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### ABSTRACT

Since its inception, India, the largest democracy in the world with a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic population of 1.3 billion has projected a secular face, protected by its constitution. However, soon after the 2014 elections, with the BJP's rise to power the situation changed rapidly. Presently, under Prime Minister Modi's leadership, Hindutva ideology is at the forefront of New Delhi's agenda- a fact which has changed the socio-political dynamics of India at large. This qualitative research investigates how Muslims are being suppressed in 21st century India. It showcases how the secular face of India has vanished, and been replaced by a new 'right-wing' doctrine which will ultimately affect not only India itself, but the region in the long run. This study is based on secondary data by using empirical methods and suggests that constitutional amendments such as Citizen Amendment Bill (CAB) and article 370 along with 35A should be rebuked in order to save the social fabric of India.

### Key Words: Hindu Nationalism, Modi Regime, Indian, Citizen Amendment Bill, Article 370

# Introduction

India comprises of a pluralistic society encompassing different social fabrics with Hindus making up the majority and Muslims, Sikh, Christian and Buddhist making up significant minority communities. India is a country that is designated and originated with the name of Hinduism and having the largest community it has been recognized as a country of Hindus where the rest of minorities did not get much recognition as they should (Ayoob, 2020). Hence, it goes without saying that the Hindu community has a dominant role in the socio-political development of Indian society – a trend which has been there since before India's independence in 1947. Recent waves in the rise of Hindutva ideology have further provided the basis for development and promotion of Hindu nationals which has shocked the world. The Hindutva ideology deems Hindus superior over other communities so much so that they can decide the fate of other groups as well.

The BJP government's mantra stems from Hindutva ideology and Hindu nationalism and in this regard has adopted policies that favor Hindu's interests while undermining minorities' securities. Needless to say, that this besmirched attitude and Hindu-centric policies of the BJP government have put minorities in danger. Several occurrences have been reported where people belonging to minorities are being killed by mobs inspired by Hindu nationalism (Harriss, 2015). Such episodes have created an uncertain situation among the common people of society where having different religious beliefs is now considered a hazard.

Hindu nationalistic actions of the BJP under Prime Minister Narendra Modi have undermined the ideas of diversity, plurality, and secularism that were once considered the pride of India by its founding fathers. The situation has gone from bad to worse after the Citizen Amendment Bill (CAB) was introduced in 2019. The impact of what is deemed as an anti-Muslim campaign are further creating animosity among the Hindus and Muslims and has incited Hindu fundamentals to take any measure to crush the interests of minorities living in India particularly Muslims.

Hindu nationalism is represented as the manifestation of sociopolitical thought collectively built on the native spiritual and cultural rituals and named as the predominant thought of nationalism of the Indian subcontinent. Various scholarships have been written on Hindu nationalism and its rise in contemporary India.

Dr. Shahnawaz Ahmed Malik from Aligarh Muslim University analyzed the minority rights in India with special reference to Modi's government through his research article "*Minority Rights Protection in India; From Sachar Committee Recommendations to Mob Lynching*". He describes the impediments to minority rights in India and subsequent difficulties which are being faced by marginal groups while seeking their basic rights. He states that Prime Minister Modi and his political party are the one who are responsible for the deprivation of minority rights as their main claim to their legitimacy is the sole support of the Hindu community above all else (Malik, 2018).

Catarina Kinvall states in her article "Populism, ontological insecurity and Hindutva: Modi and the masculinization of Indian politics" how Modi's policy has verbalized and extended its foreign policy communication into one that benefits a populist portrayal of nativism, nationalism and religion as forms of ontological safety providing at home and abroad, but also how daily actions can challenge such narratives, thus permitting various imaginaries of the Indian state (Kinvall, 2019). This is not only strengthening Hindutva ideology but also damaging India's secular which it previously managed to portray in different states, with different identities and culture. Such approaches will not only standardize minority issues but also sheds light on the freedom movements that have already started in Manipur and Nagaland in tandem with the Kashmir historic freedom movement.

The far-right populism in India documented with Prime Minister Modi regime is further analyzed (Petre & Tudor, 2015) in the research article "*The* Influence of

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the Hindu Right Wing on the Indian Education System after the Election of Narendra Modi". The authors have explained how right wing groups are getting in power and how they want to shape Indian community as per their beliefs. Farright populism is no longer hidden concept in India where Hindu nationalist BJP gained power twice under the leadership of Narendra Modi. Such populism will not only threaten the other minorities in India but especially the 200 million Muslims residing in India. Moreover, the Kashmir issue has become the nucleus challenge after the rise of Hinduvta.

Simon Tisdall in his article "Why Modi's Kashmir coup threatens India's democracy" in the Guardian explains that Modi was encouraged by his 2019 reelection victory and now he seems set on replacing India's secular, federalist tradition with a centralized, authoritarian state which features the abolishing of article 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution (Tisdall, 2019). He further states that, "before becoming Prime Minister in 2014, Modi was best-known for his shocking role in the bloody 2002 communal riots in Gujarat, when he was state chief minister". While national leadership brought increased international acceptance and respectability. However, now the original, chauvinist Modi is resurfacing which in itself is an unedifying spectacle. Boosted by his landslide re-election victory, lauded by a sycophantic press, and untroubled by a discredited opposition, the "divider-in-chief", as Time magazine dubbed him, seems set on replacing India's founding secular, federalist tradition with a centralized, majoritarian, authoritarian state in keeping with the concept of "Hindu Rashtra".

Rahul Pandita expresses his thoughts over the new status of Indian held Kashmir after the rise of far-right populism in India in his article "*In Kashmir, Modi Is Failing Both Muslims and Hindus*" (Pandita, 2019). He states that such changes are not acceptable to the Hindu population present in Kashmir. Far-Right Populism is the basic determinant that encouraged Indian authorities to go beyond their limits and ultimately this will damage the federation in future.

This research provides information regarding the rise of Hindu nationalism with reference to the Modi government specifically. It will highlight the challenges that have emerged in Indian society – especially with regard to Muslim minorities- and will underscore future implications of such actions.

### A Briefer of BJP's Discrimination Against the Muslim Community

Rights of religious minorities have often been overlooked by the Indian government – at both the national and state levels. Religious freedom of minorities is often violated by using state laws especially since very little is known about the laws. Ferocity against religious minorities, discrimination, forced conversions and environments with increased episodes of harassment and coercion of religious minorities are not recent trends in India, since they have happened under both the previous governments of the Congress Party and Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP).

Following the victory of India's right-wing BJP in May 2014, fears have been rising about the destiny of religious minorities in India.

Hindu nationalistic actions of the BJP under Prime Minister Narendra Modi have undermined the ideas of diversity, plurality, and secularism that were once considered the pride of India by its founding fathers. Already feared by many religious communities across India, dangers, hate crimes, social boycotts, vandalisms of places of worship, raids, and forced conversions run by extremist Hindu nationalist movements have intensified dramatically under the BJP controlled government. At present, India faces serious challenges to both its pluralistic traditions and its religious minorities. Even Hindu groups which are classified as Schedule Castes or Tribes, commonly called Dalits, are also increasingly being attacked and harassed (Anderson & Longkumer, 2018).

Under the existing BJP regime, the discrimination and marginalization of Muslims and other minorities did not appear suddenly, but various signs and tracks have been culminating over time. An example is the massacre of Muslims in Gujarat in 2002 which was carried out under the leadership of then Chief Minister Narendra Modi. As Pankaj Mishra reminded us, "In an unprecedented brutal attack that was carefully organized and planned, more than 2,000 Muslims were killed and thousands were left homeless." Nowadays, under the new Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) rule, today's new India, which is an ardent supporter of Hindutva extremist ideology and supports mob violence, may not be so different after all. However, what is happening is the normalization of paranoia, violence, and exclusivity which is the result of majority political leaders praising and caring rather than accusing and negating hate perpetrators.

At present, Indian Muslims are a unique focus of the BJP because they make up the third largest Muslim population in the globe, with 172 million Muslims out of an estimated 1.3 billion population. The Sachar Committee (which was led by Justice Rajandar Sachar) was formed to investigate the "Economic, social and educational status of Indian Muslim community" in 2012. Its purpose was to correct the current situation of exclusion of Muslims which it deemed were caused by the absence of awareness of the facts about the Muslim community (including its socio-economic prominence, employment prospects, education equals, etc.). The notion was to make sure that appropriate policies are formulated for the future. To better assimilate them with the conventional economic and social development process, and to make certain that they have the same human rights as others in the state, these laws can be enacted. The committee established that, in fact, Indian Muslims do lag behind the national average in terms of literacy rate, employment rate, skills improvement, opportunities and right to use to loans, and presence in main departments and government sectors. The report consequently decided that the Muslim community was deprived of rights in virtually all areas of development and made several recommendations to initiate a process that may end the institutional and structural issues that hinder Muslims from entering mainstream society which hinders any chances of progress. In addition, the report aims to assist in policy formulation and programs to increase the socio-economic

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backwardness of Muslim community. The report concluded that Muslim community in India face education and financial discrimination primarily due to Islamophobia (Kasuri, 2015).

On the other hand, after ten years of careful planning and necessary efforts, the Sachar report has become a illusory figure of the past, because the rise of BJP has led to a more fundamental and ideologically biased approach to Indian Muslims since 2014. Moreover, the issue of Muslim participation is now more controversial than ever, because the reference to Congress as a "Muslim party" and the resulting political reactions to this concept continue to maintain focus on the controversy associated with harmless political movements. Therefore, this is the background of Muslims living under Hindutva ideology in India since 2014, so it is necessary to indicate on how the BJP views itself, the Indian nation and the Muslims existing in it (Banerjee, 1991).

Although Muslims are one of the main ethnic minorities in India, they are divided into different social groups. Muslims in India are not a community from a sociological point of view. According to ethnicity and social and cultural background, they belong to diverse groups and subgroups. However, the downgrading of the Muslim community in India makes them an ethnic group. In addition to downgrading, the Muslim community also faces numerous atrocities. Increasing hate crimes against Muslims have resulted in increased marginalization of their society. Because of these problems, the Muslim ethnic group began a struggle for empowerment and self-development. However, the Indian government and most Hindus have no positive comments on the Muslim struggle for active development and empowerment.

Due to lack of real information about the economic, social and educational conditions, it is impossible to design, frame, implement and execute exact interventions associated to the Muslim community. The struggle for supremacy has always been at the centre of the Muslim-Hindu opposition, which makes them hostile groups to each other. After independence from the British the historical struggles and religious ideological differences in the subcontinent gave birth to Islamophobia. Moreover, Muslims' struggle to increase the share in power worked as firepower, and most Hindus instigated to adopt organized strategies to suppress the minority Muslim community. On the other hand, some people think that Muslims symbolize a single community, which is homogeneous not only in politics but also in society. Factually speaking, after the Muslim community struggled for a divided homeland based on its faith system, hate crimes and Islamophobia have risen rapidly in India, which has further divided Muslims and Hindus into two nations residing in the same land.

# **Educational Discrimination**

The Sachar Report stated that in certain states, namely Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Uttar Pradesh the educational and social environment of Muslims are poor.

Interestingly, these states have large Muslim populations. This means that the Muslim community faces a higher level of dispossession in terms of educational and social development. Moreover, these states also face higher Islamophobia. From the perspective of educational development, some states like Andhra Pardesh, the literacy rate of urban men and women is low. On the other hand, it is important to note that in relative terms the literacy rate of all other predetermined caste groups and tribes are increasing at a higher rate as compared to the Muslim community. As time passed, the Muslim community became interested in education throughout the country. Enrolment rates in Bihar, Utter Pardesh, Uttaranchal and Jharkhand are even worse. For example, among Muslim children in the 6-14 age groups, the dropout rate is almost 25%. In India, this fraction is the maximum as compared to all other predetermined tribes and castes. Muslim children do not finish primary education, and most children drop out of school, which had a negative impact on their socio-economic growth. However, the average age of schooling in Muslim community is also higher compared to other communities living in India. Furthermore, only 4% of the Muslim community (i.e. diploma holders and graduates) contribute in higher education. For example, in the country's top universities, only one of the 25 students is a Muslim. Yet, it was found that 1 out of every 50 Muslim students were enrolling in graduate programmes. Muslims are also deprived of the provision of school framework because they do not have access to basic facilities according to their needs. For instance, in most states, educational institutions do not offer native language courses, thus systematically depriving Muslims who speak Urdu. For example, in many states of the country, facilities for teaching Urdu are lacking; in only three states secondary Muslim schools have been found. In contrast, most states in Uttar Pradesh lack institutions, which encourage Muslims towards increasing enrolment and literacy rates. The seriousness of this situation can be assessed in that only a small number of educational institutions use Urdu as an elective subject. Nevertheless, almost all public schools take Sanskrit as an elective subject. This means that Muslim children are methodically deprived of educational services, which leads to socio-economic discrimination and degradation and poverty. From these survey results, it is also found that the state is unjust to eliminate the methodical dispossession of Muslim community. Since the division of the subcontinent, Muslim community has been provided fewer educational facilities than all other communities. To a large extent, the focus is still on the rise of the Hindu community. Intervention from national policies weakened the rights of the Muslim community. It can be said that as hatred against the Muslim community shows an increase in Islamophobia in India, national policies depicts that government discriminate in the provision of educational services. According to the Sachar report, deviations in India's education policy have benefited all predetermined tribes and castes, but have not provided any support for increasing enrolment and literacy rates in the Muslim community. The illiteracy of Indian Muslim youths indicate that the unemployment rate is the maximum amongst

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Muslim youths. This means that Muslims are one of the most susceptible groups in India in terms of economic, social and educational services.

Hence it goes without saying that being a Muslim in India decreases one's chances of graduation, securing good employment and enjoying fundamental human liberty. Furthermore, a Muslim residing in urban cities faces increased vulnerability in educational services (Merelli, 2019).

# **Economic Discrimination**

The Sachar Report (2016) examined the dearth in development levels of the Indian Muslim community. According to data, the socio-economic situation of Muslims across the state is not sustainable. There are great differences between states and between different ethnic backgrounds in communities. Nonetheless, deprivation is common throughout the community and the Muslim community confronts deprivation in all aspects of development. Compared with Hindus and other ethnic minorities, Muslims rank inferior in all development indicators and are also dispossessed of their religious beliefs. Academic indication shows that there are two fundamental reasons behind the deprived socio-economic status of Muslims, namely poverty and discernment. Conversely, most Indian communities do not suffer from poverty and discrimination like Muslim community. In view of the Sachar report, discrimination against Muslims is supported by anti-Muslim groups and some religious parties as well.

Ethnic groups (such as Sikhs, Jains and Parsis) face no obvious discrimination and are as privileged and wealthy as the upper-class Indian caste. Still, predetermined tribes and castes are in the fire of acumen due to the historical caste classification in India. The poverty and discrimination confronted by the Muslim community is not part of the historical caste system, but is instead based on religious confrontation. This confrontation has intensified Islamophobia hate crimes against Muslims. In addition, Muslims face restrictions in social and physical activities. Muslims are also less representative in the labour market because of their lower participation in technical professional jobs. Islamophobia is also reducing the number of people in the informal sector because they are discriminated against in order to increase their potential to obtain senior positions. The Muslim community is discriminated not only in the familiar public sector, but also in employment in the private sector. For example, in 1960, the proportion of Muslims among IPS and IAS officials was less than 5%, and that proportion declined rather than increased. But, the degree of economic discrimination differs across the state because in some states, the degree of economic discrimination is lower, namely Andhra Pradesh and Assam, and higher in other states (Nelson, 2010).

# **Citizen Amendment Bill**

Citizen amendment Bill (CAB) was created by the BJP Government in 2019. This bill revises the 64-year-old Indian Citizenship law, and currently prohibits illegal refugees from being accorded the status of being Indian citizens. It characterizes illegal immigrants as foreigners who come into India without a valid passport or travel records or stay beyond the permitted time. These illegal immigrants can be deported or jailed. The new proposal also revises a requirement which says a person must have stayed in India or worked for the federal government for at least 11 years prior to apply for nationality with an exception for members of six religious minority communities - Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi and Christian - if they can confirm that they are from Pakistan, Afghanistan, or Bangladesh. They will only have to live or work in India for six years to be qualified for citizenship by naturalisation, the process by which a non-citizen secures the citizenship or nationality of that state. It also declares people carrying Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) cards - an immigration status enabling a foreign citizen of Indian origin to stay and work in India indefinitely – can lose their status if they break local laws and engage in both major and minor violations and infringements. Opponents of the bill say it is exclusionary and violates the secular principles preserved in the Indian Constitution. They say faith cannot be made a condition of citizenship. The Constitution forbids religious prejudice against its citizens, and ensures all individuals fairness before the law and equal security of the law.

More significantly, this bill has marginalized the largest minority of India, called Muslims who are more 200 million in numbers and currently the third largest Muslim population in any country in the world. All other minorities are offered with some mechanism to become the citizen of the country, whereas the Muslim were left out of the procedure and just made outlanders. Moreover, the mob attacks that arose from the passing of this act were aimed solely at Muslims. These Muslims have been living in India for a long time, have established businesses and earn their livelihood there. Hence, this bill is just a tool to further torment the Muslims.

# Articles 370 and 35 A

In January 1950, the Indian Constitution is enforced in Kashmir, and Article 370 became portion of the Constitution. India's inclusion of Article 370 violates Article VII of the instrument of accession contracted by the Government of India and Maharaja Hari Singh, which stipulates that, except for the Indian Constitution, no forced investigation of Jammu and Kashmir is allowed. It indicates that Kashmir has the right to draw its own constitution, in addition to the right to choose other powers that can be prolonged to the federal government. The provisions of Article 370 (Jaiswal, 2018) give Jammu and Kashmir a special status, such as independent flag for the state, autonomy for the internal administration of Jammu and Kashmir, and a distinct constitution. In short, Article

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370 has five special provisions. These are that the firstly, the Jammu and Kashmir State is exempt from the full implementation of the Indian Constitution and therefore has the right to formulate their specific constitution (Bhardwaj, 2019). Secondly, if the Indian central government agrees, then the Indian central government can only exercise power and constitutional authority over Jammu and Kashmir. Thirdly, the agreement will remain until the election of Jammu and Kashmir is approved by the parliament. Fourthly, Article 370 cannot be repealed or modified without the recommendation and approval of the state nominated assembly. Lastly, the Indian government's control of Jammu and Kashmir is restricted to defence, communications and foreign affairs (Noorani, 2011). Kashmiris have maintained an independent identity for the past seventy plus years. According to the presidential decree issued in 1954, Article 35A relates to Jammu and Kashmir State and Article 35A restricts the buying or purchase of property by non-Kashmiris in Jammu and Kashmir, as well as the dual citizenship of Kashmir and India. It also restricts the provision of jobs to non-Kashmiris, prohibits the admittance of non-Kashmiris in any specialized college operated by the state government, and prohibits any non-Kashmiri from getting married to Kashmiri women (Aljazeera, 2020).

The BJP has a written election declaration, which evidently stated that it will repeal Article 370 and Article 35A of the Constitution of India and bring Jammu and Kashmir State into the Indian Federation. On August 5, 2019, Indian President Ram Nath Kovind passed a constitutional decree to annul the 1954 Presidential Decree in an unprecedented move (Ojha, 2018). According to the decree, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was given a special status until a free and fair referendum was accorded to Kashmir to determine their future (Golechha, 2019). The Indian Government's position is to repeal Article 370 and Article 35A with the approval of the Jammu and Kashmir Governor. On the other hand, in practice, this can only be done if the elected Jammu and Kashmir parliament is eager and endorsed. The irony is that on August 5, 2019, the constituent and elective assembly in Jammu and Kashmir was not present because it was disbanded in November 2018. Indian political elites know that if there are Kashmiri voters, the special status of Jammu and Kashmir could not be revoked. Therefore, it is obvious from Indian actions that the decision to abolish the Kashmir status clause in the Indian Constitution was not an impromptu one but rather was in the works since some time. In detail, India's unilateral act reinvigorated Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Two Nations Theory". It also uncovered BJP's ideologies of extremism, fascism and racism, which is precisely the political appearance of RSS.

The unprecedented and undemocratic immoral actions of the Indian Prime Minister have taken the identity of Kashmiris and may have many serious consequences. First, give rise to fear of a new liberty struggle, which may lead to exceptional violence among Kashmiri young people. Second, India may launch a full-scale war with Pakistan by involving Pakistan in Kashmiris' actions related to

freedom struggle. Third, the Indian army equipped with various deadly weapons can adopt the elementary method of deterring the rebellion, namely genocide. Fourth, implementation of demographic changes in Jammu and Kashmir with the aim of turning the majority of Muslims into a minority. Fifth, India can pass extreme Hindu centric laws in Jammu and Kashmir to pave the way for the spreading of Hindu ideas. Finally, by refusing to provide Kashmiri youth with education and equal prospects, they will be downgraded to third rate populations.

### **Conclusion & Way Forward**

This rise of Hindu Nationalism has had a great impact on the socio-politicoeconomic landscape of South Asia and can further impact the region as a whole. The United Nations calls the Human Rights violations in Kashmir as the biggest humanitarian crisis in the region wherein the new policy of Modi towards Kashmir is adding more fuel to the fire. It has to be noted that Kashmir has not been the problem between Pakistan and India only, but it has another actor- namely China as well which controls some regions of Jammu and Kashmir (Lamb, 1992).

Hence in light of these new developments in Jammu and Kashmir with the repealing of Article 370 – the valley's socio-political situation is alarming neighbouring states and fuelling tensions between the three biggest states of South Asia. Considering the nuclear prowess of China, India and Pakistan this can lead to further tensions of higher intensity, (Kulshrestha, 2016).

All in all, it can be concluded that the RSS ideology is based on hatred. The aim is to unite Hindus under a aura of supremacy where they have the right by law to look down upon other minorities. BJP is based on this ideology. Since independence in 1947, the RSS name has caused tension and unrest between Muslims and Hindus. Undoubtedly, the RSS has left no stone unturned to make Muslims uncomfortable in India in all realms including social, economic or political platforms. Moreover, RSS and its members continue to compete and repel any policy measures aimed at solving problems of discrimination and moving to comprehensive growth.

The secular democratic ideal embodied in the Constitution of India has equal admiration for all religions. However, the violence against the Muslims in Mumbai in 1992 and 1993, Christians in 1998, or the Muslims in Gujarat in 2002, and the countless places before and amongst these defined public incidents can easily be described as riots make this rather an illusory document.

Although Indian human rights groups are increasingly documenting these cases to the outside world, the majority seem to be working closely with state officials towards creating a Hindu Rashtra. Hence, the outside world is still to a large extent.

However, hope can be found in mobilizing the civil society to oppose the excess of power and face the huge backlash that has previously quietened dissidents in the name of protecting national security. The condemnation of the actions in India in February 2002 and March 2002 was rapid, crucial, and came

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from all parties, including national media, civil society, the central government and the National Human Rights Commission.

Gujarat a state in India, was an independent state, in its more than 50 years of independent presence, has achieved a large degree of peaceful existence among members of numerous beliefs. However, the secular fabrics are creating to tear, and its influence is crossing national borders. In a conflict-prone region, with more and more military options and religious rights negotiation, the rise of Hindu nationalism cannot be overlooked.

As Dr. Ambedkar pointed out seventy years ago that "If Hindutva Raj becomes a reality in future, it will undoubtedly be the country's greatest disaster". Hindus of higher ranks have developed a relationship of hatred with lower Hindus, and they hope to extend it to Muslims and exclude them from power and places. This in short is just a step away from secularism and going towards extreme Hinduism. This process of irregular development and the excavating of the socioeconomic catastrophe have resulted in poverty and backwardness, which in turn has created chances for right-wing Hindu organizations to unify people on the origin of religion.

Furthermore, the events that enabled the rise of Hinduism in India create an air of discouragement for other minority communities including Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. For them India is unsafe and such episodes in extremism are considered a threat to their socio-economic development in the face of rapidly rising Hindutva policies. All social, economic, and political forums are being occupied by the extremist Hindus where they are applying the policies which talk against minorities especially Muslims. It will eventually, not only destroy the secular face of India but also is a major threat for world peace.

As the world's second largest populated country – India cannot face this situation for a long time and it will eventually be a catastrophic situation for Indian democracy at large.

# Recommendations

- In order to recover the secular face of India there is severe need of creating awareness and thought among the locals of India especially the youth. The rise of Hindu nationalism should rescind and there should be a fair socio-economic situation for all nations in India in order to preserve the status of being the largest democracy in the world.
- The rise of Hindu nationalism in India is ultimately creating chaos not only in India but also in other neighbouring counties such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Such nationalist rise can affect majority as well as minority groups in these countries.
- With the rise of nationalism and the Hindutva ideology, there is a probability that in near future there will be more secessionist movements which will pose a very big threat on the geography of India.

- The modern nation state tends to make a homogeneous identity and the rise of the far right makes this homogeneous identity competitive in nature. This leads to extremism.
- Amendments like Citizen Amendment Bill (CAB) in the constitution should be rebuked as such events are creating a notion of insecurity among other minorities.
- The politically aware people in civil society must play a role in stagnating the growth of the far right by making the people politically aware.
- Social media should be used by the anti-far right activists. The arguments on social media can only be countered through social media.
- While explaining far right nationalism, the notion of "the other" should be taken into account. In some states it is the refugees while in others it is Islamic extremists and in some the socialists and in many they may be minorities and the list goes on.
- People should engage with the supporters of the far right and discuss the problems of the state without taking into account the face value of the populist leader.
- The increase in the far right leads to competitive nationalism and extremism and this becomes very vulnerable when "I" and "the other" both are nuclear powers like Pakistan and India. This may lead to a nuclear conflict.
- According to Sashi Tharoor, before the British came to subcontinent, it had 24% of the world economy. The rise of the far right has repercussions on the mutual trade worldwide. Same is the case in South Asia. The leaders who try to engage Pakistan and India in trade relations are considered as traitors on both sides. Pakistan and India have a great trade potential and if they get along in trade relations then they can make subcontinent a thriving economic hub.
- Kashmir is an essential part of the far-right nationalism in both Pakistan and India. The rise of populism on both sides is worsening the conditions of the people of Kashmir. Rather than mere rhetoric of Kashmir being a jugular vein of both Pakistan and India, concerted efforts need to be made to alleviate the sufferings of the Kashmirs.

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