## Contents.

Introduction. Hindu Nationalism and Democracy in India	3
Hindu Nationalism and Postcolonial Trajectories of Democracy	5
Hindu Nationalism and the Imaginings of India	10
About This Book	14
1. Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in India	16
The Democratic Revolution	20
Social Antagonisms and Politics	22
Discourse and the Analysis of Politics	24
Governance and Nationalism in Colonial India	29
Colonial Governmentalities	31
India as a Cultural Nation	39
Competing Nationalist Discourses	44
Producing Citizens and Communities in Independent India	46
Conclusion	57
2. Imagining the Hindu Nation	60
Ideology and the Impossibility of Identities	60
Objectification of Communities	65
Inversion of Orientalist Epistemology	67
Semitization of Hinduism	71
From Hindu Community to "Hindu Nation"	74
Hindutva and the "Lack" in the Hindus	77
The Nation as Fullness and Purity: M. S. Golwalkar	80
In the Gandhian Garb: Deendayal Upadhyaya and	
"Integral Humanism"	84
Constructing the "Founding Myth"	86
Conclusion: Hindu Nationalism and Democratic Revolution	88
3. Organizing the Hindu Nation	90
Culture versus Politics	92
The Sangh Parivar	96
Sevikas in Thane City	99
Hindu Missionaries at the Frontier	104
Cohesion, Leadership, and Control in the Sangh Parivar	107
Constituencies and Strategies of the Sangh Parivar	115
The "Sangha" Citadel in Pune	116
Lower Castes for a Higher Cause	122

## CONTENTS

The Sangh Parivar in the Political Field Ambiguities of Politics	126 133
4. Democracy, Populism, and Governance in India in the 1980s	134
Populism and the Transformation of Governance	134
Competing Populisms	140
The Rise of the Other Backward Classes as a Political Identity	141
Caste and the Impurities of Politics	145
Religious Symbols in the Political Field	148
Muslim Minoritization	150
A Hegemonial Crisis	152
5. The Saffron Wave	154
Toward a National Hinduism	154
BJP as a New Beginning	157
Communalizing the Political Field	159
Patriotic Bricks	161
Contingencies of Electoral Politics	165
Opening Other Fronts Roadside Patriotism	168 169
Ayodhya and Organized Communalism	172
The Demolition of Babri Masjid and After	181
The Disjunction of Agitational and Electoral Politics	185
Hindutva and Respectability	188
Political Imaginaries in Suburbia	191
After the Wave	197
6. Communal Identities at the Heart of the Nation	200
The Normal and the Pathological	200
Violence and Communal Consciousness	203
Communal Subjects and Political Action	214
7. Hindu Nationalism, Democracy, and Globalization	218
Hindu Nationalism and Governance	219
Hindu Nationalism and Democracy	223
Hindu Nationalism and Globalization	229
Democracy and Xenophobias in India	235
Notes	239
Glossary	269
Bibliography	273
Index	289

Advani, L. K., 114, 129, 132, 184, 225. See also Bharatiya Janata Party akhara, 93, 248n.3; and wrestlers, 205,

Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarti Parishad (ABVP), 99, 130, 168, 261n.37. See also Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Aligarh Muslim University, 73, 240n.14 All India Babri Masjid Action Commit-

tee, 175. See also Babri Masjid Ambedkar, Babasaheb, Dr., 226

Arya Samaj, 71-75, 92-93, 127, 227, 245n.17

Aurangabad, 161-62, 169-70 Ayodhya, 125, 150, 155, 157, 164. See also Babri Masjid

Babri Masjid, 5, 149-50, 155, 160, 196, 232, 255n.20, 259nn. 19, 22, 23, and 24, 261n.45; and archeology, 175, 262n.49; demolition of, 182-85, 263nn. 55 and 56. See also Ramjanmabhoomi

Babri Masjid Action Committee, 163 Bajrang Dal, 100, 154, 163. See also Vishwa Hindu Parishad

Benares Hindu University, 73, 74 Bengal, 69-70, 71

Bhagalpur, 162. See also communalism Bhagwa Dhwaj, 98, 108, 110

Bharat Mata, 83, 94, 112, 154, 257n.1 Bharati, Uma, 166, 180. See also Vishwa Hindu Parishad

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 3, 98, 133, 157-59; and communal tension, 160-64, 186-87, 225, 256n.21, 259n.18, 260n.28; economic policy of, 172, 261n.44; and electoral performance, 158, 163, 166-67, 198-99, 221-23, 258n.13, 260nn. 34 and 36; and governance, 197, 219-23; and minorities, 158, 225-26; national executive of, 159; and regional allies, 218; strategies of, 157-72, 186, 197, 220-21, 258nn. 10, 11, 12, and 14

Bharatiya Janata Sangh (BJS), 84-85, 105, 115, 126-33, 158, 248n.5, 252nn. 33, 34, 35, and 36; and RSS, 128-29; constituencies of, 120, 127-29; and Janata Party, 131 - 33

Bihar, 158, 163, 165

Bombay Presidency, 75; and policing, 201 - 2

Brahminical culture, 107-8, 110-11, 113-15, 227; and democracy, 145-48; in Pune, 116-19; in Thane, 99-101, 192; and tribals, 103-7

Bukhari, Imam, 151

caste, 17; adjudication of, 34-36; associations, 35; and democracy, 147-48; reform of, 74; and RSS, 121-26. See also community

Chattopadhyaya, Bankimchandra, 68-69,

Chinmayananda, Swami, 156, 250n.18 Chitpavan brahmins, 96, 115, 119, 126, 249nn. 9 and 10. See also Pune

civilization, 11; Aryan/Vedic, 65-67, 75, 227, 246n.24; Hindu, 76, 77, 231

clientelism; 135-36; and populism, 137, 142. See also corruption

communalism, 55-56, 125; and colonialism, 200-202, 240n.13, 241n.17; Hindu, 159-60; and identity, 192-96, 202-9; and mythical knowledge, 195-96, 203-5, 264nn. 11 and 12; in north India, 37, 165-66; and violence, 200, 204-7

communitas, 37-38, 184; and ritual, 213 community: enumeration of, 36-37; Hindu, 13, 36, 38; objectification of, 65-

67; religious, 34; representation of, 40; rights of, 35; village, 51-52

Congress Party, 5, 37, 40, 44, 48, 57, 76, 92, 94, 118, 128; and Ayodhya, 182-85; constituencies of, 166-67, 253n.2; crisis of, 152-53; hegemony of, 134-40; and Indira Gandhi, 129-30, 131-32, 141, 148, 253n.1, 255n.17; and Rajiv Gandhi, 138-40, 148-49, 160, 166, 231, 253n.5; and religious symbolism, 148-50

corruption, 16, 50, 222-23, 253n.4; and dalal, 136-37

Cow Protection Movement, 38, 112

Dalits, 170, 198, 226–28 Dayananda Abglo-Vedic Colleges (DAV), 72, 74. See also Arya Samaj

Dayananda, Swami, 71–72, 245n.14. See also Arya Samaj

democracy: elitist, 10, 50–53; and Hindu nationalism, 126–33; Indian, 5–10, 134– 48, 242n.23; and legitimacy, 21; majoritarian, 134–38, 157; and nationalism 30– 31; and politics, 9, 19; postcolonial, 5, 57–59; and procedures 6–8, 46–50; and society, 19–20; trajectories of, 5–10, 24

Desai, Morarji, 131–32

Dharma Sansad, 155, 182–83, 198. See also Vishwa Hindu Parishad

discourse: and analysis of politics, 24–29; democratic, 18; Hindu nationalist, 14, 77–88; paternalist, 50; political, 14, 24– 26; postcolonial, 172–73

Dunkel Draft, 198-99

Durga Vahini, 100–101, 155. See also Rashtriya Sevika Samiti

Ekmata Yatra, 154, 161, 165, 227, 257nn. 2, 3. See also Vishwa Hindu Parishad

Ekta Yatra, 168–70, 261nn. 38, 39, 40, and 41. See also Bharatiya Janata Party

elites: brahmin, 116–19; educated, 54–55; Hindu, 36; mobilization of, 135–36; Muslim, 36

emergency, state of, 49, 130, 221, 236, 243n.28. *See also* Congress

fascism, 132; in India, 235, 247n.26 Fichte, J. G., 41–41, 70, 77, 84, 242n.24. See also nationalism

founding myth, 86–88, 90–91; of Sevika Samiti, 97

Gandhi, Mohandas K., 43, 44, 50, 74, 79, 81, 87, 92–95, 242nn. 20, 24, and 25, 243n.29

Gandhian socialism, 133 Ganpati Utsav, 75, 104, 190, 263n.58 Godse, Naturam, 96, 249n.9. *See also* Pune Gokhale, 74, 244n.13

Golwalkar, M. S., 80–84, 86, 92–95, 229–30, 246n.25

governance, 17, 18; authoritarian, 17, 235–36; centralization of, 135–38; colonial, 31–36, 240n.11; postcolonial, 17, 46–57; technologies of, 23

governmentality, 18, 27; colonial, 9, 31–39, 241nn. 15, 16; developmental, 20; populist 137–40, 221

Gujarat, 3, 131, 158, 163, 164, 167, 223, 229

Gurukul, 72, 74. See also Arya Samaj gurus, modern, 156, 250n.19

Hazare, Anna, 223 Hedgewar, Dr., 86, 93, 110 Herder, J. G., 41, 70, 77, 84. See also nationalism

hierarchies: civilizational, 66; global, 3, 234; political, 36; within RSS, 114, 121–22

Hinduism, 10, 65–67; brahminical, 65–66; and community, 36, 76–79, 119, 121–22, 155; culture, 9, 11, 19, 77; Hindu Code Bill, 53; Hindu Declaration of Human Rights, 231, 267n.22; and tolerance, 176–77

Hindu Mahasabha, 44–45, 74, 76–77, 88, 92–95, 116, 123, 127, 248nn. 2, 5, 252n.32

Hindu nation, 4, 10, 83, 101, 118, 174 Hindu nationalism, 4; and capitalism, 172, 233; and caste, 121–26, 226–28; and communalism, 209, 213–17; and femininity, 97–101, 179; and masculinity, 82, 110–12, 179–80

Hindutva, 4, 11, 19, 77–80, 124, 163, 181; and majoritarianism, 173–74, 187, 236. See also Savarkar

identities: caste, 35; cultural 19; formation of, 60–65; and social antagonism, 22–24. *See also* ideology

ideology, 18, 60–64; organicist, 80–89, 108–10; and ritual, 243n.4; and violence, 205–8, 209–12

Integral Humanism, 84, 86, 128. See also Bharatiya Janata Party

Janata Dal, 148–49, 165 Joshi, Murli M., 168–69, 184. See also Bharatiya Janata Party

kar seva, 118, 162, 169, 176, 182–83; and martyrdom, 165. See also Ramjanmabhoomi Kashi, 183

Kashmir, 168-69, 180, 218, 220, 224

Khilafat movement, 44, 242n.24, 258n.9 Koran, 225

leadership, 90–92, 107–8. See also founding myth liberalism, 40 License Raj, 139–40 Lok Sabha, 3, 158, 163, 184 Lok Sangarsh Samiti, 130–31 Lucknow Pact, 37, 76, 246n.21

Madhok, Balraj, 128–29 Madhya Pradesh, 115, 128, 158, 163, 197 Maharashtra, 14, 71, 93, 96, 110, 113, 122, 167, 169, 223; Pune, 115–19. See also Thane city

Malaviya, Mohan, M., 73, 76 Mandal Commission, 142–44; and the BJP, 164; formula of, 143–45. *See also* Other Backward Classes.

Marathas, 118, 124, 170, 249n.10 Mathura, 183, 224–25

Mazzini, G., 75, 77, 90, 246n.23. See also nationalism

Meenakshipuram, 151 middle class, 7, 8; and consumption, 12, 51,139–40, 233; urban 17, 101–2, 104;

and violence, 216–17, 264n.6 modernity, 22, 240n.7; colonial, 38; and Hindu nationalism, 84, 221, 233; Indian, 7; and nationalism, 12, 42–44; trajectories of, 31, 57–59. See also democracy

Modi, Narendra, 169

Montague-Chelmsford reforms, 37

Morley-Minto reforms, 37

Muslim community, 150–51, 240n.14, 245nn. 15, 16, and 21, 256nn. 22, 23, and 24; and identity, 207–8, 212; and masculinity, 178, 213–14, 264nn. 3, 4, 5 and 8; stereotypes of, 177–81, 209–11

Muslim League, 37, 44–45, 76 Muslim Personal Law, 148–49, 195, 255n.18; Muslim politics, 76–77, 150–52, 255n.19, 256nn. 25, 26, and 27

Nagpur, 87, 93, 227–28 Narayan, Jayaprakash (J.P.), 56, 86, 130, 158, 253n.36; and J.P. movement, 130– 31

narcissism: cultural 103–4, 126, 192–96, 223, 226–28. *See also* brahminical culture

nationalism: and citizenship, 29; and colonialism, 29; and consumption, 171–72, 220; cultural, 10, 12, 40–44, 84; and democracy, 30–31; and democratic revolution, 88–89; and individuals, 82–83; and language, 73, 244n.9, 245n.16; and motherhood, 249n.13, 251nn. 28, 29; and physical strength, 72–73, 82, 87, 112; and spirit, 82–83; and will, 41

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 45, 48, 51, 68 128, 243n.29

Non-Cooperation Movement, 44, 242n.24

nuclear capability, 3, 169, 219, 220, 229, 232, 266n.4

orientalism, 10–11; and knowledge, 65–67; 67–71, 244nn. 7, 8, and 9; and reform, 68–71

Other Backward Classes, 124, 180, 254nn. 10, 11, 12, and 13; and political identity, 141–45, 198, 226–28. See also caste

Paduka Puja, 183, 262n.54. See also Ramjanmabhoomi

Pakistan, 3, 82, 84, 110, 115, 116, 160, 178, 196, 218

Pal, Bipinchandra, 70–71, 76, 246n.23 Partition, 46, 81, 92, 94–95, 165 Patel, Vallabhai, 46, 87 Patit Pawan, 122–26. See also Pune peasant movements, 140–41 plebeianization, 8, 17, 56; and democracy, 145, 188, 192–94, 221, 236

political culture, 7, 27–28; in India, 46–47; in the 1980s, 134–48, 188–89, 222

political field, 24–29; in colonial India, 88–89; in India, 13, 17, 134–48, 182; and Jana Sangh, 126–33; and mass politics, 19, 21, 51, 89. *See also* democracy

populism, 69; agrarian, 141–42; and BJP, 188–89; conservative, 8; and elections, 135–39; Gandhian, 45; in India, 253n.3; and Jana Sangh, 129–30. See also political culture

public culture, 4, 7, 49, 224; bifurcation of, 235–36; and media, 138–40, 254n.7
public spheres, 24, 53–56; vernacular, 32
Pune, 116–19, 145–48
Punjab, 37, 71–74, 76, 92, 95–6, 115, 131,

148, 169–70, 218

Rai, Lala Lajpat, 75-77, 248n.5 Rajasthan, 3, 128, 131, 158, 163, 197, 223 Ram, 174-75, 227; iconography of, 176; mandir, 160, 164, 175; worship of, 262nn. 50, 51, and 52. See also Ramjanmabhoomi

Ramakrishna Mission, 156, 247n.28 Ramayana, 156, 164, 176, 251n.26, 253n.26, 258n.8

Ramjanmabhoomi, 101-2, 118, 156, 224; agitation, 159-65, 181-85, 260nn. 31, 32; discourse of, 172-78. See also Babri Masjid

Ranade, M. G., 71, 244n.13

Rashtriya Sevika Samiti, 97-101. See also Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 3, 80-84, 86-88, 92-95; and affiliates 86, 96-115, 154, 223-29; ban on, 118, 184-85; and discipline, 112-14, 228-29; festivals of, 108-10; ideology of, 80-88; organization of, 96-99, 111-14; pracharaks, 96-99, 199, 229; in Pune, 116-19; Sarsanghachalak, 94, 114, 182, 228; shakha, 111, 113-14, 116-17, 154, 162, 188; swayamsevaks, 83, 86, 93, 96, 111, 116

Rath Yatra, 164-65. See also Bharatiya Janata Party

recognition: global, 11; of Hindu nationalism, 87, 130, 230-31; quest for, 3, 12, 50, 110; of the self, 22, 243n.2

reform: religious, 39-40, 53, 71-74; 101-4; reservations, 142-45, 255nn. 14, 15, and 16; See also Mandal Commission.

revolution; conservative, 4; of consumer goods, 12, 139-40; democratic, 19, 20-22, 57-9; "Total", 56-57, 130

Ritambra, Sadhvi, 115, 166, 179-80. See also Vishwa Hindu Parishad

Romanticism, 41-42; and Indian nationalism, 83; and orientalism, 67-68, 70, 76, 81, 234

Roy, Rammahoun, 71, 241n.19

Samajvadi Party, 149, 198 Sanatana Dharma, 45, 66, 74, 77 Sangathan, 77, 83, 242n.29 Sannyasi, 71, 96, 179 Sanskrit, 65, 78, 106-7, 225 Savarkar, V. D., 77-80, 92-94, 164, 246n.23, 249n.6

secularism, 5, 8, 11-12, 52-57, 157

Shahabuddin, Syed, 151-52, 164. See also Muslim organizations

Shah Bano verdict, 148-49, 159, 196

Shiv Sena, 124, 162, 189-90, 195, 266n.7; shakha of, 189-90

Shivaji, 75, 109, 110, 170, 190, 245n.19, 251n.26

Sindh, 95-96, 117

shuddhi, 92, 242n.29

Singh, Charan, 131-32.

Singh, Kalyan, 181, 186, 197, 226, 263n.57

Singh, Rajendra, 182, 198, 228-29, 232, 266n.12

Singh, V. P., 163-64

Singhal, Ashok, 184, 226-27

spirituality, 42, 67-71, 81-82

state, the, 26-27; decay of, 136, 253n.3; the Indian, 46-50, 54-59, 84, 136-40, 219 - 22

sublimation: of desire, 108; of sexual ambiguity, 98; of sexual energy, 97, 112,

Swadeshi, 85, 121, 130, 171-72, 220, 224 Swadeshi Jagaran Manch, 222, 239n.2 Swaraj, 44, 45

Tabligh, 93, 242n.29. See also Muslim organizations

Tanzim, 93, 242n.29

Thane city, 99-101; and district, 104-7; and Kalwa, 188-96. See also Maharashtra

Tilak, Bal G., 75; and festivals, 125. See also Ganpati utsav

universalism, 40, 42, 67-69; of Hinduism, 229-31; and rights, 232

Upadhyaya, Deendayal, 84-86, 127-29. See also Bharatiya Jana Sangh Uttar Pradesh, 149, 155, 158, 165, 167, 181,

184, 186, 198, 225, 226-28

Vajpayee, A. B., 3, 114, 129, 132-33, 159, 218. See also Bharatiya Janata Party Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, 103-7. See also

Vishwa Hindu Parishad

Varanasi, 224-25

Virat Hindu Sangam, 197

Vishwa Hindu Parishad, 98, 101-7, 154-

57; and national Hinduism, 101-3, 107, 159-64, 185, 257nn. 4, 5, 6 and 7; and Ram Shila Puja, 160-62; and sadhus, 102-3, 163, 166, 182-83. See also Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Vivekananda, Swami, 45, 69-70, 81, 245n.19, 251n.26

Waghela, Sankarsinh, 229. See also Bharatiya Janata Party

Yadavs, 142. See also Other Backward Classes

Zamindars, 32, 48