

MODI'S TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY TO HYPHENATE MINORITIES: A CASE OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA

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Abstract

The political and socio-economic development of a state heavily depends upon national integration. Such a state promotes democratic norms, ensures observance of human rights, and avoids the polarization of society while granting equal opportunities and status to all of its nationals. On the contrary, a state that denies these provisions falls prey to political chaos, economic decline, social unrest, and religious extremism. Today, India, the largest democracy in the world, lies into the latter category, most importantly, due to the least observation of minority rights. The narrow-minded Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), under the leadership of Narendra Modi, has made India a vulnerable place to live for the Muslims, in particular. The decades-old deprived Muslim community has been facing an even more pathetic situation since the victory of BJP in the 2014-elections. This research paper, therefore, aims at exploring Modi's two-pronged strategy to commit atrocities against the Muslims. First, Indian Prime Minister Modi has attained institutionalized impunity through amending the constitution for backing his militant factions, which are widely involved in heinous acts to victimize Muslims. Second, Hindu extremists in India adopted the strategy to instigate religious hatred against the Muslims. The Hindutva activists are chasing them in every corner of India to emit this hatred. Nothing has yet been done by the international community to stop such human rights violations against the largest minority in India – the Muslims.

Keywords: Hindutva Ideology, Hindu Nationalism, Extremism, Religious Violence, Lynching.

Introduction

The Muslims are being deprived of their due rights around the world. On the basis of religious differences, the concerned governments in various non-Muslim countries are not ready to award the Muslims with the privileges enjoyed by other minorities or the governing majority. The condemnable treatment of the Myanmar government with the Muslims of Rakhine state and genocide of Kashmiris in hands of Indians are the most recent examples in this connection. Not to speak of Indian atrocities towards innocent people of Indian Occupied Kashmir (IIOJK), the inimical Hindus under the leadership of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi have brought Muslims' life to the brink of destruction. This paper, therefore, presents prominent strategies through which Modi has legalized his heinous acts against the Muslims. It also answers two prominent questions; first, to what extent Modi has used the Indian constitution to set a

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stage for slaughtering the Muslims within India; and secondly, how has Modi fanned religious hatred among Indians to tarnish the image of Muslims around the world.

These answers have been extracted after collecting data from published books, research journals, reports, and contemporary newspapers, which present a dark picture of the largest democracy in the world, where minorities, specifically the Muslims, have fallen prey to Hindu aggression.

Historical Factor

Within barely four years after independence, officers and cadres of *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS)¹ organizationally occupied key political positions in *Bhartiya Jana Sangh* (BJS), a political party that was established by Shyamprasad Mookherje in 1951. From 1949 to 1965, RSS leadership introduced several national organizations, such as *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (VHP) and BJS. After the late 1970s, RSS family, *Sangha Parivar*, accelerated the process of making India a Hindu state through newly emerged organizations and projects. During the 1980s and 1990s, *Parivar* experienced a massive expansion while influencing the political process, civil society, social movements, and state institutions to a greater extent.² The former *Jana Sangh* leaders, L. K. Advani and Atal Bihari Vajpai established a new party, i.e., *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) in 1980. The basic motive behind the foundation of this particular party was to promote *Hindutva* ideology in India. Politically speaking, in the beginning, BJP remained faithful to moderate strategy. Under Atal Behari Vajpayee, first President of the party, BJP diluted the original ideology of *Jana Sangh* just to become more acceptable in the Indian party system and find allies in the political arena. Such a moderate approach to politics was resented by the rest of *Parivar* that led RSS to keep a distance from BJP. After losing an important faction in the shape of BJP, RSS made greater use of VHP to rekindle ethno-religious political activism. The main expression of this militant strategy can be seen in the mid-1980s when Hindus launched the *Ayodhya* campaign to demolish *Babri* mosque.³

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, some organizations, which had been working under RSS, exaggerated its ideological foundations and adopted aggressive measures to promote *Hindutva* ideology in India. For example, BJP and VHP started exhibiting significant distance from the core RSS ideological and organizational backbone. Particularly, the orientation of BJP to national economic liberalization and *Swadeshi* protection demonstrated the emergence of a new *Hindutva* social and political movement, which was organized differently from RSS, unleashing both a sophisticated and branded-Hinduism for popular consumption and ferocious violence against minority groups particularly the Muslims.⁴ Meanwhile, BJP produced some staunch Hindu nationalists under the banner of *Hindutva* to reinforce terror against other religious minorities in India in the wake of the protection of Hindu culture and society. Modi was one of these newly emerged leaders, who were the men India needed badly. Later on, he would become a symbol of terror in the whole world after crushing minorities, particularly the Muslims.

After learning about the political history of Narendra Modi, especially with reference to his aggression against the Muslims of Gujarat, one can easily assess that he entered Indian politics as a 'trained terrorist'. Before that, he was enlisted in the top ten

terrorists of the world.⁵ He went into hiding during the 1975-77 emergency and disguised himself as a Sikh to avoid arrest. Earlier, in 1971, former Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi ordered his arrest warrants on the charge of cases of various natures. He had also been serving as the head of RSS and later administered a special oath of loyalty from the activists of RSS. Modi was barred from entering the US, UK, and EU because of his alleged 2002-Gujarat campaign against the Muslims.⁶ After the Gujarat riots, international human rights organizations, media channels, and newspapers condemned Modi's religious-based act of violence. He instructed his administration to practice the ideology of his parent body RSS to haunt the Muslims until they leave India. *Daily Times* provides readers with gist and events of this massacre as:

*The Human Rights Watch in 2002 and Amnesty International in 2003 charged the Gujarat state administration for involvement in a massive cover-up of the state's role in that massacre. They pointed out that numerous police officials, ministers, high officials, and leaders of fundamentalist parties, such as RSS, VHP, BJP, and Bajrang Dal were participants in the massacre.*⁷

After the Gujarat massacre, Modi became a controversial political figure in the world community. He was alleged for the extra-judicial killings of the Muslims. An example of the US can be quoted here that prohibited Modi from setting foot on US soil for almost a decade.⁸ Viewing at the vicious track-record of Modi as a politician, one cannot defend him while rejecting the allegations against him. Modi has inherited hatred against the Muslims and Christians that was nurtured by RSS. He allowed the Muslim massacre in Gujarat just for consolidating the Hindu vote bank. He has been stuck to the allegedly intrinsic agenda of *Hindutva* to keep religious minorities under terror and to grant them the status of second or third-class citizens of India. The Muslims, being a religious minority, are being impoverished through discriminatory actions of the Modi-led BJP. A fear of reprisals by extremist forces terrified many Muslims to vote for Modi.

Most of the Hindu writers, including Madhu Purnima Kishwar, opined that all these allegations were baseless and claimed that court judgements did not sustain them.⁹ But, how can the world and Muslims in India agree with these biased writings. Most of these writers, now, have changed their arguments due to the current scenario in India where Modi has put all the energies to swindle the Muslims. The Modi-led BJP has amended the constitution of India to pursue ulterior motives. All these amendments are purely aimed at deteriorating the social life of Muslims within Indian, especially in IIOJK. Recently, the abrogation of the special status of Kashmir by revoking Articles 370 and 35A of the constitution on August 5, 2019, and approval of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) by the Indian Parliament in the same year are examples to understand the mentality of Modi. These constitutional developments have proved that he had led the genocide of the Muslims in Gujarat in 2002, as he has adopted a similar way to create opportunities for Hindu fundamentalist outfits to target the Muslims and accelerate assault on them.¹⁰ This invidious attitude of the Indian government towards the Muslims has tarnished the image of India as a secular state in the comity of nations. Human rights bodies and activists have declared India as an unsuitable place for religious minorities.

Two-Pronged Strategy

The Muslims, who account for roughly 14 percent of the Indian population, have been at the receiving end for decades. They have been targeted by structural, cultural, and direct violence and are experiencing the same menace since the entry of Narendra Modi in Indian politics. The world has not yet forgotten the events and impact of Gujarat riots, meanwhile, the victory of BJP in 2014-elections has added fuel to the fire. In these elections, BJP was voted to power and re-elected in 2019-elections as well. Under the instructions of Modi, his party has introduced manifold violence against the Muslims.¹¹ Indian cities, bearing Islamic names, are being renamed. Books on history are being re-written to legitimize Hindu nationalist ideology and contradicting text is being removed. Scores of Muslims are being lynched to death and the laws, which go against the secular constitution of India, have been enacted. In this way, Muslims in India are facing a continuum of violence in northern Delhi and many other parts. Modi is of the view that if Muslims are given religious liberty, they may create a state like Pakistan within India. His narrow sightedness can be analyzed in such a way that:

By mixing religion and politics, Modi has seeded a milieu in which censorship of the art, literature and films, imposition of strictures on couture and cuisine, and steady assault on the easy-going milieu of countryside and cosmopolitanism of urban areas are obtaining what many fear is a Hindu Pakistan.¹²

Not to speak of the inflicted violence, Muslims are also being accused of waging Corona-Jihad in India.¹³ Nonetheless, Modi is solely responsible for all these inhumane practices against Muslims. He has adopted a two-pronged strategy to encourage and support his unbridled militia to deteriorate peace in the region.

Entrenched Impunity

The constitution of every State in the world usually contains provisions of equality among its masses and discourages any kind of discrimination at all levels. Minority rights are usually observed under strict manners and they are awarded full-fledged religious liberty to ensure national integration. Same is the case with the Indian constitution that explicitly prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth, etc. Article 25(A) explains that "all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice and propagate religion."¹⁴ Unfortunately, these constitutional rights are in grave danger under the presence of BJP in India. It is worth mentioning here that Ambedkar laid greater stress not only on liberty and equality but also on fraternity while drafting the constitution for India. To him, the word 'fraternity' meant a sense of common brotherhood among all Indians to observe unity and solidarity in social life, perhaps the most difficult thing to achieve. He framed such a constitution in which divisions of caste and religion would fade gradually. Unfortunately, this fraternity has lost its meaning in contemporary India, not only due to the biases of constitution-makers but also public violence. Aggression to opposition identities has become a most reliable instrument for Indian political parties, especially BJP, to harvest votes.¹⁵

Since 2014, Modi has focused to concentrate more and more power at the Centre. As compared to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, BJP has observed more concentration of power at the Centre with Modi. Initially, there were four objectives

behind this centralization. First, Modi wanted to deploy the presidential rule for his political gains and he remained successful in this respect. Second, the process was supposed to empower Modi enough to make important decisions unilaterally, irrespective of Centre-state relations that have impinged in the current scenario. Third, Modi has clearly shown an intention to forge simultaneous general and State elections. Fourth, after strengthening the Centre, Modi has assured a heavy-handed approach to distort the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. According to experts on Indian politics, the process of centralization has paved the way for the breakdown of constitutional and institutional machinery.¹⁶ This breakdown has worsened the case of many states, especially the state of Jammu and Kashmir where Modi has found another chance to victimize the Muslims. This kind of institutionalized setup has allowed Modi to amend the constitution according to his wish. These amendments further empower him to impose unilateral decisions to handle the states. More recently, Modi has reflected his ulterior motive while depriving the state of Jammu and Kashmir of its special status, because majority of the state population is Muslim.

On August 5, 2019, BJP abolished Article 370 of the Indian constitution to fulfill the long-awaited *Hindutva* dream. The government in Jammu and Kashmir under Mehbooba Mufti was dissolved in June 2018 to prepare legal grounds; BJP withdrew from the coalition of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) that left the state without any legislative body. The Indian government has divided the Valley into two union territories, which have been taken under the direct control of the federal government. The Jammu and Kashmir union territory includes the Hindu majority area of Jammu with a legislative assembly, while Laddakh includes Buddhist majority areas where considerable Shia Muslims are without a legislative assembly.¹⁷ In addition to that, the revocation of Article 35(A) has deprived the Kashmiris of their rights to permanent residence in the Valley, employment, and property. The formal abrogation of the mentioned articles has been followed by months of curfew, communication blackouts, and detention of Kashmiri political figures under the Public Safety Act of 1978.¹⁸ The biased legislation under Modi made him notorious all over the world. Not the Muslims only, but almost every community around the world staged protests against him.

The extremists and so-called Hindu nationalists have forgotten the moral values on which the Hindu faith is based. They are practicing intolerance to terrify minorities in India as they have declared Muslims illegal immigrants and deny the entry of new ones from the neighboring countries. One cardinal principle of Hinduism is '*atithi devo bhava*'- the guest is like God, invoked by Swami Vivekananda and more recently by Pundit Nehru in the case of Tibetan refugees. But the BJP government has denied the observance of this value and has not allowed *Rohingya* Muslims to enter India. Instead, the Indian government introduced the Citizenship Amendment Bill (2016), which grants the right of Indian citizenship to the refugees from Myanmar and other neighboring states, provided they are not Muslims.¹⁹ The Bill proposes citizenship to six minorities including Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, and Christians, not the Muslims. This religion-based discrimination does not fall into the circle of humanitarianism but bigotry is. Some criticism has been seen regarding the composition of the Bill in academia. Mr. Suryanarayan, a famous academician, has suggested that the bill should contain the words "persecuted minorities" instead of non-Muslim minorities.²⁰ A different controversy over the bill partitioned the Indian legislature and it was not endorsed by the opposition.

The same act was revised on December 12, 2019, entitled as Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which was again found violating Article 14 of the Indian constitution that guarantees the right to equality. This time the term 'persecuted minorities' was added to the bill, but nothing changed practically, and once again Muslims were exempted from this provision. Faizan Mustafa, an expert on constitutional law, has termed such legislation as "very regressive" and claims that the parent Indian Citizenship Act is not based on religion. He further states that the act has violated the basic structure of the Indian constitution by distinguishing illegal immigrants based on religious differences. He has curiously analyzed the composition of this particular act; if BJP wants to award citizenship to the persecuted minorities in neighboring states then how it can ignore the *Rohingyas* of Myanmar, who are comparatively far more persecuted than any other group.²¹ The enforcement of CAA has left an ever-lasting impact on Indian society. It has encouraged Hindus as they are supposed to be backed legally by BJP to wage cruel practices against Muslims.

Soon after the enforcement of CAA, the promoters of *Hindutva* turned to target Muslims on daily basis. In February 2020, a video emerged from India in which several policemen can be seen beating five grievously injured men and forcing them to sing the Indian national anthem. The violent incident belongs to Kardampuri, an adjacent area in the northwest of Delhi. Later on, one of the men lost his life in a hospital. The video added fuel to the communal violence-based activities and within three days, 52 people were killed in the capital – most of them were Muslims. More than 200 were injured, properties were destroyed and communities were displaced in targeted attacks by extremist Hindu mobs. While committing all these atrocities, the perpetrators believe that they have political approval and protection.²² Furthermore, *The New York Times* has noted the adverse effects of this biased legislation on the extremist Hindu groups and noted that "supporters of the government feel enabled to commit all kinds of crime because they feel they have political protection."²³

The cow has been a symbol of national identity for the Hindu majority in India. Different governments paid special attention to her protection by introducing cow protection laws. "Gao Animal Preservation Rules" of 1998 and the amended act of "Himachal Pradesh Prohibition of Cow Slaughter" are major examples in this context. Similarly, Narendra Modi also introduced the Cow Protection Bill on March 24, 2017, with the statement of objects and reasons that:

*By creating an Authority under the Central Government to comply with Article 37 of the Constitution and in keeping with Article 48 of the Constitution, a law be enacted to ban the slaughter of all cows (Bos Indicus) as wished by Mahatma Gandhi, as an imperative for free Independent India and to recommend punishment including death penalty as a necessary deterrent for the prevention of the criminal offense of cow slaughter.*²⁴

The Cow Protection Bill of 2018 has been considered in practical terms according to which the right-wing politicians and administrative authorities gave their consent to enforce it immediately. As early as 2020, Modi pushed the administration to register cases against the violators. The first case has been filed in Barabanki, a district of Uttar Pradesh, where police recovered four quintals of beef from seven sellers. Police teams have been created for surveillance of 'dark spots' where the practice of cow-slaughter is common.²⁵ The introduction of such a strict law has caused an irreversible

loss to the economic setup of beef sellers and has deprived the Muslim community of a basic ingredient of diet. Today, these acts for cow protection in India have backed *Hindutva* elements to increase the level of cruelty against the Muslim minority.

The historic decision of the Indian Supreme Court on November 9, 2019, has proved that minority rights are least observed in the Hindu nationalist state. On the day, the Indian Supreme Court ruled that the site of *Babri* mosque in Ayodhya belongs to Hindus and cleared the way to construct a temple. In a biased manner, the court decided that the Muslims will be given 5 acres²⁶ of land where they could build a new mosque.²⁷ The security forces were deployed near the court, Muslim majority areas and the mentioned site two days earlier which was a clear signal towards the victory of BJP leadership. The decision has given birth to communal riots and has brought Muslims again to the receiving end.

Fanning the Religious Hatred

In the early years of his rule, Modi once said that “religion should not be an instrument in your democratic process”²⁸ and now, has negated his statement. Overall, minorities have been under a sense of deprivation in India in the presence of Hindu nationalists. History reveals many examples which illustrate that in the name of religion, minorities in India had never been enjoying an equal status to that of the Hindu community. They had been depressed by the narrow-minded Hindus in one way or the other. For example, Christians were targeted in Dang, Gujarat in 1998. Graham Stains, a Christian missionary, was killed in Orissa in 1999. Such an aggressive attitude of *Hindutva* followers encouraged them to inflict atrocities against other minorities within India. Resultantly, today, Muslims are the most humiliated group, which has been bearing the Hindu aggression for a long time. The destruction of *Babri* mosque in 1992 and orchestrated violence against Muslims in Gujarat in 2002, are the most infamous episodes in Indian history.²⁹

The constitution of India recognizes a diversity of cultures, religions, and creeds. It discourages a status of the superiority of each of them over the others. But Hindu nationalist movements in India expanded with an innovative logic and demanded the embodiment of Hindu cultural symbols and beliefs while opposing the structure of a modern and secular state. Some of the political parties got influenced by such an approach and gained strength among the masses demonstrating political and self-assertion to Hindu nationalism. Their impressive gains can be judged in parliamentary elections of 1996 and 1998 when these Hindu nationalist parties had formed the government at the Centre and in many states. The elections of 2004 and 2009 won the trust for the Congress and to form a coalition with the Lok Saba respectively. During these years, the dominance of moderate parties over Hindu nationalists appeared to have arrested the growth curve of Hindu nationalism,³⁰ however, BJP remained in the opposition. The 2014-elections decorated a stage for the nationalists; the victorious Narendra Modi started propagating and supporting Hindu nationalist movements and once again India had to experience bad days of Modi rule, predominantly the Muslims. The BJP's propaganda to target Muslims, especially concerning their exclusive right to places of worship, has pushed India into a conflict, today. Notably, northern India is dotted with many mosques, which stand next to Hindu temples. The extremist Hindus falsely claim that there stood Hindu temples once. It directly shows the residual legacy of Muslim conquests from the eighth century

onward.³¹ Most of these religious sites are at the Centre of the present religious storm, beginning from the Gujarat riots of 2002, and has incited religious fervor and political passion in Modi's India.

The seeds of what was to be a long-drawn religious battle between the Muslims and Hindus were sown in the temple town of Ayodhya in the 1940s. A clot of militant Hindus contended that the site where the Mughal emperor Babar constructed *Babri* mosque in 1528, was the birth-place of Lord Rama. Not backed by the archaeological evidence, they claimed that there had been a temple that was demolished to build the mosque. Despite being a disputed site, the Muslims had been offering *namaz* in the mosque that gave rise to a series of violent events in 1948-49, which were supposed to have repercussions in Ayodhya and definitely in Indian politics over four decades later³² and even in the first quarter of the twenty-first century. Anyhow, on December 6, 1992, *Hindutva* activists demolished the mosque for building *Ram Mandir*. This demolition and horrific violence polarized the Indian society and politics on the communal lines. Under such a chaotic situation, BJP went on strengthening its position at the Centre through involvement in coalition governments.³³ Once it won only two seats in the general elections of 1984, but its ideological approach to Indian politics would raise the graph of its success in the coming elections of 1998, 1999, 2014, and 2019.

Now, the ruling BJP and its parent body RSS have been raking up the Ayodhya dispute repeatedly for surging hatred against the Muslims. The RSS chief, amongst the *Rashtrapati Bhawan*, Mohan Bhagwat urged Modi to enact a law that could legalize the construction of *Ram* temple at the site of *Babri* mosque, which is to keep the pot boiling. In fact, in the wake of the pretext of protection of religion and culture, the BJP leadership has mobilized and empowered *Hindutva* activists to indulge in violent acts against the Muslims. These violence-based activities strike a terror elsewhere and perpetrators consider themselves immune to the law of land.³⁴ Religious intolerance has deteriorated and religious freedom violations have increased in India under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's regime. Since 2014, hate crimes, social boycotts, assaults, and forced conversion have escalated.³⁵

The word lynching is of foreign origin.³⁶ But this does not mean that mob killing is alien to India.³⁷ History witnesses that *gau mata* (cow), a sacred symbol of militant Hindu identity, has been an important component of Hindu politics and widespread violence since the foundation of *Arya Smaj* by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in the late nineteenth century. Dayanand established the first cattle sanctuary in 1879 and *gaurakshini Saba* at Agra in 1881. Over time, the cow had emerged as the rallying symbol for the mobilization of the Hindu community.³⁸ Later on, the movement for the protection of cow had created a common enemy in Muslims, who practice cow-slaughter. Additionally, Hindus' violent and aggressive attitude towards Muslims regarding the issue of cow caused colossal damage to national integration. The Muslims, as a minority in India, had been suppressed through various strategies by the Hindu political elite. The same is being practiced under the current Modi government, which is using every aggressive method to victimize the Muslim community. Not to speak of many other atrocities but the mob killings in the name of cow protection have become the order of the day.

In the years since Narendra Modi was elected in 2014, ugly mob hate has spilled onto the streets, trains, and people's homes. Fevered throngs surround, brutally assault and sometimes kill unarmed men, mostly

*Muslim. The crowds allege that the men had slaughtered cows, or were thieves, but sometimes their only crime – as when a child was stabbed to death on a crowded train near Delhi – is that they are visibly Muslim.*³⁹

Under the deep observation of the current aggression of Hindu leadership against Muslims, it seems that every politician of BJP has acquired the mentality of Modi and is quite passionate to sabotage the equal rights of the Muslims as Indian nationals. Possessing the *Hindutva* ideology, some of them have tried to misinterpret Islamic teachings and consider Muslims as a major threat to national integration. Subramanian Swamy, a top BJP leader, has expressed such views during an interview with *Vice*, an American TV channel. A short video clip expresses all the Hindu aggression against the Muslims. In this clip, Subramanian has negated the fair interpretation of Article 14 and excluded Muslims from its provisions that ensure equality of all Indians irrespective of religion, caste, and creed.⁴⁰ It is a result of such an outlook of leading politicians that Muslims in India and IIOJK are being executed ruthlessly by Hindu mobs. In response, defensive incidents, like the martyrdom of Burhan Wani,⁴¹ have emanated Hindu antagonism against Muslims generally in India and particularly in IIOJK.

Last but not the least, Modi's Gujarat model has gone national. Under the Modi government, India's ethos is Hinduism. Peace and brotherhood have become rare things for the Muslims within the Hindu nationalist state. An innovative sort of nationalism has inspired Hindus to attack Muslim houses, schools, and places of worship. At the same time, Modi pretends to be a promoter of peace. The Indian capital has experienced the worst communal riots after the decision of *Babri* mosque, where Muslims are being attacked regularly by Hindu mobs. As usual, after witnessing countless incidents of violence against the Muslims, Modi comments on *Twitter* that "peace and harmony are central to our ethos."⁴² There is a clear difference between these words and actions. The fact is that Modi encourages *Hindutva* nationalists through fanning religious hatred.

Policy Recommendations

Undoubtedly, extremist followers of *Hindutva* led by Narendra Modi have made India a vulnerable place for the Muslims to live in. India has been labelled as the worst place on the planet where minority rights are least observed and Muslims are prominent victims of Hindu extremism. Now, the question is how the Muslims in India can be able to avoid Hindu aggression. There are some suggestions, which can be adopted in this connection.

- International media and organizations should come forward and bring the real face of Modi in front of the whole world as he has caused an irreversible loss to the Muslim community in India. They should have a check on his way of propagating a violence-based political ideology so that a sigh of relief can be assured for the Muslims.
- There is a dire need for a quick and collective action to condemn the political agenda of Modi through which he has targeted Muslims particularly on the basis of religion. All Muslim States should be on the same page and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) should pass resolutions against the Modi-led BJP and present the pathetic condition of Muslims in the UN Security Council (UNSC).

Then, the UNSC should investigate the whole matter under the UN Charter.

- Security of the South Asian region is heavily dependent on the internal stability and mutual cooperation between India and Pakistan. But the prevailing unjust attitude of the Indian political elite towards Muslims has not only brought Pakistan-India relations to the lowest ebb but is also threatening regional security to a greater extent. Therefore, all the regional powers especially the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) should pressurize India to formulate policies for the protection of the largest minority in India. Such a step can be supportive for restraining the growing hatred against Muslims in the region – a necessity for regional peace.

Conclusion

In essence, the Modi-led BJP government has deteriorated domestic, political, economic, and religious spheres of minorities, particularly, the Muslims. It has brought Muslim life to the brink of destruction. Once Modi's aggression and influence were limited only to Gujarat for assaulting the Muslim community, but now-a-days, he has gained the power to hit any Muslim anywhere in India. Since his victory in 2014, he has been and is being equally supported by the ideological factions of RSS and other extremist groups to promote *Hindutva* ideology while giving no respect to the minority rights. He has centralized the authority to act unilaterally. The constitutional changes have helped him a lot to access entrenched impunity through which he has legalized his violent initiatives to depress the Muslims. His hatred against the Muslims can be judged from his recent steps to deprive Kashmiris of their right of special status and residence after the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A and his denial of residence to the persecuted *Rohingyas* of Myanmar. Modi has fanned religious hatred among Hindu extremists, which has polarized the society. He has disclosed the decades-old cases, such as *Babri* mosque to accelerate the Hindu nationalist movement. He is idealized as a staunch believer of Hinduism who has been striving for the protection of *gau mata*. All these developments have infuriated his supporters around different regions within India, who have diverted their attention towards deteriorating the Muslim strata, no doubt through emitting violent acts. These supporters, explicitly backed by Modi, are targeting Muslims; mob-killing or lynching is the reflection of this nationalist Hindu belligerence. Modi's discriminatory attitude towards Muslims has been condemned in the whole world and has incited the Muslim sentiment in support of their brethren in India. Regional and international organizations like SAARC and the UNSC should come forward to play their pivotal role in getting Indian Muslims out of the clutches of the cruelty of narrow-minded Modi and his unbridled supporters.

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- ²⁴ Retrieved from: <http://164.100.47.4/billtexts/rsbilltexts/AsIntroduced/cow-24317-E.pdf>.
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- ²⁶ *Greek City Times*, November 9, 2019.
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- ²⁸ Ugo Tramballi and Nicola Missaglia, *India: The Modi Factor* (Milano: Ledi Publishing, 2018), 70.
- ²⁹ C. S. Adcock, *The Limits of Tolerance: Indian Secularism and the Politics of Religious Freedom* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 176.
- ³⁰ Subrata K. Mitra, *Politics in India: Structure, Process and Policy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 59.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Muluk, *Gita Press and the Making of Hindu India*, 319. See also Jaffrelot's *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*, 20.
- ³³ Ramachandran, "Hindutva Violence in India", 17.
- ³⁴ A. Goppana, *Modi, a Mistake: How Modi Failed India* (Chennai: Surya Publications, 2019), 57.
- ³⁵ Ibid., 61.
- ³⁶ The origins of the word *lynch* are obscure, but it likely originated during the American Revolution. The verb comes from the phrase *Lynch Law*, a term for a punishment without trial. Two Americans during this era are generally credited for coining the phrase: Charles Lynch (1736–1796) and William Lynch (1742–1820), both of whom lived in Virginia in the 1780s.
- ³⁷ Harsh Mandir, "Lynching, the Scourge of New India". *The Hindu*. October 16, 2019. Available at: <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/lynching-the-scourge-of-new-india/article29693818.ece>.
- ³⁸ Akshaya Muluk, *Gita Press and the Making of Hindu India* (Uttar Pradesh: Harper Collins Publishers India, 2015), 290.
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- ⁴⁰ Interview of Dr. Subramanian Swamy. *The Wrap*, Apr 1, 2020. <https://www.thewrap.com/showtimes-vice-exposes-human-rights-crisis-as-muslims-are-targeted-in-india-exclusive-video/>.
- ⁴¹ Burhan Wani was a Chief of Operations of *Hizbul Mujahadeen* in Indian held Kashmir. He wielded massive popularity in the local populace through social media due to his pivotal role for Kashmir cause. Indian security forces imposed a hefty bounty on his head. He was martyred by the Indian army during an alleged encounter in Bamdoora village of southern Kashmir on July 8, 2016.
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