

JANUARY 2025
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AND CULTURE

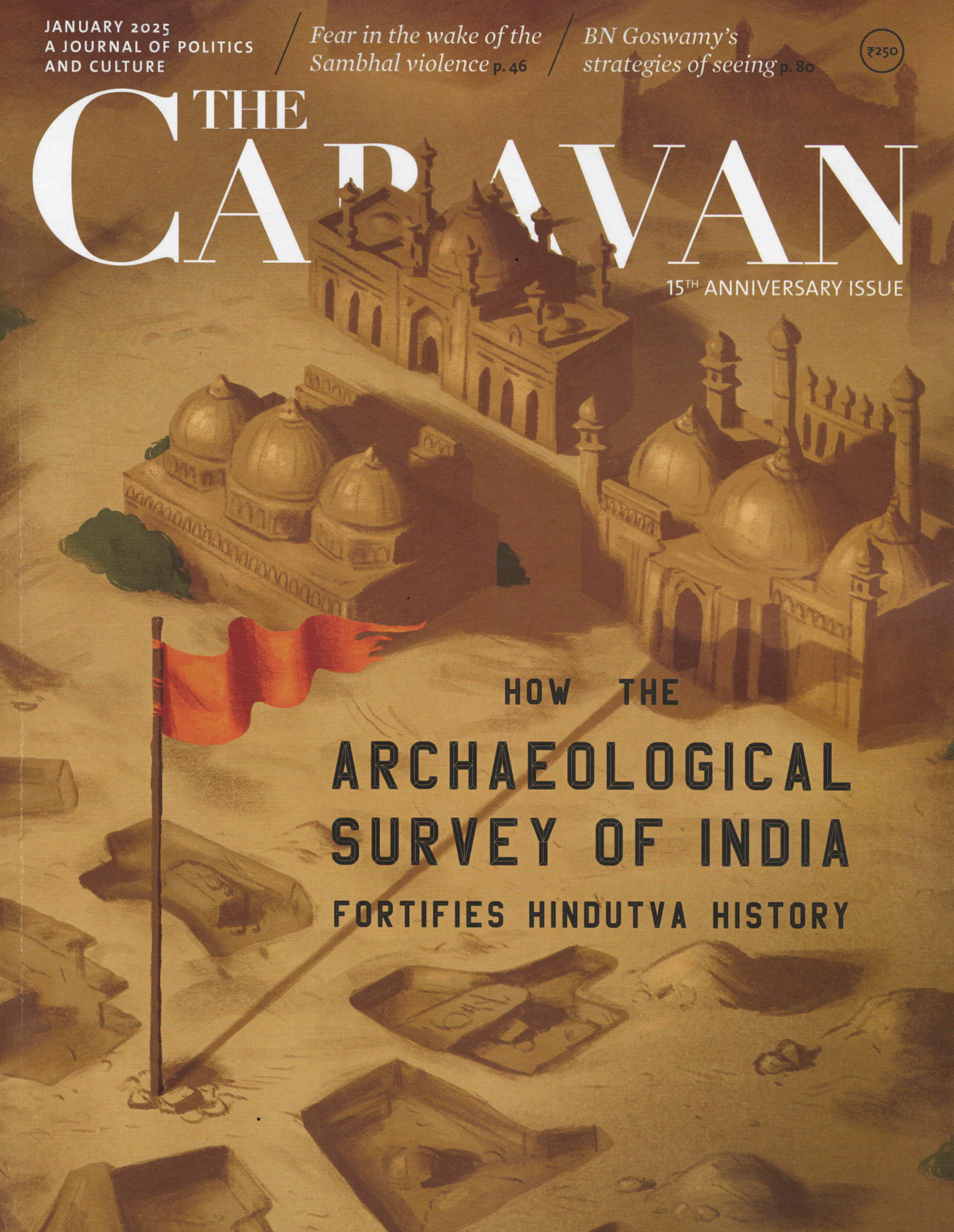
*Fear in the wake of the
Sambhal violence* p. 46

*BN Goswamy's
strategies of seeing* p. 80

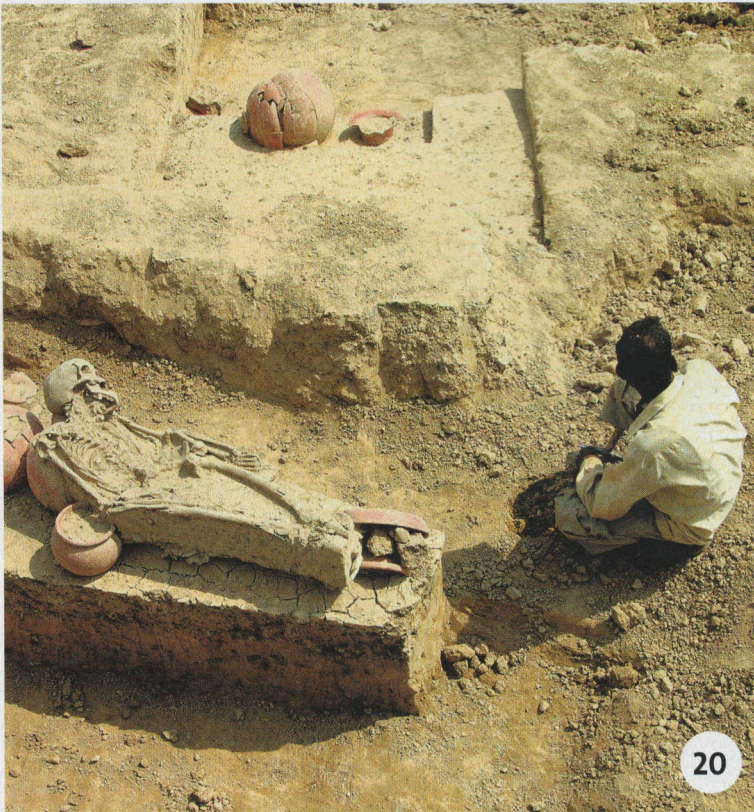
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THE CARAVAN

15TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE



HOW THE
**ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SURVEY OF INDIA**
FORTIFIES HINDUTVA HISTORY



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COVER STORY / HISTORY

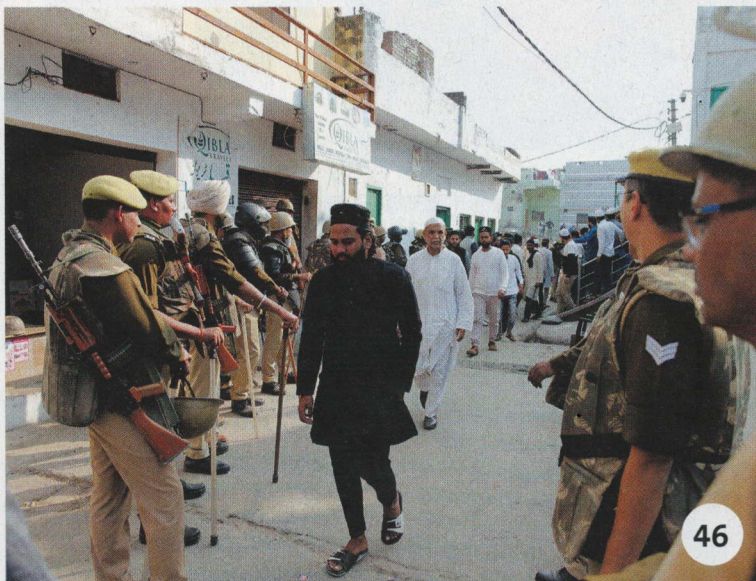
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Site of Deceit

How the ASI fortifies Hindutva history

ERAM AGHA

The Archaeological Survey of India was always imagined as a technical, scientific organisation, meant to conduct excavations, publish reports and advance the knowledge of the Indian subcontinent's ancient past. But this has not always been the case—the ASI's history is marked by partisanship in favour of the Hindu right-wing. An ideological lean in the organisation has been particularly helpful for the Narendra Modi government, which relies on distorting history. And in the past decade, the ASI's work across India seems to be following a script written by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. In Uttar Pradesh's Sinauli, for instance, where the ASI recently made startling discoveries, its officials have distorted their own findings to construct an ancient Hindu past, despite an abundance of scientific evidence that clearly contradicts its claims. From surveys at mosques such as those in Sambhal and Gyanvapi, to excavations in Modi's birthplace, Vadnagar, the ASI's misuse of archaeology to serve the RSS agenda stands as testament to how sinister the Sangh's project of revisionist history has become.



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CRIME

46 Surveyors of Destruction

An atmosphere of fear persists in the wake of the Sambhal violence
SHAHID TANTRAY AND SUNIL KASHYAP

PERSPECTIVES



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POLITICS

14 The Broken Pact

Minority legislators rue the erosion of the Constitution under the Modi government
SAGAR

अगर हेमंत सोरेन दोबारा CM बने तो

हर सरकारी परीक्षा का पेपर लीक होता रहेगा

पेपर लीक की खबरों के बाद झारखंड JSSC CGL 2024 परीक्षा रद्द; पूर्व सीएम ने की सीबीआई जांच की मांग

10

आदिवासियों के पास क्या है?

नुर्युक्ती हेमंत के पास ब्रिटिलियन चैन, नेकलेस और 5 करोड़ की संपत्ति है

हर्दयभंग चैन, नेकलेस और 2.83 करोड़ की संपत्ति... जमान हेमंत सोरेन और उनकी पत्नी के पास मिली संपत्ति

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POLITICS

10 Hate by Proxy

How shadow accounts on Meta spread BJP propaganda in Jharkhand

RYAN THOMAS



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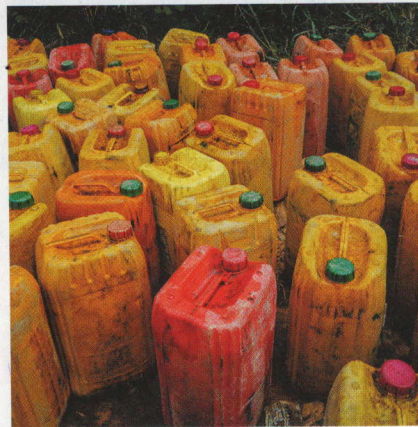


PHOTO ESSAY / AGRICULTURE

60 Bitter Crop

Ghana's cacao plantations in crisis

FRANCIS KOKOROKO

BOOKS

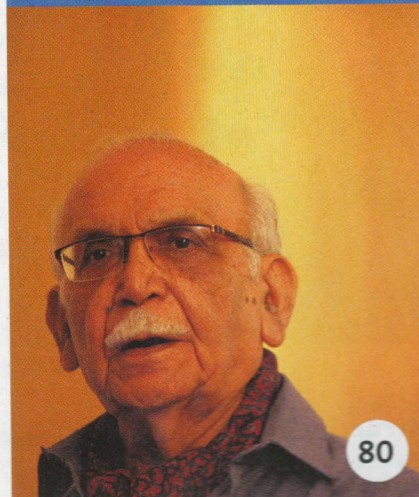


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BN Goswamy's strategies of seeing

PRATHYUSH PARASURAMAN



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