

THE RADICAL HUMANIST



ESTABLISHED : APRIL 1937

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

Founder

M.N. ROY

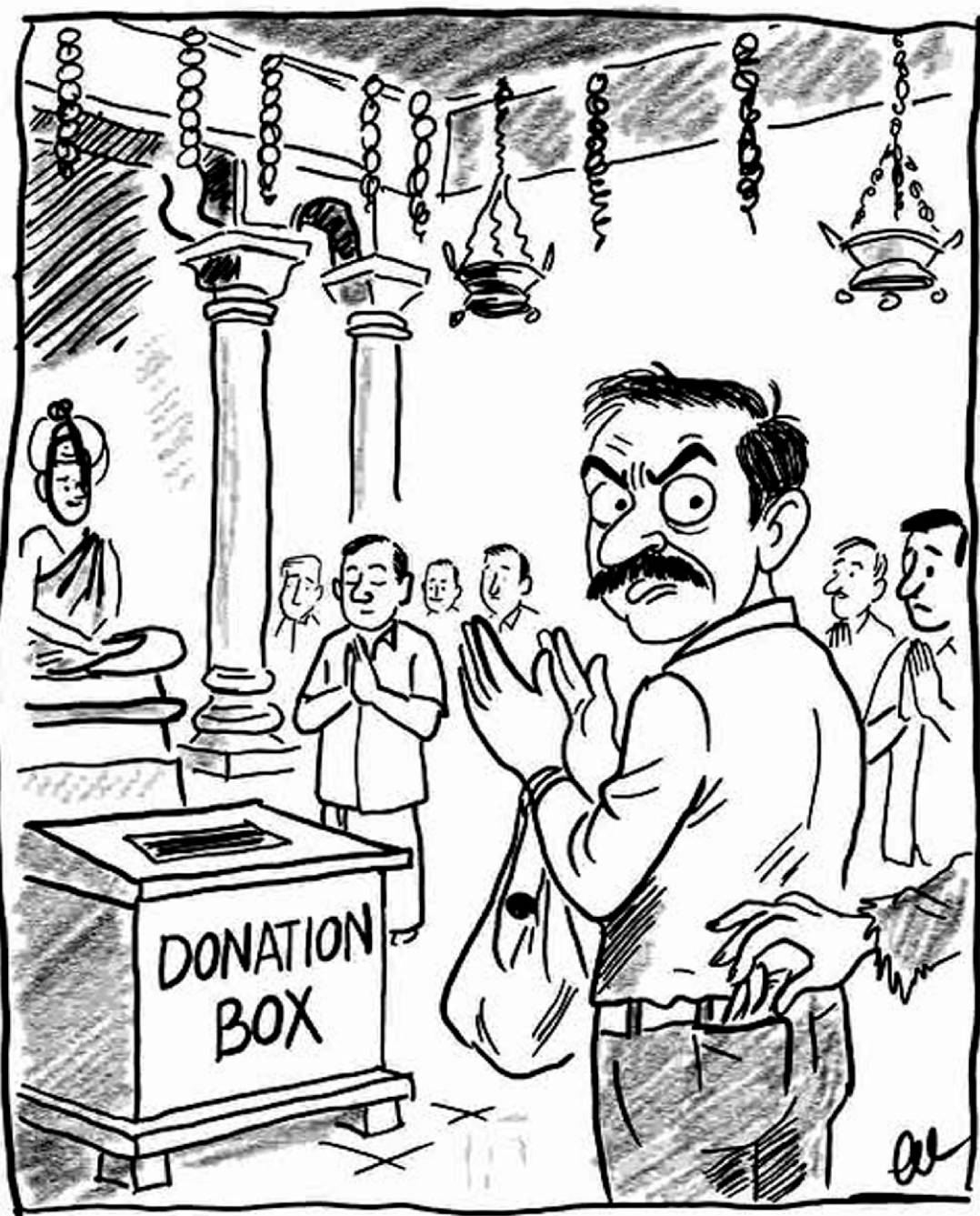
Vol. 90, Number 05

AUGUST 2026

Rs. 15 / MONTH



677



Can't you wait till I put the money in the Donation box?

THE RADICAL HUMANIST

Vol. 90, Number 05, August 2026

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

Founder Editor:

M.N. Roy

Advisor:

Dr. Narisetti Innaiah

Editor:

Mahi Pal Singh

Editorial Board:

Vinod Jain, Bhaskar Sur,

Dr. Dipavali Sen, Pratap Saharan

Mahi Pal Singh- Editor (Ex-Officio)

Printer and Publisher:

Sheoraj Singh

Send articles and reports to:

Mahi Pal Singh at Raghav Vihar, Phase- 3,
Prem Nagar, Dehradun- 248007. (Uttarakhand)
(M) 9312206414, 8433255386,
(Landline): 013-53549624.

or E-mail them to:

theradicalhumanist@gmail.com or

mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com

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

www.indianrenaissanceinstitute.com;

Please send Subscription/Donation

Cheques in favour of :

The Radical Humanist to:

Sheoraj Singh,

3821/7, Kanhaiya Nagar,

Tri Nagar, Delhi- 110035. (M) 9891928222.

Email ID: srsingh3821@gmail.com

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

CONTENTS :

Page No.

Editorial :

- Will it be Possible to Wipe Out the Modi Government?** 4
Mahi Pal Singh3

Articles and Features :

- Judicial Killing of 2.7 Million Votes? Seven Questions** 6
Pratap Saharan

- Ram Temple Donation Theft: 'The Individuals
Involved Were Too Well-Placed For Anyone
To Speak Up'** 9
Prasanna D. Zore

- Demolition of CSDS has begun, due process can wait** 12
Yogendra Yadav

- Types of Hindus as per RSS Chief** 14
Ram Puniyani

- Emergency Then, Undeclared Emergency Now
: A Personal Recollection in India** 16
Dr. Suresh Khairnar

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Views on the Bhakti
Movement and the Upliftment of Dalits** 19
S.R. Darapuri, I.P.S.(Retd)

- Democracy Needs More Than Hollow Rhetoric** 22
Sanjay K. Jha

- 'When all else fails, people still repose their trust in
the judiciary': INDIA bloc leaders in letter to CJI** 25
Sobhana K. Nair

- PALAIS DES NATIONS • 1211 GENEVA 10,
SWITZERLAND** 27

- Thoughts of M.N. Roy on Radical Humanism and
Democracy** 29
Dr. K.J. Sibi

- The RSS Takes Foreign Money Too. Why Doesn't the
Government Question It?** 33
N.R. Mohanty

- Poem: The Sunset of Life** 35
Saseendran Kakkodi

- Subaltern Voices in the Digital Age: How Social Media
Challenges Old Stories Inspired by Professor Partha
Chatterjee** 36
Dr. Mahamudul Hasan Gayen

- The Humanist Frame: The New Medicine and Its
Responsibilities** 39
Robert Platt

Editorial :

Will it be Possible to Wipe Out the Modi Government?

Mahi Pal Singh

The present scenario of the country presents a very bleak picture of Indian democracy. During the last twelve years the country has failed on all fronts. The economy has reached a new low. As against a foreign loan of about 50 lakh Crores of Rupees earlier, it has a whopping loan of Rupees two lakh and 25 thousand crores, an increase of about 400 %. The Rupee has fallen to about Rupees one hundred to one Dollar, an unprecedented depreciation affecting our trade balance to a dangerous level. The education system has crumbled down so badly that government schools are closing down in thousands everyday, and most badly so in the BJP ruled states like Madhya Pradesh, which alone has the highest closure rate of 50 % of the all-India figure taken together. Still paper leaks in competitive examinations like the NEET examination are forcing the youths to commit suicide or to agitate against the wrong government policies. The present GenZ revolt against such acts of ministers, who are said to be involved in such acts, continuing at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi, is an example of that resentment among the youth.

As against the promise of two crore jobs every year by Prime Minister Modi in 2014, unemployment rate (age 15-29) stands at an estimated 10.2%. The promise of doubling the income of farmers by 2022 has also proved to be a mere election slogan like all other of his promises like bringing back the black money stacked in foreign banks; bringing back all the terrorists and their handlers who are comfortably living in Pakistan under government protection; securing the country's borders from Chinese occupation etc.

The question is whether in spite of all-round

failures of his government on all fronts, can Modi and his party be defeated in elections. The record of the several elections held in the past gives the firm reply in the negative. Clearly there are factors which indicate to the impossibility of his defeat. One of the factors is the free supply of five Kg. ration to about 81 Crore of population, started during the Covid-19 period as a necessary humanitarian need to save the lives of poor people, it has been continued as a vote catching move even several years after the pandemic period by the BJP as a bribe to the poor and uneducated masses of the country. To this have been added the Kisan Samman Nidhi of paying Rs.6000/- annually to the farmers and Rs.1000/- to Rs. 1500/- to women every month in election-going states like Maharashtra and Bihar, putting several installments in their bank accounts just before the elections, and that too after the declaration of elections. The election results show that these moves have helped the BJP and its allies increase their vote share.

But what has helped them most is the manipulation of the voting process and use of police personnel in not letting the minority and opposition votes reach the polling booths. Even more than that the exercise of Special Intensive Revision (SIR) started by the Chief Election Commissioner, Gyanesh Kumar, obviously under the direct command of the Prime Minister, to remove minority and opposition voters from the electoral rolls in thousands and lakhs, helped to make winning the elections by the BJP a cake walk for them. The election results in Bihar, and most recently in West Bengal, make it absolutely clear that but for this exercise of SIR, the BJP would have been badly defeated there. All this has happened under the benign hand of

the Supreme Court of India, which seems more interested in helping the BJP in elections than saving the Constitution of India and the Indian democracy. The reasons for this attitude of our Honorable Judges are too obvious after some of them being nominated to the Rajya Sabha and other highly beneficial positions by the government.

In a situation where the highest court, the Election Commission and Police Administration are in connivance with the BJP and its leadership to make the latter win in every election, and the people do not understand the value and importance of their vote, it is obvious that the BJP and Modi cannot be defeated. Seeing the success of the exercise of SIR in doing so, the Election Commission has started the exercise in other States also, where elections are due soon, to make their defeat an impossibility in future also.

The BJP has full control over the institutions that control the process of elections. Therefore, it is very clear that in future also it will be impossible to defeat the BJP in elections. Even when they get defeated in elections, they make use of the Enforcement

Directorate (ED), Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and the Income Tax Department to harass MPs and MLAs of other parties to desert their own parties and defect

and join the BJP so that they can form governments even after being defeated in elections. Causing recent defections in the All India Trin Mool Congress led by Mamata Banejee is an example of that. The only hope can be from a largescale movement by the people against the highest conspiracy of the BJP and the RSS to kill democracy in the country. For this to happen, the secular democratic intellectuals and honest media-persons of the country, who love their country, are duty-bound to educate the people politically, and also support such movement of the people if any hope of survival of the democracy in the country is to be revived. The beginning has been made by the youth in the form of Cockroach Janta Party movement at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi. All the opposition political parties should come together and support all the peoples' movements against anti-people policies of the BJP government. The recent theft of hundreds of crores of donation money and worth lakhs of gold and silver from the Ram Temple at Ayodhya, besides other temples across the country, by the people directly belonging to the BJP and RSS, as all of them were appointed as Chairman and members in the Ramjanm Bhoomi Teerth Kshetra Trust, can provide a strong impetus to such people's movements further and pave the ground for the ouster of the Modi government. 🇮🇳

Articles/Reports for The Radical Humanist

Dear Friends,

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

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

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

- Mahi Pal Singh,
Editor, The Radical Humanist

Judicial Killing of 2.7 Million Votes? Seven Questions

Seven Questions for the Government, the Election Commission and the Supreme Court in the Light of the United Nations Letter

Pratap Saharan

If a citizen is declared innocent by a court after ten years, but has already spent ten years in prison, can it be said that justice was done?

And if the name of an Indian voter is wrongly removed from the electoral roll, their appeal remains pending until the election, they are unable to vote, and after the election a tribunal says that, yes, their name had been wrongly deleted, has their democratic right been restored?

No, because an election will not be held again solely for that person.

Their vote is already dead.

And that is precisely why I do not consider the issue of nearly 2.7 million pending appeals in West Bengal after the Special Intensive Revision, or SIR, and the denial of voting rights to those electors to be merely an “administrative problem.”

I want to ask: Is this not the judicial killing of millions of votes?

The phrase is harsh. But the question is harsher still. When a state process blocks a citizen’s constitutional right, no judicial remedy is available before the election, and the election is completed without that citizen’s participation, who is responsible for the death of that right?

The Election Commission? The government? Or the judicial system that provided a remedy, but at such a pace that the election passed first while justice continued to trail behind?

This question is no longer being asked only within India. On May 1, 2026, three United Nations Special Rapporteurs, Nicolas Levrat,

Irene Khan and Nazila Ghanea, sent a formal communication to the Government of India, raising serious questions about the possible disproportionate impact of the SIR on minorities, particularly Muslim voters and voters of Bengali origin.

They did not declare the allegations to be established facts. They clearly said that they did not wish to prejudge the accuracy of the allegations.

That is the language of an independent inquiry.

First, listen to the allegations. Then examine the documents. Then seek answers. And only after that, draw conclusions.

But over the past decade, a new system has developed in India. First, the conclusion is decided. Then a slogan is created. Then the lapdog media declares it to be in the national interest. And finally, the person asking questions is made to appear suspicious.

In the case of the SIR too, the public was fed the slogans of “purification of the electoral rolls” and “removal of infiltrators.”

So let us stop the slogans for a while, and demand an account.

First Question: More Than 50 Million Names Were Deleted, So How Many “Infiltrators” Were Actually Found?

Around which word was the political atmosphere surrounding the SIR created? “Infiltrator.” For years, India’s Home Minister Amit Shah has used aggressive political language on public platforms about “infiltrators.” In West Bengal, this word did not remain merely a part of the immigration

debate. It was turned into a weapon of electoral politics.

Then came the SIR.

According to an independent media review covering one year, the names of more than 50 million voters were removed across 13 states and Union Territories.

Now my direct question is: Of these more than 50 million deletions, how many people were conclusively found to be foreign citizens?

Against how many of them was action taken under the Foreigners Act or laws relating to citizenship?

How many were declared non-Indians by a competent authority?

How many were placed under deportation proceedings?

If the government and its propaganda machinery sought political approval from the public for such a vast electoral cleansing exercise by using the word “infiltrator,” why is there now hesitation in presenting an account of the results?

There is data showing that 50 million names were deleted.

According to the report, the software flagged nearly 13.1 million voters in West Bengal and around 23.5 million voters in Madhya Pradesh as suspicious or as having logical discrepancies.

What kind of democracy is this, in which the machine’s suspicion is confidential but the citizen’s defense is compulsory?

Shaheed Bhagat Singh wrote that “criticism and independent thinking are indispensable qualities of a revolutionary.” His idea still reminds us that no individual or institution can be placed beyond questioning merely because it is presented as great or infallible.

The Supreme Court directed the tribunals to conduct hearings, examine the records and follow the principles of natural justice.

That is a good thing. But elections arrive

according to a date. Natural justice does not exist outside the calendar. An appeal decided after polling is not electoral justice.

It is a post-mortem. The post-mortem of a dead vote. The court may later record that the person was eligible. But that person’s vote will never be recorded in the EVM. The result in that constituency may have been decided by a thousand votes. Perhaps by a hundred votes. Perhaps by ten votes. And that citizen remained at home because India’s administrative and judicial machinery could not hear the appeal in time. So I ask the Supreme Court respectfully, but firmly:

When the voting rights of millions of citizens were in direct conflict with the election deadline, why did you not create a time-bound emergency judicial mechanism?

Why were there no special benches? Why was there no daily monitoring? Why were retired judges not appointed district-wise? Why was there no digital appeal tracking? Why was there no mandatory deadline for disposal before the election?

And the biggest question is: When the state could not even hear a citizen’s appeal in time, why was the benefit of doubt not given to the citizen?

In criminal law, we say that even if a hundred guilty people escape, one innocent person should not be punished. How did the principle become the opposite in electoral democracy?

On November 25, 1949, Dr B.R. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that “constitutional methods must be strengthened if democracy is to be preserved not merely in form, but also in reality.”

The Constitution of India provides for universal adult franchise. The basic philosophy of Article 326 was not that only a literate Indian, one with properly organised documents and the ability to make repeated visits to government offices, would be entitled

to vote. India's Constitution-makers granted universal adult franchise in a country where millions were illiterate.

The UN Letter Is Not Against India, It Is a Test for India's Institutions The three UN Special Rapporteurs did not deliver a judgment. They asked the Government of India for answers. Their communication is not a binding judicial order. India's sovereignty has not ended. The Election Commission has not come under the authority of the United Nations. But India has ratified the ICCPR. India presents itself before the world as the world's largest democracy. So what should be the simplest answer before the world?

Listen Once Again to My Seven Questions:

1. After more than 50 million deletions, what is the number of verified illegal foreign voters?
2. Where are the decision criteria, error rate and independent audit of the algorithm or software used in the SIR?
3. Did the Election Commission give the Supreme Court complete information about the scale and actual operational role of the algorithm?
4. Which institution bears responsibility for nearly 2.7 million appeals remaining unresolved until the election?
5. What actual remedy was given to an eligible citizen who lost the right to vote because of a wrongful deletion?
6. Was an independent discrimination audit conducted to assess the demographic and linguistic impact of the SIR?
7. Why did the Supreme Court not create an emergency, time-bound judicial mechanism before the election in the face of such large-scale potential disenfranchisement?

The answer to these seven questions cannot be that "India is the world's largest democracy," because the size of a democracy is determined by its population.

The quality of a democracy is determined by how strongly the vote of its weakest citizen is protected.

Today, the people of India must understand one thing. Votes are not stolen only by hacking EVMs. The quietest way of stealing a vote is:

Make the voter disappear from the electoral roll before they can reach the EVM.

I am not alleging that the SIR was carried out for this purpose.

I am asking a more fundamental question: Have India's institutions shown enough transparency to establish that this did not happen? Until this question is answered through an independent audit, public data and time-bound accountability, the question will remain alive.

And the question must remain alive. Because questioning the government in a democracy is not sedition. Demanding transparency from the Election Commission is not opposition to an institution. Criticizing the Supreme Court's approach is not contempt of democracy. And reading the United Nations letter does not mean participating in a foreign conspiracy.

Bhagat Singh gave us the courage to think independently. Dr Ambedkar showed us the path of constitutional accountability. Justice H.R. Khanna taught us that the dignity of a court grows not by bowing before power, but by standing up for the liberty of the citizen.

The real danger is not the citizen who asks questions. The real danger is the day when a citizen's name is removed from the electoral roll, their appeal remains buried in files, the election passes, the court gives another date, the media begins to treat them as an infiltrator. 🌈

Ram Temple Donation Theft: 'The Individuals Involved Were Too Well- Placed For Anyone To Speak Up'

Prasanna D. Zore

'What struck me at the time was simply the scale of it — that something of this magnitude could be unfolding inside the Ram temple itself.'

'It was bewildering. And what troubled me further was the manner in which people were shielding it.'



IMAGE: The Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Mandir in Ayodhya. Photograph: ANI Photo

Journalist Abhishek Upadhyay runs a YouTube channel *Top Secret* and has broken several stories exposing the powerful in the Ayodhya Ram Mandir Trust donation theft case.

A television journalist with close to two decades in the field, he has covered conflict zones from Syria and Iraq to the Russia-Ukraine front and has built a reputation for stories that make institutions uncomfortable.

On his YouTube channel *Top Secret*, he has spent the past month pulling apart what may be one of the most sensitive scandals to hit Ayodhya since the Ram temple's consecration: Allegations of theft from the temple's donation boxes, running

alongside claims of commission-taking in construction contracts and the disappearance of donated jewellery.

His reporting, built on a chain of on-record interviews with insiders, is widely credited with forcing the Uttar Pradesh government's hand in setting up a Special Investigation Team. Champat Rai, the Shri Ram Janmbhoomi Teerth Kshetra Trust's general secretary, and trustee Anil Mishra have since tendered their resignations.

In this two-part interview with Prasanna D Zore/Rediff, Upadhyay reveals how the story came to him and what he thinks the investigation is still avoiding.

‘When I approached the Trust, they confirmed as much to me, off the record: ‘Yes, this had happened, but it was an internal matter that they would settle themselves.’

How did you first get wind of this entire affair? What was it that convinced you this was not merely gossip, but a genuine investigative story waiting to be told?

A dispute surfaced for distribution of donation theft at the Ram temple on the fifth and sixth of June.

Behind the scenes, there was a great deal of friction — a dispute had reportedly broken out over the splitting of collection money amid different groups of the collectors.

Word of it reached the senior functionaries of the Trust first since the complaint was lodged with them. They passed on some information, and by then it had already begun to leak internally.

So when an employee of the Trust approached the police with a complaint, was an FIR registered, or not?

No FIR was registered.

To my knowledge, an understanding was reached between the two sides. In such matters, they tend not to file an FIR — they arrange a recovery of the money and close the chapter quietly, so that nothing travels beyond the Trust’s own walls.

When I approached the Trust, they confirmed as much to me, off the record: ‘Yes, this had happened, but it was an internal matter that they would settle themselves.’

I then checked with the police who confirmed the very same thing, off the record — ‘nothing on record, please, we’ll handle it, just let it be.’

At what point did you realise that this could turn into a very large story?

Frankly, I had no such inkling at first. What struck me at the time was simply the scale of it — that something of this magnitude could be unfolding inside the Ram temple itself. It was bewildering. And what troubled me further was the manner in which people were shielding it.

Wrongdoing can occur anywhere — in a workplace, in a household — but here, curtains were quite literally being drawn over it.

When I looked into why, it became clear: The individuals involved were too well-placed for anyone to speak up. We began reporting on it regardless.

Once we did, several political leaders (*from the Opposition*) picked up the thread, and it started circulating on social media.

The Trust’s response was to dismiss it outright — nothing of the sort had occurred, Champat Rai said in a formal statement, merely a routine audit was under way. That statement is on record, dated June 8. He even recorded a video and circulated it to members of the press.

The matter had first been reported on June 7, and it was on the eighth that the Trust moved to brush it under the carpet.

What I needed at that stage was proof — some record that would stand up against their denials. By June 9, after considerable effort, I had managed to speak to people who were willing to go on record.

Those who agreed to speak, I interviewed, and I ran my findings on my own programme that evening. From that point on, the entire complexion of the story changed, because these were people who had themselves been employed by the Trust, with backgrounds in the RSS and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

Even now, as I speak to you (*on the afternoon of July 6*), the Trust has not been able to deny what has been aired.

First of all I interviewed Mahipal Singh, the former account in-charge of the Ram Mandir Trust. Whatever he told me on record, was later corroborated: He told me, yes, the theft did take place; and that eight months’ worth of footage had been deleted. His testimony forced the trust to make the rot public.

‘That interview proved to be the turning point’

Now, this statement your source gave regarding the SIT — is it on the SIT’s official

record?

He gave the interview to me. The SIT itself has not spoken to him yet as per my knowledge.

To clarify, has the SIT questioned Mahipal Singh at all thus far?

Not to my knowledge. He remained in contact with me for roughly three-four days. After that, the pressure on him grew so intense that he asked me to take the report down. I refused — I told him it simply could not be done.

He said the pressure on his family had become unbearable, that he could not go on. And so it stood.

Later, he told me he was grateful I had aired it and that he would supply further information — but very soon after that, he vanished entirely.

That interview proved to be the turning point; it was only after it aired that the authorities felt compelled to announce the SIT.

And where is he now?

He hails from Kota, in Rajasthan, where he is at present, I could not say. But he confirmed on record that theft had indeed occurred from the donation collection, and that CCTV footage documenting it had been wiped.

Secondly an engineer attached to the temple's construction — Deenanath Verma by name — also told me — on record — that commissions were being demanded even on construction work, at a rate of some forty per cent, and he named a trustee directly (*on camera*).

He said he possessed a recording of the demand being made, that Champat Rai had heard this recording and taken no action whatsoever, and that he himself (*Verma*) was subsequently eased out.

Did he tell you all of this on record, on camera?

Yes, entirely on record.

Verma told me the same, entirely on record — the commission-taking, the theft, all of it. There is a third important testimony in this story.

I interviewed Acharya Vinod Mishra, the family priest of a family from Jaunpur currently

settled in Mumbai, who had donated an extraordinarily precious necklace to Ram Lalla on a festival occasion, having made the journey largely on foot. They were assured the deity would be adorned with it during the ceremony.

Afterwards, when they enquired what had become of it, they were told nothing at first, and were later informed it had been sent to Bangalore, melted down, and refashioned into gold. This, too, is on record, with the family priest furnishing the full visual documentation of their journey and offering.

Did Acharya Vinod Mishra receive any receipt for the precious necklace donation?

They were given a receipt for a time, but were assured that the necklace itself would remain at the temple, that it would adorn the deity, and that photographs would be sent to them in due course. They kept watch for those photographs, but nothing further was heard.

Once they came forward, it emerged that the matter went beyond mere donations — that ornaments and jewels, too, had gone missing. Layer upon layer kept surfacing.

Three quite distinct layers, then, kept peeling away.

Indeed — first, theft from the donation collection; second, commission-taking during construction, even as the temple was being built; and third, the disappearance of jewels and ornaments.

In essence, you have exposed three separate scams...

Exactly so — and a good many more besides.

I interviewed one of the accused Tinnu Yadav, presently in custody. He told me, on record and on camera, that a trustee was effectively trading in cash-handling arrangements.

My other source told me precisely the same about this trustee — that a complaint about him had gone nowhere, and instead, it was the whistleblower (*Mahipal Singh*) who was shown the door.

Courtesy **Rediff.com**, July 07, 2026. 🌈

Demolition of CSDS has begun, due process can wait

Bulldozer justice reaches academia. That could be the headline for an *Indian Express* report last week ('Think tank CSDS likely to face funding cuts from Centre', IE, July 10) on the government's move to cut its grant to the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), which amounts to 90 per cent of the institution's salary bill. No doubt, this is a demolition exercise.

As in bulldozer justice, the *modus operandi* involves turning the rule of law upside down. Criminal justice follows a prescribed sequence: An incident leads to evidence, evidence to suspicion, suspicion to trial and the trial leads to indictment and punishment. Here the process begins with public indictment of a culprit identified in advance. Pretext and paperwork follow to manufacture justification for the punishment pre-decided, if not already delivered. An exemplary punishment that echoes deep and wide.

The CSDS has been to Indian social science what the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) or the Indian Institute of Science (IISc) is to the world of Indian sciences. Founded in 1963 by Rajni Kothari, the faculty roll of CSDS reads like the Who's Who of the first two generations of Indian social scientists, barring economists. Excluding the present faculty, the list includes Ashis Nandy, D L Sheth, Ramashray Roy, Gopal Krishna, Bashiruddin Ahmed, Giri Deshingkar, Sudhir Kakar, Shiv Visvanathan, Harsh Sethi, Suresh Sharma, D R Nagaraj, V B Singh, Rajeev Bhargava, Shail Mayaram, Aditya Nigam and Abhay Dube. Add to this list scholars who have been a part of the extended family of CSDS — Sukhmoy Chakravarty, T N Madan, Deepak Nayyar, J P S Uberoi, Manoranjan Mohanty, Patricia Uberoi and Suhas Palshikar — and you know why CSDS has been at the centre of Indian and global debates on politics, society and culture. A special issue of *Seminar* magazine (November 2012), titled "The CSDS

Experience" captures something of the story of this extraordinary institution. (Full disclosure: The present author served on the CSDS faculty for two decades, before leaving it in 2013 and formally resigning in 2016.)



Yogendra Yadav

On the face of it, the CSDS is a rather odd target for demolition. During the days of ideological Cold War, the CSDS was known as a non-Marxist, if not anti-Marxist, school of thought. The scholars at the Centre were among the first ones to articulate the agenda for decolonisation of the social sciences. The Centre was also the pioneer in advancing social sciences in Indian languages. A far cry from the deracinated, westernised, leftist intellectuals the present regime loves to hate. Unlike the Emergency, when the CSDS did serve as a node for resistance to the authoritarian regime, the institution has kept a low political profile since 2014. The Lokniti programme, its research initiative that carries out electoral and political surveys, has maintained a scrupulous record of political non-partisanship and has given up election forecasting. On balance, its election surveys over the last decade have overestimated, not underestimated, the BJP's electoral performance.

The reason for choosing CSDS for the present assault is thus hard to fathom. Here is my guess: The three-decade old Lokniti programme is arguably the only trustworthy political barometer in the country that continues to adhere to scientific protocols of survey and transparent reporting, a barometer that cannot be "adjusted" to suit the demands of the rulers. This is one thing authoritarian regimes do not like, especially when they face allegations of electoral malpractices

amidst rising public disquiet. Or, maybe, as in the case of Centre for Policy Research (CPR) earlier, the prestige of CSDS makes it the perfect example to send a message to an entire community of academics and intellectuals: Nobody is safe if CPR and CSDS can be targeted.

Once the target was selected, a provocation had to be discovered. The trigger was trivial, bordering on the ridiculous. On August 17, 2025, Professor Sanjay Kumar posted data around an unusual decline and increase in the number of electors in four assembly constituencies in Maharashtra on his personal X account. The calculation was wrong. Within 48 hours, he deleted the post and apologised for the error. Mind you, the posts were a bland presentation of data with no political interpretation or insinuation. The data did not fit into the Opposition's narrative of "vote chori". This was not institutional reporting of a research project. In any case, this was a trivial error, immediately rectified. The other supposed provocation was also a non-issue. A few days earlier, the CSDS had published the findings of an opinion poll on the SIR and reported a decline in the level of popular trust in the Election Commission. There was no error nor any element of surprise in this data that was hardly noticed. The BJP's ecosystem smartly conflated the two and pounced upon the CSDS. The troll army was afire, as were the darbari channels, demanding exemplary punishment.

Official indictment closely followed the troll army's insinuation. On August 19, the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), the official body through which grants to all social

science institutions like CSDS are funnelled, took to X, saying it was taking "serious cognizance of the data manipulation by CSDS and its attempt to create a narrative with the intention of undermining the sanctity of the Election Commission of India. This is a gross violation of the Grant-in-Aid rules of ICSSR". The verdict had been delivered before the trial began.

Then came the paperwork. As in bulldozer justice, the formal justification is an act of post-facto creativity. Once the target, the punishment and the excuse were fixed, the ICSSR appointed a committee to prepare grounds for what had already been decided and carried out. As reported in The Indian Express, the committee has indicted the CSDS for everything other than what the ICSSR had accused it of. Apparently, the proposed punishment is now not for "data manipulation" but for the age-old charges that can be used to implicate anyone in the sarkari system: Fine print of appointment rules, payment or non-payment of allowances to employees, conduct of meetings and recording of minutes, and so on. This is especially odd since all these questions had been raised earlier by the ICSSR and already settled to its own satisfaction.

The committee's report is not yet released. But the ICSSR had stopped the CSDS grant with immediate effect. For the last one year, the institution has been struggling to pay salaries for the entire faculty, most of whom do not work on elections. The worst victims are the non-academic staff, who have nothing to do with all this.

Who cares for collateral damage? Demolition has begun. The trial can wait. 🌈

The Radical Humanist is available

At our own website: <http://www.indianrenaissanceinstitute.com> at: 'The Radical Humanist' page and also at: <http://www.lohiatoday.com/onperiodicals> page, thanks to Manohar Ravela who administers the site on Ram Manohar Lohia, the great socialist leader of India.

– Mahi Pal Singh

Types of Hindus as per RSS Chief

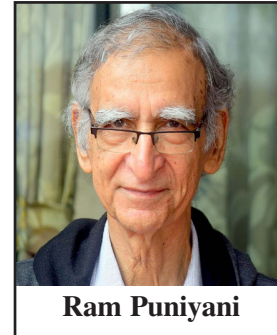
Mohan Bhagwat the RSS chief does all acrobatics to defend the idea of Hindu Rashtra. Many a times he goes on to say that all people living here are Hindus, we share common ancestry etc. Earlier RSS ideologues have given the signals that Islam and Christianity are foreign religions. The progenitor of Hindu Nationalism, V. D Savarkar, gave a definition of Hindu as one who regards the land from Sindhu to Sea as Holy land and Father land. The second *Sarsanghchalak* M. S Golwalkar tells that for making Hindu Rashtra we will follow the German model where so many Jews were put to torture and then Gas Chambers to build a German nation. Lately more polished version of this statement is being dished out by Bhagwat.

RSS has also been saying Hinduism is not a religion but a way of life, defying the sociological understanding of religion where Holy Deity, Rituals, Holy books, Clergy are the major components of a religion. Recently he came up with unique classification of Hindus, trying assuage the deep feeling of marginalisation of Muslims and Christians. Giving very lofty meaning of Hinduism, he stated that “If you are Indian, this nature (Hindu, added) is inherent in you,” he said. He underlining that Muslims and Christians are an inseparable part of the Hindu nation. He went on to outline four broad categories of Hindus in the country. The first group, he said, consists of those who openly declare their Hindu identity with pride. The second includes people who acknowledge being Hindu but see nothing exceptional about it. The third category, according to Bhagwat, comprises those who prefer to speak about their identity only in private. The fourth, he said, includes people who have either forgotten

their Hindu identity or have been made to forget it.”

So, who is a proud Hindu according to him, those who demolished Babri Mosque? those who dance and give abusive slogans in front of mosques? Those who like Kanwarias, create ruckus on the street? He did not clarify, but one will have to make a guess about it. Babasaheb Ambedkar was born in a Hindu family and he went on to burn Manu Smriti and also declare that he was born in a Hindu family, but he will not die a Hindu. Where will the supremo of RSS put him? Where will he put the Indian Constitution coming from a ‘Good Hindu’ or what? His organization had opposed the constitution saying that it is based on Western values and that there is nothing Indian about it.

The current dilemma of RSS is to win over Muslims, Christians, Dalits and Adivasis to RSS fold and so new acrobatics of talking in decent terms about Christians and Muslims. As such also defining Hinduism as such is a difficult task for sure. The reasons for this are multiple. One, Hinduism is not a prophet-based religion, it has no single founder and two, religious streams developing in this part of the world have been lumped together as Hinduism and three; there are so many diversities in the practices of Hinduism that all streams cannot be painted with a single brush. To this one may add the practices and beliefs originating at different times continue to exist side by side. Lord Satyanarayana and Santoshi Maa do exist along with the concept of Ishwar (God) and a Nirankar Nirguna



Ram Puniyani

Ishwar (God beyond the attributes of qualities and form) at the same time.

The major point of departure for Hinduism is the imprint of caste system on the major aspects of Hinduism, the religious sanctity for social inequality, caste system being the soul of its scriptures and practices.

Aryans who came in a series of migrations were pastoralists and were polytheists. During the early period we see the coming into being of Vedas, which give a glimpse of the value system of that period and also the number of gods/goddesses with diverse portfolios, and the prevalence of polytheism. 'Laws of Manu' were the guiding principles of society. This Vedic phase merged into the Brahminic phase. During this phase the elite of the society remained insulated from the all and sundry. At this point of time the caste system provided a perfect mechanism for this insulation of the elite.

Buddhism's challenge to the caste system forced Brahmanism to come up with a phase, which can be called Hinduism. During this the cultic practices were broadened and public ceremonies and rituals were devised to influence the broad masses to wean them away from Buddhism. It is interesting to note that till the 8th century the so-called Hindu texts do not have the word Hindu itself. This word came into being with the West Asian Muslims coming to this side. They called the people living on this side of Sindhu as Hindus. The word Hindu began as a geographical category. It was later that religions developing in this part started being called as Hindu religions. The victims of the caste system

made all the efforts to convert to other religions, Buddhism, Islam and partly Christianity and later to Sikhism.

Within Hindu religion two streams ran parallel, Brahmanism and Shramanism. Shramans defied the Brahminical control and rejected the caste system. While Brahminism remained dominant, other streams of Hinduism also prevailed, Tantra, Bhakti, Shaiva, Siddhanta etc. Shramans did not conform to the Vedic norms and values. Brahminism categorized religious practices by caste while Shramanism rejected caste distinctions. Brahminical Hinduism was the most dominant tendency as it was associated with rulers. Side tracking the Hindu traditions of lower castes, Brahminism came to be recognised as Hinduism in due course of time. This phenomenon began with the Magadh-Mauryan Empire after subjugating Buddhism and Jainism in particular. Later with the coming of the British who were trying to understand Indian society, Hindu identity, based on Brahminical norms was constructed for all non-Muslims and non-Christians. Vedas and other Brahminical texts were projected as the Hindu texts. Thus, the diversity of Hinduism was put under the carpet and Brahminism came to be recognised as Hinduism. So, Hinduism as understood as a religion is based on Brahminical rituals, texts and authority of Brahmins.

Mr. Bhagwat needs to spell out the validity of his classification with the caste system in mind. So within this elaborate Hinduism how these four categories will be articulated is the question? 🌈

"Where a society has chosen to accept democracy as its credal faith, it is elementary that the citizens ought to know what their government is doing."

Justice P.N. Bhagwati, former Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India, (1981)

Emergency Then, Undeclared Emergency Now : A Personal Recollection in India

Dr. Suresh Khairnar



Yesterday, I wrote an article in Countercurrents on the declared Emergency imposed 51 years ago and the undeclared Emergency that has been going on for the past 12 years. I felt that it was sufficient. However, some comrades whose family members were arrested while participating in the student-youth struggle during that movement, and the new youth from families whose members were jailed during the Emergency, are now consistently supporting the undeclared Emergency of the RSS and BJP for the last twelve years under the guise of conspiracy theories. This has left me greatly astonished.

Just as in neighbouring Bangladesh on 15 August 1975, Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family members were assassinated by intruders at their official residence, Bangabhaban in Dhaka, similarly, a conspiracy to assassinate Mrs. Indira Gandhi was alleged to have been hatched by certain elements who had joined the movement led by Jayaprakash Narayan. When Indira Gandhi came to know about it, she declared the

Emergency in the country.

I myself was one of the participants in the Baroda Dynamite case meeting held in Mumbai. Assassinating Indira Gandhi was far from the agenda. In that meeting, following the model of the 1942 Quit India Movement, some socialist leaders—including Jayaprakash Narayan, Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, S.M. Joshi, Sane Guruji, Madhu Limaye, and others—had carried out acts of sabotage such as cutting railway tracks and telephone-telegraph wires, and running parallel radio stations. There was no killing of human beings. It was only about disrupting infrastructure and creating alternative media due to censorship.

I myself was one of those who remained underground for one and a quarter of years, from 25 June 1975 to 5 October 1976, opposing the Emergency.

Therefore, I have been compelled to shed factual light on this subject once again. The young people of today from the families of my contemporaries who participated in

Jayaprakash Narayan's movement were not even born when the criticism of that movement was taking place. Even after seeing the involvement of their own close relatives in that movement, the current situation amazes me. I am particularly trying to write about Gujarat, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar—the states where I had direct contact.

The most important point is that at the beginning of the 1970s, our country faced severe drought and a terrible food crisis. People had started looting government and private food godowns in many places due to the severe famine of 1972. In that situation, America started sending large shipments of red sorghum-like grain under PL-480, which was grown in America for feeding pigs and livestock. It was probably called “milo.” However, this grain was not suitable for human consumption. Other food grains had become extremely expensive. On top of that, traders here started adulteration and black marketing. Life became miserable for people. In tribal areas, people were forced to eat tree leaves. In Vidarbha, Maharashtra, people were even forced to eat a poisonous grass, which caused deaths.

Some Bollywood films and songs from that era bear witness to this. Due to inflation and unemployment, agitations had started everywhere. There was growing anger among the people against the governments. Because of the famine, students found it difficult to pay college fees. I myself, as the college secretary representing the students, led a delegation to the then Maharashtra Chief Minister Shri Vasant Rao Naik at his office in Mumbai. After more than an hour of discussion, I succeeded in getting a decision to waive the fees. The situation was the same in all colleges in Maharashtra. That is why the Gujarat and Bihar movements are also called student movements.

The second allegation concerns the

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and its political wing, the Jan Sangh. They claim that, under a planned policy, they supported the Gujarat-Bihar movement, which is more popularly known as Jayaprakash's movement. However, I myself participated in this movement at the age of 21—the voting age at that time—and was an eyewitness to some events. Therefore, I am stating clearly that the Gujarat movement was 100% a students' movement that ran during 1973–74, in which Jayaprakash Narayan had no role. On the contrary, in the meeting of the Maharashtra Jan Sangharsh Samiti at the Wardha Mahila Ashram, I saw that JP was being requested to take up its leadership. Jayaprakash Narayan pointed towards S.M. Joshi and Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari, who were present, and said, “Just as Ravishankar Maharaj, Narayan Desai, and Chuni Bhai Vaidya are guiding the movement in Gujarat, similarly in Maharashtra, with these two great personalities present, there is no need for me. As for Bihar, the youth have insisted a lot, and since I myself belong to Bihar, I have a moral duty to guide the movement in my province. I cannot get involved in the movement across the entire country. Every province has enough capable people. Therefore, I cannot go outside Bihar. Moreover, I have grown old and do not have the capacity to travel across the whole country.”

Yes, there is one thing: On 25 June 1975, while addressing the massive public meeting at Ramlila Maidan, he gave the slogan “*Singhasan Khali Karo, ki Janata Aati Hai*” (Vacate the throne, the people are coming) and appealed to government employees, the police, and the administration to act according to the Constitution and not obey any unconstitutional or illegal orders. Hearing this, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her coterie felt the ground slipping from under their feet. Therefore, she immediately declared the Emergency at midnight.

There was no situation in the country that warranted the imposition of the Emergency. But her younger son Sanjay Gandhi, without holding any constitutional position, had become an extra-constitutional authority. Due to his behaviour, the then Information and Broadcasting Minister, I.K. Gujral, resigned.

It was because of the roar of Jayaprakash Narayan's Delhi public meeting that Indira Gandhi, in panic, declared the Emergency. During and before the Emergency, one of the senior officers in the Prime Minister's Office, Bishan Tandon, used to write a diary every day after returning home. That book (translated into Hindi, English, and Marathi) clearly shows that it was Indira Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, and their so-called advisers—V.C. Shukla, Bansi Lal, Congress President Devkant Barua, West Bengal Chief Minister Siddhartha Shankar Ray, etc.—who advised her after the Allahabad High Court judgment on 12 June 1975, which disqualified her from Lok Sabha membership and barred her from elections for six years.

After that judgment, Indira Gandhi was thinking of resigning and making some other Congress leader the acting Prime Minister until the Supreme Court's decision. But Sanjay and his coterie insisted that she should not resign. Instead, she declared the Emergency and imposed censorship to suppress any critical comments.

The people running the country today also claim that for the past 12 years they have been ruling according to the Constitution. Indira Gandhi too had declared the Emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution. However, members of the Constituent Assembly such as H.V. Kamath, Professor K.T. Shah, Naziruddin Ahmad, and Mahavir Tyagi had strongly opposed the inclusion of this provision, warning that it could destroy the federal structure and allow an elected Prime Minister or President to become a dictator.

H.V. Kamath, on 2 August 1949, while speaking in the Constituent Assembly, warned against the emergency provisions, calling them "horrible" and stating that they could turn the President or Prime Minister into a dictator. He considered Article 352 fatal for democracy.

Professor K.T. Shah, on 20 August 1949, said in the debate that even in the gravest emergency, the state should not unjustly violate the liberties of citizens, emphasizing that personal liberty is more important than life itself.

Mahavir Tyagi strongly opposed the suspension of citizens' judicial rights even during the Emergency and demanded that justice be delivered to them.

Exactly 51 years ago today, on the night of 25 June, Mrs. Indira Gandhi woke up the then President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed from his sleep, obtained his signature, and declared the Emergency along with censorship. Personally, Indira Gandhi did this only to save her position and to keep the Congress Party, which had been in power for 28 years since Independence, on the throne. There was no other reason in the country.

I myself was a 22-year-old Indian voter at that time and had been watching all these developments very carefully. That is why I felt it necessary to give this clarification. During the Emergency, through the 21st and 22nd Constitutional Amendments, Indira Gandhi extended the term of the Lok Sabha by one year. Only two opposition MPs—Madhu Limaye and Sharad Yadav—opposed it and resigned after their five-year term ended.

In the constitutional amendment, Indira Gandhi got a provision passed that no criminal cases could be initiated against the President, the Prime Minister, or the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. But imagine if, just as Narendra Modi has done something similar by making Election Commission members immune from criminal proceedings, such a provision had remained.

(To be Contd....on Page -21)

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Views on the Bhakti Movement and the Upliftment of Dalits

S.R. Darapuri, I.P.S.(Retd)

The Bhakti Movement occupies an important place in the social and religious history of India. Emerging between the seventh and seventeenth centuries in different parts of the country, it emphasized personal devotion (bhakti) to God, rejected excessive ritualism, and sought to establish a direct relationship between the devotee and the divine. Several Bhakti saints, including Kabir, Ravidas, Chokhamela, Namdev, Tukaram and Nandanar, condemned social discrimination and proclaimed the equality of all human beings before God. Because many of these saints came from marginalized communities or openly criticized caste prejudice, the Bhakti Movement is often celebrated as a movement of social equality and Dalit emancipation.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, however, offered a far more critical and historically grounded assessment. While acknowledging the moral courage and egalitarian spirit of several Bhakti saints, he argued that the movement failed to dismantle the caste system or bring about the social, economic and political liberation of the Dalits. In his view, the Bhakti Movement represented an ethical protest against caste discrimination but not a programme for structural social transformation. The distinction between spiritual equality and social equality lies at the heart of Ambedkar's critique.

Ambedkar's Appreciation of the Bhakti Saints

Ambedkar did not dismiss the Bhakti tradition in its entirety. He recognized that many saints challenged the religious orthodoxy of their time and gave voice to the aspirations of the oppressed. Saints such as Ravidas and Chokhamela, themselves born into communities regarded as "untouchable,"

exposed the inhumanity of caste discrimination through their poetry and personal experiences. Kabir boldly attacked Brahminical ritualism as well as Islamic orthodoxy, emphasizing morality, reason and the unity of humanity over religious formalism.

These saints questioned hereditary privilege, criticized priestly domination and insisted that devotion, rather than birth, was the true basis of religious worth. They affirmed the dignity of labour and rejected the idea that spiritual status depended upon caste. Their teachings inspired generations of oppressed people and enriched India's ethical and literary traditions. Ambedkar acknowledged these contributions and regarded them as important voices of dissent within Indian society.

Bhakti as a Spiritual Rather Than Social Revolution

Despite recognizing these achievements, Ambedkar argued that the Bhakti Movement remained essentially a spiritual movement rather than a social revolution. Its central concern was the individual's relationship with God rather than the reconstruction of society. While Bhakti saints preached equality before God, they rarely developed a systematic programme for abolishing caste, redistributing economic power or transforming social institutions.

For Ambedkar, this constituted the fundamental limitation of the movement. A religion that teaches spiritual equality while accepting social inequality cannot produce genuine human emancipation. Equality before God has little practical significance if people continue to suffer discrimination in everyday life. A Dalit who is denied entry into a temple, prevented from drawing water from a public

well, excluded from education or deprived of economic opportunities cannot be considered equal merely because religion declares all souls to be equal before God.

Ambedkar therefore insisted that social equality must precede or accompany spiritual equality. Without changes in the structure of society, devotional teachings remain largely symbolic.

Failure to Destroy the Caste System

Ambedkar's most significant criticism was that the Bhakti Movement failed to destroy the caste system. Although many saints condemned untouchability and emphasized human brotherhood, caste hierarchy continued to dominate Hindu society long after the movement had spread across India.

He pointed to a striking contradiction in Hindu society. Upper-caste Hindus often revered saints like Ravidas and Chokhamela as holy men while simultaneously refusing to treat ordinary Dalits as equals. Temples celebrated Dalit saints, but living Dalits remained excluded from temples, schools, public wells and positions of dignity. This paradox demonstrated, according to Ambedkar, that admiration for exceptional individuals did not translate into equality for the oppressed community as a whole.

The Bhakti Movement produced revered saints but failed to eliminate the social practices that degraded millions of ordinary Dalits. Consequently, caste survived largely intact despite centuries of devotional preaching.

Individual Salvation Versus Collective Liberation

Ambedkar also criticized the movement for emphasizing individual salvation instead of collective social struggle. Bhakti encouraged devotees to seek liberation through prayer, surrender and devotion to God. While such devotion might provide spiritual consolation, it did not equip oppressed communities with the political organization or social consciousness

necessary to challenge systems of exploitation.

Ambedkar believed that no oppressed community could secure justice merely through moral persuasion or religious devotion. Real emancipation required education, political representation, legal rights, economic resources and organized social movements. His famous call to "Educate, Agitate and Organize" reflected this conviction. Liberation could only be achieved through collective action and democratic struggle, not through individual acts of devotion.

Bhakti and the Absence of Social Democracy

For Ambedkar, democracy was not simply a political system but a way of life founded upon liberty, equality and fraternity. Although Bhakti occasionally promoted the ideal of fraternity, it failed to establish liberty and equality within the social order. Hereditary occupations remained unchanged, caste endogamy continued, Brahminical authority survived, and untouchability persisted.

As a result, the movement did not create the social conditions necessary for democracy. Ambedkar argued that political democracy cannot endure where society itself remains deeply unequal. Social democracy requires equal opportunities, equal dignity and equal citizenship—objectives that devotional reform alone could not achieve.

Critique of Saint Worship

Ambedkar was also skeptical of the tendency to rely upon saints as agents of social transformation. He argued that history is changed not by isolated holy individuals but by organized and conscious masses. Saints may awaken moral awareness, but lasting social change depends upon institutions, laws, political movements and collective action.

He believed that excessive reverence for saints often encouraged passive acceptance of injustice rather than active resistance against it. The oppressed, he argued, must

become the makers of their own history instead of waiting for moral reform from privileged sections of society.

Ambedkar's Alternative Vision

Unlike the Bhakti saints, Ambedkar proposed a comprehensive programme for the emancipation of Dalits. This programme included the annihilation of caste, universal education, economic justice, constitutional safeguards, political representation, land reforms, labour rights and democratic participation. He insisted that the struggle against caste required institutional transformation rather than merely spiritual reform.

This conviction ultimately led him to embrace Buddhism in 1956. Through the establishment of Navayana Buddhism, Ambedkar sought to create a religion based upon liberty, equality, fraternity, rationality and compassion. Unlike the caste-based social order that had developed within Hinduism, he believed Buddhism offered an ethical foundation for a genuinely democratic society.

Conclusion

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's evaluation of the Bhakti Movement is both balanced and profound. He appreciated the courage of saints such as Kabir, Ravidas and Chokhamela for challenging ritualism, priestly authority and

social discrimination. Their teachings affirmed the dignity of marginalized people and represented an important moral protest against caste prejudice.

However, Ambedkar concluded that the Bhakti Movement did not fundamentally transform Indian society. It emphasized spiritual equality but failed to establish social, economic and political equality. It produced revered saints but did not abolish untouchability, dismantle caste hierarchy or empower Dalits through education, political representation and economic justice. For Ambedkar, the movement remained ethically significant but socially inadequate.

His own vision of Dalit emancipation therefore rested not on devotional reform but on constitutional democracy, organized social struggle, education, political power and the creation of a society based upon liberty, equality and fraternity. In this sense, Ambedkar transformed the discourse on social justice by shifting the focus from individual salvation to collective human liberation. His critique of the Bhakti Movement continues to provide a powerful framework for understanding both the achievements and the limitations of religious reform movements in the struggle against caste oppression. 

Emergency Then, Undeclared...

Contd. from page - (18)

Then the Emergency would probably have continued until her death, and the country would have been run under such amendments. Could anyone have ended Congress rule then?

Whether it is the Emergency of 51 years ago or the undeclared Emergency of the past 12 years—in which Narendra Modi, in the 2023 Winter Session of Parliament, brought in provisions regarding the selection process of Election Commissioners and immunity from criminal cases—there will never be free and fair elections in this country again. Without any formal declaration of Emergency or censorship, the media's complete silence on the functioning of the current government and the Election Commission speaks volumes.

I was an opponent of the Emergency 51 years ago, and I remain an opponent of the undeclared Emergency today as well.

Courtesy **Countercurrents.org**, 26/06/2026. 

Democracy Needs More Than Hollow Rhetoric

Lies and false propaganda can fetch power, not legitimacy.

It's delightful to see prime minister Narendra Modi's encouragement for those who fight for protecting democracy and constitutional principles. Modi hasn't thrown his weight behind sycophants and collaborators who are complicit in the sinister project of trampling constitutional democracy. "*Aapatkal ka virodh karne wali sabhi vibhutiyaon ko sadar naman,*" Modi said in his message on June 25, the anniversary of the Emergency, unambiguously instigating citizens to oppose each and every curb imposed by the government on democratic freedoms.

Modi insisted that the disturbing memory of Emergency "motivates us to remain committed for protection of democracy, Constitution and civic rights." If any section of bureaucrats, judges or journalists nurtured doubts about the prime minister's intent, they need to rethink. It is yet again absolutely clear that the politicians, activists and journalists fearlessly working to protect constitutional values of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity are precious and true patriots. Those who seek to crush these values, and the sycophants who rejoice subversion of the constitutional scheme, are the real traitors.

Ironically, the prime minister's lofty rhetoric has come at a time when the world is worrying about diminishing democracy in India and the leader of opposition Rahul Gandhi is talking about 'Resistance Movement' to save the Constitution from the threats posed by the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) and its progeny, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

Addressing opposition leaders a few days ago, Gandhi said, "The BJP controls the institutions of the state. The BJP controls the legal system. The BJP controls the bureaucracy. The BJP controls the intelligence

agencies.

The BJP even controls the Election Commission. I have many friends in the TMC (Trinamool Congress). They were convinced that they were sweeping the election. I kept telling them: you are in dream land. I have seen what happens – I have seen it in Gujarat, I have seen it in Madhya Pradesh, I have seen it in Chhattisgarh, I have seen it in Haryana and Maharashtra."

The leader of opposition argued that a few instruments of the state that still worked would stop working soon because the BJP and RSS were tightening their grip.

Advertisement

"If political parties can't function, what functions? Resistance functions. Resistance works. Wherever we resist, it works."

This is not an isolated view. Dominant sections of intelligentsia and civil society endorse this assessment and believe that reclaiming democracy through elections was impossible under the prevailing circumstances. Except the BJP and its allies, all political parties believe the integrity of electoral processes has been thoroughly destroyed. Justice and civil liberties the prime minister talked about in his Emergency message, are largely seen to be in jeopardy.

It's no more about power and government-formation. The political battle is about salvaging democracy. Those who lament the attack that happened 51 years ago need a mirror, not a debate, on the plight of democracy in today's



Sanjay K. Jha

India. Mirror, that's what is needed. Krishna Bihari Noor gave an advance warning: "*Chahe sone ke frame mein jad do/ aaina jhooth bolta hi nahin* (Even if you frame it in gold, a mirror never lies)." The ugly face that the mirror will show will frighten the rulers.

Not a secret

A murder executed in the dark corners of a gangster's den may remain a secret. But democracy, even if stabbed and smothered with tact and care, becomes a public spectacle. Wounds scream and advertise themselves. The BJP has often blamed Rahul Gandhi for speaking about the threats to democracy in India on foreign soil. That's a juvenile grudge. Everybody knows what's happening in the world. The fact that the Bengal election was mired in unseemly controversies is not hidden from anybody. The world doesn't wait for an opposition leader to spill the beans.

If 20 MPs deserted the TMC and instantly extended support to the Modi government, the world has the sagacity to decode the phenomenon. Nobody will accept this vulgar decimation of an opposition party soon after the election as a natural corollary of defeat. The shop hoarding "*chori ka maal* (stolen goods)" can't escape notoriety. And Bengal was not an isolated incident, compelling political observers to avoid seeing a BJP hand in the split of a party. Defectors from Punjab, seven Rajya Sabha MPs, swiftly joined the BJP.

In Maharashtra, Uddhav Thackeray's party suffered the second split, with six MPs falling in BJP-led National Democratic Alliance's (NDA's) lap. In Rajya Sabha elections, the Congress candidate's nomination is rejected on false grounds in Madhya Pradesh and another candidate loses the contest to a moneybag despite having numerical edge. If the BJP doesn't want all these vulgar incidents to be seen as an attack on constitutional morality, it will have to manufacture a dumber world. The

cloak-&-dagger strategy now has an identifiable trademark.

The saner world can see through the veneer of hypocrisy as the fetters around India's democracy grow bigger and stronger. Political parties, students' organisations and apolitical youths have launched a sustained protest demanding the resignation of Union education minister Dharmendra Pradhan because of paper-leaks. The prime minister keeps aloof for days and then writes on X: "Birthday wishes to Dharmendra Pradhan Ji. He is making commendable efforts towards the implementation of the National Education Policy, which seeks to make India a hub for knowledge, learning and innovation. Praying for his long and healthy life."

Is this the way to respond to public pressure in a democracy? Modi did the same thing in the case of Petroleum Minister Hardeep Puri when demands for his resignation surged in the wake of his name appearing in the shady Epstein files.

Is the prime-ministerial communication reserved for propaganda, partisan political consolidation and maligning critical voices? Will the power of expression and state machinery be used only for vested interests and suppressing opponents? If yes, Modi and his supporters should not cry when the world points to diminishing democracy in India.

Emergency & Congress

History cannot be invented, or erased, for political convenience. What has happened will remain in the collective national memory whether it is allowed to be recorded honestly or not. Distortion of history is a pathetic misadventure, often inviting ridicule and contempt – an indisputable fact the Sangh Parivar cannot digest. If the RSS did not participate in the freedom struggle and the Hindutva icon V.D. Savarkar tendered multiple mercy petitions to the British, no amount of distortion can ever wipe this truth out.

A controversy erupted about inclusion of a chapter on Emergency in the school textbook and the education minister Pradhan defended the decision, asserting that the younger generation must know about the darkest episode of post-Independent India. The truth is that the chapter on Emergency was included in the NCERT textbook way back in 2007 when Manmohan Singh was the prime minister. Believe it or not, the Congress government demonstrated commendable courage and intellectual honesty by allowing the students of political science to study India's true history.

Political activist and academic Yogendra Yadav, who was one of the authors of the chapter, recalled how the then human resource development minister Arjun Singh did not change a word. Yadav has written that the decision was taken independently by the expert committee that comprised top intellectuals and domain experts. The Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government didn't intervene. The Congress has dealt with Emergency, perhaps its greatest mistake, with political maturity and openness.

While top leaders like Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, Manmohan Singh and Rahul Gandhi have publicly apologised for Emergency, the party didn't omit the subject in its official history either. In the fifth volume of the book – A Centenary History of Indian National

Congress – Emergency has been discussed in great detail. The project, carrying analysis by renowned historians and political scientists, was completed under the guidance of Pranab Mukherjee and Anand Sharma.

Independent and reputed historian Bipan Chandra wrote in that chapter, "Emergency centralised and concentrated unlimited state and party power in the hands of the prime minister, Indira Gandhi, to be exercised in an authoritarian manner through a small coterie of the politicians and bureaucrats around her." The essay also gives exhaustive details about suspension of civil liberties, suppression of media, excesses on people and weakening of institutions.

Can this honesty be expected from the RSS or the BJP? Will the RSS allow independent writers to dwell on the subject of Gandhi assassination, explaining how the hate ideology produced somebody like Nathuram Godse, in any project sponsored by it? Has it expressed regret for supporting Nazi rule, including racial discrimination, under Adolf Hitler? Will Modi tender an apology for Gujarat riots or allow a chapter on the communal mayhem written by an impartial author? Remember this unalterable rule – Lies and false propaganda can fetch power, not legitimacy.

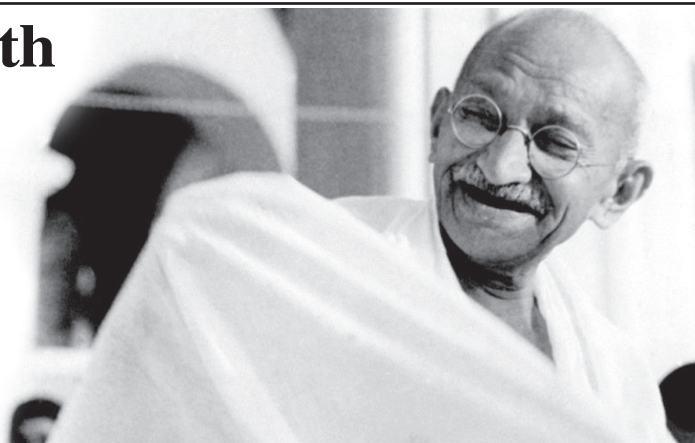
Sanjay K. Jha is a political commentator.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 28/Jun/2026. 🇮🇳

Search for Truth

Truth resides in every human heart, and one has to search for it there, and to be guided by truth as one sees it. But no one has a right to coerce others to act according to his own view of truth.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi



‘When all else fails, people still repose their trust in the judiciary’ : INDIA bloc leaders in letter to CJI

Signed by leaders of 24 Opposition parties, including independent MP Kapil Sibal, it detailed concerns over the SIR in West Bengal and Bihar; the leaders also made a direct accusation, alleging that they believed recently conducted elections in Delhi, Haryana, and Maharashtra had been “manipulated”



INDIA bloc leaders in joint memorandum to CJI alleged that the Election Commission’s independence had eroded in recent years. File | Photo Credit: ANI

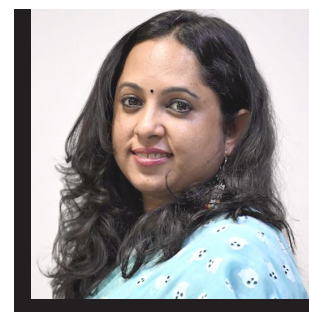
Alleging manipulation of elections, partisan conduct by the Election Commission of India (ECI), and misuse of central investigative agencies against Opposition parties, INDIA bloc leaders, in a joint memorandum addressed to Chief Justice of India Justice Surya Kant, said they were taking the unusual step of reaching out to the CJI because they believed that “democracy is in jeopardy”.

The letter, dated June 28, was released to the media by the Opposition on Friday (July 3, 2026). Signed by leaders of 24 Opposition parties, including independent MP Kapil Sibal, it detailed concerns over the Special Intensive Revision (SIR) in West Bengal and Bihar. The leaders also made a direct accusation, alleging that they believed recently conducted elections in Delhi, Haryana, and Maharashtra had been

“manipulated”.

The leaders said they were approaching the court because they believed democratic institutions were under strain and that electoral outcomes in several instances did not accurately reflect the will of the people.

Delineating the EC’s conduct from 2014 onwards, the Opposition parties said there were hardly any instances, barring a few exceptions, when questions were raised about the integrity of persons in the Commission before 2014. “But since 2014, almost every appointment made by



Sobhana K. Nair

the government has been of persons closely associated with it and seen to be doing the bidding of the government, brazenly, to manipulate the outcome of election results,” the letter said.

The Opposition leaders alleged that the Election Commission’s independence had eroded in recent years. Referring to the Supreme Court’s judgment in the Anoop Baranwal case, they argued that judicial concerns about the process of appointing Election Commissioners remained relevant. The letter criticised changes made through subsequent legislation, which removed the Chief Justice of India from the committee responsible for appointing the Chief Election Commissioner and Election Commissioners.

Chief Election Commissioner Gyanesh Kumar’s “brazenly biased conduct”, coupled with his “open, unabashed support of the BJP during the course of and in the outcome of electoral processes”, was a matter of grave concern, the Opposition said in its letter. They accused the EC of not being “even-handed” in the application of the Model Code of Conduct ahead of elections, “by choosing not to take action when the Model Code of Conduct is breached by the political party in power — all this while targeting those in the Opposition”.

The parties also questioned the rationale behind conducting the SIR. The political rhetoric surrounding the exercise, the Opposition claimed, centred on the alleged infiltration of Bangladeshis into the Bihar electoral rolls. “Now that the Bihar Assembly elections are over, there is absolutely no data to suggest that such an infiltration indeed took place, nor has the Election Commission made public any data with respect to the number of Bangladeshis having illegally acquired the right to vote in India,” the letter noted.

The situation became worse in West Bengal, where, the Opposition said, the government was

under siege with the presence of 2.4 lakh CAPF personnel. “To put this in context, 3.5 lakh CAPF personnel were deployed for the entire Lok Sabha election in 2024,” the letter pointed out. The letter also complained of the arbitrary removal of voters under a “never used before category” and of logical discrepancies that had led to the exclusion of nearly 25 lakh voters.

“We believe that recently conducted elections in Delhi, Haryana and Maharashtra were also manipulated,” the letter said.

The Opposition has demanded the immediate suspension of the SIR, arguing that such a comprehensive overhaul of the electoral rolls should be undertaken only when the next Assembly election is at least five years away. This, they said, would allow Commission representatives to verify voters through door-to-door visits rather than through a documentation-based process that had never been adopted in the past.

“Judges do not live in ivory towers. You too are aware of what is happening on the ground. The legacy media is largely compromised, but there are many independent platforms that are still speaking truth to power,” the letter said. At the same time, the Opposition maintained that it was not questioning the judiciary.

“When all else fails, people still repose their trust in the judiciary. So when the judiciary fails to respond, it indicates a complete breakdown of the Republic,” the letter said.

Electoral democracy in our country faces the gravest of threats from the Modi-Shah regime.

On 28th June, 23 Opposition Parties along with an Independent MP wrote to the Hon’ble Chief Justice of India on the flawed SIR process, the partisan role of the Election Commission of India.

— K C Venugopal (@kcvenugopalmp) July 3, 2026

Courtesy **The Hindu**, July 03, 2026. 🌈

UN statement on SIR:

PALAIS DES NATIONS • 1211 GENEVA 10, SWITZERLAND

Across the 12 States and Union Territories, approximately 52 million names have allegedly been removed, with West Bengal particularly affected, where a total of 9.1 million names were reportedly deleted from the register. Affected individuals of the second phase report being wrongfully excluded despite having provided valid identification. Muslim voters were reportedly disproportionately impacted by the SIR process. In one constituency, namely Nandigram, allegedly 95 per cent of the deleted voters were Muslims, even though Muslims only make up 25 per cent of the constituency's electorate. The affected constituency in Nandigram reportedly includes men, women, and elderly citizens who are Indian nationals with valid identity documents. They have sought redress through domestic remedies, including recourse to the ECI and judicial review by the Supreme Court of India, which declined to stay the process on 6 April 2026. Minor spelling inconsistencies in documents – reportedly common across India due to administrative challenges – are allegedly used as a pretext for the deletion of voter names. The administrative exercise in Bihar reportedly also caused alarm over potential large-scale disenfranchisement and denationalization, particularly of Muslims and other minorities.

Further concerns have been raised by the alleged use of an AI-driven system that flagged “irregularities” in voter data, raising concerns about transparency, errors, and potential bias.

On 16 April 2026, following several petitions, the Supreme Court, using its special powers under Article 142 of the Constitution, reportedly allowed voters in West Bengal who were removed from electoral rolls to regain their voting rights if their appeals were approved by appellate tribunals before 21 April 2026 and 27 April 2026 ahead of the two-phase Assembly elections scheduled for

23 and 29 April 2026. The Court reportedly directed the ECI to update

supplementary voter lists accordingly, ensuring eligible voters could participate, while reportedly indicating that those with pending appeals would not be allowed to vote.

In the context of the SIR process, statements were reportedly made by politicians and senior public figures of the Government, which appear to reflect and reinforce a pattern of discriminatory rhetoric directed at Muslim, Bengali, and other minority communities. Senior Government officials, including the Union Home Minister, have reportedly publicly framed the deletion of voter names as targeting “illegal Bangladeshi immigrants” – rhetoric that conflates legitimate Indian Muslim citizens with foreign nationals. It is reported that there has been repeated invocation of this framing by the highest levels of the executive, including the characterization of the SIR as a mechanism to ‘purify’ electoral rolls of infiltrators⁴.

It is also reported that, before Parliament, the Home Minister framed the State administered electoral process in terms of the removal of a religious community,

<https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=2139342®=3&lang=24> <https://eparlib.sansad.in/bitstream/123456789/3018690/1/4608.pdf>

expressed through the policy formula ‘Detect, Delete and Deport’⁵.

While we do not wish to prejudge the accuracy of these allegations, and having regard to the repeated concerns expressed by the Special Procedures over the past years, we express concern about the fact that the above-mentioned allegation may amount to serious violations of multiple human rights obligations. We

are particularly concerned by the way in which the SIR process has been conducted, notably the reported removal of millions of voters names from electoral rolls, potentially affecting a great number of Muslims and persons of Bengali descent, as well as other minorities, who may be wrongfully excluded from the updated electoral rolls because of their historical and continuing treatment as foreigners and illegal immigrants, notably in West Bengal.

We are further concerned by the discriminatory rhetoric by politicians and senior public figures of the Government in the context of the SIR exercise, which could amount to potential incitement to discrimination within the meaning of article 20(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by India on 10 April 1979. This article prohibits any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence. We are concerned that the rhetoric used by authorities may serve to construct Muslim citizens as presumptively foreign, criminal and undeserving of civic rights, without any individualized determination of their legal status, in a manner incompatible with the non-discrimination obligations of articles 2 and 26 of the ICCPR.

We further recall that the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief has affirmed that religions, beliefs, or their followers must not be instrumentalized to incite hatred and violence, including for electoral purposes or political gains, and has specifically noted that public acts of intolerance are more common in times of political tension, such as elections, and must be condemned by States.

We note with grave concern that the framing of a State-administered electoral process in terms of the removal of a religious community risks constituting, at minimum, an official endorsement of discriminatory attitudes toward Muslim citizens, and may further amount to the instrumentalization of State administrative

machinery for the purpose of political targeting of a religious minority, in violation of the obligations of the Government of India under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), ratified by India on 3, December 1968, and against the spirit of the 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.

We are also concerned by reports of the alleged use of an AI-driven system that flagged “irregularities” in voter data, raising serious issues related to transparency, errors, and potential bias. The use of AI-driven systems in the SIR process risks having disenfranchised legitimate voters, undermining democratic fairness, and raising concerns about the reliability of automated decision-making in such a high-stakes context.

5 As reported by DD News, operated by India’s statutory public service broadcaster, Prasar Bharati:

<https://ddnews.gov.in/en/modi-governments-anti-infiltration-3d-policy-is-detect-delete-and-deport-amit-shah/>

Finally, while we note the Supreme Court’s decision aimed at balancing fairness and electoral integrity, we are concerned that a massive voter revision exercise involving over 3.4 million appeals has placed immense pressure on tribunals to resolve cases rapidly for the election processes. The short timeframe and sheer scale of the appeals meant to be resolved before the deadlines set by the Court on 21 and 27 April 2026 appear to have led to the exclusion of millions of eligible citizens from the elections in West Bengal.

In connection with the alleged facts and concerns, please refer to the Annex on Reference to international human rights law attached to this letter, which cites international human rights instruments and standards relevant to these allegations.

(To be continued.....)

Thoughts of M.N. Roy on Radical Humanism and Democracy

Dr. K.J. Sibi

INTRODUCTION

M.N. Roy's radical humanism tries to place a human being in the right perspective and proposes to develop the complete personality of all citizens in the country. Radical humanism has focused on man, society, and nation. India is very anxious to know why these renowned systems of the world, such as the capitalist system and communist system continuously fail in the practical sense. Humanity has experimented and experienced communist ideology and capitalist ideology.

India has a glorious tradition of culture and philosophy. Western ideologies are unfit to the Indian context. Problems, which we face today, are the result of blind following of western ideologies in our country. Our country needs an alternative to these failed systems of the world.

Radical humanism has rooted in the scientific understanding of human beings. Every country has its own historical, socio-economic situation; remedies imported from other parts of the world cannot fit the Indian situation. It is illogical that the successful implementation of one ideology can work in another country. For example, the basic organic activity is the same in all human beings of the world. The medicines are helpful to cure the disease of the persons in England. The same medicine cannot work in the persons of our country.

Diseases normally depend upon the climate, water, and dietary habit and hereditary. External symptoms may be similar but the same medicine cannot cure all persons in the world. We adopt illogical and impractical ideologies in our country and crying for a permanent remedy. We are always looking in the west

for the remedy. We are in such a situation that we sit on the golden treasure and we always look outside for developing the nation.

The experiment and experience in the life of M.N. Roy are a golden treasure before us. He was the founder of the Communist Party of India and the follower of western political philosophy, Marxism in India. When Marxism entered in our country, Mahatma Gandhi had formulated his

philosophy, Gandhism. Modern political thought in India has largely influenced by the interaction of diverse political ideas. M.N. Roy's political philosophy, Radical Humanism can study as an amalgamation of moral, non-violent, and truthfulness of Gandhism and scientific and rational approach of Marxism. Roy's Radical Humanism founded on the materialistic and spiritual point of view. His materialism has based on scientific temper. His spiritualism does not have any relation to religion. According to M.N. Roy, the rationality of man comes from reason in nature, and man's moral sense derives from his rationality. M.N. Roy emphatically rejects religious supernaturalism.

In the later period of his life after a close study of the practical failure of Marxism all over the world, he had lost his faith in Marxism. Roy's radical humanism is an attempt to find a final remedy to the real problems of the world. When the influence of Marxism was declining, all over the world indicate that M.N. Roy was a forerunner and great visionary of the world. The failure of communism in Russia now has convinced us that the ultimate cause of problems cannot trace to the economic factor only. The ultimate key to man's progress is his urge for freedom and reason. Man's rationality

and urge for freedom are the basic features of human nature. These urges have normally not seen at the conscious level of many people. M.N. Roy categorically said that these urges for freedom are the most basic human urge. Communism crushes the basic urge of the human being. Owing to this reason, M.N. Roy had started to re-examine the communist theories even though he had earlier accepted communism as his philosophy. He witnessed that the way communism had established in Russia, he could not agree with them. He found that it was a regime of tyranny and slavery. Stalin had entirely discarded the moral leadership of the progressive forces in Russia. He did not blame any leader for the misdirection of the communism. He tried to find out the root cause of the communist philosophy from which Stalin and his fellow leaders operate their actions. Lastly, he found communism's negligence of man as an individual. "Man had been reduced to the position of a helpless pawn in the hands of blind economic forces and an insignificant unit in the broad collectivity of a class. He was denied independence as well as sovereignty." (V B Karnik, M.N. Roy, 85) He understood that neither capitalism nor communism could find any solution to settle the problems of the man. M.N. Roy had long experience in Europe and witnessed defects of parliamentary democracy in the political and economic fields. Communism advocated a dictatorship of the proletariat and centralized planning as a remedy to solve the defects of parliamentary democracy in Europe. Communism made man as a slave to the state under the dictatorship of the party leader. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Russia had undergone through the dictatorship of Stalin. Therefore, he contemplated to look beyond communism and formulated a school of thought, which would guarantee the freedom and complete development of man under political and

economic institutions. M.N. Roy proposed the organized democracy and co-operative economy as a solution to the crisis. For this purpose, there should be a philosophical foundation for both organized democracy and co-operative economy. His newly formed philosophy, Radical humanism can lay a foundation for organizing democracy and co-operative economy.

The freedom of man has the most important value in radical humanism. All human values are derived from this fundamental value. M.N. Roy defined the concept of freedom:

The function of life is to live. The basic incentive of organic becoming is the struggle for survival. It goes on throughout the long process of biological evolution until in man it becomes the conscious urge for freedom-the supreme human value. The beginning of man's endless struggle for freedom lies in the animal struggle for survival. Everything that man has done every one of his acts, cultural progress, scientific achievements, artistic creation-everything has been motivated by that one urge. Man is finite, while the universe is infinite, and his environment, in the last analysis, is the whole universe. Consequently, his struggle for freedom is eternal; he can never conquer the universe. Therefore, the urge for freedom is the only eternal thing in the human world. This urge enables man to acquire knowledge; he conquers his environment by knowing. (M.N. Roy, *New Orientation*, p.23)

As a philosophy, radical humanism covers the complete activity and existence of man from his abstract thought to social and political reconstruction. According to this philosophy, the universe is a law-governed system and man is an integral part of the physical universe. Therefore, man is essentially rational. The reason in man is a reflection of the harmony of the universe. Man is moral because he is rational. When rationality is developing, morality grows in man. According to Roy, "The

social struggle for human progress, the entire process of human evolution is nothing but the continuation of the struggle for existence on a higher level, where that struggle is no longer guided by instinct and natural selection but by intelligence, choice, and reasoning.”

(M.N. Roy, *Science and Philosophy*, p.23)

In the past, it was impossible to understand the relationship between nature and man but now modern science resolved this difficulty.

Therefore, understanding radical humanism can go to the root cause of every problem and resolve them scientifically. Therefore, M.N. Roy has formulated a new scientific humanism in his last stage of life after scientific analysis of human nature. Man is selfish and self-centered as well as social and cooperative at the same time. M.N. Roy had considered the dual nature of man very seriously. All social and economic problems can solve through mutual co-operation. The recognition of this mutual sustenance and cooperation is the core point of Roy’s philosophy. Mutual sustenance and cooperation is the basic characteristic of modern civilization. For building modern civilized India, India needs to spread the humanistic ideology of M.N. Roy. His political philosophy has a humanistic approach to solve the problems of human beings. Indian Constitution assures the sovereign right to the citizens of our country, but our democracy has somewhere failed to keep a humanistic approach in its practical sense. India can do miraculous results through a better understanding of the Radical Humanism. The public can access Social Justice and Economic Justice through the humanistic approach without violence. The radical humanism and democracy should integrate into the mainstream of our national life.

Radical humanism is the connecting thread to resolve the problems amicably. M.N. Roy’s philosophy stands on the concept of dignity, freedom, and human values. The individual

development is preferred to society and individuals can enjoy the freedom in society. Therefore, radical humanism can save our radical democracy and basic principles of liberty, fraternity, equality, and justice in our constitution. The future of democracy is depending upon the qualitative and quantitative human development and its management. There is a need to expand and spread the political philosophy, radical Humanism.

In the final stage of M.N. Roy’s life, he was against the party-cracy and the hollowness of our democratic practice without providing social and economic justice to all. M.N. Roy’s contribution to the Indian political scene has been either underscored or neglected. In reality, his ideas and vast experience all over the world as a political thinker and revolutionary and successful participation in many revolutions of the world but he failed in his motherland. His dreams of developing a strong, prosperous, civilized, rational, secular, and humanistic democracy remained an unfulfilled dream.

His writings in English have immense relevance and value today in the present national scenario. Through his intellectual analysis, he discovered the deficiencies and inadequacies in the system and predicted the dangers of practicing party-based politics. The present scenario of socio-economic life in India is underlined the fears of M.N. Roy. Therefore, the thought of M.N. Roy can save our country from the problems of the whirlpool. Radical Humanism must spread into the vein of every nook and corner of the country and every political worker, and then only the disillusioned conditions of dirty party politics in India shall be purified. Radical Humanism can lead the nation towards the path of truth and sustenance of development.

CONCLUSION

For the disease in each place in the nation, remedy suitable to that place must be sought. Many remedies have found, but they are not

functioning because the remedies are not from within. Democracy grants individual liberty, but that democracy is used by the capitalist system for the exploitation of the masses and monopoly on people.

Socialism was brought in to end exploitation, but it destroyed the freedom, dignity, and individuality. We have adopted the slogans of Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality in our Constitution. For producing equality, we cannot sacrifice the fraternity and liberty of others. Equality has no value without fraternity or liberty. Radical Humanism can enable the citizens of our country to access the three without hurting each other. No system of the world has until this date brought all the three. However, in M.N. Roy's political philosophy, Radical humanism

can solve this conundrum and achieve all three- Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

References:

- [1] Roy, M N. New Orientation, Calcutta: Renaissance Publishers, 1946. Print.
- [2] Roy, M N. Science and Philosophy, Calcutta: Renaissance Publishers, 1947. Print.
- [3] Roy, Samaren. The Restless Brahmin, Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1970. Print.
- [4] Karnik, V B. M.N. Roy, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2005.

Dr. K.J. Sibi is Assistant Professor in English, Shivprasad Sadanand Jaiswal College, Arjuni-Morgaon, Gondia, Maharashtra, India. 

THE RADICAL HUMANIST SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Revised w.e.f. 1 August 2024

In SAARC Countries:

For one year - Rs. 300.00

For two years - Rs. 550.00

For three years - Rs. 800.00

Life subscription- Rs. 4000.00

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The people of this country have a right to know every public act, everything, that is done in a public way, by their public functionaries. They are entitled to know the particulars of every public transaction in all its bearing."

Justice K.K. Mathew, former Judge, Supreme Court of India, (1975)

The RSS Takes Foreign Money Too. Why Doesn't the Government Question It?

The Modi regime's wariness of foreign-funded NGOs does not extend to the RSS.

What Sardar Patel thought about the shadowy character of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is further reinforced in today's India; as Union home minister, Patel had banned the RSS. Can Priyank Kharge, the home minister of Karnataka, live up to that powerful image of the Iron Man of India and make the RSS accountable again?

Well, there is a striking difference between the two scenarios. In 1948, the RSS was another sundry organisation; though it had a reasonably high support base, it had no political heft. So when RSS was declared unlawful by Patel, no political party came forward to register their protest. In fact, most in the country cheered the decision.

Today, in 2026, the RSS controls the government of India. It has installed its once errand boy, Narendra Modi, on the prime ministerial chair. All those of any consequence in the ruling dispensation today routinely declare their unflinching loyalty to the Sangh parivar.

So banning the RSS is not a feasible idea. What needs to be done is to highlight the goings-on in the shadowy organisation. People of the country need to be reminded how Patel had fathomed the dubious character of this opaque set-up and had minced no words in saying so.

Kharge must be complimented for helping initiate a discussion on the RSS's murky past and its questionable present.

Growing political clout has made RSS legally unfettered

The RSS's past was indeed murky; its anti-national character was self-evident to the freedom fighters of our country. While Gandhi's millions were sacrificing their lives and livelihood to gain freedom from British rule, the RSS men were openly, unabashedly, acting as cheerleaders for the colonial masters. The British

used the RSS to snoop down on the activists of the freedom movement. The Sangh had denounced Gandhi as an appeaser of Muslims and an enemy of Hindus.

No wonder, when Mahatma was assassinated by Nathuram Godse, a zealot anti-Muslim Hindu Mahasabha activist, the role of the RSS came under the lens. To escape retribution, then wily chief of the RSS, M.S. Golwalkar, issued a condolence message saying: "Shocked at this cruel fatal attack and tragic loss of (sic) greatest personality."

That's not all; to pre-empt any punitive action, Golwalkar sent messages to both Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and home minister Patel condemning the brutal assassination; in those messages, he used uncharacteristic superlatives for Gandhiji. Sample this: 'Nathuram Godse is a thoughtless perverted soul who had committed the heinous act of putting a sudden and ghastly end to the life of *poojya Mahatmaji* by the bullet.'

But Patel was not persuaded; he had seen through the dubious character of the RSS. That found expression in the government circular. The notification issued by the home ministry that banned the RSS three days after Gandhi's assassination brought to light the sharp contrast between what the RSS professed and what it practised.

The notification said: "The professed aims and objects of the RSS are to promote the



N.R. Mohanty

physical, intellectual and moral well-being of the Hindus and also to foster feelings of brotherhood, love and service amongst them... The government has, however, noticed with regret that in practice members of the RSS have not adhered to their professed ideals. Undesirable and even dangerous activities have been carried out by members of the Sangh who have indulged in acts of violence involving arson, robbery, dacoity, and murder and have collected illicit arms and ammunition. They have been found circulating leaflets exhorting people to resort to terrorist methods.”

The home ministry circular was categorical that all this had “made it incumbent on the government to deal with the Sangh in its corporate capacity.”

Trainees of the ‘Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh’ (RSS) carry out a ‘Path Sanchalan’ march during the ‘Karyakarta Vikas Varga Dwitiya’, in Nagpur on Saturday, May 23, 2026. Photo: PTI.

Nothing much has changed about the basic nature and the character of the RSS since then; the only difference is that during the last eight decades, the RSS has grown into a behemoth; its shadowy activities have multiplied manifold and its growing political clout has made it legally unfettered.

RSS’s war chest is flush with foreign money

Kharge touched the raw nerve when he asked: where does the RSS get the funding from? A proper inquiry will yank the fig leaf away from the standard RSS response that all its income is sourced from guru dakshina of its members. Why must it not submit its statement of account to the government? The quotidian response has been that since it does not receive any institutional donations, foreign or domestic, it’s not legally bound to declare it to any authority.

But that should not cut ice. After all, the Students’ Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) which was banned by the government

of India, rightly so, used to claim that it was funded by the contributions of its members and it was not accountable to any government authority as regards its finances. But the government of the day didn’t accept this facile explanation and rightly cracked down on it.

The RSS is the flip side of the SIMI. If the latter indulged in vicious minority communalism, the former is the unvarnished flag-bearer of majority communalism. Why should it be kept at a different pedestal? Is it just because it masquerades majoritarianism as nationalism?

We all know that SIMI was funded by anti-India forces of Pakistan. Similarly, there has been veritable evidence – provided by a slew of investigative reports – that the RSS has been garnering a lot of its resources from abroad, often from dodgy sources.

The South Asia Citizens Web, in an explosive report titled ‘The Foreign Exchange of Hate: IDRF and the American Funding of Hindutva’ in 2002 drew our attention to the funding of Hindutva operations in India. It focused on just one US organisation called India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF), a Maryland-based US charity.

The report provided documentary evidence as to how IDRF funds were disbursed to RSS-linked organisations whose primary work was religious ‘conversion’ and ‘Hinduisation’ in poor and remote tribal and rural areas of India.

This report documented the case of one IDRF beneficiary, the Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram in Gujarat, and its extensive involvement in anti-Christian violence including the physical destruction of Christian institutions — schools, colleges, churches and cemeteries.

Further, the report stated: “Secondary documentation also exists to show that the same Hindutva organisations involved in anti-Christian violence of 1998-2000 were also involved in the Gujarat carnage of 2002 where, by most reliable accounts, more than 2000 people, mostly Muslims, were massacred.”

It gave documented proof that the IDRF had sent more than \$3 million to the RSS bodies between 1995 and 2002.

Frontline in its July-2021 report 'Sangh parivar's US funds trail' also gave exhaustive details on how large amounts of money flowed to the kitty of the RSS's affiliated bodies from the US-based Hindu organisations.

The same report also quoted from a report of a British group called *Awaaz* titled 'In Bad Faith: British Charity and Hindu Extremism'. It revealed that the U.K. wing of Sewa International (an RSS-linked body) had raised millions of pounds under the garb of providing relief to the 2001 Gujarat earthquake victims. But funds were funnelled to RSS fronts. Lord Adam Patel, a then British Labour Party member and a Sewa patron, had castigated the organisation as racist after learning about its links with the RSS.

The People's Democracy, a Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)) organ, in its January 2026 issue, published the findings of a combined research report of Paris-based Ceri-SciencesPo and Delhi based *Caravan* magazine. It provided evidence that an outfit called Support a Child USA, affiliated to Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) USA, has been providing funding to RSS-supported organisations in India. In fact, the report referred to many foreign-based RSS affiliates collecting funds from donors in the country they were based in and channeling them to various RSS-linked outfits in India.

Foreign funding – the mainstay for many large and small NGOs that routinely show

the mirror to the government – has caused mayhem for these public-spirited organisations as the state has swooped down on them for 'fomenting trouble with easy money'. But the Modi regime's wariness of foreign-funded NGOs does not extend to the RSS.

Come to think of it: the RSS's war chest is flush with foreign money. And it's obvious to everyone that the RSS uses its financial and organisational heft to wage nation-wide hate campaigns against the minorities. Isn't it the right time to officially scrutinise the funding of the Saffron Brotherhood?

N.R. Mohanty is a senior journalist and a former editor of Hindustan Times, Patna.

Courtesy **The Wire**, 02/Jul/2026. 🌈

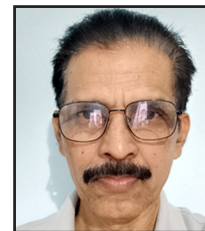
Poem:

The Sunset of Life

(Saseendran Kakkodi)

We do not retire from life itself,
We only retire from our daily work.
Those wrinkles are not lines of defeat,
But the triumphant sagas written by life.
Those silver strands of hair are not just signs of aging,
But the shining light of pure experience.
They sowed the seeds of hardship and sacrifice,
To harvest new dreams for us to reap.
They are our elders—the guiding lights,
The grand universities of tomorrow's wisdom.
Age is never a heavy burden,
Realize that it is an honour bestowed by life.
When fierce storms and crippling illnesses
Drew close to consume their very existence,
Unshaken and undaunted, they stood tall,
Blazing like fire through the trials of time.
Let us offer them solace and gentle comfort,
In the quiet twilight of their profound lives.
Forgive us, O Time! For we are the ones who grew up
Cradled and lulled by your compassionate arms...
Do not let the stray shadows of neglect or wrongdoing
Put out the glorious light of their remaining life.

Saseendran Kakkodi, Phone: 9037491658 🌈



Subaltern Voices in the Digital Age: How Social Media Challenges Old Stories Inspired by Professor Partha Chatterjee

Dr. Mahamudul Hasan Gayen

Many years ago, the great Indian thinker Partha Chatterjee explained how power works in countries that became free after colonial rule. Even after the foreign rulers left, new leaders such as politicians, government officers, and educated elites created their own rules about which stories were important. They decided what problems mattered and whose voices should be heard. The common people like landless farmers, factory workers, and tribal groups losing their homes were pushed aside. These ordinary people lived in their own separate world of politics and struggled hard to make the powerful listen to them. The rich and powerful group known as civil society spoke a different language of laws, newspapers, and official news that felt far away from real life.

But today everything is changing fast because of social media. The old gatekeepers who controlled the stories are losing their power. Ordinary people now have smartphones and easy access to platforms like X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, Facebook, etc. These platforms work like a big open public square where anyone can speak freely. The voices that were ignored for a long time can now tell their own stories directly to the world without asking for permission.

Professor Chatterjee showed that powerful people stay in control by deciding what is normal and by silencing others. They make big projects like dams seem more important than the rights of forests and local tribes. They often label protests as anti-national or not worth attention. Traditional media usually supports this system by giving very little space to these issues. A protest in a faraway place might get only a short

mention in the news without showing the real pain and struggles of the people involved.

Social media breaks this old system completely. It gives people the power to define themselves in their own words. A person from the Dalit community can now post videos and photos right away on X about unfair treatment because of caste. They use special hashtags to connect with thousands of others across the country. They no longer need to wait for a television news anchor to decide if their story is important enough.

Consider a farmer in Punjab sitting on his tractor during a large protest. He goes live on Instagram and shows the world his daily struggles, his hopes, and his strong determination. This direct view fights against official stories that call the protesters troublemakers. People see his real face and hear his own honest words. It feels much more powerful and truthful than filtered news reports.

Indigenous and tribal communities in central India or in the Amazon rainforest use YouTube to upload videos of their lands being threatened by mining companies or big factories. These videos reach millions of people around the world. People in other countries see the problems and offer support. Governments find it harder to ignore this kind of international attention.

This process is not just about posting random opinions. It is about saving real-life experiences that official history often forgets or hides away. When a young woman from a minority group records an incident of street harassment on her phone and shares it online, she creates strong proof. This challenges the smooth official story that everything is fine and peaceful in society.

Many such posts together build a large collection of real testimonies that show the true picture.

On Instagram people create photo stories about old traditional crafts that are slowly dying because of modern factories and competition. These posts capture the deep sadness of losing cultural heritage in a way that dry government reports can never do. TikTok videos from big city slums show jokes, strong friendships, music, dancing, and daily courage. This breaks the single negative story that presents poor people only as a problem that needs fixing by the rich.

A powerful recent example is the Cockroach Janta Party, also known as CJP. This started as a joke on social media after a top judge compared unemployed young people to cockroaches. A young man named Abhijeet Dipke turned this insult into a strong movement. Using Instagram and other platforms, the CJP quickly gained millions of followers. Young people who felt ignored by the education system and government came together online. They shared stories of exam paper leaks, job struggles, and broken promises. Soon this digital voice moved to real protests at Jantar Mantar in Delhi. Hundreds of young supporters camped there, demanding the education minister resign. Even when police tried to stop them, the movement continued. This shows how social media helps ordinary youth, who are often seen as powerless, to build a big voice and challenge the powerful elites directly.

Of course, this new digital public square is not a perfect place. It is loud, messy, and sometimes unsafe. The same phones and apps that help weaker groups can also spread hate speech, fake news, and dangerous lies very quickly. Powerful people and governments have learned to fight back strongly. They hire teams of online trolls to attack and threaten activists. They spread their own propaganda to bury the true voices under noise. The old elites are no longer just gatekeepers but have become active fighters in this online battle of stories.

Even with these problems the big change cannot be reversed easily. The old monopoly on telling stories is broken forever. Subaltern people who were once at the bottom no longer beg at the doors of civil society for attention. They now build their own platforms, find their own listeners, and create new friendships and connections across long distances. A movement for land rights in Odisha in India can quickly learn useful tactics and connect with a similar struggle in Peru in South America. This creates a new kind of connected political community that spreads ideas and support across borders. It is something even Professor Chatterjee might not have fully imagined in his earlier writings.

We can clearly see the power of this change by looking at how scared authoritarian governments react to it. They ban popular apps, slow down the internet on purpose, or create strict laws against fake news that are actually used to arrest real activists. These desperate actions prove how strong the new voices from the margins have become. Trying to rebuild the old walls of control is becoming very difficult in the age of the internet.

As ordinary citizens living in this time our job is to learn how to live wisely in this noisy world full of many different stories. We need to develop better skills to tell the difference between truth and lies. We must make an effort to listen carefully to voices coming from the edges even when there is too much noise all around. We should always remember that the old clean and single national story was never completely true. Real life has always been complicated with many different experiences that sometimes disagree with each other.

The digital age has not made everyone completely equal yet. Poor people still face big problems with money, education, electricity, and internet access. But it has given a loud and clear voice to those who could only speak softly among themselves before. They are now talking straight to the whole world in their own language

and on their own terms without depending on others.

Professor Partha Chatterjee spent many years of his life pointing out the silence of the subaltern groups. In reality they were never completely silent. Society was simply not listening properly to them. Today with social media we have no more excuses. We can hear these voices clearly if we choose to pay attention and care.

Social media has helped many real movements grow stronger. During large farmer protests in India thousands of people used their phones to share live updates, poems, songs, and personal stories from the ground. This created huge public support and put real pressure on the government to listen. In other parts of the world movements like Black Lives Matter grew very fast on Twitter and brought global focus to issues of police violence against Black communities. Women in many countries used hashtags like MeToo to share their painful experiences of harassment and assault. This created a worldwide conversation that led to changes in laws and workplace rules.

Tribal groups in India have made videos about their forest rights struggles and uploaded them on YouTube. This forced government officials to respond and explain their actions. Young people from minority language communities make short and fun videos that teach old words and traditions to newer generations so the culture does not disappear. Artists living in small villages now sell their crafts directly to buyers through Instagram shops. This helps them earn better without depending on middlemen who take most of the profit.

There are still real dangers that we must face honestly. Fake news can spread very fast and sometimes create real violence between communities. The algorithms used by social media platforms often push extreme content because it keeps people watching longer.

Governments use new tools for surveillance and sudden internet shutdowns. The gap between those who have good internet and those who do not remains wide especially in villages and among older people.

To make this digital space better we all need to work together. Schools should teach media literacy so young people learn how to check facts and think critically. Social media companies should improve their systems for fair content moderation without silencing important truths. Governments must protect the right to free speech while also taking action against real harm and violence. Activists need to build strong support networks both online and in real life to protect each other.

In the end social media has opened the old closed gates wide. Subaltern voices are now narrating their own histories and shaping the future in their own ways. This quiet revolution inspired by deep ideas from thinkers like Partha Chatterjee shows that democracy can become deeper, fairer, and more truly inclusive than ever before. The future depends on all of us. We must listen carefully, speak responsibly, and use these powerful new tools for greater justice, understanding, and human connection.

References:

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton University Press, 1993.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. Columbia University Press, 2004.

Chatterjee, Partha. *Lineages of Political Society: Studies in Postcolonial Democracy*, Columbia University Press, 2011.

Reports and examples from farmer protests, MeToo, indigenous rights campaigns, and the Cockroach Janta Party (CJP) movement on platforms like Instagram and YouTube.

Dr. Mahamudul Hasan Gayen is Guest Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Basanti Devi College, Kolkata. 

The Humanist Frame

The New Medicine and Its Responsibilities

Robert Platt

(Summarized by : **Vinod Jain**)

Introduction: The New Medicine

I want to emphasize what Julian Huxley has called the 'knowledge explosion' of the last half-century; and to make and defend the statement that almost all is valuable in medical treatment today has been discovered during my lifetime, and indeed since I graduated.

I remember when motor-cars were rare enough in Hampstead for my brother and me to walk on the other side of the road if we saw one in case it would blow up. Of course the machine age was already more than a hundred years old and our annual train journeys from London to Scotland were accomplished in much the same time as they would take today.

The methods of clinical observation and interrogation on which medical diagnosis initially still rests go back to Hippocrates, and after a long period in which much of medicine was again governed by magic and superstition, the clinical methods were revived and developed by the great physicians of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; men like Sydenham, Heberden and Richard Bright. It is true that modern methods of medical research started with Harvey, and that the medicine of my time rests on the physiological and bacteriological discoveries of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with which we associate names such as Claude Bernard, Pasteur and Koch and more recently Starling, Bayliss, J.S. Haldane and Sherrington. Preventive medicine, though in a primitive way it goes back to prehistoric times, started on its modern course over a hundred years ago, with Chadwick and Snow. Modern medical thought, moreover, has been greatly influenced by discoveries in physics and chemistry, and also

more recently by biological, genetic and statistical enquiry initiated by men like Darwin, Mendel and Galten. Modern surgery was made possible in the nineteenth century by the discovery of anaesthesia and by Lister's application of bacteriology. I hold that modern medicine is a matter of the last fifty years or so. During that short time the daily work and thought of a physician has undergone a revolution such as has never been known before.

Looking back to 1920 when I was a medical student the striking thing was the discrepancy between what a physician knew and what he could do for his patients. Bacteriology had already led to a much clearer understanding of disease than was possible earlier. Pneumonia in the elderly was nearly always fatal. Such was still the case until the introduction of sulphonamides about 1935. Streptomycin (1947) helped in tuberculosis. Aseptic measures made sepsis a rarity. Diphtheria, cerebrospinal meningitis and bacterial endocarditis are other microbial disorders has been completely altered since the introduction of sulphonamides and the antibiotics.

In 1920 the surgeons were somewhat more advanced than the physicians, for their aseptic technique enabled them to open the abdomen and more rarely the cranium. Successful operations were carried out daily for emergencies such as intestinal obstruction and appendicitis, for the repair of hernia.

It was not only in bacterial disease that the physician's therapeutic powers were so meagre. Almost all metabolic and endocrine disease is today treatable, either by medical

measures alone or by combined attack from physician and surgeon.

The Patient's Mind

It is extraordinary how very recent is the introduction of the psychiatrist into the general hospital. The role of the psychiatrist was to deal with madness, and, like his patients, he was segregated to the asylum, where his duties were largely custodial. There were pioneers in this country such as Earnest Jones, and physicians like Arthur Hurst, who under the influence of Freud and others had already begun to investigate and treat neurotic illnesses by psychological methods.

The art of medicine always recognized that man was the product of his genetic endowment and his environment, that he had a psyche as well as a soma, that he must be treated as a whole. The new emphasis is only in part due to psychiatry, and has been greatly accelerated by the social revolution of our time.

Ignorance Remains

I have not exaggerated the advances in medicine which have taken place in my professional lifetime, but I must not leave the impression that there is little left to learn. In every branch of medicine there is still far more ignorance than knowledge as we get nearer to fundamentals..... There are the constitutional diseases from which most of us will sooner or later die; arterial disorders, including high blood pressure and coronary thrombosis, and cancer. These mostly attack people beyond the reproductive age, though occasionally malignant conditions like leukaemia and certain tumours attack children, and constitute some of the most piteous conditions which parents, doctors and nurses have to witness.

The main preoccupation of medicine and psychiatry should be to find ways of keeping aging people independent and useful as long as possible, and giving them the kind of occupation most suited to their talents.

Researches with these ends in view are active at the present time.

The Doctor's Responsibility

The new medicine, still so young, makes our profession far more satisfying and interesting than it has ever been before, but brings certain new responsibilities and new conflicts. Until quite recently when all you could do for most medical complaints was to look wise and sympathetic, to give advice about rest in bed and diet, and prescribe some harmless mixture, it did not really matter whether your diagnosis was right or wrong, except of course for your own reputation. Nature rather than the doctor would determine the out-come.

Human Experiment

Medical science has brought other responsibilities and raised new ethical questions. Human Experiment has for long been amongst the responsibilities of the medical profession; every operation has once been performed for the first time; every new remedy has passed through a stage of trial, when its dangers were unknown; many of the more advanced diagnostic measures, essential in the investigation of serious disease, carry with them their own dangers, and these also have been used for the first time during some stage of their development. The answer as to what is justifiable must depend on all the circumstances.

The Future of Individual Medicine

With expanding knowledge and the development of new techniques, specialization in medicine is bound to increase. This gives rise to certain difficulties but most of them can be overcome if specialists in different branches of medicine work closely together, sharing their skills. The main work of most doctors is likely to remain as it is today, the personal care of individual patients; this is what attracts most people into medicine. The practising doctor's first loyalty is to his patient and it should triumph.

Practice of medicine, more than that of any other profession, is based on a system of ethics.

Positive Health

Can doctors, working as individuals or in groups, do more for individuals than attend to their ailments, mental or physical? Clearly by seizing the opportunity for health education they can do something towards keeping people well. This has worked satisfactorily in the case of maternity and child welfare services and in the school clinics. Is there a case for the regular inspection of adults?

Most acute illnesses cannot be prevented except by community measures (clean air, clean food, housing, sanitation, preventive inoculation and so forth). When they occur, acute illnesses usually announce their presence in no uncertain way by pain, fever and so on.

Health education should make people conscious of the necessity for seeking early advice about certain symptoms, and in some industries of course, regular routine inspection is necessary; but to invite regular preoccupation with the symptoms of disease in otherwise normal persons is doubtful wisdom.

Co-ordination between body and mind can of course be trained to a high degree of efficiency. This is one form of bodily fitness which in most people is accompanied by a sense of well-being. It does not, however, render the subject immune from illness; the young commando developed no protection from dysentery or malaria.

By far the greatest load of presentable illness and subnormal health comes from the mind, and better understanding and prevention of the factors which lead to maladjustment, frustration and unhappiness, is probably the most hopeful line of attack.

Medicine's Part in the Further Evolution of Man

The amazing progress in medical science

described earlier in this chapter has only been due to a small extent to practising doctors; most of it comes from medical scientists in laboratories, from chemists, pharmacologists, physicists: even the new techniques of surgery would be impossible without modern anaesthetics and antibiotics. This combination of science and medicine has enabled man to be very largely master of his environment as far as the ravages of epidemic disease are concerned, with the result that the dangers from over-population are only too clear. The doctor's duty is not, however, affected by this. Recent experiments with steroids which inhibit ovulation seem to suggest that the medical part of the problem is nearer solution than it was a few years ago.

Although human genetics is of great interest and importance, as stressed in the chapter 'The Human Future', man's future evolution will depend largely on the dissemination of ideas but in combination with the slower processes of biological variation and natural selection.

K. Mather in "The Listener" has made an analogy between genes and ideas and points out that they both influence evolution through the processes of variation and selection; but whereas genes are only conveyed vertically from generation to generation, ideas can spread laterally and much more quickly. To play some small part in evolution by the dissemination of ideas is the real purpose of this book.

Postscript: Medicine and Religion

A hundred years after Darwin and T.H. Huxley it seems remarkable that in conventional British society a disbelief in religious doctrine is something which has to be concealed or covertly explained lest the speaker or writer be thought of odd, blasphemous or otherwise socially unacceptable, and expose himself even to open attack. I must therefore explain that in this postscript I write solely for myself and because of the structures still imposed on free speech

I do not even know whether I voice the views of a substantial proportion of my profession.

Systems of religious belief and doctrine have often proved an impediment to evolution by the dissemination of ideas in the past, and as they may still do so in the future, it is perhaps a duty to say something of a point of view which a life dedicated to medicine has helped to mould. Much has been written on how medicine and the Church can work together: less has been heard of the outlook of what has been called scientific Humanism in its relation to medicine.

The fact that there are moral, spiritual, emotional, ethical and aesthetic values not amenable to measurement does not argue for or against any final cause. If the churchman is to seize upon the compassion and dedication of nurse and doctor as evidence of a benign deity he must also be prepared to be asked why the laws of heredity are the same as the laws of chance, and why suffering seems to be distributed fortuitously and widely throughout the human and animal kingdom. These are no new questions, but there is no escape from them, especially for the doctor, and they still remain unanswered by theologians although readily explained by evolution.

Man's suffering is now being alleviated by man himself; or if man is only working through some benign supernatural power, then how is

it that it was God's will that children suffering from tuberculosis meningitis should die until about 1947 since when it is his will that they should live? — a strangely capricious deity whose sudden change of heart coincided remarkably closely with the discovery of streptomycin. I would never take any step to lessen a patient's belief in his god, but I ask myself privately, if a god exists have I not been working against him rather than with him, for I have tried to use the means put into my hands by medical science to save the lives of those who were destined to die, while my paediatric and orthopaedic colleagues have tried to repair some of the handicaps which the dice of heredity serve out to little children. I cannot pass unchallenged the Church's tacit assumption that all that is good, moral and beautiful is its own exclusive right, and something which the unbeliever is unqualified to experience, for I have been trying to teach the ethics of medical practice for most of my life.

Finally, I must assert in the clearest terms that the Humanist and scientist is not a man deprived of feeling. Indeed he may, as I know only too well, be most uncomfortably endowed with a talent for sharing the grief of those who suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. 🌈

(To be continued.....)

Reader's Comments:

Hearty congratulations for your very courageous hard-hitting Editorial (July 2026 issue of the RH). If the last bastion goes, the country will be doomed for good. Hope, the custodians of the Constitution realize this and restore its illustrious image and public confidence in it.

– S.N. Shukla

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

- : Nelson Mandela



POSITIVE ATHEISM

The Philosophy of Gora & Saraswathi Gora

Positive Atheism is a **way of life**, not mere denial of god. Developed by **Gora**, it turns the rejection of god into **self-confidence**, **free will** and **social reform**, breaking the barriers of religion, caste, superstition and fate.



1 WHAT IS POSITIVE ATHEISM?

- Atheism is a **positive** philosophy, not just godlessness.
- Godlessness denies god; atheism asserts what follows, a free human life.
- Faith is placed in the **human**, not god, fate or an afterlife.
- Morality is a **social necessity**, not a passport to heaven.
- The goal is human dignity, equality and self-reliance.

2 TWO OPPOSITE FEELINGS

For Gora and Saraswathi, theism and atheism represent opposite state of the human beings:

THEISM

Human is subordinate to divine will, karma and fate, a feeling of **dependence**.



ATHEISM

Human Beings stands on their own legs by free will, a feeling of **independence**.

"Atheism is the manifestation of the feeling of freedom in the human being."

3 FREE WILL VS FATE

Gora replaced belief in destiny with human agency.

KARMA / FATE

- Actions are directed by free will, not karma.
- The "untouchable" is not fated; belief in fate is detrimental to society.
- To do good and to be good, god and religion are not necessary.
- *Jai Insaan* – Victory to the Human is the atheist slogan.

FREE WILL

4 ATHEISM & EQUALITY

Accepting atheism at once pulls down caste and religious barriers.

*"There is no longer a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian.
All are human beings."*

- Inter-caste, inter-religious and secular marriages.
- Fight against untouchability
- Secularism is not just tolerance, but total denial of religious beliefs through human outlook, scientific temper and critical thinking.

5 THEORY INTO ACTION

- 1 Reject god, fate & superstition.
- 2 Gain **self-confidence** & free will.
- 3 Break caste & religious barriers.
- 4 Build a **casteless**, and a **post religious** society.

6 LIFE & SOCIAL WORK

- Founded the **Atheist Centre** in 1940. Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh, India
- Held **cosmopolitan dinners** to break caste and religious divides.
- Debated Gandhi on atheism; recorded in *An Atheist with Gandhi*.
- Joined the **Quit India** movement; jailed for the freedom struggle.
- Hosted the first **World Atheist Conference** in 1972;
- Championed **party-less democracy** and **secular social reform**.
- Peace and Unity Marches for **Human Rights** and **social justice**.

7 MAJOR WORKS

- **Positive Atheism** (1972) — the essence of his thought
- **An Atheist with Gandhi**
- **We Become Atheists** (autobiography)
- **Atheism: Questions & Answers**
- **Partyless Democracy**
- **Atheist and Nasthika Margam** - Newsletters

"Godlessness is negative. It merely denies the existence of god. Atheism is positive; it asserts the condition that results from the denial of god." **GORA**

ATHEIST CENTRE

Benz Circle, Vijayawada 520010, Andhra Pradesh, India

EMAIL: positiveatheist@gmail.com & atheistcentre@yahoo.com. Web: www.atheistcentre.in Facebook: atheistcentre

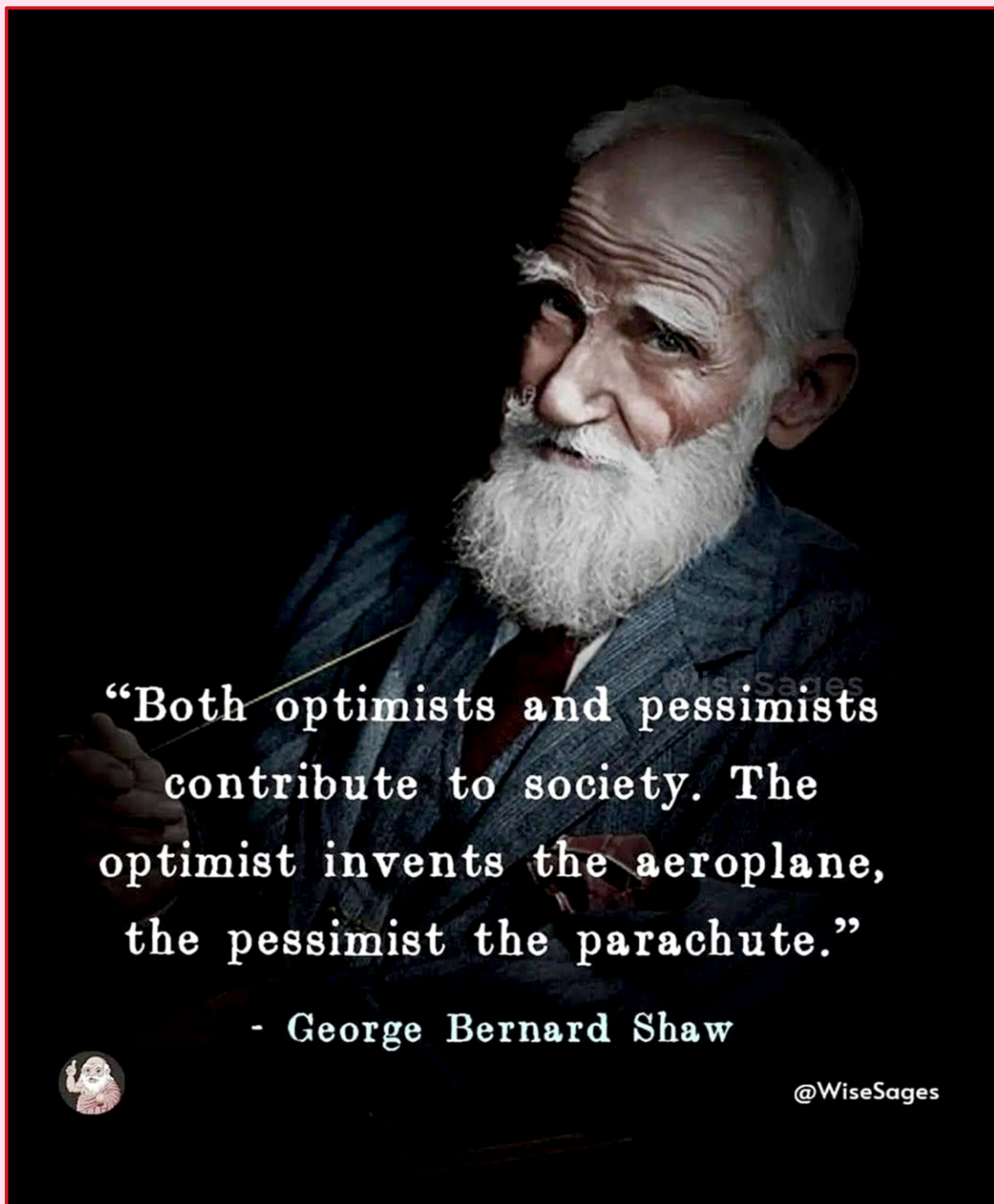
Postal Regn. No.: DL(E)- 20/5537/2024-26

Total Pages : 44

RNI No. 43049/85

Posting: 1-2 August 2026 at Krishna Nagar H.O. Delhi-51

Date of Pub.: 27-28 July 2026



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