Shiv Sena, Saamana, and minorities
A study of the political rhetoric in an Indian Hindu nationalist and Marathi regionalist newspaper

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to analyze how the Mumbai-based Hindu nationalist and regionalist/nativist political party Shiv Sena communicates about minorities through the Hindi version of its daily newspaper Saamana. After giving a brief introduction to Shiv Sena and the Hindu nationalist movement in India, the editorial articles published in the period Mon. 8/2-Sun. 14/2 2016 are analyzed against a theoretical framework based on Foucault and the idea that the public discourse itself is a field of battle where different actors can and do contest what is socially possible to express. The articles – as far as they are concerned with minorities – are found to be mainly preoccupied with Muslims, which are associated with Pakistan and terrorists and pictured as potentially fanatic and disloyal to the nation.

Keywords: Shiv Sena, Saamana, Hindu nationalism, Hindutva, Mumbai, Indian politics, political rhetoric, discourse, minorities, media.
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1. Introduction

In recent years the public discourse in Sweden as well as in several other European countries has been increasingly preoccupied with the rise and comparative success of a group of political parties which are often given labels like “right-wing populist” and “nationalist”, such as Sverigedemokraterna in Sweden, UKIP in Great Britain, and Alternative für Deutschland in Germany. These parties often use rhetoric that stretch the limits of what is politically correct or even socially acceptable in their respective countries. What is considered politically correct is of course not static. On the contrary it differs considerably from country to country and can change dramatically over time. Our age is an increasingly globalized one, with an increasing part of the population in many European countries having roots in other parts of the world and taking part of political rhetoric shaped in contexts with social norms differing from those dominating in Europe. It is therefore useful and contributing to our understanding of the dynamics of these parties, and the influence they can exercise on the public discourse, to study parties playing similar roles in other political contexts.

This study is aimed at shedding some light on the so-called Hindu nationalist scene in India, the largest democratic country in the world. For a long time after India became independent in 1947, the Hindu nationalist movement, which was associated with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, had to struggle for political acceptance, but since the Hindu nationalist party BJP gained absolute majority in the national parliament in 2014, it is the dominating political force in India. The focus of the thesis is the political rhetoric of a regional party in the state of Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena. The importance of Shiv Sena, although a regional party, is obvious since it has been dominating the politics in Mumbai for decades. Mumbai is India’s biggest city, with has a highly diversified population of almost 20 million people, and is known as the financial capital of India and home of Bollywood, one of the world's largest hubs for production of popular culture. In addition to the Hindu nationalist agenda, which it shares with the much bigger national party BJP, Shiv Sena has what can be called a regionalist or nativist agenda of strengthening the position of Maharashtrians and the regional language Marathi in the cosmopolite city of Mumbai and in Maharashtra at large.2

1 Cf. statistic at the website of the Indian Parliament: http://164.100.47.192/Loksabha/Members/PartyWiseStatisticalList.aspx, (accessed 15 March 2016).

2 Cf. Šivsena... Šivajici sensa", http://shivsena.org/m/about/, (accessed 25 May 2016). It is not self-evident how "Maharashtra" should be defined, but in Shiv Sena usage it seems to presuppose having Marathi as mother tongue and/or having a Marathi sounding name.
1.1. **Aim and limitation**

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the way Shiv Sena communicates about minorities through its mouthpiece, the daily paper Saamana. Shiv Sena being a Maharashtra-based party with a Hindu nationalist and Marathi regionalist/particularistic profile, minorities may include the following groups:

1. People in India with other religious affiliation than Hindu.
2. People in Maharashtra with mother tongues other than Marathi or origin outside Maharashtra.
3. Foreigners in India.

The body of articles to be analysed consists of the editorials of the Hindi version of *Saamana* during one week, beginning Monday 8/2 and ending Sunday 14/2 2016. The editorials, marked *sampādakīy*, are found on page 10 of the daily with articles occasionally continuing on page 12. The Sunday paper does not have an editorial page. Therefore a number of articles with headings or labels relevant to the theme of minorities have been selected instead. These are an article marked with the Marathi phrase “āmci Mumbai” (‘Our Mumbai’), a text marked ‘Political Parody’, and an article about Islamic women. Although Marathi is the language cherished by Shiv Sena – for example the only version of the party website is in Marathi, without translations into either Hindi or English – the Hindi version of Saamana is preferred in this study because of its potential to reach a broader and more differentiated section of the population in as well as outside Mumbai and Maharashtra.

1.2. **Notes on translation and transliteration**

All translations from Hindi and Marathi sources are my own. In transliterating Hindi I have followed current praxis in scholarly literature. The transliteration of Marathi text follows the same basic principles, except that the inherent *a* is there retained in the transliteration. In short this means *e* and *o* are always long; all other vowels are short if not marked by a horizontal line above, then long. A dot under a consonant means that the consonant is retroflex. The only exception to this is *r*, which is pronounced *[r̥]* in Hindi and *[r̥u]* in Marathi. Consonants are unaspirated except when followed by an *h*, then aspirated. The consonant written *ś* is similar to the first sound in the English word “she”. The *anusvāra* is transliterated as *ṁ* and *ṇ*.

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3See http://shivsena.org/m/saamana/ for presentation of *Saamana* on Shiv Sena’s official website.

4 Flapped *t* and *d* sounds (as when a retroflex *t* or *d* stand between two vowels in Hindi) are written in the same way as their unflapped variants, i.e. *ḍ* and *ṭ*. 
usually pronounced as a nasal consonant or a nasalization of the preceding vowel. Proper names as well as words that are common in Indian English are normally not transliterated; instead they are spelled according to prevalent usage in Indian English.

1.3. Theory and method

The editorial page is the place where a newspaper redaction most openly enters a public discourse with the purpose of expressing and disseminating its views on issues it considers important. The subjects of the discourse are usually political or having political implications, and not less so in the Indian daily press, which is to a very high degree preoccupied with news relating to politics and politicians. In the case of Saamana, the editorial page is commonly understood to be the mouthpiece of the political party Shiv Sena, which links to the Marathi version of the paper on its official website.

Michel Foucault’s ideas about discourses, presented in *Orders of discourse* and other texts, help us to understand the function of editorials (as well as other kinds of articles) not only in terms of influencing peoples’ ideas, but also in terms of reshaping the discourse so as to make certain ideas possible/natural and others impossible/difficult to express. Foucault says:

> Within its own limits, every discipline recognizes true and false propositions, but it repulses a whole teratology of learning. […] In short, a proposition must fulfil some onerous and complex conditions before it can be admitted within a discipline; before it can be pronounced true or false it must be […] “within the true”.

If an idea is to be expressed in an effective way, there must be a way to formulate it that is at least potentially acceptable to a fairly substantial part of the target group. As Ronald R. Krebs and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson put it:

> Every community of discourse shares a number of *topoi*, or rhetorical commonplaces, that both enable and constrain speakers’ rhetorical possibilities. These commonplaces are not “fully

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6See http://shivsena.org/m/.
predetermined, already decided distinctions”, but weakly shared notions that can be “expressed or formulated in different ways in different, concrete circumstances”.8

A tool that is often used for altering what can be said “within the true” is defining which terminology is used to talk about certain things. This is for example easily observable in the discourses about abortion in different languages. In German there is an unsettled battle between the terms Abtreibung and Abort, the different terms inviting restrictive and liberal attitudes respectively. In Swedish the equivalent of Abtreibung has long ago lost the fight and the terminology is rather centered on (the Swedish equivalents of) “abortion” and “reproductive health”. Obviously, if it is generally accepted that abortion is a matter of reproductive health, it is difficult to express prohibitive views about it in a politically acceptable manner. This granted, rhetorical contestation is not necessarily primarily about having the best arguments, but can also include making a socially acceptable reply impossible. Krebs and Jackson again:

Rhetorical contestation consists of parties attempting to maneuver each other onto more favorable rhetorical terrain and thereby to close off routes of acceptable rebuttal. Rhetorical coercion is successful when C[laimant]’s rhetorical moves deprive O[pposition] of materials out of which to craft a reply that falls within the bounds of what P[ublic] would accept.9

Krebs and Jackson analyze an argument as consisting of a frame, i.e. roughly the way the matter is presented, and a set of implications which are held to follow from the frame. In a discussion the opponent of an argument can accept or reject any or both of the frame and the implications of the argument, depending on what he/she finds acceptable and thinks the public will find acceptable.10 Using this terminology, trying to define which words are used in a certain discourse can be described as contesting how matters are framed. Given that there is a fair level of consensus about the frame of a matter, there is a common ground and the argument can focus on the implications and how they shall be valued.

Another way to alter or widen what can be said “within the true” is to change what is actually said and by whom. What is politically incorrect when said by one person at one time

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can be politically correct in another situation if it has previously been formulated by someone who lends acceptability to the idea. Foucault again:

I believe there is another principle of rarefaction, complementary to the first: the author. Not, of course, the author in the sense of the individual who delivered the speech or wrote the text in question, but the author as the unifying principle in a particular group of writings or statements, lying at the origins of their significance, as the seat of their coherence.\footnote{Foucault, \textit{Orders of discourse}, p. 14.}

An opinion that is outside the politically correct or socially acceptable can be worked into this acceptable discourse if it is frequently outspoken and if its proponents include such that can give it authority. Such “authors” can of course be prominent and respected persons, but also “the people” or journalists and others claiming (with enough credibility) to give voice to the people. The claim to reflect the opinion of the people is e.g. reflected in the name of one of the biggest Marathi newspapers, Lokmat, meaning “people’s opinion”, or the political party Bahujan Samaj Party (“majority society party”). It has also been used in the rhetoric of Hindu nationalist leaders like, to give just one prominent example, Atal Bihari Vajpeyi.\footnote{Cf. F. Falter, \textit{Islamophobie in Nordindien als politischer Faktor?}, Berlin, EB Verlag, 2015, p. 88.}

Further, the appeal of an idea can be manipulated by different linguistic means. In analyzing the rhetoric of certain texts it is useful to identify a number of linguistic features to look for. The influential translation theorist Eugene Nida highlights the following features:

\begin{itemize}
\item [...] unusual word order [...], repetition of words or phrases (for emphasis), embedding of one idea within another, the incorporation of parenthetical information (usually in parenthesis or set off by commas), measured lines (as a part of poetic structures), parallelism (widely employed in liturgical and political texts that frequently include responses between speaker and audience), a telegraphic style (e.g. Hemingway) in contrast with elaborate rhetorical structures (Faulkner), back-flashes and forward-flashes (information that is not in a normal temporal sequence), parallelism and chiasm (the order abcabc in contrast with abccba), rhyme [...], rhythm [...], highlighting [...], purposeful deletion (\textit{if you do that, I’ll...!} In which case the lack of a specific threat may be more forceful than an actual threat), ungrammatical arrangement of words to call special attention to certain aspects of a text [...].\footnote{E. Nida, \textit{Contexts in Translating}, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2002. s. 78-79.}
\end{itemize}
In addition to these features Nida draws attention to the following things:

[...] plays on the meanings of words (puns), purposeful ambiguity or obscurity [...] iron and sarcasm, understating (liotes) and overstating (hyperbole), euphemisms [...], specific reference in contrast with generic reference, indirection (saying one thing while actually referring to something else, for example, indicating the wealth of someone by saying that he has a ten room apartment on Park Avenue at 61\textsuperscript{st} street in New York City), oxymorons as means of calling special attention to some entity or features (for example, square circle, chaotic silence), figurative language [...].\textsuperscript{14}

Something deserving special attention is which words and which concepts are associated with each other (i.e. treated as synonymous, opposites, implying each other, etc.)

The Indian linguistic field is very fluid in the sense that many language users frequently use more than one language on a daily basis and make excessive use of code switching. In addition to this, the Hindi language in itself often contains multiple synonyms of different origin (often Perso-Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindi, and English) and different connotations. In Saamana’s case, given the strong Marathi identity of Shiv Sena and the linkage between the Hindi and Marathi editions of the paper, it would not be surprising if there are also Marathi influences. The analysis will pay attention to odd linguistic forms or sentence constructions, such as hybrids between Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit elements, Marathi influence, unexpected or conspicuous use of certain words, especially cases where certain formulations are used to create tendentious associations. Writing about language mixing in media and advertising in South Asia, Tej K. Bhatia and Robert J. Baumgardner have presented the following table for showing how elements from different languages are used to create different associations:\textsuperscript{15}

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<th>Languages</th>
<th>Threshold trigger</th>
<th>Proximity zones</th>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Future and innovation</td>
<td>Vision, foresightedness, advancement, betterment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American or English culture</td>
<td>Limited Westernization, Christianity, values such as independence, freedom, modernization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internationalism and</td>
<td>Certification, standards of measure, authenticity</td>
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\textsuperscript{14}Nida, \textit{Contexts in Translating}, s. 79.

The articles chosen as specified in chapter 1.1 are analyzed according to the theory and principles described above, with regard to discourse about minorities. All articles are summarized briefly and categorized according to content. In addition to this, articles that treat topics related to minorities and have an argumentative character are subjected to a formal analysis of argument, as presented e.g. in Arne Naess’ Empirisk semantik\textsuperscript{16}. This means that pro-arguments are marked “P” and counterarguments “C”. “C\textsuperscript{1}P\textsuperscript{1}” means “the first counterargument against the first pro-argument”; “C\textsuperscript{1}C\textsuperscript{1}” means “the first counterargument against the first main counterargument”, etc. This kind of argumentation analysis is helpful in order to separate the substantial thesis and lines of argument from rhetorical/linguistic features like those presented above that mainly serve to foster certain emotions and associations among the readers.

\textsuperscript{16}A. Naess, Empirisk semantik, Stockholm, Läromedelsförlagen, 1970.
2. Ideological field: Hindutva

A core concept for Shiv Sena, as well as for the bigger national party BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), and the other organizations within the so-called Sangh Parivar, is “Hindutva”. It is not farfetched to consider the idea of a political party with a Hindutva ideology like Shiv Sena and BJP as conflicting with the Indian constitution, which states that India is a “SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC” [majuscules as according to original]. However, the Supreme Court of India has stated that the mere use of the word “Hindutva” in political contexts is not necessarily against the law, as illustrated by the following quote from a judgement from 11 December 1995, known as the “Hindutva Judgement”:

As a proposition of law, it cannot be said that in the abstract, the mere use of the word “Hindutva” during an election campaign must necessarily mean an appeal on the ground of Hindu religion for a Hindu candidate. [ _ _ _ ] What is forbidden by law is an appeal by a candidate for votes on the ground of ‘his’ religion or promotion etc. of hatred or enmity between groups of people, and not the mere mention of religion.

Explicitly relating to this judgement, the BJP stresses that “Hindutva is a nationalistic and not a religious or theocratic, concept”. The BJP interpretation of this judgement is that “the Court accepted, indeed adopted in toto the definition of Hindu, of Hindutva which the RSS and the BJP have been maintaining is what they have meant whenever they have used these expressions.” In BJP’s reading,

[t]he Court held that the words Hindu, Hindutva, etc. Refer [sic!] to a culture, to a territorial region -- the one around and beyond the Sindhu, the Indus that is. It declared that the words are not to be taken to refer to religion in the conventional sense.

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17 The Sangh Parivar and the organizations it comprises will be introduced in chapter 3.
18 The Constitution of India (As on 9th November, 2015), New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Law and Justice (Legislative Department), 2015, p. 1 (Preamble).
The central figure in the formation of the concept of Hindutva is Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, a Chitpavan Brahmin from Maharashtra, born 1883 in the district of Nashik. He studied in Pune, Mumbai and London, fled to Paris but was arrested in Paris and imprisoned in Brixton, on the Andamans and in Ratnagiri on the west coast of Maharashtra. He was a founder member of the Mitra Mela (Friends’ Group), a revolutionary nationalist youth group that was 1904 transformed into the Abhinav Bharat Society (Young India Society). The latter was inspired by the Italian republican revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini. His most influential writing is arguably the pamphlet *Hindutva – Who is a Hindu?*, published in 1923.  

Savarkar was unsatisfied with the word “Hinduism” (which he defined as “the system of religious beliefs found common amongst the Hindu people”\(^{23}\)) and wrote that

> “Hinduness” would have […] been a better word than Hinduism as a near parallel to Hindutva. Hindutva embraces all the departments of thought and activity of the whole Being of our Hindu race.\(^{24}\)

Thus Savarkar’s “Hindutva” is a cultural-ethnical-political concepts rather than a strictly religious one. The intriguing phrase “Hindu race” is arguably not meant in called a rigidly biologistic sense, as indicated in a passage stating that:

> The word Arya is expressly stated […] to mean all those who had been incorporated as parts integral in the nation and people that flourished on this side of the Indus whether Vaidik or Avaidik, Bramhana or Chandal, and owning and claiming to have inherited a common culture, common blood, common country and common polity; while Mlechcha also by the very fact of its being put in opposition to Sindhuthan \([sic!]\) meant foreigners nationally and racially and not necessarily religiously.\(^{25}\)

Although the racial factor is non-static – it is possible to be “incorporated” in the people – the common “blood” is important in Savarkar’s system. Maybe this stress on common blood is one explanation for the relative tolerance of different and even polemic belief systems within the Hindu fold:


\(^{24}\) Savarkar, *Hindutva*, p. 4.

\(^{25}\) Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 33.
The Sanyasis the Aryasamajis, the Sikhqs and many others do not recognize the system of the four castes and yet are they foreigners? God forbid! They are ours by blood, by race, by country, by God. [ _ _ _ ] We, Hindus, are all one and a nation, because chiefly of our common blood […].

Notably, inclusion of Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists in the category of Hindus is consistent with Explanation II of the 25th article of the Indian Constitution. Savarkar makes an emotional point stressing that all kinds of Indians suffered under foreign rule as one category – Hindus:

Sanatanists, Satnamis, Sikhs, Aryas, Anaryas, Marathas and Madrasis, Brahmins and Panchamas – all suffered as Hindus and triumphed as Hindus. [ _ _ _ ] The enemies hated us as Hindus and the whole family of peoples and races, of sects and creeds that flourished from Attock to Cuttack was suddenly individualized into a single Being.27

Trying to define “Hindu”, Savarkar writes that a “Hindu is primarily a citizen either in himself or through his forefathers of “Hindusthan” and claims the land as his motherland.”28 But still he feels that “we would be straining the usage of words too much […] if we call a Mohammedan a Hindu because of his being a resident of India”29 The reason for this lies in “the second essential implication” of the term:

The Hindus are not merely the citizens of the Indian state because they are united not only by the bonds of the love they bear to a common motherland but also by the bonds of a common blood. They are not only a Nation but also a race-jati.30

The other reason why “Mohammedans” and Christians cannot be called Hindus, even if they are originally so, is the third implication of the term “Hindu”:

[…] the tie of the common homage we pay to our great civilization – our Hindu culture, which could not be better rendered than by the word Sanskriti suggestive as it is of that language,
Sanskrit, which has been the chosen means of expression and preservation of that culture, of all that was best and worth-preserving in the history of our race. 31

In further elaborating on why Muslims and Christians cannot really be called a Hindu, Savarkar stresses that “to every Hindu […] this Sindhusthan is at once a Pitribhu and a Punyabhu – fatherland and a holy land.” 32 For Muslims and Christians, India may be their fatherland but not their holy land, and “they must […] set their Holyland above their Fatherland in their love and allegiance.” 33

Concerning language, Savarkar, although himself a Marathi speaker writes:

Hindusthani is *par excellence* the language of Hindusthan or Sindhusthan. The attempt to raise Hindi to the pedestal of our national tongue is neither new nor forced. 34

About Sanskrit he says, as is widely believed in India even today, although the big South Indian languages belong to a different language family, that “it is our mother-tongue – the tongue in which the mothers of our race spoke and which has given birth to all our present tongues.” 35

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31 Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 92.
32 Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 113.
33 Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 113..
34 Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 41.
35 Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 95.
3. **Political field: the Sangh Parivar**

Shiv Sena should be understood in relation to the Sangh Parivar, a “family” or group of organizations which are more or less easy to define in terms of Hindu nationalism/Hindutva, the three main organizations being RSS, VHP and BJP. The central organization in the Sangh Parivar is arguably RSS, which is a cultural/religious organization with ambitions to form the people and motivate and organize Hindu activity. Eva Hellman writes that Sangh Parivar is commonly understood as “RSS and its so-called front organisations or satellites.”

The most important political party within the Sangh Parivar is BJP, the present government party of the Indian Union. Shiv Sena, although not a part of the Sangh Parivar, has a similar ideology and profile as the BJP, but with the addition of its Maharashtrian regionalist/nativist agenda. It also acts and spreads the image of itself as a party being what the BJP should be but fails to be. It plays the role of a more radical Hindutva party and a spur in the side of BJP.

This chapter is an attempt to put Shiv Sena in a political context by giving an overview of the most important national organizations within the Hindu nationalist movement in India.

3.1. **Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)**

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (“National Volunteer Corps”) or RSS, considers as the basic organization of the various branches of the Sangh Parivar. RSS took shape in Nagpur (in present day eastern Maharashtra) in 1924 and 1925. Almost all of the founding members were Maharashtrian Brahmins. A central role was played by the Deshastha Brahmin Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1889-1940). The RSS claims to be a non-political organization. The strong link between the young RSS and the early Hindu nationalist political party Hindu Mahasabha is obvious from the fact that the attendants of the founding meeting of RSS in 1925 were all Mahasabha activists. From 1930 RSS has a system where trained volunteers are sent to other provinces to propagate its ideology. From 1947 it publishes an English...
paper named *Organiser*. The RSS is an organization with the goal of molding the people and society into an organized whole. It is an all-male organization, a fact which has recently been criticized by the Maharashtrian women’s rights organization Bhumata Brigade, whose leader Trupti Desai has requested the leader of RSS, Mohan Bhagvat, to give women access to the organization. In the branches of RSS, the youth is trained in physical strength and self-discipline, and infested with what is conceived as and referred to by Metcalf and Metcalf as “a resurgent Hindu ideology”.

### 3.2. Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Ramjanmabhoomi conflict

The Vishva Hindu Parishad (“World Hindu Council”) is an organization with bonds to the RSS. It was founded in 1964 with an aim of confronting Christian mission and promote Hindu teachings globally. Thus among the fields of impact of VHP, an article on the website of the organization states the “voluntary home-coming or ‘Paravartan’ of lakhs of people to their original Hindu Dharma in recent times”. According the same article, “[t]he objective of the VHP is to organize- consolidate the Hindu society and to serve – protect the Hindu Dharma”.

It says:

> By taking up issues like Shri Ramjanmabhoomi, Shri Amarnath yatra, Shri Ramsetu, Shri Ganga Raksha, Gau Raksha, the Hindu Mutt- mandir issue, the religious conversions of Hindus by Christian Church, Islamic terrorism, Bangladeshi Muslim infiltration etc, VHP is proving to be the indomitable force of the Hindu society for the protection of its core values- beliefs and sacred traditions.

The Ramjanmabhoomi issue is a conflict centered on a spot in the North Indian town Ayodhya, considered to be the birthplace of the Hindu god-king Rama. On that very place there had been a Mughal mosque since 1528. In 1990 L.K. Advani, then president of the BJP, made a tour through India dressed up Rama and collected stones for building a temple on the spot where the mosque was then still standing. In 1992 Hindu kārsevaks or volunteers gathered in Ayodhya and tore down the mosque. In the aftermath of this about 1000 persons

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were killed in riots, a large part of them Muslims and many in Mumbai. According to Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, the assaults in Mumbai were spearheaded by Bal Thackeray and Shiv Sena.\textsuperscript{49} Another terrible chapter in the history of the Ram Janmabhoomi conflict was written ten years later, in 2002, when a railway carriage caught fire in the town of Godhra in Gujarat, turning into a death trap for Hindu \textit{kārsevaks} returning from Ayodhya. The fire was blamed on Muslims and as the police in Gujarat stood idle for three days, mobs led by VHP and BJP activists harassed Muslims in Ahmedabad and elsewhere. Again at least 1000 people died and 150 000 fled to relief camps. Gujarat at that time had a BJP government led by the present Prime Minister Narendra Modi.\textsuperscript{50}

3.3. \textbf{Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)}

The first political party in India with a Hindu nationalist ideology was the Hindu Maha Sabha, formed in 1915. In 1925 the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was formed as a movement with cultural and religious as well as political objectives. The RSS supported the launching of a new political party, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, after India’s independence. During the first decades the party’s agenda was based mainly on religious and cultural issues and the promotion of Hindi as a national language. It was never successful outside northern and central India. In 1977 the Bharatiya Jana Sangh merged into the Janata Party.\textsuperscript{51} In 1980 the Bharatiya Jana Sangh was resurrected as Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). In their first Lok Sabha elections in 1984 they won only two seats, but in the following elections they quickly evolved into a large and important party.\textsuperscript{52} In the mid-1990s assembly elections BJP took control of Maharashtra in coalition with Shiv Sena.\textsuperscript{53} In 1999 the party managed to form a government coalition which ruled for a full five-year term. The BJP is now the biggest political party in India and governing the country since it gained absolute majority in the elections in 2014.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{49}Metcalf and Metcalf, \textit{A Concise History of Modern India}, p. 274-277.
\textsuperscript{50}Metcalf and Metcalf, \textit{A Concise History of Modern India}, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{53}Bhatt, Hindu Nationalism, p. 174.
\textsuperscript{54}Cf. statistic at the website of the Indian Parliament: http://164.100.47.192/Loksabha/Members/PartyWiseStatisticalList.aspx, (accessed 15 March 2016).
4. **Shiv Sena – history and ideology**

Shiv Sena was formally launched 19th June 1966 in Mumbai. From the beginning the leader of the party was Bal Thackeray (1926-2012), who seems to have achieved almost mythical status within the party and whose characteristic portrait is nowadays not an uncommon sight in Mumbai.

Bal Thackeray’s father, Prabodhankar Thackeray, was in the 1950s a leading person in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement, which worked for the creation of a separate Marathi-speaking state. Early in his career, Bal Thackeray worked as a cartoonist in the Free Press Journal, but he left the paper in the 1950s in order to start a new cartoon weekly named Marmik. Through Marmik, Bal Thackeray popularized an ideology which would later be embraced by the Shiv Sena. The backbone of this ideology consisted of the idea that Maharashtrians in Mumbai are deprived of jobs and economic opportunities, which was blamed on non-Maharashtrian residents of the city. The party grew rapidly and already in the 1968 elections to the Bombay Municipality, it won 42 seats and was second only to the Congress Party. However, at this time its success was limited to greater Mumbai and Thane, mirroring the fact that the party structure was confined to that region. Shiv Sena soon became the dominating party in Mumbai politics. In 1995 it became part of the Maharashtra state government in alliance with the BJP, and had the city’s official name changed from Bombay to the Marathi name Mumbai. Bal Thackeray promoted a “Maharashtra for Maharashtrians” and an “India for Hindus”. In the early years the focus of the party was a Maharashtrian agenda combined with a rhetoric fostering resentment against South Indian residents in Mumbai.

The late Bal Thackeray enjoys what could be described as a semi-mythical status in the party. He is the heroic founder in a narrative based on a conceived injustice against Maharashtrians in their own homeland. The text below conveys the basic tenor of this narrative. It is a translation of an excerpt from a Marathi article on Shiv Sena’s website, whose title can be translated as “Shiv Sena... the Army of Shivaji”. In the article Bal Thackeray is referred to as Balasaheb.

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Maharashtra, with its rich tradition of society reformists, is progressive, but the Marathi person is still behind. There are industries in Maharashtra, but the Marathi youth is unemployed. There is money in Maharashtra, but the Marathi person is poor. The emperor of Hindu hearts, honorable Balasaheb Thackeray realized this situation and tried to change it by means of Shiv Sena. The Marathi person is being humiliated in Maharashtra, especially in Mumbai – Balasaheb brought this to the minds of Maharashtrian people and gathered the Marathi people. The first Shiv Sena meeting was held in 1966 in Shivaji Park. Since then until now the relation linking the Marathi people to Shiv Sena is constant.\textsuperscript{58}

The Shiv Sena nowadays presents itself as being not only a political party, but a social movement. Its goals are not to be achieved only through political action, but also by means of forming a community with certain qualities and objectives. The following is a review of the document “śivsenā - dhveya va dhoranē” (“Shiv Sena – Objectives and Policies”), which is presented on the party’s official website, and can be found in Appendix 1 of this thesis. The document is written in Marathi, like all material on Shiv Sena’s website. It opens by stating that “since we are Indian [Hindusthāni], the primary foundation of our party is Hindutva”.\textsuperscript{59} Shiv Sena claims that it will always fight against enemies of the nation (rāṣṭra) and inspire people in establishing their rights. Shiv Sena believes in service to the society (samājīyōna) and unity in the society as the road to development of the society, and therefore stresses social movement more than proper politics. It does not believe in “smallish discord” (kīrkoḷ matbhed) between religions and castes and teaches that no one should be sacrificed (baḷī paḍā naye) for such things. The youth needs teaching in the official language of the state (which in the case of Maharashtra is Marathi). Shiv Sena wants to raise a cultivated youth with a strong and proud sense of responsibility for the motherland and create an organization ready for any kind of sacrifice for the motherland. It wants to create an attitude where not politics or power, but service to the society, is the ultimate goal. It wants to create in society a sense of confronting administration which is destructive to society or nation, against power

\textsuperscript{58} “Śivsenā... Śivājīc senā”, http://shivsena.org/m/about/, (accessed 25 May 2016): समाजसुधाकांती समूद्र परपरा आसलेला महाराष्ट्र पुरोनागमी आहे. पण मराठी माणूस मागेच राहिला आहे. महाराष्ट्रात सुविधा आहेत. पण मराठी माणूस दुविधेत आहे. महाराष्ट्रात उदयोग आहेत. पण मराठी तत्व बेसेरजगर आहे. महाराष्ट्रात पैसा आहे. पण मराठी माणूस गरीब आहे, हा परिस्थिती जागूर्त ती बदलवणासाठी हिंदुत्यदयसमाधान श्रीमान बाळासाहेब ठाकरे यांनी शिवसेनेच्या माहित्यमाठून प्रयत्न केले. मराठी माणूस महाराष्ट्रात. प्रामुख्याने नुसारे अनुप्रृक्षित होतो आहे. हे बाळासाहेबाची महाराष्ट्रील जनतेच्या लक्षात आणून दिले आणि मराठी माणसाचा संघर्ष केले. शिवसेनेच्या पहिला मेघाळा 1966 साली शिवसेनेच्या मेघाळा, तेलियासूची आपल्याने मराठी माणसांचे स्वतंत्रतेशी जुळले नाते आजही कायम आहे.

\textsuperscript{59} आनंद हिंदूस्वामी आहोत न्हागून हिंदुत्व हा आमच्या पक्षाचा मुख्य पाया आहे.
It wants to empower and educate the younger generation so that it can fight unemployment, ignorance and poverty. Shiv Sena shall be insistent on an effective law for the whole society and establish brotherhood, unity and consonance (*bamdhutva*, *eksamdhapanā va susamvād*) in society.\(^6\)

The referred document speaks a lot about unity and states that the party does not favor conflicts between religions (*dharma*), castes (*jāt*) and languages. However, the two opening statements seem to give the key to understanding how this unity should be understood. Shiv Sena is Indian and *therefore* based on Hindutva, and it will fight against enemies of the nation. If being Indian is equal to or demands adhering to Hindutva, it seems to follow that opposition to Hindutva is equal to opposition to India, which would make many of Shiv Sena’s political opponents, as well as big groups belonging to religious minorities, to enemies of the nation. Further, if being Indian requires adhering to Hindutva, the unity that Shiv Sena professes is not a unity on equal terms, but a unity dictated by a certain idea of Hindu culture as basic condition for Indianness. Making Indianness equivalent to Hindutva is consistent with Savarkarian ideology, whereas Shiv Sena’s stress on shaping society, improving peoples’ attitudes and the importance of social movement, and not simply political action, is similar to the strategies and messages of Sangh Parivar organizations like RSS and VHP.

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In chapter 1.1 the concept of minorities as understood in this study was specified to include people in India with other religious affiliation than Hindu, people in Maharashtra with mother tongues other than Marathi or origin outside Maharashtra, and foreigners in India. Based on this definition the selected articles have been categorized according to the following categories:

1. Articles about Muslims and/or Pakistan.
2. Articles about other national minorities
3. Articles about foreigners.
4. Articles about Hindus, Hinduism and/or national defense.
5. Articles about Mumbai and/or Maharashtra.
6. Articles without relevance for the subject of minorities.

Articles about Muslims have been found frequently to deal also with Pakistan, and usually with terrorism. Hence the themes are combined under one category. Other religious minorities are not explicitly referred to as such in any article, but one article is polemic against Buddhist/Dalit politicians. Articles about Hindus, Hinduism and national defense are relevant because of how these categories are contrasted (explicitly or with more or less subtle hints) with minorities, first and foremost with Pakistan and Muslims. Likewise articles about Mumbai and Maharashtra are relevant because of how they construct the majority community and/or motherland in relation to minorities. Finally, two of the articles, dealing with monsoon and the importance and vulnerability of wetlands, lack relevance to the subject and will not be referred to further in the analysis.

5.1. Articles about Muslims and/or Pakistan

The category of articles dealing with Muslims and Pakistan is the biggest category, containing six articles. This category also contains the most polemic articles.

5.1.1. “The Islamic state of the Yadavs”

The first article in this category bears the title “Yādavom kā islāmik stēt!” (“The Islamic state of the Yadavs”, Mon. 8.2.2016). The article discusses that the Pakistani singer Gulam Ali was invited to perform in Uttar Pradesh but not allowed to sing in Maharashtra. The Samajwadi Party led government of Uttar Pradesh and particularly the party chairman Mulayam Yadav is
sharply criticized for flirting with the Muslim population. Although this is the only article where Gulam Ali is the main subject, the theme reoccurs in subordinate clauses several times during the actual week. The main tendency of this article is to show alleged connections between Islam and Muslims, the Samajwadi Party government in Uttar Pradesh, Pakistan, and terrorism. The article starts by rhetorically asking why Mulayam Singh Yadav, chairman of the Samajwadi Party, is called “Mullah Mulayam”, thereby intimidating that he has some kind of Islamist agenda. The high pitch of this insinuation has been already in the heading, “Yādavom kā islāmīk stef!” , where the use of the English phrase “Islamic state” in a Hindi context evokes associations to the Islamist terror organization with that name.61 The name Yadav also leads the readers’ thoughts to the important Hindu god Krishna, who was according to Hindu mythology king of the Yadavs. Maybe this contrast between the godly king Krishna and the criticized politician sporting the same surname – although not explicitly stated – serves as even more strongly create an impression about the adverse character of the too Islam-friendly politics of the Samajwadi Party.

Before turning to the argument of the article, it is worth noting that the party being criticized for being Islamic presents itself as a socialist party and that nothing in its constitution suggests any religious agenda. The party constitution states that the Samajwadi Party is devoted and loyal to the Indian constitution, and inspired by the ideals of Gandhi and Dr. Lohiya. It claims adherence to democracy, secularism62 and socialism, believes in decentralization of political and economic power, and propagates peaceful methods including satyagrahā and nonviolent resistance.63 Positive discrimination (više avaras ke siddhānt) of Dalits, women, minorities and backwards (pichade) is regarded as necessary for the establishment of an equal society.64 The party wants to keep the samprabhutā, inner unity (ekā) and national oneness (akhandata) intact.65 Paragraph 2:2 of the party constitution even states that no member of any religious organization can be a member of the Samajwadi Party.

There is another intimidation already in the heading of the article – in the phrase translated as “the Yadavs” – namely that the Samajwadi Party, and hence Uttar Pradesh, is ruled by the Yadav family in a spirit of nepotism. True or not, a glance on the party’s website does not convince about the opposite. The Samajwadi Party was founded in 1992 under the leadership

61 In the main text this intimation is repeated when the Yadav-led state government is called “Islamic government” (islāmī sarkār).
62 The term used for secularism is dharm nirpeksata, literally meaning “religion impartiality”, which gives an idea of how secularism is understood in India.
63 Samājvādī Partī ka Samvidhān. § 2:1.
64 Samājvādī Partī ka Samvidhān. § 2:3.
of Mulayam Singh Yadav, who is still leading the party. His son Akhilesh Yadav is Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, and among the Members of Legislative Assembly and Members of Legislative Council of Uttar Pradesh there are many Yadavs. On a national level four of the party’s five Members of Parliament bear the surname Yadav.

The argument of the article can be analyzed in the following way:

**Claim**: UP state government is inappropriately pro-Muslim and unpatriotic.

- **P¹**: Mulayam Singh Yadav invited Pakistani singer Gulam Ali to sing at Lucknow Festival in order to win Muslim votes in UP, West Bengal and Assam.
  - **C¹P¹**: He was invited as a manifestation of Hindu-Muslim unity.
  - **C¹C¹P¹**: There is no need to invite a Pakistani singer for showing Hindu-Muslim unity, as there are many famous Muslim singers in India.

- **P²**: Inviting Gulam Ali was also due to the fact that Yadav wants to be on good terms with Pakistan.
  (Premise: Pakistan is an enemy of India.)
- **P¹P²**: (Author is intimidating that) next step might be to invite a Pakistani terrorist.
- **P¹P¹P²**: This would not be unexpected in a state with a fanatic leader like Azam Khan.

- **P³**: Those who say we should today listen to Gulam Alis ghazals and forget what happened yesterday in Pathankot, are unfaithful towards the country.
- **P¹P³**: In Pathankot seven soldiers were made martyrs by “just these Pakistani terrorists”.
- **P²P³**: On Republic Day even the President questioned the possibility of discussing with Pakistan to the sound of guns.

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68 Azam Khan is a Samajwadi Party politician and member of the 16th Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh.
69 On 2nd January 2016 there was a terrorist attack on Pathankot Air Force Station in the northern part of Indian Punjab.
70 Indian Republic Day is 26th January.
The first argument ($P^1$), meant to show the Islamic nature of the Yadav state government, is that Chief Minister Akhilesh Yadav invited the Pakistani singer Gulam Ali to the Lucknow Festival and “spread the green carpet” (harā galicā bichākar) for him. What is explicitly stressed about him is not that he is Muslim, but that he is Pakistani. The Islamic factor is sneaking in through the way of expression – green is the color of Islam and the carpet (galicā) is the mat spread out by Muslims before prayer. The counterargument about Ali’s singing as a sign of Hindu-Muslim unity is dismissed by the statement that there are many Muslim artists in India, and the conclusion drawn is that Ali was invited as an “election outcry” (cunāv ki ‘bāmg’) to secure Muslim votes. The word “bāmg”, which is put within citation marks, is usually referring to a call to Muslim prayer. Later in the article, also in reference to election campaigns, it says that father and son Yadav “circumcise” (sunnat) the state with their electoral campaign. Both bāmg and sunnat are terms used for specifically Muslim practices, here used as metaphors for the election campaigns of a socialist party. This choice of terminology is not a part of the substantial argument, but serves to establish a link between the Samajwadi Party leaders and Islam in the minds of the readers, and prepare the ground for explicitly labeling the Samajwadi Party ruled Uttar Pradesh an “Islamic state”. When the link to Islam is established, the link to Pakistan and terrorism is presumably as good as self-evident.

The second argument ($P^2$) is focusing the unpatriotic nature of the act inviting a Pakistani singer. It claims that Gulam Ali was invited in order to foster good relations with Pakistan. The implicit premise here is that Pakistan is an enemy. The author intimates that the next step might be to invite a Pakistani terrorist like Hafiz Saeed, which would be but natural in a state where “a fanatical leader like Azam Khan daily spews [his] poison and a father-and-son like Mulayam-Akhilesh Yadav have set out to circumcise the whole state”. Azam Khan is another Samajwadi Party politician (nota bene with a Muslim name) and member of the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh, who has been entangled in a number of controversies about statements he has allegedly made about Hindu-Muslim conflicts, terrorism, etc.

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71Hafiz Saeed probably refers to Hafiz Muhammad Saeed who is allegedly a terrorist with ties to Lashkar-e-Toiba and the 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai.
72“[...] āzam khām jai se dharmāndh netā roj jahār ugalte haim aur mulāyam-akhileś yādav jai se bāp-bete pure rājya kā hi sunnat karne nikal paḍe haim [...]”
The third argument ($P^3$) puts the Pakistani singer Gulam Ali in connection with the likewise allegedly Pakistani terrorists that had a little more than a month earlier attacked an Indian military base in Pathankot in Punjab, and equals listening to his music with unfaithfulness towards the country.

An interesting formulation occurs when the article explains why Gulam Ali was not allowed to perform in Maharashtra with the following motivation:

As we drove a Pakistani like Gulam Ali out of Mumbai-Maharashtra, it was not only because of antipathy towards Muslims. Our antipathy is towards Pakistan.73

The fact that the conspicuous ‘only’ (sirf) occurs also in the Marathi edition (phakta) makes it harder to explain as a slip of the pen. The fact that the same phrase (“not only […] antipathy towards Muslims”) is found in both editions of Saamana can be taken to indicate that this is actually what the redaction wants to communicate – the antipathy is primarily towards Pakistan, but also towards Muslims.

The article continues by asking why the BJP in Uttar Pradesh is accepting this. Did the people give them 71 seats in the Loksabha for silently accepting the invitation of Gulam Ali? ISIS has recently awakened the Indian government, it says, but at the same time the Yadavs are Islamizing their state, which is proved by the invitation of Gulam Ali. It ends with a curse that the “Islamic state of the Yadavs” will turn to ashes because of the innocent victims of the Pakistanis. The contrasting of the impotent BJP in Uttar Pradesh with the dynamic Shiv Sena in Mumbai is interesting as a sort of appeal both to BJP and to potential sympathizers of both parties, illustrating Shiv Senas self-image as well as the role they search to play in relation to its larger and pan-Indian sister party BJP. When BJP is flat and chaffering with their principles and the interests of their voters, Shiv Sena is strong and uncompromising, being what BJP should be. Playing this role allows them to mock BJP for betraying their values while at the same time threatening them with taking over the role as the principal Hindu nationalist party if the BJP yields too much to the needs of compromising.

73 "mumbai-mahārāṣṭra se hamne gulām ali jaise pākiṣṭānī ko hakāl diyā vah sirf musalmān virodh ke liye nahī. hamāra virodh pākiṣṭān se hai." The Marathi version reads: “मुंबई-महाराष्ट्रात आली गुलाम अलीसारख्या पाकिस्तानियांच्या हाकलून दिले ते काय फक्त मुसल्मान विरोधासाठी नाही. आमचा विरोध पाकिस्तानाला आहे.,” http://www.saamana.com/sampadkiya/yadavanche-islamik-state#sthash.Vz0fk5o8.dpuf.
5.1.2. “...his heart’s wish for Ayodhya”

The second article that deals with Muslims appears on the same page as the previous one and has the title “ayodhyā ke man ki bāt!” (Mon. 8.2.2016). In the layout of the Marathi version it is posted as a continuation of the article about the “Islamic state of the Yadavs”. In “ayodhyā ke man ki bāt!” the same theme is continued and put in connection with the Ram Janmabhoomi (“the birthplace of Rama”) conflict.

The argument of the article runs as follows:

**Claim:** Modi should start the work of building a Rama temple in Ayodhya.

\[ P^1: \text{That is what he really wants.} \]
\[ P^2 P^1: \text{He is refraining from it just to appease Muslims.} \]

\[ P^2: \text{Azam Khan is spreading a false and defaming rumour that Modi had a meeting with Pakistani criminal/terrorist Dawood Ibrahim (in the house of Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif).} \]

\[ P^3: \text{Building the temple would be an act of patriotism and bravery.} \]

\[ P^4: \text{If Modi proclaims the building of temple, he will see a miracle.} \]
\[ P^1 P^4: \text{Shiv Sena will be with him.} \]

Here the author of the article blames BJP for the same thing as previously the Samajwadi Party was blamed for, namely flatness towards Muslims. A curious point is the second argument (\( P^2 \)). The fanatic (\( dharmāṃdh \)) Muslim leader Azam Khan is defaming Modi, spreading the false rumour that Modi during his Pakistan trip had a secret meeting with Dawood Ibrahim\(^7\) in the house of the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Therefore there should be no objection to Modi taking up the work of building the Rama temple (in Ayodhya). Although it is not obvious how and why the conclusion (that Modi can start building the temple) follows from the premise (that Azam Khan has defamed Modi), this seems to be what the author wants to say. Maybe the rationale is that the Hindu Prime Minister of India has

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\( ^7 \)Dawood Ibrahim is the leader of an Indian organized crime syndicate and accused of having organized and funded the 1993 Bombay bombings.
shown goodwill towards the Pakistani and hence Muslim Prime Minister, which has been rewarded with nothing but defamation by an Indian Muslim politician – therefore the Indian prime minister would be justified in stopping flattering the Muslims and going ahead with more aggressive Hindutva politics.

In the third argument (P3), taking up the temple building in the same state where “the mat was spread out” for a citizen of India’s enemy Pakistan is described as an act of bravery and patriotism (deśbhakti). Here again the Muslim vocabulary is used in connection with Pakistan and put in connection with enmity towards India, whereas building a Hindu temple on a place highly symbolic of a conflict between Hindus and Muslims is explicitly stated to be an act of patriotism.

In fourth argument (P4) the potency of Shiv Sena is stressed by assuring Narendra Modi about support from Shiv Sena if he takes up the temple building.

5.1.3. “David Headley, you are great!”

The next article, devid hedî tū mahān hai!” (“David Headley, you are great!”, Tue. 9.2.2016), deals much more explicitly with terrorism, more specifically with the aftermaths of the terror attacks in Mumbai in 2008, when several places including the Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus and the luxury Taj Mahal Hotel were attacked. It does not really deal with Islam and with Muslims only insofar as the terrorists it deals with are/were Muslims. The already noticed tendency to attribute Islamist terrorism in India to Pakistani agency is very strong in this article, which talks about “Pakistan’s ISI and Lashkar-e-Taiba” and says that:

[...] the Pakistan through which all this was done, that Pakistan is carrying out terror acts against India even today.76

The statements about Pakistan include invectives like “dogs” and, like seen before, treating the Pakistani singer Gulam Ali and Pakistani terrorists as two sides of the same coin, as in the following sentence:

Not to mention the Pakistani terrorist entering India, if we do not even have the courage to stop a Pakistani artist like Gulam Ali, the Pakistani scabby dogs will not be satisfied until they have

76 “[…] ये सब जिस पाकिस्तान द्वारा कराया गया, वह पाकिस्तान हिंदुस्थान के खिलाफ आतंकवादी कार्रवाइयों को आज भी अंजान दे रहा है:”
The Congress Party authorities that ruled at the time of the terror attacks in Mumbai on 26/11 2008 are described as “impotent” (nāmard) and having no reason to regard themselves as heroes (śūr, mard), since they have failed in their search for some of the most important terrorists. On the other hand, the writer expresses hope that the present (BJP-led) government will be more successful. In assessing the terrorist hunting so far, the article says that Nine of the terrorists were killed and one “butcher” (kasāb) was hanged. This is a pun on the surname of the executed terrorist, Ajmal Kasab, which means butcher.

The impotent Congress politicians and “Pakistan’s ISI and Lashkar-e-Taiba” are contrasted with the “strong” (samarth) and “excellent” (adbhut) Indian army. It can be noted that the two positive adjectives used about the Indian army are both Sanskrit words. However, this should not be over-interpreted. Even the terror attacks in Mumbai are described with two Sanskrit adjectives, as terrible (bhayamkar) and brutal (nrsams). On the other hand those who were killed in the attacks are referred to as martyrs with the originally Arabic word šahīd, instead of the Sanskrit alternative hutātmā. The later would seem as a natural option, considering the well-known square named Hutatma Chowk which lies within walking distance from the places that were attacked in the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai. This should be enough to show that Saamana has no consequent policy of using Sanskrit words for positive statements about Hindu and/or national values and Perso-Arabic ones for negative statements about Muslims.

5.1.3. “Pakistan under medieval rule”

The fourth article that deals with Muslims is “madhya yug ke daur mem Pākistān” (“Pakistan under medieval rule”, Fri. 12.2.2016). The article is written by Mujaffar Husain and marked “Namāz ke bād” (“After prayer”), suggesting that it is part of a series of articles regularly occurring on Fridays, after the Muslim prayer (namāz). The fact that the author has a Muslim name psychologically gives authority to the critical remarks about Islam and Pakistan made in the article.

The article compares India to a tolerant (sahisnutavādi) body, from which Pakistan has been broken away and for the last 70 years developed into a fanatic (kaṭṭarvādi aur dharmāndh) country. The three religions that originated in the Middle East (madhya pūrva), i.e. Judaism (yahūdiyat), Christianity (isāiyat) and Islam have always been fanatical (kaṭṭarvādi) because

77 हिन्दुस्तान में घुसनेवाले पाकिस्तानी आतंकवादियों को छोड़े. गुलाम अली जैसे पाकिस्तानी कलाकारों को भी रोकने की हिम्मत हम में नहीं है तो पाकिस्तान की गली के सड़े हुए कुरते भी हिन्दुस्तान की कमर तोड़े बिना शांत नहीं बैठेंगे.
of geographic (bhaugolik) and economic (ārthik) reasons, whereas agricultural (khetibādīvāle) countries always have been “rocked in the cradle of forbearing” (sahanśiltā ke pālne men jhūle rehae). The Pakistani provinces, being parts of India (bhāratīya bhāg) were not different, but this changed when the population got religiously connected with the Middle East (dhārmik rūp se madhyapūrva se jud gayā).

This is the only occasion during the actual week when bhāratīy is used. The reason why the normally used synonym hindusthāni is not used here (if there is any reason) is maybe that the author uses the name Hindusthān to refer to the political entity of modern India, whereas Bhārat is used for the idea of an India bigger than the political borders indicate, including present day Pakistan and Bangladesh. The adjective bhāratīy evokes associations to an ancient Aryan/Vedic India. The “Aryan” theme is explicitly mentioned when the author writes that it is no wonder that Pakistan stumbles over the stone of terrorism (ātāṅkvād) when “even an Aryan country like Iran can fall prey to such an uprising” (irān jaisā āryan deś bhī is uṭhā-ṇaṭa kā ṣīkār ho saktā hai).

The article complains about the military mindset (faʿūlī manas) in the country which make the young generation in Pakistan insane (jumūnī manas kī), time and again has resulting in martial law in “this country, which has been separated from India” (hindusthān se alag hue is deś [...]). It is worth noting that the word used to complain about the military mindset in Pakistan is the Persian faʿūlī and not the synonymous Sanskrit adjective sainik, derived from the noun senā, which in Shiv Sena contexts has a positive ring.

The author further gives examples of the “at least 33 extremely cruel and big scale attacks” on schools and colleges in Pakistan since 2007, which “the readers probably remember”. He also supposes that the readers remember how the government said they would uproot and extinguish terrorism, but that this has proved to be hollow talk. They cannot stop the terrorists. During the last year more than three hundred terrorists have been hung by military courts, but still the terrorists are as active as before. A further example is the attack on the Bacha Khan University in Pakistan 17 January 2016, for which the Taliban leader Khalifa Umar Mansoor claimed responsibility in a telephone interview with the news agency AP.

78"कम से कम 33 अत्यंत बुरे और बड़े स्तर के हमले".
79"पाठकों को याद होगा".
5.1.4. "Muslim women struck by limitations"

One of the articles is dedicated to the situation of Muslim women. The article has the title “Pāḥamdiyom kī mārī islāmī nārī” (“Muslim women struck by limitations”, Sun. 14.2.2016) and the heading “Sunday” in Devanagari script. The name of the author is V. Mahesh. The thesis of the article is that Islam suppresses women, which is supported with references to the situation in the Islamic countries Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The line of argument in the article can be analyzed as follows:

**Claim:** Islam discriminates women.

**C1:** Other religions discriminate against women, but Islam regards them as daughters of Eve and gives them equal status as men.

**Method for evaluation of C1:** Analyzing Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

**C1C1:** Saudi Arabian women are subject to very strange (ajīb ajīb) limitations.

**P1C1C1:** Women in Saudi Arabia cannot open a bank account without consent from their husband.

**P2C1C1:** Unmarried women cannot open an account, since the fanatics (kaṭṭarpamthī) think that single women living may set out on bad ways if they have money.

**P3C1C1:** Women may not go outside without the company of a male relative, or they will be brought into custody.

*Explanation:* According to the fanatics (kaṭṭarpamthī) and religious traditional practice (dhārmik rivāzom ke anusār) it is probable that they start bad behaviour.

*Example of result:* A young girl was gang-raped, but since she was not in company of any male relative she got punished with more lashes than the rapists.

**P4C1C1:** Women cannot drive.

**C1P4C1C1:** There is no law (sarkārī kānūn) about that.

**P1P4C1C1:** They are hindered by the fanatic praxis (kaṭṭarpamthī rivāz).

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81“पाकिस्तानी सेना को पाठ पढने हेतु किया था.”
**P2P4C1C1:** It is said that women who drive do not honour the values of society (samājik mūlyom kī ijjat nahīm kartīm).

**P5C1C1:** There are limitations on women’s swimming, and when swimming in a pool they cannot even look at men.

**P6C1C1:** When shopping, they cannot try clothes, since women are not allowed to undress outside home, not even in a try room.

**P7C1C1:** In Saudi Arabian undergarment shops only men are allowed to work. Women may not read uncensored fashion magazines – it is not acceptable according to Islam – but men can do it.

**P8C1C1:** In Saudi Arabia, Barbie is said to be a Jewish toy and its clothes un-Islamic.

**P9C1C1:** If women break out of their boundaries they face investigations and punishments like whip lashes.

(C2C1: Pakistan is a bad country for women. This statement is not made explicitly, but the following arguments can be analyzed as arguments for this statement, which in itself is an implicit argument for the main thesis that Islam discriminates against women.)

**P1C2C1:** In 2011 Reuters ranked Pakistan third on a list of countries in the world with least security for women.

**P2C2C1:** According to the same list 90% of Pakistani women were prey to domestic violence. The country’s cultural tribal traditions (sāmskrtik kabīlāī paramparāem) were identified as reason for this increase.

**P3C1C1:** Through the “United Nations Population Fund” a report was presented in which Pakistani teenage girls speak openly about their troubles. Their biggest problem, stated by 53% of the girls, is that if they on some occasion deny their husband sex, he will beat them up. This is legal in Pakistan. All say that more than 30% of girls are prey to physical or sexual violence.

The most noteworthy aspect of the article is the way it uses the conditions in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to show that Islam is suppressing women. So good as every time Pakistan is mentioned on the editorial pages during the actual week, it is put in connection with Islam and something bad, like terrorism, fanaticism, or military mindset. This time the bad thing is suppression of women, which is attributed to both Islam and Pakistan and explained by the influence of Islam.
5.1.5. “Your disgrace”

The article with the most aggressive verbal attacks on Muslims is the parodic poem “Tumhārī aisī-taisī” (“Your disgrace”, Sun. 14.2.2016). The text is marked with the English heading “Political Parody” in Devanagari script and written by Suresh Mishra, with the epithet “Parody King” (also in Devanagari script). Full of both explicit and implicit insults, the text is difficult to understand without some familiarity with Indian politics and history.

The main target of the article is the Asaduddin Owaisi, a Muslim politician from Hyderabad. Owaisi is president of the Muslim party All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen or AIMIL (“All India Council of the Union of Muslims”). The AIMIL propagates quotation for Muslims and other underprivileged groups and is, in spite of its focus on the situation of Muslims, eager to claim adherence to India’s cherished secularism. The party presents itself in the following concentrated paragraph:

The All India Majlis Ittehad ul Muslimeen (AIMIM) is a political party dedicated to protect and advance the rights of Muslims, Dalits, BCs, Minorities and all other underprivileged communities in India. It bears true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India. It strongly believes in the nation’s secular democracy and strives to protect and enhance its quality by effective representation from local municipal councils to the parliament.

Asaduddin Owaisi is often in conflict with representatives of the BJP and Shiv Sena. According to an article in the Times of India from March 2015, he is expressively “against the ideology of Hindutva, but not against Hindus.” He is often involved in polemics with politicians from Hindutva parties. Recently the Times of India reported him as having assured that “he will not chant ‘Bharat Mata ki Jai’ even if a knife is put to his throat” The prominent Shiv Sena politician Ramdas Kadam reacted on this statement by saying that Owaisi should then rather go to Pakistan. Interestingly, Owaisi defends his refusal with reference not to the Quran, but to the Indian Constitution: “Nowhere in the Constitution it says that one should say: ‘Bharat Mata ki Jai’, he said.”

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In the parodical text considered here, the writer Suresh Mishra calls Asaduddin Owaisi “wicked, treacherous, evil” (khal, drohi, saitan), gives him epithets like “Pakistani dog” (pakistani svan), “wicked Pashtun” (dhokebai pathan) likens him to the medieval Delhi sultan Muhammed bin Tughluq. He says that Owaisi disrespects her, whom the Hindus call his mother, serves his sons-in-law (damdom ko) beef (biph), and questions India. In one and the same stanza he says that Owaisi is the brother-in-law (samadhi) of la skar, probably referring to the South Indian Islamist terror organization Lashkar-e-Taiba, the servant (khalu) of bagdadi, i.e. probably the ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, and the client (yajaman) of Dawood, probably referring to the Indian mafia boss Dawood Ibrahim. Every stanza is rounded up with the words tumhari aisai-taisi, the same as in the title, which are non-literally translatable as “your disgrace/infamy”. Whithin such a frame also the Taliban are mentioned alongside with the Samajwadi Party politician Ajam Khan. Owaisi is told to go to Pakistan, should he not get justice (nyay) in India. The word here used for India is the originally Persian “fiind”, which is also used in the nationalistic slogan “Jay Hind!” (“Long live India!” or more literally “Victory to India!”).

Owaisi is said to live “because of treachery” (jaycamdrom ke karan). On Owaisi’s instigation (uskav) the “dogs are barking” (garaj rahe hai svan) at JNU (Jawaharlal Nehru University), “forgetting the reaction of Gujarat-Mumbai” (bhul gaya gujarat-mumbai ka pratiphal [...]). JNU is a public university in New Delhi. On 9 February 2016 students from the JNU organized a protest against the hanging of Afzal Guru in 2013. Afzal Guru was executed for involvement in the 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament. Following the protest, the JNU Students Union President Kanhaiya Kumar was arrested accused of sedition on 13 February, i.e. the day before the actual parodic text was published. The “reaction of Gujarat-Mumbai” leads ones thoughts to the aftermaths of the taring down of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya about 1000 people were killed in anti-Muslim riots mainly in Gujarat and Mumbai in late 1992 and early 1993. The violence in Mumbai is believed by many to have been spearheaded by Shiv Sena’s founder and at that time still leader, Bal Thackeray. A decade later, when a railway carriage full of Hindu karsevaks returning from Ayodhya caught fire in Gujarat, similar riots took place in Ahmedabad and elsewhere as the fire was blamed on.

86 “किसको हिंदू अपनी माता कहता है, करता लू अपमान [...]”
88 Metcalf and Metcalf, A Concise History of Modern India, p. 274-277.
Muslims. The reference to these happenings is a way of scaring antagonists and a badly camouflaged reminder about Shiv Sena's potency for violence. The writer goes on calling Owaisi a “mine of contempt and hatred” (ghṛṇā-dveś kī khān) who “creates rioting between Hindus and Muslims” (hindū-muslim mem damgā karvāṭā hai). The word here used for mine is khān, is also a common Muslim surname associated with Pashtuns, which makes it a pun referring back to the earlier phrase “wicked Pashtun” (dhokebāj paṭhān).

The text then goes on about the “descendant of Mir Jafar” (mīr-jāfārom ke vamśaj), described as “hypocritical and self-righteous, deceitful, cunning, great” (dhomgī-dambhī, kapatī, dhūrt, mahān). Mir Jafar was made nawab in Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757, after he had promised the British extravagant payment for helping him seizing the power. In the words of Metcalf and Metcalf, “he was, and was visibly seen to be, a puppet maintained in power by [the British Colonel] Clive and his army.” Thus he is a convenient symbol for someone who wants to depict Muslims as unpatriotic, disloyal and potentially dangerous for the country. Maybe in order to show that he is not against Muslims as such, the writer contrasts all these disliked Muslims with some that are considered worthy of respect: “To Akbar and Abdul Hameed we are giving honor with heart and soul, your disgrace.”

Akbar was a Mughal emperor in the 16th century, known for his non-dogmatic and tolerant attitude in religious matters. Abdul Hamid was an Indian soldier who was posthumously decorated with the Param Vir Chakra, India’s highest war time gallantry medal, for his valor in the war between India and Pakistan in 1965. These two historical persons personify two qualities that Muslims are generally depicted as lacking in the Saamana editorials, namely religious tolerance and national loyalty. Thereby the writer makes a difference between “good” and “bad” Muslims (without using those terms) and indicates that Indian Muslims constitute no problem as far as they have certain kinds of mindsets and behave in certain ways.

Towards the end of the article the phrase “uprising of the ‘Muslim’” (‘muslim’ kā utthān) occurs, and on the very end “deicators of religion” (majhab ke beimān), each followed by the
refrain *tumhārī aisi-taisī* (“your disgrace/infamy”). Thereby is suggested that there is something shameful and deceitful about Asaduddin Owaisi and AIMIL’s ambition to “protect and advance the rights of Muslims”, as they put it on their website. It can also be noted that *majhab*, or more correctly *mazhab*, is a word of Arabic origin, whereas *beīmān* is Persian. When Muslims are to be described in negative terms, the writer gives preference to Perso-Arabic vocabulary.

5.2. Articles about other national minorities

5.2.1. “The curse of Raju Shetti”

The only article with non-Muslim political antagonists is “Rajū Šetṭī ki śāpvānī” (“The curse of Raju Shetti”, Fri. 12.2.2016). The main target of this article is the Maharashtrian politician Raju Shetti, although Shiv Sena’s allies in the BJP are also getting their fair share. Raju Shetti is president and founder of the Maharashtrian political party Swabhimani Paksha, which is linked to the Swabhimani Shetkari Sanghtana (SSS), a workers union based in sugar rich Kolhapur District and organizing farmers in Maharashtra. The party, like Shiv Sena, is part of the BJP led National Democratic Alliance. Since 2014 Swabhimani Paksh has one seat in the Lok Sabha, held by Raju Shetti himself.

According to the article, Shetti has pronounced the following curse (*śāpvānī*): “BJP is treacherous. Its government will not remain!” It then conspicuously asks if the reason for this anger is that the BJP is not satisfying the needs of workers and farmers, or if there may be some other secret (*gopānīy*) reason. Then it says that BJP usually put their allies aside like stones, but now these very stones are hitting their own teeth. It broke the 25 year old relation to Shiv Sena. Thereafter Vinayak Mete, Ramdas Athawale, Raju Shetti, Mahadev Jankar etc. started to beat stones on their own heads without success joined BJP for the elections and “started to beat stones on their own heads and feet.”

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98 *भाजपा बिगाड़ने की बायाँ में नहीं. उसकी तरफ से साड़ी टिकेत!*
99 *“भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने अपने मित्र दलों को कंकड़ की तरह बगल में रखा है. लेकिन अब यहीं कंकड़ बीच-बीच में उनके दात तले आने की वजह से जबड़े में स्थिर दलों को पीछा हो रही है.”*
100 “[...] स्थित्य के सिर पर तथा पैर पर पत्थर नारा लिया.”
The mentioned politicians are all leaders of Maharashtrian political parties. Vinayak Mete, according to a Times of India article from 15 January 2011, “leads a militant Maratha organization called Shiv Sangram”.103 Ramdas Athawale is leader of the Republican Party of India (A), and according to the party’s website he is a Member of Parliament, Vice President of the World Buddhist Fellowship, “pure Ambedkarite”, and previous leader of the Dalit Panther Movement.102 Mahadev Jankar is leader and founder of Rashtriya Samaj Paksha (“National Communities Party”), presenting itself as a party for “National Communities” as opposed to “foreign intruders” like “Mughals / British/others “.103 Their collaboration with BJP is described as unfruitful. The article does not show much sympathy with Raju Shetti, who is presented as a rather pathetic figure. The article sums up with an ironic simile: “But Raju Shetti is a tiger and these days he is roaring. Nobody should mistake his roaring for the curse of a crow.”104

In Ramdas Athawale’s case, the resentment is put in connection with the Rohit Vemula case. Rohit Vemula was a Dalit PhD student in Hyderabad who committed suicide 17 January 2016 after conflicts in which Dalit students were accused of beating up Sushilkumar, the leader of Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, and for enmity towards the nation in protesting against the death penalty by hanging of the alleged Mumbai terrorist Jacob Menon. Leading in the actions against the Dalit student was Sushilkumar’s uncle, the local BJP leader Nandanam Diwakar.105 Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad is a student organization that was founded 1949 by some RSS members and is considered a part of the so called Sangh Parivar.106 On their own website they claim to be:

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104 लेकिन राजू शेषी शेर हैं और इन दिनों वह गर्जना कर रहे हैं, उनकी गर्जना अर्थात कौए की शाखावानी साबित होगी, ऐसे शम्स ने कोई ना रहे।


[...] ‘above partisan politics’ but we accept that social activity cannot be non political in a strict sense. ABVP believe that as citizens of the country students are bound to react to the socio political situation and his [sic!] actions may have some necessary political implications.107

Similarly to the other Sangh Parivar organizations and Shiv Sena, they stress the role of social movement rather than proper politics for changing the society in the desired direction, claiming that as “fundamentally social transformation is the job of the society it cannot be a job given to any agency or government.”108

5.3. Articles about foreigners

5.3.1. "An ugly blot on the country"

The first article about foreigners is “Deś par badnumā dāg” (“An ugly blot on the country”, Mon 8.2.2016), with the subtitle “baḍh rahī hai videśiyom se badaṣalūkī” (“Mistreatment of foreigners is increasing”). The article complains that crimes against foreigners, especially Africans, have increased. This is condemned as a shame for India and a betrayal of Indian culture, which honors a guest like God. The line of argument is simple:

Claim: We have to improve our conduct towards foreigners.

Premise: Violence against foreigners in India has increased.

$P^1$: Violence against foreigners is a blot on Indianness.

$P^2$: Violence against foreigners is against “our culture”.

$P^1P^2$: Our culture is a culture of goodwill, not of crime and bad conduct.

$P^2P^2$: Our culture honors a guest like God, as in the Sanskrit phrase “atithi devo bhava”.

Violence against foreigners, especially Africans, in India is described as an “evil dagger on the country” (deś par badnumā dāg) and a “blot on Indianness” (hindustāniyat par kalamk).

It is also described as “uncivilized deed” (apasamskṛti kā prayog), not in concord with “our culture”, which is a culture of goodwill (sadbhāvanā) and not of crime (aparādāh) and bad conduct (durvyayhār). The author complains, using the first person plural pronoun, about the

people now seeming far away from the culture of “atithi devo bhava”, i.e. of honoring the guest like God.

In consistence with Shiv Sena’s focus on improving the mindset of the people, the article claims that “[...] more important than declarations is to bring about a change of mindset. Foreigners are our guests, and we should show them hospitality and not attack them when we get a chance.” Such attacks show that “we have to improve our behavior.”

The places that are mentioned are Bengaluru in Karnataka, Noida in Uttar Pradesh, Jalandhar and Phagwara in Punjab, Pune in Maharashtra, Delhi, and Goa. The majority of these places are in North India, but Maharashtra and South India are not excluded from the list, and violence against foreigners is presented as a national rather than regional problem. There is also no harsh tone against minorities in the article. For example there is no intimation that Muslims should be overrepresented in crimes against foreigners. The language of the article is inclusive and the violence is presented as “our” problem and “we” need to improve our behavior in accordance with “our” culture. The culture referred to should arguably be understood as Indian and Hindu, since violence against foreigners is a called a blot on “Indianness” and the characterization of the culture is supported by a Sanskrit phrase.

5.3.2. “Make in India”

One of the articles is dealing with economics and industry. It has the English title “Make in India” (Sat. 13.2.2016), written in Devanagari script, and the Hindi heading “Apne Mahārāṣṭra mem” (“In our Maharashtra”). The article refers to the “Make in India” event in Mumbai and expresses a skeptical attitude towards foreign investment. The main thesis is that Maharashtrian industry should remain in Maharashtra for the benefit of the Maharashtrians.

The author writes that people crookedly ask where Shiv Sena is when this conference is held in Mumbai. The answer is that there is no need for Shiv Sena to show separate presence in an arrangement for the benefit of Mumbai-Maharashtra. “Shiv Sena is the the jaw of the lion, don’t ask crookedly.” Here the Saamana article plays on the violence capital of Shiv Sena.

109 “[...] ऐसा से ज्ञाता माननिष्कता में बदलाव लाने की जरूरत है. विदेशी हमारे महामान से हम उनसे महामानवत व्यवहार करें ना कि मौका पाकर उन पर आक्रमण कर दे.”

110 “[...] हमें अपना व्यवहार सुधारना होगा.”

111“शिव सेना यह शेर का जबड़ा है, टेटी पूछ नहीं.”
Shiv Senas economical ideology breaks through in the statement “if the master lives, the worker will live and have fire in his stove.” According to the article they have always supported industry in Mumbai and other cities and want the industry of Mumbai to stay in the city for the benefit of its hard working people. It is not proper that the Chief Minister of Gujarat comes to Mumbai and suggests industrialists to move their industries to Gujarat.

The article says that Maharashtra is supplying for the whole country and that Mumbai is as good as being looted. Therefore, along with the “Make in India!” there should be a “Make in Maharashtra!” manifesto.

Towards the end of the article, a nuclear power project in Jaitapur is criticized for ruining the livelihood of thousands of peasants. The project in question is the controversial Jaitapur Nuclear Power Project, run by the power Corporation of India (NPCIL) in cooperation with the French company Areva, with the goal of putting up six nuclear units in the coastal Ratnagiri district in south-western Maharashtra. NPCIL, however, claims that the land being acquired is predominantly barren and that the project will have no adverse effect on the livelihood of the locals and no major impact on fishing.

5.4. Articles about Hindus, Hinduism and/or national defence

5.4.1. “The ‘miracle’ of Siachen”

Two of the main articles in this category are commenting on a spectacular incident in the beginning of February 2016, when ten Indian soldiers were caught in an avalanche in Himalayan Siachen. One of the soldiers were found alive six days later, which is the “miracle” referred to in the headline, “Siyyācin kā ‘camatkār’” (“The ‘wonder’ of Siachen”, Wed. 10.2.2016).

‘Miracle’ is nowadays a very sensitive word, the article says, even to the point that it is marked as superstition (andhasraddhā). But what can one say about the astonishing
(āścaryajanak) incident Siachen, if not that it is a wonder (camatkār)? There “our ten soldiers” (hamāre 10 javān) were caught by an avalanche, and one of them, Hanumanthappa Koppad, was found alive ten days later under 25 of snow, in an area where temperatures fall below 50°C. It can be called a wonder performed not by some bābā, but by fate (kismat) and God (iśvar). Siachen is the highest situated war field in the world, the author writes, and serving there is a challenge (cutautī) for “our soldiers”. You can say that the thread of his fate was strong (uski kismat ki dorī majbūt thi), or: “The one protected by God, [him] nobody can kill.” (jāko rakhe sāiyām, mār sake na koy). It is unbelievable (avisvasniya). Great physical and mental strength is required (pracaṁda śārīrik aur mānsik tākat kī zarūrat) to defend (rakṣa karnā) a place like Siachen. Also courage is required, which seems to have helped “Hanumantha”. The word used for courage is jigar, an originally Persian word with the primary meaning “liver”. Also the prayers (iśvar se [...] prārthnā) of his family and well-wishers is mentioned. But also he himself made a miracle. “Our” control of a place like Siachen is thank to (jīddī, jigarbāj aur mahān) soldiers like him, and therefore the wonder is also inspiring (sphurtidāyak). The article ends with a prayer (prārthnā) that God (iśvar) will continue to be with him and make the thread of his life strong (uski jindāgī kī dorī majbūt kare).

5.4.2. “The second phase of the miracle”

The next day the theme of the “miracle” in Siachen is followed up with an article criticizing Prime Minister Narendra Modi (BJP) for commenting the matter too quickly through social media. The title of the article is “Camatkar ka dusara pahalu” (“The second phase of wonder”, Thu. 11.2.2016).

The event when Hanumanthappa survived an avalanche is described as a miracle of the kind that sometimes overwhelms or defeats science (vigyān ko parājīt karnevāle), and: “Our country is one that welcomes miracles.” The incident shows under which difficult circumstances “our soldiers” (hamāre javān) are protecting the country (deś kī raksā kar rahe haim). The government always stands by them. The Prime Minister and Defense Minister made a śraddhāmjalī on Twitter to honor them. The author does not doubt that the efforts (parakāśtha) of the doctors will result in Hanumanthappa’s total recovery, so that he can stand up and go back to the border to defend the country. But he/she is critical of the Prime Minister’s to quick use of Twitter to communicate with the people and speculates that he is

118 हमारा देश चमत्कार को नमस्कार करनेवाला है.
surrounded by incompetent advisors. In the Pathankot case he congratulated the soldiers on Twitter but immediately had to take it back, since the action was still going on. In the avalanche case the searching for the ten soldiers might have continued with greater zeal and resulted in more than one being found alive, had not the Prime Minister prematurely tweeted his śraddhāṃjali. The article ends with a prayer that jagadambā will grant soldiers a long life. The divine epithet jagadambā means “mother of the world” and is usually used to refer to the Hindu goddesses Durga or Parvati.

Although there is mention neither of minorities nor of Pakistan in the article, the Pakistani threat is very present. The soldiers are praised for their bravery in protecting the country against enemies, and confidence is expressed about the competence of the Indian physicians. In this way the article strengthens an Indian self-confidence as a potent country that can defend itself. The feeling of Indian unity is strengthened by the recurring use of first pronoun plural, in phrases like “our country” and “our soldiers”.

The critique of Modi and his incompetent advisors …

5.4.3. “The sprinkling of forecast”

The short article “Anuman ka ‘chidkav’” (“The sprinkling of forecast”, Wed 10.2.2016) follows up the longer article “Mānsūn ke acche din” from the previous day. It warns that one should not be too sure about the hopeful forecasts of a good monsoon. It may be summarized by the hope that “King Varuṇa shall prove the saying wrong, which says ‘roaring cloud gives no rain.’” Its only relevance to the theme of minorities is the way it speaks out of the Hindu majority culture by personalizing the rain as the Vedic god Varuṇa.

5.4.4. “Goodwish to oneself”

The last article in this category is written by Hridayanarayan Dixit and marked “Śīlālekh” (“Inscription”). Its title is “Swayam ko śubhakāmṇā” (“Goodwish to oneself”, Sat. 13.2.2016). Dixit writes that “the Vedic ancestors (vaidik pūrvaj) wanted us to live happily (prasannapūrvak). He quotes a couple of Sanskrit blessings that one may live for a hundred autumns (jīvem śaradam śatam; paśyem śaradam śatam). Among Vedic texts he further refers to Rigveda, Yajurveda, Kenopaniṣad, and Muṇḍakopaniṣad.

Dixit writes that desire (kāmnā, kām, icchā) and especially desire for life is (jijivīśā) at the very root of creation. Further he writes that the rṣis of the Upaniṣads said that you become

119“[…] जो गरजता है वह बरसता नहीं इस कहावत को वरण राजा गलत साबित कर देंः” Varuna is a Hindu god of water.
what you wish, which is a finding that has been accepted also by modern psychology. It is also in accordance with chemistry, according to which the desires affect one’s body (kāyā). Similarly, “the science of yoga” (yog vigyān) says that mind (man) and body (śarīr) are one. The deities can be understood as divine natural forces. The pairing of Veda and modern science is further underlined by Dixit’s description of his own article: “Preaching is not the aim of this article. Here is an ordinary token of ordinary mind analysis.”

He writes that there is a good tradition in India of giving each other good wishes (subhakāmnā, mangalkāmnā), but not of wishing oneself well. However, giving oneself good wishes is “hundred percent true, śīv, and auspicious.” The Upaniṣads are full of such prayers for oneself. Dixit quotes such a sentence in Hindi from the Śāntipāthā of the Kenopanisad.

Dixit labels the Upaniṣads as “experienced philosophy” and confirms the joy of entering into it, but simultaneously stresses the importance of a sound and well-nourished (puṣṭ) body for being able to enjoy the joyful fruit of knowledge. Also self-praise (svayam ke lie stuti) is important.

This article is not polemic. It does not mention any minority group, neither positively nor negatively. However it speaks about “the Vedic ancestors” and presents the Indian tradition exclusively by references to Sanskrit sources. Vedic texts are further presented as giving the same insights as modern sciences, which is easily read as an estimation of the intellectual and spiritual heights of ancient (and pre-Islamic) India. By means of selection and omission Dixit lets the reader feel that the true Indian tradition is exclusively based on the Vedic tradition, and independent and self-sufficient in relation to Islam and other religious traditions. The extensive use of Sanskrit vocabulary in this article supports this alleged agenda.

5.5. Articles about Mumbai and/or Maharashtra

5.5.1. “The sting of dumping”

The first of the three articles about Mumbai and/or Maharashtra bears the title “dāmping kā āmp” (“The sting of dumping”, Wed 10.2.2016) and the subtitle “dāmping kī samasyā se

120 “कामनाएं हमारी काया में रसायनिक भौतिक परिवर्तन लाती हैं.”
121 “देवताके प्रभुत्व की दिल्ली शक्तियाँ हैं.”
122 “उपदेश देना इस आलेख का लक्ष्य नहीं। यहाँ एक सामान्य मनोविश्लेषण का सामान्य संकेत है.”
123 “शतप्रतिशत सर्द, चिंतन और शुभ.”
124 “अनुभूत तत्त्वज्ञान.”
jūḥ rahe hain deš ke sabhī mahānagar” (“All metropolises of the country struggling with dumping”). The author states that there all Indian metropolises have problems (regarding fire, poisonous gas, criminality etc.) with dumping grounds and waste handling. The focus is on Mumbai, where the dumping grounds in Deonar and Mulund have become a “poisonous bomb” (jahrīlā bam). It complains mildly about political ineffectiveness in the matter, once saying that “the municipal administration sleeping its Kumbhakarna-sleep and never looked in this direction.”

5.5.2. agyātvās par ’ṣerif’

The second article about Mumbai is “agyātvās par ’ṣerif’” (Sun. 14.2.16). It occurs in the Sunday paper with the Marathi heading “āmcī Mumbai” (“Our Mumbai”). Giving the article a Marathi heading in an all-Hindi context, can be read as a way to signalize that Mumbai really belongs to the Marathi people. Although the Marathi phrase is probably not difficult to understand for any of Saamana’s Hindi speaking readers, the retaining of just this phrase (“our Mumbai”) in Marathi conveys the message that Maharashtra belongs to the Marathi people.

The author of the article, named Brighnath Chauhan, expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that no new Sheriff has been appointed in Mumbai since 2009, although this should happen on a yearly basis. He writes that the Sheriff title was introduced during the time of British rule in Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai. In Chennai the title is no longer used, but in Mumbai and Kolkata it is still in use. The Sheriff holds his post for one year and is normally elected every January. For unknown reasons this has not happened in Mumbai since the present 2009, when it came to a break “in the glorious history of the Sheriff”. Also the new Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Devendra Fadnavis (BJP), is criticized for doing nothing in the matter.

The article lists the following historical Sheriffs of Mumbai: the physician and educationist Bhau Daji (elected in 1851), Mahadev Lakshman Dahanukar (1948), his son, the industrialist Shantaram Mahadev Dahanukar (1969), the journalist Frank Moraes (1962), the scientist Dr. Homi Sethna (1971), industrialist Nana Chudasama (1989-90), sportsman Sunil Gavaskar (1995), Dilip Kumar, and film actor Sunil Dutt.

Most of these are Marathi names, but Frank Moraes is a Catholic name, Homi Sethna was a Parsi, Sunil Dutt originaly a Punjabi.

125 “[...]कुंभकर्ण की नींद में सोनेवाले मन्य प्रशासन ने इस और कभी ध्यान नहीं दिया.” Kumbhakarna is a character in Hindu mythology, who due to mispronunciation asked Brahma for nidrasana (bed to sleep) instead of indrasana (throne of Indra) and thereafter slept for a very long time.

126 “शेरिफ के गरिमान्य इतिहास में [...]”
5.5.3. “The good days of monsoon”

The third and last one of the articles about Mumbai/Maharashtra has the title “Mānsūn ke acche din” (“The good days of monsoon”, Tue. 9.2.2016). Its subject is the present draught in Maharashtra, the dependence of Indian/Maharashtrian agriculture on good monsoon, and the need of rainwater storage to diminish this dependence.

The article states that the troubled (trast) Maharashtrians have suffered two years of draught. Maharashtrian farmers have committed suicide in desperation when they have had not have grains enough neither to eat nor to sow, and on top of that shortage of money. Suicide is not the solution of any problem (kisē samasyā kā samādhān nahīn hai). Although the farmer gets free (mukt) from his problem, his family is left to straggle on. However, the presumption that only Maharashtrian farmers commit suicide in great numbers has showed false since the same is true about Uttar Pradesh. Weather forecasts from the Meteorological Department say that the monsoon will be good this year. But weather forecasts can fail, the author warns. The key solution of the problem is effective storage of rainwater, to diminish the vulnerability to bad monsoons.
6. Conclusion

The articles in the Hindi version of Saamana show great conformity with the articles in the Marathi version. Although but a guess, it seems reasonable to assume that the Hindi articles are translations of the Marathi ones rather than the other way around. Shiv Sena in general makes no attempt to conceal their preference of Marathi over Hindi. The party website apparently exists only in a Marathi version. In spite of this, the language of the Hindi version does not seem excessively influenced by the presumed Marathi original. Neither is it excessively Sanskritized, except in articles dealing with religious themes or themes brought in connection with India’s Vedic/Sanskritic tradition. Here Sanskrit words are used to signalize Indian culture, deep-rooted Hindu tradition and reliability, as in accordance with Bhatia and Baumgardner’s analysis of language mixing in South Asian media.

In the other articles, the vocabulary reflects common Hindi usage and has a considerable proportion of words with Perso-Arabic origin. Most of the time these words are apparently used without any particular agenda, simply in virtue of being the most convenient and natural alternatives. When they are chosen because of their signal worth as words with Perso-Arabic origin, they are used for fostering associations to Islam and Muslims, but not to positive aspects of Islamic culture such as brotherhood as in Bhatia and Baumgardner’s grid. Instead the associations fostered are threatening things like terrorism, oppressive and backwards habits and the military threat from Pakistan.

An interesting example of what seems to be a conscious policy is how Saamana refers to India. It consequently uses the word Hindusthān, with that spelling. This has several interesting aspects. The official names of India are Bhārat and India. In informal speech “India”, which is the English name, is often used even in Hindi and other Indian languages. Bhārat sounds rather formal and Sanskritic, but could have been an option for stressing a conception of India as a Hindu and/or Sanskritic nation. This name is for example used by both RSS and VHP, even in English. The naming policy in Saamana reflects more popular and natural usage in Hindi. Outside Hindutva circles, the name is often spelled Hindustān, with unaspirated t. As such it is originally a Persian word meaning “land of Hindus”, where “Hindu” is to be understood as an inhabitant of Hind rather than a religious affiliation. However, in Saamana the name is spelled with aspirated t, Hindusthān, which makes it a

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127 The address of Shiv Sena’s website is http://shivsena.org/m/.
Sanskrit word with the same meaning. Saamana thus uses a popular and rather neutral name for India, but by means of spelling manages to make the name communicate connotations of India’s Sanskritic (and hence Hindu) roots and nature. The word is also used to form the noun hindusthāniyat, meaning “Indianness”. Here a distinctly Sansceritic spelling (-stān-) is interpolated in a word of Persian origin (Hindustān) which is further developed by adding the Perso-Arabic suffix –iyat.

It should be noted here, though, that Savarkar takes the word “Hindu” as a derivation of the name of the river Sindhu and a self-designation by the early Aryans and maybe even of pre-Aryan Indian origin. He even writes that “Sindhusthan” (inconsistently spelled both “-sthan” and “-stan”) is a Vedic epithet. Savarkar cherished the name “Hindusthan” and wrote that “today we find that while thousands would not know what Aryawarta or Bharatwarsha exactly means yet the very man in the street will understand and recognize the names Hindu and Hindusthan as his very own.” Thus the use (and spelling) of “Hindusthan” can be conceived as both pragmatic (people understand and use it anyway) and as a genuinely Hindu self-reference (as opposed to a name introduced by Persian invaders).

The same name figures in the phrase “Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan!”, a slogan in tune with the ideas of Savarkar and other Hindutva ideologists, used for propagating the idea of India as a Hindu nation along with a preference to Hindi as national and uniting language. In contrast with the spelling of Hindusthān, the frequently and harshly criticized neighbor country Pakistan is spelled with unaspirated (i.e. Persian) t. The contrast highlights the Islamic character of Pakistan and the Hindu character of India.

The harshest and most polemic language is used when Muslims are the topic. The contempt for Muslims is given a patriotic-nationalistic rationale, by associating Muslims and Islam with Pakistan and terrorism. The Savarkarian suspicion that Muslims have to “set their Holyland above their Fatherland in their love and allegiance” serves as implicit premise for depicting Muslims as untrustworthy and potentially dangerous.

The antipathy towards Muslims is intermingled with the antipathy towards Islam, which is presented as a religion which spurs fanaticism and militancy, and which oppresses women. In fact the distinctions between the categories “Muslim”, “Pakistani” and “terrorist” seem to be so vague that they can easily flow into each other, as when the writer puts Gulam Ali’s

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129 The Marathi version uses the same word with the same spelling.
130 Savarkar, Hindutva, pp. 5-6, 8-10, 31.
131 Savarkar, Hindutva, p. 34.
performance in connection with the Pathankot terrorists and wonders if the next step would be to welcome some Pakistani terrorists in India.

The association between Muslims and conceived national threats like Pakistan and terrorism is also used for villainizing political enemies, even politicians that are not themselves Muslims nor are representing any Islamist party. During the actual week in February 2016, the Samajwadi Party (especially in Uttar Pradesh) and its leader Mulayam Yadav were verbally attacked in this way. The fact that they invited Gulam Ali to perform in Uttar Pradesh is interpreted as vote fishing among Muslims and a try to keep good relation with Pakistan. Their election campaigns are described with Muslim religious vocabulary of Perso-Arabic origin (bāṃg, sunnat) and Uttar Pradesh is referred to as the “Islamic state of the Yadavs” (Yādavon kā islāmik ștef). This is one of relatively few occasions in the analyzed articles where English words are used, and it is obviously not due of lack of Hindi equivalents, but in order to create associations between the “the Yadavs” and the terror organization ISIS. The allegation is not so much that Mulayam Yadav and company have an Islamist agenda - after all they are a socialist party - but that their compromising attitude towards Muslims is dangerous because it gives more scope for Muslims with antinational agendas.

The most unrestricted verbal attacks are made against the South Indian Muslim politician Asaduddin Owaisi, leader of the All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIL). Although it must be taken into consideration that this article belongs to a different genre than the other ones - it is a parodic poem whereas the other ones are prose commentaries on various actual issues - the level of verbal violence in it is striking. Owaisi is there associated with various symbols of adverse Muslims and Islamic nations and organizations like Pakistan, ISIS, the South Asian terror organization Lashkar-e-Taiba, the medieval Delhi sultan Tughlaq, the 19th century nawab of Bengal Mir Jafar, who stands as a symbol of treachery, and the Indian mafia boss Dawood Ibrahim. He is also associated with negative stereotypes of Muslim groups, like “wicked Pashtun” (dhokebāj paṭhān). The extremely harsh verbal attacks in the parodic poem - including an invective like “Pakistani dog” (pākistānī švān) - and the fact that they are found precisely in this text and not in the ordinary prose editorials, can be understood as a strategy of changing how it is possible to speak and write about Muslims in an Indian public discourse. “Pakistani dog” might be to abusive for a serious article or debate, but the Saamana redaction obviously judged it worth a try using it in pardoning context of a “Political Parody”. The parodic texts can function as a spearhead for introducing tough rhetoric in Saamana, which in turn is a spearhead for bestowing acceptance and disseminating the same rhetoric among the Hindi-speaking population.
Although Saamana draws a very negative picture not only of Islam, but also of Muslims, it does take some action to assure the public that the antipathy is not against Muslims as such – at least “not only”, as the unfortunate or possibly intended slip of the pen has it. This is made in three ways. First, it is explicitly stated in the passage aiming at explaining why Saamana and Shiv Sena are so bothered about the Pakistani and Muslim singer Gulam Ali, although the unexpected “only” leaves the reader in doubt of what is the real intention of the statement:

As we drove a Pakistani like Gulam Ali out of Mumbai-Maharashtra, it was not only because of antipathy towards Muslims. Our antipathy is towards Pakistan.  

Secondly, one of the most Islam-critical articles (“madhya yug ke daur mem Pākistān”, Fri. 12.2.2016) both has a heading with a Muslim-friendly ring (“Namāz ke bād”, i.e. “After prayer”) and is signed with the Muslim name Mujaffar Husain. By having a very visible Muslim as one of its fiercest Islam-critics, Saamana/Shiv Sena signalizes that it is a party open and a rational option for Muslims, and is willing to give them prominent positions within the movement. It also communicates, however, that criticizing Islam is not simply a business for Hindus, whose critique could otherwise be disposed as communalist bias. Instead Mujaffar Husain’s presence and critique serves as showing the alleged objectiveness and appropriateness of Saamana’s and Shiv Sena’s critique of Islam.

Thirdly, the parodic text (“Tumhārī aisi-taisī”, Sun. 14.2.2016) gives examples of praiseworthy Muslims, namely the Mughal emperor Akbar, known for his religious tolerance and broad-mindedness, and an Indian soldier decorated for his self-less gallantry in the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965. Allegedly this would prove that Saamana/Shiv Sena’s antipathy is not against Muslims as such, but against certain attitudes that many of them are supposed to entertain much due to influence from their religion, Islam. Effectively, however, it rather illustrates the alleged contrast between these loyal and broad-minded exceptions and the usual treacherous and fanatic mindset among Muslims which is illustrated by an abundance of examples and invectives in the same text.

Apart from Muslims, no other religious minority groups are explicitly mentioned. The only time when persons from national religious minority groups are mentioned, is in the article about the failing sheriff appointments in Mumbai (agyātvās par ’sherij’, Sun. 14.2.16). There previous sheriffs with Christian and Parsi names (Frank Moraes and Homi Sethna) are

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133 Eleventh-February से हमने गुलाम अली जैसे पाकिस्तानी को हाकूल दिया वह सिफ़े मुसलमान विरोध के लिए नहीं. हमारा विरोध पाकिस्तान से है” (“Yādavom kā islāmīk šte!”), Mon. 8.2.2016).
mentioned in an appreciating way. Likewise a previous Mumbai sheriff with Punjabi roots (Sunil Dutt) is mentioned in appreciating words. There are also no harsh words or signs of racism in writing about Africans and other foreigners in India. Instead there is an admonition to treat them as guests, in accordance with traditional Indian culture (in “Deś par badnumā dāg”, Mon 8.2.2016).

When non-Maharashtrians other than Muslims are mentioned in a critical way with reference to their being non-Maharashtrian, is when the subject is capitalists from outside the state who try to move Maharashtrian industries to other states or exploit the nature (in “Make in India”, Sat. 13.2.2016). Specifically mentioned are the Chief Minister of Gujarat and the French company Areva. In the case of the Chief Minister of Gujarat, mentioning him is in concordance with the stereotype that Gujaratis in Mumbai are more business-minded and economically well off than their Maharashtrian neighbors.

The rhetoric in Saamana is likely to strike many European readers as extremely aggressive and from time to time even evoke associations to the rhetoric that paved the way for the Third Reich in the 1930s. This on one hand shows the difference between Indian and European media discourses. On the other hand, it also shows how one actor can act to change the discourse and alter what is politically and socially speak-able within it. Shiv Sena and Saamana, although powerful and important in Mumbai and Maharashtra, are by no means representative for the whole Indian political medial landscape and certainly do not lack antagonists. For this very reason, I hope that my analysis of the rhetoric in Saamana can be of some use for understanding the mechanics in action when political parties and other actors, which are outside or on the edge of what is considered political correct in a society, try and manage to change the frames and rules of political and medial discourse.
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