## In defence of Harsh Mander: an Open Letter to the media

by constitutionalconduct

#### March 22, 2020

- 1. We are a group of retired civil servants belonging to the All-India and Central Services from all over India. As a group, we do not subscribe to any particular political ideology but rather, focus upon issues that have a bearing upon the Indian Constitution. We have been holding Conclaves and writing Open Letters on matters of concern since we came together as the Constitutional Conduct Group in May 2017.
- 2. We write this letter to bring to the notice of the general public how the Solicitor General (SG) of India has sought to mislead the Honorable Supreme Court (SC) in the matter of Harsh Mander's speech at Jamia Millia Islamia on December 16, 2019. (Disclosure: Harsh Mander is a member of the group but has played no part in issue of this letter.) The background is that Harsh Mander, as a public-spirited citizen of India, had filed a petition before the Honourable Supreme Court in connection with the registering of F.I.R.s against certain political leaders for using hate speech and inciting violence that resulted in the deaths of more than 50 people in Delhi. On March 4, instead of responding to the contents of his petition, one of the highest law officers of the land alleged that Harsh Mander had made derogatory statements about the Supreme Court. When this was denied by Mander's advocate, the SG was asked by the bench to file an affidavit.
- 3. It seems that after an affidavit was filed by the Deputy Commissioner of Police to the effect that Harsh Mander had not only instigated violence but also been seriously contemptuous of the SC, the SC decided not to hear Harsh Mander's case until the matter of his allegedly "derogatory remarks" was looked into. A link was provided to the video in the affidavit and a prayer was made to dismiss his petition and file charges of contempt against him. We understand, however, that the full video of the speech was not presented before the Court.
- 4. We feel that had the full video been presented, it would have clearly brought out the falsehood of the allegations that he had incited violence in any manner or been contemptuous of the SC. It is apparent that the video-recording submitted by the SG and the police was an edited version comprising selectively chosen excerpts from the recording, which had been clipped in places so as to convey the impression that Harsh Mander had both instigated violence and committed contempt of the SC. We strongly feel that the speech has to be read in context, in sequence and in full to appreciate its message.
- 5. When the speech is so read, it becomes apparent that Harsh Mander meant that the fight would ultimately be decided in people's hearts and not in any other forum. The following paragraph makes it abundantly clear:
- 6. "What will be the future of this country you all are the youth what sort of country do you want to leave for your kids where will this decision happen? One, it will happen on the streets, we have come out on the streets, but even beyond the streets, there is another place where this decision will take place. Which is the place in which this fight will eventually

- be decided? That is in our hearts, in my heart, in your heart, we have to give a response if they want to fill our hearts with hate, if we respond with hate, hatred will become deeper".
- 7. Harsh Mander further said: "If someone is attempting to bring darkness to the country, and we also do the same in order to fight, then the darkness will only become more severe. If there is darkness, then the only way that can be fought is by lighting a lamp. And if there is a huge storm, we will light a lamp against the darkness. The only answer we have to their hate is love. They will resort to violence, they will instigate us to indulge in violence but we will never carry out any violence. You must understand that it is their plan to instigate you towards violence so that when we commit 2% violence, they respond with 100%. We have learnt from Gandhi ji how to respond to violence and injustice. We will fight with non-violence. Anyone who instigates you toward violence or hatred, they are not your friends."
- 8. By what stretch of the imagination can such words be construed as being inciteful of violence when they refer to Mahatma Gandhi, father of the nation, who left us a priceless legacy of non-violence, truth-telling and compassion? By what inversion of meaning, by what distortion of facts and by what supreme disregard for the plain truth do the Solicitor General of India and the Deputy Commissioner of Police seek to mislead the Supreme Court of India?
- 9. In our considered and collective opinion, there is a good case for filing a suit for defamation against both worthy gentlemen but that is a decision for the person defamed to take.

#### SATYAMEVA JAYATE

Yours sincerely,

CONSTITUTIONAL CONDUCT GROUP (with 95 signatories as below)

### V.S. Ailawadi

| 1. |              | IAS (Retd.) | Former Vice Chairman, Delhi Development<br>Authority               |
|----|--------------|-------------|--|
| 2. | Shafi Alam   | IPS (Retd.) | Former Director General, National Crime Records<br>Bureau, GoI     |
| 3. | S.P. Ambrose | IAS (Retd.) | Former Additional Secretary, Ministry of Shipping & Transport, GoI |

| 4.  | Mohinderpal<br>Aulakh          | IPS (Retd.) | Former Director General of Police (Jails), Govt. of Punjab  |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------|---|
| 5.  | N. Bala Baskar                 | IAS (Retd.) | Former Principal Adviser (Finance), Ministry of External Affairs, GoI   |
| 6.  | G.<br>Balachandhran            | IAS (Retd.) | Former Additional Chief Secretary, Govt. of West Bengal   |
| 7.  | Vappala<br>Balachandran        | IPS (Retd.) | Former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, GoI  |
| 8.  | Gopalan<br>Balagopal           | IAS (Retd.) | Former Special Secretary, Govt. of West Bengal  |
| 9.  | Chandrashekhar<br>Balakrishnan | IAS (Retd.) | Former Secretary, Coal, GoI   |
| 10. | Sharad Behar                   | IAS (Retd.) | Former Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh   |
| 11. | Aurobindo<br>Behera            | IAS (Retd.) | Former Member, Board of Revenue, Govt. of Odisha  |
| 12. | Madhu Bhaduri                  | IFS (Retd.) | Former Ambassador to Portugal   |
| 13. | Pradip<br>Bhattacharya         | IAS (Retd.) | Former Additional Chief Secretary, Development & Planning and Administrative Training Institute, Govt. of West Bengal |
| 14. | Meeran C<br>Borwankar          | IPS (Retd.) | Former DGP, Bureau of Police Research and Development, GoI  |
| 15. | Ravi Budhiraja                 | IAS (Retd.) | Former Chairman, Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust,<br>GoI  |
| 16. | Sundar Burra                   | IAS (Retd.) | Former Secretary, Govt. of Maharashtra  |
| 17. | R.<br>Chandramohan             | IAS (Retd.) | Former Principal Secretary, Transport and Urban Development, Govt. of NCT of Delhi                                    |
| 18. | Rachel<br>Chatterjee           | IAS (Retd.) | Former Special Chief Secretary, Agriculture,<br>Govt. of Andhra Pradesh   |
| 19. | Anna Dani                      | IAS (Retd.) | Former Additional Chief Secretary, Govt. of Maharashtra   |
| 20. | Surjit K. Das                  | IAS (Retd.) | Former Chief Secretary, Govt. of Uttarakhand  |
| 21. | Vibha Puri Das                 | IAS (Retd.) | Former Secretary, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, GoI   |
| 22. | P.R. Dasgupta                  | IAS (Retd.) | Former Chairman, Food Corporation of India, GoI   |
| 23. | Nareshwar<br>Dayal             | IFS (Retd.) | Former Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and former High Commissioner to the United Kingdom                     |
| 24. | Pradeep K. Deb                 | IAS (Retd.) | Former Secretary, Deptt. Of Sports, GoI   |
| 25. | Nitin Desai                    | IES (Retd.) | Former Secretary and Chief Economic Adviser,<br>Ministry of Finance, GoI  |
| 26. | Keshav Desiraju                | IAS (Retd.) | Former Health Secretary, GoI  |
| 27. | M.G.<br>Devasahayam            | IAS (Retd.) | Former Secretary, Govt. of Haryana  |
| 28. | Sushil Dubey                   | IFS (Retd.) | Former Ambassador to Sweden   |
| 29. | K.P. Fabian                    | IFS (Retd.) | Former Ambassador to Italy  |

# Former Addl. Director General, Department of Tourism, GoI

| 30. | Prabhu Ghate          | IAS (Retd.)                         |  |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
|     |                       |                                     |  |
| 31. | Arif Ghauri           | IRS (Retd.)                         | Former Governance Adviser, DFID, Govt. of the United Kingdom (on deputation) |
| 32. | Gourisankar<br>Ghosh  | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Mission Director, National Drinking<br>Water Mission, GoI             |
| 33. | Suresh K. Goel        | IFS (Retd.)                         | Former Director General, Indian Council of<br>Cultural Relations, GoI        |
| 34. | S. Gopal              | IPS (Retd.)                         | Former Special Secretary, GoI  |
| 35. | Meena Gupta           | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Secretary, Ministry of Environment & Forests, GoI                     |
| 36. | Ravi Vira Gupta       | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India                                |
| 37. | Wajahat<br>Habibullah | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Secretary, GoI and Chief Information<br>Commissioner                  |
| 38. | Sajjad Hassan         | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Commissioner (Planning), Govt. of Manipur                             |
| 39. | Siraj Hussain         | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Secretary, Department of Agriculture, GoI                             |
| 40. | K. Illango            | IPS (Retd.)                         | Former Special Secretary, Aviation Research<br>Centre and R&AW, GoI          |
| 41. | Kamal Jaswal          | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Secretary, Department of Information<br>Technology, GoI               |
| 42. | Najeeb Jung           | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Lieutenant Governor, Delhi  |
| 43. | Vinod C.<br>Khanna    | IFS (Retd.)                         | Former Additional Secretary, MEA, GoI  |
| 44. | Rahul Khullar         | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Chairman, Telecom Regulatory Authority of India                       |
| 45. | K. John Koshy         | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former State Chief Information Commissioner,<br>West Bengal                  |
| 46. | Ajai Kumar            | Indian Forest<br>Service<br>(Retd.) | Former Director, Ministry of Agriculture, GoI                                |
| 47. | Arun Kumar            | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Chairman, National Pharmaceutical<br>Pricing Authority, GoI           |
| 48. | P.K. Lahiri           | IAS (Retd.)                         | Former Executive Director, Asian Development Bank                            |
| 49. | Aloke B. Lal          | IPS (Retd.)                         | Former Director General (Prosecution), Govt. of Uttarakhand                  |
|     |                       |                                     |  |

| 50. | Subodh Lal                | IPoS (Resigned)  | Former Deputy Director General, Ministry of Communications, GoI                                  |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------|--|
| 51. | Amitabh Mathur            |                  | Former Director, Aviation Research Centre and Former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, GoI |
| 52. | Lalit Mathur              | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Director General, National Institute of<br>Rural Development, GoI                         |
| 53. | Aditi Mehta               | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Additional Chief Secretary, Govt. of Rajasthan  |
| 54. | Dalip Mehta               | IFS (Retd.)      | Former Secretary to GoI & Dean, Foreign Service Institute  |
| 55. | Shivshankar<br>Menon      | IFS (Retd.)      | Former Foreign Secretary and Former National Security Adviser                                    |
| 56. | Sonalini<br>Mirchandani   | IFS (Resigned)   | GoI  |
| 57. | Dr. L. Mishra             | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Secretary, Ministry of Labour, GoI  |
| 58. | Sunil Mitra               | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Secretary, Ministry of Finance, GoI   |
| 59. | Deb Mukharji              | IFS (Retd.)      | Former High Commissioner to Bangladesh and former Ambassador to Nepal                            |
| 60. | Shiv Shankar<br>Mukherjee | IFS (Retd.)      | Former High Commissioner to the United Kingdom   |
| 61. | Pranab S.<br>Mukhopadhyay | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Director, Institute of Port Management, GoI   |
| 62. | Nagalsamy                 | IA&AS<br>(Retd.) | Former Principal Accountant General, Tamil Nadu & Kerala   |
| 63. | Sobha<br>Nambisan         | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Principal Secretary (Planning), Govt. of Karnataka  |
| 64. | P.G.J.<br>Nampoothiri     | IPS (Retd.)      | Former Director General of Police, Govt. of Gujarat  |
| 65. | Surendra Nath             | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Member, Finance Commission, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh                                       |
| 66. | Amitabha Pande            | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Secretary, Inter-State Council, GoI   |
| 67. | Niranjan Pant             | IA&AS<br>(Retd.) | Former Deputy Comptroller and Auditor General, GoI   |
| 68. | Alok Perti                | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Secretary, Ministry of Coal, GoI  |
| 69. | Jayant Prasad             | IFS (Retd.)      | Former Ambassador to Nepal   |
| 70. | R.M.<br>Premkumar         | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Chief Secretary, Govt. of Maharashtra   |
| 71. | S.Y. Quraishi             | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Chief Election Commissioner   |
| 72. | T.R.<br>Raghunandan       | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Joint Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati<br>Raj, GoI                                       |
| 73. | N.K.<br>Raghupathy        | IAS (Retd.)      | Former Chairman, Staff Selection Commission,<br>GoI  |

| 74. | V.P. Raja             | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Chairman, Maharashtra Electricity<br>Regulatory Commission                 |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| 75. | K. Sujatha Rao        | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Health Secretary, GoI  |
| 76. | Satwant Reddy         | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Secretary, Chemicals and Petrochemicals, GoI                               |
| 77. | Julio Ribeiro         | IPS (Retd.)       | Former Adviser to Governor of Punjab & former Ambassador to Romania               |
| 78. | Aruna Roy             | IAS<br>(Resigned) |   |
| 79. | Deepak Sanan          | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Principal Adviser (AR) to Chief Minister,<br>Govt. of Himachal Pradesh     |
| 80. | G. Sankaran           | IC&CES (Retd.)    | Former President, Customs, Excise and Gold (Control) Appellate Tribunal           |
| 81. | Shyam Saran           | IFS (Retd.)       | Former Foreign Secretary and Former Chairman,<br>National Security Advisory Board |
| 82. | S. Satyabhama         | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Chairperson, National Seeds Corporation,<br>GoI                            |
| 83. | N.C. Saxena           | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Secretary, Planning Commission, GoI  |
| 84. | A. Selvaraj           | IRS (Retd.)       | Former Chief Commissioner, Income Tax,<br>Chennai, GoI                            |
| 85. | Ardhendu Sen          | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Chief Secretary, Govt. of West Bengal                                      |
| 86. | Abhijit<br>Sengupta   | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Secretary, Ministry of Culture, GoI  |
| 87. | Aftab Seth            | IFS (Retd.)       | Former Ambassador to Japan  |
| 88. | Ashok Kumar<br>Sharma | IFS (Retd.)       | Former Ambassador to Finland and Estonia  |
| 89. | Navrekha<br>Sharma    | IFS (Retd.)       | Former Ambassador to Indonesia  |
| 90. | Raju Sharma           | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Member, Board of Revenue, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh                           |
|     | Jawhar Sircar         |                   |   |
| 91. |                       | IAS (Retd.)       | Former Secretary, Ministry of Culture, GoI, & former CEO, Prasar Bharati          |
|     |                       |                   | Former Secretary, Ministry of Finance, GoI  |
| 92. | Narendra<br>Sisodia   | IAS (Retd.)       |   |

| 93. | Parveen Talha         | IRS (Retd.) | Former Member, Union Public Service<br>Commission                               |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------|---|
| 94. | Thanksy<br>Thekkekera | IAS (Retd.) | Former Additional Chief Secretary, Minorities Development, Govt. of Maharashtra |
| 95. | Hindal Tyabji         | IAS (Retd.) | Former Chief Secretary rank, Govt. of Jammu & Kashmir                           |