor conference and then Raghaviah arranged several meetings for Roy. Thus Roy addressed meetings in Tirupati, Renigunta, Kavali, and Nellore town.

cap too. The first and last meeting between Gandhi M K and M N Roy was held in Faizpur. After listening the views of M N Roy in a personal meeting , Gandhi cunningly advised Roy to participate in politics as a silent worker! Anyhow that was the first and last meeting between them.

M N Roy actively participated in the meetings of Faizpur, spoke in delegates meeting and attracted several persons. One delegate Mr Vennelakanti Raghaviah from Nellore, Andhra heard Roy and pleased very much. Then he invited Roy to his place and requested to inaugurate the South India agricultural labor conference at Nellore . Roy agreed. Raghavaiah was socialist oriented congress delegate. He was called Girijan gandhi in Nellore. He did research extensively on Yerukala, Yaanadi communities and published works. Raghaviah was also attracted

Gandhities did not participate in it but congress socialists welcomed the meetings. Ellen Roy was there along with Roy.

While the meetings were going on Roy became sick. His wife Ellen was there.

Immediately they sent word to Mr M V Sastry (Mulukutla Venkata) in Kakinada town in coastal area of Andhra.

M V Sastry attended Faizpur congress as press correspondent of Kundurthi Eswar Dutt`s paper Leader. He was attracted to Roy`s views.

Immediately M V Sastri rushed to Nellore town, picked Roy and his wife, and accompanied them to Kakinada town. Roy took rest for some days. Meanwhile Mr Abburi Ramakrishna rao, librarian of Andhra University, Waltair asked M V Sastri to bring Roy to Waltair.

Andhra University was located at Waltair. So

for the first time Roy and Ellen entered Waltair. Few enthusiastic people welcomed Roy. Among them Mr Abburi Varadarajeswararao, son of Ramakrishnarao, Mr P H Gupta, Mr A L Narasimharao, and few others were there.

The welcome picture was published in Andhra Patrika daily from Madras.

In Vizac Roy couple stayed at the residence of Mr P H Gupta, at Maharani pet. It was coast of Bay of Bengal and the climate suited to Roy. He recovered.

Then Abburi the librarian introduced Roy to the vice Chancellor of Andhra University as Mr Kattamanchi Ramalingareddi, an eminent scholar. After talking to Roy and knowing his capacities, Reddi invited him to join the university as professor. Roy declined in a polite manner.

Later The vice chancellor wrote brilliant introduction to Roy's letters from jail.

The students of Vizac were enamoured of Roy's ideas and arranged public meetings in local

college. They were held in the Waltair beach. The college principal being Gandhite, objected to the meetings but the students were very particular to organise the meetings. They were successful.

One great news was that Mr Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry, student in AVN College became the follower of Roy and read the available books, journals including independent India.

Persons from Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram were attracted to Roy's ideas. They were: Pemmaraju Venkatarao, who organised labor union and Mr Tata Devakinandan, chairman of Vijayanagaram and a few others.

That was the brief historical story of M N Roy's entry into Andhra politics.

Some of these news were published in Andhra Patrika daily published from Madras and some rare pictures too are available. Mr Kasinathuni Nageswararao as editor of Telugu daily published these news which are really historical.

Research by **Innaiah Nariseti** 🌈

## CAA Protests: Case By Case...

Contd. from page 28 ...

A cook named Kharidul, who works across the street from Ali, has two brothers who were arrested on 19 December. "How can we be from Bangladesh when we are from Bengal? Our grandfather and great grandfather are from here," he said. "Why are people questioning our patriotism now? What right do they have?"

Izzat blamed sections of the local media for printing, without asking any questions, the government's account of Bangladeshi and Kashmiri infiltrators instigating the violence in Lucknow.

"We have a state sponsored media," she said.

On this street of popular restaurants, where fear has become a way of life, Izzat is known as the "lady lawyer who is fighting the case."

When asked about bail hearings and other legal matters, relatives and friends of the accused said, "You can ask the lady lawyer. This is her number."

His brother, Ali said, had just stepped out of the restaurant as the noise of the mayhem unfolding on the streets was dying down, when he was picked up by the police on 19 December.

The police constables, his brother told him, had beaten him and stomped on his feet.

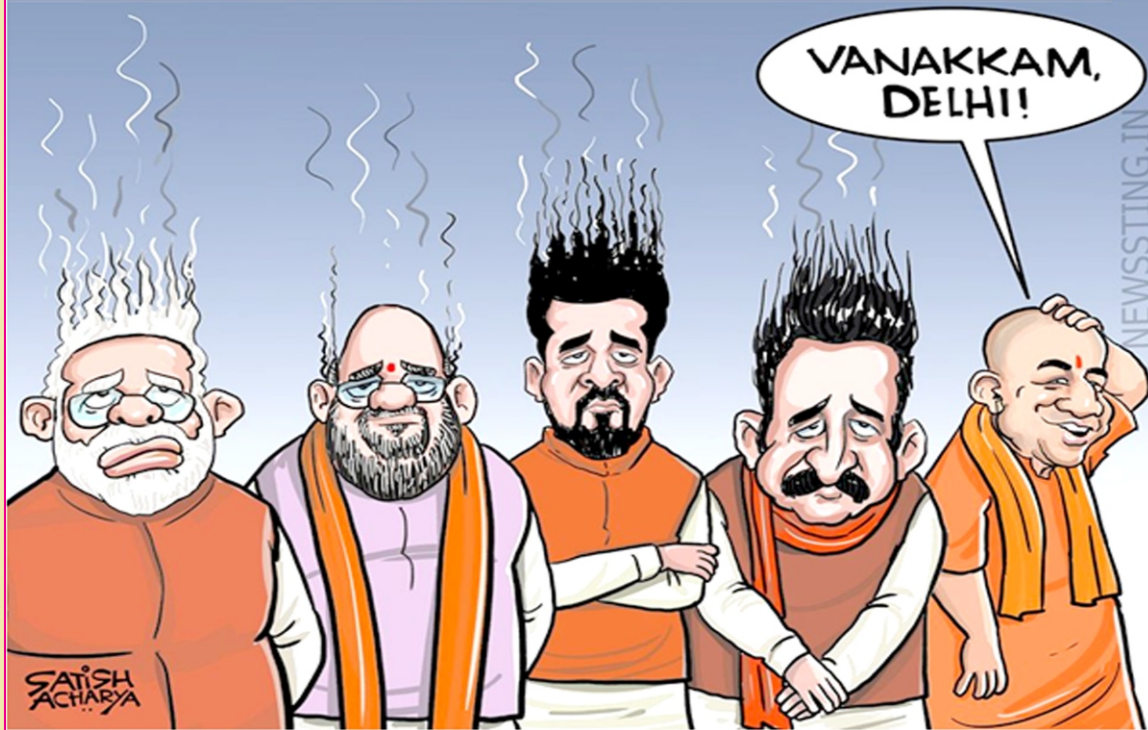
"He was wearing sandals so half his feet were bare," said Ali. "I don't know what kind of shoes the police constables wear but they crushed his feet. He had boils on his feet."

Izzat said, "This is an attack on humanity. The government wants to break people, physically, financially, emotionally, but we are fighting back."

Courtesy **HuffPost**, 31 January 2020. 🌈



DELHI RESULTS WILL COME AS A SHOCK TO EVERYONE: AMIT SHAH



## And they did – to everyone belonging to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

With just eight seats out of seventy in the Delhi Legislative Assembly elections 2020, it must have come as a shock to the BJP leaders including the Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi and the Home Minister, Mr. Amit Shah because they were hoping to win the election with at least 48 seats, as the BJP's Delhi state President had emphatically claimed, obviously because the whole central cabinet, all the Chief Ministers of BJP ruled States, more than one hundred Members of Parliament including the seven from Delhi, had campaigned for the elections. Most of them had indulged in the most vicious, communal and divisive hate campaigns ever in an all-out effort to divide and polarize the voters on communal lines in the hope of getting the benefit of the majority Hindu votes against the developmental issues of education, healthcare, safety of women, subsidized water and electricity - raised by the Aam Aadmi Party leaders. The people rejected the former and chose the latter giving the Aam Aadmi Party 62 seats out of 70, almost a repeat performance of 2015 elections when it won 67 out of 70 seats.



**Roy in Faizpur Congress (Ellen is also seen with him in Gandhi cap)**



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