A Critical Analysis of Relationship Between Rashtriya Sawayamsevak Sangh (RSS) And Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP)

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ABSTRACT

A fanatic Hindu Nationalist segment of India and Hindu animosity against Muslim provided a productive ground for the foundation of RSS in 1925 at Nagpur city of Maharashtra India that aimed to make India as a Hindu Rashtra where minorities especially considering Muslims as, foreigners, traitors, and demon king' should be treated as 2nd class citizen. RSS considers that only Hindus are superior and dominant in India and rest of the minorities can live in India as inferior an obedient of Hindus. For RSS only Hindus are true patriots and those who don't accept the domination of Hindus should be expelled from India. The RSS draws its inspiration from the Nazi theory of racial dominance by considering Hindus to be the purest race. In 1948, Nathuram Godse, a connected member of RSS, assassinated Mathema Gandhi (Founding father of India) due to his philosophy of non-violence. In response to the celebration of RSS over assassination of Gandhi, Congress imposed a ban on RSS. This ban compelled the members of RSS for the formation of Bharativa Jana Sangh (BJS) in 1951 to truly protect and represent the Hindutva ideology on political arena of India. Through this right wing of RSS, RSS implemented greater control on the working, policy formation and organizational setup of the BJS. Later on Both BJS and RSS organized a protests and campaign against Indra Gandhi (Ex-PM of India), in resultantly Indra Gandi imposed a ban on RSS and all its activities during the emergency era in 1977, the current PM of India Narendra Modi(life time member of RSS) was an active member of RSS who was working for RSS and was in charge of sending material abroad to RSS members for exposing Indira's emergency. In 1980 a BJS divide into two groups, one group led by A.B.Vajpayee (Ex PM of India) and L.K.Advani formed a Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) the political arm of RSS. Since its formation RSS investing his resources in more radical efforts to rekindle Mandir Masjid politics which created more opportunities to the BJP. In this connection demolition of the Babri Masjid in December 1992 was a milestone to Hindutva forces. Such anti-Muslim policies uncovered the real face of BJP and RSS. In fact, the anti-Muslim stance and attacks on Muslims of India work life oxygen for BJP. Through these anti Muslim polices the RSS created a space for BJP as a strong political power in Indian politics. In many occasions BJP members paid a rich tribute and homage to the members of RSS .Such patronage and tremendous support of the top leadership of BJP indicates that RSS is an patrolling Scot of BJP. As the political arm of the RSS, the BJP has always had prominent leaders with RSS backgrounds like A.B. Vajpayee (Ex-PM of India) and Narendra Modi (Currently PM of India) are lifetime members of the RSS. Most of the high-ranking members of the BJP are affiliated with the RSS. Five BJP general secretaries, Ram Madhav, Ram Lal, P. Murli Dhar Rao, Bhupendra Yadav, and Saroj Pandey came to BJP from the RSS. Madhav worked as the national spokesperson of the RSS from 2003 to 2014. Mr. Rao was sent to the BJP in 2009 as an attaché to the then-party president Rajnath Singh. Mr. Ram Lal came in 2006 as general secretary (organization), a post created especially for RSS Pracharaks who act as a bridge between the RSS and

the BJP. There are several such bridges now that work to strengthen relationships between BJP and RSS. Among these bridges, B.L. Santosh was a lifetime member of RSS is one of them. In 2019 B.L.Santosh was elected as general secretary of BJP. Through these bridges, RSS effectively not only implements its policies but also provides all guidelines for the future politics of India. That's why BJP follows the policies of the RSS and thus increases the Hindutva vote bank.

Keywords: Rashtriya Sawayamsevak Sangh, Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP)

CREATION OF RASHTRIYA SAWAYAMSEVAK SANGH (RSS) AND ITS OBJECTIVE

Introduction

In the 20th century, many socio-cultural and ideological organizations appeared in the Sub-Continent like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Shuddi, Sangathan³and Aligarh Movement⁴etc. The Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) was one of those organizations that appeared on the socio-political arena of Subcontient, that follows ideological thoughts of extremist Hindutva force. The believers of this ideology did not like the alliance between Muslim League and Congress against the British in 1921. Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi in the Congress party supported the Muslim's demand against the British government and launched his Non- Cooperation movement with Khilafat Movement.⁵ RSS was against the coalition of Gandhi with minorities, especially Muslims of the Indian Sub-Continent. Hindu extremists felt the need for a separate organization to counter the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and established the supremacy of Hindus against Muslims.

In October 1923, the Muslim and Hindu communities in Nagpur opposed each other over the issue of music in front of the mosque. On this occurrence, Moonje and Keshav Baliram Hedgewar ⁶, who were usually belligerent members of the Hindu Maha Sabha, aggressively contributed and organized protests against Muslims. In such incidents, Hedgewar personally took the drums and revived the hidden manliness of Hindus.⁷ After this incident, Hindu-Muslim riots spreaded in Nagpur city. Meanwhile, Hedgewar read a manuscript of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar's pamphlet entitled Hindutva: Who is a

Gandi, J. 2014, November 27. Its'RSS Way In The BJP.[Online].Available. http://www.the.hindu.com.Acessed.3November2020.

Rohani, S. 2020, January 9. How BL Santosh Is Redifing Role Of RSS Pointsman In BJP Under Amith Shah.[Online]. Available http://www.the.wire.com.Acessed.03November 2020.

³ Shuddhi and Sangathan Movement was started by Arya Samaj in earlier part of 20th century to bring back the people who transformed their religion to Islam and Christianity from Hinduism

Aligarh Movement refers to the educational efforts made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great Muslim scholar, writer, and leader, to improve and enhance the social, economic, and political conditions of Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. The movement started with the establishment of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental School in 1875 at Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh, India.

⁵ Curran, Jr, J.A. 1951. Militant Hinduism In Indian Politics. A Study Of The R.S.S. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations,p.12.

Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, also known by his moniker Doctorji, was an Indian Surgeon and the founding Sarsanghachalak of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Hedgewar founded the RSS in Nagpur in 1925, based on the ideology of Hindutva with the intention of creating a Hindu Rashtra

Bhatt, C. 2001. Hindu Nationalism, Origin, Ideology, And Modern Myths. [Online]. Available: http://www.researchgate.net.Accessed. 01-04-2020

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, was an extremist Hindu. He developed the Hindu nationalist political ideology of Hindutva and he was a leading figure in the Hindu Mahasabha. He wrote a book named *Hinditva: Who Is a Hindu?* 1923. Coining the term <u>Hindutva</u> ("Hinduness"), which sought to define Indian <u>culture</u> as a manifestation of Hindu values; this concept grew to become a major tenet of Hindu nationalist ideology

Hindu? The Vinayak Damodar Savarkar first used the word Hindutva to inspire and organize Hindus against Muslims.⁹

According to the Oxford Dictionary, the term Hindutya denotes an ideology that seeks to establish the domination of Hindus and the Hindu way of life against minorities. ¹⁰ In Hindutva, ideology-Hindus considered Muslims as 'foreign invaders' and should be treated as second-class citizens. 11 Hindus firmly believe in the ideology of Hindutva and try to impose this ideology on all communities through violent behavior. They all seek to establish their agenda to make India for only Hindus. According to Hindus, "Hindustan Hindu Rashtra hai (India is a Hindu Nation). For RSS, those who don't accept the domination of Hindus should be expelled from India. In his book"Essential of Hindutva," Savarkar was the first person who defined that Hindutva as the belief of an organic socio-political body to join together by three bonds of territorial belonging, birth, blood, and culture. He declared that only Hindus are the true patriots of India. He is ruling out the Muslims, suggesting that their patriotism should always be suspects. ¹²This Hindutva ideology is derived from Hindu religious scripture and imagines that displays India as a single entity (Akhand Bharat) under the supremacy of Hindus.¹³ This explanation of the Hindutva mindset omitted Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs from having any ties to Indian lands and never accepts the minorities as Indian Nationals.¹⁴ Therefore, this Hindutva ideology severely affected the thinking of Hedgewar, a former member of the Hindu Mahasabha. He had already discriminatory and hateful views against Muslims.

Hedgewar felt that neither Congress nor Mahasabha was suited for Hindu as a unified force. He wanted to crush the minorities, especially Muslims. Therefore, he decided to dedicate his services to Hindus to create a unified force. The purpose of his services was to eliminate the Muslims and their identity from India. To achieve his goal against Muslims of India, Hedgewar stayed with Savarkar for two days in March 1925. They finalized their plan to put Hindutva ideology against Muslims. ¹⁵

To achieve his aim, Hedgewar, along with his friends named Dr. BS Moonje, Dr.Lv Paranjpe, Babarao Savarkar (brother of V. D. Savarkar), and Dr.Tholkar, took the initiative of formation of RSS in 1925. They picked the Maharashtra city of Nagpur on the Hindu holy day of Vijaya Dashami (the triumphant tenth day of the moon). According to Hindu mythology, this is the day when a Holy Lord Rama (the Godking) succeeded over Ravana, "the demon king". Hindus considered Muslims as demon king and a threat to India and the Hindu religion. Hedgewar and his friends firmly considered Muslims as their enemies and should be eliminated from India. These Hindu extremists gave concrete profiles the idea of

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Fautre, w., Vaiya, A., & Serena, R. 2014. Movements, BJP And Modi. Human Rights Without Frontiers International. [Online]. Available: http://www.hrwf.net.Hindu.Accessed.28 Feb 2020

Hindtva; https; // en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition /Hindtva. Accessed 25Feb 2020

Desai, M. 2016, March 21. Hindu Nationalist History That Calls Muslim Invaders' And Aryan "Our Own" Is Bogus. [Online]. Available: http://www.qz.com. Accessed. 20 Feb2021

Savarkar, V. 1989. Hindtva, Who Is A Hindu?. New Delhi: Bharati Sahitya Sadan,p.3

Christophe, J. 1996. The Hindu Nationalist Movement And India Politics.Penguin Books, New Delhi. p.25-50.

Thapar, R. 2018, April 06. Hindutva Is Redefining Heritage Through Its Excluding Nationalism Flawed Conceptions Of History. [Online]. Available: http://www.fristpost.com Accessed.30 March2020

John, P. 2020. "Hindutva Of Vd Sacarka Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Theology.

Devi Prasad Srivastava, Dr. 2017. Ideology Of RSS.Review Journal Of Political Sciences. Vol 15, 1. [Online]. Available: http//www.anubooks.com.Acessed.23March2021

Noorani, A.G. 2000. The RSS And BJP: A Division Of Labour. New Delhi: Left Word Books,p.23-27.

setting up an organization that could act like patrolling scot for Hindu supremacy.¹⁸ These members are true believers of the Hindutva ideology. They viewed that the Hindu nation is a single indivisible entity in India and the rest of the communities are foreigners.¹⁹

This Hindutva ideology of the RSS became clear when Hedgewar urged to make an Indian society as Hindu Rashtra. For Hindu Rashtra, it is necessary to have Hindu race, religion, culture, and language, which exists in Hindustan, and all those who are not fitting to the Hindu Rashtra naturally drop out from Indian society. In reality, Hindu animosity against Muslims provided a productive ground for the foundation of RSS. From the 1st day of the creation of RSS, its founders and followers adopted anti-Muslim policies in India. They manifest their policies and objectives through the creation of such organizations which always protected the Hindu interests and promoted the hatred policies. Later RSS ideology was named Hindutva ideology which means that there is no scope for the rest of the communities in India.

HINDUTVA AS A FUNDAMENTAL IDEOLOGY OF RSS

Since the creation of the RSS, the Hindutva has become the fundamental ideology of RSS regularly propagating the supremacy of the Hindu religion and race in India. The idea of Hindutva also applies to a particular political agenda, which aims to the formation of a Hindu nation-state for only Hindus. To this RSS, also enjoy immense support among the mainly Hindu population of India due to its Hindutva ideology and its anti-Muslim stance. Hedgewar's successor M. S. Golwalkar, the second most influent Sarsanghchalak (Head of the RSS) defined the Hindu nation as a homeland where the non-Hindu groups must accept the Hindu way of life and obligation to learn the respect of Hindu religion. ²²This shows Muslims and other minorities have to be submissive and obedient to the Hindus.

When in 1940, Golwalkar assumed the charge of the RSS; there were only 30 places outside Nagpur where RSS had its branches. But within the next five years, he formed branches of RSS almost in all the major towns and cities of India. In his books, "we our Nationhood" and "Bunch of Thoughts" Golwalkar, clarify the RSS ideology and guidelines for the RSS followers. After Golwalkar's death in 1973, Madhukar Dattaraya Deoras became the third Sarsanghchalak (head of the (RSS) of the RSS. During his tenure, RSS achieved tremendous growth and took all organizations that follow the Hindutva ideology under Sangh Parivar's ²⁴umbrella. ²⁵ Therefore Hindutva became the ideology of the Sangh

Goyal, D. L. 1979. Rashtrya Sawayam Sewak Sangh. Progress Of The Poison Tree. New Delhi:Radha Krishna Prakshan,p.3-5.

Bose, A. 2009. A HindtvaAndPolitization Of Religion In India. Journal Of Peace, Conflict And Development. Vol 11 issue 13, p 1 retrieved from. [Online]. Available: http://www.peacestudeisjournal org.ukl.Accessed 29July 2014

²⁰ Christophe J. 2007. Hindu Nationalism: Princeton: Princeton University press,p.3-4.

Kelkar, S. 2011. Last Years Of RSS. New Delhi.Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd <u>www.sagepub.in.</u>Acessed 18March2020

Tharoor, S. 2018, Januarvy 27. How Former RSS Head M.S.Golwalker Saw India And Wanted To Threat Minorities.[Online]. Available: http://www.theprint.com.Acessed.20Feb2021

Basu, T. 1993. Khaki Shirts, Saffron Flags. New Delhi: Orient Longman, p. 16.

The *Sangh Parivar* refers, as an umbrella term, to the collection of Hindu nationalist organisations spawned by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

Mohapatra, A. 2016, August 10. Out Of Saffron Ashes: Revival of Hindtva In India. Under Graduate thesis. Department, International Studies, Baylor University Wao Texas.[Online]. Available: http://.hdl.handle.net.Acessed 25Feb2020

Parivar of all major Hindu faiths.²⁶ For RSS, the independence movement of the Sub-Continent is still unfinished until India became a Hindu Rashtra. Their main focus is to control the region by promoting the Hindutva ideology and to save the Hinduistic legacy and culture. Through this Hindutva ideology, RSS mobilize its followers and spread fear against minorities of India.²⁷

Hedgewar and his all companions come to believe that only Hindus might free the country and save its Hindu culture. They are also convinced that Muslims are anti-national and they are the enemies of Hindus. The formation of the RSS, its objectives, activities, and actions prove that RSS is an anti-communal and particularly anti-Muslim organization. Its ideological beliefs created hatred towards Muslims and the mobilization of Hindus against Muslims.²⁸

NAZIISM AS AN INSPIRATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BELIEF FOR RSS

The objectives and creation of the RSS draw its inspiration from the Nazi theory of racial dominance by considering Hindus to be the purest race.²⁹It aims at the Hinduization of the South Asian region and on the very first day of its creation, it started to organize Hindus and promote fascist³⁰ ideology.³¹ Like the Nazi's ideology to create Greater Germany, the RSS has the dream to create a Hindu state in Sub-Continent. Similar beliefs had the Nazi's party as they believed in Greater Germany, so for them, Nazi Flag was more important than the German Flag. RSS also believes in United India, showing more respect to the Saffron flag rather than the Indian flag.³² The Nazi party had an anti-Jews image, and RSS also shows as an anti-Muslim organization. RSS has adopted the Nazi-style of salute or special gesture during the oath-taking ceremony like Nazis.³³ The RSS members adopt the same pattern of Nasiz like military training, parades, march pasts, a special salute, a uniform, singing of patriotic songs, khaki shorts, and a black cap.³⁴ The RSS, objectives are much similar to Nazis and also follow the policy of being superior to others.³⁵

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Palshikar, S. 2019. Toward Hegemony: The BJP Beyond Electoral Dominance. In Majoritarian State (pp. 101-116). Oxford University Press.

Sundar, N. 2004. Teaching to hate: RSS'pedagogical programme. Economic and Political Weekly, 1605-1612.

Tulan, ET. 2018,Jan 2. Crucial Choice For Indian Democracy. [Online]. Available: http://www.dailysabah.com.Acessed.06April2020

Connelly, J. 1999. Nazis and Slavs: from racial theory to racist practice. Central European History, 32(1), 1-33.

Fascism is a system of government led by a <u>dictator</u> who typically rules by forcefully and often violently suppressing opposition and criticism, controlling all industry and commerce, and promoting <u>nationalism</u> and often <u>racism</u>. The word is sometimes capitalized, especially when it specifically refers to the dictatorship of <u>Benito Mussolini</u> in Italy from 1922 to 1943, or <u>authoritarian</u> systems similar to his, including those of <u>Adolf Hitler</u> in Germany and <u>Francisco Franco</u> in Spain.

Bhatty, K, & Sundar, N.2020. Sliding From Majoritarianism Toward Fascism: Educating India Under The Modi Regime. International Sociology, 35(6), 632-650.

Bala, K. 2017. Bharatiya Jana Sangh: A Brief Revise. International Journal Of Advanced Research And Development, 2 6 p834-836.[Online]. Available.http//www.advacedjournal.com.Accessed.30March2020

Khan, F.2019, May 3. The Powerful Group Shaping The Rise Of Hindu Nationalism In India.34 [Online]. Available: http://www.npr.org.Acessed. 21-Jan2021.

Savera. 2015. The RSS Goal Of Hindu Rashtra. New Delhi: CPI M Publication; HariSingkang Publisher,p.15.

Patnaik, P.1993. The Fascism Of Our Times. Social Sceinstist, vol.21 3/4 [Online]. Available: www.Jstor.org ist. Accessed. 02Feb2020.

All RSS founders and ideologues strongly support and believe in Hindu racism. They cited the example of Germany and Italy based on racial superiority. Similarly, the same practices and policies were followed to eliminate the Muslims of the Subcontinent.³⁶ To achieve this target against Muslims of India, Shivram Moonje, one of the chief designers of the RSS's organizational structure, visited Italy and met Mussolini in 1931.³⁷ His diaries disclose him to be fascinated by the idea of fascism, and he believed Indian Hindus need such institutions for military regeneration.³⁸

In 1939 V. D. Savarkar, a leading member of the RSS admired Hitler's action against anti-Jews legislation in Germany. In India, Savarkar proposed a similar fate for Indian Muslims, which was praised by M. S. Golwalkar. Both the activist encouraged the Nazi policies and ideology must be applied in India. Who believed that there are only two conditions for foreign elements, first to join themselves in the national race and the second one is to live under the mercy of Hindus. He further cleared that the foreigners (Muslims) have no privileges, not even citizen's rights. Golwalkar's words almost exactly match Hitler's rhetoric.³⁹

On the lines of Nazis, the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS in 1937 were contributed to the establishment of the Bhonsala Military School (BMS) in the Nasik Nagpur region in Maharashtra for military drills against those who are not fit in the criteria of Hindu Rashtra. Many writers presented fascinating details about the role of BMS in preparing a new generation of violent Hindu radicals who are armed with using modern weaponry and the ability to organize mob violence. Mohan Bhagwat, current chief of the RSS, admits the reality that RSS can organize military workforces within three days, which the Army would do in 6-7 months. The RSS gives training to Hindu youth from an early age. For this purpose, RSS has decided to start a school in memory of its first non-Brahmin and non-Maharashtrian supremo, Rajendra Singh alias Rajju Bhaiya (1922-2003), who was its chief from 1994-2000. This proposed 'Rajju Bhaiya Sainik Vidya Mandir', will be set up in Shikarpur tehsil of Bulandshahr district, where the former supremo was born and it will start functioning very soon.

The fundamental aim of these Schools are to armed and well-trained Hindu youth against Muslims and create fear amongst minorities.⁴⁴ Arun Kumar, national publicity chief of the RSS, said that more than almost one hundred thousand large number of RSS trainers are getting training in various modules, and it is almost 40lakh are attached on monthly activities. These bulks of members-only work to promote the

Bose, P. 2008. Hindutva abroad; The California Textbook Controversy. The Global South, 2.1, 11-34 [Online]. Available: http://muse.jhu.edu/articles. Accessed .27Feb2019.

Economic and Political Weekly. 2019. How The BJP Promotes Hindutva Through A Nationalist Agenda. [online] Available at: https://www.epw.in. Accessed. 29 July 2019

³⁸ Ibid

Sing, k.C.2014. The RSS And The German Nazism Of Yore; A Comparison And Contras. International Research Journal Of Management Sociology & Humanities, 5. 08 ,19-25.[Online]. Available.http://www.irjmsh.com.Acessed. 27March2020.

Bhagwat, M. 2018, Feb 11. Army Takes Months, RSS Can Prepare A Force With In 3 Days To Fight On Border.[Online]. Available: www.hidustantimes.com. Acessed, 03April2020.

Gatade, S. 2019, Aug 03. Militarizing Minds, Hindutvaising the Nation. [Online]. Available. www.newsclick.com. Acessed. 02 April 2020.

Hameed, U. 2020. Footprints of Fascism in India: Implications for Local Muslims. Policy Perspectives, 17(2), 27-46.

⁴³ Ibid.

Bagchi,S.<u>2019,August 15.</u> RSS Membership Doubled In 10 years, Says Its Official.[Online].Available.http//.<u>www.thehindus.com.</u>Acessed.02April2020

RSS ideology and objectives among other Hindu populations of India. 45 The main focus is to control Indian politics while reshaping India as a Hindu state than a secular one. These efforts will terminate all other minorities, especially Muslims, from the scene of Indian politics. 46

The common and most famous slogan of the RSS members is the commitment of the Hindu Rashtra. The RSS members and Shakhas almost daily raise the slogan under the saffron flag, "Hindustan Hindu Ka, Nahin Kisi K Baap Ka (India belongs to Hindus and nobody's father). ⁴⁷These slogans show hatred against Muslims and are considered as favorite stance. The leaders of RSS proclaim this love. ⁴⁸ Basically, RSS is an extremist organization of Hindus of India, which has no concept and idea of democracy, and it is controlled by the upper class of Hindus (Brahmins). All Sarsanghchalak of the RSS who remain in this post has been Brahmins. Without Brahmins, no one can lead to RSS. ⁴⁹

In 1956, RSS supremo M.S. Golwalkar clearly recognized his organization's position, "Our homeland has been divided, and we have to pledge determinedly not to rest satisfied until we have wiped out this mark." On 17 August 1965, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh(Political arm of RSS)approved a resolution in its meeting in Delhi, which stated," Muslims will assimilate themselves with the national life, and Akhand Bharat [United India] will be a truth, unifying India. ⁵⁰In 2012, when Narendra Modi (lifetime member of RSS) was Gujarat's chief minister, he too spoke in favor of an Akhand Bharat in an interview with Urdu journalist Shahid Siddiqui. ⁵¹ As recently as December 2015, Ram Madhav, BJP's general secretary and a central functionary of the RSS, told Al-Jazeera in an interview that he thought India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan would one day bring together to form Akhand Bharat. ⁵²This position and policy of Hindutva are existing, and the various anti-Muslim riots in India, such as the Gujarat killing, are solid evidence to prove that RSS is a fanatical organization in India that terrified the Indian society by intimidating the minorities.

The BJP and its mother organization RSS, are on the same page with the same objectives. The organization continues to be a sectarian, militant group, which beliefs in the "supremacy of Hindus" and "preaches hate" against Muslims, Christian, and other minorities. Currently, BJP is enjoying political power, which has rekindled the RSS's dreams and aspirations to make India an Akhand Bharat. (United India) where Minorities (Muslim, Sikh, and Christian) can be forcibly converted back to Hinduism. The ideological comparison between these two parties shows that both beliefs in racial superiority and discrimination against Muslims.

Sucheta, M.1995. Women On The March: Right-wing Mobilization In Contemporary India. Feminist Review. 49, 1-17. [Online]. Available www.jstor.org. Acessed. 30 March 2020.

Basu, T.1993. Khaki Shirts, Saffron Flags. New Delhi: Orient Longman. 16p

Taneja, N. 2015. RSS And National Movement. New Delhi: CPI M Publication; HariSingkang publisher, p.18.

Oza, R. 2013. The Geography Of Hindu Right Wing Violence In India. Violent Geographies. New Delhi: Taylor& Francis, 159-180p

C. Symth, D.1972. The Social Basis Of Militant Hindu Nationalism. The Journals Of Developing Area, 6 3.[Online]. Available. www.jstor.org. Acessed. 30March 2020.

Kumar, K. 2016, Jan 17. A Short History Of The RSS and BJP's Double Standard On Sedition. [Online]. Available: http://www.thewire.in.Accessed. 03November 2020

Siddiqui, S.2012, July 30. Shaid Siddiqui defends Narendara Modi interview.www.ndtv.com Available: www.thendtv.in.Acessed.21Jan2021.

⁵² Ibid

ROLE OF THE RSS IN ASSASSINATION OF GANDHI

The RSS, from its day of creation, developed a violent political culture to lead in Indian politics. It rejected the non-violent philosophy of Mohan Chand Karam Das Gandhi (Founding father of India) for the Indian nation and adopted violence as a core strategy to suppress minorities. ⁵³Gandhi was a supporter of the philosophy of non-violence while RSS was in favor of expelling Muslims from India during the partition of British India. Gandhi opposed the RSS's policy of violence against Muslims, which led to his assassination of Gandhi by the RSS in 1948. ⁵⁴

In 1948 Nathuram Godse, a connected member of the RSS, killed Mahatma Gandhi. The RSS celebrated Gandhi's assassination. After the celebration of the RSS and thus, in the outcome of Gandhi's assassination, a nationwide ban was imposed on the RSS. India's Home Minister Sardar Patel wrote a letter to the RSS chief, Golwarker that the following killing is told that RSS men were distributed sweets and make a celebration on the death of Gandhi G. Gopal Godse, brother of Mahatma Gandhi's assassin, Nathuram Godse, revealed in his book *Gandhi's Murder and I*, that there was a close relationship between Savarkar and his brother Nathuram Godse. In 1948, Savarkar was charged as a co-conspirator in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Soon after, he was acquitted by the Sessions Judge only because the law required independent corroboration. Later in 1970, the report of Gandhi's assassination by Justice J. L. Kapur, a former Judge of the Supreme Court, found a "conspiracy to murder by Savarkar and his group." For the supreme Court, found a "conspiracy to murder by Savarkar and his group."

After lifting of ban from the RSS in July 12, 1949, a series of articles written by C. Parameswaran and Balraj Madhok to convenience the RSS in favour of entering into active politics of India by forming a new party to help the Bharatiya political system.

CREATION OF BHARATIYA JANA SANGH (BJS): POLITICAL WING OF RSS

After pressure from extremist Hindus, the Congress government lifted the ban on the RSS in 1949 which had been imposed on it in the wake of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Many extremist Hindus like Atal Bihari Vajpayee⁵⁸ who joined the RSS at the age of 16 and became a lifetime member of RSS delivered a feverish speech in Gorakhpur, Utter Pradesh in which he criticized the Indian government on the decision to ban RSS. He further said that RSS is the only organization that could do anything for Hindus.⁵⁹ Whereas Lal Krishna Advani,⁶⁰ another Hindu extremist, joined the RSS and took charge of its activities in Rajasthan in 1947. Both of these leaders had a leading role in the RSS.⁶¹

Taneja, N.2015. RSS And National Movement. New Delhi: CPI M Publication; HariSingkang Publisher,p.18.

Mukherjee, A., Mukherjee, M., & Mahajan, S. 2008. RSS, School Texts and the Murder of Mahatma Gandhi: The Hindu Communal Project. Sage Publications India.

Gandhi, M., & Godse, N. 1948. Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Target, 17, 17

Kullkarni, P. 2017, May 29. How Savarkar Escaped Conviction For Gandhi's Assassination.. [Online]. Available:www..thewire.in.Acessed.21Jan2021.

⁵⁷ Ibid

Atal Bihari Vajpayee was an Indian politician who served three terms as the prime minister of India, first for a term of 13 days in 1996, then for a period of 13 months from 1998 to 1999, followed by a full term from 1999 to 2004. Vajpayee was one of the co-founders and a senior leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party and life time member of the RSS.

⁵⁹ Aja, A. 2018, August 18. Neither Moderate Nor Hardliner.AtalBehari Vajpayee was A Committed RSS Swayamsevak.[Online]. Available.www.Scroll.in.Acessed.23November2020.

In 1951, the RSS members proposed direct involvement in the politics of India. To achieve this objective, it was decided to create another political organization with the consent of all stakeholders of RSS. ⁶² Since the main goal of RSS was to establish a Hindu Rashtra through political involvement. To fulfill this RSS dream, it was Balraj Modhok laid the foundation of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh party with the coordination of Dr.Shyama Prasad Mooker Jee. Finally, another Hindu extremist organization BJS was formed on 21 October 1951 to promote and protect the Hindutva ideology. ⁶³ L.K.Advani became secretary of the party's unit in Rajasthan. He holds that position until 1970 when he moved to the Delhi unit. L.K Advani and A.B. Vajpayee were prominent at the time in the BJS in 1977. A. B. Vajpayee became the president of BJS from 1968-72 and L.K. Advani also served as president of BJS from 1973-77. Later on, A.B. Vajpayee became the minister of external affairs in the cabinet of Prime Minister Morarji Desai. He resigned in 1979. The BJS advocated the rebuilding of India by following Hindu culture and called for the formation of a strong, unified state which is the core ideology of RSS. The BJS had won only 3 Lok Saha⁶⁴ seats in the 1951 general election, while the BJS's vote bank grew in each subsequent election. In 1977, the BJS won 22Lok Sabha seats. The increase in its vote bank was due to the policies of the RSS which were followed by the BJS.

The creation of the BJS, which seemed like the right-wing of the RSS and RSS, implemented greater control on the working, policy formation, and organizational setup of the Jana Sangh. In other words, finally, RSS gave birth to its political child 'BJS" for promotion own Hindutva agenda. Later on, both these extremist groups started to organize protests and campaign against Indra Gandhi. ⁶⁵ Such protests created a hostile environment in India. Also, the minorities, as well as the anti-Hindutva elements, were threatened by RSS and Jana Sangh's goons. Therefore, in 1975, Indra Gandhi, the P.M India, imposed a ban on RSS and its all activities. During the emergency era in 1977, the current P.M of India Narendra Modi was an active member of the RSS who was working for RSS and was in charge of sending material abroad to the RSS members for exposing Indira's emergency. ⁶⁶

Lal Krishna Advani served as the 7th Deputy Prime Minister of India from 2002 to 2004 under Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Advani is one of the co-founders and a senior leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party. He is a longtime member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and he also lead the movement of Ram Mandir inplace of Babri Mosque.

Ramaseshan,R.2013. The BJP and the RSS: Family Squabbles Turn Intense. Economic and Political Weekly, 12-15.

⁶² Marino, A. 2014. Narendra Modi: A political Biography. New Delhi: Herpar Collins, p.67.

Sharma, B. 2016, July 6. Almost Half Of Modi, s New Ministers Are From The RSS. [Online]. Available. www.huffingtopost.in. Accessed. 01 April 2020

The Lok Sabha, or House of the People, is the lower house of India's bicameral Parliament, with the upper house being the Rajya Sabha.Lok Sabha is composed of representatives of the people chosen by direct election on the basis of the adult suffrage. The maximum strength of the House envisaged by the Constitution is 552, which is made up by election of upto 530 members to represent the States, upto 20 members to represent the Union Territories and not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian Community to be nominated by the Hon'ble President, if, in her/his opinion, that community is not adequately represented in the House.

Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi was a central figure of the Indian National Congress. She was the 3rd prime minister of India and was also the first and, to date, only female prime minister of India. Gandhi was the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, the 1st prime minister of India.

Vashinav, M. 2019. Religious Nationalism And India's Future: The BJP In Power' India Democracy And Religious Nationalism. Washington D.C: Carnegic Endowment For International Peace, 25-30p

CREATION OF THE BHARATIYA JANTA PARTY (BJP)

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) remained a presence in Indian politics between 1951 and 1977. It was the political arm of the RSS. In 1977 the BJS merged with several other parties opposed to the Indian National Congress and formed the Janata Party. ⁶⁷ In 1980, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh faction broke away from the Janata Party over the issue of dual membership of the political Janata party and the RSS. Finally, RSS members A.B. Vajpayee and L.K. Advani decided to design a political party that aimed to promote the Hindutva ideology of the RSS. They established Bharatiya Janata Party in 1980. ⁶⁸ Basically, the followers of RSS influential political leaders of Jana Sangh separated its groups and launched a true representative of RSS in the name of the BJP.

The BJP, after its creation, started its journey into Indian politics. In the general election of India in 1984, BJP won only two seats. But later on, it grew in strength on the back of the Ram Janma Bhoomi movement. After this, Sangh kept the party at arm's length, investing his resources in more radical efforts to rekindle Mandir Masjid politics, which created more opportunities for the BJP among the following Hindu national sentiments. Their first attack was on Babri Masjid in which all the Hindu extremists demanded the demolition of Babri Masjid and Ram Mandir's construction. In this move, the founding father of BJP Mr .L. K. Advani, led a Month-long Yatra intended to further stoke the Hindu Majoritarian agitation surrounding the Ram Temple issue. In a resultant BJP and RSS sponsored mob that demolished the Babri Masjid in 1992. In the riots that followed, thousands of Muslims were killed across India, and the mobs were looting the Muslim's homes and businesses. The demolition of the Babri Mosque was a milestone for Hindutva. Such anti-Muslim attacks uncovered the real face of BJP and RSS. In fact, the anti-Muslim stance and attack on Muslims of India worked life oxygen for BJP in Indian politics.

BJP AS AN OBEDIENT CHILD OF RSS: PROMOTER OF HINDUTVA'S IDEOLOGY

The Bharatiya Janata Party, from the day of inception in 1980, carried out the policies and legacy of RSS "Hindutva" throughout its political career in vigorous style. In this style, BJP subscribed to Hindutva ideology and dominate Indian politics. The RSS members have been connected in several episodes of Saffron (Hindu Extremist) terrorism in India. These demonstrations erupted in Ahmadabad 1969, Bhivandi 1970, Tellicheri 1971, Jamshedpur 1979, Kanya Kumari 1982, Mumbai 1992-93, and Gujarat in

The Janata Party was a political party that was founded as an amalgam of Indian political parties opposed to the Emergency that was imposed between 1975 to 1977 by Prime Minister Indian Gandhi of the Indian National Congress

Malik, Y.K., & Singh, V. B. 1992. Bharatiya Janata Party: An Alternative to the Congress (I)? Asian Survey, 32(4), 318-336.

⁶⁹ Palshikar, S., Kumar, S., & Lodha, S. (Eds.). 2017. Electoral Politics in India: The Resurgence of the Bharatiya Janata Party. Taylor & Francis.

The Ram Rath Yatra was a political and religious rally that lasted from September to October 1990. It was organised by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its Hindu nationalist affiliates, and led by the then-president of the BJP, L. K. Advani. The purpose of the yatra was to support the agitation, led by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and its affiliates in the Sangh Parivar, to erect a temple to the Hindu deity Rama on the site of the Babri Masjid.

⁷¹ See Editorial, Kashmir Times. 2014, July 28. Modi And Hindutva Footprints. Editorial [Online]. Available. http://communalism.blogspot.com. Acessed. 31 March 2020.

Faryal, L. 2019, April 25.Nearly 27 Years After Hindu Mob Destroyed A Mosque, The Scars In India Remain Deep.[Online]. Available www.npr.org. Acessed. 20 January 2021.

Islam, S. 2002. Undoing India The RSS Way. [Online]. Available <u>www.counter</u> curenent.org.Accessed.27March2020.

2002. Various judicial Commissions have uncovered the role of the RSS in numerous communal riots. In these riots, anti-Muslim emotion has been a master narrative of Hindutva politics. ⁷⁴By oppressing Muslims, the RSS was aware that there is no place for them in India.

The RSS has been directly involved in terrorism against minorities, especially Muslims. The incident of Samjhouta Express bombings in 2007 caused the killing of 68 people on a train that runs between Delhi and Lahore. It is evidence of RSS state terrorism against Muslims. In 2011, former RSS activist Swami Aseem Anand confessed the involvement of RSS and other attacks against Muslims. He also revealed that some high-level RSS leaders have prior knowledge and were involved.⁷⁵ Through these attacks, the RSS created a space for BJP as a strong political power in Indian politics. It has designed communal riots to increase its vote bank in India.

When the BJP wants to expand its vote bank, it activated the RSS under the sponsorship of local administration. In most cities of India, the RSS members created fear and terror by killing innocent people. The police remained a silent observer in every action of RSS against Muslims. In various incidents/attacks, the RSS members dragged the Muslim families from their homes, ruthlessly beat the youngster, and burnt them with petrol. Even the children were also not tolerated. But the BJP response in such incidents was dismal of any action against RSS goons. The BJP government not only ratify the RSS's actions but also provides them all kinds of support since Modi (lifetime member of the RSS) was Chief Minister during the Gujarat massacres in 2002. Human rights violations are increasing under the Premier ship of Modi and the BJP government, as documented by the United States of American State Department and independent Human rights groups. In 2005, the USA denied to providing a USA visa to Modi because he was ranked as a Human rights violator. In every Human rights violation case in India, political leaders of BJP defended the attackers and appreciated them.

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RSS AND BJP

Under the patronage of the BJP government, the RSS grew rapidly. The Ex-premier of India A. B. Vajpayee, on March 18, 1999, in New Delhi issued a postage stamp to honour Hedgewar. He paid tribute to Hedgewar as a great freedom fighter of India. This tribute was a futuristic guide for BJP and RSS relationships. It was the first time since India's independence that under the BJP government postage stamp was issued to appreciate the forefather of the RSS. At this event, the PM Vajpayee, while addressing mainly a crowd of the RSS squad, took compliment for the fact that by issuing the postage stamp his government. Rajinder Singh, the then topmost of the RSS, and the Union Minister L.K. Advani moreover spoke on the event and entitled Dr. Hedgewar as a great revolutionary. ⁸⁰Even the Ex-president of India, Pranab Mukher Jee praised the founder of RSS and paid respects to RSS's founder KB

Rajaahwari, B. 2004. Communal Riots In India a Chronology 1947-2003..IPCS Research Papers.[Online].Available http://archive.org. Accessed 06-04-2020

Bharat Desai. 2002, March 02. Killings Spread To Rural Gujrat. [Online]. Available http://www.timesofindiacom.Accessed.03April2020.

Dhavan,R.1987. Religious Freedom In India. The American Journal Of Comparative Law, 35 1, 209-254 [Online]. Available http://. jstor.org. Accessed 31March2020.

See Report Human Rights Watch About Violent Cow Protection In India Vigilante Groups Attack Minorities. 2019, 18 Feb. [Online]. Available http://www.hrw.org. Accessed 01April2020.

Kulkarni, P. 2018, Oct 07. History Shows How Patriotic The RSS Really Is. [Online]. Available.http://www.thewire.in.Accessed.06April2020.

Marino, A. 2014. Narendara Modi: A Political Biography. New Delhi: Herpar Collins, 78-85p.

Tripathi, R. 2018, Oct 14. How National Security Adviser AjitDoval,s Son Shaurya Reinvented Himself Into A Key Policy Player. [Online]. Available. http://. www.economictimes.com. Accessed 01April2020.

Hedgewar in Nagpur. He said," Today I came here to pay my respect and homage to a great son of mother India". Such patronage and tremendous support of the top leadership of BJP indicate that RSS is an active group of the BJP. It was encouraging and flourishing all-time under the BJP government. BJP's topmost leadership came from the RSS, and this identifies the relationships between these two groups.

As the political arm of the RSS, the BJP has always had prominent leaders with RSS backgrounds like A.B. Vajpayee (Ex-PM of India) and Narendra Modi (Currently PM of India) are lifetime members of the RSS. Most of the high-ranking members of the BJP are affiliated with the RSS. Five BJP general secretaries, Ram Madhav, Ram Lal, P. Murli Dhar Rao, Bhupendra Yadav, and Saroj Pandey came to BJP from the RSS. Madhav worked as the national spokesperson of the RSS from 2003 to 2014. Mr. Rao was sent to the BJP in 2009 as an attaché to the then-party president Rajnath Singh. Mr. Ram Lal came in 2006 as general secretary (organization), a post created especially for RSS Pracharaks who act as a bridge between the RSS and the BJP. There are several such bridges now that work to strengthen relationships between BJP and RSS. Among these bridges, B.L. Santosh was a lifetime member of RSS is one of them. In 2019 B.L.Santosh was elected as general secretary of BJP. 83

Through these bridges, RSS effectively not only implements its policies but also provides all guidelines for the future politics of India. That's why BJP follows the policies of the RSS and thus increases the Hindutya vote bank.

ROLE OF MODI: AS HARD LINER LIFETIME MEMBER OF RSS

Most of the leaders of the BJP who are now occupying constitutional posts as Prime Minister or other newcomer ministers have a loyalty to the RSS. Modi joined RSS at the age of 8 years. RSS provided an ideology to him that laid down the direction for the rest of his life. After the Sanyasi mission, Modi returns at the age of 19 or 20. He re-contacted with RSS that awarded him an official position as a full-time (Pracharak) volunteer in 1972. Additional first met with Inam Dar Laxmanra, who had been at the heart of the Gujarat chapter of RSS for two decades. He was Modi's mentor. He left his uncle's house for the devotion of RSS and remained the Hedgewar Bhavan (Hedgewar house) in Ahmedabad.

He also participated in anti-Pakistan rallies in 1971-72, and the government arrested him. He remained imprisoned in Delhi's Tihar Jail. Modi is fundamentally anti-Muslim and anti-Christian because he is inspired by the ideology of RSS. Modi permitted the RSS squad for Muslims to be massacred to consolidate the Hindu vote bank. He has never shown any regret and has never apologized for his role in

Staff, S. 2018, June 8. A Great Son Of Mother India? Here's What RSS Founder KB Hedgewar Said About Mulims. [Online]. Available. http://www.scorll.in. Acessed. 19 Jan 2021.

Gandi, J. 2014, November 27. Its'RSS Way In The BJP.[Online].Available. http://www.the.hindu.com.Acessed.3November2020.

Rohani, S. 2020, January 9. How BL Santosh Is Redifing Role Of RSS Pointsman In BJP Under Amith Shah.[Online]. Available http://www.the.wire.com.Acessed.03November 2020.

⁸⁴ Gray, N. Hindutva, Modi, and The TehelkaTapes.

Lahiry, S.2005. Jana Sangh and BharatiyaJanataParty:Comparative Assessment Of Their Philosophy And Strategy And Their Proximity With The Other Members Of SanghParivar. The Indian Journal Of Political Science, LX VI, 4. [Online].Available. http://www.Jsotr.org. Acessed31March2020.

Filkins, D. 2019, December 2. Blood And Soil In Narendra Modi,s India. [Online]. Available http://www.thenewyorker.com.Acessed.26Feburary2020

the riots. ⁸⁷He criticized the Muslims while pursuing election campaigns, especially in the Cow belt. ⁸⁸Like Nazis, he also uses his foot soldiers, the RSS, Bajrang Dal goons to bulldoze all those who oppose him. ⁸⁹

The Vishwa Hindu Parashid (VHP) chief and RSS associate Ashok Singhal has also called Modi "an ideal Swayamsewak." He strongly professed that Muslims must esteem the feelings of the Hindu culture. He threatened the Muslims that they cannot live long by contrasting Hindus and warned them to give up their claims on Babri masjid and J&K. Another troublemaker VHP member Pravin Togadia, known for his "hate speeches," warned the Muslims, saying that they may have disremembered the 2002 Gujarat and Muzaffarnagar riots of last year. Deepak Dhavalikar, another BJP member, declares firmly that under Modi rule India will be converted into Hindu Rashtra. The current chief of the RSS, Mohan Bhagwat praised, that Modi was not only a true RSS Pracharak, but he was also one of the best examples of an ideal Swayam Sevak or volunteer. Parasharak is a specific professional substance of the best examples of an ideal Swayam Sevak or volunteer.

Many social and political processions related to the projection of the RSS and discouragement of Muslims have increased during the last few years. Even during the last government of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led BJP rule from 1998, Savakar's picture was uncovered in the Indian Parliament to show the commitment of BJP with RSS. 93Through these steps, the BJP's vote bank increased. Since Modi came into power, the RSS got the strength and power to influence the socio-political culture of India. The killers are praised as a hero. The BJP members of parliament encourage the RSS members by calling them patriots of India. Even the killer of Mahtma Gandhi, Nathuram Godse, was remembered as a hero. 94Godse was trained in RSS Shakhas. Since many BJP leaders have related in the RSS Shakhas, and are on a similar page as Godse. They make admiration for him for the projection of Hindutva ideology. SCurrently, Modi's BJP government is a loyal and staunch supporter of RSS.RSS gets all kinds of support from the power corridor of the Indian parliament. Out Of the 53 ministers of BJP, 38 have an association with RSS background. Thus, RSS members have 71% representation in the Indian Parliament. which is the highest number of RSS members of Parliament in Indian history. 96 Similarly, in the previous tenure of BJP, there was a strong representation of RSS in parliament. Out of 66 ministers, 41 belonged to the RSS. 97 Apart from them, Amit Shah (Interior Minister of India) and Raj Nath Singh (Defence Minister of India) have strong footprints with RSS. Moreover, out of 303 BJP MPs, 146 have close ties and

Page 3921

Hall, L. 2019. Modi And Reinvention Of Indian Foreign Policy. Modi And Moditva. London: British university Press, 64-65p [Online]. Available http//www.jstor.org Accessed.31March2020.

The Cow Belt is a cultural region of <u>India</u> that extends over the Hindi-speaking states of <u>Bihar</u>, <u>Madhya Pradesh</u>, <u>Rajasthan</u>, <u>Jharkhand</u>, <u>Chhattisgarh</u>, and <u>Uttar Pradesh</u>. The name comes from the high reverence given to cows, who are considered sacred in <u>Hindu</u> religion.

Narayanan, <u>D</u>. 2019, May 26. What Shape Will The BJP-RSS Dynamics Take Under Modi. [Online]. Available http://www.Economictimes.com. Accessed.01April2020:

Banerjee, S. 2014. The Resistible Rise Of Narendra Modi. Economic and political weekly, 99, 18, 10-13. [Online]. Available http://www.jstor.org. Accessed.04Feburary2020.

⁹¹ Ibio

Andersen, W. 1972. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh: IV: Jan Sangh And Other Organizations. Economic and Political Weekly, 7 14, 724-727. [Online]. Available https://www.jstor.org/stable/4361197. Accessed. 30 March 2020.

Wolf, S. O. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar: Public Enemy or national Hero?

⁹⁴ Ibid

Pandey, N & Arnimesh, S.2020, January 27. RSS In Modi Govt In Numbers. [Online]. Available. www.theprint.com. Accessed 03 April 2020

Haque, M. 2000. Hinduization in Full Swing in BJP-Ruled India. South Asian Studies, 15(1), 37.

Kumar, R. R., & Rizwan, M. 2021. Hindutva Philosophy Reinforcement by the rss/bjp against Minorities and the Economic Performance of Narendra Modi's Government in India. International journal on minority and group rights, 28(2), 351-366.

affiliation with RSS.As the central government of India, the provisional governments of states are under the influence of RSS. ⁹⁸ The Key designation in BJP, such as the National Security Advisor Ajit Dovel also has a strong Hindutva background. He is Modi's trustee. Since 2014, he has been openly affiliated with the RSS. He is also a director of one of the think tanks of RSS that framed policies for BJP. ⁹⁹

In the Rajya Sabha, (Council of States of India) out of 82 MPs of BJP 34 has close contact with RSS. In fact, right from the PM, Home Minister, and Defence Minister, all have an RSS background and this is the coalition government of BJP and RSS.

During the Modi regime, RSS membership seems to be as the extraordinary growth in the number of sharks (Branches). RSS had about 45,000 daily Shakhas (branches) across the country. That rose to nearly 60,000 Shakas by March 2019. This was the year RSS recorded the highest growth since 1925. Host ince Modi became India's primer, the RSS has been legitimized and given full power to handle Muslims. That's why hate crimes against Muslims increased. The data shows that almost 90% of religious hate crimes in the last decade have occurred since Modi came to power. After the declaration of Modi as a candidate of PM, RSS leaders threw the full weight of their organization behind his campaign while enjoying a correlating spike in participation in the 2014 elections.

For the final stock against Muslims, the BJP made the RSS's manifesto, part of its political manifesto. The RSS aspiration is widely included in this manifest, like establishing a uniform civil code, repealing articles 370 and 35A, Construction of Ram temple on the Ayodha, and preventing cow slaughter through legislation. The BJP made part of its manifesto to all those laws which were in favor of Muslims. BJP manifesto, in reality, is the manifesto of RSS which aimed at promoting Hindu ideology and establishing Hindu supremacy. ¹⁰³

Then BJP received extraordinary victory. It gained the highest percentage of votes 31.34% in 2014 and 37.46% in 2019 respectively since its formation. After this election, the Muslims of India are under severe threat, and their identity is at risk. There is a systematic ethnic cleansing of Muslims. Human Rights Watch published a report in 2019, observing that the BJP uses "communal rhetoric" to spur "a violent vigilante campaign," whereby radical cow protection groups lynched 44 people to death. The BJP used religious polarization as a campaigning tool, making promises such as to the expedite construction of a temple in place of a demolished mosque in Ayodhya. The BJP continued its racist policies against Muslims by amending the citizenship amendment act 2019.

The BJP government continued its racist policies towards minorities, especially Muslims. A recent example is the newly introduced Indian citizenship amendment act. This was amended on 12 December

Tripathi, R. 2018, Oct 14.How National Security Adviser Ajit Doval, Son Shaurya Reinvented Himself Into A Key Policy Player. [Online]. Available. www.economictimes.com. Accessed 01April2020.

⁹⁹ Ihid

Naryana, D.2019, May 26. View: What Shape Will The BJP RSS Dynamics Take Under Modi 20?. [Online]. Available. www.economictimes.com. Accessed 02April2020.

Kaul, N.2017. Rise of the political right in India: Hindutva-development mix, Modi myth, and dualities. Journal of Labor and Society, 20(4), 523-548.

Ayub, R. 2019, June 28. What A Rising Tide Of violence Against Muslims In India Says About Modi,s Second Term. [online]. Available. http://www.Time.com. Accessed 05 April 2020.

Noorani, A. G. A. M. 2000. The RSS and the BJP: A Division of Labour (Vol. 3). Left Word Books.

Ganguly, S., & Jha, H. 2019. The BJP's Puzzling Victory: Was It about Hindu Nationalism? The Washington Quarterly, 42(3), 25-39.

Werleman, C.J. 2021. Rising Violence against Muslims in India Under Modi and BJP Rule. Insight Turkey, 23(2), 39-50.

Changowiwala, P. 2020, February 21. India's Muslims Are Terrified Of Being Deported. [online]. Available. http://www.foreignpolicy.com. Accessed 25 November 2020.

2019, under which religion is considered as the basis of citizenships. ¹⁰⁷ This act naturally deprived Muslims of the country and is against their fundamental rights. The amendments grant rights to the citizen of other parts of the world, like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, and Pakistan, rather than recognize the inherent rights to Muslims of India living for centuries. The BJP government describes Muslims as "refugees" trying to escape persecution in their country of origin, while excluding Muslims from these predominantly Muslim countries, treating them as "infiltrators." ¹⁰⁸

This amendment is meant to suppress and subjugate the Muslims and also create fear and terror to realize the powers of the majority. By taking such steps, Muslims are being made to believe that they are a second-class citizen in India and at the mercy of the Hindus majority. The 2019 Citizenship Amendment Act violates India's international obligations to prevent deprivation of citizenship based on race, colour, national or ethnic origin as found in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other human rights treaties that India has ratified. The 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities calls on governments to protect the existence and identity of religious minorities within their territories and to adopt the appropriate measures to achieve this end. Governments are obligated to ensure that people belonging to minority groups, including religious minorities, may exercise their human rights without discrimination and in full equality before the law. The core objective of this amendment is to erase the identity of Muslims and show them that they don't have any basic human fundamental rights.

Since the BJP government came into power, BJP leaders have repeatedly made Hindu nationalist and anti-Muslim remarks in their speeches and interviews. BJP supporters have beaten the Muslims and threatened them regularly. The police have failed to intervene when BJP goons engage in speech inciting violence or mob attacks. In this situation, Muslims are being discriminated against under the patronage of the government. Their self-esteem is being damaged every day. Their properties are being damaged. In February 2020, 52 Muslims were killed during a peaceful protest against the Indian citizenship amendment act in New Delhi. BJP members were inciting the crowd against Muslims by making speeches against the peaceful protesters. The citizenship law amendment is discriminatory and violates international human rights law because it applies only to non-Muslims from Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. 113

The present BJP government policy shows that the BJP plays the role of a true guardian of the RSS, which provides all kind of support to defend the Hindutva ideology. The present government policies and laws are anti-minorities, especially for Muslims. The close ties between the RSS and BJP indicate the historical roots between these two organizations. The RSS believes in hatred policies, and BJP also follows such practices to increase and strengthen its political agenda

Singh, G. 2019. Hindu nationalism in power: Making sense of Modi and the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government, 2014–19. Sikh Formations, 15(3-4), 314-331.

Shanker, S. 2020, Jan 30. India's Citizenship Law, In Tandem with National Registry, Could Make BJP's Discriminatory Targeting Of Muslims Easier. [Online]. Available. http://www.theintercipt.com. Acessed. 25 November 2020.

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Ramachandran, S. 2020. Hindutva Violence in India. Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses, 12(4), 15-20.

¹¹³ Chakrabarty, I. 2021. Show Your Religion, Claim Your Citizenship: The Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Mandavi Mehta, in her article "The Role of Hindutva in Indian Politics", mentions the friendly connection between the BJP and the RSS ideology. The writer says that the growth of Hindutya politics of the BJP cannot be disconnected from the grassroots social movement. The BJP belongs to a family of organizations known as the Sangh Parivar or "Sangh Family", which jointly represent the ideology of Hindutva. The RSS provides the organizational pillar of the Hindutva movement and has an extremist nature. 114

K.K.Pathak, in his analysis "Of Jaswant Singh, the BJP and the RSS", explores the genesis of the RSS as a social movement and then tracks its transition into an ultra-nationalist organization. The author also describes how the RSS was able to carry its ideology into mainstream Indian politics through the formation of the BJP in 1980. He says, "In my considered opinion RSS is no longer a social organization. It has become more political and less socially over the past three decades or so. Its political teeth are barely helpful in BJP becoming a national party in the true sense and It is not representative of all sections of our society. The more so as the Muslim community is hardly friendly to the BJP because of its associations with the RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bjrang Dal and Shive Sina. 115

Christopher Sneddon (2012), documented in his book that Nehru was puzzling and had been aware of the actual situation in J&K that people had opposed the Maharaja by military means, among others. The main physical struggle, there had been a fight with people in Jammu province against the Maharaja and his armed forces. Privately, Nehru informed his chief ministers on 15 November 1947 about the brutal communal passion going on in Jammu province that involved RSS and Alkali Dal and was full of explosive possibilities. 116 In his book, Christopher did not mention the defeat of Sheikh Abdullah's ideology and his trust betraved by Pandith Jawar Lal Nehru.

Alaster Lamb (1994), in his book, 'Kashmir a disputed legacy' that the Kashmir dispute has subjugated India-Pakistan relationships since partition in 1947. He examines that the outrages had been committed not only by uncontrolled bands of hooligans, but also by organized units of the Maharaja, army, and police. Tens of thousands of people have been slaughtered, tortured, abducted, a molested. These bands are connected to the RSS, and the sole cause of RSS was the formation of the Hindutva ideology. The book also deals with Jammu & Kashmir since October 1947 and the special autonomy of Kashmir is given by the Indian constitution, all of which provide an essential background to the present situation in Kashmir. 117

Purnima S. Tripathi (2019), acknowledged in his article that RSS first passed a resolution in 1952, where the US Pak pact was condemned and spoke of aggression in Kashmir. The writer says in the following year, the first political offspring of the RSS, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, ran a massive movement in India task for the revocation of Article 370. The party was created by Syama Prasad Mooker Jee, who inspired the RSS philosophy. Incidentally, it was Mooker Jee who gave the emotive slogan,"Ek Deshme do Vidhan, ekdesh me do Nishan, ekdesh me do pradhan, nahin chalega, nahinchalega." RSS continual the demand of shedding the special status of Kashmir in 1964, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1993, 1995, 1996, and

¹¹⁴ Mehta, M. 2003, Feburary 1. The Role Of Hindutva In Indian Politics. The South Asia Monitor, no.55. [Online]. Available. http://www.ciaonet.org. Accessed 23 March 2021.

¹¹⁵ Pathak, K.K. 2010. Of Jaswant Singh, The BJP And The RSS. Mumbai: The Rajaji Foundation. [Online]. Available: http://www.freedomfirst.in. Accessed 23 March 2021.

¹¹⁶ Snedden, C. 2012. The Untold Story Of The People Of Azad Kashmir.Oxford University Press, Pakistan.p.

¹¹⁷ Lamb, A. 1994. Kashmir Disputed Legacy. Oxford University Press, Pakistan.p.123.

2001, 2010, respectively. When Rajya Sabha passed the bill against articles 370 and 35A on August 5, 2019, RSS chief Mohan Bhagat called it a courageous step. Despite this writer has ignored the Muslim uprising against the Maharaja and Maharaja's anti-Muslim policies. While not even mentioned the RSS and its role against the Muslims of Jammu in 1947. 118

AB. Qayoom Khan (2014), elaborately explores that RSS and Jana Sangh think that Kashmir was Hindu origin, and people have to be aware so that Akhand Bharat can become India again. RSS has been working in this job for 90 years. RSS cleared its agenda on the 6th Nov 1947 paper titled "Importance of Kashmir," where it disclosed its plan Kashmiri Muslim. 19 RSS demanded the integration of Kashmir in India since the partition of the Sub-Continent. He did not clearly mention the relationships between BJS and RSS and its ideology. He unnoticed the RSS ideology and efforts for Akhand Bharat and integration of the state J&K into the Indian Union.

A.G. Noorani (2019), a renowned Mumbai-based lawyer, said in his article, "The BJP'S designs" that a Muslim mainstream of Jammu Kashmir was an eyesore to RSS. He further elaborated the abolition of Article 370 has been the greater demand of Jana Sangh since 1951. So Narendra Modi did not reckon with the understandings of the real master of Kashmir. The Indian government even owns puppets put into house custody and plan to replace old puppets with new comedians. He said that there is no way the BJP will split from the RSS because the BJP is a creature of RSS. 120

Sibli, Murtaza (2019), mention in his article that the RSS remains the source of all the Hindutva organizations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang dal, Durgavahini, Shiv Sena, Akhil Bhartiya, Vidhyarti Parishad, and other connected groups such as Shri Ram Sena, Karni Sena, etc. Collectively this cluster of groups is called the Sangh Parivar or the Sangh family. These all groups have a hateful ideology. The parliamentary wing of the Parivar is the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). ¹²¹

Dr. Devi Parasd Srivastave (2017), shared ideas in his article, ideology of RSS, that most front-runners and energetic followers of BJP are products of the Sangh and stood to wit its Hindu chauvinist policy. Vajpayee, Ex-PM of India, was a full-time RSS worker, and in one of his Hindi poems, Vajpayee declares: Hindu Hindu mera parichay" my only identity is Hindu. This poem is recently also made part campaign of BJP's recent elections. In his article, Srivastave did not cover how BJP received logistic support from RSS and how both fanatic groups work with the same agenda of Hindutva. 122

Christophe Jaffrelot (1999), elaborated that RSS militarized the youth and created a small dedicated group of people ready to sacrifice everything, even their lives, for the RSS objective. RSS sent its young devoted members like Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani, and others to join the BJS, finally

Tripathi, S. 2019, Sep 9. Kashmir: A State Of Despair. Kochi post News. [Online]. Available: http/www.Kochipost.com. Acessed.30July2020

Qayoom, AB. 2014, November 28.RSS And Kashmir. Daily Greater Kashmir News.[Online]. Available: http//www.DailyGreaterKashmirnews.com.Acessed.11July2020

Noorani, A.G. 2019, May 28. Disaster For Democracy How The Modi Wave Has Flooded India With Fascism. Areomagazine News. [Online]. Available https://areomagazine.com. Acessed.09 Sep 2019

¹²¹ Rehman, K.ed. 2019. Hindutva Rising Extremism In India. Islamabad: Ips Press,p.87.

Devi Parasd Sruvastava, Dr. 2017. Ideology of RSS. Review Journal of Political Philosophy. vol 15 N01, 2017.[Online].

Available: http/ www.anubooks.com.Acessed.23March2021

becoming BJP. In this article, Christophe unveils the reality about the linkages of RSS and BJP but neglected the RSS's role as a militant against the Muslims. 123

Paul Marshil (2015), wrote in his article, "Hinduism and Terror," that BJP has a strong linkage with RSS. Where PM Atal Behar Vajpayee and Home Affairs Minister L. K.Advani publically praise the RSS and attend its functions. At the countrywide level, the BJP spread the philosophy of Hindutva through publicity, the influence of cultural institutions, undercutting laws to defend religious minorities, and justifying Hindu extremist violence. At the state level, its function' have assisted, and uniform contributed to such violence. Paul Marshall reveals that RSS is a state-sponsored group that spread the Hindutva ideology under the umbrella of BJP and spread violence against Muslims.

Abdullah Yusuf (2019), detailed in his article, Kashmir: How Modi's aggressive, Hindutva project has brought India and Pakistan war. The writer said that Modi's government has a long past of tension among Hindus and Muslims, with its radical rule the ideology of Hindutva of interpreting unevenly as Hindu ness and reframes Hinduism as an identity rather than religion. Modi's government encouraged the beating and lynching of Muslims. These policies indicate that they are designed to multiply the idea of Hindutva, and targeting Kashmir is a crucial part of his party strategy. ¹²⁵

Teoman Ertugrul (2018), in his article, mentioned that BJP has a primary focus on Hindutva ideology. The basic aim is to redefine India as a Hindu country to the exclusion of other religions The BJP adopted the strict and cruel policy for Kashmiris to suppress the people of Kashmir with a stern hand and through the use of massive force. ¹²⁶

Piter Fridrich (2014), stated in his article "Kashmir: A state of despair" that' as Modi slashed up the contract between India and Kashmir, he paraded tens of thousands of troops into the small northern region, a region approximately the same like as Austria. Now, Modi's rule has plunged Kashmir is behind an iron curtain over the entire Kashmir, a place that has a past of torchers, brutalities and imprisonment. Modi, the regime has mass detained the whole civil society, even teenagers and children. Kashmir has been under blockade, and under Modi's boot of persecution presses down upon the throats of Kashmiri. 127

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present research work is based on qualitative and exploratory research methods to critically analyse the relationship between Rashtiya Sawayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP). The secondary sources have been used to analysis the data. Due to the contemporary nature of the research topic, data have also been collected from daily news and current events for exploring the relationship between the RSS and BJP. This data also helps in framing inferences of the research and drawing an appropriate conclusion of BJP and RSS relationship.

Christophe, J. 1998. The Hindu Nationalist Movement And Indian Politics. Columbia University Press, New York. p. 30-34.

Marshil, P. 2015, Ocober,14. Hinduism And Terror Org. Hudson. Org. [online]. Available: http/ www..Hindutva.org.com.Acessed. 12Novmeber2020

Yusuf, A. 2019, December 23. Kashmir: How Modi, s Aggressive Hindutva Project Has Brought India and Pakistan The Brink. ISPN News. [Online]. Available: http/ www.ipsn news.com.Acessed.15Jan2020

Ertugrul, T. 2018, January 20. Crucial Choice For Indian Democracy. Daily Sabha News. [Online]. Available: http/wwwdailysabha.com. Acessed. 21 Jan 2020

Friedrich, P. 2014, May 16. Modi's Roadmap For India's Kashmir And Pakistan Policies. East Asia Forum News. [Online]. Available: http/www.eastasiaforum.org.Acessed.22Jan2020

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To examine the historical evolution and relationship between the RSS and its political offshoots of BJP focusing on their ideological alignment.
- To understand how RSS and BJP interconnectedness shapes Hindutva policies against the Muslims of India and Kashmir
- To critically evaluate that the RSS and BJP on the same page with the same objectives to make India as a Hindu Rashtra

CONCLUSION

Since the creation of RSS, it has emerged and developed as an aggressive political approach in sociopolitical organization in the political arena of the subcontinent which rejected the non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. The believers of this ideological thought adopted violence as a core strategy to suppress the minorities of the Sub-Continent especially Muslim. Muslim is the second largest population of the subcontinent who did not only oppose the British colonialism but also stood against the dominium of and discriminatory behavior of the largest section of the population (Hindus) towards minorities. Therefore, the RSS follows the Hindutva as a core strategy to suppress the Muslims community. The followers of "Hindutva" ideology believe that non-Hindus, especially Muslims are foreign invaders and enemies. The Hindutva ideologists considered that the Hindus are the earliest settler of India and Muslims arrived in India from other regions and thus they are the second-class citizens. The RSS and other extremist group firmly belief in promoting the Hindutva agenda to make India as country for only Hindus. Their core stance is that the rest of the communities of India have to join either Hinduism or to vacate India. For such believers, the independent movement of the Sub-Continent is still unfinished until India became a Hindu Rashtra or Akhand Bharat. The evidence reveals that, to make Akhand Bharat, RSS, throughout its emergence, promoted fascist ideology and its belief are similar to the Nazi party as it believes in Greater Germany. To introduced and provide the political protection in Indian politics, the RSS formed BJP in 1980, to carry out its policies.