

**The Growing Hindutva Ideology and its implications on Muslims in
India under Narendra Modi's Regime: Prospects and Challenges for
the Peace in Kashmir**



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NUST Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies (NIPCONS)

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MS Peace and Conflict Studies

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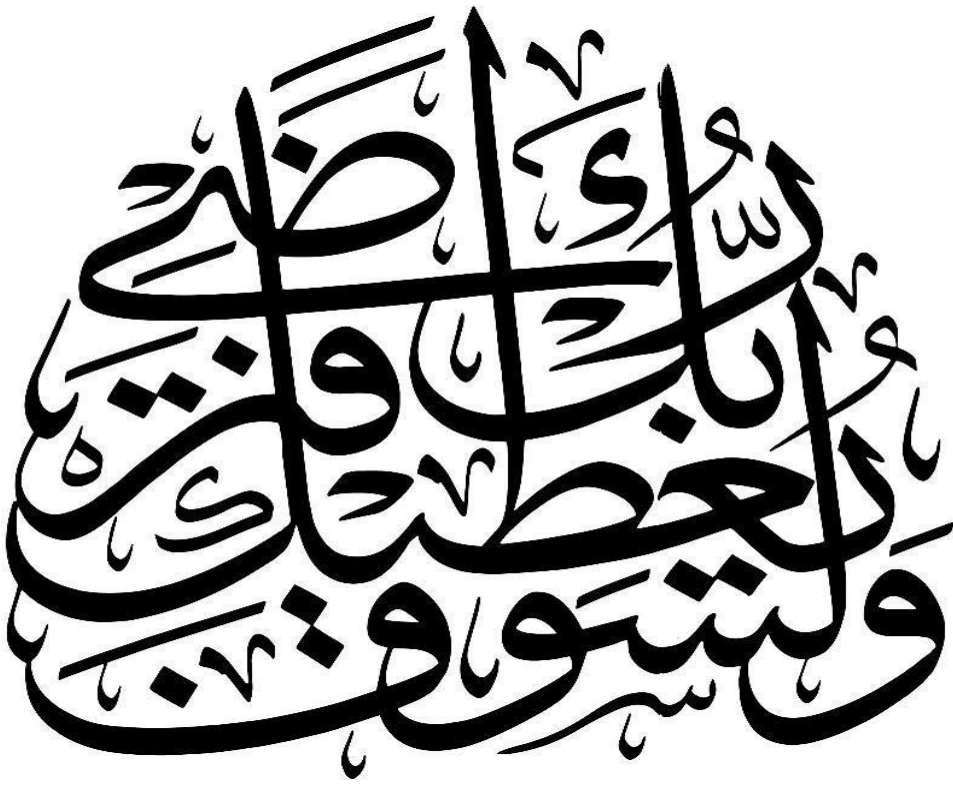
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DEPARTMENT OF PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES

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National University of Science & Technology (NUST)

ISLAMABAD.



IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEFICENT,
THE MOST MERCIFUL

'By the morning light, and the night when it is still. Your Allah has not Forsaken Thee, nor is He displeased. And verily what is to come will be better than what has gone by.'

(Surah Al-Duha:93)

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents who have been nothing less than the pillars of all my dreams and achievements.

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First and foremost I would like to thank Allah Almighty who gave me the courage to walk on this journey with his bliss and kindness. I want to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Bakare Najimdeen for his support and inspiration throughout my journey. His beneficial remarks and astute recommendations have been a significant developmental impact on the present study.

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Abstract

The growing Hindutva ideology under Narendra Modi's regime has brought immense implications for the Muslims of India. since the ideology believes in uniformity of the religion, Muslims being a majority-minority have automatically become the target of the Hindutva ideologues. Muslims throughout the country are reported to be discriminated against. The spread of Hindutva has engulfed the territory of Kashmir, a disputed land between Pakistan and India. Hindutva-led BJP regime has led the country into a divide between the secularists and Hindu nationalists. This research aims to explore the role of Narendra Modi as a Prime Minister in the promotion of Hindutva. And to find out to what extent the policy-making of India Under Modi's regime is influenced by this ideology. The research also tries to answer how stripping the autonomous status of Kashmir serves the Hindutva purpose.

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Introduction

The Indian subcontinent is one of the most significant regions of the world. So naturally, the ever-growing Hindutva and its ruling party BJP'S violent political ideology has been the source of concern since Modi took charge as CM of Gujrat. Narula predicted that the violent Hindutva ideology will not only affect the minorities of India but will have spillover effects on its neighboring states of Bangladesh and Pakistan since both are Muslim countries (Narula 2003). Which is exactly what we are witnessing today. Muslims of India and Kashmir have always remained focused on the Hindutva ideology. Today Indian policy is framed by Hindutva enthusiasts through eight RSS-funded think tanks which have enabled RSS to shape the integral policies of the state (Tripathi 2018). The Hindutva ideology aspires to operate transnationally. And BJP's two consecutive wins have further strengthened the Hindutva grounds and have provided favorable conditions for the expansion of the ideology. India is very systematically getting away from its democratic principles and is smoothly slipping into the hands of Hindutva. Hindutva is not just a philosophy or a dream ideology anymore. It has taken real ground. And as of now, around 25000 seminars are conducted each year that train their 6-6.5 million students each year. One can imagine the future of the biggest democracy in the world by the number of Hindutva radicals it's producing every year. It has already established its transnational organizations in Nepal and Sri Lanka to safeguard the Hindu kingdom (Akram 2021).

This research revolves around an individual, Narendra Modi, and aims to explore to what extent he as an individual is responsible for growing hatred against minorities and from where he drives or channels his power. And how the political change in Kashmir serves his purpose of the hinduaization of the country.

While Hindutva is expanding throughout the state the world has yet to acknowledge it as a threat. There has been an immense amount of literature produced with keywords like Hindutva and saffron terrorism by western and Indian scholars. But despite having direct implications on Pakistan, the Pakistan journal's focus remains inadequate on the topic (D. K. Iqbal 2019). Pakistan has already been subjected to a very major crisis in 2019 when India invaded the air space of Pakistan.

For the first time since 1971 after the Pulwama attack in 2019, the relations between the two countries got so hostile that it led to some serious LOC invasions. On February 14, 2019, in India-occupied Jammu and Kashmir, a planned suicide attack on an Indian military convoy at Pulwama killed 40 personnel of the police force. And as always Pakistan and Pakistan's agencies were accused of the attack and India even suspended Pakistan from the list of the most favored nation (MFN). But if one carefully looks at the sequences and how well the incident benefited BJP to expand its Hindutva agenda would know that it was not a security dilemma but an ideological-driven agenda. By 2012 the situation in Indian-held Kashmir became somewhat improved with a huge drop in the fatality rate. But soon after BJP rose to power in 2014 the long hope of normalcy vanished. Due to the Pulwama attack, BJP got the chance to heighten its nationalistic agenda by demonizing the people of the Kashmir valley just a few days before the Indian parliamentary elections.

The Pulwama attack served various purposes of the BJP's agenda. First, it tried to project that the only Muslim state of Kashmir does not sympathize with India. Second, this attack helped reinforce public paranoia which is the key to escalating an ideology to action. Thirdly, it also justified the Balakot strikes that certainly got Modi an overwhelming majority in the parliament. And lastly legitimized the revocation of article 370 which became the game changer for the BJP (Sahni 2022).

The main focus of Narendra Modi's political campaign has always been belittling Pakistan. Through this whole episode of Pulwama and Balakot incursion Modi was praised as a tiger and savior of India.

It has been around three years but other than the accusation India has not provided any proof of Pakistan's involvement in the Pulwama attacks. Although it has served its purpose and that was to strengthen Modi's position and his grip on power. It is a widely spreading notion even in India that peace and stability of the region are at stake under Modi's regime. News reports show how human rights violations are always at their peak in Kashmir during the days of elections. It shows the mindset and sincerity of the Indian politicians toward Kashmir, the only Muslim state in India. Although it is a good strategy to win votes but is threatening peace and stability (Warrich 2020).

Even during the elections of 2014, the mischiefs of Pakistan became a large part of Modi's political campaign. And due to this anti-Pakistani rhetoric, not just ultra-nationalistic lobbying found its firm grounds in India but also the culture of discrimination and intolerance found its way into the main streams of Indian society (Malik 2020). Narendra Modi has been portraying himself as the only savior, the Chowkedaar, of India and has been so far successful in winning over the hearts of the nation as a hyper-nationalistic figure. By doing so Narendra Modi is taking the Hindutva dream one step forward. He has succeeded so far made the narrative of Hindu Rashtra the only way for India by shifting the state's fabric of India from Gandhi's secularism to the hinduaization of the state. And then abrogating the special status of the only Muslim state of India, Jammu Kashmir.

Statement of problem

Hindutva ideology in India under Narendra Modi's Regime is gaining popularity. This rapidly growing notion has raised some serious concerns for the minorities living in the country. As Hindutva ideology believes in the supremacy of the Hindu nation and that they alone should have the right to rule has left the minorities in distress and confusion. Furthermore, the Hinduisation of the country has added fuel to the fire (Narain, Hinduization of the text 2014).

It is significant to understand leadership traits and the role of leaders in promoting ultra-nationalism. Hindutva as an ideology that is now promoted and celebrated under the leadership of Modi is not a nascent ideology but has been evolving for more than a century now. The fundamentals of the ideology are predicated on the worldview of Savarkar 1923 (Savarkar 1923), and Golwalkar 1939 (Golwalkar 1939). This ideology supposedly predates the partition of the subcontinent and holds a significant place in contemporary India. Given the radical and extreme tendency of the ideology, there have been serious concerns amongst India's minorities particularly Muslims (Paula Thompsn 2019). It is important to know that Hindutva at its core believes in the organic community comprising of one nation in this case- Hindus. Hence the growing socio-religious trends in India like, "GHAR WAPSI", which is referred to as the massive conversion to Hinduism of the minorities living in India, arranged by the Hindu nationalist organizations backed by the Bhartiya Janata Party (Amore 2019). With BJP taking over in 2014 it has been widely accepted that the Hindutva ideology will now also pull the strings of the political spheres. This speedily spreading Hindutva ideology has become a major source of concern for Muslims living

in India as well as a threat to the secular notion of the country ever since its independence was upheld.

While Hindutva is a domestic ideology and is predominantly expressed within India, the Modi government has taken the essence of the ideology beyond the boundaries of India. Expanding the Hindutva ideology across the border, to Kashmir, has been part of the BJP's mandate since the beginning. And the recent occurrence in Kashmir, abrogation of article 370, is a step towards fulfilling their mandate. It is an attempt to make India known for its Hindutva ideology rather than Gandhian positive secularism (Misra 2018). And as Kashmir is predominantly a Muslim state, abrogating article 370 is an attempt to deprive the state of given autonomy and by allowing the Indians to own land, BJP intends to diminish the majority status possessed by the Muslims.

So, it is important to know that the ever-growing crisis in contemporary Kashmir under Modi's regime plays an important part in fulfilling a bigger agenda- which is the Hinduisation of the country. It is this very notion of Hinduisation that has violated the right given to disputed land, Kashmir, resulting in the abrogation of article 370. Accorded to certain BJP members, the abrogation of article 370 is considered the correction of history. This new construct of history does not simply gain traction, but it is praised and welcomed by radical Hindu groups like Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and by the members of the BJP. Against this backdrop, the proposed research will be geared at examining the overarching ramifications of Hindutva on Muslims in India and contemporary Kashmir and the future of the Kashmir peace process.

Research Assumption

Inasmuch as the Hindutva ideology remains the political compass of India – particularly under the BJP, not only will it alter the secular fabric of India but also the peace process of Kashmir will remain perilous.

Research questions:

- How far the radical leadership of Narendra Modi has contributed to promoting ultra-nationalism in India?
- How far is the Hindutva ideology embedded in the domestic political policy of India under Modi's regime?
- To what extent Hindutva ideology is responsible for Narendra Modi's political actions in Kashmir?

Research objectives:

- The research will explore the role of the leadership of Narendra Modi in promoting ultra-nationalism in India.
- To explore how far is the Hindutva ideology shaping the domestic political policy of India under Modi's regime.
- The research will be analyzing how the Modi government takes and employs a domestic ideology (Hindutva) in a disputed land – Jammu & Kashmir.

Premised on the above, the research will be examining the overarching implication of Hindutva on contemporary Kashmir and its future peace process, on the peaceful rise of the region.

Significance

This research is unique as it focuses on the contemporary Kashmir crises through the lens of Hindutva ideology. The previous literature available has not linked the Hindutva ideology to an individual, Narendra Modi, and its implications on the peace process of Kashmir. The research also focuses on finding the link between radical leadership and its role in promoting ultra-nationalism. It is significant as the Hindutva ideology is gaining popularity in present-day India. And an Indian attempt at the annexation of Kashmir is a recent phenomenon so there is a clear drought of literature on it relating to such radical nationalistic actions, making this research different than the ones that already exist. The research aims to explore the agenda and the major forces behind the recent political policy towards Muslims in India and the only Muslim-majority state of the country, Kashmir. It will also be analyzing the implications for the peace process in Kashmir and its spillover effects on Pakistan in light of recent political actions under Modi's regime. The research has included all the major events and series of events that indicates the dangerous and ambiguous future of minorities especially Muslims.

Methodology

The study will be an exploratory as well as explanatory study, for which critical discourse analysis (CDA) of a qualitative approach would be adopted. The study will explore the Hindutva ideology and its developed understanding of Narendra Modi's regime. And to improve the research design exploratory research carries out techniques such as secondary research in which existing data or literature is analyzed. It also includes detailed discussions with the residents of IOK.

To analyze the data qualitative phenomenological research design is adopted. The purpose of this technique is to comprehend the perceived meaning by the participant of the phenomenon which they have constructed through their life experiences. In-depth interviews are conducted to fully

understand the phenomenon and also to extract the pattern and trends by identifying shared perceptions. It also includes in-depth interviews of focus groups and case studies. This technique is suitable as it allows the study of the available data and gives you chance to further explore and understand the development of the matter.

It is qualitative research as it focuses on the nature of the phenomenon. The first-hand information is gathered through interviews that have helped me comprehend the ground realities. This type of research has allowed me to obtain the true picture of the people of Kashmir under Narendra Modi's Regime. The information is gathered by relying on Interviews, focus groups, participant observation, case studies, and artifacts.

The research has focused on the perception of people living in Indian-occupied Kashmir, mostly doctors, Teachers, students, and people who keep traveling between both parts of Kashmir. All the interviewees and focused group were muslims by religion and belonged to the middle and upper middle class of the society.

The research is carried out from different research articles, journal articles, academic publications, jstore, books, and unstructured interviews. The statements given by the BJP leader will also be used to determine the ambitions of Hindutva India.

Through CDA this study has focused on Modi's tenure and the construction of Hindutva discourse. How religious dominance and ethnocentric power disparity have been institutionalized? This study has also critically analyzed and explained how the Indian sociological legitimacy of Hindutva led to such alteration in legislation that resulted in Kashmir annexation. In fact, through critical discourse analysis, this study will critically analyze every single paradigm of Modi's hyper-nationalism and its consequences. Critical discourse analysis is conducted through codification,

conceptualization, pattern, sequencing, and theoretical as well as thematical means. That has helped to highlight the latent meaning of the state as well as individual actions. The theoretical paradigms for the analysis are done through, leadership styles and ideational approaches like radicalism, ultra-nationalism, and fascism. These theoretical paradigms have provided perspectives for critical analysis from the micro to the macro level.

Concepts to be Considered:

Leaders specifically in a democratic political system have caught the attention of the world. How they affect the course of policy-making in the country has become a hot debate topic. Leaders adopt such a leadership style that helps them attain their desired goals. A leader prefers a leadership style that has helped him gain his first ever political success. And the leader holds on to the same style to achieve further success. He also argues that a president dealing with different task and situations bring his own character, view of the world, and political style to it (Barber 2019).

The development of the character of a leader is highly influenced by the surrounding, time, and situations that he has lived in which builds character as well as worldview at the very adolescence age. So the personality that one develops is not easy to alter. As Alkers argues that personality traits are permanent and that the personality does not vary. So the variation in behavior in different situations does not affect the core of the personality (Alker 1972).

A transformational help see the problem to be looked at from a new perspective. And encourages his followers and stimulates emotion and identification. And transformational leaders have the potential to articulate a vision for the organization and can influence individual variables by motivating or meditating (Bernard M. Bass 1990). The transformational leader upholds the interests of the people so when required he could also bend his people to look beyond their interests

for the betterment of the organization. the transformational leader has a clear vision of the future and is a good policy maker and a risk taker. Which uses power strategies to persuade and problem-solving (Kelly Page Werder n.d.).

Transactional leadership on the other hand relies on the exchange of roles between managers and their subordinates. This type of leadership style is understood through the use of contingent rewards from employees to achieve optimal jobs from their subordinates (Bernard M. Bass 1990). This type of leadership provides incentives and encourages the employee to perform to his full capacity.

Though the best type of leadership style is accepted to be known as democratic leadership. It is known to be the most effective style as it offers guidance to the group. They do not just participate in groups but also welcome all sorts of input from other group members which increases the quality. This way the group members feel more engaged in the process and a sense of inclusiveness is created. Although the leader encourages participation the final say remains over the decision-making process with him. (Cherry n.d.)

And as per the interactionist approach, a process through which political leadership drives not only plays a vital part in shaping the course of the decision-making process but leaders themselves are unconsciously developed during the process. Therein, the personalities of the leaders are influenced by the rules and structures (Elgie 1995).

An autocratic leader on the other hand is more directive and focuses more on achieving the goals rather than concerning with making his followers happy. They are strong and head-on with uncertainties and motivate their followers with punishments rather than rewards (David E. Rast III 2012).

Populist leaders are often dominant figures who are seen through two different prisms in international politics i.e. ideational and discursive. As per the ideational approach, populism adopts the combination of ideology, for instance, nationalism, liberalism, etc. but the discursive approach of populism on the other hand shares the common core, the triad of people, general will, and elite (Consuelo Thiers 2022)

Thomas charlie, a historian, argues that the great leaders have managed to change the course of history. So one cannot deny the role an individual plays in shaping or reshaping the processes which can lead to altering the course of the state. And every person as an individual drives his motivational force from a purpose that he wishes to achieve.

Literature Review:

Concerns for the minorities living in India have raised significantly higher with the second consecutive win of, Narendra Modi led, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the elections of 2019. BJP's triumph has raised serious doubts if India is becoming more majoritarian than a liberal democracy. These concerns are mostly linked with the journey of the BJP from their first defeat in 1984 to their ever-increasing number of seats in Lok Sabha. This shift has also been linked to the concerns of drifting apart from Gandhian socialism and positive secularism to hardcore Hindutva-Hindu nationalism (Misra 2018). Hindutva does not only believe in Hindus being a supreme nation or that all the other ethnicities should be submissive to Hindus. But it desires to make India a state only for Hindus which has left the minorities of the state in confusion and distress.

This research focuses on the leadership style adopted by PM Narendra Modi. And how his worldview revolved around Sangh Parivar, a Hindu nationalist paramilitary organization, and how his devotion to this extremist organization since the age of eight has influenced him as a leader. Narendra Modi's transformational leadership style has changed India from the biggest democracy in the world to a Hindu state.

In the parliamentary system distinctive leadership style of a Prime Minister largely influence political outcomes. The leadership style may differ even in similar political settings depending upon the leader's characteristics through systematic ways. These distinctive leadership styles have both direct and indirect implications for shaping a country's policies. And the adopted mechanism to do that is the decision-making process. This research offers a framework of study for the leadership style of the Prime Minister and its implications for the decision-making process. The

key assumption is to focus on how an individual, in this case, Narendra Modi, makes decisions and what approach influences his decision-making process.

Leaders as Prime Ministers throughout the world have distinctive ways to approach their jobs, and so has Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi. Their personality has a profound impact on the policy-making of a country. The variation in leadership style affects their thinking, and how they see, perceive, or relate to situations around them which can alter the course of the state's policies. In the parliamentary system, Prime Ministers adopt a distinctive leadership style that has direct implications on the political system of the country. Political scholars throughout the world have focused on the structural determinants while scholars of foreign policy have gathered their research in empirical pieces of evidence around US Presidents. But Prime Ministers in parliamentary systems have been left out of research as a tool for shaping the policies of the country (Kaarbo 2002).

If we look closely at the biography of Prime minister Narendra Modi we will find his affiliation with the Hindutva ideology. He as an individual has been closely associated with an organized group, RSS. Which are the core believers of the anti pluralism, who wish to attain India to its former glory, a land only for Hindus ruled by Hindus.

Narendra Modi as an individual has a strong affiliation with the RSS, the extreme right-wing nonpolitical organization of India. so automatically it influences his policy making. it can be seen ever since the RSS-led BJP took power in 2014. The Hindutva agenda for the first time found its ground in the mainstream politics of the country. The ultra-nationalist BJP is trying to convert India into a new India while adopting the very old ideology of Vinayak Savarkar, Essentials of Hindutva, Hindutva which leaves no difference between Muslims living in Pakistan and the 200

million Muslims living in India. As they only see them as the offspring of the invaders. Who can never be loyal to their land?

Narendra Modi is widely known as transformative and a populist leader. Populism for most leaders is about conserving the native values and populist leaders believe that they know what is best for people or what they seek (Consuelo Thiers 2022). Narendra Modi's notion of what is best for people or what people desire is greatly influenced by the support of the RSS, a right-wing paramilitary force in India. The RSS goons are equipped and trained and believe to use violent means to achieve their purpose. And with Narendra Modi in power, they have nothing to fear. This fast-growing Hindutva ideology is not a source of concern for the minorities alone living in the country but has also been openly opposing the already existing secularity of the state (Kaul 2017). Which I believe could exacerbate, if not contained, the already existing fault lines within the country.

As there are immense implications that are attached to the phenomenon it is essential to understand the genesis, evolution, and impacts of the ideology. Therefore, it is crucial to first understand the nature of the ideology. To understand the Hindutva ideology, we must first understand certain terms that are associated with it, radicalistic, extremist, and ultra-nationalistic. So, to understand the Hindutva ideology we must first understand these terms to lay the foundation that can strengthen our argument.

Therefore, we must first be clear about questions like what radicalism is? How and when does it become violent? What is ultra-nationalism and how has it changed the course of history in different periods in time? Having answered these questions, we will be able to understand the challenges

this ideology possesses to peace and stability not just within the country but also outside its boundaries towards the north-western borders.

Radicalism has largely been misunderstood as a violent phenomenon. Even though there has been no clear definition of radicalization. The phenomenon of radicalism is largely been associated with religious ideologies of the world and is also preconceived as the violent one. And is understood as the pathway to extremism, fundamentalism, or violence. Wherever there is any violence in the world we find the word, radical, attached to it. In the twenty-first century, radical or radicalism became the buzzword for the world and especially after 9/11, it has been closely associated with religion, Islam. And Islam became the key source of radicalization. Therefore, for the world, Islam as religion became a threat (Arie W. Kruglanski, Michele J. Gelfand, Jocelyn J. Bélanger, Anna Sheveland, Malkanthi Hetiarachchi, Rohan Gunaratna 2014). But being radical or radicalism per se is not being violent. Rather is just a difference of opinion. As Living Safe Together, an Australian initiative against extremism defines radicalism as having a different approach to looking at a society or political actions than the rest of the community (living safe together 2020).

For instance, radicals in previous centuries were not viewed as it is viewed today. The understanding of radicalism ideas was viewed quite positively today. Radicals were considered as someone who fights for rights and reforms. Even the revolutionaries who may often adopt violence had progressive agendas attached to them -for the promotion of democracy or the empowerment of various exclusive groups. Radicalization has been defined as the sweeping change in the political ideology based on fundamental or root principles (Sophia Moskalenko 2009). But all that does not necessarily mean that it must be violent in general or adopt illegal actions.

In most cases the existence of radicalism does not pose any danger to society, as being radical does not necessarily mean that one has a violent streak. It is merely a difference of opinion from that of

the conventional understanding. Groups with a radical attitude challenge the conventional settings to attain what they seek. Which may have the potential to transform the country's social and political landscape.

And to alter the social and political landscape is never easy. As the radicals must face the suppression from the conservatives which in the reaction may turn the radical movements violent? For example, the struggle of suffragettes to attain the right to vote for women in the early twentieth century in Britain and Ireland was also a radical movement as it opposes the already existing laws. And has gone through the process of radicalization (Lovell 2012), Like the French revolution (Censer 2018), and Arab spring (Masoud 2021) it too, in the beginning, was an activist attempt to bring reforms; to attain the right for the women to vote via peace full protest but took a violent turn when they were suppressed and did not receive the desired result. Which later forced them to adopt a violent approach. So, it would be safe to say that radicalism per se is not a violent phenomenon but adopts violence as a response and reaction to the violence faced by them.

Therefore it won't be wrong to say that as long as the ideology or a phenomenon challenges the conventional settings peacefully it can be called radical but as it tends to adopt violent approaches it jumps out of the radical shoes and becomes an extremist phenomenon. So, if we try to look at Hindutva ideology through this perspective, saying that Hindutva is a radical ideology would not be right, as it does not hesitate to adopt violence against Muslims and justifies it. Which makes this ideology the violent extremist one rather than the radicalistic one.

Violent extremism in contrast with radicalism is when a group of people or an individual justifies fear, violence, and terror to achieve an ideological or religious, or socio-political agenda. And this threat comes from a range of groups and individuals. This group or individual can have a range of agendas. The Agency for International Development US has defined violent extremism as

“promoting, engaging in, preparing, or supporting ideologically motivated or justified violence to attain social, economic, or political objectives.” And Public Safety Canada defines it as “the process of taking radical views and using them into violent action, encouraging or involved in violence as a means of attaining their radical political, ideological, or religious views (Rosand 2016).

Though different definitions of violent extremism can have some similarities there is still no common definition of violent extremism. Although all the similarities in the various definitions point that it must have no hesitation in adopting violence whatsoever. And, further encourages the violence to attain whatsoever objectives-be it political, religious, economic, socio-cultural, or ideological/nationalist.

To achieve Religious agendas like influencing the public to attain one homogeneous religious society often end up adopting violent extremist behavior. But relating violent extremism to religion alone would not be right. As the group can adopt violent extremist behavior to attain socio-political, economic, ethnic, nationalist, or other agendas as well.

An Australian program, living safe together, has categorized violent extremism into three broad types: issue-based, ideological, and nationalist or separatist. The Hindutva ideology falls under the ideological category of this program. The living safe together program defines the desire of an ideology to dominate, be it political or religious.

Ideological extremism could be political, religious, or nationalistic in nature. They desire to impose their religious beliefs and political ideology to dominate society. The advocates of violent extremism believe that their religious or political ideology must be placed at the center of their identity. And that it should be this ideology that must dominate and flourish in society. This results

in creating a divided society on the bases of we vs them phenomenon. It boosts the prejudices between groups and creates further rifts. Which drives them further away from each other.

However, these extremist groups share common beliefs (Narain, Hinduization of the text 2014)

- the promotion of uniformity is generally against the diversity / diverse culture
- Have collective goals over individual freedom
- Justify the use of violence
- Give orders instead of negotiating

The emerging Hindutva ideology in India also desires to attain uniformity of the religion in India. And to fulfill this desire the RSS members do not hesitate to adopt violence. If the advocates of Hindutva had desired reforms that would have made them radicals. But as their agenda is to forcefully make Muslims their subordinate, it makes the ideology an extremist one. Hindutva ideology believes in the supremacy of the Hindu nation and that they alone should have the right to rule Hindustan, India, which was the land of Hindus. And so the invaders, referring to the Muslims here, have no right to rule. This notion has become the source of growing distress among minorities.

The Hindutva followers under the flag of the BJP have been attempting for many years to indoctrinate the Indian nation against the Muslims. This has been done by blackmailing the academics to write and teach the wrong history in which Muslims are portrayed as villains and disloyal to the land. Many academics and journalists have been threatened for life to alter the text. Scholars are being targeted on social media and every possible forum to dissuade them from discussing history in gatherings and even publications. And foreign scholars who chose to speak

up against Hindutva or the hinduaization of the text, have to face travel bars and other limitations. Which has led to the self-censorship of the published work (Truschke 2020). This attempt by the BJP's blind followers is seen as a clear attempt to Hinduize the country.

The world is not seeing ideology like Hindutva emerging and attempting to dominate society for the first time. In fact, has taken its inspiration from Nazism and is also known as the Nazi-loving ideology. The Nazi's construction and promulgation of the ideology were not so different from the construction of the Hindutva ideology. The similarities between the two ideologies are astonishing. The Jews in Germany were declared, in the sixteenth century, the rejected race (Russell 2019). A race that does not belong to Germany and was declared as the subordinate nation. Jews in Nazi Germany were hated, discriminated against, haunted, chased, and killed. The situation of Muslims in India today is no different than the situation of Jews back in the sixteenth century.

No matter if they were rich or poor, master or servant, in power or powerless, communist or capitalist or be him German or otherwise if they were Jews they bore the blame for the failure and losses of Germany in WWI. Much of this disdain could be traced back to the old antisemitism of Germans. Because of the deeply rooted zeal of the Jewish people for learning and their studious habits the German Jews were well above their weight. With the excessive representation in legal and medical professions. But what perhaps was more perturbing for the Germans was their percentage in the population. The German Jews made up to 1 percent of the total German population from 1905 – 1937 but nearly 37 percent of all German Nobel laureates were of Jewish ancestry. And having believed Jews to be the unwanted race it was not acceptable for the superior Germans to have them flourish in any field let alone the Nobel ones.

Hindutva like Nazis is certainly afraid of the rise of the Muslims. As history has witnessed the great Muslim conquerors building great empires from the ottoman to the Mughal sultanate (rule). A

handful of Muslims conquered India and ruled it for about ten centuries. Hence it is not acceptable for the extremist Hindus, who believe in extremist ideology like Hindutva to be the core of the Indian constitution, to let the Muslims who are not just a minority anymore but a majority-minority flourish in the land that was originally a Hindu land.

Hindus Throughout history, have made efforts to weaken the Muslim identity in India. Hindus even in British India have attempted many times to obliterate the Muslim identity. The war of 1857 also known as the first war of independence brought Muslims to face many challenges. Muslims were distinguished and cast out of every field. Having borne all the wrath of British Indian Muslims felt cheated as the war of independence was fought by both Hindus and Muslims of united India. But were only Muslims who had to face all the consequences. Muslims were not only cast out of their government job but also their business was looted. Which led to the poor lifestyle and economic condition of the Indian Muslims (Belmekki, Belkacem 2007). On the other hand, Indian Hindus were favored and given all the key posts. As a result, a huge discrimination environment was created among the Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus.

The Hindi Urdu riots of 1867 can also not be forgotten. It was an attack to replace the language of Muslims with the language of Hindus. And language is broadly considered the identity of the nation so an attempt to replace Urdu with Hindi and Persian with Devanagari was considered an attack on Muslim identity. This led to unforgettable riots between Hindus and Muslims and many lives were lost. And that rift kept widening and we still see it exist in present India. So I believe that the discrimination against the Indian Muslims that we witness today in India is not anything new but the continuation of the series of attempts to cast out Muslims from what they consider to be the land rightfully only for the Hindus.

As Nazi as an ideology has been shunned by the world and was considered barbaric, Hindutva too as it finds the roots of its ideology from Nazi must be rejected and resisted globally. The similarities between the two ideologies are astonishing, from the swastika flag to outcasting the of other ethnicities. This conservative behavior on the state's part cannot be accepted as it tends to adopt an exclusive behavior in diverse societies like India and leads to a narrow form of nationalism, ultra-nationalism.

Nationalism per se does not breed conflict. It has often been considered the strongest tool to unite nations. I believe the fault lies when the elements of nationalism are used to exploit the nations against different ethnic groups. Three elements have been given by Adrian Hastings to describe a nation. To him, these three elements are crucial for the construction of the nation. The first is war, for Hasting war is the key that stimulates the sense of nationalism or national identity among people, the second is widening the linguistic sense, and the last and the most powerful element that triggers nationalism is religion. Hence nationalism based on ethnicity is often responsible for the breeding conflict, and so has the history witnessed (Hastings 1999).

The nationalism based on ethnicity found its roots in Germany, *völkisch*. The “blut and boden” (Karlsson 2009). The concept of blood and soil originated in Germany. Blood and soil also became the nationalist slogan under Nazi Germany. Which made the nation to be seen as a birthmark that you are only German if you are born German. Which made people or ethnicities with no roots in the country a foreigner so in due course a threat to their country, culture, and above all national unity.

Hindutva said to be the offspring of the Nazi ideology got its inspiration from outlasting Minorities by calling them foreigners as Hindustan originally was the land of Hindus alone before the Muslims invaded it. Like Nazi Germany, India influenced by Hindutva considers all the ethnic

minorities as a threat to the purity of the Hindu culture and national unity. This type of thought process encourages the dividend society on racial; religious bases with every person entitled to his preordained area. And that the areas once inhabited by a national group must be returned to them. This allows and encourages the national group to take it back even if it has to be by force. And with this type of nationalism, it becomes impossible for diverse cultures and ethnicities to live together. Even if the minority is been tolerated at its best, it can never achieve anything more than second-class citizenship. Such is the situation of minorities under the Hindutva led by the BJP in India.

This narrow nationalism which only oddly has a strong sense of their own national identity but is not ready to give the same sense of respect to other's national identities is also known as ultra-nationalism. The biggest drawback of ultra-nationalist is that they see their state as perfect and see no wrong even if it denies the right of the other citizens. They create false propaganda to manipulate human minds and to make them work accordingly. This is exactly what the extremist Hindus under the influence of Hindutva led by the BJP are doing in present India. This blinded loyalty toward one own nation which does horrific acts to its citizens, minorities of India specifically Muslims, has become a major source of concern. But this behavior is not anything new but has been embedded in the political moves of Hindus for more than a century.

An Indian nationalist Bal Gangadhar Tilak, by name Lokamanya Tilak, initiated the popular Ganapati Festival in 1893, to persuade the Indian Hindus against the Muharram festival celebrated by the Muslims who were considered the then lower caste of India. It aimed to gather people who share similar ideas and perspectives to deal with the invaders, Muslims and British (Raam, Hindutva Offensive: Social Roots And Characterization 1999). Later on, he introduced himself to celebrate the festival of Shivaji who was responsible for breaking the bone of Muslim rulers,

Moghul, from western India. And open the gates for the Maratha army throughout India who along with them brought an anti-Muslim perspective to the continent. Promoting anti-Muslim sentiments among Hindus was a new form of political methodology that was adopted to consolidate the Hindus of India by Tilak.

And all this was propagated by the nascent and amorphous Hindu nationalist forces. This form of Hinduism was combined with nationalism under the leadership of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. V.D.Savarkar also known as the first exponent of Hindutva doctrine. His principles were in contradiction to what Gandhi stood for. Gandhi to Savarkar was an appeaser of Muslims who to him was a threat to Hindu supremacy. Savarkar contrary to Gandhi believed that Hindu supremacy is only attainable if the British leave the country and Muslim and Christians both are considered as the real enemy who had invaded their holly land, and are disloyal to the holly lands of Hindus, so are considered he an enemy of Hindu religion and threat to the Hindu culture (Savarkar 1923). The notion is widely been accepted among the followers of Hindutva that the only way to defeat the impostures of Muslims is through the adaptation of the Hindutva ideology. And through the adoption of the principles of Hindutva ideology.

This xenophobic behavior towards minorities has nothing but grown in India and has given rise to the socio-economic, and politically exclusive society under the leadership of Modi. The society growing on hatred and desire to eliminate the diversity from the country by throwing away whom they consider as the invaders have led the country into a war-like situation. The prime minister of India, Narendra Modi is a staunch believer in Hindutva and is leading the mandate of the ideology ahead.

As the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) is historically related to the fundamental RSS, the fear that has surrounded the minorities of the country is not pseudo. So it would not be wrong to assume that it

is not only the Modi factor that has been the major source of concern but the fundamental organization that Prime Minister Modi is representing is what has put the country in a state of unrest. BJP throughout its history has indulged in many communal clashes. The killing in Gujrat is a recent incident. The killings happened under Modi's watch as he was the then chief minister of Gujrat. And he was also denied a US visa and was severely criticized by many western countries for the killings and raping of Muslim women back in 2002. And what contributes more to the devastation was the appreciation Narinder Modi received from his constituency of Hindu right-wing. He was considered a champion among them for this dreadful act of violence (Kaul 2017). And now seeing him as the Prime Minister of the country for two terms in a row is nothing less than like the horrors of the minorities coming true.

The country under Modi's regime is strongly and openly supporting Hindu nationalism co-Hindutva ideology. BJP tends to impose Hindu identity on a state and is constantly trying to diminish the secular identity that the country presently is known for in the world. The political mobilization of Hindutva takes us back to the works of M S Golwalker, who from the early years of his life was under the great influence of Hedgewar, one of the founding members of RSS. Golwalker inspired by Nazi Germany believed that it is almost impossible for different cultures and races to assimilate into one single whole (Golwalkar 1939). And that the state should comprise of one nation in his case Hindus, ruled by Hindus. And the other faith should either convert to Hinduism or leave. This Hindutva co-Nazi-loving nationalism is gaining popularity in India today. And the writings of Adolf Hitler are being displayed at Indian airports. It is believed that hundreds and thousands of Hitler's writing are being sold in India. And the clouds of the old dogma promoted

by Adolf Hitler in the past can now be seen in present India. due to which insecurities among the minorities of India are rising greatly (Rao 2017).

The growing notion of Hindutva brought along violence leaving the minorities living in India with ontological insecurity (Kinnvall 2019). The vulnerable groups to this ultra-nationalism have been Cristian, Sikhs, Muslims, and other low castes. But Muslims being the majority-minority has been facing most of the wrath of Hindutva to an extent that they no longer feel safe wearing their cultural clothes or prying in open areas. Cases have been reported where Muslims were interrupted while prying and were forced to move and were followed (Slater 2019). What gives away the hatred for Muslims is the silence of PM Modi over the issue.

That is not all there is to be worried about. What is more concerning is that these radical ideas are aiming to shape domestic and foreign policy. At the domestic level Minorities living in India are going through a hard time as their futures are blurred, their lives unsafe, their identities threatened, and freedom snatched. With the BJP ruling, the state once again is surrounded by fear. Fundamentalists are getting stronger taking the law into their hands. Muslims no longer feel safe in carrying out their religion anymore. No legal actions were taken over the killings by the cow protectors (Watch 2019). These killings are often justified as cows are considered sacred in the Indian religion. But this also gave rise to accuse killing, Cases have been reported in India of killings over just transporting the animals as well. And the fact the killings were not even condemned by the Indian Prime Minister for years further encouraged the practices of the radical groups.

In 2017, the killing of cows was made unlawful and a punishable crime by the government of Gujrat by life imprisonment. And most citizens choose to stay salient over these extrajudicial killings. But what is more surprising are the statistics that show that India till 2016 was the 5th and

now is the third largest exporter of beef in the world with its exports increasing year after year. And around 11.88% of the World's beef is exported from India. (Peel 2022)

The politics of India under PM Modi has been the politics of fear. This aberrant behavior on part of a state who wishes to be an economic/soft power is surprising. On one hand, Modi ruled the government has declared a more proactive foreign policy of promoting and enhancing the good image of India. And policies like India first, neighborhood, and celebrating International Yoga Day considering his achievements towards peace (Kinnvall 2019). And on the other hand, allowing hate speeches, Spreading Islamophobia and aggressive policy toward minorities is showing the other side of Modi's policy that has been adopted (Waikar 2018). Statistics have shown that there are four times more chances of a win in the elections for those who promote communal violence and hatred through their speeches (Paula Thompsn 2019). It is an alarming situation that the one with the hate agenda is getting appreciated and with this we can also assume the popularity that the radical Hindutva ideology has already gained.

Spreading Islamophobia has been the top agenda of the Hindutva ideology ever since it was founded. By creating islamophobia out of thin air, the founders of the Hindutva ideology aim to gain more support from their Hindu community. And as it says there is no better way to create hate for a community than to project them as the threat, as villains therefore, the term Islamophobia is related consciously to "love jihad". The right-wing Hindus have constructed "love jihad" as a conspiracy of Muslims to convert vulnerable Hindu men and women to Islam by tricking them into marriages and even by abducting and raping them. Though all these accusations were proven wrong through numerous investigations from 2009-2012. But just saying those words made the notion of "love jihad" reliable. The radical mobs did not wait for it to be proven valid and adopted a violent attitude towards Muslims. As a result, the hatred imposed on Muslims encouraged the

government to turn a blind eye to the atrocities inflicted on the Muslim community in India. This further led to dominance not just among the political factions within the Indian borders but also encouraged the administration to take it beyond its defined international borders.

The contemporary Indian policy towards Kashmir fulfills the hidden Hindutva agenda. Making Kashmir part of India is embedded in the mandate of the BJP. Modi and BJP have always wished for the annexation of India's only Muslim majority state into the union. With the BJP coming back in power for the second time in 2019, a big step was taken, on 5th Aug. The government of India abrogated article 370 which previously had given a special status to Kashmir and, the step was taken without consultative process which shows that Modi has no regard for the democratic institutions and processes (Mukhopadhyay 2019). His move over Kashmir proved that he had no interest in securing Muslim sentiments. Muslims in Indian-held Kashmir is currently under curfew for almost three months now.

Hindutva ideology under Modi's administration had expanded beyond its boundaries to the disputed land of Kashmir. Promoting the Hindutva ideology in a Muslim majority state will have severe implications on peace both in the disputed land and the territories around it as well. It could jeopardize regional peace. Though the step taken by the BJP is strongly criticized by Pakistan, many Muslim countries and international media are as well. The issue has caught the world's attention because of the restless efforts of Pakistan. The international media has also highlighted the fact that the situation in Kashmir has deteriorated and has reported human rights violations. The concerns have been raised that if the peacekeeping institutions fail to resolve the crisis this could lead to another war between India and Pakistan which could end up in a nuclear war between the two. But nothing fruitful could be done yet that could normalize the situation in Kashmir under PM Modi as he himself is a very strong advocate of ultra-nationalistic Hindutva ideology.

The Bhartiya Janata party under Modi's rule has expanded the aims of Hindutva and has become fearless in adopting offensive means to secure their ideological interests. This exaggerated sense of nationalism has made the Indian image the intolerant one while Hinduism as a religion per se is all about tolerance and acceptance. Which has even made the Hindus speak against the atrocities inflicted upon the Muslims living in India as well as in Kashmir. Prem Shankar Jha, a former information advisor of the PM of India, in a series of articles has also highlighted the grievances of the Muslims living in India and how explicitly the RSS goons backed by the regime are destroying the ideals on which the country stood since its independence (Jha 2019). But what makes the situation more troubling is the fact that all this hate politics and offensive behavior towards Muslims is not slowing down but is increasing with each passing day. It has not remained the source of concern for the Indian Muslims but also for Pakistan. And as history has witnessed that this exaggerated sense of nationalism, ultranationalist, can inspire the nations to even invade and take over other areas _Nazi Germany _ it will not be a surprise if India under the leadership of Modi tries to extend its borders to the territory of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan ever since the Palwama attacks has been constantly trying to avert the war but still has resulted in serious also frequent border violations at LOC.

Role of the leadership of Narendra Modi in promoting Hindutva ideology in present India.

Leaders certainly play an important role in societies. They have the potential to shape and reshape society as a whole. And With Narendra Modi in office, India has been on the road to change from a secular to a Hindu state. Narendra Modi appeared as an ideological leader who is strongly motivated to make Hindutva the center of Indian society. This chapter aims to explore in detail to what extent Narendra Modi is responsible for making violent ideologies like Hindutva a core of secular India and to what extent has this ideology been shaping the domestic political policies of India under Narendra Modi's regime. And to understand the role of Narendra Modi's leadership in promoting this ideology we need to understand what type of leadership Narendra Modi is influenced by and also the kind of leader Narendra Modi wants to become. The chapter is sported by the series of incidents that makes the BJP rule under Narendra Modi a threat not just to the minorities living in India but also to the democratic fabric of the state since he has the power to shape the policies of the country.

Narendra Modi for no doubt is a visionary who is greatly motivated to make India known not for its secular ideals but its Hindu religion. Narendra Modi's strong association and sense of loyalty toward Sang Parivar has brought Indian secularism to dire consequences. It is not hidden that he channels his power through a paramilitary organization, RSS, and now has the hold over the policy-making institution, the Indian Parliament.

Narendra Modi's vision of India is not so different than what the world knows Nazi Germany for as RSS is the disciple of Savarkar who was influenced by Nazi Germany. In 1924 when

Hitler proclaimed himself as the chosen one with the mission, the mission to make Germany great. It was this prophetic and propagandistic attitude that he seemed the charismatic leader to the first of his disciples. Nazism without a doubt was the movement of unmitigated horror and the Nazi ideology per se has caused crimes against humanity that the world would never forget.

Nazism encroached in India back in the 1920s when the national movement was losing its spirit under the leadership of Gandhi. On the other hand, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was gaining popularity among the Muslims, claiming the only leader to represent the interests of the Muslim living in united India making even the nationalists desperate to move toward different ways. Which brought Nazi-led Hindutva ideology to the surface. The emergence of the Muslim League as the only option for the Muslims and the losing vigor of congress paved the way for the Nazi agents to propagate the Nazi ideology in India (D'souza 2000). And were impressed by the Nazi's doctrine of force and praised its success in Italy and Germany in the building of strong nations.

The two personalities without whom the Nazi-led Hindutva ideology would not have made it through are, V.D. Savarkar and M.S Golwalkar. The two led the foundation of the Hindutva ideology in united India and it was their charismatic personalities that attracted a large number of followers. But what added more to their fame was the ongoing situation in India. As Michael D. Mumford says how leaders emerge during crises, turbulence, and change (Michael D. Mumford 2008). And India at that time was going through all three scenarios, crises, turbulence, and change. As the Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah was struggling to get Muslims a separate land on basis of the two-nation theory (Şahbaz 2020), Savarkar (Savarkar 1923) and Golwalkar (Golwalkar 1939) through their writings succeeded in portraying Muslims as disloyal to their Hindu land.

Blinded by the Hindutva ideology its followers failed to see the discrimination socio-political discrimination Muslims of India had been facing especially after the first war of independence in 1857. They chose to ignore the fact that Muslims under the British Raj were reduced to poverty and misery while Hindus were approached for cooperation and proved themselves as the reliable allies of new rulers (Belmekki 2007). And that ultimately led to the fear that even when India gets its freedom from British rule, the Muslims of India under the democratic system will become permanent slaves to the Hindu Raj. It was this fear that forced the Muslim league to fight for a separate state for the Muslims.

Although Hindutva first emerged during colonial times but was not until recently as popular as it has become under Modi's regime. For the last eight years, Hindutva has become a dominating force for Indian nationalism. Since the Indian independence Hindutva actors had played a crucial role in developing the Hindu Indian identity. It's not hidden anymore that the ruling Indian party, BJP, is highly influenced by the Hindutva ideology.

Narendra Modi came into power with the vision of making India great. He is greatly admired by the lower-class Indian as he comes from them. He has emerged out of the dust with no political background which is seen by the majority of Hindu Indians as the first politician who is not enslaved to the old political ways followed since the British Raj (Zubaida Zafar, Shoukat Ali, Sheeba Irfan 2018). His approach among the majority of the nation has not just won him, motivational followers, but also satisfied ones. To gain staunch Hindutva followers, Narendra Modi has been mobilizing campaigns to prove Muslims as a threat to the Hindu majority. As a result, Hindutva has become another word for the term nationalism. And whoever opposes

Hindutva ideology is set to be accused of being anti-nationalist and is considered as disloyal to the land as Muslims.

Although Hindutva justifies the means of violence to achieve ethnonational territorial claims, it succeeded in mainstream Indian politics. As a result, the biggest democracy in the world is governed by right-wing extremists aiming for the state to be dominated by Hindutva ideology. And for the core, Hindutva actor Hindutva ideology is the focus of immense affection which secular India cannot provide. Although, the Indian brand of secularism is different from the western conceptualization of secularism (Leidig, Hindutva as a variant of right-wing extremism 2020). Unlike the west, Indian secularism does not separate religion from politics it embraces the practice of religion in a state allowing religious plurality.

RSS-led Hindutva is all set to damage the secular fabric of the country and violent extremism has been accepted as a fair trait of the ideology. Violence proceeded by Hindutva actors as majoritarian nationalism is inseparable from organized violence, particularly when space is labeled as a Hindu space. Even shortly after the Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS, Indian People's Party) was founded in 1951 it has been against the rhetoric of the secular Indian national congress. And has always asserted India as a Hindu state. Though it did have to relaunch itself as Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP, Indian People's Party) in 1980 to keep a clear profile and also to satisfy its hard-core members, who were confused about the party's mandate due to its switching stance as a patriotic populist party or an aggressive militant Hindutva (Leidig, Hindutva as a variant of right-wing extremism 2020).

Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) even predating its rule has proven itself as a violent right-wing extremist party under the leadership of Narendra Modi. In 2002 BJP gain international attraction as the violent party due to the Gujrat riots, also known as the Gujrat massacre. Thousands lost their

lives in Hindu Muslim violence in which the overwhelming majority was of Indian Muslims. International agencies like amnesty international and also human rights watch reported the incident as a crime against humanity; dreadful human rights violations, including rape and torture. The reported complicity of the government officials including the then chief minister of the Bhartiya junta party, Narendra Modi, makes the BJP's current rule more fearful for the Muslims living in India today. Narendra Modi for his involvement in riots was banned to enter the USA, the United Kingdom along with many other European states.

Although Narendra Modi has been exonerated of all the charges and was given clean chit as the then chief minister, the report is highly criticized for making it controversial. Also, the fact that Narendra Modi came free of all the charges under his own rule adds to the ambiguity of the report. The report presented by the Nanavati Commission was tabled in the Gujrat assembly five years after its submission to the government and almost seventeen years after the incident took place. The report also freed other ministers who were accused of complicity in the violence. And instead, blame the police for not handling the situation and the violence. And also blamed the three officers who provided the evidence of the involvement of the government officers in the matter, for tarnishing the image of Modi's government and d its ministers (Katakam 2020).

All the witnesses and shreds of evidence presented in the court were ignored. The most controversial evidence was the interview of Babu Bajrangi taken by Tehlka TV where he admits to brutally murdering innocent Muslims with a weird sense of pride. He even told the TV channel how they were appreciated by the then CM of Gujrat, Narendra Modi (Bajrangi n.d.). He is now moving freely on Indian streets as the Supreme Court has granted him bail on medical grounds in March 2019. The exoneration of all the accused RSS / BJP goons including the present PM under their own rule is not shocking at all. But what should also not be shocking for the world is the fall

of democracy in the so-called biggest democracy of the world as it's inexorable for the democracy to survive in India with the second landslide victory of the BJP on a purely communal and ultra-nationalist agenda.

Not to be surprised the Babri mosque verdict of the Supreme Court has also acquitted BJP leaders of any illegal involvement in demolishing the historic sixteenth-century mosque in 1992, which resulted in more than 2000 deaths of which most were Muslims. Thirty-two out of forty-nine people who were charged for mobilizing the mob were given clean chit while seventeen of them died while the case was in process. And the verdict granted the land to Hindus on the bases that the mosque was constructed on the ruins of a Hindu temple. The decision has further heightened the anxieties and a sense of injustice of Indian Muslims (Babri mosque 2020). The verdict is seen by many political observers as an attempt to further marginalize the two hundred million Indian Muslims. In Aug 2020 Prime Minister Modi laid the foundation on the Babri masjid site as was long promised by BJP. Supreme Court verdict in favor of Hindus under BJP's regime has won them staunch followers and is considered a massive victory for Narendra Modi.

The world is not surprised that the BJP which once was considered the violent extremist right-wing political party that got the limelight of India in the 90s, especially after the Babri mosque incident is getting free of all the charges under its own rule. What is surprising that how the injustices and the atrocities inflicted by its members are increasing with every day of the BJP in power; yet BJP manages to win office for the second time in a row.

India has witnessed a massive increase in saffron terrorism during Narendra Modi's regime. The discourse of saffron terror was about seven to eight incidents annually from 2004-2008. India has seen a 28% increase in communal violence under the saffron terrorist organization against Indian Muslims from 2014-2017, with the actual number of attacks being significantly higher than the

official numbers (D. K. Iqbal 2019). According to the national commission for minorities and the home ministry of India Indian Christians face more than 100 attacks per year with the real number of attacks much higher than the official numbers, as reported by an Indian journalist only 10% of the incidents are ever reported (Marshall 2004).

The target pool of saffron attacks is gradually expanding with each passing day of Modi's regime. The targets are not limited to Muslims but include Christians as well as secular Hindus who do not support the idea of the Hinduization of India or politicizing the Hindu religion. In a joint report by Mumbai-based and UK based, the MRG, minority right groups international, and enter of study of society & secularism, has reported that the year 2017 alone has witnessed more than 700 outbreaks of communal violence in India. Which has cost more than 86 lives and has injured 2,321 people (Bhowmick 2017).

Ironically the constitution of the state secures all the rights of a minority but the violation of these rights is ignored by the government. Article 25 of the Indian constitution recognizes that everyone is s equally entitled to freely profess, practice, and propagate their religion. While articles 18 and 25 provide civil and political rights & protect s freedom of religion and belief. The constitution also secures the right to keep your culture and religion to the minorities, providing nondiscrimination clauses 29 and 30 along with article 27 of(international covenant on civil and political rights) ICCPR (We Are Indians Too", Open Doors 2019).

Given all the above rights by the Indian constitution, the rights of the minority are only theoretically protected. Human weapons are created right under the watch of Modi's government in many states of India. And the blind eye taken by the government over the matter has deepened the concerns of the minorities living in India. An Indian right-wing Hindu organization, Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) has taken the matter in its wings and is all set to establish youth filled with

hatred towards minorities. It has established a special wing for radical Hindu women to provide military-style combat training. This wing is named Durga Vahni, the army of Durgas. Most of the recruited women are less educated and belong to rural areas. The Vishwa Hindu Parshad has successfully managed to train hundreds and thousands of Hindu women. The skills that are given to these women include dagger-wielding and the use of firearms. And to boost the enthusiasm anti-Pakistani slogans are inculcated. And the most prominent slogan of the Durga vehni army is “Hindustan is for Hindus. Pakistan can go to hell” (Pahuja 2014).

The member of the Durga camp has established a training camp in the province of UP that recruits girls of the age of age. Another operational organization under the banner of “Hindu Swabhiman” is actively busy producing a “holy army” (Derma Sena) loyal to the concept of Hindu supremacy. Over 15000 soldiers are set to be prepared in the name of fighting the threat of IS but in reality, the Muslims living in India (Sandeep Rai & Udhy Singh Rana 2016). A saga that started in 2016, with Modi in office has now spread across social media, spreading hate for Muslims, their religion, and their holy lands, with worldwide followers. This hate-spread mission even made UAE princess, Hend Al Qassimi speak up even though the royalty was friends with India. And reminded clearly that they earn their bread and butter from this country and talking nonsense about it would not go unnoticed (watch 2020).

Moreover, the involvement of In-service, as well as retired Indian army officers with violent Hindutva ideology and Hindu supremacist organizations has further widened the operational capabilities of saffron attacks under Narendra Modi, regime. RSS in 2018 had six million radicals who could be mobilized more swiftly than the Indian army. These RSS goons are spread all over India and have proven to be very useful in communal riots which are often projected by Indian authorities as abrupt incidents. Moreover, the Hinduization of the Curriculum under the watch of

Narendra Modi will brainwash the next generations to come who would be ready to kill and die for their faith (D. K. Iqbal 2019). And to build the next generation on hatred for the minorities RSS held more than 25000 seminars annually which are attended by five to six million students every year. The saffron terror in India is growing with each passing day. The academics have done their job and have warned about the consequence of the ever-growing terrorist attacks on minorities. But the policymakers have yet to recognize the saffron terror which under Modi's rule one cannot see happening.

Anyone with anti-Modi sentiments is put under strict watch. Even a journalist who is too critical of the BJP and Narendra Modi is tracked down and even arrested in the so-called democracy of India. Many activists and academics have been arrested for having an anti-BJP sentiment on charges of having ties with a banned communist party of India, (Maoist). The arrest of Anand Teltumbde, a prominent intellectual and author of many books, has aroused serious concerns among the academics of India. Anand Teltumbde who is accused of conspiring against the government and also conspiring a plot of assassinating the Indian prime minister Narendra Modi is seen by legal experts and activists as clear targeting Modi and the right-wing BJP critics (MN 2020). Following the arrest of Anand Teltumbde, a video conference was held by senior journalists and writers calling the arrest a political witch hunt.

The growing Hindutva belief in India mostly among the rural areas, where illiteracy is higher, is descending into mob rule. Especially since Narendra Modi has taken over the office the vigilante cow attacks have increased, leading to a lynching mob mentality affecting many aspects of life. As a result vigilante cow protection groups do not hesitate to attack anyone over the suspension of carrying beef. For Hindus, it is the protection of cows their holy animal but for Muslims, it's the deprivation of the fundamental right to food and livelihood. With BJP in the office, the number of

cow protection groups and organizations has increased tremendously. Since 2016 the numbers of such organizations have multiplied to thousands. In Delhi alone, there are around 200 cow vigilante groups. Who claim that they feel empowered because of Hindu-nationalist BJP's victory. From 2010-2017 63 such incidents took place leaving 28 dead out of which 24 were Muslims. Not to be surprised 97% of these incidents were reported after the Modi government ceased power (Delna Abraham, Ojaswi Rao 2017).

Between May 2015-dec and 2018, 44 more people lost their lives in over 100 incidents across 20 Indian states to the mob rule out of which 36 were Muslims (Bepari 2020). The cases of mob lynching for supposedly killing or eating the cow have increased noticeably. But there are no specific laws or legislation that would protect or prevent it from happening which has further motivated the attacks. The credibility of the law-making bodies has also been questioned. Also, no adequate measures have been taken to prevent cow-related violence. The Indian judiciary so far has failed to provide a sense of security to the minorities of India. Which has further deepened the grieving of the minorities. Amartya Sen, the Nobel Prize-winning (Nobel memorial prize 1998) economist said that how all this intolerance has made it difficult to have a dialogue-based society. Also that it has not turned India intolerant state but too tolerant even of the intolerance (Chotiner 2019).

Muslims are also being targeted for eating, buying, or transporting beef in India. Ironically, India has doubled its beef exports to the developed nations under Modi's regime. According to a report, India exported around 1.56 million tons of beef to developed nations in the year 2017 alone attaining the position of third-largest beef exporting country (Wambugu 2018). It is not possible

that Narendra Modi and his extreme right-wing political party, BJP, are unaware of the fact that four out of six major beef suppliers of India are Hindus by caste. Hindus have seen lynching Muslims even though are found selling beef. And what is more hurtful is the fact that the two beef-eating states of India that are allowed to eat beef openly even in markets are Goa and Nagaland, and both are ruled by BJP/RSS (Kumar 2018). On one hand, Muslims, Dalits, and Christians are asked to stop eating beef on the other hand in five-star hotels same India can be seen serving beef.

The discriminatory behavior against the Indian minorities has seriously damaged the secular ideals of the country. It has led to an increase in Muslim conversion. The Dalit community of India has always been discriminated against. The sense of exclusion faced by the Dalits community, the non-touchable is even worse than that of the Muslims of India. The Muslims are the majority-minority while Dalits are the unaccepted cast of Hindus who are even deprived of the fundamental right to live and grow in the same society as the upper caste Hindus. This discriminatory behavior has led them to convert to other religions like Islam and Christianity. In Dec 2019 there was an incident at Mettupalayam taluk in Coimbatore, a rural district of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, seventeen Dalits lost their lives to the wall that was built to separate the Dalits from the upper caste neighbors. The caste wall was around 20 ft tall and built without pillars. The Dalits were furious and disturbed by the incident. And some 3000 Dalits decided to convert to Islam to avoid the discriminated behavior (Sawami 2019). Most of the conversion to Islam is of the Dalits who have had enough of the discriminatory behavior of the Hindu upper caste, which has forced them to believe if their religion cannot provide them the fundamental rights there is no point sticking to it.

So the conversions the RSS accuses Muslims of are in reality not forceful but voluntarily. And the propaganda of “love jihad” has no ground in reality. The reason for the decline in the Hindu women population is due to the death of the preborn girl child based on gender discrimination. It is believed that around 8 million female fetuses were destroyed in India between 2001-2011 (save girl child n.d.). Rather than admitting the discriminatory behavior with the Dalits and girl child the propaganda of “love jihad” is created to create anti-Muslim sentiments among the nation and blame Muslims for the forceful conversions and as an attempt to diminish the Hindu population.

And to counter the assumed love jihad threat an anti-conversion and reversion scheme was introduced by the end of 2014 by BJP, Ghar Wapsi. Ghar Wapsi touted a return to the authentic origin of India, being Hindu. Although, the law only forbids forceful conversion many Indian states have written laws that made it virtually impossible for a Hindu to convert especially to the Abrahamic faith. Dubiously a Hindu conversion to another faith is presumed as forced conversion while thousands of Christians and Muslim's conversion to Hinduism has seen appreciated (Gupta 2009). The chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, Yogi Adityanath clearly stated that in return for one Hindu woman converted to Islam, hundred Muslim women will be converted to Hinduism (Minority Rights Violations in India 2017). A report by NDTV found that no evidence was found for the organized love jihad campaign and that love jihad is false propaganda introduced by the Hindutva leaders against Muslim men. For instance, the Bajrang Dal, a right-wing ultra-nationalistic organization in India, prohibits Hindu women to marry Muslim men on one hand while encouraging Hindu men to marry Muslim women. Above the non-state organization, state actors sporting and promoting hatred among the nation against a specific community have further deteriorated the democratic institution of the country.

The Indian intolerance towards the Muslim minority under BJP's rule crossed all the limits with the controversial citizenship act. There is an ongoing protest within India over the government's initiative to discriminate against citizenship based on religion. The act applies to individuals who came to India before 2014 and grants citizenship to oppressed minorities who came to India from neighboring countries but keeps Muslim immigrants ineligible for being Indian citizens. This act was followed by a series of government decisions against Indian Muslims, for instance, the criminalization of the triple talaq concept, the abolishment of the special status of the only Muslim state of India, and the verdict of the Babri mosque incident in favor of Hindus.

According to article 5 of the citizenship act of 1955 of the Indian constitution of India all the people who were residents of India during the origination of the constitution were a citizen of India and also one who was born in the country. But the 2019 amendment in the citizenship act disseminates the citizen on basis of ethnicity. According to the bill the non-Muslim immigrant, Buddhist, Parsi, Sikhs, Hindus, and Christian communities, who came from neighboring countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh till December 2014, will not be considered illegal immigrants (Siddique, A Response to Hiren Gohain 2020). The bill does not include Muslim immigrants who came from the same neighboring countries in the same years. Moreover, preceding the implementation of the bill it would be made mandatory for Indian citizens to show ancestral documentation to prove their nationality. The bill has already been implemented in the state of Assam causing unprecedented damage to the livelihood of millions of marginalized people in the state.

Not only are the rights of the Muslim immigrant usurped but also the voice of the nation. During the time of the adaptation of the NRC, the national register of citizens, and the voices of those who try to oppose it were also suppressed. NRC is the byproduct of hate for Muslims and is the new face of xenophobic Nazi camps (Siddique, A Response to Hiren Gohain: The NRC is a Product of Xenophobia in Assam 2019). The act deliberately attempts to deprive the hundreds of thousands of Muslim immigrants from Bangladesh of their rights. The opposing voices hardly made the newspaper, partially due to the controlled media, and partially due to the fear of being jailed not many dared to write against it. But when the report was about to be published the chauvinists and the Hindutvabadis started opposing it as a result NRC did not meet their desired expectations. Though the number of excluded Muslims was extraordinarily high these right-wing ultra-nationalistic groups wanted the number of excluded people to be even higher (Siddique, A Response to Hiren Gohain 2020). More than nineteen lack people are deprived of their citizenship status in the state of Assam although, most of these people he never lived anywhere in India (Ahmed 2019). While most of them are ethnically Bengali but no evidence can prove them Bangladeshis. So to remove them from the national register of citizens is wrong by all means. It's like stating Indians are non-Indians. Moreover, what has worsened the situations of these excluded people is the constant harassment that they have to face and the fact that chauvinist along with the help of the media has made the Bengali originated Muslims a synonym for illegal immigrants which has further deteriorated the life of Muslims in the state of Assam.

Although there is a nationwide upsurge against the bill, the governments intend to impose it on the entire country by 2021. The BJP government aims to permanently convert the nationality around Jus sanguinis, citizens by descent rather than Jus soli, citizens by birth. The amendment has been

widely criticized over discrimination and is disapproved widely by the nation. In Dec 2019, a large scale student-led opposition movement was started in India which by Jan 18 2020 cost 23 Muslims their lives most by police gunfire (Jafri 2020). The student opposition movement started in an aftermath of the police storming of two Muslim-dominated universities namely, Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in Uttar Pradesh and Jamia Milia Islamia (JMI) in New Delhi (Dubey 2019). And At least forty students and staff members of Jawaharlal Nehru University were admitted to the hospital. Masked men allegedly entered the university and beat the students with rods.

In an attempt to displace the scholarly knowledge JNU became the prime target of the Hindu nationalist. As the JNU has been associated with left-wing activism and some students blamed the right-wing student body's involvement in the matter (JNU: campus attack 2020). BJP has been very systematically targeting JNU since 2017 in various ways. Modi's government has cut the funding for Ph.D. s from JNU to more than eighty percent and also reduced the library budget (Maanvi 2017). And crossed all the boundaries by facilitating violent attacks on the students of JNU. The bill did not just officially create a legal pathway to grant Indian nationality based on religion but also made the world witness the fall of the secular ideals of the state.

This vigilante culture in India is gaining popularity in the country under BJP's rule. And the nation sits in fear as the law enforcement institutes silently watch and even promote and supports the violence. The series of violence and hatred is becoming part of everyday routine in India. Following the hate speeches during the days of the Hindu festival Ram Navami, a series of violent incidents took place in various states of India. The mob came in procession and attacked the Muslim properties. Incidents were reported where Hindus are reported to plant saffron flags in mosques while flashing hockey and swords. The BJP lawmaker who was banned for hate speeches

from Facebook sang a song about the non-Hindus being forced to leave India soon. Not just that even the Hindu priest is calling for the abduction and rape of Muslim women (Hrishikesh 2022). What makes it more horrific is that there are existing laws that prohibit all this yet the judiciary chooses to remain silent and keeps proving bail to the offenders.

Scholars and human rights defenders are highly criticizing the extremist regime of Narendra Modi. Noam Chomsky, the world's most renowned scholar mentioned in a webinar how islamophobia is taking the most lethal form in India under Modi's regime. And how the crime in the forcefully Indian-occupied Kashmir is escalating under Modi's regime. Chomsky has also raised concerns about Muslims becoming a persecuted minority (Chomsky 2022). Dr. Gregory Stanton, the Founding President of Genocide Watch warned the US Congress about the gravity of the violence in India against Muslims and said that the genocide might happen in India. And has also asked the US congress to pass a resolution that it would not allow the genocide to occur in India. He also suggested that the US President should also make it clear to Modi that if anything of the sort happens it will alter the course of Indo-American relations. He has also warned that India already has fulfilled various stages out of 10 stages of genocide (Stanton 2022). Even the Indian civil servants could not hold it any longer and more than a hundred civil servants wrote a letter to the PM. Modi on April 26, 2022. The civil servants under the banner of constitutional conduct group said in the letter that the promotion of hate speeches and violence is not just complicit to the Muslims but is also subordinating the fundamental principles of the constitution (Former Civil Servants to Modi 2022). The letter also raises concerns over the hijab ban and bulldozing of the houses of the minorities, the hundred and eight signatories of the letter also condemned how the law admiration instead of maintaining peace has become the means for the minority to be kept in perpetual fear.

The BJP's rule has only fueled the hatred and fear as the injustices prevail in the country, its growth slowing down. Due to the erosion of these civil liberties India has slipped down 10 spots to 51st position in the world democratic index 2019. And has further dropped two positions down on the global press freedom index, positioning India at 142nd out of 180 and 129th in the human development index (EIU's Democracy Index 2020). According to the report by the freedom house the reason behind the alarming setback to the world's biggest democracy, India, was the abrogation of article 370 in Kashmir the only Muslim majority state occupied by India, communicational lockdown in the state, the violent suppression of the protests in the country, controversial NRA in Assam and CAB and above all its tilt towards hardcore Hindu nationalism are the cause of India moving towards the lower standers in the region (Repucci 2020). Even All criticism and protests could not stop Narendra Modi's actions to Hinduize the country but his aim has further expanded and has crossed the borders of the disputed land of Kashmir.

Changing political spheres of Kashmir under Narendra Modi's regime

The disputed land of Jammu and Kashmir has been the major concern for maintaining regional peace for more than seven decades. Kashmir being the most controversial territory in the world has put the region a hotspot for war. And the claim of both India and Pakistan over the territory has been the main obstacle to attaining regional peace. The latest crises in Jammu and Kashmir have once again brought the focus of the international world to this region. India's latest political activities in Kashmir have brought the legality of the disputed annexation under discussion. India's illegal occupation of power in Kashmir on 5th august 2019 without the consent of the Kashmiris have taken the course of the conflict to a horrible peace peril. This chapter aims to seek the agenda that Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Hindu nationalists wish to attain by the abrogation of article 370A.

As discussed in the previous chapter the Hindu nationalist in India tends to make India a Hindu state. And with BJP in power, it has not only been polarizing towards the minorities, especially Muslims but has in many cases harmed such groups and gotten away with it. Kashmir is India's only Muslim majority state and has been pining in the eye of Hindu nationalists. And since august 2019 with the abrogation of article 370 the state has witnessed curfews, lockdown, joblessness, school closers, a deteriorating economy, and serious human rights violations. Before we analyze

in detail what the BJP government wishes to achieve from the erosion of the special status of Kashmir. It's mandatory to explore the brief history which led to the most elongated contemporary conflict.

Kashmir before the partition was a princely state under British rule. As per the cabinet plan and Indian independence plan all the princely states were given the choice to annex either India or Pakistan regardless of the ruler being Muslim or Hindu or remain independent. Pakistan was sure that Kashmir being the Muslim majority state will join Pakistan. The ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra, chose to maintain the independent status of Kashmir but later signed the "Standstill Agreement" with the dominion of Pakistan, transferring the post, telegraph, and railway administering responsibilities to Pakistan from India (Ahmer Bilal Sofi, Aisha Malik, Shayan Ahmed Khan, 2019). The agreement also implied that Pakistan would not interfere with the trade, travel, and communication of the state. No such agreement was signed between the Maharaja and the state of India. The status remained still till the Maharaja flee to India and signed the annexation to India on 27 Oct 1947 to avoid the uprising against him.

The Governor-General of India signed it on the condition that once the situation was under control in the state of Kashmir the accession will be held concerning the people (Mountbatten, 1947). Sheikh Abdullah Farooq and Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra wanted a Switzerland-type of status for Kashmir. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah wished to abolish the monarchy and establish a democratic state with the president as the head but the idea was strongly opposed by the Maharaja. But on September 1st of 1947, a memorandum issued by the postal telegraph system sowing Kashmir as part of India before the signing of the instrument of accession caused an armed revolt against the Maharaja.

The Maharaja's flip paved the way for an armed conflict between the forces of India and Pakistan which further led to the division of the state into two, each with India and Pakistan. India took the issue on 1st January 1948 to the United Nations Security Council. Pakistan also raised its concern to the UN Security Council two weeks later (JOHN BRAITHWAITE and BINA D'COSTA). In response to this, the Security Council established a commission UNCIP (United Nations Commission to India and Pakistan) to probe into the matter (1948 Security Council Resolutions, 1948). This further led to the UNSC adoption of resolution 47 on 1st April 1948, advising both parties to withdraw their forces and establish an interim government. The five-member UNCIP was advised to help restore peace and to hold a fair plebiscite for the future accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan (Council, n.d.).

Resolution 47 of the UNSC was never implemented as the demilitarization never took place, owing to the distrust of both parties. Pakistan wanted the demilitarization simultaneously while India on the other end demanded Pakistan withdraw first. India to date has not demilitarized the land. And never wanted to opt for a plebiscite as a resolution. Instead to calm the emotions of Kashmiris went for temporary peace for the newly emerged Indian state. And very cleverly Mr. Nehru with Sheikh Abdulla's consent granted Kashmir special rights and autonomy in form of article 370A and promised to hold a plebiscite (Ahmer Bilal Sofi, Aisha Malik, Shayan Ahmed Khan, 2019). The commitment of the Indian government to hold the plebiscite was nothing more than false hope for the people of Kashmir and more of a delay tactic on part of the Indian government.

India and Pakistan throughout history have had hostile relations. Mainly due to the non-resolution of outstanding disputes- over the land of Kashmir. Many attempts have been made to normalize the relations between both countries but due to the lack of Indian interest in resolution, it always remained a dream. Very few episodes of peace could be found until now but all the efforts went

in vain due to the rigid policies of India. This chapter will try to find the challenges to peace under BJP's rule and how far Modi's led Hindutva ideology can be blamed for aggravating the tensions between the Indian government and the people of Kashmir under Modi's regime.

Pakistan has always put bilateral relations and conflict resolution at the top of its political mandate. All the leading political parties of Pakistan have advocated resolution through negotiation with India. Be it Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI) or Pakistan People's Party (PPP) or Pakistan Muslim League (PMLN). India on the other hand has the contrary perspective. Indian hostility towards Pakistan has always seen aggravated during the electoral campaigns. And so do the hate speeches against Pakistan. As per the 2019 report on islamophobia in India, the chances of winning or electing are at least four times higher if the candidate supports or promotes violence and conduct hate speeches against Muslims and Pakistan (Paula Thompsn 2019).

Since PM Modi took the power in 2014 the hatred against Muslims and Pakistan has reached a subsequent height. Narendra Modi-led Hindutva ideology has dominated not just India's internal politics but has also shaped its foreign policy. As discussed in previous chapters BJP aims to transform India into a Hindu Rashtra by making Hinduism the state's religion. And are doing so by promoting hate content through their speeches and films and whatnot. The Indian film industry can be found guilty of not just adopting the hardcore ultra-nationalistic Hindutva ideology but continuously projecting Muslims as the bad other (Zarger 2022). Bollywood is considered an important part and state actor in the promotion of Indian culture. And movies based on history seem to capitulate to Hindutva discourse without considering the distortion of the actual history. And the portrayal of Muslims as a threat to Hindu nationalism is infuriating not just anti-Muslim but also anti-Pakistani sentiments specifically among the Indian youth.

Article 370 of the Indian constitution, also described as the temporary provision, gave Kashmir a special autonomous status within the Indian union. In accordance with article 370, Kashmir was given autonomy except for three departments, defense, foreign affairs, and communications. Although the autonomy bestowed to the state was modified and violated various times (Muhammad Farooq, Umbreen Javaid, 2020).

Clause 2 of article 370 allows the state of Jammu and Kashmir to draft its constitution which was later adopted on 17 November 1956 by the Constituent Assembly. No other state of India has been given this prerogative. As per the Article, the concurrence of the government of the state is mandatory for the parliament to take any important move. The article also reduces the power of the Indian Parliament to exceed or reduce the borders of the state. It also limits the non-residents to transact the land deals and prohibited the union to interfere in the provision of the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (Neha, 2020). As per the article, the President is not entitled to extend the Indian constitution to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. However, 260 out of 395 articles of the Indian constitution were extended to the state of Jammu and Kashmir in 50 years through presidential orders (Ahmer Bilal Sofi, Aisha Malik, Shayan Ahmed Khan, 2019). Article 370(3) gave the Indian President the right to not just amend but also to repeal the article by the public notification but only by the recommendation of the constituent assembly of Kashmir. This systematic hollowing out of the article put the state of Jammu and Kashmir into an undefendable position.

In early August of 2019, a major crackdown began in Jammu and Kashmir. All the tourists were asked to leave, additional 38,000 troops poured into the land of Jammu and Kashmir and the political figures of the state were house arrested, later announced the Presidential Order C.O. 272

on August 5, 2019, which permits the union to amend the Article without the concurrence of the constituent assembly (Article 370, 2019).

Indian presidential order, C.O. 272 was the first step toward the abolishment of the special status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The abolishment of the autonomy of the state article 35A that had protected the people of Kashmir from displacement and had limited the nonresidents from buying land in Kashmir or attaining certification to become permanent residents of Kashmir became null and void.

This forceful annexation shall be considered as unlawful as it is against international law. A similar case caught United Nations Security Council's attention when Israel unlawfully annexed the territories of Palestine in 1967. The move was highly condemned by the General Assembly and Israel was asked to withdraw all measures taken of the annexation and to refrain from taking any further action that could result in altering the physical characteristics but also the demographic composition as well as the institutional structure and geography of the state, Palestine. Security Council adopted a resolution, 476, in 1980 that questioned the legal validity of Israel's move of altering the status of the Holy city of Jerusalem. And was considered the violation as a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the protection of civilians during war and for lasting peace in the Middle East (UNSCR 1980).

Similarly, the same year when Israel seized Golan Heights at the end of the 1967 war the Security Council again condemned the move under resolution 497, in 1981 and reaffirmed that the forceful annexation of the territory is inadmissible under the UN charter and that imposing laws to such areas is considered null and void as it lacks the legal foundation hence cannot have any legal effect (UNSCR 1981).

As per Article 49 of the Geneva Convention IV any occupying power cannot alter the demographic structure of an occupied land (UNSCR 1948). With the abolishment of Article, 35A India wishes to change the demography of the only Muslim majority state in the country. Which shall not be allowed as it is as illegal as the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and Golan Heights. The Indian act is a breach of international law and should also be considered null and void as per the UNSCR resolutions 49, 476, and 497.

Although the act of revoking the Article was consistently discouraged and rejected by both the supreme court of India as well as the high court of the state of Jammu and Kashmir on the ground that the Article is no longer a temporary provision but has attained permanence and limited the power of center to make any decisions regarding the future of the state. The ruling came in response to the petition filed by Kumari Vijayalakshmi on a declaration of interim provision of Article 370 from the bench of justices R F Nariman and Adarsh K Goel (Mahapatra, 2018). As per the verdict of the Supreme Court since the constituent assembly of the state has been dissolved the President could no longer get its permission hence the article acquires permanent status, hence, could no longer be abrogated.

Yet, the ruling was ignored by the government of India, and the abrogation of the article was brought into force. And even the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir was not brought under consideration as it was already dissolved in November 2018. Instead, the upper chamber of the parliament passed the resolution that Article 370(3) gives the president a special power to abrogate the entire substance of Article 370. The resolution was followed by the Presidential order C.O 273 which was imposed over the entire Indian constitution without any exceptions to Jammu and Kashmir.

Furthermore, through the state's recognition bill passed by the parliament, the state was divided into two, the union of Ladakh and the union of Jammu and Kashmir again without consent. Both unions are to be governed directly by the center which would lead not only to diminishing the political right of the state but also to changing the very status of the state (Butt, 2019). However, as per article 3 of the Indian constitution, the state must take the consent of the legislature of the relevant state before changing the name or area of that state. But in the case of Indian-occupied Kashmir, India considered itself a substitute for the dissolved legislative assembly of Jammu & Kashmir.

This series of attacks on the fundamental rights of the people of Kashmir shows the Indian contempt for the state and its nation (Rajagopal, 2019). The state of Kashmir considers it an attack on the integrity of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and has raised ferocity among the people of Kashmir and concerns over the ulterior motives of the BJP government. Kamran Hassan Dar a resident of Patten, district Baramulla, Indian Occupied Kashmir, currently studying at Faisalabad Medical College has told about the rising doubts and insecurities among the people of IHK. He told about the clear change of attitude of the Indian Army before and after Prime Minister Narendra Modi took power. He said that:

it was never the case that the entire Kashmiri population was targeted for any attack by the Kashmiri freedom fighters. The mass targeting of Kashmiris for everything has become a new normal in Kashmir. He also mentioned that the new inductions of Hindus in the government sector in the Valley of Kashmir have already started. And that the inductions are made in every field from clerical staff to police to teaching staff. He also said that it is traumatizing to think about the future of not just Kashmiris but Muslims in general India because, he added, the

RSS-led BJP does not wish to create Hindu supremacy in India but wants to make India a Hindu state with only Hindu residents (Dar 2022).

Although, The Indian government is trying to project the abrogation of the special status of Kashmir as part of the Vikas, development scheme and for the betterment of the people of Kashmir. But in reality, it should be seen as the most fundamental ethno-nationalistic move in which Muslims living in India are cast out and considered outsiders. And the people of Kashmir being both Muslims and for being fighting for their independence are seen as no more than traitors and enemies. This left the people of Kashmir in fear as they consider it an attack on their religious and national identity. And are afraid that as there is no article 35A, Indians will now possess huge lands leaving the indigenous off their rights. The move paves the way for the Hindu supremacist BJP government to Hinduize India. Which has always been the conventional mandate of the BJP. In an interview with Faisal bin Ayub, a practicing General Physician in Srinagar told that

BJP initially was to divide Kashmir into three unions Ladakh, Jammu, and Valley. But because in Valley Muslims are in majority BJP feared that they would never be able to form their government in the valley which could have hampered their mission of Hinduization of the territory. Hence they divided it into two unions i.e. Ladhak and Jammu and Kashmir. Instead what they are doing is they are drastically increasing the seats of Jammu than that of Kashmir Valley. He also complimented the BJP's government for planning it way too well to leave any gap. He also raised his concerns that BJP has raised an India that is anti-Muslim and anti-Kashmiri. And that Kashmir movement as it was has gone down on the priority list of even Kashmiris and has been replaced by securing their Muslim identity. He

also mentions that what's making everything worse is the law-making bodies choosing to stay silent over the constant bashing of Muslims. Which is the reason why hate speech is becoming a huge part of Indian society (Ayub 2022).

He also believed that the demotion of Kashmir has been a huge blow even for the Kashmiris like him who were pro-Indians. The demotion of Kashmir from a state to a union gave India the right to directly control Kashmir. And doing so without consulting the legislature of Kashmir or its people makes it the most undemocratic and unconstitutional process. The state of Jammu and Kashmir have always been under the occupation of India. But the change in its special status has added unlawful annexation to the occupation. This annulment of the special status of Kashmir has made the dream of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) come true. As it was not the first time that they tried to abolish the special status of Kashmir.

Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) has always held the notion that “Article 370” provides the possibility to break Kashmir from the Indian state and has always demanded and supported the idea of the abrogation of the article. Its first resolution was in 1952 led by a massive campaign the following year for the abrogation of the article across India (Tripathi 2019). And not just that a total number of 51 resolutions have been passed in the annual meetings since the fifties to scuttle the Article by Akhil Bhartiya Karyakari Mandal (ABKM), Akhil Bhartiya Pratinidhi Sabha (ABPS), and the Kendriya Karyakari Mandal (KKM) (Yadav 2019). And in 2002 the division of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was demanded by RSS. Bharat Kashmir policy resolution was passed in 1964 by RSS's highest decision-making body ABPS seeking to revert the special status of the state and to put it in line with the state. Believing simply that a state cannot and shall not have two Prime Ministers, Two governments, two constitutions, or two flags. And finally, when

the Article was abrogated it was widely welcomed by the RSS and the RSS chief, Mohan Bhagwat, released a press release to congratulate PM Modi for making the dream come true.

In August 2019 when BJP unilaterally revoked the special status given to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, they effectively took away the autonomy that the state enjoyed since 1949. But this move is seen to serve the bigger agenda of Hindutva. Kashmir being the only Muslim majority state in the country has always been a thorn in the throat of the Hindu nationalist. Since the current government of India, BJP comes from an ultra-nationalist background took an immediate step by revoking the special status granted to Kashmir. Kashmir has always been the prime target of the BJP's mandate as they have always found it the biggest obstacle in the way to Hinduize the country (Sheikh 2020). And Hinduization of the country translates to a state only for Hindus. And by revoking the Article they have paved the way to transform the state of Jammu and Kashmir into a Hindu majority state. BJP aims to do it by allowing Hindus to settle in Kashmir which would ultimately change the demography of the state which was well protected by Article 370. This process of plantation is not a new phenomenon but can be found in the history of Ireland known as the Plantation of Ulster (Maley 2008).

The huge electoral mandate of 2014 and 2019 has given Prime Minister Modi the power to achieve and implement the demands of RSS. And marginalizing Kashmir from its special status has always been on the top of the list along with altering the secular narrative which was serving the multi-ethnic democracy to a purely Hindu nation that is solely devoted to accommodating the needs of Hindus (Filkins 2019). Kashmiri has been protesting against the decision with protest considering the move as a step closer to inundating the state with Hindu settlers. Which would lead to a change in the demographic structure of the state. Certainly, BJP's Hindutva agenda is seen in its commitment to the imagination of India as a Hindu Rashtra aiming to achieve assimilated

ethnicities similar to Israel. Where nationalism and patriotism are sheerly based on your Hindu identity. Hence to eliminate a Muslim majority state, Kashmir, by dividing it and taking away its special status seems to serve the purpose. The BJP's extreme stance and support of Hindutva ideology desperately aim to make India a Hindu state by giving the majority authority over the minority of the country. And the minority can only stay in India by submitting themselves to Hindu norms (Muhammad Farooq, Umbreen Javaid 2020). The Hindutva widely believes Muslims to be a threat to their religion as well as their land and propagates them as an invader and disloyal to their lands. And tackling the people of Kashmir being both Muslims and separatists became the top priority of the BJP. So the current Indian government took the chance not to just heighten Hindutva as the key to achieving the glory of the past was to become an Indian one has to belong to the Hindu religion. But also to project Kashmir's struggle for freedom as Islamic terrorism (Sit 2019). By spreading the notion that everyone other than a Hindu has to either accept the terms or simply leave the country.

Although, BJP claims that the decision to revocation the articles serves nothing but in favor of the people of Kashmir and that it will save the state from violence and will help maintain the peace. But in reality, it has further deteriorated the situation in the state, and to attain peace or to live a peaceful life has become a lost hope for the people of Kashmir. Thousands of additional troops are being deployed to already one of the most militarized zones of the world. With all the schools and businesses shut, leaving many people jobless and the whole state forced to stay indoors with landlines and internet cuts, life became more dangerous. It's nothing like will be anything like what PM Modi claims it will be without giving the state its special status (Sheikh 2020).

Kashmir throughout its history has been subjected to Indian atrocities. It seems like no calamity falls on earth without going through the land that was once known as heaven on earth. It's not as

if Kashmiris have never faced lockdowns or crackdowns before. But under almost 9 years of BJP's rule, the situation has gotten more intense. The people of Kashmir have been deprived of fundamental rights and are lowered to second-class citizens in the state that they once ruled. The students of Kashmir are facing the biggest challenge. On 22 April 2022, a public notice was released by the top education regulatory bodies that no Indian national or overseas Indian citizen who has acquired their degree from any Pakistani institute shall not be eligible for higher education or jobs in India (The Wire 2022). The notice was released jointly by India's University Grant Commission (UGC) and the all-India council for technical education (AICTE).

The notice clearly states that any qualification obtained from Pakistan will not be recognized by the state. This has led to an immense amount of agitation from the students as there are hundreds of students currently studying in Pakistan and all studying on valid visas provided by their state. Students are raising concerns and are complaining that they have become victims of politics. There are currently hundreds of students enrolled in different medical colleges in Pakistan with no clear future (Mohmad 2022). This degree ban will affect Kashmiri students the most as a large number of enrolled students belong to Kashmir. It will further make it hard for the Kashmiri youth to land employment anywhere in Kashmir as well as in India. A similar concern was raised by a Kashmiri student currently enrolled in a medical college in a telephonic interview. He told that

It is painful to experience how in 2015 I got a seat from Medical college Mirpur, (A.K), but soon after I completed my second-year Indian government banned him to recognize any degree attain from what we call Azad Kashmir. So I had to retake admission to the Faisalabad Medical College and started as a first-year student there. But now as I am near completion of my five-year degree program, Indian

notification from UGC and AICTE for questioning the degree is highly perturbing.

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The ban is seen as an attempt to deprive Kashmiri people of development and will have similar implications on the people of Kashmir as were faced by the Muslims in united India after the first war of independence in 1857. Muslims not just in Kashmir but all over India have been widely discriminated against in terms of education, job opportunities, and property. In recent decades Muslims are being marginalized socially, politically, and economically. The Muslim population even the largest minority is disproportionately poor and uneducated (Pandya 2010). As per the 2021 report the police can also be seen as anti-Muslim biased and are least interested in stopping the crimes and violence against Muslims. In most cases, the accused Hindus are set free (Common Cause & (CSDS) 2021).

Although, Muslims under BJP's rule are facing discrimination throughout the country the situation in Kashmir is unprecedented. Because Kashmiris along with all that is also facing lockdown, communication cut down, educational limitations, and not to forget the raise in Quasi-violence became visible by 2013 but a dramatic raise can be found around 2016. And after the revocation of Article 370, it climbed to sky high. And voter turnouts also steadily declined in Kashmir valley since 2014. And around 79 percent of the residents of Kashmir valley boycotted the elections. As per the survey, residents mention how it was a way of showing their anger and expressing their inconvenience. The record of the general election in India shows how low the voter turnout had remained in the valley of Kashmir (Gayner 2020) and so was told by another resident of Kashmir in a telephonic interview. He said that

¹ Interview was taken on July 17, 2022.

Kashmir is facing systematic targeting like never before. He said that there is no area or place left where Muslim Kashmiris are not discriminated against. He shared his grief over the fact of being a citizen of Kashmir he can not enjoy the privileges that he should have been enjoying².

Although, integrating Kashmir holistically into an Indian state has been the utmost desire of Hindu nationalists but was seen as a vague voice in Indian politics until recent decades. But the increasing support and popularity that ultranationalists gained in the past two decades have largely been responsible for stripping Kashmir of its autonomous status. Kashmiris have been the target of the conflict-ridden ideology where the Muslims have been prime subject to discrimination, marginalization, intolerance, and violence. Under the Modi regime, anti-Muslim sentiments are rampant in Indian politics. A French political scientist Christophe Jaffrelot believed in becoming an ethnic democracy. This means that one ethnic group makes the core nation that treats any other ethnic group as a threat to their ethnicity (The Times of India 2021). And will rule the government which will result in discriminatory rights for the nonmember groups. This will further widen the rift between the majority and minority groups. The BJP's rhetoric and policies towards marginalizing the polity of Kashmir are threatening and have taken away all the hopes of peace in Kashmir.

² The interview was taken on telephone on 12 of July, 2022.

Conclusion

As long as the Hindutva ideology remains in the mainstream of Indian politics under BJP, the peace process in Kashmir will remain in perils. The in-depth study of Hindutva ideology has brought to the conclusion that the ideology is there to stay. And minorities living in India cannot feel more unsafe with the second consecutive win of the BJP. His back-to-back victories have raised serious doubts about India's transformation from a liberal democracy to a majoritarian regime. India is seen drifting apart from its secular fabric and slipping into the hands of hardcore Hindutva-Hindu Nationalism.

The ideology aims to attain a pure nation based on Hinduism only. And wishes to attain a state of uninational status. The emerging Hindutva ideology in India is focused on achieving uniformity of the religion in India. and to achieve it BJP led Hindutva ideology does not believe in hesitation for adopting violence. This is what makes them different from the radicals as the former only adopts violence as the response to violence faced by them. Hindutva ideology believes in the supremacy of the Hindu nation and that they alone should have the right to rule Hindustan, India, which was the land of Hindus. And so the invaders, referring to the Muslims here, have no right to rule. This notion has become the source of growing distress among minorities.

The research has also concluded that the leadership style of PM Narendra Modi is the key to achieving the Hindutva goal. His transformative and idealist leadership approach has made him invincible and his victory over victory indicates that he is here to stay. moreover, the trust that he has gained among his followers is unmatched. He has all the support of the paramilitary organization like RSS and millions of registered and non registered Hindutva activists have made his position even stronger.

As Alker argues that the personality developed at a young age has a lot to say about the leadership style of a leader and it is not easily altered. Modi since the age of eight has been under the influence of Sang Parivar hence, in his decision-making process, the RSS agenda can be found.

It was the same agenda that stripped Kashmir of its autonomous status. Kashmir the only Muslim majority state of India was never acceptable to the Hindutva ideologues. As it was a hindrance in attaining their dream of Hindu Rashtra. Now that it has become a union directly administered by the center the future of the Muslim Kashmiris has become a major source of concern. the research has also concluded that the residents of indian occupied Kashmir have never felt this insecure about their future as they find themselves under BJP rule. The ontological insecurities are rising among the people of Kashmir as they being both Muslims and separatists are facing the maximum wrath of the Hindutva-led BJP government. Kashmiris are being systematically targeted and openly discriminated against. They are concerned about their social status as well as they are treated like second-class citizens in their own state. The fear is raising that if all this continued to follow which it seems like, the next conflict is going to be on the bases of ethnicity rather than territory, which will be catastrophic.

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