

Hindutva Versus Two Nation Theory: An Apraisal

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ABSTRACT

In India, Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) won the elections in 2019 and formed the government for the second time reflecting its popularity among the masses. BJP is politically inspired by Hindu nationalist movements which include Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP). The followers of these movements believe in Hindutva ideology which is based on the conception of Hindu culture and Hinduism. The roots of Hindutva ideology can be traced back to ancient India's history but it became evident in 1990s. The immersion of Hindutva in the democratic progression has distressed the secular bearings of Indian constitution and generated insecurities for minorities in general and Muslims and Christians in particular. Hindutva is a main source of extremism and violence that engenders misgivings among minorities relating to their impending existence. Under such a frenzy environment, it is evaluated that the BJP's backing of Hindutva might aggravate the progression to further India's disintegration. To comprehend the role of Hindutva within Indian society, the theory of clash of civilizations provides insights to grasp this debate.

Keywords *Hindutva, Two Nation Theory, Theory of Clash of Civilization, BJP, RSS, Hindutva, and India.*

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INTRODUCTION

Hindutva ideology revolves around Hindu nationalism which is based on four national entities as religion, Hindu race, language, and culture, and all those having differences with these elements will not be considered Hindu nationals and will be treated as foreigners.¹ Likewise, Savarkar (the founder of Hindutva) defines Hindutva as, 'rests of four aspects as racial features, geographical unity, language, and common culture.'² Interestingly, Savarkar did not endorse religion as the most important organ of Hindutva. The ideology of Hindutva remained dynamic throughout Indian history under the cover of multiple objectives, for instance, India's hegemonic culture was promoted during Muria (Buddhist) dynasty in the 5th-8th century BCE, the revival of Brahminism began during the 8th-12th century with the establishment of Sultanates (1206-1525), the Mughals (1526-1757) and the British (1757-1947).³

Furthermore, Hindu nationalism promoted ethno-religious identity by idealizing 'golden age of the past' that existed before Mughal period and British raj, due to the absence of foreign invasion.⁴ During Mughal and British era, Hindutva primarily focused on the notion of Hindu Rashtra (Hindu nation) within the cover of cultural nationalism due to non-existence of a common book in Hinduism.⁵ After partition in 1947, the main aim of Hindutva remained for politicizing the religion in a way it promotes ethno-nationalistic identity among the Hindus⁶ by adopting various strategies which formed severe concerns for the minorities. Hindutva's persisting brutalities against minorities in general and Muslims, in particular, have generated following queries:

- What are the factors that led to rise of Hindutva ideology in Indian society?

1 Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, *We, or Our Nationhood Defined* (New Delhi: Bharat Publication, 1939), 45-46, quoted by Kalim Siddiqui, 'Hindutva, Neoliberalism and Reinventing of India', in *Economic and Social Thought* 04, no. 02, (January 2017), 157.

2 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Hindutva, who is a Hindu?* (New Delhi: 6th ed, Bhartiya Sahitya Sedan, 1989), 92. Also quoted by Kalim Siddiqui, 156

3 Ibid, 145.

4 Eviane Leidig, "Hindutva as a Variant for Right-Wing Extremism," *Patterns of Prejudice* 54, no.03, (2020), 224.

5 Kalim Siddiqui, 167. Unlike Christianity, Islam and Judaism, no common book is available in Hinduism and various scriptures are followed, for instance, four Hindu sacred texts (vidas): "Sama veda, Rig veda, Athrva Veda and Yajur Veda. Aranyakas (composition for the forests). Upanishads (instructive treatises). Two samriti epics (Ramayan, Mahabharata)". Bidyut Chakrabarty and Bhuwan Kumar Jha, *Hindu Nationalism in India: Ideology and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 4.

6 Eviane Leidig, "Hindutva as a Variant of Right-Wing Extremism," *Patterns of Prejudice* 54, no.03 (2020), 220.

- How does Hindutva disrupt the secular bearings of India's Constitution?
- What was the role of Hindutva ideology in promoting two nation theory?
- What will be the likely repercussions of Hindutva on India's socio-political architecture?

This research provides acumens to answer the given questions and the debate is underpinned within the theoretical framework of a theory of clash of civilizations to grasp the arguments.

THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

Hindutva is derived from the Hindu religion which has existed in the subcontinent since 1500 B.C. Generally, the term Hinduism has been applied to integrate the culture of the subcontinent since 2nd millennium B.C.⁷ Hinduism is not simply a religion but it is a core of Indian civilization which is based on cultural entities, ethnic groups, villages, religious groups, and nationalities at different levels of heterogeneity.⁸ Likewise, civilization is highest cultural grouping among the people - to differentiate the people from other species based on common objective elements like history, religion, language, customs and institutions.⁹ Civilizations have no precise beginning end, no defined geographical boundaries, and the people can redefine their identities due to cultural overlapping of one region over another.¹⁰ Thus, culture is the most prominent element in shaping civilizations and at the global level - various civilizations persisted. Although, some no longer exist due to cultural overlapping. Melko pointed out five major civilizations: Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Islamic, and Western.¹¹ This research is mainly concerned with Indian and Islamic civilizations and the theory of clash of civilization provides insights to comprehend this research.¹²

Due to non-existence of common belief in Hinduism, the persistence of cultural norms along with religions has shaped Indian civilization. Seven religions were identified in subcontinent, such as, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism,

7 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simson and Schuster Inc, 1997), 45.

8 Ibid. 43.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Mathew Melko, *The Nature of Civilizations* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1969), 133.

12 The theory of Clash of Civilization was originated by Samuel P. Huntington.

and Islam.¹³ Among these religions, Islam and Christianity maintained their identity, while the remaining five religions merged into Hinduism due to cultural overlapping.¹⁴ The existence of Islam and Christianity in India generated a clash of civilization. This research is primarily concerned with Hinduism and Islam because according to India's demographic profile, Muslims possess sizable status among the minorities,¹⁵ that creates frustration among Hindus. Additionally, Muslims have spent a glorious past and ruled over India for around 600 years, which intensified the fears among the Hindus about the revival of the Muslim dynasty in the coming years. This triggered the acuteness of a clash of civilization between Hindus and Muslims. Under these circumstances, Hindus instituted all possible measures for sustaining their hegemony over Muslims. Under the shadow of Hindutva, these are evaluated in the succeeding sections of this research.

EVOLUTION OF HINDUTVA

The instigation of Hindutva ideology started at the beginning of 20th century against British rule. In 1909, British introduced a separate electorate system in local elections in which Muslims and Hindus could only vote for Muslim and Hindu candidates, respectively. The Hindus presumed this separate electorate system an anti-Hindu policy. In response, they formed Hindu Mahasabha (Hindu association) in 1914 for promoting anti-Muslim and anti-British sentiments.¹⁶ Under the cover of Hindu Mahasabha, Hindu identity was projected in sharp contrast to the menace of the Muslims as invaders and foreigners and declared them to be the internal enemy while the Britishers as the external enemy.¹⁷ In the 1920s, Hindu Mahasabha - inspired by Mussolini's Fascist movement in Italy, planned to organize Hindus on the Fascist spiralling to project an alternative to contain British democracy.¹⁸

In 1923, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar floated the idea of Hindu nationalism by

13 Arvind Sharma, "On the Deference Between Hinduism and Hindutva," *Asian Philosophies and Religions* 25, no.01, (2020): 43-47, <https://www.asianstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/on-the-difference-between-hinduism-and-hindutva.pdf>

14 Ibid. According to article 25 of Indian Constitution, Sikhism is declared as the part of Hinduism but, Sikhs deny to become the part of Hinduism.

15 According to India's demographic profile, the Hindu population possess 79.8%, while the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have 14.2%, 2.3% and 1.7% respectively and the population of Muslims in India is around 200 million. "India's Demographic Profile," *IndexMundi*, https://www.indexmundi.com/india/demographics_profile.html

16 Christophe Jafferlot, "Hindu Nationalism: Strategic Syncretism in Ideology Building," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, No.12/13 (March 20-27, 1993): 517-524.

17 Eviane Leidig, 221.

18 Ibid., 221-222.

assimilating the ethnic Hindu-ness with territorial boundaries in his book 'Hindutva: Who is a Hindu'.¹⁹ In 1925, the early version of Hindutva (RSS) was established by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, and he planned to train RSS members (shakhas) on the same pattern as the Fascist party.²⁰ In this connection, the consulate of Italy in Bombay started the recruitment of Indian students and publicized Fascist propaganda.²¹ Likewise, Hindu Mahasabha established close contacts with Nazism and Savarkar, and compared Germany's model against the Jewish population with the Muslim population in India.²² Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar (RSS leader) espoused an extreme stance and argued that 'culture was not simply a matter of concern for Hindus but it was a matter of blood and race', and also elaborated the racial mythologies of Germany and Italy with Hindus in India.²³

Additionally, Golwalkar was inspired by Hitler's notion about German nationalism and promoted the idea of a Hindu nation which led to National Socialism and became part of Hindutva ideology.²⁴ Hindutva followed the German's idea of *volk* which is described as 'authentic' and 'pure', that relates Hindutva to its Aryan past.²⁵ During the 1930s, Hindutva promoted the idea of Hindu nationalism under the influence of Fascism and Nazism and endorsed a sense of common culture, shared history, and awareness among the Indians about one's Holy Land.²⁶ In 1939, Savitri Devi proclaimed that the idea of nationalism among Hindus was rooted since ancient time of Aryan civilization and they have to employ self-defence and military might to grasp the intensification of Islam.²⁷ Savitri's argument indicates that Hindu nationalism has already persisted among Hindus while German and Italian models endorsed militarization against the minorities especially Muslims in India. After World War II, Europe was influenced by the philosophy of 'right-wing extremism' which was based on racial differences that engendered distrust among the masses about the

19 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, 92.

20 Hedgewar physically visited Italy in 1931 and observed the physical and paramilitary exercises of young Italians and on his return, planned to train RSS members. Mazia Casolari, "Hindutva's Foreign Tie-Up in the 1930s: Archival Evidence," *Economic Political Weekly* 35, no.04, (Jan 22-28, 2000): 220.

21 Mazia Casolari, 222.

22 Ibid. p.224. Eugene J. D'suza, "Nazi Propaganda in India," *Social Scientist* 28, no.5/6 (2000): 88.

23 Mazia Casolari, 223-224.

24 Golwalkar, "We or Our Nationhood Defined," quoted in Nicholas Goodrick-Clark, *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, The Hindu-Aryan, Myth, and Neo-Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 60.

Benjamin Zachariah, "A Voluntary Gleichschaltung Perspectives from India Towards a non-Eurocentric Understanding of Fascism," *Journal of Transcultural Studies* 05, no.02, (2014): 63-100.

25 Eviane Leidig, 223.

26 Goodrick-Clark, 51.

27 Savitri Devi, *A Warning to the Hindus* (Calcutta: Prabartak Printing Works, 1993), 55.

dominance of an unknown foreign entity at the national level.²⁸

Hindutva and European right-wing extremism both formulated such doubts and were presumed as threats to their collective identity. A response, Europe prompted Fascism and Nazism, while Hindutva also followed them. On the contrary, a divergence persists between Hindutva and European right-wing extremism, as Hindutva promoted nation-building by projecting a majoritarian identity, while European right-wing extremism was restricted to the political fringe.²⁹ Hindutva continued its support for projecting a majoritarian identity even after the partition in 1947.

At the time of partition in 1947, RSS had not participated in the independence movement due to fear of being blacklisted by British; however, it actively got involved in ensuing Hindu-Muslim riots soon after partition.³⁰ After partition, the main objective of Hindutva was to restore *Akhand Bharat* (undivided India) and the retrieval of territory lost during partition.³¹ So, the RSS did not affirm partition of India and even criticized the Hindus who accepted partition and were in *favor* of Hindu-Muslim unity. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi was a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim unity which was not acceptable to RSS. This resulted in the assassination of Gandhi by Nathuram Godse (an activist of RSS) in 1948.³²

In the 1960s and 1970s, RSS expanded and actively penetrated into political spheres, and established various pressure groups such as *Sangh Prevar* (family of RSS), *Bajrang dal* (youth wing), *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (cultural organization), *Sewa Bharti* (a charity-based non-governmental-organization), *Bhartia Mazdoor Sangh* (trade union), *Akhil Bhartiya Kidyarthi Parishad* (students organization), *Bhartia Kissan Sangh* (farmers union), *Rashtariya Sevika Samiti* and *Sadhvi Shakti Parishad* (organizations for female).³³ With the formation of these groups, RSS planned to partake in politics at the national level.

Before 1980s, Hindu Mahasabha launched a political party Jana Sangh. Initially, it attracted little support and was renamed BJP by RSS on April 6, 1980. It was mainly drawn

28 Eviane Leidig, 236.

29 Ibid.

30 Eviane Leidig, 226.

31 Ibid, 227.

32 Ibid.

33 Savitri Devi.

in support of upper-caste Hindus, and became the custodian of Hindutva.³⁴ BJP proved itself as the popular party during the elections of 1996 and 1999, and RSS remained BJP's organizational strength. Senior members of BJP pledged their associations with RSS, as stated by a BJP member Atal Behari Vajpayee that 'the post of the prime minister is temporary but I will permanently remain a humble RSS activist'.³⁵

BJP benefitted from an ideological and political vacuum and proved itself as the substitute to Congress party. The Congress government was under the charges of corruption.³⁶ In elections of 2002, RSS/BJP introduced Narinder Modi as the great leader for Hindus. During the election campaign, Modi raised a slogan, 'enemies of the state' and targeted minorities.³⁷ It is surprising that during election, besides targeting his opponent (Congress candidate), he inundated General Musharraf (then President of Pakistan), and maneuverer jingoistic patriotism under the cover of Hindu nationalism.³⁸ In the wake of election of 2002, Atal Behari Vajpayee became the Prime Minister, and Narinder Modi became the Chief Minister of the Indian state of Gujarat. During Modi's regime, the riots against the Muslims in Gujarat took place at a massive level and as Chief Minister, Modi was held responsible for massacre. Despite condemning riots, PM Vajpayee defended Modi and blamed Muslims for bloodshed.³⁹ In this way, RSS/BJP started a movement about Muslim genocide by instigating Hindu nationalism.

As the Chief Minister of Gujarat during 2002-2014, Modi continued brutalities against the Muslims and was notoriously known as 'the butcher of Gujarat'.⁴⁰ During the elections 2014, Modi interlinked Hindutva with citizenship and portrayed himself with Hindu symbols and personalities.⁴¹ Elections 2014 provided opportunity to BJP to make a coalition government. Modi became the Indian Prime Minister for the first time. He implemented Hindutva agenda by:⁴²

34 Kalim Siddiqui, 171.

35 Abdul Ghafoor Abdul Majeed Noorani, *The RSS and BJP- A Division of Labor* (New Delhi: Left Word Books, 2000), 4

36 Kalim Siddiqui, 171.

37 Ibid., 175.

38 Ibid.

39 Abdul Ghafoor Noorani, "Vajpayee's Insaniyat," *Frontline*, September 30, 2016, <https://frontline.thehindu.com/the-nation/vajpayees-insaniyat/article9103651.ece>

40 Pieter Friedrich, *Saffron Fascists: India's Hindu National Rulers* (Rishikesh, Uttarakhand: Saffronities, 2020), 15.

41 Eviane Leidig, 232.

42 Suhas Palshikar, "The BJP and Hindu Nationalism: centrist politics and majoritarian impulses," *South*

‘favouring the Hindu symbols of identities, attacks on the worship places of the Muslims, delegitimizing of inter-faith marriages, Hindu identity was equated as national identity, launching a campaign for the conversion of Muslims and Christians to Hinduism’

Likewise, BJP earned an absolute majority in elections 2019 and Modi became the Prime Minister for the second time and speedily planned to implement the agenda of Hindutva ideology. The most controversial points of the agenda are:⁴³

- Invalidating Article 370 of Indian constitution, thus revoking the semi-autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir which is a Muslim majority state.
- Giving green signal for the construction of a Hindu temple Ram Mandir at the disputed place of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in the state of Uttar Pradesh.
- A Citizenship Amendment Act is passed to endorse religion as the base for acquiring India's citizenship.
- A National Registration for the Citizens to be maintained, according to which, all the Indian inhabitants will be bound to prove their citizenship.

These points indicate that the fascist vision of the pioneers of Hindutva ideology is swiftly being instituted with fatal consequences. So, the riots against the minorities were initiated in a planned way for materializing Hindutva ideology. These are largely evaluated in the succeeding section.

Hindutva's Brutalities against Minorities

During partition process in 1947, RSS started bloodied activities against the Muslim population in Punjab and forced them to migrate to Pakistan. RSS formed a sense of insecurity by attacking the envoys of Muslim refugees with the collaboration of Shrimoni Akali Dal (SAD) and the aggressive bands of Hindus and Sikhs and started looting, displacement, genocide, and kidnapping of women.⁴⁴ RSS mounted hatred against the Muslims, did not even spare those Hindus who were in favour of Muslims, and assassinated Gandhi.⁴⁵ The

Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies 38, no.04 (2015): 728.

43 Pieter Friedrich, 37.

44 Busharat Elahi Jamil, "The bloodied role of RSS in the partition of Punjab 1947," *Daily Times*, October 2, 52.917 mm2019, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/476717/the-bloodied-role-of-rss-in-the-partition-of-punjab-1947/>

45 Op.cit.

Times of London claimed that in 1948, approximately 237,000 Muslims were systematically assassinated by RSS activists.⁴⁶ RSS was officially banned in 1948 due to involvement in communal violence.⁴⁷ During the ban, RSS started participating in politics and initiated numerous social welfare activities, and contributed in several community service projects.⁴⁸ By performing these endeavours, RSS envisioned to project itself as a socio-political organization, its services were acknowledged by the Indian Government, and the ban was lifted in 1963.⁴⁹

RSS again started violence in several places in East India in 1964. The violence took place against the Muslims in Rourkela, Raigarh, Jamshedpur, and Calcutta, and was estimated that around 2000 Muslims were killed.⁵⁰ In 1965, Bharatya Jana Sangh (a political party associated with RSS) passed a resolution 'Akhand Bharat', and emphasized the unification of India and Pakistan.⁵¹ RSS raised anti-Muslim sentiments during general elections in March 1967 in Bihar that resulted in deaths of around 200 Muslims.⁵²

In 1968, Golwalker (RSS leader) demanded that India be avowed a Hindu Rashtra (nation) in his speech at a rally in Ahmadabad, which caused RSS-led riots in the following year and ended in killing 400 Muslims.⁵³ In September 1969 in Ahmadabad, Hindu Muslim riots erupted at a massive level due to raising anti-Muslim sentiments by RSS, resulted in the casualties of around 600 Muslims.⁵⁴ In 1971, communal violence erupted in Thalasseri (Kerala), and according to a judicial commission report, RSS activists were responsible for aggravating violence against the Muslims.⁵⁵ Likewise, Muslims in small industries in Firozabad were targeted in 1972, where RSS activists burnt the businesses owned by Muslims.⁵⁶

46 *The Times of London* was quoted by Pieter Friedrich, 40.

47 Khuram Iqbal, "The Rise of Hindutva, Saffron Terrorism and South Asian Regional Security," *Journal of Security and Strategic Analysis* 05, no.01 (summer 2019): 46.

48 Tapio Tamminen, "Hindu Revivalism and the Hindutva Movement," *Temenos* 32, (1996): 221-238.

49 Ibid.

50 Kashif-ul-Huda, "Communal Riots and Jamshedpur," *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 23, 2009, <https://www.epw.in/journal/2009/21/commentary/communal-riots-and-jamshedpur.html>

51 Khuram Iqbal, 51.

52 "A Narrowing Space: Violence and Discrimination Against India's Religious Minorities," *Minority Rights Group International*, June 29, 2017, <https://minorityrights.org/publications/narrowing-space-violence-discrimination-indias-religious-minorities/>

53 Pieter Friedrich, 12.

54 "A Narrowing Space: Violence and Discrimination Against India's Religious Minorities"

55 Kalim Siddiqui and Mohamed Nazeer, "Pinarayi's Ascension: Kannur Relieves its Red Pride," *The Hindu*, May 16, 2016, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kerala/pinarayis-ascension-kannur-relives-its-red-pride/article8628343.ece>

56 Kalim Siddiqui, 174.

Hindu-Muslim violence did not occur between 1975-1977 because the Indian government declared an emergency and banned RSS. After lifting of ban in 1977, RSS again provoked an anti-Muslim campaign and massive violence took place in Jharkhand (Bihar) in April 1979 resulting in 80 Muslim casualties.⁵⁷ In August 1980, a tragic Muslim massacre took place in Moradabad. RSS workers brought pigs in Eidgah when Muslims were offering Eid prayer that flared up Muslim sentiments which resulted in Hindu-Muslim riots, and approximately 2500 Muslims died.⁵⁸ In February 1983, violence occurred in Nellie, Assam. The dividing force behind the incidence was the ethnic and language differences due to the migration of Bangladeshi Muslims. Hindus targeted the residences and properties of the Muslims resulting in 5000 casualties.⁵⁹

The violence was not restricted to Muslims, Sikh too were targeted by Hindu extremists. Following the assassination of Indra Gandhi by her two Sikh bodyguards in 1984, in the anti-Sikh riots that occurred in Delhi, and more than 3700 Sikhs were killed.⁶⁰ The Congress government remained irrelevant during anti-Sikh riots.⁶¹

In May 1984, Hindu-Muslim communal violence broke out due to a highly inflammatory speech of Bal Thackeray (a leader of Shiv Sina) in the cities of Bhiwandi and Bombay (Maharashtra). It was reported that over 400 Muslims were killed and the property losses were estimated in billions of rupees.⁶² In March-July 1985, violence erupted in Ahmadabad (Gujarat) between upper-class Hindus and Muslims on the issue of the reservation of quotas for the suppressed classes in education and health sector.⁶³ Total death toll during violence was over 200.⁶⁴

In May 1987, a large-scale violence against Muslims occurred due to the murder of

57 "A Narrowing Space: Violence and Discrimination Against India's Religious Minorities," 8.

58 Ibid. Kalim Siddiqui, "Moradabad's Muslim Massacre of 13th August, 1980," *The Hindu*, <https://clarionindia.net/moradabads-muslims-massacre-and-riots-13th-august-1980-painful-memories-of-a-teenage-eyewitness/>

59 Violette Graff and Juliette Galonnier, "Hindu-Muslim Communal Riots in India - I (1947-1986)," *SciencesPo*, July 15, 2013, <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/hindu-muslim-communal-riots-india-i-1947-1986.html>

60 Ibid.

61 Kalim Siddiqui, 179.

62 V Violette Graff and Juliette Galonnier, "Hindu-Muslim Communal Riots in India - I (1947-1986)," *SciencesPo*, July 15, 2013, <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/hindu-muslim-communal-riots-india-i-1947-1986.html>

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

a Hindu on a minor land dispute in Meerut, Uttar Pradesh. In mob violence, the local police also supported Hindus and more than 100 Muslims were killed in a single day.⁶⁵ In October 1988, Shiv Sina planned a general strike in Muzaffarnagar (Uttar Pradesh) with the coordination of Babri Mosque Action Committee (BMAC). Violence flared up due to the refusal of Muslim shopkeepers to close their shops and it was reported that over 60 Muslims were killed.⁶⁶ In October 1989, Ram Shila procession raised anti-Muslim slogans while passing through a Muslim-majority area Tarapur in Bhagalpur (Bihar), that created Hindu-Muslims confrontation and it intensified in the whole city and surrounding areas. During violence, role of local police was biased and in favor of Hindus. The violence resulted in over one thousand casualties including 896 Muslims, 50 Hindus, and around 106 missing persons.⁶⁷ During April-December 1990, Hindu extremists mobilized a campaign against Babri Mosque and proclaimed it to be a birthplace of Ram. Due to this movement, serious riots took place in various cities of the states of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Delhi, and Andhra Pradesh. During riots, killing of thousands of Muslims along with the demolition of their properties worth billions of rupees was reformed.⁶⁸

In December 1992-March 1993, riots occurred in various parts of India due to the demolition of Babri Mosque. A procession comprised thousands of Hindus from all over India including the members of RSS, VHP with the support of BJP under the leadership of Lal Krishan Advani took place in Ayodhya for the destruction of historic Babri Moaque on December 6, 1992. The demolition of Babri Mosque exacerbated Hindu-Muslim violence in various parts of India that resulted in the casualties of thousands of Muslims and Hindus. Losses of Muslims were comparatively higher due to partaking as minority.⁶⁹ The most hazardous incidence occurred in Mumbai. Besides destruction of holy places, looting and incidents, and sexual assault, approximately 900 deaths were reported, of whom, the casualties of Muslims were 575.⁷⁰

Massacres took place in Godhra, in Ahmadabad (Gujarat) in February 2002. The

65 Violette Graff and Juliette Galonnier, "Hindu-Muslim Communal Riots in India II (1987-2011)," *SciencesPo*, August 20, 2013, <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/hindu-muslim-communal-riots-india-ii-1986-2011.html>

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Priya Chacko, "Marketizing Hindutva: The State Society and Markets in Hindu Nationalism," *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no.02 (March 2019): 377-410.

70 "A Narrowing Space: Violence and Discrimination Against India's Religious Minorities", 9.

violence occurred in the wake of a fire on a train that carried Hindu nationalist workers that resulted in the deaths of 58 individuals.⁷¹ The Hindu nationalists blamed Muslims for instigating the violence, but several investigations declared that the fire was accidental.⁷² On the contrary, Vajpayee (the then Prime Minister) alleged the Muslims and supported Modi (the then Chief Minister of Gujarat) to condemn the riots.⁷³ The violence continued for over two months under the cover of Modi's led BJP government resulting in the killing of over 2000 Muslims.⁷⁴ The worst attack on Muslim community was observed in Naroda-Patia in Gujarat where more than 100 Muslims were burnt alive under the supervision of state police force.⁷⁵ International agencies such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have reported atrocious violations of human rights, including torture and rape.⁷⁶

Besides targeting Muslims, RSS activists also overwhelmed local Christian community. In August 2008, RSS triggered violence against Christians due to assassination of a Hindu nationalist in Odisha. The violence resulted in the killing of around 39 Christians, approximately 230 worship places destroyed and thousands of Christians were displaced.⁷⁷ Likewise, Hindu nationalists did not even spare Dalits (a low-caste Hindu group, untouchables). For instance, in 2016, BJP/RSS members publicly beat four Dalits in Gujarat and uploaded a video of humiliation and beating on social media.⁷⁸ The Dalits were accused of killing a cow but they were just skinning a dead cow for leather as this was their profession for centuries.

71 Kalim Siddiqui, 174.

72 Priya Chacko, 21.

73 Ibid.

74 Kalim Siddiqui, 174.

75 Ibid.

76 Eviane Leidig, 229.

77 Utkarsh Anand, "2008 Kandhamal violence: SC orders re-probe of 315 cases in which closure reports were filed," *The Indian Express*, August 4, 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/2008-kandhamal-violence-sc-orders-re-probe-of-315-cases-in-which-closure-reports-were-filed-2952432/>

78 Kalim Siddiqui, 178.

During 2011-2016, violence persisted as indicated in the Table below:

Intensity and frequency of communal violence reported in India 2011-2016

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Incidents of communal violence	580	640	823	644	751	703	4141
Number of deaths	91	93	133	95	97	86	595
Number of injuries	1,899	2,067	2,269	1,921	2,264	2,321	12,741

As BJP/RSS targeted all the minorities but their prime target was Muslims and Christians. According to a report of Centre for Study of Society and Secularism and UK-based Minority Rights Group International (MRGI), ‘in 2017 alone, over 700 incidents of communal violence occurred in India resulting in 86 deaths and 2,329 injured.⁷⁹ However, the actual numbers could be higher because many cases were not reported. Likewise, during January 2014-2018, over 1,620 incidents of violence against Christians were reported.⁸⁰

After obtaining an absolute majority in election of 2019, the Modi government became confident to implement Hindutva’s agenda of *Akhand Bharat*.⁸¹ For instance, the recent development in revoking Article 370 of Indian Constitution indicates the intent of BJP’s government.⁸² With the abrogation of Article 370 on August 6, 2019, BJP led Modi government-imposed curfew in Kashmir to comprehend the reaction of the people of Kashmir. Since then, the Indian army is involved to curb the insurgency in Kashmir and over 159 Kashmiri insurgents were killed in 2019.⁸³ According to a report of Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS), ‘during the first seven months of 2020 over

79 Nilanjana Bhowmick, “Modi’s party strokes anti-Muslim violence in India: report says,” *This Week in Asia*, June 29, 2017, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/2100513/modis-party-strokes-anti-muslim-violence-india-report-says>

80 Lindy Lowry, “The Rising Storm against Christians in India,” *Open Doors*, August 12, 2019, <https://www.opendoorsusa.org/christian-persecution/stories/if-youre-not-hindu-youre-not-indian-the-rising-storm-against-christians-in-india/>

81 Kapil Komireddi, “The Kashmir crisis is not about territory. It’s about a Hindu victory over Islam,” *Washington Post*, August 16, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/the-kashmir-crisis-isnt-about-territory-its-about-a-hindu-victory-over-islam/2019/08/16/ab84ffe2-bf79-11e9-a5c6-1e74f7ec4a93_story.html

82 Note: Article 370 provided assurances about the special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and with the abrogation of the article, the Kashmir will be considered as the part of India.

83 Kaisar Andrabi, “A Year After Article 370’s End, A Dangerous Silence in Kashmir,” *The Diplomat*, August 04, 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/08/a-year-after-article-370s-end-a-dangerous-silence-in-kashmir/>

347 Kashmiris were killed in violence.⁸⁴ Under the patronage of BJP government, around 50 identified and hundreds of unidentified training camps were organized by Hindu *Swabhiman* in coordination with the Indian army, where six months of military training was given to *shakhas* to fight against Muslims during violence.⁸⁵

DEVISING TWO NATION THEORY

The Two Nation Theory was based upon the postulation that the Muslims of subcontinent aspired to attain an independent state since they have a different culture, traditions, civilization, language, religion, literature, and a way of life, as compared to Hindus. Both Hindus and Muslims lived together for centuries but they maintained their separate national identities (cultures, social systems, and civilizations).⁸⁶ Their integration was implausible even though Akbar (Mughal emperor) planned to unify both Muslims and Hindus into a single nation but had miserably failed.⁸⁷ During Muslim rule (1206-1757), Hindus acknowledged the tolerant spirit of Mughal rulers despite possessing frustration against Muslims.⁸⁸ The rulers were not even declared foreigners due to their services in creating an environment of peaceful coexistence for all the people of Subcontinent irrespective of their religion.⁸⁹

The Britishers became the de facto rulers of subcontinent with the conquest of Delhi in 1803 and the Hindus welcomed new rulers because it was just a change of masters for them.⁹⁰ On the contrary, Muslims had lost rule over subcontinent and the Britishers presumed Muslims as their (Britishers') political rivals and posed threat to their despotic rule.⁹¹ Likewise, Muslims were further undermined during the war of independence in 1857. Additionally, the glorious historical background of Muslims generated fears about the renaissance of Muslim rule among Britishers and Hindus. So, the Britishers deprived

84 Ibid.

85 Note: Sandeep Rai and Udhay Singh Rana, "15000 strong dharma sena in Uttar Pradesh readies for war with Islamic State," *Times of India*, January 20, 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/15000-strong-dharma-sena-in-uttar-pradesh-readies-for-war-with-islamic-state/articleshow/50646587.cms>

86 Shakila Noor Sindhu, "Creation of Pakistan," *IJASOS-International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences* 11, no.04 (April 2016): 280.

87 Mehmet Hasan, "Din-i-ilahi: An Indian Shah, Jesuits and a Divine Religion," *Daily Sabah*, Feb 13, 2022, <https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/din-i-ilahi-an-indian-shah-jesuits-and-a-divine-religion/news>

88 Farhat Hasan, "Nationalist representation of the Mughal state: The views of Talik and Gandhi," *Studies in People's History* 6, no.1 (2019): 57.

89 Ibid.

90 Abdul Majid, et al, "Genesis of Two Nations Theory and Quaid-i-Azam," *Pakistan Vision* 15, no.01(2014): 184.

91 Ibid.

and minimized the socio-political and economic contribution of the Muslims and removed them from public duties, and restricted their right to education.⁹² The Hindus exploited the situation in their favour in two ways:

- I. Being in majority, they occupied key positions in public services, earned the confidence of the Britishers by acquiring modern education and grasping seats in commerce and industry.⁹³
- II. The Hindus planned for the revival of Hindu nationalism from 8th to 12th century and initiated Barhamo Smaj⁹⁴, Arya Smaj,⁹⁵ Shuddhi and *Sanghathan*,⁹⁶ for inciting Hindu religious sentiments against the Muslims. In this way, they intended to create an environment for imposing Hindu Raj at the end of the British Raj.⁹⁷

Hindu's enduring nationalism had gradually exacerbated threat for the survival of the Muslims that led to the emergence of Muslim nationalism. In this connection, Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan is considered the first leader for initiating the idea of Muslim nationalism. Initially, Sir Sayyed was in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity, and the word "qaum" (nation) was used for both Hindus and Muslims.⁹⁸ Sir Sayyed described India as a gorgeous bride blessed with two beautiful eyes, the Hindus and the Muslims. If they uphold enmity with each other, the bride will become one-eyed. Now, it depends upon them whether they make one-eyed or cross-eyed bride or preserve her with both eyes.⁹⁹

92 Davut Sahbaz, "The Two Nations Theory and It's Role in the Establishment of Pakistan," *Academic Journal of History and Idea* 1.7, no.01 (Spring 2020): 212.

93 Abdul Majid, et al, 184.

94 This movement was initiated by Ram Mohan in 1828 at Calcutta. The movement discarded Hindu rituals and sacrifices and adopted some Christian practices to worship. M. Vijay Kumar Sharma, *Bhartiya Approaches to Social Change and Development*, <http://www.mgcub.ac.in/pdf/material/20200701012340699f29e3e4.pdf>

95 Note: Dayananda Sarsavati started this movement in 1875 at Delhi. The main objective of Arya Smaj was to reestablish Vedas and reformulated them with new interpretations. Arya Smaj was criticized due to exhibiting an aggressive intolerance against Islam and Christianity. "Arya Smaj: sect, India," *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Arya-Samaj>

96 Note: These movements were started by Dayananda (a leader of Arya Smaj) in the beginning of 20th century to pressurize the Christians and the Muslims to accept Hinduism. "Shuddhi Movement," *India Online*, <https://www.indiaonline.in/about/profile/history/historical-reforms/shuddhi-movement>

97 Abdul Majid, et al, 184.

98 Note: Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan was cited by Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakista'* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 244.

99 Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan was cited by Sharif-ul-Mujahid, "Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Nationalism in India," *Islamic Studies* 38, no.01 (Spring 1999): 89.

Sir Sayyid's belief in Hindu-Muslim unity received a jolt following the issue of Urdu-Hindi controversy. Urdu was the medium for information and diffusion of news among masses of the subcontinent. Urdu was written in Persian script and developed by both Hindus and Muslims over last five centuries and popularly be known as the language of the elite class. It was even declared as the official language of the courts in the provinces of Punjab, Bihar and North West Frontier (NWF) in 1835.¹⁰⁰ Hereafter, Hindus labeled Urdu as the language of Muslims due to its Persian scripture and demanded its replacement with Hindi Devanagari script in courts.¹⁰¹ It was utmost surprise for Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan when an anti-Urdu movement was initiated by Hindus in Banaras in 1867 that absolutely changed his stance on Hindu-Muslim unity. So, Sir Sayyid Ahmad expressed for the first time the word "Two Nations" for Hindus and Muslims during an interview with Mr. Shakespeare, the commissioner of Banaras, and proclaimed that 'it would hardly be practicable for both the nations to survive for their composite growth'.¹⁰² Thus, Sir Sayyid Khan was declared the founder of Two Nation Theory.¹⁰³ He devoted his entire life for boosting the socio-political-economic conditions of the Muslims of India by initiating Aligarh Movement.

Similarly, Allama Iqbal was again a strong protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity as he promoted Indian nationalism during the early phase of his poetry. For instance, he wrote two famous poems (*Taran-a-milli and mera watan wohi hai*) in support of Indian nationalism.¹⁰⁴ Before 1905, Iqbal's understanding of nationalism revolved around Indian nationalism.¹⁰⁵ After returning from Europe in 1908, Iqbal diverted his rationale from Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism and pronounced the ideas about state structure which were based upon the teachings of Holy Quran and proclaimed that Islam is not only a religion but is based on a civilization.¹⁰⁶ Iqbal argued that the continuation of Islamic cultural heritage and survival of

100 Farooq Ahmad Dar, "Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Hindu-Muslim Question in India," *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 55, no.2 (July-December 2018): 13. Sharif-ul-Mujahid, 92.

101 Note: The replacement of Urdu was not simply a verbal threat and officially, it was replaced with Hindi in courts of Bihar. Likewise, in 1872-73, was replaced in Central Province. In 1881 replaced in all the government offices in Bihar. In 1898, replaced not only in NWP but was banned in Muslim educational institutes including Aligarh and Nidwat-ul-Ulama. Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India: A Brief Survey 1858-1947* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1971), 37-38.

102 Sharif-ul-Mujahid, 92.

103 Note: Muslims and Hindus had been living in Subcontinent for hundreds of years but they maintained their societal norms and remained intact with their social systems which were based on their distinct cultures that resulted the formation of Two Nation Theory and ratified the theory of clash of civilization.

104 Note: These poems were popular among the Indian youth before partition as these were recited in schools during morning prayers. Researcher's own observation while watching the interviews of Hindus and Muslims elaborating the India's socio-political environment before partition on youtube.

105 Davut Sahbaz, 218.

106 Ibid.

Muslims in India is viable only with the establishment of an Islamic state.¹⁰⁷ Iqbal's argument in favour of Islamic civilization against Hinduism indicates his qualms about the survival of the Muslims in India. The idea of Two Nation Theory inspired Allama Iqbal to initiate an idea of a separate state for the Muslims that would be established according to the teachings of Islam in India.¹⁰⁸ Iqbal was convinced that it will not be possible for different civilizations to collaborate in respect and peace within the context of Two Nation Theory and eventually, India will disintegrate into pieces and a separate homeland for the Muslims will emerge.¹⁰⁹

In this connection, Allama Iqbal delivered an address while presiding over the annual session of All India Muslim League (AML) at Allahabad in December 1930 and elaborated on the current geo-political environment of India at a great length. During address, Iqbal asserted with arguments that Islam encompasses a comprehensive code of life.¹¹⁰ Allama Iqbal professed in an address in 1930:

*"I would like to see North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Balochistan, and Sindh integrated into a single state. Self-governance within or outside British empire, and the formation of an associated North-West Indian Muslim state seems to me the final destiny of Muslims, at least of North India."*¹¹¹

Iqbal's address in 1930 not only defined the parameters for the establishment of forthcoming state but also mentioned the main proponents of the disintegration and these were mainly based on socio-cultural and religious transformations which endorsed the theory of clash of civilizations. Likewise, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was another astounding personality, a man of firm principles, played a marvellous role in materializing Two Nation Theory and popularly renamed as Quaid-i-Azam, and was not only the founder of Pakistan but led it too.¹¹² Firstly, Quaid-i-Azam was a staunch believer of Hindu-Muslim unity and was awarded the title of 'the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity' due to his services during Lucknow Pact.¹¹³ Quaid's belief in Hindu-Muslim unity absconded during Round Table Conferences

107 Ibid.

108 Davut Sahbaz, 218.

109 Muhammad Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* (Lahore: Caravan Book House, 2019), 76-77.

110 Ibid.

111 Muhammad Raza Kazmi, *A Concise History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2019), 115

112 Mahreen Hassan, "Two Nation Theory and The Creation of Pakistan," (Master's Thesis, Istanbul: Istanbul Aydin University, 2021), 24.

113 Note: Lucknow Pact was signed between All India Congress and All India Muslim League in 1916 in which the provision of separate electorate and some electoral concessions for the Muslims were accepted by Congress due to the efforts of Quaid-i-Azam. Sarojini Naidu (an Indian Politician) acknowledged Quaid's

held in 1930-1932.¹¹⁴ These Conferences remained ineffective due to the non-cooperation of all India Congress except the second round because some important developments relating to the representation of minorities happened. During second round, Gandhi proclaimed that all India Congress was the representative of all the minorities in India including the Muslims that was not acceptable for All India Muslim League and exclusively for Quaid-i-Azam.¹¹⁵

Quaid denied Gandhi's notion and sharply reminded that 'All India Muslim League is the single party which proclaims as the representative of the Muslims of India'.¹¹⁶ Surprisingly, All India Congress was presumed as a pro-Muslim political party but its arrogance during Round Table Conferences renounced its notion about Muslims. Quaid-i-Azam was extremely disappointed and expressed his suspicion in his speech at Lucknow on October 15, 1937: 'the majority community has declared that Hindustan is for the Hindus'.¹¹⁷

The aforesaid discussion indicates that the Muslim leadership initially promoted Hindu-Muslim unity. But over time and after experiencing the Hindu mind-set in promoting Hinduism diverted their attention to endorse Muslim nationalism. However, the common Muslims were not still aware of Hindu mentality and thus, never supported Muslim League during elections in 1937. Congress succeeded and formed the governments in eight provinces and coalition governments in three provinces.¹¹⁸ During Congress governments (July 1937-December 1939), all possible efforts to suppress the Muslims were put in place, for instance, *BandeMataram*,¹¹⁹ *Imposition of Hindi*,¹²⁰ *widia Minder scheme*,¹²¹ *the prohibition of*

services about Lucknow Pact and she wrote a book titled, "Muhammad Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity in 1918.

114 Note: The Britishers planned to reinforce constitutional reforms in India and for seeking the consents and suggestions of the Indian politicians, arranged three round table conferences held on 1930-1932 at London and invited around all the political parties including All India Congress and All India Muslim League.

115 "Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: London 1931," *Jinnah of Pakistan*, April 14, 2020, <http://www.jinnahofpakistan.com/2010/04/london-1931.html?m=1>.

116 Muhammad Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs*, 78-79.

117 Shahid Javaid Burki, "In the Mirror of History," Dawn, February 15, 2005.

118 "Rule of Congress Ministries," Story of Pakistan, June 01, 2003, <https://storyofpakistan.com/rule-of-congress-ministries/>

119 Note: It was basically a song taken from a Bengali novel *Anandamutha* written by a Bengali novelist Bunkim Chander Chatterji and published in 1882. It was introduced as National Anthem in Bengal and its context was called wounded Muslim susceptibilities.

120 Note: Hindi was introduced as official language in place of Urdu. The elimination of Urdu as an official language would mean a step towards the annihilation of the cultural inheritance of the Muslims of India.

121 Note: According to this scheme, the books were edited and the contents were added in praise of Hinduism. It was a dangerous plot for deviating non-Hindus especially the Muslims. The young students were compelled to fold their heads in front of Gandhi's picture in the way of Hindu worship.

*the slaughter of the cow,*¹²² *and Hindu-Muslim Riots.*¹²³ The common Muslims experienced the cruelties of Congress governments 1937-1939, which generated not only a sense of insecurity but intensified the awareness among the Muslims about Two Nation Theory. The Muslims felt relieved when Congress governments resigned and celebrated ‘The Day of Deliverance’ on December 22, 1939.¹²⁴

The hostilities of Congress governments ratified the intention of Hindus to impose ‘Hindu Raj’ in India and in response, all the Muslims in India decided to endorse All India Muslim League, on the issue of a separate homeland for the Muslims, according to Two Nation Theory. So, the Lahore resolution which is popularly known as ‘Pakistan Resolution’ was unanimously passed by the Muslims during an annual meeting of All India Muslim League at Lahore held on March 23, 1940. Quaid-i-Azam presided over the meeting and stated during his presidential address:

*“Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland and their state. We intend to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people.”*¹²⁵

It is obvious during this discussion that it was a Hindu’s mind-set about Hindu nationalism, which reflected the ideology of Hindutva. It enforced the Muslims towards Two Nation Theory that resulted in the inception of a new state “Pakistan”, on August 14 1947.

122 Note: The slaughter of the cow was declared as prohibited and criminal laws were exacted for the deviants of this rule and it was against the religious beliefs of the Muslims.

123 Note: Hindu-Muslim riots happened throughout the state. The houses of Muslims were set on fire and their women were molested or abducted. Massacre and plundering became the routine of everyday life. The most tragic aspect of these incidents was that it was the innocent Muslims who were punished for the break of peace and order and no inquiry was taken against any Hindu hooligan. For details, please see Coupland Sir Reginald, India: *A Restatement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945). Ishtiaq Ahmad, “Competing Religious Nationalism and the Partition of British India,” *Pakistan Journal of Historical and Culture* 26, no.02 (July-December 2005): 1-11. Depak Panday, “Congress-Muslim League Relations 1937-1939: The Parting of Ways,” *Asian Studies* 12, no.04 (1978): 629-654.

124 Depak Panday, 652.

125 Note: “Presidential Address by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim League 1940,” *Associated Press Pakistan*, March 23, 2021, <https://www.app.com.pk/national/presidential-address-by-muhammad-ali-jinnah-to-the-muslim-league-lahore-1940/>

HINDUTVA IDEOLOGY: A CHALLENGE FOR INDIA'S NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The fascist plan of Modi government is continuation of the agenda of Hindu nationalism, within the shadow of Hindutva ideology of 1857. The enduring India's socio-political environment triggered severe concerns for the survival of minorities and exclusively for Muslims. India proclaims itself as the world's largest democracy and the secular bearing of its Constitution provides safeguards to the minorities which are based on liberty, equality, and fraternity.¹²⁶ But the policies of Modi government have converted India from a secular republic to a Hindutva republic and aggravated the prospects for India's disintegration, as was observed during Congress governments 1937-39. India comprises of thirty seven States including eight Union territories and various separatist movements at states level persist but this research is concerned with the movements initiated by the minorities in reaction of Hindutva ideology and the atrocities of BJP governments. For instance, Meghalaya,¹²⁷ Arunachal Pradesh,¹²⁸ Assam,¹²⁹ Nagaland,¹³⁰ Mizoram,¹³¹ Indian Punjab (Khalistan)¹³², and Jammu and Kashmir.¹³³ Thus, it might be presumed that due to Hindutva ideology, existing

126 Note: "Constitution rests on three pillars-liberty, equality and fraternity: President Ram Nath Kovind," *Business Standard*, November 27, 2017, https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ani/constitution-rests-on-3-pillars-liberty-equality-fraternity-pm-kovind-117112700059_1.html

127 Note: Meghalaya state was separated from Assam in 1971 and 79 percent of its population is based on non-Hindu tribes, out of which around 47 percent are Christians. The insurgency for independence started since 1980s due to communal riots happened in 1972 between migrants and local tribes. Masud Ahmad Khan, "Separatist Tendencies in India," *Daily Times*, August 5, 2019, <https://dailymtimes.com.pk/443470/separatist-tendencies-in-india/>

128 Note: The 63 percent population of Arunachal Pradesh is based on non-Hindus and mainly of them are Buddhists. A separatist movement exist since 1962 after Sino-Indian war 1962 and China also claims on this state. Ibid.

129 Note: In Assam, around 36 militant groups involve in separatist movement, i.e., the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), United People Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) and The Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA). To comprehend these groups, two military operations (Rhino and Bajrang) were also launched but the groups are still proactive. Ibid.

130 Note: Around 88 percent Nagaland's population is based on non-Hindu and out of which 67 percent are Christians. The separatist movement persists even before partition. Naga National Council started insurgency movement in 1950 and a plebiscite was held in 1951 and around 99.9 percent endorsed independence. Nagas are still striving for obtaining independence status. Ibid

131 Note: Mizoram is a non-Hindu majority state comprises on 96 percent Christian population and an independent movement was launched by Mizo National Front in 1966. Besides initiating military operations against it but the movement is still prevailing. Ibid

132 Note: Khalistan Freedom Movement was initiated by Sikhs in 1981. The movement was smashed by a military operation (Blue Star) in 1984. In 2018, the movement got momentum with the demand of a referendum about Khalistan from Sikhs. Ibid.

133 Note: Kashmir is the most serious burning issue not only within India but between India and Pakistan

India political scenario coerces the minorities to instigate separatist movements, and these might disrupt India's national integration in future.

CONCLUSION

This research revolved around the prospects of Hindutva ideology. Hindutva is the continuation of ancient concept of Hindu nationalism. During World War II, the likelihood of India's independence occurred due to the downfall of the British Raj which provided room to Hindus for the revival of Hindu nationalism. Moreover, prolonged rules of Muslims and Britishers in the subcontinent germinated frustration among the Hindus, and in reaction, they became determined the revival of Hindu Raj after the withdrawal of Britishers. So, they planned to impose Hindu civilization by exercising legislative authorities, and their disparaging arrogance against the Muslims especially during Congress governments 1937-1939, exacerbated a sense of insecurity among the Muslims in future. In reaction, the Muslims of India declared that they had their civilization and promoted Two Nation Theory that resulted in the demand for a separate state, Pakistan, which came into being on August 14, 1947. The aspiration for the pre-eminence of Hindu nationalism within the ambit of Hindutva ideology persisted among Hindu masses, and they continued hostilities against the minorities even after the partition. The enduring hostilities against the Muslims in India ratified the prospects of Two Nation Theory.

The main argument behind India's proclamation as the world's largest democracy is the secular bearings of India's constitution. The constitutional safeguards about minorities promote India's national integration and harmony among minorities and Hindus. On the contrary, the initiatives of Modi's government against the minorities have not only diminished constitutional guarantees but also exacerbated fears among the minorities about their security and survival. Within such a diverse environment, minorities might instigate freedom movements for ensuring their forthcoming peaceful existence. As some movements are already running and these might devastate India's national integration that would lead to India's further disintegration.

also and the two states involved in two wars and a limited conflict due to Kashmir. Kashmiris are striving for the right of self-determination as per UN resolutions but India is employing delaying tactics and has created warlike situation against the Kashmiris. The brutalities in Jammu and Kashmir have also been condemned by the UN Commission for Human rights. Ibid.