

The Politics of Hindutva Extremism in India during Modi Regimes (2014-2022)

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ABSTRACT

The qualitative and descriptive study incorporates a coherent idea about the rise of Hindutva nationalism under Modi regimes during 2014 to 2021. How the muscular Vedic culture has been flourished in the modern democratic and secular India? What are geneses of Hindutva extremism? Does the dialectics of religion and politics exist in India? Modi's reign of terror and targeting the minorities under the slogan of Hindu radical nationalism through the promulgation of coercive politics. The surgical strikes against Pakistan, suppression of minorities and the abrogation of the constitution of India are the prime concerns of the research since Narendra Modi sworn as the prime minister of India. The politics of elections, an emerging role of RSS and its associate wings, Hindu nationalism, escalation of Hindutava extremism towards the polarization of Indian society from a popular democracy to an extremist's nation in the context of the future Indian politics are the other areas of research.

Key Words: Hindutava Extremism, Surgical Strikes, Muscular Nationalism, Kashmir Cage, Citizenship Amendment Act.

Introduction

Since the beginning of 21st as the era of scientific and information technology with a greater socio-economic global homogeneity India has been caught under the clutches and paws and worst ethnic and religious conflict. Despite Gandhi's peaceful and secular fabrication of Indian policy both the Modi regimes could not adhere democratic norms and values in the context of working relationship in the state union, Indian federations, minorities, ethnic groups and identity movements in different parts of India. Consequently psychological and physical violence has polarized the Indian culture and society. Different Hindu extremist movements during the second half of 19th century and its half of 20th century promoted Chitpavan Brahman radical culture in India. Bal Ganga Dar Tilak played the role of an exponent of the Hindu nationalist culture of violence seeking to promulgate the realpolitik of kotlia chaniya (Jaffreet Christophe, 2003). B.G Tilk while building up pro Hindu ideology and culture introduced the socio-political version of Ghanesh Chaturthi in the form of people demonstration and formed a militia to celebrate Shiva Ji's annual birthday functions. He allowed the Hindu extremists to use certain tricks and tactics of violence against the Muslims and Britishers as the

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aliens of India. Tilak used “Bhagvad Gita” as the holy text of legitimizing the use of violent activities to purify the land of India (B.G. Tilak, 1936). Resultantly different Hindu extremist revivalist movements like, Aryia Smaj, Brahman smaj, Prathna smaj, shudhi and Singhatan were launched to accelerate the Hindutva culture in India as the justified course of action to crush and combat the non-Hindu inhabitants of India. The killing of General Afzal khan by Shivawa’s the beginning of applications of Chankiya’s violent ideology (Laurent Gayer, 2009, p20). It flourished with passage of time in India and has been occasionally applied by the BJP’s regime particularly Modi ’s era during 2014 to present has settled certain precedents of violent politics that brutally victimized the Muslims of Gujrat, Delhi and Kashmir. The frontline associate wings of Rashtria-Savak Sang (RSS) i.e. Bayrang Dal, Durga Vahini and Vhpete Souran under Hindutva ideology attacked Muslims in India frequently in the post 9/11era. The Samjhouta express bomb blasts of feb 18, 2007, the Meeca masjid attack Hyderabad on May 18, 2007, Ajmer sharief Dargah attack oct, 2007, Malegaon attacks sep 29, 2008. Modi has continued to split the Indian policy contrary to manifest the true picture of the Indian secularism Gandian democracy based on the nation of peace and cooperation. Democratic system rests on the will of the people and a country wide consensus building process in the context of the working of state institutions and political system. The continual Modi regimes during 2014-2021 has diversified the social-political environment of secular India into an extremist polity of its sharpened ideological credo of Hindutva with an open and staunch anti-Muslims agenda (A.G Noorani, 2020). Since 2002 Modi as a pogrom of Muslims in Gujrat the chief minister flared up being the Muslims mascaras communal violence, terrorism and culture policing in different parts of India. Thus Modi becomes the exponents of the political divide which has polarized the Indian society along with the religious lines during 2014 to 2021.

Modi as the new face of B.G Tilak

Since Modi sworn the prime minister of India in 2014 the domestic and external politics of India faces the serious setback criticism, statement and the label of a terrorist prime minister who has the mastermind of Gujrat Muslims mascaras back in 2002 as the chief minister. The regional peace and security reached at the risk of collision and even at the nuclear flashpoint due to arch rivalry between India and Pakistan. Modi administration get freehand launched intimidating campaigns against Indian Muslims in general and brutal atrocities by Indian agencies and forces in Indian occupied Kashmir in particular. The united nation human rights report 2018 reveals that Indian army has killed over 94000 Kashmiri people, raped over 10,000 women along with the number of 10,000 missing people since 1989. Thus Modi has transformed the society and politics of India from an emerging secular polity to a communal and polarized India adhering the rightist ideology of RSS dominated by Muslims mascaras, pallet gun rain, police and military custody torture, political separation, women rape, restriction on freedom of speech and ban

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of religious festivities and rituals of Muslims in India and Indian occupied Kashmir. The Modi administration has again increased the military troops in Kashmir up to 900000 to silence the voice of the people of Kashmir for their right of self-determination. Modi government has changed the demography of Kashmir through the abrogation of articles 35A and 370 of the Indian constitution despite a swirl of domestic and external criticism (Malik, 2019).

Dialectics of Religion and Politics

Modi regime in India has dismantled the nature and provisions of the constitution related to the secularism, tolerance, nationalism and the land of all the inhabitants living on the soil of India. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has appointed various religious leaders as the heads of key posts and offices to create a majoritarian tyranny. Hindutva revisiting the Chankiya model of Indian politics as the contemporary successor of Bal Ganga Dar Tilak as it was done by President Zia ul Haq in Pakistan during the decade of 1980s (Akhter, 2020). Prime Minister Modi has promoted and preached the legitimacy of violence under the teachings of Savarkar to crush and curtail the minorities of India particularly the Muslims through the violent incidents, events and excesses conducted by RSS and its other associates. The Delhi riots, killing and burning the Muslims, the cow slaughtering conflict, Kashmir issue, the citizenship amendment act (CAA), abrogation of the articles of Indian constitution 35A, 370 and the Pulwama plot are some of the ironic developments on the face of Indian democracy and secularism. The proponents of Hindutva strongly believe that India is entirely a Hindu nation. Therefore it becomes a huge challenge for Indian Muslims to deal with powerful Hindu majority bent on mixing religion with politics and entrenching communal riots in the country (Saad, 2020). On the other side the Indian constitution assures secular democracy in the presence of impartial electoral process, free press, non-interference of military in politics, independent judiciary, guaranty of fundamental rights of the people including all minorities.

The Controversial Citizenship Amendment Act 2019

The Modi administration has defied the secular face of the Indian democracy by the enactment of citizenship amendment act which also vindicates M.A. Jinnah's two nation theory. The CAA allows Indian nationality to immigrants from three neighboring states but except the Muslims. Modi government declared CAA as the source of protecting vulnerable groups from persecution. The CAA has been severely criticized inside India and all around the world. Sonia Gandhi the Indian opposition leader stated "today marks a dark day in the constitution history of India. The passage of the CAA bill marks the victory of narrow minded bigoted forces over India's pluralism". Shashi Tharoor another Congress leader ironically said "the CAA will be a victory of the thoughts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah over Mahatma Gandhi". The CAA bill proposed that the members of Hindu, Sikhs,

Christian, Buddasht jan and parsi communities, who have migrated from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan till dec31, 2014 and were facing religious discrimination and persecution will be given Indian nationality. The CAA was declared as “divisive” by the new york times. The Washington post wrote that “a country founded on secular ideals is becoming a Hindus state that treats Muslims as second class citizens” (Hali, 2019). The CAA legislation was another anti-Muslim adventure of Modi ’s Hindutava muscular nationalism right after one month of changing the demographic status of Indian occupied Kashmir. The CAA law has deteriorated the close diplomatic relations between India and Bangladesh. On the other side Indian Muslim community and leadership has declared the controversial CAA law as a blatant discrimination of Modi ’s extremists Hindutva ideology against the 11% of the Muslim population in India.

The Geneses of Hindutava Nationalism

A reasonable educated class of Hindu community generated the great urge of sociopolitical and economic uplift in India during the second of 19th century. This particular moderated section of Indian society got much inspiration from the liberal thoughts of Milton, Burk, J.S. mills, Herbert Spenser and John lock (Nandy Ashish, 1980). These liberal political saints change the course of politics from tradition to liberal in Europe, United States and particularly the politics and society of Great Britain. Then most of the educated proportion of Indian society was socialized under the influence of British political culture. The ideas of autonomy, self-rule, equality, liberty, participation and nationalism were generated in India through the British rule and missionaries who taught English language and established colleges and universities in different cities of India i.e. Calcutta, Bombay and madras (Anand, V. S, 1967). Then the Hindu intellectuals like Ram Mohan Rai Tegore, Rajandara Lal Mitra and Swami Dianand Sarswati paved Indian population towards hindu nationalism through their speeches and writings of revivalism of the Vedic culture. Consequently certain Hindu’s extremist’s moments like Brahmo samaj, prathna samaj, Shudhi, and Singhatan were launched during the second half of 19th century and by the beginning of the 20th century (Shrivastava, H.1983). Originally these movements intended to promote democratic culture in India but soon the moderated Hindu leadership was overwhelmingly captured by the extremists and fanatic clergy of hindutava nationalism. Dianand Sarswati preached the old Hindu culture, customs, ritual and ideology in India with a famous slogan of the elimination of untouchable alliance from the soil of India (Deshpande, B.V, 1981).The Muslims and Christian of India were force to convert Hindus or to leave the land of India respect to purify the Hindu homeland. The very has been adopted by Modi government through dismantling the secular nature of the Indian constitution and polity by changing the demographic status of Kashmir and the CAA legislation along with a serial of continual attacks on Muslim population of India by the zealots of RSS to compel them leave India or accept the slogan of ‘Jai Shri Ram’. There were certain

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inspirational and extremist factors behind the ignition of the pro hindutava movements in India. The florishment of Vedic culture of Hindu renaissance's, outbreak of Urdu Hindu controversies ,voice for the representation of the Hindus in local, provincial legislatures, politics of violence and demonstration against the British government, criticism of modern language and development contrary to the traditional Vedic culture were the mouth pieces of intolerance towards minorities in India. The fanatic Hindu leadership started to propagate the revenge politics against Muslims of their one thousand years rule in India (Baker, 1979). The country wide anti Islam literature was publish as BC Cheterji wrote a famous novel "Anana Nath" in which he uttered the poisonist words against Muslims community as the alliance, intruders and untouchable. The national Anthem Bandy Matram was derived from the very novel that was ever recited in the sessions and meetings of congress (Dharmaveer, 1972). It ever remained as bone of contentions between Hindu and Muslims due to its controversial nature. Bal Gangdar Tilk led the Hindu extremist movements to purify the soil of India. The anti-cow slaughtering campaign launched by him resulted. Hindu Muslim riots all around the country. The Ganpati festival instigated the Hindu extremists to kill the Muslims as their religious obligations. GD Tilk declared general Afzal khan's murder as the legal and religious act of Shivaji. All the Hindu revivalist movements got momentum through the promulgation of Chankiya philosophy which led the undemocratic and tyrant culture in Indian politics. The Hindu nationalism remained as the utmost agenda of leadership and congress throughout the struggle movements and even fervently exists as the leading slogan of the contemporary Indian politics under the shades of global liberal environment. The continual attacks on minorities in India by the Mongers of RSS, burning of Muslims houses. Cow slaughtering conflict, the Gujrat carnage, changing of articles 35A and 370 of the Indian constitution, CAA and the Kashmir cage are the recent examples of the revival of modern hindutva fascism under the supervision of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in India being the largest secular democracy of 21st century.

Targeting the Muslims in India

Since the war of independence the exponents of Hindutava nationalist accelerated their efforts through launching of certain Hindu revivalist movements during the second half of 19th and by the beginning of 20th century. The original agenda was to reform and moderate Indian socio-political culture but the very efforts of Ram Mohan Rai Teger, Rayinder Lal Mitra and Swami Dianand Sarswiti to socialize and wake up the people of India from ditches of darkness went in vain dur to the rise of revivalist mindset. The extremist movements like Brahnu Smaj, Prathna Smaj, Ariya Smaj, Shudi Smaj and Singhtan aimed to purify the land of India to pull out the no hindu population from the soil of India by using all the coercive measures. The Muslims, Christian and others minorities were compelled to convert as Hindu or leave the soil of India. Dianand taught his activities to conquer the

entire world by the Hindu military (Ray, B. 1966). The preaching of Vedic culture was another objective of Ariya Smaj. Thus it was beginning of targeting Muslim community by the fanatic Hindu zealots which ever remained intact through out the modern history of India. Even the liberal political aims and objectives of Indian national congress i.e. acquire Western education and philosophy to face the challenges of time, urge of employment, incorporation of democratic values, freedom, equality, tolerance, development, freedom of press and participation of the people were entirely changed into the politics of coercion, dominance and the despotic rule in India (The Hindu, 2004, March 13). Indian national congress and Hindu leadership get firm believe in the politics of violence, anomic activities, protest and civil disobedience. The Hindi-Urdu controversy and Hindu Muslim riots aggravated the ethnic and violence politics in India. The congress rule during 1937 to 39 was glaring example of Hindutva nationalism attributed with a country wide anti-Muslim campaign flourishing the Vedic Hinduism in India. The legacy of Hindutava violence politics continued as regular practice in India even in the modern era of 21st century. The constitutional democratic and secular face of Indian polity has been clearly exposed through the legislative, political, economic and cultural oppression of Modi governance during 2014 to 2021.

Modi 's war doctrine against the Indian Muslims and Pakistan

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has launched a continual campaign of anti-Pakistan syndrome through the organs of the state and godi media since 2014 to the ongoing Hindutva regime. The hard core of RSS and with the direct involvement of top military personnel like, General J.J Singh and col shrikant purohit along with many others plotted several acts of terror against Indian Muslims. The beating and torching of Muslim youth by Bajrang Dal activists over talking to Hindu girls, the demolition of historical Babari Mosque Dec 1992, the Gujarat Muslim masaras 2002, the Godhra railway station carnage Feb 27, 2002. the Malegaon attacks Sep 8, 2006, the Samjhota express train attacks Feb 18, 2007, the Ajmer Dargah bombing Oct 11, 2007, the mecca mosque Hyderabad blast, May 18, 2007, the Hyderabad bombing Aug 25, 2007, Delhi riots 2020 , the Pulvama attacks in 14 Feb 2019 and the surgical strikes 29 Sep, 2016 Feb 27, 2019 on Pakistan are some important episodes of Hindutva militancy against the Indian Muslims and Pakistan incorporated by extremists of RSS under the supervision of Narendra Modi . The war against Indian Muslims and Pakistan has been supported and demonstrated by Mohan Bhagwat the chief of RSS, Ajit Doval national security advisor, Rajnath Singh defense minister, Amit Shah home minister, Subrahmanyan Jaishankar foreign minister of India in the control and supervision of the zealot Hindutva clergy of India (Malik, 2019).

A plenty of events, incidents and precedents have been created and demonstrated against minorities especially the Muslim community has faced sever brutality, forceful disappearance, gang rape of the women, house burning, cow slaughtering issue, mass blinding through the metal pallets guns in Indian occupied

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Kashmir, New Delhi, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Mumbai and Punjab. The Hindutva extremism and brutalities multiplied and grew many fold throughout the India since Modi sworn in 2014. The Indian prime minister Modi was himself inspired by the breeding, training and operational network of RSS as a young school boy during 1960s and reached up to the mentor rank of RSS and formally facilitated the ideology and activists of RSS to aggravate the situation against Muslim community in India. An extremist tiers of Indian parliament has been inducted during Modi 's both regimes 2014 to 2021 which helped him to bring legislative changes related to disguise the democratic and secular picture of Indian democracy through the abrogation of articles 35A and 370 of the Indian constitution and promulgation of Kashmir cage on August 5th 2019 are some recent reflections of Modi's Hindutva and muscular nationalism in modern India contrary to its constitutional and secular spirit. The RSS ideology empowered by Hindu Malatya violence as badly brutalized the Muslim minorities and polarized Indian society similar to the former US president Donald Trump regime which has eroded the American democracy using hardliner mindset of neo conservatives and neo ideologues. The RSS and its associated have displayed the strength and persuasion of its strategies preference inside and outside of India particularly targeting Muslim community. Bajarang Dal launched Ayodhya movements during the peaks of cold war to counter Pakistan's role in the freedom movement of Indian occupied. The Ayodhya campaign in Uttar Pradesh (UP) committed to liberate the god Ram's birth place but an unverifiable believe that the Mughal emperor Baber had captured the site and constructed the historical Baberi Mosque 1528. Afterward different Hindu extremists groups like Hindu Mahasba and the VHP claim to vacate the Ayodhya temple site from Muslims and it was done in December 1992 by the fanatic of RSS and its off shoots (Katgu Manjari, 2003). The Indian supreme court gave its verdict on the issue of Babri mosque being indeed supreme but not "infallible" applauded by Asaduddin Owaisi the chief of all India Majlise-e- Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (The New York Times, Nov 10, 2019). The Indian parliamentary democracy, secular politics and the major government organs like, supreme court and military have become the mouth piece of the Hindutava ideologues in India. General Bipin Rawat was promoted and appointed as army chief in Dec 2016 ahead of lieutenant general Muhammad Hariz (A first ever Muslim Army Chief in India) by the Modi administration and Godi media with the projections of Bipin Rawat credentials of effective command and control in Indian occupied Kashmir as the counter part of Qamar Bajwa the Chief of army staff in Pakistan (Noreen & Waqar, 2021). Ultimately the hardliner mindset and state administration in the supervision of Modi continues to mash the face and fate of Indian politics.

The Politics of Elections and Hindutava Culture

The dilemma of developing countries arises from the sentiments, emotions and passion of their people. The charismatic, religious, feudal, military and leadership

has exploited the situation and circumstance to win the support of their people and to acquire the legality and political legitimacy. The element of Hindutava ideology ever remain a dominant factor in the contemporary politics of India particularly since the Modi government was established. The RSS adhere to its agenda from Lathis to fire arms, molting the threatening the Muslim community and others i.e. Christians and Sikhs in India. It has established a militant network throughout the India to seek self-defense in the form of a cultural Hindu police, Hindu orthopraxy and orthodoxy especially with its strong holds in Kashmir and Punjab which regularly challenged the Christian, Sikhs and Muslim community along with sever attacks on their religious shrines and worshiping places (Jaffrelot Christopher, 2007). PM Modi has preferred to apply coercive diplomacy gambits which have produced negative results and bad press, fascist and the extremism in the country and integration community (Zaman Yousaf, 2021). BJP under Narendra Modi follow its agenda of coercion, repression and violence against all the minorities in India particularly the Muslims during the general election campaign on 2019. Modi promoted the policy of integrating hindutava nationalism as the corner stone of its election campaign throughout in India. The reign of terror in Indian occupied Kashmir by BJP, anti-citizenship laws and the farmer laws are the precedents of discriminatory politics and the cause of lowering down the democratic image of India. The environment of divide and discrimination launched by ‘Modi cluster’ in Indian general and state election has polarized Indian society, culture and politics with an affirm transformation from a secular to fanatic political culture and a prejudicial society (Nayer, 2018). The coercive and anomic politics resulted a sweeping defeat of BJP in Delhi state elections by Aam Admi party (AAP) led by Arvindr Kegrivall who won 62 out of 70 seats. BJP has also lost its position in five other states i.e. Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Madhyapradesh, Rajhistan, and Chhattis Garh due to hated politics. Modi and company had aggravated Hindu-Muslim relations through plotting of various violent and terror prone incidents like surgical strikes in the territorial jurisdiction of Pakistan, false flag operations against Pakistan, Pulvama attacks, abrogation of the constitution status of Kashmir and the Kashmir cage since on 5th august 2019. since Modi has captured power in India the wave of right wing politics has been strengthen as over 50000 more associate branches of RSS have been established in India but yet question arises that how the ruling and why the ruling party has lost its credibility in the bi-elections in different states especially in new Delhi? (Zafar Aziz, 2020). Defiantly it is exposed due to extremist behavior and hostile believes against the opponents.

Conclusion

Under the constitutional cover India being the world’s largest democracy and Mahatma Gandhi’s secular legacy yet rapidly moving towards the demonstration of Hindutva Fascism. The globalized world has settled down the courses of democracy, protection of human rights, minorities and the freedom of will as the core principle of modern liberalism. Although the Indian constitution grants

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freedom to all the individuals including 21.2% of minorities to propagate, profess and practice their religion but the Modi led BJP government has coercively implemented the muscular nationalism of the fascist Hindutva ideology during 2014-2022 thereby posing severe challenges to the secular face of Indian democracy. The discriminatory Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), the countrywide Hindu Muslim mob violence and riots, the police brutality against dalits, Christians and Muslim Minority in particular, the mob lynching incidents, over 300 attacks on Mosques and Churches during 2020-22, targeting the Muslim Business community centers across the India, the Gao Raksha (Cow protection) campaign, the Kashmir cage since 5th August 2019 in the age of Covid19, the complete media clamp down for Kashmiri people, the extra judicial killing, abduction and torturing of thousands Kashmiri youth, the communal riots and the revivalist agenda of Vedic culture, the dialectics of politics and religion, the disputed former laws and its public reaction, the forceful prohibition on Hijab (Veil) against the Muslim women in India are the certain leading developments and the policy perspectives executed during the ongoing Modi regime, led chaos, uncertainty, inferiority and feelings of insecurity among the minorities of world's largest secular democracy of the modern globalized and liberal environment. The Modi administration has opened up both domestic and external fronts to confront with the democratic and secular norms. The Indo China border conflict, India Nepal border Issues, Bangladesh India dispute and the Srilanka-India strategic discontent along with persistent Indo Pakistan antagonism are some foreign policy challenges faced by the current New Delhi administration. The quest yet arises. How the faith based diplomacy in new regional and global strategic order can work in significance, prosperity and development? Should it not work to lessen the heightened magnitude, to prevent insurgency, social chaos and communal diversity in India? If any answer of the above mentioned question doesn't come out then India becomes another theocratic state along with Afghanistan, Syria, Israel and Nepal rather than to maintain and manifest the true vision of secular democracy expounded by Mahatma Gandhi the father of modern India.

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