Dr. Javeria Jahangir\* Shahid Mehmood\*\*

# **Abstract**

Far Right Extremism is not a new phenomenon nowadays, it has emerged in every society of world gradually on the name of caste, race, religion, and ethnicity. Saffron Terrorism is a deadly shape of Far-Right extremism which is based on Hindutva ideology and flourishes on religious hatred, communal violence, Hindu Muslim riots and ethnic cleansing towards religious minorities living in India. The target of saffron terror is secular nationalism, not the only Muslim community. Secular nationalism's philosophy, includes religious diversity and equality, poses a significant challenge to the Hindu Nationalist's project of uniformity. Indian political history is highlighted with many major examples of saffron terrorism initiated and powered by numerous Hindu extremist groups. Saffron Terrorism has boosted in the era of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a lifetime member of Hindu Far Right extremist organization RSS, and contest election from the platform of BJP, a political wing of RSS.

**Key Words**: Hindu Nationalism, Far Right Politics, Saffron Terrorism, Hindu Extremist Groups, Religious Violence.

#### Introduction

The word Far-Right refers to any political theory laid on ethnic nationalism, fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, chauvinism, or nativism. (Explainer: 2021). Far Right Extremism and Right-Wing Extremism words are used interchangeably and have same meaning. Far right Extremism is based on ultra-nationalism, Right-wing extremists want to destabilize governments and install nationalist or authoritarian governments in their place. Right-wing extremists claim that their citizens, country, and race are superior to others and are willing to use violence to enforce this belief. Right-wing radicals seek to destabilize the political system and establish a dictatorship, the relationship between right-wing populism and democracy is less evident (Kupper, 2021). Saffron terrorism refers to the acts of terrorism by Hindu nationalism or Hindutva, carried out by members of Hindu nationalist organizations, primarily those affiliated to the Sangh Parivar (Sangh Family), such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal, and other outfits influenced by Hindutva ideology (Ahmad, 2020) Saffron is the color of the costumes worn by Hindu monks, and it symbolizes Hinduism. (Haque, 2019). Praveen Swami, an Indian journalist, coined the term "Saffron terror" for the first time in 2002. (Falak,

<sup>\*</sup> Assistant Professor at Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Managemnet and Technology (UMT), Lahore.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Research Scholar of M.Phil, Department Of Politics & IR, Lahore Leads University, Phase V, Off Defence Road, Lahore, Pakistan. Email: Shahid.9700256@Gmail.Com

2016). It was reported 9 incidents in which saffron terror groups are involved including 2007 Mecca Masjid blast, Hyderabad in which 9 people killed, 2007 Ajmer Sharif Dargah blast in which 3 people killed, 2008 Malegaon blasts in which 5 killed, 2009 Goa blast in which 2 killed. (NDTV, 2010). In a leaked cable from Congress Party chief Rahul Gandhi to US Ambassador Timothy Roemer later that year 2009, Gandhi once said that extreme Hindu groups constituted a greater threat to India than Islamic radicals. (Aoun et al., 2012).

The goal of saffron terror is also secular nationalism, not the only Muslim community. Secular nationalism's philosophy, with its inclusivity and pluralistic vision — which includes religious diversity and equality — poses a significant challenge to the Sangh parivar's project of homogeneity. As a result, the so-called splinter groups are active and aggressive extensions of their larger parent organizations in the Sangh Parivar, rather than extreme deviations from the Right-wing party line. (Gittinger, 2018). Primarily, organizations under the umbrella of Sangh Parivar like BJP, RSS, VHP, ABVP and Bajrang Dal take part in saffron terror activities.

Mahatma Gandhi's killing by former RSS member Nathuram Godse was the first major violent act in post-partition India by a Hindu nationalist. The RSS was outlawed after the assassination, and MS Golwalker, the group's head, was apprehended by the Indian government. It was announced in 1948 that RSS was plotting terrorist attacks on Pakistani soil. However, the plot was thwarted when a bomb exploded prematurely in Karachi, killing two RSS members. In 1975, when Indira Gandhi proclaimed emergency law, the organization was once again outlawed. In 1992, the organization was once again banned, almost two decades later. The group was once again banned as a result of the demolition of the Babri Masjid by militants linked to the RSS, VHP and BJP.

# Hindutva Ideology behind Rise of Saffron Terrorism

The ideology of Hindutva dates back to the British Colonial era. V.D. Savarkar, a writer and activist, coined the word "Hindutva" in 1923 to describe "the political, historical and spiritual nature of Hinduism. Savarkar viewed Hindutva as a cultural and political identity rather than a religious one, and he advocated for the formation of a Hindu Rashtra (Hindu nation) founded on Hindu religion and ideals." (Aoun et al., 2012). Savarkar's writings helped to unite Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs, all of whom were considered members of the Hindutva movement, but they labelled Christians and Muslims as outsiders. Hindutva Ideology gave birth to many nationalist extremist organizations and paved the path for saffron terrorism. K.B. Hedgewar, who was strongly inspired by the works of Savarkar and other Hindu activists of the 1920s, founded the RSS in 1925 (Jaffrelot, 2007). The RSS regards itself as a Hindu cultural organization rather than a political one, and its

philosophy and symbols, including its saffron-colored flag, are based on Ram-related symbols. RSS is parent organization of other militant groups in India under the umbrella of Sangh Parivar. These groups spread the ideology of Hindutva and implemented militant Hindutva ideology in practice that caused rose of saffron terrorism in India.

After the Hindutva ideology, violence incident against minorities took a spark and hatred against minorities was set on high level. Hindutva's purpose is to use violence to create Hindu political domination over non-Hindus, effectively reducing minorities. Hindutva has taken root in India's business, social, and cultural realms, with radicalism and militancy being the most visible manifestations. "Militant Hindutva is defined by acts of violence such as deliberate chaos, the bombing of 100 churches in 2018, the anti-Muslim genocide in Gujarat in 2002, thousands of deaths during an anti-Sikh pogrom in 1984, violent assaults on lower caste Dalits, and the horrific death of India's revolutionary leader Gandhi. Despite the presence of substantial evidence in the vast majority of cases, victims of such crimes have largely avoided the repercussions of their acts. The most noteworthy example is the new Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's two electoral victories, despite his role in the 2002 anti-Muslim pogrom. When former Hindu nationalist leader Narendra Modi was elected, Hindutva's extremist ideology was once again capable of influencing India's sociopolitical existence" (Ehtisham, 2020). Hindutva extremism has become a major cause of the violence in modern India, especially in BJP-led federal and state governments. Sangh Parivar members have acted to promote their Hindutva agenda. This agenda includes the Citizenship Amendment Act of 2019 (CAA) and the implementation of the National Register of Citizens, aims to convert secular India into a Hindu state and homogenize the country's diverse society and culture. These rules were not only against Muslims, but they may also be used to prevent them from obtaining Indian citizenship. Hindu nationalists use violence to force Hindu culture, dietary habits, and other practices on religious minorities. For example, in the guise of safeguarding Hindu cows, they are targeting tanners, cattle traffickers, and meat exporters, who are mostly Muslim, and even lynching them to death. Between 2015 and 2018, there were approximately 114 episodes of cowrelated violence, with 35 Muslims among the 45 persons slain. In 2017, 92 percent of cow-related hatred victims of violence were Muslims, up from 78 percent in 2016 and 82 percent in 2015 (Ramachandran, 2020).

Major Far-Right Political Organizations in India Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)

K.B. Hedgewar, who was strongly inspired by the works of Savarkar and other Hindu activists of the 1920s, founded the RSS (National Volunteer Organization) in 1925 (Aoun et al., 2012). RSS is focused on Hindu nationalism's philosophy. Hindu nationalism can be traced back to the British colonial era. V.D. Savarkar, a writer and activist, coined the word "Hindutva" in 1923 to describe the historical, political, and spiritual nature of Hinduism. He considered Hindutva as a cultural and political identity, not a religious one. He supported the creation of a Hindu nation based on Hindu traditions and ideals.

Today, the RSS claims to have up to 5 million members and six thousands of full-time staff; known as pracharaks, but enrollment is not formally recognized. Indian Prime Minister Modi is a lifetime RSS member, and his election as India's prime minister in 2014 generated widespread fears that BJP would promote Hindu agendas. (Kronstadt, 2020). The RSS has a tumultuous history, having links to the death of Mahatma Gandhi in 1948. The group has been linked to domestic terrorism since then. RSS members have been charged in India with Saffron terrorism (Kronstadt, 2020). In February 2016, former Maharashtra Inspector General of Police SM Mushrif accused the Intelligence Bureau (IB) of collaborating with Hindu extremists and called for a ban on RSS, which he described as India's Number one terror organization. (Hindustan Times, 2016).

# Agenda, Aims & Objectives of RSS

The RSS advocates for a Hindu homeland founded on Hindu ideals and religious tradition (Hindutva). Non-Hindus must study Hindu language and culture, appreciate and revere Hindu religion, or entertain no beliefs other than those that celebrate the Hindu ethnicity and civilization. The RSS refutes the rights of non-Hindu minorities in India. (Chatry, 2012).

### **Target Communities of RSS**

Mainly target communities of RSS are Muslims and Christians. RSS was involved in many communal violence riots including. RSS involved in 1968 Aurangabad, 1969 Ahmadabad, 1979 Jamshedpur Bihar, 1981 Bihar, 1982 Gujrat, 1983 Hyderabad, 1989 Indore, 1990 Assam, 1991 Benaris, 1992 Surat,2002 Gujrat Hindu Muslim riots (Rajeshwari, 2004). According to the RSS, Christian missionaries pose a threat to Hinduism, particularly in the country's north-eastern region, where three minor states have Christian majorities. (Human Rights Watch, 1999a). RSS was involved in attacks against Christians in southern Gujrat 1998, Ranalai violence 1999, Christmas violence 2007 and Kanhdhamal violence 2008.

# Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP)

The VHP was created in 1964 by top leaders of RSS, a hardline Hindu organization. (Rao, 2002). The VHP has emerged as a strong component of the Sangh family, alongside the BJP, and has also been the intellectual pioneer of a Hindu Unity movement, to make Hindutva a platform in the religious and cultural realms. The VHP's youth branch, Bajrang Dal, refers to itself as the "Warriors of the Hindutva Revolution". The militant wing of the VHP, the Bajrang Dal has held a number of training camps in Ayodhya, where students aged 20 to 25 are taught how to fight with weapons and knives to construct the building of a Hindu temple on the Babri Mosque's site (Aoun et al., 2012). The Vishva Hindu Parishad is leading the temple initiative, known as the Ram Janmabhoomi Movement. According to the VHP, the mosque was built on the Ram's birthplace, and a temple was razed to make space for the mosque. On December 6, 1992, the mosque was demolished. After the mosque's demolition, the BJP, RSS, VHP, and Shiv Senna campaigned for the construction of a "Mandir" on the mosque's site as part of their fight for Hindu sovereignty in India. About 150,000 followers descended on Ayodhya, smashing the mosque to smithereens with hammers and pickaxes. The police made no attempt to interfere. As a result of the episode, which spurred worldwide rioting, 1700 people were killed, thousands were injured, and numerous Muslim women and girls were raped. (Narula, 2003).

# Agenda Aims & Objectives of VHP

Vishva Hindu Parishad published its 40 points agenda on 1996. It is given on their official website. According to the agenda, Hindutva is the national interest and its honor should be protected at any cost. Hindus should strive for the construction of Ram Mandir in Ayodhya. All types of animal killing, especially of cow, is a punishable crime in India. Sanskrit language should be a compulsory subject in the educational curriculum. Education in Hindu culture and religion should be compulsory. Singing of 'Vande Mataram' in every educational institutions is compulsory. The government would not support any non-vegetarian food. The export of the meat of birds and animals must be banned. Animal slaughtering houses would also be banned. Facilities available to Hindu Scheduled Castes would not be extended to the converts''. (Hindu Agenda, 1996).

#### **Targeted Communities of VHP**

VHP has instigated and started many communal violence riots against Muslims including 1983 Hyderabad, 1989 Indore and Bhagalpur, 1990 Assam and Jodhpur, 1991 Benaras, 1992 Babri Masjid demolition,2002 Gujrat Hindu Muslim riots (Rajeshwari, 2004). VHP participated in violence against Christians at following points: Gujrat 1998, Graham Stains killing 1999 (Narula, 1999), Kandhmal 2007, Orrisa 2008 (Chatry, 2012).

# **Bajrang Dal**

The Bajrang Dal is a militant Hindu nationalist group that is affiliated with the Vishva Hindu Parishad's youth section. It is a right-wing organization that belongs to the RSS family (Jaffrelot, 2015). Hindutva is at the heart of the organization's worldview. It was founded in 1984, in Uttar Pradesh, and has since extended throughout India. The RSS akhadas (branches) are comparable to the shakhas (branches) of the RSS. The name "Bajrang" comes from the Hindu god Hanuman. CIA classified Bajrang Dal as religious militant outfit in its World Fact book 2018. (India News, 2018).

# Agenda, Aims & Objectives of Bajrang Dal

'Sev Surak Sanskti,' or "service, safety, and culture," is the Bajrang Dal's slogan. The Dal's major goal is to construct the Ram temple in Ayodhya, the Krishna Janmabhoomi temple in Mathura, and the Kashi Vishwanath temple in Varanasi, which are all disputed religious sites. Muslim population development, Christian conversion, and cow slaughter are all issues that the Bajrang Dal opposes and are on main agenda of Bajrang Dal (Fernandes, 2011).

# **Targeted Communities of Bajrang Dal**

Bajrang Dal target communities are mainly Muslims and Christians. Bajrang Dal was involved in Babri Masjid demolition, 1998 attacks on Christians in Gujrat (Human Rights Watch, 1999b), Gujarat riots 2002, violence against Christian in Odissa 2008.

#### **Cow Protection Movement and Cow Vigilantism**

Cow Protection movement was started in early 18th Century but it has picked sparked from 2014 when Narendra Modi Govt. came into power. "Hate Crime Watch, a website managed by the Indian organization Fact Checker, monitored 254 confirmed occurrences of crimes, targeting religious minorities between 2009 and 2018, with at least 91 people dead and 579 injured. Most of these attacks happened after the BJP came to power in 2014, with 66% of them taking place in BJP-controlled states. In 62 percent of the events, Muslims were the victims, while Christians were the victims in 14 percent. Communal uprising, assaults on interfaith couples, and abuse involving cow security and religious conversions are among them. (Human Rights Watch, 2019). In 2017, a "cow safety" movement in Uttar Pradesh started and thousands of slaughterhouses and meat shops were demolished. This movement, created about fifteen percent drop in India's beef export industry. (Kronstadt, 2020). A 52-year-old Muslim near Delhi, India, was killed by a Hindu mob on suspicion of consuming beef, in September 2015. Narendra Modi kept silent in the aftermath of the attack,

but some members of the ruling BJP defended the attackers. (Jain, 2019). In 2016, the Cow Vigilant Group attacked two Muslim men herding eight buffaloes and hung them from a tree in the Balumath forests in Latehar district on their route to a local Friday market. The men freed the buffaloes, and locals said the attackers were Hindu radicals. (Times of India, 2016). A 55-year-old cattle transporter lynched in Haryana in 2017 by a cow protective group. (Raj, 2017) In the Godda district of Jharkhand, two men were killed on suspicion of cattle theft (The Hindu, 2018). In the Bihar town of Baniapur, three men were lynched by a cow vigilante mob in 2019. The deceased was suspected of stealing cattle by the mob (The Wire, 2019).

## Ram Janmabhoomi Movement

Ram Janmabhoomi (Rama's birthplace) is the site where Hindu deity Vishnu's seventh avatar, Rama, is said to have been born. Hindus believe that the Babri Masjid, which once stood in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, is the exact location of Rama's birthplace. According to this theory, the Mughals destroyed a Hindu temple on the site and replaced it with a mosque. Opponents of the theory argue that such theories only emerged in the 18th century and that there is no proof that the site is where Rama was born. The Ram Janmabhoomi movement, which was planned the BJP in the 1990s. The BJP rose to prominence after the Ram Janmabhoomi campaign at Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, led by BJP officials and the Sangh Parivar, which comprised Hindu nationalist organizations like RSS, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena, and VHP. Singhal, a former president of the VHP, led the push for the construction of a Ram temple on the site of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya for numerous years. As the VHP joint general secretary, Singhal moved to the forefront of the movement in 1984, he organized the first "dharam sansad" and mobilized saints and seers in support of the Ram temple dispute" (Business Today, 2019). The Godhra carnage in February 2002 was a direct product of Ayodhya's mass mobilisation, and it sparked one of Gujarat's most destructive communal riots (The Economic Times, 2020).

# 1. Major Saffron Terrorist Attacks in India

# Kolkata Riots 1964

In January 1964, confrontations erupted after a rare relic of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was stolen from a mosque in Srinagar. More than 100 people were killed in Calcutta, as a result of Hindu-Muslim rioting. In the riots, which have expanded to the adjacent regions, over 7,000 people were arrested and 438 were injured. More than 110 people were taken to hospitals as a result of the shootings, and 200 cases of arson were deal by fire-fighters. Factories, shops and residences, had

been set ablaze. Over 70,000 Muslims had deserted the area, with 55,000 camping in open spaces under military protection. (BBC, 1964).

#### **Nellie Massacre 1983**

Nellie is a group of sixteen villages in Assam's Morigaon district. Nellie was targeted by Hindu Assamese and indigenous tribal neighbors on February 18, 1983, killing nearly 2,000 people in just a few hours. (Kimura, 2013) They began burning houses from the east, south, and north, completely encircling the victims (Pathan, 2020). The residents who were attacked were mostly the Bengali Muslims, whose forefathers migrated from East Bengal, now Bangladesh, in the 1930s. The attack occurred at the height of the Assam Agitation, a movement aimed at driving out infiltrators from Bangladesh. (Yasmeen, 2020). Makiko Kimura speculated in her analysis of the Nellie massacre that the Muslims of Nellie did not follow the movement leadership's call for an election boycott, which was issued by the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad and the All Assam Students Union.

# **Gujrat Riots 1969**

The Hindu Dharam Raksha Samiti, a society for the preservation of Hinduism, was established in the city in 1968. The riots of 1969 were sparked and spread by this organization (Chandhoke, 2009). The riots in 1969 lasted for 12 days. The violence spread to the districts of Baroda, Kheda, Mehsana, Anand, Gandhinagar, Banaskantha, and Sabarkantha, despite the fact that Ahmedabad was the epicenter of the riot. In Ahmedabad alone, at least 660 people had been killed, 1074 severely wounded, over 48,000 people had been displaced, and property worth 42 million rupees had been damaged. Muslims made up the vast majority of those killed in the riot. (Kumar, 2009). The Jagmohan Reddy Judicial Commission was established to investigate the riots. The RSS and other Sangh Parivar cadres were held responsible by Commission.

#### **Gujrat Riots 1985**

The Congress government declared in January 1985 that it would raise the number of reserved seats for Other Backward Castes (OBCs) from 10% to 28% in educational institutions and government employment. This announcement ignited a series of violent protests across the city against the reservation scheme. Upper caste students and professionals staged peaceful demonstrations against the reservation policy in the first two weeks of February. Soon after, the ABVP (Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad) stepped in to provide the students with organizational leadership, and the unrest became aggressive. Soon after, the BJP, the VHP, and the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh (BJP's trade union) joined the anti-reservation agitators. (Kumar, 2009). In the city of Ahmedabad, riots raged

for over half a year, killing 275 persons, wounding thousands, displacing thousands, and causing property and trade losses totaling Rs. 2,200 crores. (Spodek, 1989).

#### Hashimpura Massacre 1987

The Hashimpura massacre was a mass murder that took place near Meerut in Uttar Pradesh state, India, on or around May 22, 1987, during the 1987 Meerut sectarian riots, killing 350 people. According to sources, 19 members of the Provincial Armed Constabulary apprehended 42 Muslim youngsters from the city's Hashimpura, drove them to the outskirts of town, killed them and dumped their remains in a near irrigation canal (Yadav, 2017). A murder case was filed when the bodies were found floating in the canal. A total of 19 men were eventually charged with the crime (India Today, 2018).

#### **Bhagalpur Riots 1989**

The Bhagalpur riots 1989 are the epitome of religious fanaticism and communal hysteria. It was a series of conflicts in India's Bihar district between Hindus and Muslims. The riots began on October 24, 1989, on the occasion of a Hindu March on a Religious Festival, in the Muslim-dominated Tartarpur region and lasted for two months, affecting the city of Bhagalpur and 250 villages surrounding it. The members of the RSS, Bajrang Dal and VHP, armed with knives, lathis, and spears, attacked Muslim people. (Engineer, 1995). The violence claimed the lives of almost 1,000 Muslims, and another 50,000 were displaced as a result (Iqbal, 2014).

#### **Bombay Riots 1992**

The Babri Masjid in Ayodhya was demolished by Hindu militant groups on December 6, 1992. This sparked Hindu-Muslim riots across the country, with thousands of people killed. The Bombay Riots in December 1992 and January 1993 killed nearly 900 people, including 275 Hindus and 575 Muslims, as Mumbai became a centre for seething ethnic violence. In the months before, a coalition of political parties, religious groups, and cultural organisations, including BJP, RSS, VHP, and Shiv Sena, had called for the construction of a temple on the mosque's site as a significant step in their fight for Hindu nationalism, or Hindu law. (Human Rights Watch, 1996). It focuses on the VHP campaign to demolish the Babri Masjid, which has received support from the BJP and the RSS. According to them, the mosque was built on Lord Ram's birthplace after his temple was destroyed. They were enthusiastic about building a new temple on the same site as the old one. The refusal of the government to handle this issue led in religious riots that claimed hundreds of lives, culminating in the destruction of the mosque on December 6, 1992 (Sachan, 1992).

#### **Attacks on Christians in Gujarat 1998**

The majority of recorded incidences of Christian violence happened in Gujarat in 1998, the year that the BJP won control in the state. In April 1999, Human Rights Watch visited the Dang area in south-eastern Gujarat, where a ten-day surge of violent and deliberate attacks against Christian communities and institutions occurred between December 25, 1998, and January 3, 1999. Human Rights Watch has been able to track anti-Christian violence trends in the area, which are similar to anti-Christian violence in other parts of the world. Anti-Christian propaganda spread by Sangh parivar organizations and local media, local and state government involvement in the attacks, and the central government's failure to meet its constitutional and international responsibilities to protect minorities are just a few of them. (Human Rights Watch, 1999). The VHP, the Bajrang Dal, and the RSS were responsible for attacks against Christians. (Human Rights Watch, 1999). Hindus murdered priests and raped nuns, destroying Christian institutions such as schools, churches, hospitals, and cemeteries. As a result of the persecution, many of Christians were compelled to convert to Hinduism.

#### Ranalai Violence 1999

On March 15, 1999, Ranalai violence occurred in the town of Ranalai in Orissa's Gajapati district. After a debate over the placing of religious symbols on the village's Khamani Hill, violence ensued. A horde of 2000 individuals, purportedly Sangh Parivar supporters, burnt to the ground 157 Christian homes and robbed the village's remaining Christian dwellings using country-made rifles and firearms. Fourteen Christians were slain in all, three of them were shot by gunfire. The BJP, according to the National Commission for Minorities (NCM), is to blame for the crime (Frontline, 1999).

### **Gujarat Massacre 2002**

Two coaches of a train carrying Hindu activists, was burnt in the town of Godhra on February 27, 2002, sparking rioting in Gujarat. The volunteers had travelled to Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, to assist the VHP (World Hindu Council) in its campaign to build a temple to the Hindu god Ram on the site of a sixteenth-century mosque that had been razed by Hindu militants in 1992. The turmoil began on February 28 and did not end until April. Although Ahmedabad was the most severely affected area, violence also occurred in the districts of Banaskantha, Patan, Mehsana, Sabarkantha, and Gandhinagar in the north; Kheda, Anand, Panchmahals, and Dahod, in the east; Vadodara, Bharuch, Narmada, and Surat in the south; and Kutch, Surendranagar, Rajkot, Junagadh, and About 2,000 people died and 2,500 gone missing in the province by April. Over 75,000 homes were

damaged, with 1,024 total destructions. 10,429 shops were incinerated and another 1,278 ransacked. It is estimated that property worth over Rs. 30 billion was lost. More than 130,000 Muslims were stranded in 103 camps throughout the province. Over half (66,292) of the total number of people who were made homeless were sheltered in Ahmedabad's 44 camps. During this massacre, Muslim men, women, and children were exposed to horrible acts of brutality. (Kumar, 2009). Muslim women in Kalol, Dailol, Godhra, and Lunavada in the rural Panchmahal district, as well as Randhikpur village in Dahod district, were subjected to gang rape. (Kumar, 2009). Muslim girls were gang-raped in front of men and children in different places, after which their bodies were dismembered and burned (Chandhoke, 2009). The Gujarat violence was perpetrated by the VHP, RSS, BJP, and Bajrang Dal.(Gaer et al., 2010) Theses groups instigated the mobs and raised different slogans against Muslims. They were also directly attacking Muslims in all areas. The administration and the government did little to stop the violence, and right-wing groups like the VHP and the Bajrang Dal were given full support in their efforts to spread violence. As a result of all of this, the Modi government was able to win the Assembly elections in December 2002. (Rajeshwari, 2004).

# Samjhauta Express Bombings 2007

The 2007 Samjhauta Express; a twice-weekly train service between India, and Pakistan; was bombed on February 18, 2007. (Naqvi, 2007). Sixty-eight people were killed in blast, most of them were Pakistanis (Shukla, 2016). Swami Aseemanand, a Hindu preacher, linked with the RSS, was one of eight people charged in the terrorist attack by India's National Investigation Agency (NIA). Three of the accused are still at large, with three more in detention, despite Aseemanand's release on bail. The suspected mastermind, Sunil Joshi, was killed in 2007. All of the other defendants were acquitted by the NIA court in 2019. (Hindustan Times, 2019).

#### Ajmer Dargah Attack 2007

The Ajmer Dargah explosion happened on October 11, 2007, in the courtyard of Sufi saint Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer, Rajasthan, India, shortly after the Iftar time had begun. Three persons were died and 17 were injured in blast. (Indian Express, 2017). Three ex-RSS pracharaks, Devendra Gupta, Bhavesh Patel, and Sunil Joshi, were convicted by a Special NIA Court on March 22, 2017. Gupta and Patel were given life imprisonment. Following the explosion in Dewas, Madhya Pradesh, Sunil Joshi was found shot to death in mysterious circumstances. The Abhinav Bharat has also been linked to the bombing of a Sufi shrine in Ajmer in 2007 (Human Rights Watch, 2011).

#### Christmas violence in Kandhama 2007

A series of violence on Kandhamal's minority Christian community erupted around the Christmas season of 2007, on the objection form Hindu nationalist groups to the construction of a makeshift gate for Christmas celebrations. As a result, Hindu nationalist activists and members of the local Christian community are said to have clashed. Christians assaulted Swami Laxmanananda Saraswati, a chief of the VHP (World Hindu Council) and the probable mastermind of the incident. The violence, which resulted in the murders of over six individuals, the burning of hundreds of homes, churches and educational institutions, hospitals, and the molestation of several women, including nuns, impacted around 8,000 households in 68 communities. Due to persecution, Christians were also compelled to hide in the woods for days at a time, resulting in severely cold conditions (Pralay, 2008)

# **Mecca Masjid Bombing 2007**

On May 18, 2007, a bomb exploded inside the Mecca Masjid, a mosque in Hyderabad's ancient city, close to Charminar, the Indian state of Telangana's capital. Hyderabad is one of southern India's most populated cities, with a substantial Muslim population. (BBC NEWS, 2007). At the time of bombing, over ten thousand people were praying. A total of nine people were killed, with another 40 wounded. In the ensuing panic, the police opened fire on the people inside the overcrowded mosque, despite frantic attempts to get the wounded to the hospital. Six more people were killed, with another 21 wounded (Ali, 2013). The CBI investigated the incident and discovered that Abhinav Bharat, a Hindu organization, was involved in the explosion. The charge sheet was filed by the CBI against Devender Gupta, Lokesh Sharma, and four others. Later, the case was transferred to the NIA, which charged ten people, including Swami Aseemanand, who initially confessed but later recanted his involvement (Hindustan Times, 2018). All Persons involved in case were released by court in 2018.

#### Muzaffarnagar Shamli Riots 2013

Communal riots mainly targeting Muslims, killed at least 65 people, displaced an estimated 50,000, and resulted in high levels of sexual harassment against minority women. The riots have been dubbed India's worst in a decade. The violence forced thousands of people to flee their homes. Communal disturbances were sparked by calls to 'protect women's honour,' which included claims of a Muslim man harassing a Hindu (Jat) woman from a nearby village. The violence was linked to the BJP. During the riots, Muslim women were routinely targeted for sexual assault, with multiple allegations of mass rape between September 8 and 9, 2013 (Minority Rights Group International, 2017).

#### **Delhi Riots 2020**

The disturbances started with peaceful demonstrations against the Citizens Amendment Act of 2019, which makes it easier for foreign-born religious minorities to become citizens, with the exception of Muslims. A party of Hindus assaulted Muslim demonstrators on February 23, 2020. About 200 people were injured and 53 people died. A significant proportion of those killed were Muslims, as was the case in the 2002 riots. Shops were set on fire, houses and homes were demolished with bricks, and people were stabbed and shot during the riots. (Agrawal, 2020). In response to the Citizenship Bill's passage, which opened the way for the grant of citizenship to Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, and Christians who sought asylum in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan in or before December 2014, protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) began in December 2019 in Delhi and other parts of the world. Protesters considered the Act, when combined with the National Register of Citizens, as discriminatory against Muslims and a threat to their lives in India (NRC). Demonstrations took place in cities all over the world, including Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Aligarh, Bengaluru, and Kolkata. (Business Standard, 2020). When competing for a position as a senior firebrand leader of a Hindu nationalist party during state electioneering against Muslims, the police purposely ignored Kapil Mishra's furious speech, in which he attempted to connect the Shaheen Bagh protestors with Pakistani operatives. Despite the fact that their comments are nothing more than a transparent attempt to polarise voters ahead of the impending Delhi assembly election, the content of such divisive language intended towards Muslims has been widely condemned. In actuality, the entire exercise of pouring vitriol towards Muslims and Shaheen Bagh is nothing more than a well-planned and aggressive attempt to portray all peaceful protests against CAA and NRC as an anti-Hindu plot, with administration, police, and government cooperation exposed to be steroid fueled (Nagarwal, 2020).

#### 1. -Political and Economic Factors Behind Saffron Terrorism in India

#### **5.1. Political Factors**

Political parties in India use communal violence and riots to gain support and vote bank from Hindu majority. Parties like BJP always used communal violence for their electoral strategy. The involvement of Hindu nationalist parties in state legislatures, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, was a deciding factor behind Hindu-Muslim communal violence across India. These nationalist political parties must sustain ethnic tensions, which are sometimes followed by lethal rioting at specific locations, in order to emphasize the nature of militant Hindu nationalism (Arcand &

Chakraborty, 2013). The religious dispute that erupted in India in the 1990s had a larger political background. The BJP politicised religion at a time when the Congress was too poor to regulate and repress divisive politics as it had done in the past, resulting in violence (Brass, 2003:219).

It is clear that the BJP's electoral strategy included violence in Ayodhya and Gujrat. High-ranking BJP politicians publicly orchestrated the anti-Babri Masjid campaign (Srivastava, 2002). Similarly, the state elections held shortly after the Gujrat massacres in 2002 brought the BJP its largest ever electoral victory. There is evidence that the confrontation was staged by BJP representatives in the run-up to the elections in order to demonstrate their status as the leading spokesperson for Hindu interests (Brass, 2003:231). The rioters were given government address lists of Muslim people, and several witnesses believed that the police refused to interfere or help the victims. (Fickett, 2003). The state and federal governments of BJP, failed to intervene to end the dispute or bring the culprits to justice in a satisfactory manner.

#### **Economic Factors**

During the partition, communal disturbances were caused by a conflict of political interests between the elites of two separate groups. Local influences played a significant role in inciting protests from the 1960s to the late 1980s. In this period, the rise of Hindutva politics was the root cause of communal riots, with local factors also playing a role in inciting riots. From the 1960s to the 1980s, there was a consistent trend of communal riots. Most of them occurred in urban towns that were either manufacturing belts or trade hubs with an economy dependent on a single profession. Most of these locations had a sizable Muslim population whose political and economic interests contrasted with those of Hindus. Low economic growth of Muslims increases the chances of riots (Bohlken & Sergenti, 2010). The immediate provocation of the 1984 riots, which were primarily the result of business rivalry. Well-established and new traders saw religious differences as a source of rivalry in trade. Where there is a rivalry between merchants from two religious' sects, communal reasons are attributed to the success or failure of the various groups. (Rajgopal, 1987)

#### **Social Factors**

Hindu and Muslim follow two different social orders. Their rituals, festivals, code of living, customs, and prayers are different. Hindus consider cow as Sacred Animal and worship it. Cow worship takes two forms: one takes place amid religious rites, while the other takes place during a few festivals. Deepawali, India's most popular festival, includes a specific session of cow worship and it is a spectacular event that takes place during Deepawali. In Islam, Cow is just an animal and

is used for milk producing and meat consumption. Muslims on Eid ul Adha sacrifice millions of cows. Cow slaughtering is a main reason of saffron terrorism. There are many incident reported of saffron terrorism for cow slaughtering and smuggling. In India, vigilante groups beat up and occasionally kill persons they believe are butchering cows. "They have raped two women and killed two men for reportedly eating beef at home, assaulted Muslim men and women in train stations, stripped and beaten Dalits, force-fed cow dung and urine to two men, and forced-fed cow dung and urine to two men, among other violent crimes" (Stewart, 2019). "The BJP launched a violent vigilante campaign to stop people from consuming beef and buying cows. Between May 2015 and December 2018, at least 44 people, including 36 Muslims, were killed in such attacks. Several BJP politicians openly backed the attacks, while police repeatedly postponed charges against the perpetrators" (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

# **Social Media Factor**

In India, social media has aided in the instigation of communal violence. Social media is very fast now a days, any false news can lead to major violence incidents. According to the Uttar Pradesh Police, riots in Muzaffarnagar were ignited by a widely distributed video clip purporting to show the lynching of two Hindu Jat youngsters. According to the authorities, the footage was two years old and not from India. The BJP was accused of disseminating a fake video that allegedly exacerbated the violence and led to communal riots. (Wajahat, 2014). The video, on the other hand, became so well-known that stills from it were published in Hindi publications. Some political personalities were accused under the IPC's Sections "420 (forgery), 153-A (promoting religious hatred), and 120-B (conspiracy), as well as Section 66 of the Information Technology Act", for making this film public and encouraging communal violence (Gupta, 2014).

Hindu Far right groups are using social media as tool for their activities against minorities. They have made WhatsApp groups and orginizaded their activities. A 24-year-old Muslim IT professional was murdered to death by an irate mob in Maharashtra's Pune in June 2014, following the dissemination of modified photographs of late Shiv Sena president Bal Thackery, Chhatrapati Shivaji, and various Hindu gods on Facebook and WhatsApp. He had nothing to do with the messages. Seven members of the Hindu Rashtra Sena were detained in connection with the lynching (Scoopwhoop, 2016). Hindutva chauvinists known as cow protectors use WhatsApp to spread false information and organize mob attacks on alleged cow traffickers, many of whom are Dalits and Muslims from minority groups. Communal episodes of mob behavior are usually regarded as 'flare-ups' caused by rumors,

# Impacts of Saffron Terrorism on Political, Social and Economic Condition of India.

Saffron Terrorism has depicted deep impact on socio political and economic conditions of India in a diverse way. In India, Saffron terrorism exists in the shape of riots, communal violence, lynching of minorities etc. During Hindu-Muslim riots, Muslims bear a disproportionate amount of the brunt of the violence. Although hard figures are difficult to come by, Muslims (12 per cent of the population) were responsible for 60 percent of the 443 deaths and 45 percent of the 2,667 injuries in 526 Hindu Muslim conflicts between 1985 and 1987 in ten major states and 73% of the damage to the property (Wilkinson, 2006).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the BJP and other RSS member organizations launched a push to build a temple on the place of the controversial Babri Mosque or Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. The BJP was able to gain public support as a result of the campaign, and it was elected to power in many states. The BJP received 11% of the vote in the general election of 1989, after the INC and the Janata Dal, a moderate remnant of the old Janata Party, it became the third largest party in parliament (Iyer & Shrivastava, 2018). Traders reported a loss of 34.65 billion dollars a week after communal riots devastated parts of India's capital Delhi. According to initial reports, rioters set fire to 92 homes, 57 businesses, 500 cars, six warehouses, two schools, four factories, and four religious' buildings (Kapoor, 2020). A 1% percent rise in the growth rate reduces the projected number of riots by more than five percent. (Bohlken, 2010). A total of 2,000 Muslims are believed to have been slain and 200,000 were displaced in the weeks that followed. Against Muslims, there is a lot of sexual harassment. It was unthinkable for women and young girls. Several after being raped and mutilated, women were killed. Survivors say that sexual harassment was a factor in their survival. Forced nudity, mass rapes, and other forms of abuse were used. Gang murders, mutilation, and object insertion slitting the stomach, cutting the breasts and reproductive organs, as well as Hindu carvings. Women's body parts with religious symbols Obtaining information citizen accounts and other sources. The essence of the violence was documented by various organizations. Women in different parts of Gujarat have had similar experiences (Khanna, 2008). The data from 28 Indian states from 1973 to 2004 on communal violence, and Hindu terrorism, shows that incidents of Hindu terrorism decreased the manufacturing sector's capital labor ratio, lowering the manufacturing sector's gross value added. (Kato & Sato, 2016).

Saffron Terrorism rise will very certainly lead to the radicalization of Indian Muslim youth, who have previously avoided global terrorist organizations. Instead, occurrences targeting local Muslims

have fueled their radicalism. The demolition of the Babri Masjid, the subsequent sectarian violence, the anti-Muslim genocide in Gujarat, and Indian failure to deliver justice in terrorist attacking Muslims, made the Muslim youth angry and they started joining militant groups between the years 1990 and 2000. Recruitment to organizations like the Students' Islamic Movement of India increased during this period, as did the establishment and development of groups like the Indian Mujahideen.

Until now, peaceful mass marches and social media have been used to organize protests against the CAA and NRC. While gautankvad (cow terrorism) has sparked fear among Muslims, the Supreme Court's recent decision to give Hindu organizations the site of the demolished Babri Masjid for the construction of a temple has sparked gloomy hatred. However, with police deploying excessive force against protests and India's democratic institutions failing to respond, the migration of disillusioned Muslim young to extreme groups could increase. Hindu nationalism is producing a new generation of Muslim terrorists (Ramachandran, 2020).

# Role of Indian Government in the Prevention or Promotion of Saffron Terrorism.

Behavior of government of India in handling of communal violence incidents and incidents of violence against minorities shows clear role of Government of India in prevention or promotion of saffron terrorism. In all communal violence saffron terrorism incidents favor was given to Hindu right wing extremist groups by Government of India. Thousands of Hindu extremists demolished a mediaeval mosque in Ayodhya in 1992. The demolition of the Babri Masjid Mosque sparked riots across India, killing over 2000 people. On that tragic day, senior leaders of BJP, the current ruling party, gathered at Ayodhya in what is claimed to have been a well-planned plot to demolish a historic building that was part of the cultural and architectural history of India.

The BJP was undoubtedly responsible for the destruction of the Babri Masjid. L. K. Advani, who went on to become deputy prime minister (and a former mentor of Prime Minister Narendra Modi), Uma Bharti, who is now a cabinet minister in Modi's administration, and a slew of other prominent and minor figures were all charged with conspiracy. Following several appeals, India's top court, the Central Bureau of Investigation, restored the allegations in April, directing that the trial be finished within two years" (Krishnan, 2018). On September 30, 2020, a special court determined that the 1992 demolition of the Babri mosque was not pre-planned. This is the most recent criminal court judgement in a 150-year-old property dispute in India that has led in several Hindu-Muslim riots in the last three decades. All 32 defendants, including former deputy prime minister LK

Advani, were found not guilty of instigating kar sevak Hindu nationalists to demolish the 16th-century Muslim temple of worship because they wished to practice religious rituals there. According to the court, members of the VHP, a right-wing branch of the RSS, and politicians from the BJP were only trying to save the mosque because it featured idols of Hindu god Ram. (Tanwar & Kapur, 2020).

India's biggest human rights catastrophe in a decade occurred in 2002, when coordinated violence against Muslims in Gujarat killed at least 2,000 people in just a few days. On February 27, 2002, a Muslim mob assaulted a train transporting Hindu nationalist in Godhra. Two railway cars caught fire, killing at least 58 people. In the days following the Godhra massacre, government authorities and the local media labelled Muslims as terrorists, prompting armed gangs to go on a four-day killing rampage in retribution. Muslims' homes, shops, and religious sites were all demolished. Hundreds of girls and women were gang-raped and had their bodies physically mutilated before being burned alive. In the weeks following the massacres, Muslims retaliated by vandalizing Hindu homes and businesses. According to one government estimate, the violence hit 151 towns and 993 villages, affecting 154 of the state's 182 assembly districts. In April 2002, Human Rights Watch released the 75-page report, according to that, which was focused on investigations conducted in Ahmedabad in March 2002, the assault against Muslims was organised and supported by the government well before the Godhra atrocity. State authorities from the BJP, a Hindu right-wing party that currently dominates India's national coalition government, carried out the attacks.

The rise of "Hindu nationalism as a political and cultural force has consequences beyond the lives of India's religious minority". In Gujarat, a lack of justice and accountability undermines the rule of law for all citizens and produces an environment ripe for further violence, including attacks on Hindus as retaliation. Gujaratis have been harmed by the economic fallout in a state plagued by violence. Thousands of Hindu-owned small companies, for example, closed down as a result of the violence, resulting in massive financial losses and increased unemployment.

As a result of the tremendous damage to mosques, graves, and communal buildings during the turmoil, many Muslims have lost their cultural and religious spaces, the majority of which have yet to be restored. Around religious festivals like Moharram, a Muslim day of remembrance, or Holi, a Hindu event, Gujarat has become a tinderbox, where even the smallest transgression can and frequently does develop into social unrest. The government's refusal to condemn discrimination and hold perpetrators of communal violence accountable is a fundamental element in the violence and discrimination that continues to exist. (HRW, 2003).

Sanjiv Bhatt, a senior police official in the Gujarat intelligence agency during the Gujarat riots of 2002 appeared before the Supreme Court and said that a night before the riots, PM Modi told officials that the Muslim population should be taught a lesson following an attack on a train carrying Hindu pilgrims. (Majumder, 2011). In the Mecca Masjid bomb blast incident in Hyderabad' on May 18, 2007, an NIA court acquitted all of the accused detained in the case on April 16, 2018. (The Indian Express, 2018). In the case of explosion on Dargah Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer, on October 11, 2007, an Indian court on 22 March 2017 acquitted Swami Aseemanand of the Ajmer Sharif attack. (The Tribune, 2017). In 2019 General Elections, BJP gave party ticket to an accused of terrorism as a Lok Sabha candidate from Bhopal (Tiwary, 2019).

The Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence (Access to Justice and Reparations) Bill, was drafted in 2011 but opposed by BJP in 2014 in parliament (NDTV, 2014). Indian Government did not make effective legislation to control communal violence and eliminate saffron terror from society. Leaders of the BJP increasingly employed sectarian language since obtaining power at the national level in May 2014, sparking a violent vigilante campaign against beef eating. At least 44 persons were slain in twelve Indian states between 2015 and 2018, most of them were Muslims. Approximately 280 people were injured in over one hundred different accidents across twenty states during the same time span. (Human Rights Watch, 2019). The government approved a citizenship bill in December 2019, making religion the basis for Indian citizenship for the first time. In August 2019, the government withdrew Jammu and Kashmir's constitutional autonomy, the country's only Muslim-majority territory, and imposed restrictions that violated people's human rights. Despite the dangers to their lives and well-being, Indian authorities have threatened to deport Rohingya Muslim refugees to Myanmar since October 2018 and have already repatriated more than a dozen of them. (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

In 2020 Delhi riots, BJP govt. and politician played an instigating role in riots against Muslims. BJP politician Kapil Mishra made a speech against Anti CAA protesters and threatened them to remove forcibly from protest site and soon riots started in Delhi by Hindu mobs. Despite his inflammatory rhetoric, the government has taken no action against Mishra. The commission report stated that "clear accusations of engaging in direct violence, including physical harassment and rape, have been made against police officers," highlighting one instance in which "five Muslim boys were surrounded by police officers and violently beaten up while being asked to chant 'Jana gana mana'." According to the paper, the FIR did not mention any suspects despite the fact that one of the boys died a few days later. The police have also been accused of failing to correctly present the charge sheets. "Critical elements of the whole sequence of events are absent from most of the

charge-sheets that have been filed to date," according to the paper, which the Committee obtained (Minority Commission Report, 2020). Human Rights Watch issued a statement warning that Indian government have enacted policies and laws that deliberately bias against Muslims and stigmatize government critics. BJP administration interfered in independent institutions such as the police and judiciary and allowed nationalist groups to harass, scare, and attack religious minorities. (Human Rights Watch, 2021). On February 23, 2021, one year was completed since sectarian rioting in Delhi killed 53 individuals, 40 of them were Muslims. Rather of conducting a credible and impartial inquiry, BJP leaders promoted violence and police officers were found involved in attacks. In reaction to yet another large demonstration, this time by farmers, authorities have insulted minority Sikh demonstrators and initiated investigations into their possible affiliation with separatist groups. (Human Rights Watch, 2021). Meenakshi Ganguly, a Human Rights Watch's South Asia director, stated, "The BJP's embrace of the Hindu majority at the expense of minorities has crept into government institutions, undermining equal protection of the law without discrimination." "Not only has the government failed to protect Muslims and other minorities from attacks, but it is also offering political support and patronage to bigotry." (Human Rights Watch, 2021). The February 2020 attacks in Delhi were preceded by months of nonviolent demonstrations by Indians of all faiths against the government's discriminatory citizenship law and proposed policies. BJP officials and supporters tried to undermine demonstrators, especially Muslims, by accusing them of plotting against the country's interests.

As thousands of farmers of various religions began demonstrating against the government's new agriculture policy in November 2020, BJP lawmakers and pro-government media began blaming the Sikhs, another religious minority. They accused Sikhs of having a "Khalistani" objective, a reference to a Sikh separatist uprising in Punjab in the 1980s and 1990s. Prime Minister Narendra Modi referred to individuals participating in various nonviolent demonstrations as parasites in a speech to parliament on February 8 and branded international condemnation of India's growing authoritarianism as a foreign poisonous ideology. After violent clashes on January 26 between police and protesting farmers who broke through police barricades to enter Delhi, the authorities filed baseless criminal cases against journalists, ordered the internet to be shut down at multiple sites, and ordered Twitter to block nearly 1,200 accounts, including those of journalists and news organizations.

The Indian government has been increasingly targeting activists, professors, and other critics in recent years, who protect the rights of minorities. Vulnerable communities have been targeted by the government for harassment and prosecution. BJP leaders and affiliated parties have portrayed

minorities, particularly Muslims, as a threat to national security and the Hindu way of life. They've used the word "love jihad" trick, claiming that Muslim men entice Hindu women into marriage in order to convert them to Islam. They've also referred to Muslims as illegal immigrants or even fanatics, accusing them of hurting Hindu sentiment by slaughtering cows. Human Rights Watch claims that since Modi's BJP has come to power, it has passed a slew of laws and other measures that legitimize discrimination against religious minorities and fuel strong Hindu nationalism. The government enacted a citizenship bill that discriminates against Muslims in December 2019, making religion the foundation for citizenship for the first time. In August 2019, the government took away Jammu and Kashmir's constitutional autonomy, the country's only Muslim-majority state, and imposed restrictions that violated people's basic rights. Despite the dangers to their life and safety, Indian authorities have been deporting Rohingya Muslim refugees to Myanmar since October 2018. BJP-affiliated gangs accuse Muslims and Dalits of killing or trading cows for meat, states use anti-cow slaughter legislation to apprehend Muslim livestock traffickers. Anti-conversion law was recently enacted in three BJP-ruled states, which is used against Muslim men who marry Hindu women in practice. These actions are against Indian law as well as India's international human rights responsibilities, which forbid discrimination on the basis, ethnicity, or religion and require governments to offer equal legal protection to residents. According to Human Rights Watch, the Indian government is also committed to protecting religious and other minority groups, as well as prosecuting those who commit prejudice and aggression against them properly and equitably. "The actions of the BJP administration have fueled communal hate, created profound divides in society, and led to a great deal of fear and mistrust of authority among minority communities," Ganguly added. "India's secular democracy is under jeopardy unless the government repeals discriminatory laws and policies and offers justice for minorities who have been victimized." (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

## **Laws and Policies of Indian Government**

The state government of Uttar Pradesh in India passed a bill in November aimed at limiting interfaith unions. The BJP politicians spread the myth that Muslim men lure Hindu women into marriage in order to convert them to Islam. The law, known as the Prohibition of Unlawful Religious Conversion Ordinance, 2020, requires anybody who wishes to convert to get permission from the district administration and can result in a sentence of up to ten years in jail if done through pressure, deception, misrepresentation, or inducement. While the rule purports to apply to all coerced religious conversions, it has primarily been enforced against Muslim men in Hindu-Muslim couples. Since the rule went into effect, in February 2021, authorities in Uttar Pradesh have filed

charges against 86 people, 79 of whom were Muslims, alleging them of "enticing a woman" and compelling her to convert to Islam. Seven additional people have been charged with forcibly converting women to Christianity. The state has also exploited the law in an illegitimate manner in the past, bringing proceedings against the families of the guilty Muslim males. The complainant is almost always the woman's relatives, who are opposed to an interfaith connection. (Piyush, 2021). The rule has instilled alarm among interfaith couples who are already facing discrimination from their families and Hindu nationalist organizations. The Allahabad High Court in Uttar Pradesh had to grant 125 interfaith couples protection in November. Interfaith couples have been openly harassed and abused by Hindu nationalist organizations, particularly those linked with the BJP, who have filed charges against them. Similar laws have been passed in the BJP-ruled states of Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and other BJP-ruled states, such as Karnataka and Haryana, are exploring them. Many states already have anti-conversion laws in place, including "Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Arunachal Pradesh, and Uttarakhand.

The Modi administration approved the discriminating Citizenship (Amendment) Act in December 2019, which expedites asylum applicants of non-Muslim irregular immigrants from neighbouring Muslim-majority countries Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. It has amplified fears that the government's move for a nationwide citizenship verification system through a National Population Register and a proposed National Register of Citizens aimed to identify "illegal migrants" will result in millions of Indian Muslims losing their citizenship rights and being disenfranchised. (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

#### **Conclusion**

Far Right Extremism is not a new Phenomenon now a days, it has emerged in every society gradually on the name caste, race, religion, and ethnicity. Saffron Terrorism is a deadly shape of Far-Right extremism which is based on Hindutva ideology and flourishes on religious hatred and ethnic cleansing towards religious minorities living in India, particularly towards Muslim community. Hindutva Ideology is based on Nazism and fascist ideologies which were promulgated by Sa Vinayak Damodar Savarkar; in 1923 and implemented by M.S. Golwalkar and K.B. Hedgewar by using the platform of militant far right extremist organization RSS which had been remained banned 3 times for its involvement in terrorism.

RSS is the parent organization of Sangh Parivar and have many off shoots which are operating across the country as well as globally. Saffron Terrorism in its deadliest way started after the murder of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by former RSS member because of its lenient policies towards

Muslims and minorities residing in India. Beside RSS, there are a lot of organizations and sub groups that are pursuing agenda of saffron terrorism in the shape of communal violence, riots, attacks on minorities and mob lynching.

There are many root causes of saffron terrorism. Religious extremism is main root cause of saffron terrorism in India, Pandit, Sadhus, and different religious far right extremist organization operating in India use the weapon of religion to promote saffron terrorism and do terrorist acts be making base of religion insulting acts. Politics and election are also main cause of saffron terrorism in India because India is Hindu Majority country and Politician use communal violence during election days to gain vote bank. Politicians and some political parties like BJP, play saffron politics on the basis of Hindutva ideology. Saffron terrorism had implicated dark shadow on minorities living in India. It has devastated their political, social, and economic conditions. Hindu terrorism has worsened the social conditions of minority by demolishing theirs worships places, lynching them on the name cow vigilante and on the name forcibly conversion to other religions. Babri Masjid was demolished by Hindu extremist, destruction of Christian churches, lynching of Muslims by cow vigilant groups are famous examples which impart deep effect of social conditions of India. Shops, Properties of Muslim are looted in Hindu Muslim riots which make miserable condition of Muslim community in India. In recent resurgence against Muslims during Delhi riots 2020, Muslim lost their homes, fled away from their ancestral homes to other locations and all properties, shops, assets of Muslims were looted in riots torn area.

Current Prime Minister Narendra Modi is a lifetime member of Hindu Far Right extremist organization RSS and contest election on the platform of BJP which is political wing of RSS. In the 2014, When Narendra Modi formed its first time Government in Center, there were 41 out of 66 BJP ministers which had background of RSS that constitutes 62 % of RSS background ministers in Narendra Modi cabinet. In 2019 elections he once again got majority in center due to his Hindutva agenda and anti-Muslim policies, he formed government in center. Currently, out of 53 BJP ministers, 38 have RSS background which made up 71 per cent of RSS background ministers. Saffron Terrorism incident occur in India in the shape of communal violence. Religious disharmony results in communal violence and far right extremist organizations create religious disharmony and trouble in society. Government should ban the persons to contest elections which belongs to far-right Extremist Organizations. So that they could not come to cabinet and could not make discriminatory laws that incite communal violence resulting into saffron terrorism. Government of India should promote religious harmony among different ethnic groups.

Government of India should strictly instruct to all organs of government to deal all citizens equally irrespective of race, ethnicity and religion.

## References

- Agrawal, Ravi, (2020), *Why India's Muslims Are in Grave Danger*, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/02/india-muslims-delhi-riots-danger/
- Ali, S. (2013), *Politics of Terror: The Mecca Masjid Blast Case*, Mumbai: Economic and Political Weekly, 48(34), 36–46. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23528059
- Aoun, J., Danan, L., Hameed, S., Mixon, K., & Peter, D. St. (2012), *Religious Movements, Militancy, and Conflict in South Asia cases from India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan*, A report of the CSIS Program on Crisis, Conflict, and Cooperation, (Issue July). https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy\_files/files/publication/120713\_Aoun\_ReligiousMilitancy\_Web.pdf
- Ahmad, S. (2020), *Understanding Saffron Terrorism, Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research*. https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/defense-security/understanding-saffron-terrorism/
- After fierce debate, anti-communal violence bill is dropped. Here's why. (2014). https://www.ndtv.com/cheat-sheet/after-fierce-debate-anti-communal-violence-bill-is-dropped-heres-why-549881
- Arcand, J., & Chakraborty, Pavel. (2013), What Explains Ethnic Violence? Evidence from Hindu-Muslim Riots in India, https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/What-Explains-Ethnic-Violence-Evidence-from-Riots-%E2%88%97-Arcand-Chakraborty/5777f40908742619ae332c44943c327d5540ca9c
- Business Standard. (2020), What is Delhi Riots 2020, Delhi Violence, North East Delhi Riots, Delhi News | https://www.business-standard.com/about/what-is-delhi-riots-2020
- BBC. 1964: *Riots* (1964),inCalcutta leave more than 100 dead, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/january/13/newsid\_4098000/40983 63.stm BBC NEWS, (2007), *Bomb* hits historic India mosque, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/6668695.stm
- Business Standard, (2020), *What are Delhi Riots 2020?* https://www.business-standard.com/about/what-is-delhi-riots-2020
- Business Today, (2019), Ram Janmabhoomi movement- engineered by Ashok Singhal and charioted by L K Advani, https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/ram-

janmabhoomi-movement----engineered-by-ashok-singhal-and-charioted-by-l-k-advani/story/389542.html

- Bohlken, A. T., & Sergenti, E. J. (2010), *Economic growth and ethnic violence: An empirical investigation of Hindu—Muslim riots in India*, Journal of Peace Research, 47(5), 589–600. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343310373032
- Brass, Paul, R. (2003), *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, USA: University of Washington Press.
- Chandhoke, N. (2009), civil society in conflict cities: The case of Ahmedabad, http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28476/
- Chopra, S. (2016), *Archives of Violence: Seeking and Preserving Records on Mass Sectarian Attacks in India*. National Law School of India Review, 28(1), 61–73. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44283665
- Ehtisham, H., (2020), World Must React to Hindutva Terrorism, Modern Diplomacy, https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2020/05/30/world-must-react-to-hindutvaterrorism/
- Engineer, A. A. (1995), *Bhagalpur Riot Inquiry Commission Report*, Economic and Political Weekly, 30(28), 1729–1731. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4402989
- Explainer: Far-right terrorism in the West Vision of Humanity. (n.d.). Retrieved April 26, 2021, from https://www.visionofhumanity.org/explainer-far-right-terrorism-in-the-west/
- Frontline, (1999). *Another attack in Orissa*, https://frontline.thehindu.com/other/article30257058.ece
- Falak, Jawad, (2016), Saffron Terror: The Rising Tide of Militant Hindutva Stratagem, Retrieved April 26, 2021, from https://stratagem.pk/setting-the-record-straight/saffron-terror-the-rising-tide-of-militant-hindutva/
- Fernandes, Leela, (2011), *Unsettled Territories: State, Civil Society, and the Politics of Religious Conversion in India*, Politics and Religion, Volume 4, Issue 1, April 2011, pp. 108 135. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048310000490

• Fickett, Lewis, Jr. (2003), *Battle For The Soul Of Modern India: The Bharaiya Janata Party--Harbinger*Of

Indian

Fascism, https://virginiareviewofasianstudies.com/files/archives/2003/Fickett.pdf

- Gaer, F. D., Cromartie, M., Prodromou, E. H., & Leo, L. A. (2010), *Annual Report of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom*, May 2009 Commissioners.
- Gittinger, Julli, (2018), Saffron Terror: Splinter or Symptom?, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 46, No. 37 (Sep. 10-16, 46(37), 22–25)
- Gupta, P. (2014), Abuse of Social Media, https://www.lawctopus.com/academike/abuse-of-social-media/
- Haque, S. W. (2019). *Saffron terror*, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/opinion/columns/saffronterror/article\_e92ef6dd-c986-5de7-b44a-df6edd87597e.html
- Hindustan Times. (2016), *Ban RSS*, *India's no 1 terror Organization*, https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/ban-rss-india-s-no-1-terror-organisation-former-maharashtra-cop/story-EqYMsbzYbhDOtNgocROfNM.html
- Hindustan Times, (2018), 2007 Mecca Masjid blast case: A timeline of events, https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/2007-mecca-masjid-blast-case-a-timeline-of-events/story-lfIFELkLb9w0uY9U2DpOxI.html
- Hindu Agenda Vishva Hindu Parishad Official Website, Retrieved April 28, 2021, from https://vhp.org/orgnization/hindu-agenda/
- Human Rights Watch. (1996), *Communal Violence and the Denial of Justice*, In Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/India1.htm
- Human Rights Watch. (2019), Violent Cow Protection in India: Vigilante Groups Attack Minorities.
- Human Rights Watch Report. (1999a). https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/indiachr/christians8-01.htm
- Human Rights Watch Report. (1999b). https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/indiachr/christians8-03.htm
- Human Rights Watch. (2021), *India: Government Policies, Actions Target Minorities*, https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/19/india-government-policies-actions-target-minorities
- Human Rights Watch. (2019), *India: Vigilante 'Cow Protection' Groups Attack Minorities*, https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/02/19/india-vigilante-cow-protection-groups-attack-minorities

• Human Rights Watch, (Feb, 2011), *The "Anti-Nationals" Arbitrary Detention and Torture of Terrorism Suspects in India*, https://www.hrw.org/reports/india0211W.pdf

- Human Rights Watch, (20219), Vigilante Groups Attack Minorities, https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/02/18/violent-cow-protection-india/vigilante-groups-attack-minorities
- Human Rights Watch. (1999), *Anti-Christian Violence on the Rise in India*, https://www.hrw.org/news/1999/09/30/anti-christian-violence-rise-india
- Indian Express, (2017), *What is the Ajmer Dargah blast case?* https://indianexpress.com/article/india/what-is-the-ajmer-dargah-blast-case-4580300/
- India News. (2018), CIA Classifies VHP, Bajrang Dal as Militant Religious Outfits, https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/cia-classifies-vhp-bajrang-dal-as-millitant-religious-outfits-1260635-2018-06-14
- India Today, (2018), *Hashimpura Massacre: A timeline*, https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/hashimpura-massacre-a-timeline-1379612-2018-10-31
- Iqbal, J. (2014, December 31), *The Forgotten Riots of Bhagalpur*, https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2014/12/31/the-forgotten-riots-of-bhagalpur
- Iyer, S., & Shrivastava, A. (2018), *Religious riots and electoral politics in India*, Journal of Development Economics, 131(9522), 104–122. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2017.11.003
- Jaffrelot, C. (2007). *Hindu Nationalism A Reader*, Princeton University Press.
- Jain, Kalpana, (2019), Cow Vigilantes and the Rise of Hindu Nationalism, Harvard Kennedy School Student Publication https://ksr.hkspublications.org/2019/05/03/cow-vigilantes-and-the-rise-of-hindu-nationalism/
- Kapoor, C. (2020), India: Economic crises loom large after Delhi riots, https://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/india-economic-crises-loom-large-after-delhiriots-/1752126
- Kato, Atsushi, & Sato, Takahiro, (2016), *Violent Conflicts and Economic Performance of the Manufacturing Sector in India*, Discussion Paper Series DP2016-01, Kobe University: Research Institute for Economics & Business Administration.

• Khanna, R. (2008), Communal Violence in Gujarat, India: Impact of Sexual Violence and Responsibilities of the Health Care System, Reproductive Health Matters, 16(31), 142–152. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080(08)31357-3

- Kimura, M. (2013), The Nellie Massacre of 1983: Agency of Rioters, https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=BRf9AAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg= PP1&dq=1983+Nellie+massacre&ots=BzD1F3u\_Y2&sig=7vbrzHDBtglfJohFEhRp57um 11Y
- Krishnan, M. (2018), *Babri Masjid India's flashpoint*, https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/babri-masjid-india-flashpoint
- Kronstadt, K. A., (2020), *Religious Freedom: Violations, Laws and U.S. Policy*, Congressional Research Service Report, India: Religious Freedom Issues, (95–130.)
- Kumar, M. (2009), Communal Riots, Sexual Violence and Hindu Nationalism in Post-Independence Gujrat, (1969-2002), https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:2b06b4e0-afac-4571-ab46-44968d36b17c
- Kupper, Dr. Beate B., (2021), *Short Note: Right-wing Extremism*, Champions, (Issue 823705). https://www.firstlinepractitioners.com/wp-content/plugins/api-swf-pla-plugin/resources/assets/files/yard/27/en/Del\_4.2\_ShortNote\_Rightwingextremism\_EN.pdf
- Kanungo, Pralay, (Sep. 2008), *Hindutva's Fury against Christians in Orissa*, Mumbai: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 43, No. 37 (pp. 16-)
- Land of Sacred Cows A History of Cow Worship in India, https://saveindiancows.org/land-sacred-cows/
- Minority Commission Report, (2020), *Delhi Riots Began with Kapil Mishra's Speech, Yet No Case Against Him*, https://thewire.in/communalism/delhi-riots-kapil-mishra-minority-commission-report
- Majumder, S. (2011), *Narendra Modi allowed Gujarat 2002 anti-Muslim riots*, BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-13170914
- Minority Rights Group International. (2017). A Narrowing Space: Violence and discrimination against India's religious minorities Center for Study of Society and Secularism & Minority Rights Group International. In Center for Study of Society and Secularism. https://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/MRG\_Rep\_India\_Jun17-2.pdf
- Nagarwal, N. (2020), *Delhi Pogrom and Cessation of Constitutional State: A Critique*, Pakistan Social Sciences Review, 4(1), 333–344. https://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2020(4-i)26

• Naqvi, M. (2007), 66 Die in India-Pakistan Train Attack, https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/18/AR2007021801136.html

- Narula, S. (2003), Overlooked Danger: The Security and Rights Implications of Hindu Nationalism in India, The Harvard Human Rights Journal, 16, 41–68.
- NDTV. (2010), *Saffron Terrorism*, https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/saffron-terrorism-a-new-phenomenon-says-home-minister-chidambaram-428832
- Pathan, S. alom. (2020), Citizenship and Violence as a Post-Colonial Problematic: A Case of Na-Asamya Muslims in Assam, http://www.jcreview.com/fulltext/197-1606453456.pdf
- Rai, Pyush, (2021), 7 Months of UP's Anti-Conversion Law: 162 People Booked in 63 Cases, https://www.thequint.com/news/india/7-months-of-ups-anti-conversion-law-162-people-booked-in-63-cases
- Raj, S. (2017), Hindu Cow Vigilantes in Rajasthan, India, Beat Muslim to Death, The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/05/world/asia/india-cow-mob-hinduvigilantes.html
- Rajeshwari, B. (2004), *Communal Riots in India: A Chronology (1947-2003)*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi
- Rajgopal, P. R. (1987), *Communal Violence in India*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.
- Ramachandran, S. (2020), *India: Fanning the Flames of Extremism and Terror at Home*, https://jamestown.org/program/india-fanning-the-flames-of-extremism-and-terror-at-home/
- Rao, Rajyasri (2002), The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, BBC NEWS http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/1860202.stm
- Scoop whoop, (April, 2016), Here Are Some Incidents When False Messages On WhatsApp
  Turned Deadly For People, Retrieved July 26, 2021,
  from https://www.scoopwhoop.com/JK-Wants-Whatsapp-Admins-Registered-cidentsAre-Some-Incidents-When-False-Messages-On-WhatsApp-Turned-Deadly-ForPeople/#.ds6jkj2gx
- Sachan, S. (1992), *Babri Masjid*, *Black Friday and Bombay*, https://www.academia.edu/download/35052330/Event\_Metaphor\_Memory\_-\_Shreya\_Sachan\_M2014MC020.pdf
- Shukla, K. (2016), *Indo-Pak Relations: An Overview*, Academia.Edu. https://www.academia.edu/download/57953990/Indo-Pak\_Tension\_Final\_\_1\_pdf#page=222

• Spodek, H. (1989), From Gandhi to Violence: Ahmedabad's 1985 Riots in Historical Perspective, Modern Asian Studies, 23(4), 765–795. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00010209

- Srivastava, S. (2002), Why is Gujarat so violent? BBC NEWS, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/1856049.stm
- Stewart, P. H. (2019), *killing in the Name of Cows*, Human Rights Watch, https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/02/18/interview-killing-name-cows
- Tanwar, S., & Kapur, M. (2020), Indian court acquits all accused for demolition of Babri masjid, https://qz.com/india/1731653/indian-court-acquits-all-accused-for-demolition-of-babri-masjid/
- Tiwary, D. (2019), Explained: The Case against BJP candidate Sadhvi Pragya Thakur, The Indian Express, https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/sadhvi-pragya-thakur-digvijaya-singh-bjp-bhopal-lok-sabha-elections-malegaon-case-ajmer-dargah-blast-5681180/
- The Hindu, (2018), *Two Muslim men lynched in Jharkhand for stealing cattle*, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/two-jharkhand-men-lynched-for-stealing-cattle/article24157702.ece
- The Economic Times, (2020), *Ram Janmabhoomi movement is behind us, it's time to bury past animosity*, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/view-ram-janmabhoomi-movement-is-behind-us-its-time-to-bury-past-animosity/articleshow/77269898.cms
- The Indian Express, (2018), *What is 2007 Mecca Masjid blast case?*, https://indianexpress.com/article/what-is/mecca-masjid-blast-2007-hyderabad-nia-aseemanand-5139063/
- The Wire, (2019), *Bihar: Three Men Beaten to Death by Lynch Mob in Chhapra*, https://thewire.in/rights/bihar-three-men-lynched
- Times of India. (2016), *Cattle traders hanged to death from tree in Jharkhand*, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ranchi/Cattle-traders-hanged-to-death-from-tree-in-Jharkhand/articleshow/51459502.cms?from=mdr
- The Tribune, (2017), *Pakistan protests acquittal of Ajmer Sharif blast mastermind*, https://tribune.com.pk/story/1352308/pakistan-protests-acquittal-ajmer-sharif-blast-mastermind

• Wajahat, Habibullah, (2014), *Social media fanning communal intolerance, misuse needs checking*, https://www.freepressjournal.in/india/social-media-fanning-communal-intolerance-misuse-needs-checking-wajahat-habibullah

- Wilkinson, S. I. (2006), *Votes and violence: Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Yadav, S. (2017), *Media and massacre: The Hashimpura event, 1987*, Studies in People's History, 4(2), 211–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/2348448917725858
- Yasmeen, J., (2020), *Denying the Animosity: Understanding Narratives of Harmony from the Nellie Massacre*, 1983, An International Journal, 14(2), 2–19. https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.14.2.1732