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POLITICAL SECULARISM AND CONSTITUTIONAL MORALITY-INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT:

Usually, politics and secularism are perceived to be antithesis of each other, marking end of democracy. However, much has been written by scholars about the engagement of the two. Even in India, political parties embrace the idea of secularism while discussing their manifestos. These are often angled to appease the masses as largely the Indian democracy is diverse and tolerant. The paper embraces the idea of political secularism and traces its roots to the Machiavellian theory, while, at the same time, intermingling it with the Indian concept of secularism. The supposedly contrary viewpoints are harmonized by suggesting some legal constitutional concepts. The idea that runs throughout the paper is that the two concepts, secularism and politics, cannot be completely divorced and hence, have to be balanced on the fulcrum of constitutional goals. The onus of ensuring this balance does not vest only on the legal fraternity but also the politicians and teachers.

The paper trails through the historical perspective of political secularism, western and Indian; and moves on to discuss the challenges that India currently faces. An effort is made to address the challenges and acclimatize the concept in the Indian scenario.

Keywords: Political secularism, Constitutional morality, Machiavelli, Fraternity

1. Introduction:

As India celebrates its 77th Independence Day on 15th August, 2024, having elected its 18th Lok Sabha in 2024, it is imperative to discuss the societal dimensions of the political parties coming to power; as it reflects the societal mindset of Indian demographic. The elected parties in a democratic set-up reflects the common will of the people and the manifestos become the beacon of hope for the citizens. The agendas in a political party's manifesto largely reflect the

aspirations of the voters and acts as a mirror to the societal temperament. A party that claims to address competing religious claims does not necessarily become undemocratic. However, one must not lose sight of the fact that history is ripe with examples where religion has been used as a divisive tool. Using religion as part of vote-bank politics and using it as an oppression tool should not be allowed to flourish in a democracy. This is where understanding political secularism from the western perspective becomes relevant. It then lays the foundation of understanding its scope in the Indian scenario. The limitations are better understood when a comparative analysis is charted. The paper follows this line of thought to suggest the use of constitutional morality as a tool of change.

Political secularism, or the association of State with religion, has been advocated by Machiavelli in his book Discourses on Livy. He understood the potential psychological influence that religion holds over people and how the King can harness while shepherding the subjects to an integrated and happy society. How far this has been applied in the Indian context is discussed in this paper. The use of religion as a form to appease religious sects by various political parties, all alike, is also mentioned in the paper. This policy of appeasement has had significant legal impact. The paper discusses the legal landscape in this context by referring to relevant judgements and laws. The limitations of this rudimentary form of political secularism are discussed at length to understand the scope of constitutional morality. Constitutional morality shouldn't be treated as the sole propriety of constitutional Courts and legal academicians. The political parties should be imbued with it as well. It is argued that constitutional morality can act as a lighthouse to the political secularism that is aspired for in a democratic set-up. Constitutional morality will help us bridge the gap that is seen between democracy and political secularism. The use of the doctrine of non-retrogression has been discussed to substantiate the claim that political secularism shouldn't be allowed ground to regress the society; and transformative constitutionalism is best accompanied by morality to back modern political secularism. The aim is to imbibe the true meaning of 'Secular Democratic Republic' as used in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution.

2. Political Secularism:

Secularism is one of the most popular and contested framework of the modern ideological dominion. Secularism, in general, is defined as the separation of religion from the political, economic and socio - cultural sphere of the life. Political secularism, on the other hand, focuses on the relationship between religion and State. Political secularism is considered as the doctrine

of the West, which emerged out of the long battle between State and the Church.

It is safe to say that secularism is open to many interpretations. Since India has always been secular in nature, religion had never been in the commanding seat of the State. Even though India prides on the birth of major religions in the World (such as Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism) and State affairs are always in principle distanced from it, there were instances where religion was involved in the decisions of the King (ancient and medieval State), however, religious head never enjoyed the role of a State-head in Indian history. In India, it is said that the concept of secularism has been borrowed from the West and the word 'secular' was added in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution by 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1976, although India was essentially secular. This chapter deals with the Western and Indian concept of Political secularism. It employs Machiavelli's theory of integrating religion and State activities.

2.1 Western Concept:

The Western concept of political secularism can be considered as the child of the modern age, resulting from the consequences of the medieval age. In the late 17th century, European societies experienced a major period of transition, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. Thinkers during this time produced numerous theories on the relationship between the State and the Church. This was the period of new age ideological revolution led by the liberals. Classical liberalism unearthed the idea of economic freedom. Individuals supporting market couldn't survive with the dipolar power circus. Church was the strongest contender to eliminate from the power world. The symbiotic relationship between the State and the capitalist class led to the establishment of new paradigm of capitalist State. With this elimination of Church from the political economy, ideological evolution of secularism took place.

When it comes to ideological evolution of secularism, Machiavelli is regarded as one of the key faces in the evolution of western secularism. Machiavelli was among the first scholars who advocated for the separation of Church from the State. Western secularism offers multiple elements of secularism at different levels, which led to the inherent difference among different models of secularism within the West. Fundamental element of any secularist model in politics is separation of State and religion which is in line with Indian model of secularism.

Famous historian of nineteenth century, Jacob Burkhardt, who wrote extensively about the

Civilization of Renaissance in Italy¹ recognized Machiavelli as the greatest figure in the propagation of the idea of Renaissance. Machiavelli in his book Discourses on Livy² wrote about his idea of religion. For Machiavelli religion is the means to unify and strengthen State. Machiavelli believed in the strategic potential of religion. For him, religion is guiding light to assist State in unification and happiness of the people. However, Machiavelli was against the idea of Church as ruling power. He gave an example of Italy. Church was one of the centers of power which led to weakening of Italy. Multiple centers of power, multiplication of Lords and princes led Italy to be the prey of barbarian powers. Consequently, Machiavelli presented the instrumentalist theory of religion stating that among the different elements of secularism, deauthorization of Church from the central power paradigm is the fundamental element. This fundamental element is universal in nature.

2.2 Indian Model:

When it comes to Indian model of secularism, Indian Constitution is republic in nature with no recognition of any religion as country's religion. Religion has been kept away from the country's political structure. Preamble of the Indian Constitution is a signal to the republic nature of Constitution. This feature of the Constitution has been inspired by nature of Indian nationalism and colonial legacy. However, the principle of strict separation in India is relatively different from West. India certainly follows the principle of non-establishment in which State refuses to declare or establish State's official religion, but the fact is religion hasn't been completely absent from the political discourse. Professor Rajeev Bhargava terms Indian model as Principled Distance Model of secularism³. India offers neutrality to all the religions. Indian model provides equal treatment to every religion in India. This feature of Indian model can be understood from the cultural and educational rights provided under the Constitution. Articles 29 and 30 of the Indian constitution safeguards the cultural rights of religious minorities. The uniqueness of Indian secularism has been largely evolved from the nature of the Indian society. India has huge religious diversity and complex societal structure. Also, Indian society has been deeply religious in nature. Machiavelli also recognizes the fact that religion cannot be taken away from the country.

¹ Jacob Burckhardt et al., *Jacob Burckhardt e Aby Warburg: Da Arte à Civilização Italiana Do Renascimento*, 12 LOCUS: REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA (2006).

² NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI 'S DISCOURSES ON LIVY TRANSLATED BY HARVEY C. MANSFIELD AND NATHAN TARCOV.

³ Rajeev Bhargava, *The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism*, in RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: VOLUME III (2016).

Another striking difference between the Indian and Western model of secularism could be the ability of India to reform the Hindu religious institutions. Western countries (following western secularism) do not interfere in the religious matters and personal laws of people. On the other hand, in India, Article 25(2)(b) in the Constitution of India provides for the reform of Hindu religious institutions (including Sikh, Buddhist and Jain religion). Following this, India has frequently intervened in the practices of religion such as temple administration, such as the Sabarimala temple issue⁴, etc. Not only in the Hindu religion, Indian State has also intervened in Muslim religion such as with the Triple talaq issue⁵. This uniqueness of the Indian model of secularism has its merit as it safeguards other fundamental rights, such as right to equality, right to life and personal liberty and right to freedom.

We have to understand the traditional nature and complexity of Indian society. Western secularism is more of a one way ride, implementing idea of separation of only Church and State. Here in India, separation is not just about temple and State; it's more of a way of life. Indian State has to maintain separation, reformation, deliberation and participation with religions in India.

2.3 The Challenge:

Even though Indian model has its uniqueness, given the diversity and complexity involved, the risks or challenges that secularism faces severe challenges in the largest democratic country in the world are quite high. Machiavellian way to use religion in the politics could be one of the challenges to Indian model of secularism. Machiavellian secularism has its application in India both as model of secularism and as political tool in Indian political system. Machiavellian way to use religion in politics was discussed in his book *The Prince*.

Machiavelli 's book *The Prince*⁶ is considered as the best book ever written on the field of statecraft. Machiavellian politics has been widely practiced in India. For Machiavelli, politics revolves around the King. For him everything will be subversive to King and the State. His statecraft is centered around the utilization of superstructure for the subject of base. He considered religion as the part of superstructure and categorized it as useful for the maintenance of base which is State. Machiavelli was not against religion; he was anti-Church. For him,

⁴ Indian Young Lawyers Assn. (Sabarimala Temple-5J.) v. State of Kerala, (2019) 11 SCC 1.

⁵ Shayara Bano v. Union of India, (2017) 9 SCC 1.

⁶ THE PRINCE BY NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1998 TRANSLATED BY PETER BONDANELLA.

Christianity could have been a useful tool for a successful State.

Religious instrumentalism has been deeply rooted in Indian politics. Indian struggle for independence has its flavor of communal politics leading to the partition of India based on religious line. However as Indian historian Bipin Chandra in his book *Communalism in Modern India*⁷ discussed the charisma of Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru and his ideas of democracy, led India into a silent period of communal politics. But with the disintegration of Congress party in 1960s and localization of Indian politics, 'Machiavellian instrumental religious politics' re-emerged in Indian political system. Indian National Congress (INC) which was focusing on minority votes, organized religious parties for Muslim community and Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) with its allied organization was set to take up the Hindu issues. From this period, Machiavellian religious politics started becoming the grassroot feature of Indian politics. When INC overturned the Supreme court judgement in Shah Bano case⁸ to appease Muslim fundamentalists, BJP invoked the Ram Mandir issue to mobilize Hindu voters⁹. Machiavelli in his book *Discourses on Livy*¹⁰ (Translated by Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov) discussed on how religion could be a strategic tool to unify people. Similarly, religion in Indian politics is used as a strategic tool to mobilize votes in elections.

Machiavelli's guide to kings (*The Prince*)¹¹ has been a guide to Indian kings as well. Machiavelli understood the psychological power of religion. In his book *Discourses on Livy*, Machiavelli discussed the use of religion by Romans. Roman military captains used religion to capture the city of the Veii. To keep armies disposed in this enterprise, Roman captain linked the success of their campaign with the waterflow of Lake Albanus. Political scientist Paul Brass termed the incidents of Hindu Muslim violence in contemporary India as a form of dramatic production¹². According to him, incidents like Sikh riots of 1984 and Gujarat Riots of 2002 are nothing but pogroms¹³. They are manufactured and endorsed by different political setups to mobilize and consolidate community votes. As Machiavelli presented the example of Roman

⁷ Bipin Chandra, *Communalism and the State: Some Issues in India*, 18 SOCIAL SCIENTIST 38 (1990).

⁸ Mohd. Ahmed Khan v. Shah Bano Begum, (1985) 2 SCC 556.

⁹ <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/how-temple-movement-helped-bjp/story-VXQd0EgOAwvY4RStFndbVN.html>.

¹⁰ NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI 'S DISCOURSES ON LIVY TRANSLATED BY HARVEY C. MANSFIELD AND NATHAN TARCOV, *supra* note 2.

¹¹ THE PRINCE BY NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1998 TRANSLATED BY PETER BONDANELLA, *supra* note 6.

¹² The Gujarat Pogrom of 2002 By Paul Brass.

¹³ PAUL R. BRASS, THE PRODUCTION OF HINDU-MUSLIM VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA (2003), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvcwn5mp> (last visited Mar 21, 2024).

armies, Indian political leaders link their campaign on religious lines to generate support. When BJP in the initial years was soft on Hindu nationalism, it won only two seats in the 1984 general elections. Then BJP took up the issue of Ram Mandir and Hindutva with their full intensity and became the second largest political party in 1991 general elections. In contemporary Indian politics, political parties are actively playing communal card.

2.4 Conclusion:

For Machiavelli, religion has been fundamentally intrinsic issue of the society. For him, a State has to have a soft connection with the religion. Machiavelli discussed the role of religion in the happiness of State. State foundations on the religious lines are regarded as strong and united. King should maintain healthy contacts with religion and king should be religious by nature. King can get anything in his favor with the cloak of religion. Indian politicians, especially during elections, become as much religious as religious gurus. They manufacture narrative by their visits to temples, churches, Gurudwaras and participate in all festivities. Even for the governance of the country, Machiavelli had discussed the use of religion in Rome by nobles for the dissolution of tribunate with console powers. Machiavelli in his book¹⁴ discussed how nobles in Rome projected famine and plague as God's punishment for the tribunate and they were successful in developing consensus to project God's wish to rusticate the tribune in favor of nobles. Such use of religion has been used in the Indian politics as well. There's a recent case where BJP government had suppressed the democratic protests in the name of 'Hindu Virodhi' (threat to Hindu religion) protest¹⁵. They have manufactured the narrative and targeted the minority community to suppress the democratic protests. In West Bengal, after the political violence in local elections, people were targeted on the basis of religion during investigations. Such Machiavellian tools are used to manufacture consent in the name of religion in Indian political system.

¹⁴ NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI 'S DISCOURSES ON LIVY TRANSLATED BY HARVEY C. MANSFIELD AND NATHAN TARCOV, *supra* note 2.

¹⁵ <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/delhi-violence-northeast-communal-riots-cao-protests-6315851/>.

3. Constitutional Morality and Political Secularism

While Machiavellian discussion of political secularism resounds as a death knell to democratic set-up, separation of State from religion completely would seem a convenient solution; however, not feasible. Religion, as stated earlier, is engrained in the lives of people in India so much so that it comes in direct relation with the fundamental rights of individuals. This puts Constitution, particularly constitutional morality, in the foreground, as it relates to the very democratic fabric of India. This section focuses on the close knit connection of constitutional morality with political secularism.

3.1 Constitutional Morality and its niche in Politics:

For long, constitutional morality has remained in legal forums but its close association with politics has alluded the mainstream debates. While it has acted as a lighthouse to constitutional Courts, not much has been spoken by politicians. “*Constitutional morality highlights the need to preserve the trust of people in institutions of democracy.*”¹⁶ It would be puerile to call only the legal pillar as the one concerned with constitutional morality. Politics cannot efface constitutional morality as constitutional morality “underscores the ethics of politics in a country. It gives politics an identity to succeed.”¹⁷

In an effort to look for associating meaning to a term, a lot of lines get obscured and incomprehensible conclusions are drawn, making the term obverse and open to interpretations. Same is true with constitutional morality. The more rigid definition is associated to the term, its significance is dwindled in addressing larger societal problems that might stem at later stages. However, hon’ble Dipak Misra, J. gives a fitting reference for understanding the term, “*Constitutional morality, appositely understood, means the **morality that has inherent elements in the constitutional norms and the conscience of the Constitution.** Any act to garner justification must possess the potentiality to be in harmony with the constitutional impulse. In order to realize our constitutional vision, it is indispensable that all citizens and high functionaries in particular inculcate a spirit of constitutional morality which negates the idea of concentration of power in the hands of few.*”¹⁸ (emphasis added)

Constitutional morality and constitutional values are the best ways to address any constitutional gaps, including the dyke between political secularism and democracy. It is the authors’ view that if the terms are read with a dyke, they would never harmonise. Suggested approach is to

¹⁶ State (NCT of Delhi) v. Union of India, (2018) 8 SCC 501.

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Id.*

use constitutional morality as bridge between the two. “*Constitutional morality requires the filling in constitutional silences to enhance and complete the spirit of the Constitution. A constitution can establish structure of government, but how these structures work, rests upon the fulcrum of constitutional values.*”¹⁹

These gaps not necessarily arise for judges and academicians but also legislature and Politicians. The government leaders are true representatives of people who shepherd the society into development. Government leaders are elected or chosen by people through free and fair elections and they represent and serve as voices to the people. Government leaders and politicians play important role in developing collective spirit and consciousness that lead to the societal growth and inclusive development. Development devoid of constitutional morality would render society asunder. Andre Beteille in “Democracy and its Institutions” (2012) speaks of the significance of constitutional morality and politics:

*“To be effective, constitutional laws have to rest on a substratum of constitutional morality... In the absence of constitutional morality, the operation of a Constitution, no matter how carefully written, tends to become arbitrary, erratic, and capricious. It is not possible in a democratic order to insulate completely the domain of law from that of politics. A Constitution such as ours is expected to provide guidance on what should be regulated by the impersonal rule of law and what may be settled by the competition for power among parties, among factions, and among political leaders. It is here that the significance of constitutional morality lies. Without some infusion of constitutional morality among legislators, judges, lawyers, ministers, civil servants, writers, and public intellectuals, the Constitution becomes a plaything of power brokers.”*²⁰ (emphasis added)

Though it might sound like a repetitive cautionary tale, democracy and constitutional morality are intricately intertwined with politics. However, as discussed in the preceding chapter, Machiavelli’s theory of unifying happiness and people through religion as a modicum for State has been stretched too far. The vote bank politics beguiles the society into aspiring for immaterial manifesto objectives. It is to be remembered that political tolerance or to be precise political secularism is a mandate of fraternity, “*which is only other name for democracy. Democracy is not merely a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence*

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ ANDRÉ BÉTEILLE, DEMOCRACY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS (2012), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198080961.001.0001> (last visited Jun 10, 2024).

towards fellowmen.”²¹ This is what Dr. B.R Ambedkar calls ‘social endosmosis’.

2.2 Non-retrogression of rights or doctrine of progressive realization of rights:

It might seem baffling to relate political secularism and constitutional morality to the doctrine of non-retrogression or doctrine of progressive realization. Nonetheless, understanding that constitutional morality guarantees political secularism has to be backed by the doctrines. To understand it, the following portion has been borrowed from the Navtej Singh Johar judgment, “*The doctrine of progressive realization of rights, as a natural corollary, gives birth to the doctrine of non-retrogression. As per this doctrine, there must not be any regression of rights. In a progressive and an ever-improving society, there is no place for retreat. The society has to march ahead. The doctrine of non-retrogression sets forth that the State should not take measures or steps that deliberately lead to retrogression on the enjoyment of rights either under the Constitution or otherwise.*”²² (emphasis added)

By extending this to the recent developments such as the Gyanvapi Mosque issue, as has been advocated by Mr. Faizan Mustafa²³, the guarantee under Places of Worship (Special Provision) Act, 1991 via Sections 3 and 4, which protects the secular fabric of the country needs to be safeguarded. **Section 3** of the Act bars the conversion of a place of worship of a religious denomination or any of its sections into a place of worship of a different section of the same denomination or of a different religious denomination. **Section 4** declares that the **religious character** of a place of worship existing on August 15, 1947 shall continue to be the same as it existed on that day. Any legal case pertaining to the conversion of the religious character of any place of worship pending as on August 15, 1947 shall abate. This is bolstered by the theory of progressive realization where retreating or reneging from the inclusivity rule of rights and emotions would severely hamper the growth of our march towards a secular society. Moreover, India is a signatory to ICESCR (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which under Article 2(1) states that “*achieving progressively the full realization of the right by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures.*” The Places of Worship Act is one such legislative measure that is not novel but holds water in the present political climate of the country.

²¹ B.R. AMBEDKAR & A. ROY, ANNIHILATION OF CASTE: THE ANNOTATED CRITICAL EDITION (2014), <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=omznDwAAQBAJ>.

²² Navtej Singh Johar v. Union of India, (2018) 10 SCC 1.

²³ <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/gyanvapi-order-the-law-cannot-resolve-vexed-religious-issues-8146968/>.

The rule of inclusivity, in an effort to achieve egalitarian society, has been pointed by the Supreme Court and is in line with transformative constitutionalism that has been talked about time and again, which emphasizes the need to ‘guide us to a resplendent future’²⁴ and not be frog-marched on the narrow path of futile rigidity. A sequestered society would be regressive defeating the years of progression. It is a Damocles’ sword because allowing room for even a slightest departure from transformative constitutionalism would proliferate at an exponential rate.

In the SR Bommai case, the hon’ble Supreme court discussed at length the meaning and scope of the term ‘secularism’. They found it to be a part of basic structure of the Constitution and also that it is positive in the sense that it allows equal treatment of all religions, marking a stark difference with the French concept of secularism (*laicite*).

Time and again the hon’ble Supreme Court has pointed out the need to inculcate tolerance and acceptance at the primary education level. *“The process of making the students acquainted with the basics of all religions, the values inherent therein and also a comparative study of the philosophy of all religions should begin at the middle stage in schools and continue up to the University level. Students have to be made aware that the basic concept behind every religion is common, only the practices differ. Even if there are differences of opinion in certain areas, people have to learn to coexist and not carry on hatred against any religion.”*²⁵

There is a need to infix syncretism and combat blind religious jingoism. While the former catapults the society towards egalitarianism, jingoism interspersed with blind religious beliefs becomes a breeding ground for Xenophobes and racists, steadily waning the voices of reason in society. This is why identifying the real dissimilitude, that stems from Article 28(1) of the Indian Constitution, between moral education and religious instruction in educational institutions is necessary. While constitutional mandate is for State-sponsored institutions to not impart religious instructions, it is incumbent upon the institutions to impart moral education. One plausible explanation for stressing on moral education could be to inculcate a moral compass of right and wrong, and also, to create objective rationality, scientific temperament, acceptance and tolerance towards all religions. Only through this can FRATERNITY as an ultimate goal of Constitution be achieved.

The deliberate bypassing of the term ‘secular’ or ‘secularism’ is often perceived as a threat to

²⁴ Navtej Singh Johar v. Union of India, (2018) 10 SCC 1, *supra* note 22.

²⁵ Aruna Roy v. Union of India, (2002) 7 SCC 368.

the secular fabric of the Indian society. For instance, many commentaries on the New Education Policy of 2020 highlight the departure from 'secularism' as it omits to use the word, which was previously used in National Policy on Education 1986.²⁶ This is subject to further investigation but the fact that there is a perceived threat at this juncture of twenty-first century should intrigue many to inquire about the veracity of such claims. Biases, if any, should be inquired under the lens of rules of natural justice, which forms part of constitutional morality.

It is contended that political secularism cannot be completely negated but the society and the politicians must be made aware of the constitutional morality that is mandate of an egalitarian future. The Indian secularism requires accommodating all religions equally and not that India should have one religion; it should be infused into the Indian political secularism as well.

3.3 Conclusion:

Safe to say that political secularism, devoid of constitutional morality, is perceived as a threat to democracy. This threat is reasonable to commentators who want to preserve democracy. Needless to say, in a 'welfare State' set-up, the duty falls on the State to uphold the constitutional morality while embracing the true nature of political secularism. The laws made need to be progressive and the transformative constitutionalism should be the modicum of change. The fulcrum of objectives behind all laws should be fraternity. This would in turn enhance inclusivity. The doctrine of progressive realization has to be embraced in the formative years of education and primary education would be the best place to start if a regression from the path of egalitarian society has to be halted.

4. Conclusion:

The aim of the paper was to analyze the concept of political secularism in the Indian context. The paper trailed through the concept of secularism, both western and Indian. It then went on to discuss the concept of political secularism and the roots of it in the Machiavellian theory. The Roman administrative skills are discussed to showcase the indispensable role of religion in State's administration. The Italian example of distinguishing between Church and religion is discussed to illustrate that religious sentiments run separate from religious institutions or religious heads. The political climate of India is discussed from the historical perspective to show how it has used religion as a tool to fetch votes and win elections. It is concluded here

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<https://www.livemint.com/education/news/missing-secularism-in-new-education-policy-1561564775831.html>.

that political secularism in India requires a digression from the use of religious disagreements to create a false narrative of disharmony in an otherwise tolerant and largest democracy.

The authors do not divorce the idea of political secularism and democracy. The idea propagated is to engage the two with a reasonable check and balance of constitutional morality. It is indubitably the duty of the State to disassociate itself from religious propagandas and address the welfare-related issues of the citizens. The human rights and fundamental rights that are at the core of religious disputes need to be weighed against the transformative constitutionalism before they are meddled with. The examination is to be under the lens of constitutional morality. Not every disagreement has to be used as a weapon in the artillery to fight elections. Some associations to religious institutions or religious heads can be treated as symbolic to encourage and showcase inclusivity but putting one down or spreading anything, even remotely opposed to the goal of fraternity, needs to be nipped in the bud. The voices of the public at large is said to be echoed in the government that is elected. If the Indian society has been slowly digressing from the constitutional morality that embraces fraternity, where swaying people using politico-religious propagandas for elections is easy, imbibing the true values of constitutional goals becomes all the more essential. Such a society runs the risk of becoming Orwellian. This is where it is suggested that primary education should be used to convey the essence of Constitution. The strides taken in drafting of the Constitution becomes relevant as the historical backdrop against which it was set-up carries much weight in getting insight on the values we shared as a society. Upholding those values is inviolable to the functioning of our democracy and political secularism needs to be aligned accordingly.