

NOTES

All weblinks in notes accessed last on 29 November 2021.

All listed designations of interviewees are accurate as of date of interview, unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

1. PTI, '1,000 BJP men held in Gujarat', *The Times of India*, 31 December 1988. Modi was then general secretary of the BJP's Gujarat unit. His name appeared twice earlier in the newspaper in the 1970s: in 1978 as a participant in a television programme, *Yuvadarshan*, on 'The youth struggle during the Emergency', and in 1979, where, as an RSS pracharak, he receives a cheque of Rs 5 lakh for work in relief camps after the Morvi dam disaster. 'Television', *The Times of India*, 23 May 1978; Staff Reporter, 'RSS Wing donates Rs 5 lakh', *The Times of India*, 2 October 1979.
2. Law Kumar Mishra, TOINS, 'Keep out, BJP tells police', *The Times of India*, 25 September 1990.
3. In June 2016, then Union minister of state for personnel and PMO, Jitendra Singh responded to a controversy on denial of government jobs to RSS members saying, 'the central government has not issued any such order [prohibiting government staff from joining RSS activities] recently', and 'if any old order exists, we will review it'. The RSS's publicity head, Manmohan Vaidya said, 'Banning RSS members from joining government service is unjust and undemocratic. Such bans hardly affect RSS work and morale of swayamsevaks.' By way of background: in 1964, the Union government brought in a rule under Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules (Rule 5 (1)) stating that 'No Government servant shall be a member of, or be otherwise associated with, any political party or any organisation which takes part in politics[,] nor shall he take part in, subscribe in aid of, or assist in any other manner, any political movement or activity.' After questions on whether this applied to RSS, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued a circular on 30 November 1966 saying, 'Certain doubts have been raised about Government's policy with respect to the membership or any participation in the activities of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Jamaat-e-Islami by Government servants, it is clarified that Government have always held the activities of these two organisations to be

of such nature that participation in them by Government servants would attract the provisions of sub-rule (1) of Rule 5 of the CCS (Conduct) Rules, 1964. Any government servant, who is a member of or otherwise associated with the aforesaid organisations or with their activities, is liable to disciplinary action.' The Union government on 28 October 1980 issued another circular which reiterated the 1966 circular. On 27 November 2014, the Narendra Modi government amended the Conduct Rules to add a few clauses to Rule 3(1). One of these said, 'Every government employee shall at all times maintain political neutrality.' On 5 January 2016, the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT) informed *The Indian Express* after an RTI query that 'No such orders withdrawing the OMs [office memorandums] dated 1966 and 1980 has been issued.' *The Indian Express* also found that the Himachal Pradesh government on 24 January 2008, the Madhya Pradesh government on 21 August 2006 and Chhattisgarh government in February 2015 had issued instructions saying there were no restrictions on government employees joining RSS activities. The UP government on 20 February 2013 also said that there were no restrictions on RSS membership for government employees. All details quoted from Shyamlal Yadav, 'Express RTI: The revolving door between BJP, Govt and RSS', *The Indian Express*, 16 June 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/narendra-modi-government-rss-manmohan-vaidya-mohan-bhagwat-bjp-and-rss-links-2855319/>. Government of India Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1964, are available on <https://dopt.gov.in/forewordnotification>.

4. Swapan Dasgupta, 'Waning interest worries me: Advani', *The Times of India*, 13 June 1991.
5. The Times of India News Service (TOINS), 'BJP demands access to Ram idols', *The Times of India*, 24 December 1992.
6. While Joshi led the Yatra as the then BJP president, newspaper reports of the time refer to Modi variously as convener, coordinator and chief coordinator. Narendra Modi quotes are from TOINS, 'BJP invites RV to unfurl flag in J&K', *The Times of India*, 22 November 1991. A picture of the Yatra's flag-hoisting in Srinagar shows Joshi unfurling the flag, standing next to Modi and K.L. Sharma, surrounded by security men. TOINS, 'Give forces a free hand: BJP', *The Times of India*, 27 January 1992. Also see picture of Modi with Murali Manohar Joshi, L.K. Advani, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Vijaya Raje Scindia during Ekta Yatra at Jammu Parade Ground, which was published as a standalone Page 1 picture, without title, in *The Times of India*, 25 January 1992. Details on Kesari Vahini from several Modi interviews quoted in TOINS, 'Tie up only for polls: BJP', *The Times of India*, 7 January 1992; TOINS, 'Rumblings in BJP, allies over yatra climax', *The Times of India*, 31 January 1992. For more on Ekta Yatra, see TOINS, 'No enthusiasm for yatra in MP', 1 January 1992; TOINS, 'Ensure DD coverage: BJP', *The Times of India*, 21 January 1992.
7. This conversation took place while on a TV reporting assignment and in the presence of Sanjeev Singh, then NDTV's Ahmedabad correspondent, and Vinay Menon, then covering the campaign for *Hindustan Times*. Quoted in Nalin Mehta,

- 'Gujarat beyond Gandhi: Notes on identity, conflict and society', in Nalin Mehta, Mona G. Mehta (eds), *Gujarat beyond Gandhi: Identity, Society and Conflict* (London, New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 1.
8. Kanak Bhawan is one of the more famous temples in Ayodhya, situated north-east of Ram Janmaboomi, Ramkot. It was built in 1891 by Vrishbhvanu Kumari, Queen of Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh. (Details from UP Tourism and official Ayodhya District online portals, available on: <http://uptourism.gov.in/post/kanak-bhawan>; <https://ayodhya.nic.in/tourist-place/kanak-bhawan/>.)
 9. Literally 'elder' in Persian, this term is used to denote a Sufi master or guide.
 10. We have used the spelling 'Jan Sangh' for the BJP's predecessor, as opposed to the more commonly used 'Jana Sangh', unless quoted otherwise. This is because the original spelling of the organisation—Jan Sangh—changed over time in contemporary records through the 1960s. The Election Commission of India General Election Archive (1951–2004) variously recorded the official party name as 'All India Bhartiya Jan Sangh' in its 1951 and 1957 general election reports, as 'Jan Sangh' in 1962, 'Bharatiya Jana Sang' in 1967 and as 'Bharatiya Jana Sangh' in 1971.
 11. BJP, 'Salient points of speech of BJP national president, Shri Amit Shah addressing intellectuals meet at Budha Mal Castle, Palampur, Kangra, Himachal Pradesh', 4 May 2017, <https://www.bjp.org/en/pressreleasesdetail/299215/Salient-points-of-speech-of-BJP-National-President-Shri-Amit-Shah-addressing-Intellectuals-meet-at-Budha-Mal-Castle-Palampur-Kangra-Himachal-Pradesh->.
 12. Ibid.
 13. This was the phrase used by Trinamool Congress MP Derek O'Brien in his response to the CAA Bill when he compared it to the 'Nazi Playbook' of pre-WW-II Germany in Rajya Sabha. Video clip of his Parliament speech is available on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YroWXUBQ8rM>.
 14. 'vegetarian but tasty party', *The Times of India*, 29 December 1980.
 15. P. Chidambaram speaking at his book launch, *Undaunted: Saving the Idea of India*, 7 February 2019, Teen Murti Bhawan, New Delhi.
 16. Roy and Sopariwala note three phases in Indian politics. Phase 1: 1952–1977, when there was 84 per cent pro-incumbency record favouring parties ruling state governments to win a clear majority of MPs from that state; Phase 2: 1977–2002, when pro-incumbency rate dropped to 48 per cent; and Phase 3: 2002–2019, when it went up to 54 per cent. Prannoy Roy, Dorab R. Sopariwala, *The Verdict: Decoding India's Elections* (New Delhi: Penguin Random House, 2019), pp. 24–26.
 17. See, for instance, Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1998).
 18. 'Mr Nehru's call for war against communalism', *The Times of India*, 1 October 1951, p. 1.
 19. 'Dr Mookerjee explains reasons for resignation: Doubts about efficacy of India-Pakistan pact', *The Times of India*, 20 April 1950.
 20. A good summation of this is in Rafiq Zakaria, 'The Tandon-Nehru conflict', *The Times of India*, 21 December 1969.

21. Special Correspondent, 'Mr P. Tandon elected Congress president, reorientation of policy likely in future', *The Times of India*, 3 September 1950.
22. 'Congress session's overwhelming support for resolution on communalism', *The Times of India*, 22 September 1950.
23. 'Fate of Congress: Issue before Nasik Ssession', *The Times of India*, 17 September 1950.
24. This internal Congress debate is best summed up in B.D. Graham, 'Syama Prasad Mookerjee and the communalist alternative', in D.A. Low (ed.), *Sounding in Modern South Asian History* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 330–366.
25. Special Representative, 'Congress faces sudden crisis: Mr Nehru resigns from executive, deep anxiety among leaders', *The Times of India*, 11 August 1951.
26. Modi's victory speech is available at: 'Victory celebrations at BJP HQ. #VijayiBharat', 23 May 2019, <https://youtu.be/VruL38kjEBY>.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. The Bombay Plan, published in 1944-45, by eight leading Indian industrialists, proposed state intervention in the economic development of the nation after Independence. Though it was never officially accepted by Nehru, its basic ideas are said to have influenced the first three Five-Year Plans of India. For the full text of the Bombay Plan, see Purushottamdas Thakurdas (ed.), *A Brief Memorandum Outlining a Plan of Economic Development for India* (2 vols.) (London: Penguin, 1945), http://www.isec.ac.in/Plan_%20of_%20economic_%20development_%20for_%20India.pdf Also see Amal Sanyal, 'The curious case of the Bombay Plan', *Contemporary Issues and Ideas in Social Sciences*, 2010, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.680.334&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
30. Details from Bluekraft Digital Foundation, *Mann ki Baat: A Social Revolution in Radio* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2019).
31. HT Correspondent, 'HT-Nielsen top 10: PM Narendra Modi's Exam Warriors continues to lead non-fiction list', *Hindustan Times*, 3 May 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/books/ht-nielsen-top-10-pm-narendra-modi-s-exam-warriors-continues-to-lead-non-fiction-list/story-4jy8KryNz8ff1ldO2tgCO.html>.
32. Narendra Modi, *Exam Warriors* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2018), p. 46.
33. Ibid., p. 94.
34. BlueKraft Digital Foundation, *Mann ki Baat: A Social Revolution on Radio* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2019), p. 27.
35. Ibid., p. 198.
36. See, for example, IANS, 'KVC turnover touches nearly 90k crore on PM Modi's appeal', *Outlook*, 8 May 2020, <https://www.outlookindia.com/newscroll/kvic-turnover-touches-nearly-rs-90k-crore-on-pm-modis-appeal/1827885>; Sarika Malhotra, 'Khadi sales went up by 34% in FY16 due to PM Modi's efforts', *Business Today*, 18 January 2017, <https://www.businesstoday.in/opinion/interviews/leaderspeak-striving-to-build-brand-khadi/story/244339.html>; TNN, 'With PM as

- face of khadi, sales up 89% in first half of this fiscal', *The Times of India*, 30 October 2017, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/61329183.cms>. Data is from *Khadi India: 2 Years Progress Report, November 2015 to February 2018: A Journey of Transformation* (Khadi and Village Industries Commission: MSME, New Delhi), http://www.kvic.gov.in/kvices/update/e_Book/mobile/index.html#p=1. For a critical analysis, see Noor Mohammad, 'Spinning tales: Modi claims on khadi don't add up', *The Wire.in*, 31 October 2017, <https://thewire.in/economy/spinning-tales-modis-claims-on-khadi-sales-dont-add-up>.
37. See, for instance, Brijesh Pandey, 'Modi deletes Gandhi from Khadi Gram Udyog calendars: No KVIC rules on photos, says government', *India Today*, 13 January 2017, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/narendra-modi-mahatma-gandhi-khadi-gram-udyog-charkha-954810-2017-01-13>.
 38. Barack Obama, *A Promised Land* (New York: Penguin, 2020), pp. 337, 600.
 39. The Modi government, between 2020 and 2021, subsequently added further measures to the initial announcement as the Coronavirus pandemic changed shape, especially after the second wave. Critics have, however, argued that the Indian financial relief measures were more tilted towards a monetary stimulus, compared to the US and several European countries where the COVID-19 relief packages were more about direct transfers related to income. For a detailed breakdown of the Indian package: between money spent by the government and measures by the RBI, see the presentation made by Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman at a press conference on 17 May 2020. It is available at: Government of India, *Atmanirbhar Bharat, Part 5: Government Reforms and Enablers*, p. 23, <https://static.pib.gov.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/Aatma%20Nirbhar%20Bharat%20%20Presentation%20Part%205%2017-5-2020.pdf>.
 40. Rajni Kothari, 'The Congress "system" in India', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 4, No. 12, Dec. 1964, pp. 1161–1173.

CHAPTER 1 The BJP as the Party of the Village

1. The meeting in Pratapgarh was held on 23 April 2018. It was followed the same week with a similar chaupal in Amroha. All quotes for this public meeting are from video recordings of the event and interviews given by Yogi Adityanath after it to local reporters. Some of these are available on Pratapgarh Hub, 'Chief Minister Yogi in Pratapgarh Uttar Pradesh', 23 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88B75-gDTAA>; Aaj Tak, 'Nayak ke avatar mei CM Yogi, Pratapgarh Chaupal mei afsaro ke sare-aam class', 23 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gg8lvdTwGKE>; India TV, 'UP: Yogi Adityanath holds first chaupal in Pratapgarh, dines at houses of dalits', 23 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiS0TaOvuw8>.
2. Delhi Aaj Tak, 'UP ke gao mei Yogi ke chaupal, exclusive interview of CM Yogi Adityanath', 23 April 2018, <https://youtu.be/6JZx3wSZgpw>.

3. We took district-level Census demographic data and overlaid onto Lok Sabha constituencies, geotagging them. We used the psephologist Jai Mrug's classification for this book to divide Lok Sabha seats into three categories: Urban (with urban populations above 80 per cent); Rurban (having urban population between 33 per cent and 60 per cent) and Rural (with less than 33 per cent urban population).
4. The late Kalyan Singh was a Lodh Rajput, an OBC community. He was chief minister of UP when his government submitted a four-page affidavit to Supreme Court on 27 November 1992 on the disputed Ram Janmabhoomi case, providing an assurance of its record in 'maintaining law and order, particularly in maintaining communal harmony'. The Supreme Court, on this basis, allowed 'symbolic kar seva' on 6 December 1992, which led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid on that day. Kalyan Singh resigned as UP chief minister on the evening of the demolition and the Union government subsequently put the state under President's Rule. Details of affidavit from: *State (Through Central Bureau of Investigation) v. Shri Kalyan Singh (Former CM Of UP) and Others*, Criminal Appeal Number 751 of 2017, 19 April 2017. Full text available at: <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/76812356/>. Also see Manoj Mitta, 'When even Supreme Court let down nation', *TheWire.in*, 6 December 2017, <https://thewire.in/politics/babri-masjid-demolition-supreme-court>; Manoj Mitta, 'Supreme Court judges face awkward questions over Babri Masjid demolition', *India Today*, 15 November 1993.
5. Quoted in Mahesh Rangarajan, 'Hindutva's "accursed problem"', *Seminar*, No. 485, January 2000, <https://www.india-seminar.com/2000/485/485%20rangarajan.htm>.
6. Booth numbers from ECI, 'Electors data summary', in *Uttar Pradesh General Legislative Election 2017*, 16 August 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3471-uttar-pradesh-general-legislative-election-2017/>.
7. Interview with Dinesh Sharma, deputy chief minister, UP; former vice president, BJP; former BJP in-charge, Gujarat; and ex-mayor of Lucknow, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
8. The Census of India 2011 counted 17,22,45,148 Muslims out of a total Indian population of 121,08,54,977. In UP, it counted 3,84,83,967 Muslims out of a total population of 19,98,12,341. Data from Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, 'C1- Population by religious community', <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-01.html>.
9. Interview with Pranshu Sharma, UP bureau chief, Network18, 9–10 June 2020. BJP did win the Ayodhya seat (Faizabad) in the 1991 Lok Sabha elections.
10. In 1991, the BJP won 221 seats with 31.45 per cent of the votes. However, the INC had 17.32 per cent, the JD had 18.84 per cent, JP 12.52 per cent and BSP 9.44 per cent. The combined vote share of the last three pro-Mandal parties amounted to 40.8 per cent. Data from ECI, *Statistical Report on General Election, 1991, to the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh*, 14 August 2018, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3257-uttar-pradesh-1991/>.

11. Interview with a senior official in the UP chief minister's office, 9 June 2020, Lucknow.
12. Rajni Kothari, 'The Congress "system" in India', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 4, No. 12, Dec. 1964, pp. 1161–1173. On the Congress's one-party dominance, see W.H. Morris-Jones, 'Dominance and dissent: Their inter-relations in the Indian party system', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 1, No. 4, August 1966 and W.H. Morris-Jones, 'The Indian Congress Party: A dilemma of dominance', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1967. Both essays are reproduced in W.H. Morris-Jones, *Politics Mainly Indian* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1978), pp. 213–265.

CHAPTER 2 **Becoming the Hindi Heartland's Predominant Rural Party**

1. In multipolar election contests in the first-past-the-post system, the effective number of political parties/players increases. Bipolarity represents a two-way concentration of votes. The minimal level of a multipolar configuration would be a three-way contest. In states like UP, it could be even higher. While there are often a large number of parties contesting a particular seat, there are various ways to statistically compute the 'effective' number of political parties (i.e., the number of key contenders) in the contest. One of the most common techniques is to use the inverse of the square root of the sum of the squares of their vote share. The formula is as below: Effective Number of Political Parties = $1/\text{SQRT}((A)^2+(B)^2+(C)^2)$. As per this, if we are to assume that UP has at a minimum number of three parties in contest, the formula is written as $3 = 1/\text{SQRT}((A)^2+(B)^2+(C)^2)$.

Repeated iterations of this formula show that the value of the LHS remains around three (the conservative case we are trying to establish in the case of UP, if at least one of the variables of A, B and C remain above 0.4, which is 40 per cent. At its point of inflexion, it assumes that even if two of the three parties obtain 30 per cent each, one of them still needs to touch the 40 per cent mark to obtain an effective number of political parties as three. With the vote share of one party at larger than 40 per cent, the number starts dropping below three and the contest starts getting closer to a bipolar scenario marking a definitive departure from a purely triangular contest and signifying the dominance of one party among the three. We, therefore, set 40 per cent as a premium performance benchmark for saying that a party has indeed made a decisive presence in three-way (or more) contests. I am grateful to Jai Mrug for this calculation and explanation.

2. Interview with Keshav Prasad Maurya, deputy chief minister, UP; former president, UP BJP; former BJP MP from Phulpur, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
3. Interview with Dinesh Sharma, deputy chief minister, UP; former vice president, BJP; former BJP in-charge, Gujarat; and ex-mayor, Lucknow, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
4. Diego Maiorana, 'The 2019 Indian elections and the ruralization of the BJP', *Studies in Indian Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2019, pp. 177, 183.

5. Similarly, in the 2021 West Bengal assembly elections where the BJP, with 77 of 294 seats, came a distant second to Trinamool Congress, the majority of its wins were in the state's rural and rurban constituencies. Of the BJP's 77 seats, as many as 58 (75.3 per cent) were rural or rurban, 38 (49.3 per cent) rural and 20 (25.9 per cent) rurban. TOI Data Hub: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/assembly-elections/west-bengal/constituency-map>. Note: Results were declared on 2 May 2021 for 292 seats (as polls in two seats were postponed due to the death of candidates).
6. Interview with Jai Mrug, CEO, M76 Analytics and Director, VotersMood Research, 21 and 28 May 2020.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3 The Caste Game

1. Akhilesh Singh, 'Modi hails BJP workers for "Seva Yagna" in Covid times', *The Times of India*, 5 July 2019.
2. If you leave out BJP MPs elected from seats reserved by law only for SC or ST, the party still had 113 OBC and a further nineteen MPs who were either SC or ST who got elected from 226 general constituencies. Among reserved constituencies, BJP won thirty-one of the forty-seven ST-reserved seats nationwide with 41.7 per cent vote share, and forty-six of the eighty-four SC-reserved seats with 35.3 per cent vote share across India. Analysis by author from ECI data and SC/ST seat analysis is available at: <https://pollniti.com/live.html#>.
3. Christophe Jaffrelot, *Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy* (New Delhi: Context, 2021), first published Princeton University Press, 2021, pp. 344-346. Jaffrelot is regarded as the preeminent global scholar of the Hindu nationalist movement and lower caste mobilisation in India. In this regard, see, for example, his body of work: *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1999, first published 1996); his *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of Low Castes in North Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003); and a collection of his essays published in *Religion, Caste & Politics in India* (New Delhi: Primus, 2010).
4. Jaffrelot and Vernier produced their analysis working with researchers at the Trivedi Centre for Political Data (Ashoka University) and CERI (Sciences Po, Paris) using data from SPINPER (The Social Profile of the Indian National and Provincial Elected Representatives) project. Christophe Jaffrelot, Gilles Verniers, 'Explained: In Hindi heartland, upper castes dominate new Lok Sabha', *The Indian Express*, 27 May 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/in-hindi-heartland-upper-castes-dominate-new-house-5747511/>.
5. Christophe Jaffrelot, Gilles Verniers, 'Explained: In Hindi heartland, upper castes dominate new Lok Sabha', *The Indian Express*, 27 May 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/in-hindi-heartland-upper-castes-dominate-new-house-5747511/>.

- com/article/explained/in-hindi-heartland-upper-castes-dominate-new-house-5747511/.
6. Christophe Jaffrelot, Gilles Verniers, 'The reconfiguration of India's political elite: Profiling the 17th Lok Sabha', *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 18 May 2020, pp. 242–254, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09584935.2020.1765984>.
 7. They used data from SPINPER project co-funded by Trivedi Centre for Political Data (Ashoka University); CNRS, France; CERI and University of Bordeaux.
 8. Upper-caste Rajputs are commonly referred to as Thakurs in the Hindi heartland.
 9. Interview with Tarit Prakash, VMR, 1 June 2020.
 10. SC data is from Census of India 2011. OBC data is from NSSO Report No. 563: *Employment and Unemployment Situation among Social Groups*, 2011–12. Quoted in Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, *Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics 2018* (New Delhi: Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Plan Division, 2018), pp. 29, 238, <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistic2018.pdf>. For the SC caste breakdown of UP, see, for instance, Census of India 2001, *Uttar Pradesh—Data Highlights: The Scheduled Castes*, https://censusindia.gov.in/tables_published/scst/dh_sc_up.pdf.
 11. And STs are 0.57 per cent of the population in UP. Calculated by the author from UP caste data in Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, *Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics 2018* (New Delhi: Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Plan Division, 2018), <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistic2018.pdf>.
 12. For more on the earlier Congress model of caste-based mobilisation in UP and its decline after the rise of caste-based parties, see Zoya Hasan, 'Transfer of power? Politics of mass mobilisation in UP', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 46/47, 24–30 November 2001, pp. 4401–4409; Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of Low Castes in North Indian Politics* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), pp. 48–143, 426–452; Christophe Jaffrelot, 'The rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi belt', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 1, February 2000, pp. 86–108.
 13. Interview with Brijesh Shukla, columnist, *Navbharat Times*, 11 June 2020, Lucknow. Also see his piece, 'BJP ke paas hai ati-pichhdon kee sanjeevani', *Navbharat Times*. The piece was written in May 2019, before the general election results were declared, after he had travelled 7,000 km to cover the poll campaign across UP.
 14. Interview with one of the longest-serving MLAs in UP, who spoke off-the-record for this book, 9 June 2020.
 15. This was the house of UP party leader and local magnate Sudhir Halwasiya. Rajiv Srivastava, 'Finally, a house for Amit Shah in Lucknow', *The Times of India*, 9 February 2014, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Finally-a-house-for-Amit-Shah-in-Lucknow/articleshow/30075957.cms>. For more on his 2013–14 UP

- campaign, see Lalmani Verma, 'The build-UP: Amit Shah's gameplan to conquer UP for Narendra Modi', *The Indian Express*, 6 April 2014, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/the-build-up/>.
16. Conversation with the Resident Editor of a major newspaper in Lucknow who did not wish to be named, 12 June 2020.
 17. Amit Shah interview with TNN, 'My mission was to deliver in UP, Amit Shah says', *The Times of India*, 17 May 2014, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/Election-results-2014-My-mission-was-to-deliver-in-UP-Amit-Shah-says/articleshow/35233049.cms>.
 18. Overall, India has a total of 2,479 castes notified as OBCs across all states. Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, *Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics 2018* (New Delhi: Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Plan Division, 2018), p. 237, <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistic2018.pdf>. For a detailed breakdown of UP's seventy-six OBC castes, see: 'Central list of OBCs for the state of Uttar Pradesh', <http://www.bcmbcmw.tn.gov.in/obc/faq/uttarpradesh.pdf>.
 19. According to the 1931 Census. Christophe Jaffrelot, 'The rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi belt', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 1, February 2000, p. 102.
 20. A total of 1,284 castes are notified as SC across all Indian states. Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, *Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics 2018* (New Delhi: Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Plan Division, 2018), p. 37. The full Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment list of sixty-six castes notified as SC in UP is available at: <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/Scan-0019.jpg>.
 21. Census 2011 data. See analysis by Swati Mathur, 'Jatavs on top of SC population in UP', *The Times of India*, 4 July 2015, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/lucknow/Jatavs-on-top-of-SC-population-in-UP/articleshow/47931787.cms>; Census of India 2001, *Uttar Pradesh—Data Highlights: The Scheduled Castes*, https://censusindia.gov.in/tables_published/scst/dh_sc_up.pdf. For further sub-caste SC details, see Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, *Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics 2018* (New Delhi: Department of Social Justice and Empowerment, Plan Division, 2018), pp. 52–105, <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistic2018.pdf>.
 22. Bhavna Vij-Arora, 'The caste of poll saffron', *Outlook*, 21 May 2018, <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/the-caste-of-poll-saffron/300140>; Faisal Fareed, 'Tug of war in UP over legacy of Rajbhar king', *The Indian Express*, 29 February 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/lucknow/tug-of-war-in-up-over-legacy-of-rajbhar-king/>.
 23. PMO India YouTube video, 'PM Modi releases commemorative stamp on Maharaja Suheldev and address public rally in Ghazipur', 28 December 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ood3ZDg6Koc>. For an account on the historical traditions

- for Raja Suheldev among Pasis, see Badri Narayan, 'Memories, saffronising statues and constructing communal politics', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 41, No. 45, 11–17 November 2006, pp. 4697–4698. For a critical account of Suheldev, see, for example, Ajaz Ashraf, 'How Amit Shah and BJP have twisted the story of Salar Masud and Raja Suheldev', 17 July 2017, <https://scroll.in/article/841590/how-amit-shah-and-the-bjp-have-twisted-the-story-of-salar-masud-and-raja-suheldev>. Suheldev's battle with Mahmud of Ghazni is also the subject of a recent novel by the best-selling writer Amish, *Legend of Suheldev: The King Who Saved India* (New Delhi: Westland, 2020).
24. The Lok Sabha constituencies where Nishads are said to have influence include: Firozabad, Badaun, Shahjahanpur, Kairana, Machhlishahr, Jaunpur. They also have a sizeable presence in Ghazipur, Phulpur, Sitapur, Jalaun, Fatehpur, Unnao, Gorakhpur, Ballia and Deoria, according to UP Backward Class Finance and Development Corporation Chairperson Baburam Nishad. PTI, 'Amit Shah woos Nishads, promises to build 8-feet tall statue of Nishadraj', News18.com, 10 May 2019, <https://www.news18.com/news/politics/in-up-amit-shah-woos-nishads-promises-to-build-80-feet-tall-statue-of-nishadraj-2135337.html>. For an analysis on the political importance of Nishads in eastern UP, see Sanjay Pandey, 'Why Nishads are so important in eastern UP', *Deccan Herald*, 4 April 2019, <https://www.deccanherald.com/national/why-nishads-are-so-important-in-eastern-up-727018.html>.
 25. Interview with Brijesh Shukla, columnist, *Navbharat Times*, 11 June 2020, Lucknow.
 26. BJP also lost Kairana and Phulpur in that round of by-elections in 2018.
 27. See, for example, IANS, 'Nishads emerge as major votebank in UP elections', *Business Standard*, 18 May 2019, https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/nishads-emerge-as-major-vote-bank-in-up-elections-119051800408_1.html.
 28. This switch by Praveen Nishad showed that Nishad groups were not passive recipients of a BJP indoctrination drive. Far from it. Nishad leaders responded to the BJP's overtures by playing the game instrumentally. For a detailed background on Nishad identity and politics, see Assa Doron, 'Caste away? Subaltern engagement with the modern Indian state', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 2010, pp. 753–783.
 29. Aman Sharma, 'High Court stays UP's move to shift 17 OBCs to SC list', *The Economic Times*, 17 September 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/high-court-stays-ups-move-to-shift-17-obcs-to-sc-list/articleshow/71160095.cms?from=mdr>.
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 31. Pankaj Shah, 'UP panel suggests 7% quota for Yadavs & Kurmis, says they are politically influential', *The Times of India*, 18 December 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/lucknow/up-panel-suggests-7-quota-for-yadavs-kurmis-says-they-are-politically-influential/articleshow/67137290.cms>.

32. Interview with Dinesh Sharma, deputy chief minister, UP, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
33. Details from <https://www.keshavprasadmaurya.com/> and PTI, 'Keshav Prasad Maurya, the deputy CM rewarded for BJP win in UP', *The Times of India*, 18 March 2017, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/assembly-elections/uttar-pradesh/news/keshav-prasad-maurya-the-deputy-cm-rewarded-for-bjp-win-in-up/articleshow/57710427.cms>.
34. Muslim Telis were classified as OBC vide Resolution 12011/68/93-BCC(C) dt 10/09/1993; Modh Ghanchis were added vide Resolution 12011/36/99-BCC dt 04/04/2000. Full list of OBCs in Gujarat is available at: National Commission for Backward Classes, 'Central list of OBCs for the state of Gujarat', <http://ncbc.nic.in/Writereaddata/cl/gujarat.pdf>. For a short background, see TNN, 'Modi didn't add his caste to OBC list', *The Times of India*, 11 May 2014, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/Modi-didnt-add-his-caste-to-OBC-list/articleshow/34941744.cms>.
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37. 'Sharing stage with Mulayam, Mayawati says Modi a fake OBC leader, slams Rahul Gandhi's NYAY—key takeaways from Mainpuri Rally', *FE Online*, 19 April 2019, <https://www.financialexpress.com/elections/mayawati-mulayam-singh-yadav-akhilesh-mainpuri-rally-lok-sabha-election-uttar-pradesh-modi/1553238/>.
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39. Interview with Dinesh Sharma, deputy chief minister, UP, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
40. Full text of Narendra Modi's speech in Alwar on 25 November 2018, available in Hindi at: <https://www.narendramodi.in/text-of-pm-s-address-at-public-meeting-at-alwar-rajasthan-542495>.
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- PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1735389; Damini Nath, 'OBC Commission's tenure extended by 6 months,' *The Hindu*, 24 June 2020, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/obc-commissions-tenure-extended-by-6-months/article31904996.ece>.
43. The National Commission for Backward Classes was reconstituted as a constitutional body w.e.f. 15.08.2018 by insertion of a new Article 338B in the Constitution through the Constitution (One Hundred and Second Amendment) Act, 2018. This made the powers available to the NCBC as per Article 338B the same as those available to the National Commission for Scheduled Castes as per Article 338. Krishan Pal Gurjar, Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment, Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1761, 2 July 2019, <http://loksabhaph.nic.in/Questions/QResult15.aspx?qref=1957&lsno=17>. Further, the Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty Seventh Amendment) Act, 2021, was passed by Parliament on 11 August 2021. It amended the 2018 legislation to allow states and union territories to make their own lists of socially and economically backward classes. It was necessitated after a Supreme Court judgment on 5 May 2021 which ruled that the legislation had taken away the power hitherto held by states to identify and list such classes for education and job quotas. Subsequently, the 2021 Constitutional Amendment clarified that the 2018 Act listed similar powers of notifying class lists only for the purposes of the union government. Ritika Chopra, Krishn Kaushik, '187-0: Bill to restore states' power on OBC list passed,' *The Indian Express*, 15 August 2021, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/187-0-bill-to-restore-states-power-on-obc-list-passed-7449656/>; PRS Legislative Research, 'The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty Seventh Amendment) Act, 2021,' <https://prsindia.org/billtrack/the-constitution-one-hundred-and-twenty-seventh-amendment-bill-2021>.
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50. Interview with Keshav Prasad Maurya, deputy chief minister, UP, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
51. Conversation with the resident editor of a major newspaper in Lucknow, 12 June 2020.
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56. Ibid.
57. Interview with Keshav Prasad Maurya, deputy chief minister, UP, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
58. Interview with Brijesh Shukla, columnist, *Navbharat Times*, 11 June 2020, Lucknow.
59. Chandra Bhan Prasad's interview to Avijit Ghosh, 'India cheers Dalits riding donkeys but fears Dalits riding horses ... caste society and government have dissolved into one', *The Times of India*, 5 October 2020.
60. Isabel Wilkerson, *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontent* (New York: Random House, 2020).
61. Journalists covering UP have been writing accurately about the BJP's OBC and SC mobilisation in its ticket-distribution during each of the relevant post-2014 poll campaigns mentioned in this chapter. This was rightly pointed out to me by Kunal Pradhan, executive editor, *Hindustan Times*, June 2020. Also see, for example, Brijesh Shukla's pieces published on this theme in May 2019: 'BJP ke paas hai atipichhdon kee sanjeevani', 'Dimple ke liye aasaan nahi hai Kannauj ki larhayee', published in *Navbharat Times* in May 2019 before the general election results were announced.
62. I am deeply grateful to Mahesh Rangarajan for this particular formulation in response to these findings.

CHAPTER 4 The BJP's Political Mobilisation of Welfare

1. The Swachh Bharat Mission was launched on 2 October 2014, Gandhi's birthday, by modifying the UPA government's erstwhile Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan, and putting in place a five-year target. The scheme increased allocation for individual household toilets to Rs 12,000 from Rs 10,000. Of this, the Union government's share of funding was 60 per cent (Rs 7,200 per toilet), while the state governments' share was 40 per cent (Rs 4,800 per toilet). For states in the Northeast, Jammu

- and Kashmir and Special Category States, the Centre–State ratio of funding was 90 per cent (Rs 10,800 per toilet): 10 per cent (Rs 1,200 per toilet). Details from Swachh Bharat Mission, ‘FAQs—SBM Phase I’, <https://swachhbharatmission.gov.in/SBMCMS/faq.htm>, and Swachh Bharat Mission, Guidelines for Swachh Bharat Mission (Gramin), revised October 2017, p. 17, <https://swachhbharatmission.gov.in/SBMCMS/writereaddata/portal/images/pdf/sbm-ph-II-Guidelines.pdf>.
2. Indira Awas Yojana was restructured into PMAY-G with effect from 1 April 2016—and the revised scheme formally launched on 20 November 2016—with an initial target of building 1 crore pucca house by 2018–19, with a final end-target of 2022. Aimed at providing pucca housing to all, the scheme increased unit assistance from Rs 70,000 to Rs 1.2 lakh per beneficiary in the plains and from Rs 75,000 to Rs 1.3 lakh in hilly states, difficult areas and IAP districts. The beneficiary is entitled to ninety to ninety-five person days of unskilled labour from MGNREGS. The scheme is administered by the Ministry of Rural Development. Separately, the PMAY-U is administered by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs. PMAY-U was launched on 25 June 2015 and focuses on ‘urban housing shortage among the EWS/LIG and MIG categories including the slum dwellers by ensuring a pucca house to all eligible urban households by the year 2022.’ Essentially, in operational terms, they are separate schemes—one rural, one urban—run by two different ministries with different reporting lines and administrative hierarchies but both fall within the broad rubric of the Modi’s government’s ‘Housing for All’ Mission. For PMAY-G, see <https://pmayg.nic.in/netiay/about.aspx>; PIB, Ministry of Rural Development, ‘PM launches “housing for all” in rural areas’, 20 November 2016, <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/printrelease.aspx?relid=153931>. For PMAY-U, see details on <https://pmaymis.gov.in/>, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, *Housing for All (Urban)—Scheme Guidelines 2015* (New Delhi: Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2015) and Kaushal Kishore, minister of state for housing and urban affairs, in response to Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1827, answered on 29 July 2021.
 3. Interview with Hemant Chouhan, gram _andhi_, Shahpur Bans Must village, Saharanpur district, UP, 17 June 2020.
 4. This point was made to me by the journalist Brijesh Shukla. Interview with Brijesh Shukla, columnist, *Navbharat Times*, 11 June 2020, Lucknow.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ashwani Kumar, ‘Is cash transfer a “Congress calling card”?’; *Business Standard*, 29 January 2013, https://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/ashwani-kumar-is-cash-transfer-a-congress-calling-card-113010200040_1.html.
 7. See, for example, Saba Naqvi, ‘Freshly minted cheer’, *Outlook*, 10 December 2012, <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/freshly-minted-cheer/283179>.
 8. The UPA government initiated DBT with effect from 1 January 2013 in forty-three identified districts for twenty-four selected schemes. The NDA government

(vide O.M. No. I-11011/58/2013-DBT dated 13.2.2015 and 19.2.2015) expanded the scope of DBT to cover all central sector schemes/centrally sponsored schemes in which cash benefits are transferred to individual beneficiaries. Source: Jayant Singh, minister of state for finance, answer to Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 2077, 6 May 2016.

9. RBI gave approval to banks for e-KYC verification through Aadhaar only on 2 September 2013 vide RBI/2013-14/209.DBOD.AML.BC.No.44/14.01.001/2013-14, <https://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/NotificationUser.aspx?Id=8357&Mode=0>.
10. According to the Ministry of Finance data tabled in Parliament, as of 26 December 2018, 434 schemes of fifty-six ministries/departments had been onboarded on to the DBT portal. One example is the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas's modified DBT for LPG (DBTL/PAHAL) Scheme launched in fifty-four districts on 15.11.2014 and across the country on 01.01.2015. LPG consumers who join the PAHAL scheme get the LPG cylinders at non-subsidised price and receive LPG subsidy (as per their entitlement) directly into their registered bank accounts. As on 27.03.2017, out of 19.81 crore active LPG consumers, 16.95 crore had joined the PAHAL Scheme. Subsidy amount of more than Rs 46,000 crore had been transferred to the beneficiaries' bank accounts since its launch. A second example is that of MNREGA. As per NREGASoft, around 99 per cent of MNREGA wages were being paid electronically (FY 2018-19 as on 24.07.2018) into the Bank/Post Office accounts of MGNREGA workers through Electronic Fund Management System (eFMS). In FY 2013-14, only 37 per cent of the wages were paid electronically. Overall, DBT schemes include subsidies and benefits, such as scholarships, pension, wages and other social benefits under various centrally sponsored schemes and central sector schemes. Till 31 March 2017, Union government ministries reported savings of Rs 57,029 crore due to DBT. DBT data from P. Radhakrishnan, minister of state for finance, answer to Unstarred Question 2827, Lok Sabha, 28 December 2018, <http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/16/AU2827.pdf>.

MNREGA details from Ram Kripal Yadav, minister of state for rural development, answer to Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1507, 26 July 2018, <http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/15/AU1507.pdf>. DBT savings estimate from P. Radhakrishnan, minister of state for finance, answer to Unstarred Question 18, Lok Sabha, 2 February 2018, <http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/14/AU18.pdf>. LPG PAHAL; data from Arjun Ram Meghwal, minister of state for finance, Lok Sabha Unstarred Question 4922, 31 March 2017, <http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/11/AU4922.pdf>.

11. This data tabled in Lok Sabha is available at: <http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/174/AU1183.pdf> and <http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/16/AU2827.pdf>.
12. The ECI allowed the Union agriculture ministry to transfer the first and second tranche of the payment to all those beneficiaries registered under the scheme before 10 March 2019. Ahead of the Lok Sabha polls, the Centre announced the

- Rs 75,000-crore Pradhan Mantri Kisan Samman Nidhi (PM-Kisan) scheme under which Rs 6,000 per year would be disbursed in three instalments to around 12 crore farmers who hold cultivable land up to 2 hectares. PTI, 'PM Kisan Scheme: 4.74 crore farmers to get second instalment from next month', *Economic Times*, 23 March 2019, <https://bit.ly/2JnB3id>.
13. Narendra Modi's speech in Kannauj, 26 April 2019, available on Narendra Modi YouTube channel, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCSMN_ju7YE&feature=emb_logo.
 14. The Rythu Bandhu programme reaches 57,15,870 farmers across thirty-two Telangana districts. For details, see http://rythubandhu.telangana.gov.in/Default_RB1.aspx. Implementation details from Government of Telangana, Agriculture and Cooperation Department, *Guidelines for Implementation of Agriculture Investment Support Scheme ('Rythu Bandhu') in Telangana State: Orders Issued*, G.O. Rt. No 231, 4 April 2018. For a critical analysis, see Sai Manish, 'Winning elections Telangana style: Pay farm land owners, ignore the tillers', *Business Standard*, 20 December 2018, <https://bit.ly/3qahbjw>.
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 26. Interview with a senior official in UP CMO, 9 June 2020, Lucknow.
 27. Interview with Keshav Prasad Maurya, deputy chief minister, UP, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
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43. The absolute number of poor declined from 407 million in 2004-05 to 355 million in 2009-10 to 269 million in 2011-12. The percentage of poor fell from 29.8 per cent in 2009-10 to 21.9 per cent in 2011-12. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, *Backstage: The Story Behind India's High Growth Years* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2020), p. 295. Also see Ahluwalia's interview with Nalin Mehta, Sanjiv Shankaran, 'If a bank chief isn't beholden to a FinMin joint secretary, he will behave differently', *The Times of India*, 16 February 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/Sunday-times/all-that-matters/if-a-bank-chief-isnt-beholden-to-a-finmin-join-secretary-he-will-behave-differently-says-montek-singh-ahluwalia/articleshow/74152939.cms>.
44. Interview with Hemant Agarwal, BJP district vice president, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
45. Interview with a long-standing UP MLA who spoke on the condition of anonymity, 9 and 10 June 2020.

CHAPTER 5 The BJP's Muslim Model

1. Census 2011 counted 17,22,45,158 Muslims in India. In UP, it counted 3,84,83,967 Muslims. Data from the Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 'C1—Population by religious community', <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-01.html>.
2. Interview with Dinesh Sharma, deputy chief minister, UP, 8 June 2020, Lucknow.
3. Ibid.
4. Christophe Jaffrelot, 'The fate of secularism in India', in Milan Vaishnav (ed.), *The BJP in Power: Indian Democracy and Religious Nationalism*, 4 April 2019, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/04/04/fate-of-secularism-in-india-pub-78689>
5. Harsh Mandar, 'Sonia, sadly', *The Indian Express*, 24 March 2018, https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/_andh-sadly-congress-muslims-party-sonia-gandhi-5100506/. For a more nuanced perspective, see Suhas Palshikar,

- 'The BJP and Hindu nationalism: Centrist politics and majoritarian impulses', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 2015, pp. 719–735.
6. Narendra Modi's victory speech on 23 May 2019 is available on the BJP YouTube Channel, 'Victory Celebrations at BJP Headquarters #VijayiBharat', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VruL38kjEBY>.
 7. This was a point often made by Advani in the late 1980s and early 1990s. See, for example, his interview to Manini Chatterjee, 'We should not shy away from the fact that this is essentially a Hindu country', *The Telegraph*, 14 February 1991; and his interview to A. Surya Prakash, 'Advani trains guns on "pseudo-secularists"', *The Indian Express*, 4 February 1991. Advani's successor as BJP president, Murali Manohar Joshi, made the same argument in an interview to Rajiv Saxena, 'The Hindu majority makes india secular', *Observer*, 13 January 1991. Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 1991 also argued that the Ayodhya issue 'is not a religious issue. It's a national issue in the sense that Ram is a national hero.' See his interview to Vinod Sharma, 'There are elements who want the BJP to become a religious party', *Hindustan Times*, 10 February 1991.
 8. Yogi Adityanath's interview to *Network 18* at India Summit, 17 March 2018. Full video available at: <https://www.news18.com/news/politics/nobody-is-more-secular-than-hindus-says-yogi-adityanath-at-news-18-rising-india-summit-1692553.html>. Yogi's usage of the word 'panth' echoed a sentiment first articulated by the then BJP Union home minister, Rajnath Singh, in a 2015 speech in Parliament during a ceremony to commemorate the Constitution and its framer Dr B.R. Ambedkar. Singh argued that "The official translation of the word "secularism" is *panth-nirpeksh* [sect neutral], not *dharm-nirpeksh* [religion-neutral]. Bharat's dharam in itself is *panth-nirpeksh*.' He was referring to the fact that the official translation of India's Constitution in Hindi translates the word 'secularism' as 'panth-nirpeksh'. This ignited a wider debate on secularism and its meaning and the BJP's political intentions at the time, with Congress leaders accusing the BJP of 'playing games' with the meaning of the term. Clips of Rajnath Singh's speech on 26 November 2015 available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CPNiLB9jXr8&t=2s>. Full text of the official Hindi translation of India's Constitution is available at <https://legislative.gov.in/hi/constitution-of-india>.
 9. In multipolar election contests in the first-past-the-post system, the effective number of political parties/players increases. Bipolarity represents a two-way concentration of votes. The minimal level of a multipolar configuration would be a three-way contest. In states like UP, it could be even higher. While there are often a large number of parties contesting a particular seat, there are various ways to statistically compute the 'effective' number of political parties (i.e., the number of key contenders) in the contest. One of the most common techniques is to use the inverse of the square root of the sum of the squares of their vote share. The formula is as below: Effective Number of Political Parties = $1/\text{SQRT}((A)^2+(B)^2+(C)^2)$.

As per this, if we are to assume that UP has at a minimum number of three parties in contest, the formula is written as $3 = 1/\text{SQRT}((A)^2+(B)^2+(C)^2)$.

Repeated iterations of this formula show that the value of the LHS remains around three (the conservative case we are trying to establish in the case of UP, if at least one of the variables of A, B and C remain above 0.4, which is 40 per cent. At its point of inflexion, it assumes that even if two of the three parties obtain 30 per cent each, one of them still needs to touch the 40 per cent mark to obtain an effective number of political parties as three. With the vote share of one party at larger than 40 per cent, the number starts dropping below three and the contest starts getting closer to a bipolar scenario marking a definitive departure from a purely triangular contest and signifying the dominance of one party among the three. We, therefore, set 40 per cent as a premium performance benchmark for saying that a party has indeed made a decisive presence in three-way (or more) contests. I am grateful to Jai Mrug for this calculation and explanation.

10. Shreyas Sardesai, 'The religious divide in voting preferences and attitudes in the 2019 election', *Studies in Indian Politics*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, pp. 161–175. First published online on 6 November 2019; issue published on 1 December 2019.
11. PTI, 'BJP fares well in "minority-concentration" districts, wins over 50% seats', *The Times of India*, 29 May 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/bjp-fares-well-in-minority-concentration-districts-wins-over-50-seats/articleshow/69556665.cms>; Samyak Pandey, Ruhi Tiwari, 'BJP's _andhi_ation strategy pays off as party wins 37% seats with high Muslim population', *ThePrint.in*, 24 May 2019, <https://theprint.in/india/bjps-polarisation-strategy-pays-off-as-party-wins-37-seats-with-high-muslim-population/240228/>. Also see Kaushik Deka, 'Consolidation of the Muslim vote bank?' *India Today*, 27 May 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india-today-insight/story/lok-sabha-election-muslim-votebank-bjp-congress-1535453-2019-05-27>.
12. Interview with a senior official in the UP CMO, speaking on the condition of anonymity, 9 June 2020, Lucknow.
13. Ibid.
14. PNS, 'Yogi most sought after campaigner in Bihar', *Pioneer*, 13 October 2020, <https://www.dailypioneer.com/2020/state-editions/yogi-most-sought-after---campaigner-in-bihar.html>.
15. Pankaj Shah, 'Yogi Adityanath swings votes for NDA in Bihar with 67% strike rate', *The Times of India*, 10 November 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/assembly-elections/bihar/yogi-adityanath-swings-votes-for-nda-in-bihar-with-67-strike-rate/articleshow/79155612.cms>.
16. Amit Shah speaking in a joint press conference with Narendra Modi, 17 May 2019. Full video available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_h3eJj3P6k.
17. Details from <http://upcmo.up.nic.in/>, 26 November 2020. See Raza's profile in Jagat Narayan Singh, 'Meet Yogi Adityanath's lone Muslim minister Mohsin Raza in UP cabinet', *India Today*, 19 March 2017, <https://www.indiatoday.in/assembly>

- elections-2017/uttar-pradesh-assembly-election-2017/story/yogi-adityanath-muslim-minister-mohsin-raza-966411-2017-03-19.
18. See, for example, PTI, 'Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi: Lone Muslim face in Modi govt. 2.0', *India Today*, 31 May 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/mukhtar-abbas-naqvi-lone-muslim-face-modi-govt-2-1538945-2019-05-31>.
 19. Pradeep Chhibber, Rahul Varma, 'The rise of the second dominant party system in India: BJP's new social coalition in 2019', *Studies in Indian Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1 December 2019, pp. 131–148.
 20. He also praised Mayawati for what he saw as soft Hindutva and 'Hindu social engineering' like Indira Gandhi did in the 1980s. Quoted in Suddheendra Kulkarni, 'Reality shirking Sangh', *The Indian Express*, 18 May 2007.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Balraj Madhok, 'Back to the roots', *Hindustan Times*, 8 November 2001.
 23. Interview with a long-standing UP MLA who spoke on the condition of anonymity, 9 and 10 June 2020.
 24. TNN, 'I'm a Hindu; No need to celebrate Eid: Yogi Adityanath', *The Times of India*, 7 March 2018, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/63195659.cms>.
 25. Pankaj Shah, 'Yogi Adityanath doubles financial grant for pilgrims of Kailash Mansarovar', *The Times of India*, 25 March 2017, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/57829099.cms>. For details, see state government orders listed on Department of Religious Affairs, Government of Uttar Pradesh website: <http://updharmarthkarya.in/booking/Home>. Parallel to this, the UP government's Minority Welfare and Waqf Department's budgets were significantly increased: going up from Rs 1,365.31 crore in 2015-16 (under the previous Akhilesh Yadav-led SP government) to Rs 3,159.26 crore in 2020-21. Data from Minority Welfare and Waqf Department, Government of Uttar Pradesh, 'Vittiya Avashyaktao ka Uddeshyavaar Vargikaran', <http://minoritywelfare.up.gov.in/en/page/progress-reports>.
 26. The Union government used to provide subsidies on airfare for Haj pilgrims since the 1950s. The Supreme Court, in a two-bench judgment by Justice Aftab Alam and Justice Ranjana Prakash Desai in 2012, ruled that the Haj subsidy should be 'done away with' by 2022. The apex court found the subsidy both unsustainable in law and inconsistent with the Quran, which enjoins it for those believers who can 'afford the expenses (for one's conveyance, provision and residence)'. The ruling, based on its reading of the Quran, hence specifically distinguished between subsidies for the Haj and those for other religious activities by other religions. Following this judgment and the recommendations of a Haj Policy Review committee set up by Ministry of Minority Affairs, this subsidy was gradually reduced from 2013 and withdrawn by the Modi government in 2018. The Union government's subsidy for Haj pilgrims provided to the airlines amounted to Rs 577.07 crore in 2014-15, Rs 529.51 crore in 2015-16 and Rs 405.39 crore in 2016-17. Expenditure details from Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, Minister of Minority Affairs, Lok Sabha Unstarred

- Question No. 915 answered on 07.02.2018 and General V.K. Singh (retd.), Minister of State for External Affairs, Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 4282 answered on 21.03.2018. For the Supreme Court's full Haj verdict see, *Union of India & Ors vs Rafique Shaikh Bhikan & Anr* on 30 April 2012, Special Leave Petition (Civil) No. 28609 of 2011 with Special Leave Petition (Civil) Nos 33190-33217 of 2011 and Transfer Petition (Civil) No. 191 of 2012. Full judgment available on: <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/124837377/>.
27. Interview with a long-standing UP MLA who spoke on the condition of anonymity, 9 and 10 June 2020.
 28. Interview with Hemant Chouhan, gram _andhi_, Shahpur Bans Must village, Saharanpur district, UP, 17 June 2020.
 29. Ibid.
 30. Data from PMAY-G, Awassoft Dashboard, 'C2- Category-wise houses sanctioned and completed', 17 December 2020, <https://rhreporting.nic.in/netaiy/SocialProgressReport/Categorywisehouses completedreport.aspx>.
 31. PMMY was launched on 8 April 2015, for providing loans up to Rs 10 lakh to non-corporate, non-farm small/micro enterprises. These Mudra loans are given by commercial banks, RRBs, small finance banks, MFIs and NBFCs. *Mudra Yojana Annual Report 2019-2020*, p. 16.
 32. Quoted in PTI, 'Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi: Lone Muslim face in Modi govt. 2.0', *India Today*, 31 May 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/mukhtar-abbas-naqvi-lone-muslim-face-modi-govt-2-1538945-2019-05-31>.
 33. Narendra Modi's speech in Dhanbad, 12 December 2019. Full text in Hindi available at: <https://www.narendramodi.in/text-of-pm-modi-s-speech-at-public-meeting-in-dhanbad-jharkhand-547632>.
 34. PTI, 'India's Muslim neighbours among 23 countries that have banned triple talaq', *Hindustan Times*, 19 September 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/india-s-muslim-neighbours-among-23-countries-that-have-banned-triple-talaq/story-J8b9HkOCwdMAIWscwxZMK.html>.
 35. Asaduddin Owaisi, 'Present generation is lucky to see this Indian team with three good pacers', *The Indian Express*, 21 May 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/present-generation-is-lucky-to-see-this-indian-team-with-three-good-pacers-5739334/>.
 36. On 10 December 2018; video at: <https://twitter.com/ANI/status/1072044067423440896?s=20>.
 37. Gulam Jeelani, 'How Asaduddin is emerging as the rising star of Muslim politics in India', 19 November 2020, <https://www.moneycontrol.com/news/politics/how-asaduddin-owaisis-aimim-champions-the-rise-of-muslim-politics-in-india-6135651.html>. For further background on AIMIM, also see Rochana Bajpai, Adnan Farooqui, 'Non-extremist out-bidding: Muslim leadership in majoritarian India', *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2018, pp. 276–298; Mahtab Alam, 'Love and hate in Hyderabad: The incendiary political life of Akbaruddin

- Owaisi’, 11 December 2018, <https://thewire.in/politics/love-and-hate-in-hyderabad-the-fiery-political-life-of-akbaruddin-owaisi>.
38. This was the charge by Pawan Khera, Congress spokesperson, in a TV debate hosted by Rajdeep Sardesai on India Today TV, 10 November 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U1Xz5K29Igk>.
 39. Nalin Mehta and Sanjeev Singh’s interview with Asaduddin Owaisi, broadcast on ‘Elections with Times—Owaisi: Telangana’s Kingmaker’, *The Times of India*, 30 November 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/videos/news/_andhi-telanganas-kingmaker/videoshow/66874909.cms.
 40. Ibid.
 41. It won 1,07,779 votes (13.46 per cent) in Sant Kabir Nagar, 73,235 (12.1 per cent) in Gonda, 79,801 (10.85 per cent) in Domariyaganj, 67,897 (8.79 per cent) in Basti and 44,691 votes (7.38 per cent) in Shrawasti.
 42. Owaisi’s 22 July 2008 speech in Lok Sabha on the nuclear deal, where he specifically took umbrage at the _andhi_ation_ion of Indian Muslims as being against the deal as a ‘canard’, is available on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjxxYoHnIJI>.
 43. Mohamad Siddique, ‘AIMIM’s MP Owaisi to Support UPA’, 20 July 2008, <https://www.rediff.com/news/2008/jul/20upavote3.htm>.
 44. Special Correspondent, ‘MIM withdraws support to UPA, Kiran government’, *The Hindu*, 12 November 2012, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/_andhi-pradesh/mim-withdraws-support-to-upa-kiran-government/article4090292.ece.
 45. For exact seat break-up of Muslim-significant seats in Bihar in 2020, see TOI Data Hub: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/assembly-elections/bihar/constituency-map>.
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 47. Yogi Adityanath’s speech on 28 November 2020. Video clip available at: <https://twitter.com/ANI/status/1332675702580101122?s=20>. For a background on the idea of Bhagyanagar and the Bhagyalakshmi temple, adjacent to Charminar, see Sreenivas Janyala, ‘A Hyderabad temple, And the city’s name’, *The Indian Express*, 1 December 2020; Rohini Swamy, ‘Yogi is wrong: There is not a shred of evidence to prove Hyderabad was called Bhagyanagar’, 2 December 2020, <https://theprint.in/statedraft/yogi-is-wrong-theres-not-a-shred-of-evidence-to-prove-hyderabad-was-called-bhagyanagar/160024/>.
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 50. Vatsala Gaur, Aman Sharma, ‘UP clears ordinance “to stop love-jihad” provision for 1-5 year jail’, *Economic Times*, 24 November 2020.
 51. ‘Love jihad: Reality or rhetoric?’, *Organiser*, 7 September 2014.
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- politics-and-nation/kerala-hc-asks-govt-to-frame-laws-to-stop-love-jihad/articleshow/5320856.cms.
53. Christophe Jaffrelot, 'Law of unfreedom', *The Indian Express*, 26 November 2020.
 54. For an overview of anti-conversion laws in Indian states, see James Andrew Huff, 'Religious freedom in India and analysis of the constitutionality of anti-conversion laws', *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion*, 10(2), 1(4), 2009, archived at <https://perma.cc/7Z7Y-9U8Q>; Laura Dudley Jenkins, 'Legal limits on religious conversion in India', *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 109, 113 (2008), <http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1469&context=lcp>.
 55. Sonam Joshi, 'Tied up in a knotty law, some interfaith couples opt to convert', *The Times of India*, 30 November 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/tied-up-in-a-knotty-law-some-interfaith-couples-opt-to-convert/articleshow/79483259.cms>. The Special Marriage Act, 1954 enshrines the provision of civil marriage for all Indians, irrespective of religion or faith followed by either party. One does not have to be interfaith to marry under this Act. The legislation is for everyone. However, it is primarily used by interfaith couples (and a small number of atheists) or those marrying across caste divides and impacts them the most.
 56. Christophe Jaffrelot, 'Law of unfreedom', *The Indian Express*, 26 November 2020.
 57. For an analysis of the legal issues raised by the Uttar Pradesh Prohibition of Unlawful Conversion of Religion Ordinance No. 21 of 2020, see, for instance, the questions raised by former IPS officer (former DGP Kerala) N.C. Asthana, 'Legal howlers in UP's "anti-conversion" law expose its real intent', *The Wire*, 3 December 2020, <https://thewire.in/communalism/legal-howlers-in-ups-anti-conversion-law-expose-its-real-intent>.
 58. Rajesh Kumar Pandey, 'Allahabad HC upholds the right to choose partner irrespective of religion', *The Times of India*, 25 November 2020.

CHAPTER 6 What the BJP Says

1. A further 46 million listed English as their third language. Census 2011 data, from Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, https://censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/Language_MTs.html.
2. Ibid.
3. *Kamal Sandesh* is a fortnightly magazine published by the BJP in both English and Hindi. It is published by the Dr Mookerjee Smruti Nyas from New Delhi, along with twenty-one other magazines, for the BJP. In 2017, the BJP claimed the magazine had a circulation of 8,00,000. See <http://www.kamalsandesh.org/about-kamal-sandesh/>. Circulation figures from Simontini Bhattacharjee's interview with Amit Shah: 'We are a party of ideology', *Millennium Post*, 10 July 2017, <http://www.millenniumpost.in/opinion/we-are-a-party-of-ideology-251695>.
4. *Organiser*, an English weekly, was launched as an RSS mouthpiece in July 1947, followed by the Hindi-language *Panchjanya*, in January 1948. Published by Bharat

- Prakashan (Delhi) Ltd, it claims a readership of 5 lakh for its print edition and has a large digital presence. For a short background on various RSS publications, see Walter K. Andersen, Shridhar D. Damle, *The RSS: A View to the Inside* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2018), p. 25. Also see <https://www.organiser.org/encyc/2019/8/23/About-Us.html>.
5. *Congress Sandesh* was launched by the Congress as an official magazine in 1999. It started as a monthly in both English and Hindi, but since 2018 has been published sporadically. See <https://www.inc.in/en/congress-sandesh/pdf/archives>. In 2019, a party leader estimated its circulation to be 20,000: Sanjay K. Jha, 'Congress mouthpiece falls silent', *The Telegraph*, 1 January 2019, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/congress-mouthpiece-falls-silent/cid/1680618>.
 6. The BJP won three of seventy seats in the Delhi state assembly election in February 2015, with 32.19 per cent vote share. It won eight of seventy seats, with 38.51 per cent vote share in the Delhi assembly election of February 2015. ECI data, Statistical Reports on General Election 2015 to the Legislative Assembly of NCT of Delhi, <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/3878-delhi-2015/> and <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/12027-general-legislative-election-2020/>.
 7. Arun Jaitley, 'Is Congress becoming ideologyless? Is anti-Modism its only ideology?', <https://www.bjp.org/en/pressreleasesdetail/304037/Article-Is-Congress-Becoming-Ideologyless-Is-Anti-Modism-its-only-ideology-by-Union-Minister-Shri-Arun-Jaitley>, 13 June 2018.
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 9. Emphasis is mine. BJP Press Release, 'Salient points of speech of BJP national president, Shri Amit Shah addressing intellectuals meet at Budha Mal Castle, Palampur', Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, 4 May 2017, <https://www.bjp.org/en/pressreleasesdetail/299215/Salient-points-of-speech-of-BJP-National-President-Shri-Amit-Shah-addressing-Intellectuals-meet-at-Budha-Mal-Castle-Palampur-Kangra-Himachal-Pradesh->.
 10. BJP, '*Congressi netaon dvara Pradhan Mantri Modi ko kahe gaye apshabd*', 15 May 2018, <https://www.bjp.org/en/pressreleasesdetail/303981/->.

11. See, for example, Saba Naqvi, 'It's jingles all the way', *Outlook*, 1 March 2004, <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/its-jingles-all-the-way/223068>.
12. For a background note on the three laws, see, for instance, the legislative briefs by PRS Legislative Research, available at: <https://www.prsindia.org/ministry/agriculture-and-farmers-welfare>.
13. Modi's address in a video call with farmer groups from Madhya Pradesh on 18 December 2020, <https://twitter.com/narendramodi/status/1339913010031169536?s=20>.
14. Modi announced the decision on Guru Nanak Jayanti, 19 November 2021, saying he was 'sorry' and that 'there must have been some deficiency in our efforts, due to which we could not explain the truth like the light of the lamp to some farmers.' The laws were repealed on 30 November in Parliament. Full video of Modi's speech announcing the law repeal is available at: <https://youtu.be/q0grrP8ufuo>.
15. Bharatiya Janata Party, National Council Meeting, 'Resolution on agriculture', 11–12 January 2019, <https://www.bjp.org/en/speechdetail/239883/RESOLUTION-ON-AGRICULTURE->.
16. The eight-member National Farmers Commission, chaired by Prof. M.S. Swaminathan, was set up on 18 November 2004 by UPA-2 to assess the extent of India's agrarian crisis. It submitted five reports between 2004 and 2006, all of which are available at: <https://ruralindiaonline.org/en/articles/all-reports-by-the-swaminathan-commission/>. For a perspective on and succinct explanation of how the MSP formula at 1.5 times the input cost was calculated and the debates around it, see Explained Desk, 'How the 1.5-times formula for crops MSP is calculated', *The Indian Express*, 2 December 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-how-the-1-5-times-formula-for-crops-msp-is-calculated-7075865/>.
17. By 31 August 2020, a total of 1.67 crore farmers, 1.44 lakh traders and 83,958 commission agents and 1722 farmer producer organisations (FPOs) have been registered on eNAM platform. A total trade value of Rs. 1,04,313 crore had been recorded on eNAM platform. PIB Delhi, Ministry of Agriculture, 'Success rate of E-NAM', 18 September 2020. <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1656145>.
18. Bharatiya Janata Party, National Council Meeting, 'Resolution on agriculture', 11–12 January 2019, <https://www.bjp.org/en/speechdetail/239883/RESOLUTION-ON-AGRICULTURE->. For more details, also see PIB, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, 'Pulses and oilseeds amounting to Rs 44,142 crore procured from farmers during 2014-15 to 2018-19', 4 December 2018, <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=186101>.
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CHAPTER 7 Modi@Digital

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60. See TOI campaign tracker at: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/campaigntracker>.
61. Aman Sharma, 'New engagement platform: NaMo app a big campaign and feedback tool', *The Economic Times*, 20 March 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/elections/lok-sabha/india/new-engagement-platform-namo-app-a-big-campaign-and-feedback-tool/articleshow/68474625.cms>.

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64. Venkat Ananth, 'When a project to empower left Congress stranded', *The Economic Times*, 17 June 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/when-a-project-to-empower-left-congress-stranded/articleshow/69818494.cms?from=mdr>.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Personal interview with Amit Malviya, National Head, Information and Technology, BJP, 18 November 2019.
68. Samarth Bansal, 'Narendra Modi app has a fake news problem', 27 January 2019, <https://medium.com/disfact/narendra-modi-app-has-a-fake-news-problem-d60b514bb8f1>, originally posted in DisFact.
69. See, for example, Swati Chaturvedi, *I am a Troll: Inside the Secret World of the BJP's Digital Army* (New Delhi: Juggernaut, 2016); Shivam Shankar Singh, *How to Win an Indian Election: What Political Parties Don't Want You to Know* (New Delhi: Ebury, 2019).
70. Personal interview with Amit Malviya, National Head, Information and Technology, BJP, 18 November 2019.
71. Amit Shah's speech, available on BJP YouTube, 'Shri Amit Shah addresses social media volunteers' meet in Kota, Rajasthan: 22.09.2018', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1OW7AQxpf2g>.
72. Ibid.
73. 'Sonia Gandhi names interim Congress president after day long CWC meet', 10 August 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/sonia-gandhi-named-interim-congress-president-after-day-long-cwc-meet/articleshow/70623738.cms>.

CHAPTER 8 How the BJP Became the World's Largest Political Party

1. Vinay Sahasrabuddhe served as BJP vice president from August 2014 to September 2020. He also headed the BJP's organisational effort in Madhya Pradesh since 2014. He became a Rajya Sabha MP in 2016, was appointed president of the Indian

- Council for Cultural Relations in 2018 and chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development in 2020. He headed the BJP's Training Cell during 1999–2009.
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 3. <https://twitter.com/vinay1011/status/1246991332519772160?s=20>.
 4. <https://twitter.com/vinay1011/status/1247070541296500736?s=20>.
 5. See, for example, Anirban Ganguly, Shiwanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019).
 6. Madan Das Devi, then RSS joint general secretary, in interview to Rajesh Joshi, 'RSS dumping the BJP: "It's for the Future to Tell"', *Outlook*, 30 October 2000.
 7. Swapan Dasgupta, 'Meshed in adolescence', *Telegraph*, 3 April 2009.
 8. For background on the BJP/Jan Sangh–RSS relationship, see Craig Baxter, *The Jana Sangh: A Biography of an Indian Political Party* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969); Walter K. Andersen, Shridhar D. Damle, *The RSS: A View from the Inside* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2018); Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996) and Pralay Kanungo, 'Sangh and sarkar: The RSS power centre shifts from Nagpur to New Delhi', in Angana P. Chatterjee, Thomas Blom Hansen, Christophe Jaffrelot (eds), *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism Is Changing India* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 2019), pp. 133–150.
 9. This is how the BJP describes itself on its Twitter account: <https://twitter.com/bjp4india>. The party's National Executive officially celebrated this milestone in Bengaluru on 3 April 2015. Party spokesperson Prakash Javadekar claimed that the BJP now had the 'largest databank'. See <https://youtu.be/eTgckcn5PNk>.
 10. 'Mahamantri Report' (2013–2016) submitted by Ram Lal, national general secretary of the BJP. Quoted in Anirban Ganguly, Shiwanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 116.
 11. Chinese Communist Party data is based on numbers released by CCP Organisation Department and reported by Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/281378/number-of-chinese-communist-party-ccp-members-in-china/>; Hudson Lockett, 'Chinese Communist Party's membership growth slows down', *Financial Times*, 30 June 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/3b92a4c4-876d-3d44-b547-a4b4fedd8524>.
 12. If we assume about fifteen workers per shakha, the RSS's 2014 membership would have been 6,74,730. At an average of fifty per shakha, this would have been 2.24 million. We have used the upper range of 100 per shakha on average for this analysis: 4.49 million. Shakha data from RSS annual reports.
 13. On 31 March 2015, the BJP claimed a membership number of 8,67,00,000, whereas the CCP had 6,88,00,000 members. Data quoted in Anirban Ganguly, Shiwanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 116.

14. RSS data based on estimates by author calculated from RSS Annual Reports 2009–2019. RSS 1977–2003 data from Manini Chatterjee, ‘Repackaging the RSS’, *The Indian Express*, 16 March 2003. CCP data until 1988 from Stanley Rosen, ‘The Chinese Communist Party and Chinese society: Popular attitudes toward party membership and the party’s image’, *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, July 1990, No. 24, July 1990, pp. 51–92; subsequent CCP data from Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/281378/number-of-chinese-communist-party-ccp-members-in-china/>. BJP data as reported by the party in several public sources. 2019 numbers from PTI, ‘BJP’s strength to rise by 70 million, totalling 180 million: J.P. Nadda’, 14 January 2020, *Business Standard*, https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/bjp-to-add-7-cr-new-members-totalling-18-cr-nadda-119082900946_1.html; 2015 numbers from PTI, ‘BJP membership near 18 crore, only seven countries have more population: JP Nadda’, *The Times of India*, 29 August 2015, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/bjp-membership-near-18-crore-only-seven-countries-have-more-population-jp-nadda/articleshow/70897742.cms>, BJP press conference, 31 March 2015: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfXkU_HZOp8; 2014 numbers from ‘Saath aaye desh banaaye: Narendra Modi’, *Kamal Sandesh*, 16–30 November 2014, http://ofbjpk.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/ks_nov_02_204_e.pdf; 1980–1985 comparison is over a year-range: RSS estimates from 1985, BJP from 1980 and CCP from 1982.
15. BJP YouTube channel, ‘Press conference by Shri Amit Shah at BJP head office’, New Delhi, 17 May 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_h3elj3P6k. Shah spoke in Hindi; translation mine.
16. ‘Narendra Modi launches BJP’s membership drive’, 1 November 2014, <https://www.narendramodi.in/pm-narendra-modi-launches-bjps-membership-drive-6826>; ‘BJP launches membership drive, PM first member’, *Outlook*, 1 November 2014, <https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/story/bjp-launches-membership-drive-pm-first-member/866247>; PTI, ‘PM Modi launches BJP membership drive from Varanasi’, *The Times of India*, 6 July 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/pm-modi-launches-bjps-membership-drive-from-his-ls-constituency/articleshow/70104952.cms>.
17. See, for instance, Gargi Parsai, ‘BJP eyes 10 crore new members’, *The Hindu*, 1 November 2014, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/modi-launches-bjp-membership-drive/article6555553.ece>.
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19. Anirban Ganguly, Shiwanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 121–122.
20. Quoted in Manu Balachandaran, Saptarishi Dutta, ‘Here’s how the BJP surpassed China’s communists to become the largest political party in the world’, *Quartz*, 31 March 2015, <https://qz.com/india/372466/heres-how-the-bjp-surpassed-chinas-communists-to-become-the-largest-political-party-in-the-world/>.

21. Interview with Hemant Agarwal, BJP district vice president, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
22. Interview with Rajesh Singh Pintu, Mathura Nagar Nigam Parshad, 26 July 2020.
23. Ibid.
24. Interview with Hemant Agarwal, BJP district vice president, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
25. Ibid.
26. Interview with a BJP district leader in UP, July 2020. His identity has not been disclosed on his request.
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28. Personal interview with N. Ravi Kumar, BJP general secretary and MLC, Karnataka, 10 February 2020, Bengaluru.
29. Interview with Pradeep Goswami, general secretary, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
30. Interview with Rajesh Singh Pintu, Mathura Nagar Nigam Parshad, 26 July 2020.
31. Interview with Pradeep Goswami, general secretary, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
32. Interview with Rajesh Singh Pintu, Mathura Nagar Nigam Parshad, 26 July 2020.
33. Interview with N. Ravi Kumar, BJP general secretary and MLC, Karnataka, 10 February 2020, Bengaluru.
34. Press Conference by Amit Shah at the BJP Head Office, New Delhi, 17 May 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_h3eIji3P6k. Amit Shah spoke in Hindi. The translation is by me.
35. Anirban Ganguly, Shiwanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 131–132.
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39. Interview with Hemant Agarwal, BJP district vice president, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
40. Interview with Pradeep Goswami, general secretary, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.

44. Interview with Rajesh Singh Pintu, Mathura Nagar Nigam Parshad, 26 July 2020.
45. Ibid.
46. Interview with Hemant Agarwal, BJP district vice president, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
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49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Interview with Pradeep Goswami, general secretary, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
52. Amit Shah's speech, available on the BJP's YouTube page: 'Shri Amit Shah addresses social media volunteers' meet in Kota, Rajasthan: 22.09.2018', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1OW7AQxf2g>.
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56. Interview with N. Ravi Kumar, BJP general secretary and MLC, Karnataka, 10 February 2020, Bengaluru.
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58. Interview with Pradeep Goswami, general secretary, Mathura Mahanagar, 26 July 2020.
59. Conversation with Sundeep Moudgal, Bengaluru-based *The Times of India* journalist, 9–10 February 2020.
60. Ibid.
61. Quoted in Anirban Ganguly, Shivanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 104–105.
62. PTI, 'New BJP office bigger than any party office in the world', *The Economic Times*, 18 February 2018, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/new-bjp-hq-bigger-than-any-other-party-office-in-world-shah/articleshow/62970724.cms>.
63. Quoted in Anirban Ganguly, Shivanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 168.
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65. Conversation with Sundeep Moudgal, Bengaluru-based *The Times of India* journalist, 9–10 February 2020.
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81. See the documents available online on BJP's e-library, <http://library.bjp.org/jspui/>.
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83. Ibid.

84. Press conference by Shri Amit Shah at the BJP head office, New Delhi, 17 May 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_h3eLji3P6k. Modi spoke in Hindi; translation mine.
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92. Interview with Vinay Sahasrabuddhe, BJP vice president and MP, 5 August 2019.
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95. Personal interview with Vinay Sahasrabuddhe, BJP vice president and MP; vice chairman, Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini, Thane, 24 September 2019.
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99. Interview with Vinay Sahasrabuddhe, BJP vice president and MP, 5 August 2019.
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101. Interview with Vani Tripathi Tikoo, former secretary, BJP, 27 August 2019, New Delhi.
102. Interview with senior BJP leader who spoke on condition of anonymity.
103. Ibid.
104. Interview with Vani Tripathi Tikoo, former secretary, BJP, 27 August 2019, New Delhi.
105. Vajpayee, quoted in *Working Group Report, Presented to National Executive Bhopal* (New Delhi: BJP, 20 July 1985), p. 5.
106. Ibid.
107. *General Secretary's Report (1981–82)* by LK Advani, 4th National Council Session (New Delhi: BJP, 15, 16, 17 April 1983), p. 1.
108. Ibid., p. 2.
109. The Working Group's convener was Krishanlal Sharma. Its members included: Bhairon Singh Shekhawat (later Rajasthan chief minister and India's vice

- president), Shanta Kumar (later Union minister under Vajpayee), Makrand Desai, Pramod Mahajan (later Union minister under Vajpayee), Vijay Kumar Malhotra (later BJP's chief whip in Lok Sabha), Sunder Lal Patwa, Jana Krishnamurthi (later BJP president), Murli Manohar Joshi (later BJP president), Surah Bhan, Arif Baig and Mridula Sinha. *Working Group Report, Presented to National Executive Bhopal* (New Delhi: BJP, 20 July 1985), p. 41.
110. The Working Group was set up during the BJP National Executive, held on 15–17 March 1985, with twin objectives: review the party's functioning, achievement and shortcomings in the past five years and to draw up an 'Action Plan for the future on all fronts—ideological, organisational, agitational, constructive and electoral'. The Working Group met first on 2–3 April in Delhi and sent 4,000 questionnaires to prominent party functionaries. Five hundred and forty-nine responses were received, along with twenty detailed notes. Sub-groups toured the country and met about 1,000 friends of the BJP. The Working Group met five times in Delhi before finalising its report. Source: Krishnalal Sharma, convenor of the Working Group, in 'Introduction', *Working Group Report, Presented to National Executive Bhopal* (New Delhi: BJP, 20 July 1985), p. 1
111. *Working Group Report, Presented to National Executive, Bhopal* (New Delhi: BJP, 20 July 1985), pp. 6–7.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 27.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
118. Anirban Ganguly, Shiwanand Dwivedi, *Amit Shah and the March of the BJP* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 96–97.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
120. *Working Group Report, Presented to National Executive Bhopal* (New Delhi: BJP, 20 July 1985), p. 40.

CHAPTER 9 Roots of the BJP

1. Mookerjee was first elected to Bengal's Legislative Council as a Congress representative in 1929 but quit a year later. I am grateful to Prof. Mahesh Rangarajan for pointing out that, of Nehru's first cabinet of fourteen (including himself), six were not from the Congress. These members included: C.H. Bhabha (Commerce), Shanmukam Chetty (Finance), S.P. Mookerjee (Industries and Supplies), K.C. Neogy (Relief and Rehabilitation) and B.R. Ambedkar (Law). The first cabinet list is from 'The first cabinet', *Hindustan Times*, 15 August 1947, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/ht-archives-the-first-cabinet-of-independent-india-comes-into-existence/story-GZmqCqmX5ilSjEUX1gB97J.html>.

2. Mookerjee served as acting president due to Savarkar's prolonged illness in these years. Walter Andersen, 'The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-III: Participation in politics', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 7, No. 13, 25 March 1972, pp. 679, 680.
3. Mookerjee resigned as Hindu Mahasabha vice president in a working committee meeting in May 1949. Mahasabha 'Record Book', quoted in Walter Andersen, 'The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-III: Participation in politics', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 25 March 1972, Vol. 7, No. 13, p. 681.
4. Quoted by the then BJP President Amit Shah, 15 July 2017, <http://amitshah.co.in/salient-points-of-speech-by-bjp-national-president-shri-amit-shah-released-a-book-syama-prasad-mookerjee-his-vision-of-education/>.
5. *Organiser*, '#SyamaPrasadMookerjee: Live up to the legacy', Vol. 71, No. 2, 7 July 2019, <https://epaper.organiser.org/index.php?edition=Mpage&date=2019-06-29&page=1>.
6. Quoted in Pulse of the Press, 'Jan Sangh upsurge', *The Times of India*, 12 February 1967, p. 8.
7. Ibid.
8. Staff Correspondent, 'Akhil Bhartiya Jan Sangh formed', *The Times of India*, 22 October 1951, p. 7.
9. Stage description from the account quoted in Ramachandra Guha, 'Democracy's biggest gamble: India's first free elections in 1952', *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring, 2002), p. 97.
10. A Bengal Jan Sangh was formed on 28 April 1951, a Punjab-PEPSU-Himachal Pradesh-Delhi branch in Jullunder on 23 May and a UP party on 2 September. Details from B.D. Graham, 'Syama Prasad Mookerjee and the communalist alternative', in D.A. Low (ed.), *Sounding in Modern South Asian History* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1968), p. 352.
11. Voting in India's first general election after Independence was spread across sixty-eight phases between 25 October 1951 and 21 February 1952. *Report on the First General Elections in India 1951-52, Vol. 1* (New Delhi: ECI, 1955), <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/7448-first-general-elections-in-india-vol-i-1951-1952/>.
12. 'Mr Nehru's call for war against communalism', *The Times of India*, 1 October 1951, p. 1.
13. Staff Correspondent, 'Akhil Bhartiya Jan Sangh formed', *The Times of India*, 22 October 1951, p. 7.
14. Staff Correspondent, 'Bharatiya Jan Sangh election campaign', 4 November 1951, *The Times of India*, p. 10.
15. For Nathuram Godse's full argument, see the account of his appeals trial at Simla's Peterhoff by the Punjab High Court in Justice G.D. Khosla, *Murder of the Mahatma, and Other Cases from a Judge's Notebook* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963). Eight people were charged: Nathuram Godse, editor, *Hindu Rashtra*, Poona; his brother, Gopal Godse, storekeeper, Army Depot, Poona; Narayan Apte, managing director, *Hindu Rashtra*, Poona; Vishnu Karkare, restaurant proprietor, Ahmed

Nagar; Madanlal Pahwa, Refugee Camp, Ahmednagar; Shankar Kistayya, domestic servant, Poona; Dattatraya Parchure, medical practitioner, Gwalior and Vinayak Savarkar, president of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1937–1942. Of these eight, Savarkar was acquitted, Godse and Apte sentenced to death and the remaining five sentenced to life imprisonment by the initial trial court. The High Court upheld the findings and sentences of the lower court, except in the case of Parchure and Kistayya, who were also acquitted.

16. 'Mr Nehru's call for war against communalism', *The Times of India*, 1 October 1951, p. 1.
17. B.D. Graham, 'Syama Prasad Mookerjee and the communalist alternative', in D.A. Low (ed.), *Sounding in Modern South Asian History* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1968), p. 333.
18. Details from Walter Andersen, 'The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-III: Participation in politics', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 7, No 13, 25 March 1972, pp. 678–681; and B.D. Graham, 'Syama Prasad Mookerjee and the communalist alternative', in D.A. Low (ed.), *Soundings in Modern South Asian History* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 331–333. Andersen and Graham differ on the date of Mookerjee's exit from the Mahasabha. I have chosen to go with Andersen's date of 1949.
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73. On the question of why Muslims were left out, Shah argued that ‘where there is in an Islamic state, Muslims cannot be termed religious minorities’. He questioned if Muslims in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh could be termed minorities and argued that the possibility of their religious prosecution in these countries was very low. If it did still happen, then provisions to grant citizenship to such Muslims from these countries existed in the law. Shah emphasised that in the five years of the Modi government, over 566 Muslims from these countries had been given citizenship. He quoted several court judgements to argue that CAA did not hurt Article 14 of the Constitution that guarantees the Right to Equality. He further argued that, in the past, the Congress chief minister of Rajasthan had written to the Congress’s then Union home minister, P. Chidambaram, to provide refugee status to Hindu and Sikh communities from Pakistan—and it was then given to 13,000 of them. Shah’s full speech in Rajya Sabha on 11 December 2019 available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKyx89AUaQM>.
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75. In a fascinating debate in Parliament on the First Amendment, when an exasperated Nehru reacted to opposition complaints by announcing that he had ‘put up so much from a few members who had dared to oppose us’, Mookerjee responding by accusing the prime minister of using the ‘language of a dictator’. The prime minister shot back saying that ‘hard dealing’ would lead to ‘hard blows’ all around. He laid down the gauntlet saying ‘we challenge them [the opposition] to a combat here, in the marketplaces, in the country, everywhere and on every level’. Mookerjee interjected saying, ‘Except in physical combat, to much comic relief in the house’. Staff Correspondent, ‘First amendment to 17-month-old Constitution passed’, *The Times of India*, 3 June 1951. It was given presidential assent on 18 June 1951.
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CHAPTER 10 When Right Is Left

1. Rohit David, interview with Anil Bokil in 'Demonetisation being addressed partially ... replace flawed taxation system with banking transaction tax', *The Times of India*, 16 December 2016, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/the-interviews-blog/demonetisation-being-addressed-partially-replace-flawed-taxation-system-with-banking-transaction-tax/>.
2. This is the phrase used by Arvind Subramanian, who was chief economic advisor, Government of India, when demonetisation was announced. He also used it in his book on his tenure: Arvind Subramanian, *Of Counsel: The Challenges of the Modi–Jaitley Economy* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2018), p. 101.
3. *Jana Sangh's Economic Policy* (Bombay: RM Sheth), containing full text of Vajpayee interview with J.N. Parimoo, 'No Instability—Vajpayee', *The Economic Times*, 12 February 1971, pp. 1, 4. In PB-051, Rhambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini archive.
4. Ibid.
5. 'Demonetisation demanded by Jan Sangh', *The Times of India*, 19 November 1972, p. 7; TOINS, 'Jan Sangh council pleads for demonetisation', *The Times of India*, 17 July 1973, p. 1.

6. 'Demonetisation of hundred-rupee notes suggested', *The Times of India*, 2 August 1973, p. 9; 'Demonetisation ruled out by T.T.K.: Campaign against unaccounted funds', *The Times of India*, 19 November 1964, p. 1.
7. See, for example, TOINS, 'Demonetisation no solution: Chavan', *The Times of India*, 20 March 1974, p. 5; TOINS, 'Demonetisation is "no answer to black money"', *The Times of India*, 18 March 1972, p. 11; TOINS, 'TKK will not resort to demonetisation', *The Times of India*, 29 August 1964, p. 1.
8. TOINS, 'Demonetisation wanted by U.P. govt.', *The Times of India*, 4 July 196, p. 6.
9. Prem Shankar Jha, 'The demonetisation debate: Wanchoo Committee's interim report', *The Times of India*, 28 August 1972, p. 6. The final report of the committee, headed by a distinguished civil servant, was called *Final Report of the Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee*, 1971, Government of India. For more on this, see M.J. Thavaraj, 'Wooing black money: The Wanchoo committee way', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 1, No. 5, December 1972, pp. 30–39.
10. 'Non-official motion on demonetisation', *The Times of India*, 10 October 1971, p. 7.
11. 'Bengal PCC for demonetisation', *The Times of India*, 22 April 1971, p. 5.
12. See, for instance, the demand by Congress Forum for Socialist Action in Staff Reporter, 'Plea for demonetisation of 100-rupee notes', *The Times of India*, 4 May 1971, p. 4; 'Black money: MPs for demonetisation', *The Times of India*, 3 May 1973, p. 13.
13. 'Frantic rush to change Rs 100 notes in Delhi', *The Times of India*, 7 August 1973, p. 4; 'A Times of India notebook', *The Times of India*, 13 August 1973, p. 6.
14. Finance Minister H.M. Patel reported to Parliament that the exercise had yielded Rs 128 crore (worth of Rs 1,000 notes), Rs 18.15 crore (worth of Rs 5,000 notes) and Rs 34.6 lakh (worth of Rs 10,000 notes). 'Demonetisation details', *The Times of India*, 22 February 1978, p. 5.
15. This was the claim made by former finance minister and Reddi Congress leader C. Subramaniam. 'Political motive behind demonetisation: CS', *The Times of India*, 18 January 1978, p. 16.
16. 'Demonetisation news leaked out: Indira', *The Times of India*, 10 February 1978, p. 1. This issue was also raised by CPI. 'Demonetisation leak raised in Lok Sabha', *The Times of India*, 21 February 1978, p. 14.
17. Even in 1983, Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee had to deny speculation on demonetisation. See PTI, 'No demonetisation', *The Times of India*, 2 March 1983, p. 9.
18. This was in a report by the Institute of Parliamentary Affairs. PTI, 'Demonetisation suggested', *The Times of India*, 24 July 1991, p. 7.
19. Rahul Gandhi tweets on 3 September 2020. <https://twitter.com/RahulGandhi/status/1301376885369180160?s=20>; <https://twitter.com/RahulGandhi/status/1300703359905783813?s=20>.
20. Arvind Subramanian, *Of Counsel: The Challenges of the Modi–Jaitley Economy* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2018), pp. 99–100.

21. The growth in the first quarter (April–June) of 2021–22 reflected a resumption of economic activity to near-similar levels as persisted before the first national pandemic lockdown in 2020 when all economic activity ground to a halt. India's GDP in Q1 of 2021–22 was Rs 32,38,020 crore, compared to Rs 26,95,421 crore in Q1 of 2020–21. Even so, the GDP size in the first quarter of 2021 was a little lower than what it was in the first quarter of 2019–20, Rs 35, 66, 708 crore. Economic growth soared to a new high of 20.1% in the April–June quarter in 2021–22 because it grew from a low base, compared to the record 24.4% contraction in the year-ago period. By the second quarter of 2021–22, GDP size was Rs 35,73,451 crore, 0.33 per cent higher than the per-pandemic level of Rs 35,61,530 crore in Q2, 2019–20, indicating that the economy had recovered lost ground. Data from PIB Delhi, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, 'Estimates of Gross Domestic Product for the second quarter (July–September) of 2021–22, 30 November 2021, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1776500> and 'Estimates of Gross Domestic Product for the first quarter (April–June) of 2021–22, 31 August 2021, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1750782>. For a short analysis of the change in GDP growth numbers in 2021–22, see 'Covid didn't crush it', *The Times of India*, 1 September 2021, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/toi-editorials/covid-didnt-crush-it-gdp-wasnt-bruised-badly-by-second-wave-but-q1-data-shows-economy-below-2019-level-boost-demand/>; TNN, 'GDP growth in Q1 records 20.1% recovery on low base', *The Times of India*, 1 September 2021, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/gdp-growth-in-q1-records-20-1-recovery-on-low-base/articleshow/85818730.cms>. Also see former finance minister P. Chidambaram's critique on https://twitter.com/PChidambaram_IN/status/1432701058137182218?s=20. I am grateful to Sanjiv Shankaran for providing a detailed perspective on the GDP numbers.
22. On unemployment, in September 2020, the Central government's own data estimates are based on the annual Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) conducted by the National Statistical Office (NSO), Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation and the Employment & Unemployment Survey conducted by the Labour Bureau. These surveys showed unemployment rate as follows: 2018–19: 5.8 per cent, 2017–18: 6 per cent, 2015–16: 3.7 per cent, 2013–14: 3.4 per cent, 2012–13: 4 per cent. Details from Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Labour and Employment Santosh Gangwar's reply to Lok Sabha on 14 September 2020 to Unstarred Question No. 214.
23. CMIE data, reproduced here: <https://pollniti.com/data/unemployment.html>.
24. For more on the social and economic shifts that changed American politics and led to Donald Trump's presidency, see, for example, J.D. Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and a Culture in Crisis* (New York: HarperCollins, 2016) and Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: The New Press, 2016). Also see the arguments explored by American historian Thomas Frank in his *What's The Matter with*

- Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004).
25. Congress, 'Bhakt ka chashma', 9 May 2019. Full video is available at: <https://twitter.com/INCIndia/status/1126313591030706176?s=20>.
 26. See Nalin Mehta, interview with Bruce Stokes, director of Global Attitudes, Pew Research Centre, '8 in 10 Indians have a favourable view of Modi ... 50% were critical of his Pakistan policy before Kashmir unrest', *The Times of India*, 30 September 2016, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/academic-interest/8-in-10-indians-have-a-favourable-view-of-modi-50-were-critical-of-his-pakistan-policy-before-kashmir-unrest/>.
 27. After the second wave of the pandemic in early 2021, these consumer perception numbers in the RBI survey dropped significantly. However, by July 2021, at the time of writing, they had begun to change again. Crucially, the wider trend persisted: of a huge gap between people's negative perception of their own employment prospects and the economy as a whole in the present vis-à-vis their expectations over the next twelve months on both counts. The RBI reported that its respondents in May 2021 rated their net perception of the economic situation in percentage response terms at -75 and their own employment prospects at -74.9. By July 2021, these net perception numbers had improved only marginally to -69 and -68.2 respectively. However, when asked about future expectations about the economy over the next twelve months, compared to the present, the net perception changed significantly from -18.3 in May 2021 to -4.8 in July 2021. When people were asked about their own future employment prospects, the net sentiment changed from -13 in May 2021 to +0.9 in July 2021. RBI, *Consumer Confidence Survey*, 6 August 2021, conducted in 5,384 households in thirteen cities and available on <https://m.rbi.org.in/scripts/BimonthlyPublications.aspx?head=Consumer%20Confidence%20Survey%20-%20Bi-monthly>.
 28. Arvind Subramanian, *Of Counsel: The Challenges of the Modi-Jaitley Economy* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2018), pp. 94–101.
 29. Details from Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Labour and Employment Santosh Gangwar's various replies to Lok Sabha on 14 September 2020 to Unstarred Questions Nos, 174, 197, 188; and on 15 September 2020 to Unstarred Question No. 294. Rations constitute 5 kg of wheat or rice and 1 kg of preferred pulses per person per month.
 30. Initial data from author's interview with Dinesh Sharma, deputy chief minister, UP. A briefer version of this was published as 'We want companies leaving China to come to India instead of going to Vietnam or elsewhere', *The Times of India*, 14 June 2020. Updated later from UP government's internal note on 16 September 2020. I am grateful to Pravin Kumar for providing updated government numbers.
 31. See the critique on 'administrative approach' to economy by Rathin Roy, managing director (research and policy), Overseas Development Institute, who tweeted the UP government's RFP advertisement on 10 September 2020, calling it 'ridiculous'.

Similarly, Jairam Ramesh called it ‘absolutely bogus’ while former finance secretary Arvind Mayaram termed it ‘simply delusional’, <https://twitter.com/EmergingRoy/status/1303897139173490688>.

Roy had served as a member of the prime minister’s Economic Advisory Council until September 2019. For a critique on the need for a strategic economic vision, as opposed to an administrative approach, see Rathin Roy’s series in *Business Standard*, ‘It’s not too late, but soon it will be’, *Business Standard*, 7 August 2020; ‘Articulate an economic strategy’, *Business Standard*, 8 May 2020. The UP government had called for bids for a global consultant on 19 June 2020, opened the financial bids on 27 November 2020 but cancelled the bid process on 22 March 2021, with a government statement saying that a ‘fresh tender notice is likely in this regard’. Umesh Raghuvanshi, ‘trillion dollar economy goal: 13 months on, Uttar Pradesh still weighing its options’, *The Hindustan Times*, 26 July 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/lucknow-news/trilliondollar-economy-goal-13-months-on-uttar-pradesh-still-weighing-its-options-101627322440496.html>.

32. Initial details from UP government data note, ‘Skill wise registrations and interests in employment’, 6 May 2020. Updated UP government details on 15 September 2020 provided by Pravin Kumar.
33. P. Chidambaram, ‘The worst effected economy’, *The Indian Express*, 6 September 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/india-economy-slowdown-act-of-god-p-chidambaram-6584615/>.
34. TNN, ‘BJP wins 41 of 59 bypoll seats, 31 of them at expense of Congress’, *The Times of India*, 11 November 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/bjp-wins-41-out-of-59-bypoll-seats-31-at-congs-expense/articleshow/79158640.cms>.
35. Narendra Modi’s address at BJP office 11 November 2020. Full video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nhtA2WyAQ9k>.
36. The BJP did lose a big prestige battle in West Bengal to the Trinamool Congress in May 2021. However, the Bengal result must be seen in context. The BJP won seventy-seven seats (of the 292 that went to elections in the 294-member state assembly) and 38.3 per cent vote share in the May 2021 West Bengal state assembly election. This was down from the 121 state assembly segments it led in, with 40.3 per cent vote share, in the 2019 Lok Sabha polls. In comparison, the BJP had won only three seats (10 per cent vote share) in the 2016 assembly polls, two seats (18 per cent vote share) in the 2014 Lok Sabha polls and zero seats (4 per cent vote share) in the 2011 state election. In 2021, its vote share fell marginally from 2019, but seat share fell drastically because the election became a two-horse race—with the Congress (zero seats) and the CPI-M (zero seats) getting wiped out. For data comparisons, see TOI West Bengal datahub, available at: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/elections/assembly-elections/west-bengal/constituency-map>; also see Ashish Ranjan, ‘Mamata vs BJP: who had the edge in Bengal’s close contest seats?’, *India Today*, 5 May 2021, <https://www.indiatoday.in/elections/story/west-bengal-2021-assembly-election-result-analysis-tmc-bjp-1799196-2021-05-05>.

37. Swapan Dasgupta, 'The right course', *Open*, 17 February 2020, p. 33.
38. Raj Chengappa, 'Modinomics 2.0', *India Today*, 7 February 2020, <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20200217-modinomics-2-0-1643717-2020-02-07>.
39. Nalin Mehta, Interview with Montek Singh Ahluwalia, 'If a bank chief isn't beholden to a FinMin joint secretary, he will behave differently', *The Times of India*, 16 February 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/academic-interest/if-a-bank-chief-isnt-beholden-to-a-finmin-joint-secretary-he-will-behave-differently-montek-singh-ahluwalia/>.
40. The full paper is available at: <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/cid/files/publications/faculty-working-papers/2019-12-cid-wp-369-indian-growth-diagnosis-remedies-final.pdf>.
41. In April 2021, Wholesale Price Index (WPI) based inflation rose to 10.49 per cent (the highest in eleven years), because of higher oil and commodity prices and a low base effect, while food inflation accelerated by 4.92 per cent. Asit Ranjan Mishra, 'WPI Inflation Rises to 11-Year-High in April', *Mint*, p. 1. The Office of the Economic Advisor, Ministry of Commerce and Industry reported that the annual rate of inflation in July 2021 was at 11.16 per cent (provisional) for the month of July 2021 as compared to (-0.25 per cent) in July 2020. See figures in Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade, Office of the Economic Advisor, 'Press release: Index numbers of wholesale price in India for the month of July, 2021 (base year: 2011-12)', 16 August 2021. For a discussion on whether this streak of inflation in 2021 was just a passing or 'transitory' phenomenon, see Udit Misra, 'Growth, inflation: Decoding RBI monetary policy stance', *The Indian Express*, 10 August 2021, p. 13.
42. Narendra Modi's victory speech on 23 May 2019 is available on the BJP YouTube channel, 'Victory Celebrations at BJP HQ. #VijayiBharat', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VruL38kjEBY>.
43. Gurcharan Das, 'Modi needs to give India its Thatcher moment', *The Financial Times*, 18 May 2014, <https://www.ft.com/content/06c3d5f0-dcf8-11e3-b73c-00144feabdc0>.
44. See, for instance, Soutik Biswas, 'Will India's Narendra Modi be a reformer?', 26 May 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-27534163>; Sreeram Chaulia, 'Comparisons of Narendra Modi to world leaders inevitable, but he is here to stamp his own personality', *The Economic Times*, 25 May 2014, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/comparisons-of-narendra-modi-to-world-leaders-inevitable-but-he-is-here-to-stamp-his-own-personality/articleshow/35568592.cms?from=mdr>.
45. This was a comparison made by *The Wire's* Founding Editor, Siddharth Varadarajan.
46. Personal interview with Vinay Sahasrabudhe, vice president, BJP, 5 August 2019.
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50. Moushumi Das Gupta, 'To cut cost, PM Modi cuts size of his personal staff by almost 50%, PMO by at least 15%', *The Print*, 1 January 2020, <https://www.google.com/amp/s/theprint.in/india/governance/to-cut-cost-pm-modi-cuts-size-of-his-personal-staff-by-almost-50-pmo-by-at-least-15/342987/%3famp>.
51. *Jana Sangh's Economic Policy* (Bombay: RM Sheth), containing full text of Vajpayee interview with J.N. Parimoo, 'No instability—Vajpayee', *The Economic Times*, 12 February 1971, pp. 1, 4. In PB-051, Rhambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini archive.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
53. Bharatiya Jan Sangh, *Principles and Policy, Adopted by the Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha at Vijaywada (Andhra) on Jan. 25 and 26, 1965*, p. 10. File No. B-46, Rhambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini archive.
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57. Emphasis in italics is mine. TOINS, 'Similarity of different programmes', *The Times of India*, 8 February 1957, p. 12.
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60. Prof. Balraj Madhok, *What Bharatiya Jana-Sangh Stands For (Full Text Including Questions and Answers of the Speech of Prof. Balraj Madhok, President Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Delivered at Ahmedabad on August 7, 1966 as Part of the Project 'Towards Better Political Understanding')* (Ahmedabad: Ahmedabad Junior Chamber), p. 32. File No. PB-0097, Rhambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini Archive.
61. Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 'Foreword', *Bharatiya Jana Sangh Party Documents, Vol. 4: Resolutions on Internal Affairs* (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jan Sangh, 1973), p. 4.
62. *Jana Sangh's Economic Policy* (Bombay: RM Sheth), containing full text of Vajpayee interview with J.N. Parimoo, 'No instability—Vajpayee', *The Economic Times*, 12 February 1971, pp. 1, 4. In PB-051, Rhambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini archive.
63. *Ibid.*
64. This was formally adopted in the party's General Council at its Indore session in 1954 and incorporated in its manifesto. In 1956, at its Delhi session, the Jan Sangh clarified that income in this context meant 'expendable income'. It further stated that if 'any individual by dint of honest labour or his ability earns more than the

- permitted maximum, the excess income would be procured for “development needs through contribution, taxation, compulsory loans and investment”. All manifestos issued for various elections held since, have reiterated the Party’s stand on limiting the disparity between the maximum and the minimum expendable incomes.’ All details from Atal Bihari Vajpayee in ‘Foreword’, *Bharatiya Jana Sangh Party Documents, Vol. 4: Resolutions on Internal Affairs* (New Delhi: 1973), p. 6.
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 71. R. Vijayaraghavan, ‘BJP search for an economic policy’, *The Hindu*, 13 June 1992.
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 73. Emphasis in original. ‘Swadeshi is a fundamental value for the nation, says BJP’, *Organiser*, 19 April 1992.
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 76. The first major Indian industrialist to express public scepticism of the reforms was Rahul Bajaj, the owner of the scooter manufacturing giant Bajaj Auto. For more on Bombay Club, see Baldev Raj Nayyar, ‘Business and India’s economic reforms’, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 38, 19–25 September 1998.
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 81. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
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 88. Ibid.
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90. Ibid.
91. Mani Shankar Aiyar, 'An economic agenda for the BJP', *India Today*, 4 April 1992.
92. Quoted in TOI, 18 March 1992, as attributed in Mani Shankar Aiyar, 'An economic agenda for the BJP', *India Today*, 4 April 1992.
93. Aiyar's satirical document, which started with the incantation 'Har Har Mahadev', and ended with 'Om Namo Narayana!', was called 'A third model of development: The BJP alternative'. Published in Mani Shankar Aiyar, 'An economic agenda for the BJP', *India Today*, 4 April 1992.
94. Quoted in Ashutosh Kumar Sinha, 'The Sangh Parivar speaks in different tongues on economic policies, but the BJP treads the middle path on poll-eve', *Outlook*, 26 January 1998, p. 65.
95. A.S. Panneerselvan interview with S. Gurumurthy, 'There's a limit to marketisation', *Outlook*, 26 January 1998, p. 66.
96. Swapan Dasgupta, 'The right course', *Open*, 17 February 2020, p. 31.
97. Ibid.
98. *The Times of India* budget front pages (2014–2020). I am grateful to Sanjay Kalia for compiling these.
99. Saurabh Sinha, TNN, 'Return of the prodigal son: Air India back in founder Tata fold after 68 years', *The Times of India*, 8 October 2021, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/return-of-the-prodigal-son-air-india-back-in-founder-tata-fold-after-68-years/articleshow/86865871.cms>. The highest price bid was awarded to M/s Talace Pvt. Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary of M/s Tata Sons Pvt. Ltd. for sale of 100 per cent equity shareholding of Government of India in Air India along with equity shareholding of Air India in AIXL and AISATS. The winning bid was for Rs 18,000 crore as Enterprise Value (EV) consideration for AI (100 per cent shares of AI along with AI's shareholding in AIXL and AISATS). The transaction did not include non-core assets including land and building, valued at Rs 14,718 crore, which were to be transferred to GoI's Air India Asset Holding Limited (AIAHL). The government announced that the next steps in the transaction for the Letter of Intent and signing of the Share Purchase Agreement were expected to be completed by December 2021. PIB, Ministry of Finance, 'Government approves Air India disinvestment: Tatasons' SPV – Talace Pvt. Ltd – wins bid for Air India, 8 October 2021, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1762146>.
100. The first attempt for a strategic sale of Air India was in 2001 by the Vajpayee government when 40 per cent of its equity was put on the block. Thereafter in 2018, the Government of India bid to sell Air India again, this time putting 76 per cent equity on the block but it did not receive a single bid. In January 2020, the government reinitiated the strategic sale of Air India, but with 100 per cent equity up for prospective buyers. Timeline details from Pranav Mukul, 'Air India disinvestment: History suggests still some way to go', *The Indian Express*, 20 December 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/business/aviation/air-india->

- divestment-history-suggests-still-some-way-to-go-7111741/. For an analysis of the 2021 deal, see Arvind Panagariya, 'Why nothing less than 100% sale worked for Air India', *The Times of India*, 13 October 2021, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/why-nothing-less-than-100-sale-worked-for-air-india/articleshow/86996597.cms>.
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 109. Author's interview with Caesar Sengupta Google vice president, Next Billion Users and Payments, published as '95% of Video Consumption in India is in regional languages, Hindi will outnumber English users by 2021', *The Times of India*, 17 May 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/academic-interest/95-of-video-consumption-in-india-is-in-regional-languages-hindi-internet-users-will-outnumber-english-users-by-2021/>.
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114. Rema Nagarajan, 'Centre's health outlay woefully off-course for 2.5% of GDP target', *The Times of India*, 9 February 2020.
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121. Interview with Brajesh Kumar Singh, group consulting editor, Network18, 9 December 2019.
122. Modi statement in Hindi in Lok Sabha, 27 February 2015. Video available at: <https://youtu.be/5nBRKUf6AAo>.
123. Rahul Gandhi statement in Lok Sabha, 20 April 2015. Video available at: <https://youtu.be/Z0uioKWABqo>.
124. Interview with Rajeev Chandrasekhar, BJP Rajya Sabha MP, 26 August 2019, New Delhi. Chandrasekhar was subsequently appointed, in July 2021, as Union minister of state for skills development and entrepreneurship as well as for electronics and information technology.
125. Nalin Mehta, interview with Dinesh Sharma, 'We want companies leaving China to come to India instead of going to Vietnam or elsewhere', *The Times of India*, 14 June 2020.
126. Interview with Rajeev Chandrasekhar, BJP Rajya Sabha MP, 26 August 2019, New Delhi.
127. Nalin Mehta, interview with Montek Singh Ahluwalia, 'If a bank chief isn't beholden to a FinMin joint secretary, he will behave differently', *The Times of India*, 16 February 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/academic-interest/if-a->

- bank-chief-isnt-beholden-to-a-finmin-joint-secretary-he-will-behave-differently-montek-singh-ahluwalia/.
128. Private conversation with a former bureaucrat who preferred to remain unnamed.
 129. PTI, 'In a first, nine private sector specialists selected as joint secretaries in govt departments', *The Economic Times*, 12 April 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/in-a-first-nine-private-sector-specialists-selected-as-joint-secretaries-in-govt-departments/articleshow/68854312.cms>.
 130. Arup Roychoudhury, 'Govt expands PM's Economic Advisory Council', *Business Standard*, 17 October 2019, https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/govt-appoints-3-part-time-members-to-eac-pm-119101700406_1.html.
 131. The decision to create the post of CDS was announced by PM Modi on 15 August 2020. General Bipin Rawat was appointed as India's first CDS on 30 December 2020. For more, see Anit Mukherjee, 'Three pitfalls of CDS, Dept of Military Affairs and why it should make US sceptical', 6 March 2020, <https://theprint.in/opinion/three-pitfalls-of-cds-dept-of-military-affairs-and-why-it-should-make-us-sceptical/376468/>.
 132. PIB Delhi, 'Cabinet approves amendment in the Terms of Reference for the Fifteenth Finance Commission: Provision to address concerns regarding funds for defence and internal security', 17 July 2019, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1579116>, Dinesh Narayanan, 'Central funds to states may be cut to create internal security fund', *Economic Times*, 23 September 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/nk-singh-headed-finance-commission-working-on-proposal-cabinet-cleared-enabling-approvals-on-july-17/articleshow/70384389.cms>, Nikunj Ohri, '15th Finance Commission forms panel for separate defence and internal security fund', Bloomberg, 13 February 2020, <https://www.bloomberquint.com/law-and-policy/15th-finance-commission-forms-panel-for-separate-defence-and-internal-security-fund>.
 133. Quoted in Asit Ranjan Mishra, Anil Padmanabhan, 'Fifteenth Finance Commission prepares defence funding framework', 6 February 2020, <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/fifteenth-finance-commission-prepares-defence-funding-framework-11580927443150.html>.
 134. Nirmala Sitharaman, minister of finance, 'Explanatory memorandum as to the action taken on the recommendations made by the Fifteenth Finance Commission in its final report submitted to the president on November 9, 2020', 1 February 2021, Ministry of Finance, Government of India. The Fifteenth Finance Commission's reports are available at: <https://fincomindia.nic.in/ShowContent.aspx?uid1=3&uid2=0&uid3=0&uid4=0>.
 135. For challenges in military reform, see, for instance, Nalin Mehta, 'The challenge begins now', *The Times of India*, 22 February 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/academic-interest/the-challenge-begins-now-cds-is-off-to-a-blistering-start-but-serious-reform-to-integrate-armed-forces-requires-painful-decisions/>; Anit Mukherjee, 'India's civilian leadership must step up', *The*

Hindustan Times, 5 July 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/opinion/indias-civilian-leadership-must-step-up-101625491333170.html>.

136. Quoted in Asit Ranjan Mishra, Anil Padmanabhan, 'Fifteenth Finance Commission prepares defence funding framework', 6 February 2020, <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/fifteenth-finance-commission-prepares-defence-funding-framework-11580927443150.html>.

CHAPTER 11 The BJP's RSS Link

1. PTI, 'BJP will never sever RSS link', *The Times of India*, 21 April 1980, p. 7.
2. Express News Service, 'Janata Party bans dual membership', *The Indian Express*, 30 July 1979, p. 1.
3. The RSS 'dual membership' of erstwhile Jan Sangh members in Janata Party became a lightning rod for infighting and factionism at least from 1978 onwards. The Charan Singh/Raj Narain faction, supported by ex-socialist leader Madhu Limaye, sought to attack Prime Minister Morarji Desai by attacking his ex-Jan Sangh allies, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani. The resulting crisis led to the expulsion of Raj Narain from Janata Party on 12 June 1979. He formed the Janata Party (Secular) with a group of forty-seven breakaway MPs, which led to the collapse of the Morarji Desai government. Charan Singh became prime minister on 28 July 1979, leading a minority government, supported by Janata (S), Yashwantrao Chavan of Congress (Socialist) and outside support of Indira Gandhi's Congress (I). Singh had to resign on 20 August 1979 when Congress (I) withdrew support. Details here from Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1999), pp. 307–312.
4. PTI, 'RSS issue—it's a fight to finish: Ram', *The Times of India*, 29 February 1980, p. 1.
5. Special Correspondent, 'Jan Sangh group to form new party', *The Times of India*, 5 April 1980, p. 1.
6. The ECI on 24 April 1980 initially gave the BJP recognition as a national party on the basis of its claim that it represented the majority of the undivided Janata Party. The BJP said it would not claim the flag or the symbol of the Janata Party. The ECI also accepted the BJP's pitch for the 'lotus' as a party symbol after an earlier proposal for allotment of a 'wheel (with five spokes) and the elephant' was not accepted by the ECI. However, the ECI's initial decision left the residuary Janata Party with the problem of recognition as a national party, after its symbol, the 'haldhar within wheel', was frozen by the Commission. Once an election symbol is frozen, it amounted to automatic withdrawal of recognition to a political party. This meant that the Chandra Shekhar-led Janata Party would have had to fight the upcoming election that year under a new name, unless its symbol was unfrozen. Chandra Shekhar protested and asked for a review. On review, the ECI eventually changed its mind, gave recognition to the party led by Chandra Shekhar as 'Janata

- Party' and unfroze its 'haldhar within wheel' symbol six months later on 9 October 1980. See Special Correspondent, with PTI, 'National party status: BJP', *The Times of India*, 25 April 1980, p. 1. Special Correspondent, 'Janata plea to review decision', *The Times of India*, 25 April 1980, p. 1. PTI, 'Haldhar symbol allotted to JP', *The Times of India*, 10 October 1980, p. 2.
7. PTI, 'BJP will never sever RSS Link', *The Times of India*, 21 April 1980, p. 7.
 8. 'New party, old problem', *The Times of India*, 8 April 1980, p. 6.
 9. Special Correspondent, 'Jan Sangh group to form new party', *The Times of India*, 5 April 1980, p. 1.
 10. The inaugural convention was attended by 3,643 delegates. Vajpayee was authorised by the delegates to lead the party and appoint the party's working committee and office-bearers whose names were announced: Vice-presidents: Vijaya Raje Scindia, Ram Jethmalani; General Secretaries: L.K. Advani, Sikander Bakht, Murali Manohar Joshi; Secretaries: Suraj Bhan, K. Krishnamurthy; Treasurer: S.S. Bhandari. Vajpayee's presidency was subsequently formally ratified unopposed by all state units of the party on 12 December 1980. Special Correspondent, 'Jan Sangh group to form new party', *The Times of India*, 5 April 1980, p. 1; Special Correspondent, 'Vajpayee elected BJP president', *The Times of India*, 13 December 1980, p. 1.
 11. Special Correspondent, 'Vajpayee chief of Bharatiya Janata Party', *The Times of India*, 7 April 1980, p. 1.
 12. Special Correspondent, 'Jan Sangh group to form new party', *The Times of India*, 6 April 1980, p. 1.
 13. Ibid.
 14. The third member of the drafting committee was S.S. Bhandari. Special Correspondent, 'Vajpayee chief of Bharatiya Janata Party', *The Times of India*, 7 April 1980, p. 1.
 15. 'Schizophrenic party', *The Times of India*, 9 May 1980, p. 6.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Ibid.
 19. Ibid.
 20. Special Correspondent, 'BJP policy stress on Gandhism', *The Times of India*, 7 May 1980, p. 1.
 21. 'Schizophrenic party', *The Times of India*, 9 May 1980, p. 6.
 22. The plenary with over 44,000 delegates took place in a specially constructed tent city called 'Samata Nagar' (Equality City) on reclaimed land in Bombay's Bandra West. It was specially designed by the architect Ramesh Sheth and BJP leaders said it cost Rs 16 lakh. Staff Reporter, 'Big township for BJP session', *The Times of India*, 20 December 1980, p. 15; Staff Reporter, 'Impressive show', *The Times of India*, 29 December 1980, p. 1. Also see Staff Reporter, 'BJP firm on party goal', *The Times of India*, 29 December 1980, p. 1. Full details from BJP, *Onward March: First National*

- Convention: Speeches and Resolutions, December 28-30, 1980, Bombay, Rhambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini archives, File No. PC-44, Thane.*
23. After the initial plenary at 'Samata Nagar', Vajpayee and the delegates moved in a large procession to Shivaji Park, where Vajpayee gave another public speech. Vajpayee's Shivaji reference is from B. Dixit, letter to the editor, 'Bharatiya Janata Party', *The Times of India*, 19 May 1980, p. 6. For more on the Shivaji Park rally, see Staff Reporter, 'Biggest ever rally', *The Times of India*, 29 December 1980. On Shivaji and Yakutbaba, the official Ratnagiri Tourism website says that 'a meeting between Yakutbaba and Shivaji Maharaj also took place when Maharaj was leaving for Dabhol. It was Shivaji Maharaj who expressed the desire to build a Dargah at Kelshi that time. And so, the Dargah was built with beautiful carvings on stone on a total area of 534 acres, that was awarded for this purpose.' See <https://ratnagiritourism.in/en/temples/yakutbaba-darga-kelshi/>.
 24. 'New party, old problem', *The Times of India*, 8 April 1980, p. 6.
 25. The BJP's new policy statement containing its five core commitments—nationalism and national integration, democracy, 'positive secularism', Gandhian socialism, value-based politics—was first made public on 6 May 1980. This eventually took the shape of a thirty-three-page policy document, 'Our five commitments', that was readied by 14 December 1980 for formal ratification by the party's first plenary on 28 December 1980. See Special Correspondent, 'BJP policy stress on Gandhism', *The Times of India*, 7 May 1980, p. 1; UNI, 'Gandhian philosophy acceptable to BJP', *The Times of India*, 15 December 1980, p. 1.
 26. PTI, 'Vijaya Raje Scindia questions party line', *The Times of India*, 27 December 1980, p. 1.
 27. Special Correspondent, 'BJP's Gandhian tag resented', *The Times of India*, 25 December 1980, p. 1.
 28. Christopher Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1999), p. 319.
 29. UNI, 'Vijaya Raje Scindia has no objection to "socialism"', *The Times of India*, 28 December 1980, p. 1.
 30. Delegates proposed 257 amendments to the economic resolution over a seven-hour debate. Only seven were accepted. See Staff Reporter, 'BJP session votes for Gandhian line', *The Times of India*, 31 December 1980, p. 1.
 31. PIB, Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 'Swachh Bharat mission logo and tagline contest winners to be facilitated by prime minister', 30 September 2014. <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=110172>. For more on Modi's emphasis on Gandhi's legacy as a driving force for Swachh Bharat, see 'Swachh Bharat on the airwaves', in *Mann ki Baat: A Social Revolution on Radio* (New Delhi: BlueKraft Digital Foundation/Rupa, 2019) pp. 26–46.
 32. The Mahatma Mandir Convention Centre was built by Larsen & Toubro and Shapoorji Pallonji and Company Limited in two phases. See promotional video on Narendra Modi YouTube channel, <https://youtu.be/xX1Ray-kiK4>.

33. Staff Reporter, 'BJP talks start sans Nanaji', *The Times of India*, 27 December 1980, p. 1.
34. Staff Reporter, 'BJP firm on party goal', *The Times of India*, 29 December 1980, p. 1.
35. *Organiser*, 17 February 1985. Quoted in Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1999), p. 329.
36. Quoted in Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1999), p. 329.
37. On this, see former Madhya Pradesh chief minister and senior Congress leader Kamal Nath's statement giving credit to Rajiv Gandhi for 'opening the locks' of the Babri Masjid, for saying in 1989 that 'Ram Rajya' (rule of Ram) will be created and that Ram Mandir should be built. Video interview available at: <https://youtu.be/4ARhuayfOr4>.
38. BJP, *Opening Remarks by Shri L.K. Advani: Resolutions Adopted by National Executive: National Executive Meeting*, 9, 10 and 11 June 1989, Palampur.
39. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, L.K. Advani, Murali Manohar Joshi, Kushabhau Thakre, Bangaru Laxman, Jana Krishnamurthi, Rajnath Singh all started their careers with the RSS. Venkaiah Naidu also joined the RSS and started his political career with the ABVP, the RSS-affiliated student wing. Nitin Gadkari, considered close to the RSS, also started his career with the ABVP. Amit Shah joined the RSS as a student and then the ABVP. J.P. Nadda also started with the ABVP.
40. 'I am a state-level worker, he [Togadia] works at the international level now, his canvas is wider', Narendra Modi interview with N.K. Singh, *The Indian Express*, 1 November 2007.
41. A.B. Bardhan, 'Swayamsevak Vajpayee', *Observer*, 19 September 2000.
42. Rajesh Ramachandran, 'Here's why', *Hindustan Times*, 12 March 2000.

CHAPTER 12 The Growth of the RSS

1. The RSS was founded by Dr Keshav Baliram Hedgewar on Vijayadashami day, 27 September 1925, at his house in 'Sukravari' in Nagpur. The name 'Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh' was selected on 17 April 1926 during a meeting at Hedgewar's house, from a list of four names: Jaripatka Mandal, Bharat Uddharak Mandal, Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. The tradition of commencing daily activities with a salutation to the saffron flag (bhagwa dhvaj) and concluding with the RSS prayer—prarthana—in Hindi and Marathi was instituted in 1926. See <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
2. Advani and Gupta's photo performing the RSS salute was published on page 1 of *The Times of India*, 16 October 2000. The RSS Prarthana, 'Namastee sada vatsale', is an ode to the Motherland in Sanskrit, with its last line in Hindi. It is compulsory to sing this prayer in all Sangh functions. It was first sung publicly by RSS pracharak Yadav Rao Joshi on 18 May 1940. Written by Narhar Narayan Bhide, the first line

- is, 'Namaste sada vatsale matribhume' ('Namaste, oh ever-loving Motherland'). The last line 'Bharat Mata ki jai' is in Hindi. Details from the RSS website, which also carries translations of the song in Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam and Bangla. See <https://samvada.org/2015/news/75-years-for-rss-prarthana/>. Full video of the RSS prayer, with Hindi translation, is available at: <https://youtu.be/4Si8U02s8cQ>.
3. Quoted in S. Prasannarajan, 'Vision Hindutva', *India Today*, 30 October 2000.
 4. See, for instance, Rajesh Ramachandran, 'RSS leader lashes out at political class in his annual address', 14 October 2000; Dilip Chaware, 'No differences with NDA, says RSS chief', *The Times of India*, 20 November 2000.
 5. Nalin Mehta, 'RSS show of strength in Agra', NDTV broadcast, 15 October 2000, recording in author's collection.
 6. The RSS defines this term, based on Sanskrit words, as 'the topmost leader of the RSS revered and venerated as "Friend, Philosopher and Guide" by all'. See <https://www.rss.org//Encyc/2017/6/3/basic-faq-on-rss-eng.html>.
 7. Quoted in S. Prasannarajan, 'Vision Hindutva', *India Today*, 30 October 2000.
 8. Quoted in Bishakha De Sarkar, 'With friends like these', *The Telegraph*, 13 March 2000.
 9. Vivek Deshpande interview of Ram Madhav, 'Second-class Citizenship (for Muslims) against Hindu ethos', *The Indian Express*, 16 March 2003.
 10. Manini Chatterjee, 'Repackaging the RSS', *The Indian Express*, 16 March 2003.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid.
 13. First, I discounted the monthly and weekly shakhas—assuming that some people who go to daily shakhas may also be going to weekly and monthly ones. Then, I used the RSS's officially reported number of daily shakhas in a year to make three projections: based on whether the average number of attendees at each shakha was fifteen, fifty or a hundred. The calculation gave us a range of rough minimum (calculated at an average of fifteen members per shakha) and maximum (calculated at an average of 100 members per RSS shakha) range for RSS membership numbers. If we use the middle estimate of an average of fifty attendees per shakha per year, then membership would amount to 29,63,300 members in 2019. Estimate by Nalin Mehta and Rajiv Pundir.
 14. RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat said on 10 November 2011 that the RSS supported the Anna-led anti-corruption movement. This is a point made in September 2020 by Prashant Bhushan, one of the key leaders of the movement as well. Also see Ashutosh, 'Movement and the mask', *The Indian Express*, 18 September 2020.
 15. Data from RSS annual reports, analysed by the author. In this regard, also see Anahita Mukherjee, 'RSS is on a roll: Number of shakhas up 61% in 5 years', *The Times of India*, 16 August 2015. The data in this report does not match entirely with the data in RSS annual reports. We have gone with the original RSS data. However, data points used in this TOI report indicate the same direction of change, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/48498034.cms>.

16. IANS, 'RSS active in 90% of blocks in India: Manmohan Vaidya', *Outlook*, 16 October 2019, <https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/rss-active-in-90-of-blocks-in-india-manmohan-vaidya/1641746>.
17. Personal conversation with senior city-level RSS leader in UP, July 2020.
18. A number of shakhas (three to ten) form a Mandal (group of colonies) and a number of Mandals (five to ten) club together to form a Nagar (town/tehsil/block). A number of Nagars form a Zila (district). A number of Zilas form a Vibhag. Five to fifteen Vibhags form a Sambhag (division), and several of these form a Prant (province). A number of Prants make a Kshetra (region). By 2019, the RSS had eleven Kshetras: 1. South: Kerala, South Tamil Nadu, North Tamil Nadu; 2. South-Central: South Karnataka, West Andhra Pradesh, East Andhra Pradesh 3. West: Konkan, West Maharashtra, Devagiri, Gujarat, Vidarbha; 4. Central: Malwa, Madhya Bharat, Mahakaushal, Chhattisgarh; 5. North-West: Chittor, Jaipur, Jodhpur; 6. North: Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh; 7. West UP: Uttarakhand, Meerut and Braj; 8. East UP: Kanpur, Awadh, Kashi, Gorakhpur; 9. Northeast: North Bihar, South Bihar and Jharkhand; 10. East: North Bengal, Utkal, South Bengal; and 11. Assam: North Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, South Assam, Manipur. Details from Arun Anand, *Know about the RSS* (New Delhi: Prabhat, 2019), pp. 25–26.
19. Arun Anand, *Know about the RSS* (New Delhi: Prabhat, 2019), p. 53.
20. K.S. Sudarshan, then joint general secretary, RSS (as told to Seshadri Chari), 'No ism but dharma', *Outlook*, 27 May 1998.
21. Arun Anand, *Know about the RSS* (New Delhi: Prabhat, 2019), pp. 35–36.
22. Sunil Ambekar, *The RSS: Roadmaps for the 21st Century* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2019), p. 128.
23. PTI, 'Sangh starts "join RSS" initiative on website to boost base among youth', *Business Standard*, 29 April 2018, https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/sangh-starts-join-rss-initiative-on-website-to-boost-base-among-youth-118042900477_1.html.
24. Personal interview with Radha Krishna Holla, communications head, RSS Karnataka, RSS office, Bengaluru, 10 February 2020. The RSS Karnataka weblink is: <https://samvada.org/>.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Personal interview with Vadhiraj, RSS worker in Bengaluru and former head of communications, RSS Karnataka South Zone, 10 February 2020.
28. Ibid.
29. Personal interview with Radha Krishna Holla, communications head, RSS Karnataka, RSS office, Bengaluru, 10 February 2020.
30. Ibid.
31. RSS's Vishwa Samvad Kendra Karnataka Facebook page is at: <https://www.facebook.com/Samvada>. Its YouTube page is at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCeHTzY_gxSLC4M9i80s1D9Q.

32. Personal interview with Radha Krishna Holla, communications head, RSS Karnataka, RSS office, Bengaluru, 10 February 2020.
33. Dilip Chaware, 'RSS zooms into the virtual world with a "cyber shakha"', *The Times of India*, 23 September 1999.
34. From our Correspondent, 'The first CyberShakha of RSS', *Organiser*, 10 October 1999.
35. Gautam Siddharth, 'Software shakhas draw techies to RSS', *The Times of India*, 28 January 2008.
36. Available online at: <https://vikramaweekly.in/>.
37. Available online at: <https://aseemamag.com/e-magazine/>.
38. Personal interview with Radha Krishna Holla, communications head, RSS Karnataka, RSS office, Bengaluru, 10 February 2020.
39. Personal interview with Vadhiraj, RSS worker in Bengaluru and former head of communications, RSS Karnataka South Zone, 10 February 2020.
40. Yediyurappa stepped down as chief minister on 26 July 2021. He was replaced by Basavaraj Bommai. Details on the Congress response to the BJP government's move on the Tipu Sultan controversy from India Today Web Desk, 'BJP scrapped Tipu Jayanti because they hate minorities: Karnataka Congress leader Siddaramaiah', *India Today*, 30 July 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/bjp-scrapped-tipu-jayanti-because-they-hate-minorities-karnataka-congress-leader-siddaramaiah-1575275-2019-07-30>.
41. Personal interview with Vadhiraj, RSS worker in Bengaluru and former head of communications, RSS Karnataka South Zone, 10 February 2020. Tipu Sultan, reviled in British accounts of the period because of his alignment with the French, engaged in a long correspondence with Napoleon Bonaparte for a French invasion of India against the British. He was undoubtedly a nationalist hero to many: in 1990-91, the state broadcaster Doordarshan broadcast a historic drama on his life, *The Sword of Tipu Sultan*. Several Kannada plays were written about him in the nineteenth century, and the great playwright Girish Karnad wrote his iconic Kannada-English play, 'Dreams of Tipu Sultan', in 1997 to commemorate fifty years of India's independence. The record shows that Tipu built a strong economy, worked with Hindu advisors and donated to temples. Equally, he was responsible for the killing of thousands of Kodavas in Coorg and the forcible conversion of the Catholic Christians of Mangalore into Islam. For more on this, Chandan Gowda, 'All about Tipu Sultan', *The Hindu*, 2 December 2016, <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/All-about-Tipu-Sultan/article16440247.ece>. For Girish Karnad's play on Tipu, see Julia Neslie, 'Nailed to the past: Girish Karnad's plays', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, 1996/1997, Vol. 31/32, No. 1/2, pp. 50-84. For a historical account in defence of Tipu, see Bhupendra Yadav, 'Tipu Sultan: Giving "the devil" his due', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 25, No. 52, 29 December 1990, pp. 2835-2837; Mohammad Moienuddin, 'Distortions of Indian history with reference to Tipu Sultan', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Part One: Millennium,

- Vol. 61, 2000–01, pp. 660–666. For more details on Tipu, see William Dalrymple, *The Anarchy: The East India Company, Corporate Violence and the Pillage of an Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019). For the RSS counterview, see, for instance, Prashant Vaidyraj, “‘Historical tyrant’ Tipu continues to be eulogised for votes,” *Organiser*, 10 November 2018.
42. Manvir Saini, ‘BJP win helped RSS grow deep roots in Haryana’, *The Times of India*, 5 May 2019, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/69181307.cms>.
 43. Ibid.
 44. IANS, ‘RSS active in 90% of blocks in India: Manmohan Vaidya’, *Outlook*, 16 October 2019, <https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/rss-active-in-90-of-blocks-in-india-manmohan-vaidya/1641746>.
 45. Ibid.
 46. In an article for *Organiser* (25 June 1956), Golwalkar wrote that after SP Mookerjee resigned from the government, he did not find any of the existing parties suitable. He says they met often on his decision to form a new party. Recounted by K.S. Sudarshan, then joint general secretary, RSS (as told to Seshadri Chari), ‘No ism but dharma’, *Outlook*, 27 May 1998.
 47. Mohan Bhagwat quoted in ‘The Sangh as it is’, *Organiser*, Vol. 70, N. 14, 30 September 2018, p 15.
 48. Ibid.
 49. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, L.K. Advani, Murali Manohar Joshi, Kushabhau Thakre, Bangaru Laxman, Jana Krishnamurthi, Rajnath Singh all started their careers initially with the RSS. Venkaiah Naidu also joined the RSS and started with ABVP, the RSS-affiliated student wing. Nitin Gadkari, considered close to RSS, and started his career with ABVP. Amit Shah joined the RSS as a student and then the ABVP. J.P. Nadda also started with the ABVP.
 50. Interview with Ashwathnarayan C.N., deputy chief minister, Karnataka, Bengaluru, 10 February 2020. Also minister for higher education; IT & BT, science and technology; skill development, entrepreneurship and livelihood. Dr Ashwathnarayan lost his portfolio of deputy chief minister on 4 August 2021 when the BJP decided to do away with its three-deputy chief ministers formula in Karnataka after Basavaraj Bommai took as state chief minister, succeeding B.S. Yediyurappa.
 51. Note on methodology: We looked for written evidence for the RSS/RSS-affiliate membership of BJP leaders on the lists we examined. Only if we could find such a reference, did we classify a minister as having an RSS/RSS-affiliate background. If we could not find a written reference, even in cases where we heard verbal references of a leader being ‘close to the RSS’ or other such allusions, as a thumb rule we chose to be cautious and did not classify the leader as being from RSS. So, the actual number of RSS/RSS-affiliate members may be higher. We followed this methodology for all the BJP lists we examined for RSS backgrounds.
 52. Neelam Pandey, Shankar Animesh, ‘RSS in Modi government in numbers: 3 of 4 ministers are rooted in Sangh’, *The Print*, 27 January 2020, <https://theprint.com>.

- in/politics/rss-in-modi-govt-in-numbers-3-of-4-ministers-are-rooted-in-the-sangh/353942/.
53. Ibid.
 54. Ibid.
 55. RSS-affiliated bodies, the Bharatiya Shikshan Mandal (BSM), the Shiksha Sanskriti Utthan Nyas and the Bharatiya Bhasha Manch, were deeply involved in generating inputs through seminars across the country. The name of the Ministry of Human Resources and Development, which deals with education, was changed on 20 August 2020 to Ministry of Education. Renaming the ministry had figured prominently at a BSM conference in 2018. The Sangh affiliates submitted their suggestions to two key NEP drafting committees—Subramaniam committee and another headed by K. Kasturirangan. Rahul Shrivastava, ‘The RSS impact on New Education Policy’, *India Today*, 3 August 2020, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/new-education-policy-rss-sangh-parivar-impact-sanskrit-1706340-2020-07-31>. Also see Shyam Lal Yadav, Ritika Chopra, ‘RSS wanted more, government walked the tightrope’, *The Indian Express*, 30 July 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/education/new-education-policy-rss-wanted-more-government-walked-the-tightrope-6530113/>; Asmita Nandy, ‘“60-70% demands met’, decoding RSS impact on NEP 2020’, *The Quint*, 1 August 2020, <https://www.thequint.com/news/education/rss-impact-on-new-education-policy-2020-decoding-demands>.
 56. Manini Chatterjee, ‘Repackaging the RSS’, *The Indian Express*, 16 March 2003.
 57. Ibid.
 58. Prabhu Chawla interview with Mohan Bhagwat on *Seedhi Baat*. Interview of the Week, *India Today*, 16 November 2009.
 59. Ibid.
 60. A.G. Noorani, ‘RSS and Services-II’, *The Statesman*, 15 January 2000.
 61. Rajesh Joshi interview with Madan Das Devi, ‘RSS dumping the BJP: “It’s for the future to tell”’, *Outlook*, 30 October 2000.
 62. Interview with a BJP leader in Karnataka who spoke on condition of anonymity, 9 February 2020.
 63. Interview with Lehar Singh Siroya, BJP MLC in Karnataka, Bengaluru, 9 February 2020.
 64. Shamsul Islam, ‘The failed Swayamsevaks’, *The Hindu*, 7 July 2001.
 65. Radhika Ramaseshan, ‘Power levels shishya and guru in Sangh’, *The Telegraph*, 30 March 2000.
 66. Pradeep Kaushal, ‘Govt can’t make the party brass wag its tail, says RSS’, *The Indian Express*, 30 July 2001.
 67. Ashok K. Damodaran, ‘Furore over khaki’, *India Today*, 13 March 2000.
 68. Swapan Dasgupta, ‘Meshed in adolescence’, *The Telegraph*, 3 April 2009.
 69. Ibid.
 70. ‘We don’t consider anyone Atalji’s successor’, *India Today*, 30 June 2003.

71. Prafulla Ketkar, 'Vote for a tectonic shift', *Organiser*, 25 May 2014, Vol. LXV, No. 48, p. 5.
72. Prafulla Ketkar, 'New narrative for new Bharat', *Organiser*, 2 June 2019, 2014, Vol. 70, No. 49, p. 5.

CHAPTER 13 What the RSS Says

1. Essentially, the Narad Index we developed for this project (as outlined in the Introduction and Chapter 6) measures the number of times a topic (or related keywords in English and Hindi) is mentioned per 100 words. The more times a particular topic, say Hindutva, is mentioned, the higher it ranks on the Narad Index. This allowed us to see patterns of political communication holistically. We took care to define both Hindi and English keywords for each topic and then ran the algorithm over the thousands of documents we had gathered to see how patterns of discourse between the RSS and its linked outfits change and how. See detailed methodology note in Appendix 4.
2. Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996), p. 41.
3. This was at a meeting at Dole Math, Nagpur. See <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
4. See the RSS website, <https://www.rss.org//Encyc/2017/6/3/basic-faq-on-rss-eng.html>.
5. See the RSS website, <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
6. Sunil Ambekar, *The RSS: Roadmaps for the 21st Century* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2019), p. 128.
7. Walter Andersen, 'The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-I: Early concerns', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 11 March 1972, Vol. 7, No. 11, p. 589.
8. D. Gold quoted in Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996), p. 34.
9. For this view, see for instance, Suprakash Majumdar, 'Dress how you want to be addressed: RSS and fascism', *National Herald*, 13 August 2019, <https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/eye-on-rss/dress-how-you-want-to-be-addressed-rss-and-fascism>.
10. The RSS was banned by the Government of India twice thereafter: 22 March 1977–4 July 1977 during the Emergency; and 10 December 1992–4 June 1993 after the demolition of the Babri Masjid. See <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
11. He also mentioned the first Sikh Guru, Nanak Dev. Speeches on 8 October 2019 and 18 October 2019.
12. RSS website, <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
13. G.D. Savarkar, better known as Babarao Savarkar, was the brother of Hindutva ideologue V.D. Savarkar and a co-founder, with him, of the revolutionary group Abhinav Bharat. Walter K. Andersen, Shridhar D. Damle, *Brotherhood in Saffron*:

- The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2019, first published 1987), p. 48.
14. Akshaya Mukul, 'RSS disowns Golwalkar's book', *The Times of India*, 9 March 2006, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/rss-officially-disowns-golwalkars-book/articleshow/1443606.cms>.
 15. M.S. Golwalkar, *We, Or Our Nationhood Defined* (Nagpur: Bharat Publications, second edition, 1947), p. 52.
 16. Rakesh Sinha, *Shri Guruji and Indian Muslims*, pp. 2–3; eBook available at chrome-extension://efaidnbnmnibpcjpcglclefindmkaj/viewer.html?pdfurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.archivesofrss.org%2FEncyc%2F2014%2F1%2F21%2F23_07_02_19_muslim.pdf&clen=238506&chunk=true. The booklet was released by the Sangh on 24 February 2006, Akshaya Mukul, 'RSS disowns Golwalkar's book', *The Times of India*, 6 March 2006.
 17. Details from Walter K. Andersen and Shridhar D. Damle, *Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*, pp. 47–48; Des Raj Goyal, *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (Delhi: Radhakrishnan Prakashan, 1987), p. 78
 18. Akshaya Mukul, 'RSS disowns Golwalkar's book', *The Times of India*, 9 March 2006, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/rss-officially-disowns-golwalkars-book/articleshow/1443606.cms>.
 19. Mohan Bhagwat quoted in 'Myths busted: Sarsanghchalak ji answers', *Organiser*, Vol. 70, No. 14, 30 September 2018. RSS Sahsarkaryavah Manmohan Vaidya further clarified that while the Sangh had not distanced itself from Golwalkar as a whole, *Bunch of Thoughts* 'must be seen in the context of its times'—'from 1940–1965 (not his [Golwalkar's] entire tenure as Sarsanghchalak), a specific time' which had 'unique circumstances'. Manmohan Vaidya 'Sangh and Shri Guruji', *Organiser*, 28 October 2018, Vol. 70, No. 18.
 20. For a historical background, see, for example, Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996), pp. 11–75.
 21. Mohan Bhagat's interview with Prafulla Ketkar and Hitesh Shankar, 'don't forget fundamentals in favourable atmosphere', *Organiser*, 25 March 2018, Vol. 69, No. 39.
 22. Ibid.
 23. Full text of Swami Vivekanand's 1893 speech is available at: <https://belurmath.org/swami-vivekananda-speeches-at-the-parliament-of-religions-chicago-1893/>.
 24. Mohan Bhagat interview with Prafulla Ketkar and Hitesh Shankar, 'Don't forget fundamentals in favourable atmosphere', *Organiser*, Vol. 69, No. 39, 25 March 2018.
 25. G. Sreedathan, 'Dharmo rakshati rakshitaha', *Organiser*, Vol. 64, No. 34, 18 February 2018.
 26. Shashi Tharoor in conversation with Nalin Mehta on *Why I Am a Hindu*, Scindia Old Boys' Association's FG Pearce Symposium, India International Centre, Delhi, 3 February 2020.

27. Ajay Bharadwaj, 'Exasperating Farrago', *Organiser*, Vol. 69, No. 34, 18 February 2018.
28. Shashi Tharoor, *Why I Am a Hindu* (New Delhi: Aleph, 2018), pp. 195–197.
29. See, for example, Seshadri Chari, 'Decoding "Hindu Rashtra"', *India Today*, 8 November 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20191118-decoding-hindu-rashtra-1616717-2019-11-08>.
30. Mohan Bhagwat quoted in 'The Sangh as it is', *Organiser*, Vol. 70, No. 14, New Delhi, 30 September 2018.
31. Ibid.
32. Nachiketa Iyengar, 'Hindutva sans "ism"', *Organiser*, Vol. 69, No. 34, 18 February 2018.
33. TOINS, 'Hindutva is nationalism: Vajpayee', *The Times of India*, 24 March 1992.
34. Seshadri Chari interview of L.K. Advani in 'Liberal Hindutva', *Pioneer*, 15 February 2003.
35. K.S. Sudarshan, then joint general secretary, RSS (as told to Seshadri Chari), 'No ism but dharma', *Outlook*, 27 May 1998.
36. Speech at Nagpur, 18 October 2018. Text available at: <https://www.firstpost.com/politics/mohan-bhagwat-vijayadashami-2018-speech-full-text-rss-chief-discusses-2019-elections-ramjanmabhoomi-and-urban-naxals-5401441.html>.
37. Mohan Bhagwat quoted in 'The Sangh as it is', *Organiser*, Vol. 70, No. 14, New Delhi, 30 September 2018.
38. K.R. Malkani (then BJP vice president), 'Significance of Ayodhya', *The Indian Express*, 3 August 1992.
39. K.S. Sudarshan, then joint general secretary, RSS (as told to Seshadri Chari), 'no ism but dharma', *Outlook*, 27 May 1998.
40. Quoted in Rakesh Sinha, 'Rajjubhaya: Wax and steel', *The Economic Times*, 19 March 1994.
41. Radhika Ramaseshan, 'RSS accuses church of military designs', *Telegraph*, 16 October 2000.
42. Farzand Ahmad, 'Missionary imposition', *India Today*, 23 October 2000. Also see Rajesh Ramachandran, 'Christianity is more about politic than religion, says RSS chief', *The Times of India*, 16 October 2000. Several churches condemned this call. See Staff Reporters, 'Catholics' body condemns RSS chief's call for national church', *The Times of India*, 9 October 2000.
43. RSS website, <https://www.rss.org//Encyc/2017/6/3/basic-faq-on-rss-eng.html>. This view is also explained in 'RSS - Ek parichay', a video with Sangh Sahsarkaryavah Manmohan Vaidya, <https://www.rss.org//Encyc/2017/5/20/RSS-Ek-Parichay-Dr-Manmohan-Vaidya-.html>.
44. Swapan Dasgupta, 'Nationhood specified: Hindutva as a double-edged sword', *The Times of India*, 9 June 1993. Savarkar's book was first published as *Essentials of Hinduism* (Bombay: Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1923); republished with a new title in 1928.
45. Ibid.

46. Swapan Dasgupta, 'Nationhood specified: Hindutva as a double-edged sword', *The Times of India*, 9 June 1993.
47. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, 'Summary of the address by param poojniya sarsanghchalak Dr Mohan Bhagwat Ji on the occasion of Sri Vijayadasami Utsav 2019 (Tuesday, 8 October 2019)', available on <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnpbpcjpcglclefindmkaj/viewer.html?pdfurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.rss.org%2Fvijayadashmi-2019-english-speech.pdf&clen=703645&chunk=true>.
48. Swapan Dasgupta, 'Nationhood specified: Hindutva as a double-edged sword', *The Times of India*, 9 June 1993.

CHAPTER 14 The Sangh Parivar and Education

1. Voting in Chhattisgarh's first state assembly election took place on 1 December 2003.
2. Judeo was first elected to Parliament in 1989 and was Union minister of state for environment and forests from 29 January–17 November 2003, <http://loksabhaph.nic.in/Members/MemberBioprofile.aspx?mpno=3297&lastls=15>. He passed away in 2013.
3. The 'shuddhi' movement was first started by the Arya Samaj, led by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, who is said to have performed the first such ceremony on a Muslim from Dehradun in 1877. It reflected a modern development in Hinduism, in response to Islam and Christianity. The first attempt at mass conversion was in 1908 in Deegh in Bharatpur State and was aimed at a group of Muslims. The 'shuddhi' movement gained steam from 1923 in the United Provinces with the formation of the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Mahasabha and the launch of large-scale reconversion efforts by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj. Details from 'Yogendra Sikand on Muslim response to the Shuddhi Movement of the '20s', *Muslim India*, Vol. 770, April 2011, pp. 171–172. Also see Charu Gupta, 'Articulating Hindu masculinity and femininity: "Shuddhi" and "Sangathan" movements in United Provinces in the 1920s', *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 13, 26 March–3 April 1998, pp. 727–735.
4. Rajesh Ramachandran, 'Christian hand in Judeo Case: RSS', *The Times of India*, 19 November 2003. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/christian-hand-in-judeo-case-rss/articleshow/290484.cms>.
5. ABVKA organising secretary in charge of Mahakaushal, Nishikant Joshi, quoted in Rajesh Ramachandran, 'Hindutva made the difference: RSS', *The Times of India*, 5 December 2003, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Hindutva-made-the-difference-RSS/articleshow/340296.cms>.
6. BJP chose Raman Singh as its chief minister after the election and he won two more terms (in 2008 and 2013) before losing power to Congress in 2018.
7. Uday Mahurkar, Sheel Raval, 'Champions of reconversion dominate amid debate over Gujarat violence against Christians', *India Today*, 25 January 1999.
8. Ibid.

9. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), p. 14. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine.
10. Telephone interview with Atul Jog (who was in Ranchi), national organising secretary, ABVKA, 13 September 2020.
11. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), p. 14. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine.
12. RSS website, <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
13. Telephone interview with Atul Jog (who was in Ranchi), national organising secretary, ABVKA, 13 September 2020.
14. Ibid.
15. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), pp. 15–16. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine. Details on the role of the Jashpur court also confirmed by Atul Jog of ABVKA.
16. Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996), p. 322.
17. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), pp. 15–16. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine.
18. Ibid, p. 18.
19. Ibid, p. 13.
20. Special Correspondent, 'Idol installed in Somnath Temple: Dr. Prasad stresses need for religious tolerance', *The Times of India*, 12 May 1951.
21. 'Activities of missionaries: Govt. attitude clarified', *The Times of India*, 16 April 1953.
22. 'Three foreign missionaries so far externed: Undesirable activities', *The Times of India*, 16 September 1953.
23. "Anti-Indian" activities by missionaries: Madras govt.'s report under consideration', *The Times of India*, 2 September 1953.
24. TOINS, 'Missionaries in Naga Hills: Chief minister's charge', *The Times of India*, 10 March 1954. This caused another debate in Parliament. 'Charge against U.S. Baptist Mission: State will take necessary action', *The Times of India*, 25 March 1954.
25. TOINS, 'Steps against foreign missionaries in UP: Government consulting centre', *The Times of India*, 24 April 1954.
26. TOINS, 'Conversions by Christian missionaries in Mathura—Monetary inducements: UP assembly debate', *The Times of India*, 10 May 1954.
27. TOINS, 'Propaganda by missionaries: Bihar minister's view', *The Times of India*, 4 March 1954.
28. TOINS, 'Activities of missionaries in Kashmir: Data being collected', *The Times of India*, 5 May 1954.
29. TOINS, "'March of civilisation" among tribes: Controversy over work of missionaries', *The Times of India*, 4 May 1954.
30. TOINS, "'Do not attempt to convert": Missionaries warned', *The Times of India*, 7 April 1954.

31. TOINS, "March of civilisation" among tribes: Controversy over work of missionaries', *The Times of India*, 4 May 1954.
32. 'Full freedom to preach Christianity assured: But Dr Prasad cautions against conversions', *The Times of India*, 19 February 1954.
33. "Avoid activities which cause suspicion": Dr Prasad's advice to missionaries', *The Times of India*, 12 August 1954.
34. Figures tabled in Parliament by Home Minister Katju. TOINS, "Do not attempt to convert": Missionaries warned', *The Times of India*, 7 April 1954.
35. Mario Bussali, 'The Apostle St. Thomas and India', *East and West*, Vol. 3, No. 2, July 1952, pp. 88–94.
36. D. Dennis Hudson, 'The first Protestant mission to India: Its social and religious development', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 42, No. 1/2, March–September 1993, pp. 37–63; 'Missionaries', Letter to the Editor by Hari Prasad Gupta, *The Times of India*, 11 June 1955.
37. Belkacem Belmekki, 'A wind of change: The New British colonial policy in post-revolt India', *Atlantis*, Vol. 30, No. 2, December 2008, p. 117.
38. 'Anti-Christian incidents in some parts: Call to centre for firm steps', *The Times of India*, 3 November 1955.
39. See, for example, 'Christians are concerned', *The Times of India*, 16 November 1955; 'Full religious tolerance, assures Mr. Nehru', *The Times of India*, 21 May 1954; TOINS, 'Vilification of missionaries: Plea to premier to intervene', *The Times of India*, 19 April 1955
40. TOINS, 'Work of foreign missionaries: Centre's policy clarified', *The Times of India*, 19 May 1954.
41. TOINS, 'Congressmen must work for social equality: Mr Nehru's call: "Shuddhi" movement condemned', *The Times of India*, 10 August 1954.
42. TOINS, 'New Govt. Policy Towards Foreign Missionaries: "Must also devote time to social work"', *The Times of India*, 27 August 1955.
43. TOINS, 'Alien missionaries given assurance: No intention to curtail freedom, says Dr. Prasad', *The Times of India*, 19 December 1955.
44. The eight-member M.B. Rege Committee was appointed on 10 May 1954. '1,200 conversions in six years: Activities of Christian missionaries in M.B.', *The Times of India*, 15 December 1954; 'Alleged unfair conversions: M.B. inquiry ordered', *The Times of India*, 11 May 1954.
45. The six-member committee was appointed on 14 April 1954. Justice Niyogi, who headed it, had been a former chief justice of the Nagpur High Court. The committee, which included S.K. George, a professor at Commerce College, Wardha, visited seventy-seven centres, contacted 11,360 persons, received written statements from 375 people and interviewed residents of 700 villages. 'Withdraw Christian missionaries: MP inquiry committee's recommendations', *The Times of India*, 18 July 1956.
46. Hindu Mahasabha's V.D. Deshpande visited Jashpur and gave a memorandum to the committee. TOINS, 'Adivasis' allegations', *The Times of India*, 16 June 1954.

47. Full text of the report available at: <http://www.voiceofdharma.org/books/ncr/>.
48. The UN report was drafted by Dr A. Krishnaswami, MP, as part of a world-wide study on discrimination on religious rights and practices for the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Dr Krishnaswami, an Indian member of parliament, was entrusted this task as Special Rapporteur by the ninth session of the Sub-Commission and his report included information from thirty countries and a large number of NGOs. 'Withdraw Christian Missionaries: MP inquiry committee's recommendations', *The Times of India*, 18 July 1956.
49. 'Niyogi Committee charges termed "exaggerated": UN Report on Christian Missionaries', *The Times of India*, 16 November 1957.
50. For an overview of anti-conversion laws in Indian states, see James Andrew Huff, 'Religious freedom in India and analysis of the constitutionality of anti-conversion laws', 10(2) *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion*, 1(4), 2009, archived at <https://perma.cc/7Z7Y-9U8Q>; Laura Dudley Jenkins, 'Legal Limits on Religious Conversion in India', *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 109, 113 (2008), <http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1469&context=lcp>.
51. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), p. 18. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine.
52. Interview with Ashish Joshi, CEO, Lok Sabha TV, New Delhi, 15 September 2019, in his office in the Parliament building.
53. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), p. 18. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine.
54. Balasaheb Deoras's full name was Madhukar Dattatraya Deora. Details from <http://kalyanashram.org/about-us/background/>; telephone interview with Atul Jog (who was in Ranchi), national organising secretary, ABVKA, 13 September 2020.
55. Snehlata Vaid, *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram: Karya Parichay* (Jashpur: Kalyan Ashram, 2011), pp. 19–20. The text is in Hindi; translation is mine.
56. ABVKA website, <http://kalyanashram.org/about-us/background/>.
57. Telephone interview with Atul Jog (who was in Ranchi), national organising secretary, ABVKA, 13 September 2020.
58. The 1991 Census enumerated sixty-four districts in the eight north-eastern states. The number of districts increased to eighty-six by 2015. 1991 data is from M. Vijayanunni, *1991 Census Handbook* (New Delhi: Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, 1996), available at: https://censusindia.gov.in/DigitalLibrary/data/Census_1991/Publication/India/45969_1991_CHN.pdf; 2015 data is from North Eastern Council Secretariat (Evaluation and Monitoring Sector), Government of India, *Basic Statistics of North Eastern Region 2015* (Shillong: 2015), p. xxvii, available on: <http://necouncil.gov.in/sites/default/files/uploadfiles/BasicStatistic2015-min.pdf>.
59. 1992 details and quotes from Staff Reporter, 'RSS organ aims to reach tribal pockets', *The Independent*, 20 March 1992.

60. A good example is Chhattisgarh's Raigarh district. In 1992, there were twenty-five Roman Catholic churches in the district. The churches also ran fifteen higher-secondary schools and 250 balwadis in remote pockets, two hospitals, three leprosy treatment centres, one TB control unit, an orphanage, an old-age home and seed banks for tribal cultivators. Azizur Rahaman, 'Convertible issue', *Sunday*, 12 April 1992.
61. Overall, Census of India in 2001 estimated 593 districts with ST populations of varying degrees. District-wise ST data from Census 2011 is available at: https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/pca_st/pca-st.html, 2001 ST data is on https://censusindia.gov.in/census_and_you/scheduled_castes_and_scheduled_tribes.aspx. India had a total of 727 districts in September 2021. District count is from <http://districts.nic.in/>.
62. Details from ABVKA reports and organisational information at: <https://kalyanashram.org/about-us/where-we-work/>.
63. Personal interview with Radha Krishna Holla, communications head, RSS Karnataka, RSS office, Bengaluru, 10 February 2020.
64. ABVKA organisational information at: <https://kalyanashram.org/about-us/where-we-work/>.
65. RSS website, <https://www.rss.org/Timeline.html>.
66. RSS website, <https://www.rss.org/Encyc/2012/10/22/rss-vision-and-mission.html>.
67. Vidya Bharti website, <http://vidyabharti.net/about-vidya-bharati>.
68. Vidya Bharti Akhil Bhartiya Shiksha Sansthan Brochure, <http://vidyabharti.net/sites/default/files/vb-brochure-english.pdf>.
69. Walter K. Andersen, Shridhar D. Damle, *The RSS: A View to the Inside* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2018), p. 34–35.
70. Information from a senior RSS leader and board member of Deendayal Dham, Mathura, 26 July 2020.
71. Walter K. Andersen, Shridhar D. Damle, *The RSS: A View to the Inside* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2018), p. 34.
72. Telephone interview with Atul Jog (speaking from Ranchi), national organising secretary, ABVKA, 13 September 2020.
73. ABVKA Resolution Passed in KKM Meeting, 22 September 2016, Pindwara, Rajasthan: Resolution No. 6. 'Ban illicit religious conversions and appoint A-8 central commission of inquiry to study & report impact thereof', <http://kalyanashram.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Ban-on-Conversions-1.pdf>.
74. Ibid.
75. Shailendra, 'Hindutva's effort to claim tribals', *People's Democracy*, 2 July 2000. Also see Dara Singh interview in *Bharatiya Pragna*, Vol. 2, No. 6, June 2000, http://www.geocities.ws/free_dara_singh/interview.htm.
76. Quoted in Walter K. Andersen, Shridhar D. Damle, *The RSS: A View to the Inside* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2018), p. 35.

77. Sunil Ambekar, *The RSS: Roadmaps for the 21st Century* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2019), p. 26.
78. Quoted in Rajesh Joshi, 'Season of bad blood', *Outlook*, 30 October 2000.
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113. Ibid., pp.130–131. Also see Mohan Bhagat interview with Prafulla Ketkar and Hitesh Shankar, ‘Don’t forget fundamentals in favourable atmosphere’, *Organiser*, 25 March 2018, Vol. 69, No. 39.
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CHAPTER 15 The BJP’s South Model

1. When BSP leader Mayawati asked Muslim voters not to waste their votes in the 2019 poll campaign, the UP chief minister responded by saying, ‘SP-BSP have faith in Ali. We also have faith in Bajrang Bali.’ Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MRkZYYbmQLQ>.
2. See interactive election data sets (1980–2019), state-wise and region-wise, that we have made available for this analysis at: <https://pollniti.com/>.
3. Sree Siddaganga Math website, <https://www.siddagangamath.org/siddaganga/home.html>. For more details on Basavanna (also known as Basaveshwara, Basava) and the Lingayat/Veerashaiva tradition, see Julia Leslie, ‘Understanding Basava: History, hagiography and a modern Kannada drama’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 61, No. 2, 1998, pp. 228–261.
4. The announcement was made on 19 March 2018, following the recommendations of a seven-member committee headed by former High Court judge Nagamohan Das. The Congress government moved to recognise Lingayats and Veerashaiva-Lingayats who believe in Basava Tattva (philosophy) as a religious minority community under Section (D) of the Karnataka Minorities Act. This opened up a political controversy on three counts.
 - a. A section of the community saw the reservation move as a political ploy to attract Lingayat voters who are traditionally regarded as pro-BJP;
 - b. A section of Lingayats complained that they were not distinct from Hinduism;
 - c. Some Lingayat groups argued that Veerashaivas and Lingayats were the same and alleged that treating them as separate communities (with the government regarding the Veerashaivas as a subset of the Lingayats) was a cynical ploy aimed at political division.

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26. Interview with T.M. Veeraraghav, former resident editor, *The Hindu*, Bengaluru, and former South India editor, Network 18, 9 February 2020.
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Ashwathnarayan lost his portfolio of deputy chief minister on 4 August 2021 when the BJP decided to do away with its three-deputy chief ministers formula in Karnataka after Basavaraj Bommai took over as state chief minister, succeeding B.S. Yediyurappa.

45. Personal interview with Lehar Singh Siroya, Karnataka BJP MLC and former state party treasurer, 9 February 2020.
46. Personal interview with V. Anand, director, Octobuzz Analytics Pvt. Ltd, and in-charge of Yediyurappa's communications and social media campaign in the 2018 election, 9 February 2020, Bengaluru.
47. T.M. Veeraraghav, *Battleground South India*, Documentary on CNN-IBN, telecast in 2008.
48. Personal interview with Lehar Singh Siroya, Karnataka BJP MLC and former state party treasurer, 9 February 2020.
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50. TOINS, 'Karnataka to foil Idgah flag hoisting', *The Times of India*, 10 August 1994, p. 1.
51. For a full legal timeline of this case, see Rishikesh Bahadur Desai, 'Idgah Maidan belongs to HDMC, rules SC', *The Times of India*, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hubballi/Idgah-Maidan-belongs-to-HDMC-rules-SC/articleshow/5441838.cms>. Further details from TOINS, 'Karnataka to foil Idgah flag hoisting', *The Times of India*, 9 August 1994, p. 1. This case was linked to an older property dispute at the Idgah Maidan from 1971 when AeI initially got permission from HDMC to build a commercial complex. A group of Hubli residents immediately went to court against the HDMC, AeI and the state government in the munsif court (through OS 359/72) which ruled in their favour. The additional sessions judge (vide RA No/1974) and Karnataka High Court (vide RSA no. 754/82) upheld this judgment and when the litigation reached the Supreme Court, it put an interim stay on demolitions in 1992. Details on original legal case from People's Democratic Forum, *The Flag Without Tears: A Report on the Hubli Idgah Maidan Issue*, December 1994 (Bangalore, People's Democratic Forum), pp. 10–12, 31–35.
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63. T.M. Veeraraghav, *Battleground South India*, Documentary on CNN-IBN, telecast in 2008.
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71. Personal interview with a senior BJP minister in the Karnataka government, who did not wish to be identified. February 2020, Bengaluru.
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76. Personal interview with Lehar Singh Siroya, Karnataka BJP MLC and former state party treasurer, 9 February 2020.
77. Personal interview with B.Y. Vijayendra, Karnataka BJP vice president, 10 February 2020, Bengaluru. He was general secretary of the BJP's State Yuva Morcha (youth wing) when we met.
78. Details available at: <http://kla.kar.nic.in/mlc'list/Sri%20V%20s%20Acharya.htm>.

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98. Interview with a senior BJP leader who spoke on condition of anonymity.
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104. Interview with a senior BJP leader who spoke on condition of anonymity.
105. Personal interview with Lehar Singh Siroya, Karnataka BJP MLC and former state party treasurer, 9 February 2020.
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CHAPTER 16 Mergers, Acquisitions and the 'Eight Goddesses'

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CHAPTER 17 The Making of a New Women's Vote

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 109. PIB Delhi, Ministry of Finance Release, 3 March 2020, <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseDetailm.aspx?PRID=1604929>.
 110. Beneficiaries, through Aadhar-linked mobile phones, received maternity benefits in more than one instalment through total direct-benefit cash transfers of Rs 5,710.98 crore in this period. Average calculated by author from data submitted by Smriti Irani, minister for women and child development, reply to Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 4507 on 20 March 2020. Average days taken for cash payments after registration went from 20.4 in 2017-18 to 32.3 in 2018-19 to 36.3 in 2019-20. Smriti Irani, minister for women and child development, reply to Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 205 on 12 March 2020.
 111. This move was aimed at specifically helping women working in the formal sector, approximately 1.8 million. Full text of the Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Act,

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 113. PIB, Ministry of Women and Child Development Release, 8 February 2018.
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CHAPTER 18 'Party of Ram'

1. 'Danda-vat', a Sanskrit word, literally means lying on the floor like a stick. Devotees perform dandvat pranam by lying fully prostrate on the floor with their arms stretched out. It is a symbol of complete submission. The full video of Modi's dandvat pranam before the Ram Lalla idol in Ayodhya on 5 August 2020 is available at: <https://navbharattimes.indiatimes.com/state/uttar-pradesh/ayodhya/faizabad/narendra-modi-offers-prayers-to-ram-lalla-in-ayodhya-before-ram-mandir-bhumi-pujan/videoshow/77366857.cms>.
2. For critiques of the Ayodhya bhoomi-pujan, see, for instance, Yogendra Yadav, 'Secularism gave up language of religion. Ayodhya Boomi Pujan is a result of that', *The Print*, 5 August 2020, <https://theprint.in/opinion/secularism-language-religion-ayodhya-bhoomi-pujan-ram-mandir-kashmir/475307/>; Pratap Bhanu Mehta, 'Ram, I will not find you there', *The Indian Express*, 5 August 2020. For a counter-view, see Ram Madhav, 'Great unifier, universal hero', *The Indian Express*, 5 August 2020, and Vinay Sahasrabuddhe, 'Temple as turning point', *The Indian Express*, 5 August 2020.
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11. Special Correspondent, 'Panch sati ka swapn poora hoga: Yogi', *Dainik Jagran* (Fatehpur edition), 14 November 2020, p. 1.
12. 'Ayodhya banegi vaishwik nagari', *Dainik Jagran* (Fatehpur edition), 14 November 2020, p.1; 'Gaurav-bodh se alokit huee Ram nagari', *Dainik Jagran* (Fatehpur edition), 14 November 2020, p. 3.
13. The UP government, under Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, renamed Allahabad as Prayagraj on 16 October 2018. The change was ratified by the Union government on 1 January 2019, a day before the Kumbh Mela. The chief minister justified the name-change saying, 'Five hundred years ago the name of the place was Prayagraj as it is at the "Triveni Sangam" (a confluence of three rivers) ... There are many Prayags on the bank of the sacred rivers coming from the Himalayas but this place is Prayagraj [King of Prayags]. PTI, 'UP cabinet approves renaming of Allahabad to Prayagraj', *The Economic Times*, 17 October 2018, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/uttar-pradesh-cabinet-renames-allahabad-to-prayagraj/articleshow/66234532.cms>; Rahul Tripathi, 'Days before Kumbh Mela, Centre approves renaming of Allahabad as Prayagraj', *The Indian Express*, 2 January 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/home-ministry-allahabad-prayagraj-kumbh-mela-5518766/>.
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APPENDIX 1

Breakdown of OBC Candidates Fielded by the BJP in the 2017 Assembly Poll in Uttar Pradesh

<i>Caste Category</i>	<i>Sub-caste</i>	<i>2017, BJP Candidates</i>	<i>2017, BJP Candidates % OBC</i>
OBCs	Kurmi	28	22.5
	Lodh	20	16.12
	Jat	14	11.29
	Yadav	9	7.25
	Maurya	8	6.45
	Gujjar	7	5.64
	Saini	6	4.83
	Kushwaha	5	4.03
	Nishad	5	4.03
	Shakya	5	4.03
	Rajbhar	4	3.22
	Pal	2	1.61
	Chauhan	2	1.61
	Patel	2	1.61
	Bind	2	1.61
	Banjara	1	0.8
	Khadakvanshi	1	0.8
	Prajapati	1	0.8
Badhai	1	0.8	
Saithwar	1	0.8	
Total		124	100

Note: This includes six OBC candidates (all non-Yadav) fielded by BJP allies.

Source: Mehta-Singh Index

APPENDIX 2

Breakdown of SC Candidates fielded by the BJP in the 2017 Assembly Poll in UP

<i>Caste Category</i>	<i>Sub-caste</i>	<i>2017, BJP Candidates</i>	<i>2017, BJP Candidates % SC</i>
SC	Jatav	22	26.1
	Pasi	22	26.1
	Dhobi	12	14.2
	Khatik	5	5.9
	Kori	5	5.9
	Valmiki	3	3.5
	Sonkar	2	2.3
	Gaud	2	2.3
	Kabir	1	1.1
	Paswan	1	1.1
	Baghel	1	1.1
	Kaul	1	1.1
	Charo	1	1.1
	Anuragi	1	1.1
	Ahirwar	1	1.1
	Kathariya	1	1.1
Beldar	2	2.3	
Banjara	1	1.1	
Total		84	100

Note: This includes seven SC candidates (five non-Jatav) fielded by BJP allies.

Source: Mehta-Singh Index

APPENDIX 3

**Table 4.15: Percentage of Lok Sabha Candidates Aged Under Fifty-five in UP:
2004–2019**

<i>Party</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2019</i>
BJP	57.33	72.06	58.9	45.45
BSP	81.8	69.74	63.7	62.16
INC	53.62	48.48	59.7	43.08
SP	75.76	63.01	53.95	32.43

APPENDIX 4

Narad Index: A Core Methodology Note

The text analysis in this project is split into two parts:

1. Analysis of party press releases, periodicals and speeches
2. Analysis of posts by parties on Facebook pages
3. Analysis of posts by parties on Twitter

Part 1. Press releases and periodicals

Unstructured data in the form of HTML files and PDFs was obtained from the websites of the organisations listed below. A custom software was then created to clean and convert these into text files.

A total of 11,558 documents—totalling more than 17.9 million words—were analysed.

- 8,579 BJP speeches, press releases, and articles from 2006 onwards (4.98M words)
- 168 issues of *Kamal Sandesh* from 2009 onwards (2.69M words)
- 230 issues of the RSS's *Organiser* from May 2015 onwards (6.12M words)
- 1,060 articles published in *Congress Sandesh* from 2015 (0.63M words)
- 1,305 speeches of PM Modi from June 2014 onwards (3.44M words)

- 216 documents of the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram from June 2018 (43,000 words)

Once the data was cleaned, mentions of individual topics per 100 words were calculated. This was done by defining keywords for each topic, and taking note of each instance that such keywords were found in the document.

Keywords for individual topics are listed in the table below:

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Topic Keywords</i>
jobs	job, employ, रोजगार, रोज़गार, नौकरी
kashmir	kashmir, कश्मीर
infrastructure	road, electric, सड़क, पानी, highway, water, रेल, infrastructure
farmers	farm, खेत, कृषि, किसान, फ़सल, crop, खाद, fertilize, fertilise, agri
gas	एलपीजी, गैस, lpg, gas
petrol	petrol, diesel, पेट्रोल, डीज़ल
development	develop, vikas, विकास
telco_connectivity	इंटरनेट, internet, फ़ोन, phone
electricity	बिजली, electric
vaccination	टीकाकरण, vaccine
corruption	corrupt, भ्रष्ट
health	health, स्वस्थ
clean	clean, स्वच्छ, toilet, शौचालय
black_money	demonetisation, नोट, black money, black-money, blackmoney, काला धन
education	study, degree, education, educate, शिक्षा, पढ़
insurance	insurance, insure, बीमा
defence	defence, army, navy, रक्षा, जवान
gst	gst
digital	digital, डिजिटल, computer, कंप्यूटर, laptop, लैपटॉप
women	women, महिला, माता, बेटि
congress	congress, कांग्रेस

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Topic Keywords</i>
pakistan	pakistan, पाकिस्तान, neighbour, neighbor, पड़ोसी
mandir	ram, mandir, मंदिर, राम, अयोध्या, ayodhya, babri, बाबरी, जन्मभूमि
cow	गाय, गौ, गरू, cow
terrorism	terror, आतंक
security	security, सुरक्षा
border	border, सीमा
modi	मोदी, modi
amit shah	amit shah, अमित शाह
hindu	hindu, हिंदू, हिंदुत्व
religion	religion, धर्म
bjp	bjp, janata party, भाजपा, जनता पार्टी
youth	youth, children, student, युवा, नौजवान, छात्र, kids, बच्चे
vajpayee	vajpayee, vajpai, वाजपेयी
advani	advani, आडवाणी
NRC	NRC, register of citizenship, NPR, population registry, CAA, citizenship amendment act, citizenship amendment bill, refugee, immigration, immigrants

Part 2. Facebook posts

A similar approach was used to analyse the Facebook posts of political groups and leaders from January 2016 to December 2019. All posts by the official pages of the BJP, RSS, Congress, Narendra Modi, Amit Shah and Rahul Gandhi were downloaded and analysed.

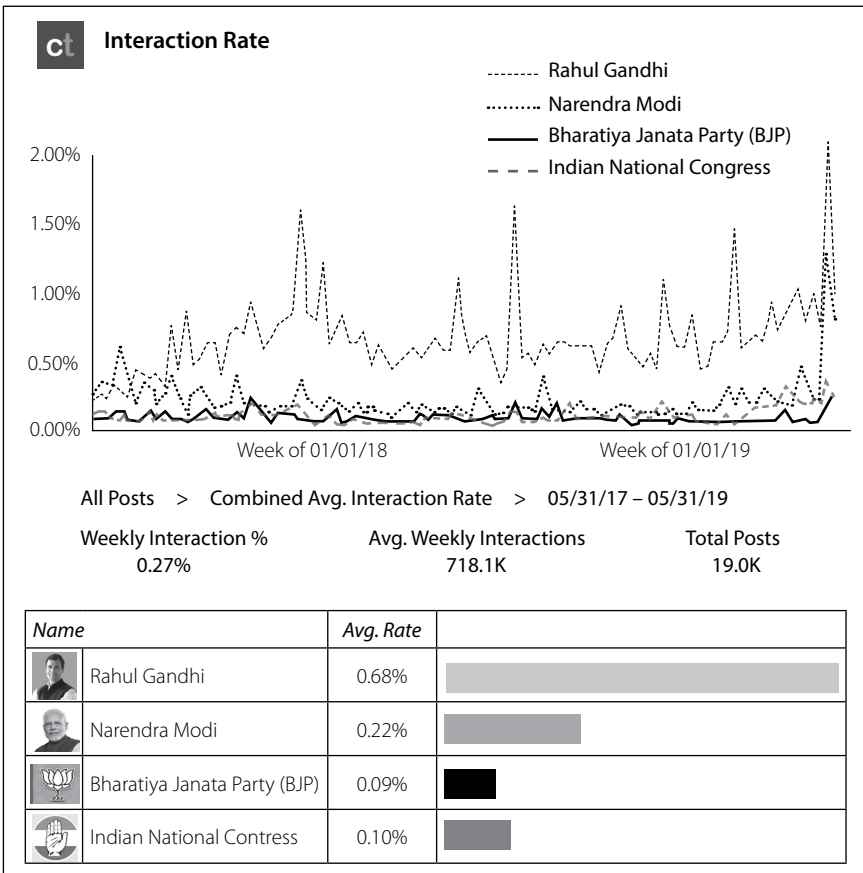
Cumulatively, this amounted to 40,251 posts and 1.2 million words.

Part 3. Twitter posts

476,827 posts from January 2016 to May 2019 by seventy-five political accounts.

APPENDIX 6

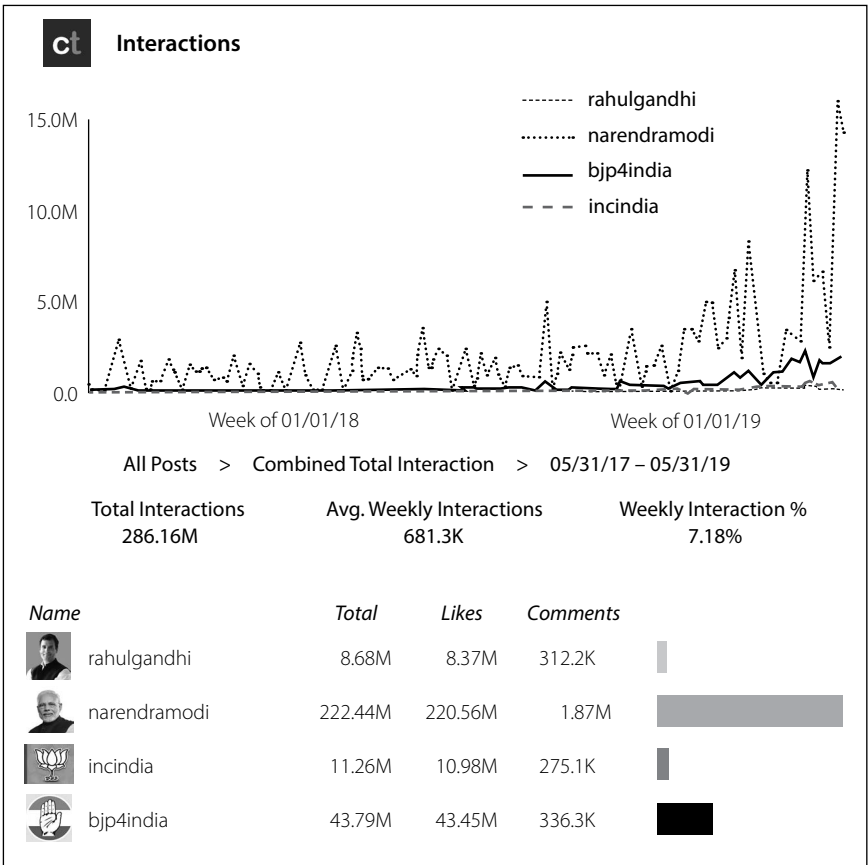
Narendra Modi and BJP vs Rahul Gandhi and Congress on Facebook: Interaction Rate (2018–2019)



Source: Crowd Tangle, 2019

APPENDIX 8

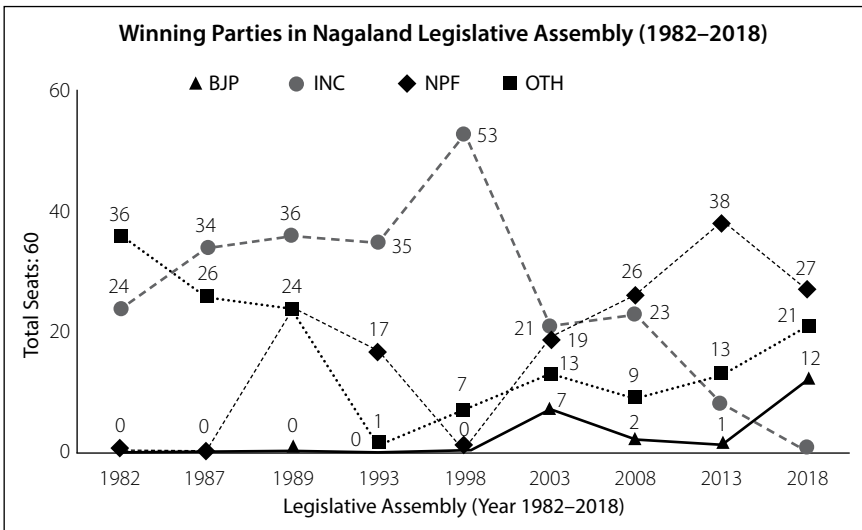
Narendra Modi and BJP vs Rahul Gandhi and Congress on Instagram: Interactions (2018–2019)



Source: Crowd Tangle, 2019

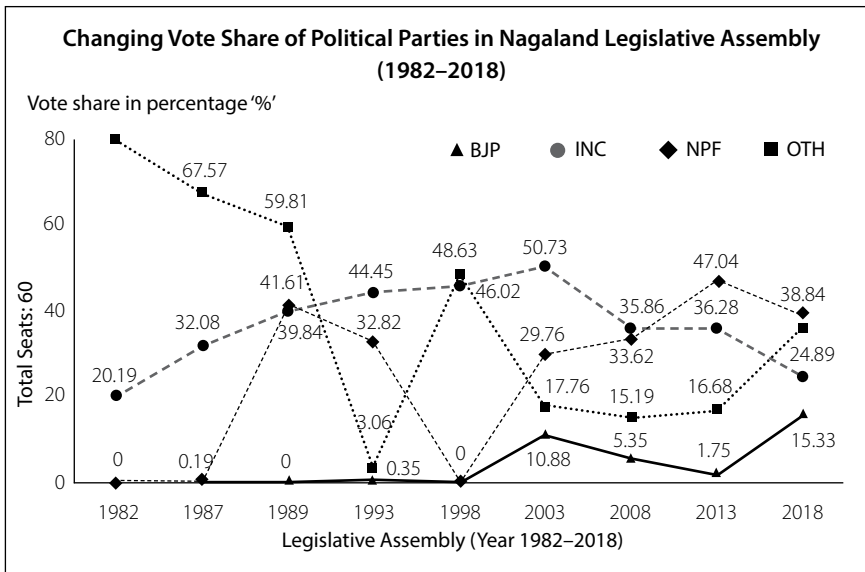
APPENDIX 11

The BJP's Nagaland Foray—Nagaland Legislative Assembly: 1982–2018



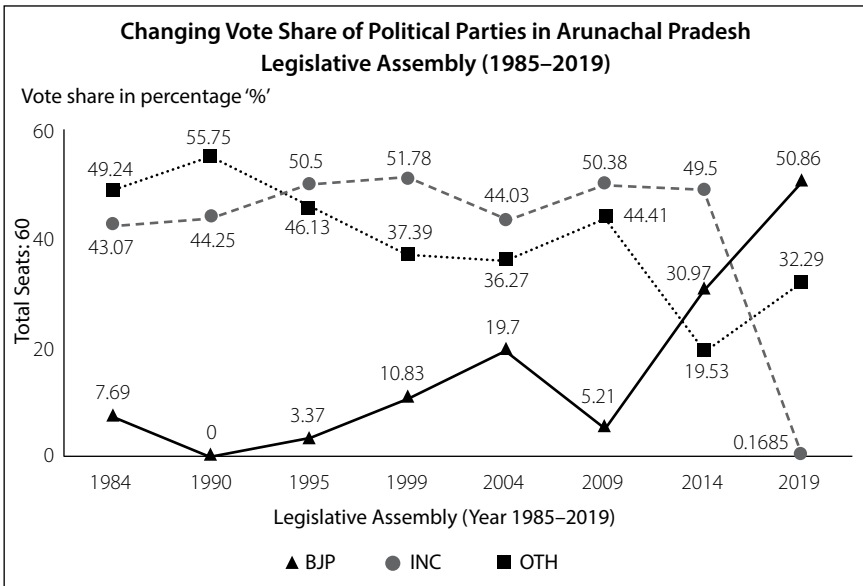
APPENDIX 12

Nagaland Legislative Assembly Vote Shares of Winning Parties: 1982–2018



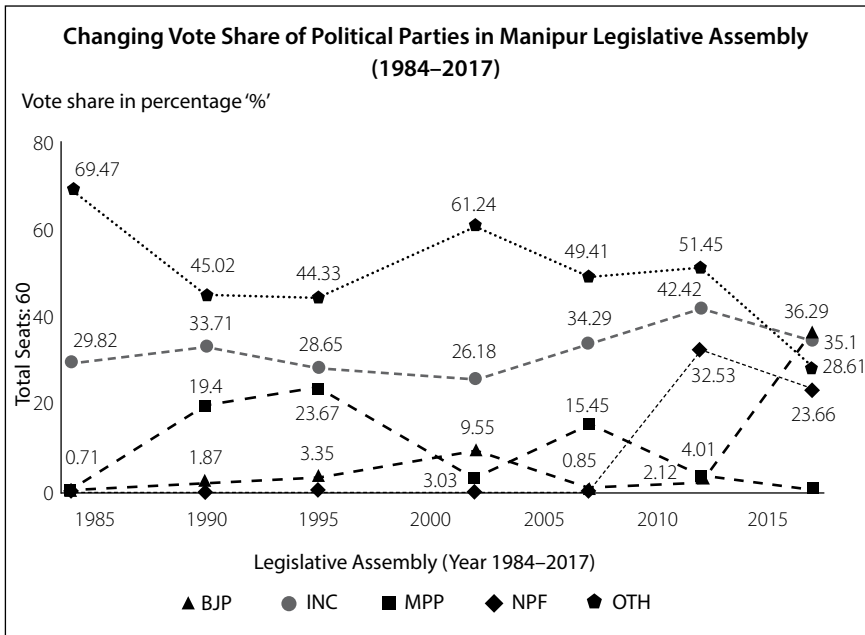
APPENDIX 13

The BJP in Arunachal—Vote Share of Parties in Assembly Polls (1985–2019)



APPENDIX 14

The BJP's Manipur Advances



APPENDIX 15

The State/UT and Year-wise Details of the Number of Beneficiaries of the Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY)

<i>Beneficiaries and targets of PMUY</i>					
S. No.	State	<i>LPG connections released under PMUY</i>			
		2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20
1	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,189	522	6,178	5,154
2	Andhra Pradesh	63,428	16,616	2,62,554	50,528
3	Arunachal Pradesh	-	6,362	32,953	5,385
4	Assam	2	11,28,137	17,07,801	6,56,107
5	Bihar	24,76,953	24,36,197	29,81,636	6,55,896
6	Chandigarh	-	-	88	-
7	Chhattisgarh	11,05,441	8,46,679	7,40,584	2,99,588
8	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	3,211	8,226	2,671	640
9	Daman and Diu	73	130	219	5
10	Delhi	516	161	73,120	3,099
11	Goa	954	30	88	10
12	Gujarat	7,52,354	5,16,660	12,52,052	3,83,415
13	Haryana	2,78,751	78,361	3,23,344	50,504
14	Himachal Pradesh	1,601	28,140	83,177	23,133
15	Jammu and Kashmir	2,65,787	1,07,133	6,80,098	1,88,842
16	Jharkhand	5,36,912	6,66,631	17,01,032	3,59,008
17	Karnataka	15,840	8,93,174	19,13,808	3,24,866

<i>Beneficiaries and targets of PMUY</i>					
S. No.	State	<i>LPG connections released under PMUY</i>			
		2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20
18	Kerala	11,241	27,152	1,71,530	46,441
19	Lakshadweep	-	134	156	2
20	Madhya Pradesh	22,39,821	10,75,351	31,30,613	7,29,564
21	Maharashtra	8,58,808	10,18,570	21,86,426	3,68,164
22	Manipur	25	32,592	97,760	26,221
23	Meghalaya	-	36,844	1,03,467	10,433
24	Mizoram	-	902	24,879	2,341
25	Nagaland	-	9,225	40,177	5,745
26	Odisha	10,11,955	12,88,380	19,25,954	5,20,263
27	Puducherry	760	1,861	10,753	204
28	Punjab	2,45,008	1,37,343	8,26,611	15,568
29	Rajasthan	17,22,694	9,02,940	30,69,891	6,86,317
30	Sikkim	-	687	7,111	953
31	Tamil Nadu	2,72,749	7,45,302	21,23,792	1,00,589
32	Telangana	41	-	9,23,800	1,48,708
33	Tripura	-	46,379	1,92,014	33,523
34	Uttar Pradesh	55,31,159	9,54,957	64,76,981	18,00,869
35	Uttarakhand	1,13,866	23,574	2,15,481	51,787
36	West Bengal	25,20,479	25,36,306	30,05,534	8,02,399

Source: Minister of Petroleum and Natural Gas reply to Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1560 for 4 March 2020 regarding 'Beneficiaries and targets of PMUY'

THE BJP

A Timeline

I. Nehru's Power Struggle with Congress Traditionalists, Jan Sangh and the Hindu Right

> Pre-1950s:

27 September 1925: The RSS was founded by Dr Keshav Baliram Hedgewar on Vijayadashami day in Nagpur. The name 'Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh' was selected on 17 April 1926. The tradition of commencing daily activities with a salutation to the saffron flag (Bhagwa Dhvaj) and concluding with the RSS prayer, Prarthana, in Hindi and Marathi was instituted in 1926.

1928: Vinayak Damodar Savarkar publishes *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, which remains a critical theoretical underpinning for much of Hindutva thinking. It was first published in 1923 as *Essentials of Hinduism* and republished with a new title in 1928.

1929: Syama Prasad Mookerjee elected as Congress member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

1930: Mookerjee resigns and leaves the Congress.

1931: Mookerjee re-elected independent legislator from same constituency.

1940–1944: Mookerjee is acting president of the Hindu Mahasabha.

15 August 1947: Mookerjee joins Nehru's cabinet as minister for industries and supplies as a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, along with N.C. Chatterjee.

4 February 1948: RSS banned after the assassination of M.K. Gandhi. Ban lifted on 12 July 1949.

1949: Mookerjee resigns from the Hindu Mahasabha because it refuses to allow non-Hindu members.

> 1950

26 January: The Constitution of India is adopted.

8 April: Mookerjee resigns from Nehru cabinet, with M.C. Neogi, to protest against the Nehru–Liaquat Pact, signed the same day in Delhi between the prime ministers of India and Pakistan.

19 April: Mookerjee gives speech in Parliament explaining reasons for his resignation, cheered by the whole House.

26 May: Supreme Court rules that the ban on Bombay's *Cross Roads* newspaper and pre-censorship on the RSS's *Organiser* is unconstitutional.

June: Nehru writes to Sardar Patel with concerns on the Hindu Mahasabha and Mookerjee's critique of the Nehru–Liaquat Pact; says it is inimical to smooth functioning of the pact.

3 July: Patel replies saying that he had found 'no legal powers to deal with either Press or people like Syama Prasad Mookerjee' after the Supreme Court judgement in the *Cross Roads* and *Organiser* case; says 'very soon we shall have to sit down and consider constitutional amendments.'

29 July: Mookerjee attends refugee meeting in Delhi, in the presence of UP Congress chief and assembly speaker Purshottam Das Tandon, where anti-Nehru slogans are raised. Tandon presides over the conference, give speech saying Pakistan has not fulfilled its part of the agreement to protect Hindus.

27 August: Tandon says the PM must take his party's views seriously on policy after his name is proposed as a candidate for the Congress president election.

1 September: Nehru writes letter disapproving of Tandon's candidature for Congress president.

2 September: Tandon, supported by deputy PM Sardar Patel, defeats Acharya Kriplani, supported by Nehru, in the Congress election, and is appointed AICC president.

12 September: Nehru issues public statement saying 'communal' elements are celebrating Tandon's election, asks his party for a mandate on his policies on refugees, Pakistan and communalism at the Congress's upcoming Nasik session.

15 September: In presence of UP Chief Minister Govind Ballabh Pant, Tandon publicly says that the Nasik session will decide if Congress will 'live or die'.

21 September: Nehru delivers a rousing speech at the Nasik session; says if his party does not back his policies he will resign and fight it from outside; argues 'majority rule' cannot be 'mob rule'. Presents Resolution on Communalism, which is passed; wins party mandate for his policies. Patel attends all sessions but does not speak at the session.

19 October: Nehru writes to Ambedkar, suggesting a constitutional amendment to add more restrictions to free speech.

15 December: Sardar Patel dies.

> 1951

12 May: President Rajendra Prasad attends ceremony to consecrate installation of idols at the reconstructed Somnath temple in Gujarat despite Nehru's opposition. Attends as private citizen, not in his official capacity.

2 June: Parliament passes the First Amendment to the Constitution adding further restrictions on free speech, including criticism of friendly countries.

2 August: Nehru confidante and communications minister, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, resigns as Union government minister under pressure from Tandon, holds press conference criticising Tandon.

9 August: Nehru resigns from Congress Working Committee, Central Election Board.

21 August: Nehru wins support of Congress Parliamentary Board.

8 September: Nehru elected Congress president.

1 October: Nehru launches poll campaign in Punjab, says main issue in election is fight against communalism. Master Tara Singh, president of the Shiromani Akali Dal, at the time was campaigning for a new Punjabi Suba (province).

21 October: Jan Sangh is formed.

25 October: Voting begins in sixty-eight-phase first general election of independent India, to be concluded on 21 February 1952.

1 November: Nehru writes to Congress chief ministers: says he can understand ‘communal’ sentiments in non-Congress leaders but is ‘amazed’ that ‘any Congressmen should so mislead himself’ and others to ‘ignore’ them; says such ‘dangerous tendencies’ grew because the party ‘partly ignored them’ and this created an ‘inner weakness’ in the Congress itself, leading to a change by the party to a ‘straightforward and frontal approach to the problem’.

II. Nehru, the Christian Missionary Debate of the 1950s and the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram

1948: Central Provinces and Berar CM Pandit Ravishankar Shukla, on the advice of veteran Congressman and Gandhian Thakkar Bappa, invites RSS pracharak and lawyer Ramakant Keshav Deshpande to work on a state government tribal welfare programme in Jashpur as area organiser.

1951: Deshpande formally begins working as a state government official in Jashpur, tasked with creating schools for tribals.

1952: RSS Sarsanghchalak Guru Golwalkar sends the Madhya Bharat prant head, Haribhau Ketkar, to help Deshpande when he decides to set up a separate tribal education initiative.

26 December 1952: Ruler of Jashpur, Vijay Bhushan Singh Deo, provides rooms free of cost for a school, holds a Vedic sacrifice with his nobles in his old palace, and the plan for the new organisation’s first tribal hostel for thirteen tribal children is announced.

1953: Deshpande’s tribal education organisation is named ‘Kalyan Ashram’ by the royal priest of Jashpur; Judeo donates one-tenth of his personal

yearly income to the project. It is later renamed All India Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (ABVKA).

15 April 1953: Union Home Minister K.N. Katju tells Parliament that, though Indians were free to propagate their religion, the Nehru government wanted missionaries to stop evangelical work.

September 1953: Home Minister K.N. Katju announces expulsion of three foreign missionaries for 'undesirable activities' from a 'national point of view'.

- Madras state government, headed by former governor general of India C. Rajagopalachari, sends the home ministry a report on 'anti-Indian' activities by two Italian missionaries in Fort Cochin.

19 February 1954: President Rajendra Prasad publicly says that India guarantees full freedom to preach Christianity, but warns churches that 'none' of their activities should be inspired by a desire for conversions.

25 March 1954: Assam Chief Minister Bishnuram Medhi accuses the American Baptist Mission of 'abetting a foreign conspiracy to separate the Naga Hills from India and to retain it as an imperialist foothold'.

24 April 1954: UP Home Minister Sampurnanand announces consultations with the Central government about his 'concerns' on American missionaries who, he said, had become particularly active in rural areas and on the state's borders with Tibet and Nepal.

4 May 1954: Ravishankar Shukla's Madhya Pradesh government sends a critical report on 'objectionable activities' of missionaries to Delhi, says some of their activities were 'anti-Indian'.

5 May 1954: A Congress Bihar government minister says that if Christian missionaries continued their 'wrongful activities', his state government would force them to leave.

10 May 1954: UP assembly discusses a dispute on 250 conversions in Mathura by Catholic and Methodist missionaries, which led to the arrests of Arya Samaj activists who alleged 'monetary inducements'.

10 August 1954: Nehru writes to Congress CMs saying he personally disapproved of conversions, but was equally opposed to the counter Hindu 'Shuddhi' movement. He insists that, while he had imposed controls on

foreigners in border areas, the debate on conversions could not but have an impact on Indian Christians.

12 August 1954: President Rajendra Prasad tells church groups in Mysore at a public meeting to ‘avoid activities which cause suspicion’.

27 August 1955: Nehru’s government institutes new curbs on foreign missionaries. They would henceforth be required to take prior government approval to enter India and would not be welcome if they devoted themselves only to proselytisation. They would also be required to have suitable qualifications in fields like education, medicine and social work.

19 December 1955: President Prasad tells church groups that India had ‘no intention of curtailing their freedom or come in the way of their missions’.

18 July 1956: The MP government’s Justice Bhavani Shankar Niyogi Commission recommends a forced withdrawal of missionary activity and the takeover of foreign mission properties by indigenous churches or international holding bodies.

1963: The RSS’s Guru Golwalkar inaugurates ABVKA’s first permanent premises in 1963.

1967: Odisha enacts first anti-conversion law in India.

1968: Madhya Pradesh becomes second state to pass an anti-conversion law.

1978: ABVKA begins expanding nationally.

22 September 2016: ABVKA demands national law against conversions.

29 September 2018: ABVKA passes resolution opposing demand by some tribal groups to list them with a separate religious code in the next Census of India. Says it is a conspiracy to divide Hindus and weaken tribals.

III. The 1950s to 1977: Jan Sangh—Its Politics and Economics

21 October 1951: The Jan Sangh is formed. Party President Syama Prasad Mookerjee announces in its inaugural function that India should withdraw the Kashmir issue from the UN as ‘the state was an integral part of India’.

10 February 1952: Jan Sangh passes its first political resolution on internal affairs, emphasising that India’s constitutional provisions on Kashmir were ‘of a temporary character’.

1 January 1953: Jan Sangh demands 'full accession' of Kashmir state to India, failing which it asks for integration of Jammu and Ladakh with Indian territory.

24 June 1953: Syama Prasad Mookerjee dies in police custody in Kashmir. He had gone there in support of the Praja Parishad's agitation organised around the slogan '*Ek Vidhan, Ek Nishaan, Ek Pradhan*' (One Constitution, one symbol, one premier).

25 January 1954: Jan Sangh directly asks for the integration of Kashmir into the Indian Union, passes resolution titled 'Integrate Kashmir', saying that Article 370 is 'undesirable'.

4 November 1954: Mauli Chandra Sharma, Jan Sangh's second president, issues a public statement alleging interference by the RSS, resigns and is later expelled from the party.

1955: Jan Sangh demands that Kashmir 'should be completely merged with India and fully brought on the level of other States' and that the 'National Flag of India should be honoured in the State as the highest flag and not on the same level with the State flag of Kashmir'.

1956: Jan Sangh passes resolution against Government of India decision to restrict migration certificates to Hindu migrants from East Pakistan, accuses government of 'weak-kneed policy'.

1956: Jan Sangh calls for a basic minimum income for citizens as well as a cap on their private incomes and the size of their houses. It wanted incomes to be capped to 'a maximum of Rs 2000 p.m. and a minimum of Rs 100 p.m. with efforts to raise the minimum so that in the foreseeable future the highest and the lowest incomes may bear a ratio of 10:1'.

8 February 1957: Jan Sangh manifesto demands nationalisation of basic and defence industries, says private sector's role is to aid the development of India.

1962: Jan Sangh crosses double figures in Parliament for the first time, winning fourteen Lok Sabha seats.

- The cow first appears on the Jan Sangh's manifesto in 1962 when it declared that it would 'amend the Constitution to prohibit the slaughter of the bovine species and enact necessary legislation'. The party also promised to establish dairies, goshalas and gosadans.

3 November 1966: Jan Sangh adopts a resolution extending all-out support to the all-party Cow Protection Movement for a total ban on cow slaughter. The resolution said the Constitution must be amended to enact a law to ban cow slaughter and said the blame should not be shifted to state governments.

1967: Deen Dayal Upadhyaya becomes Jan Sangh president, reorganises party into regional zones, each headed by a former pracharak.

1967: Jan Sangh enters into alliances with ideologically different parties for the first time, under a policy spearheaded by Nanaji Deshmukh and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, with Deen Dayal Upadhyaya's approval.

- Jan Sangh joins Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD), a grand alliance of Opposition parties, against the Congress in national and state elections in 1967.
- New SVD government comes to power in several states with Jan Sangh as a key partner. In UP, Jan Sangh wins ninety-eight (the highest after Congress's 199) of 425 assembly seats as part of the alliance. Jan Sangh leaders join the new UP government in an alliance that includes two Communist Parties and several others.

1967: Jan Sangh wins thirty-five Lok Sabha seats, crossing an important threshold.

1968: Deen Dayal Upadhyaya killed in a train under mysterious circumstances.

- Atal Bihari Vajpayee becomes Jan Sangh president.

IV. A Pre-history of Demonetisation

19 July 1969: Indira Gandhi nationalises the fourteen largest commercial banks in India; Jan Sangh responds with an economic policy document that does not oppose it in principle, only the form of implementation. Passes economic resolution urging takeover of all big foreign firms.

12 February 1971: Future BJP prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, as Jan Sangh president, says he will implement demonetisation to eliminate black money if voted to power.

- Vajpayee also pushes for swadeshi products, like in the days before Independence; says imperative to revive local products and 'people

are getting crazy over imported things and even pay fabulous prices for them.

- Vajpayee further demands exemption from all income tax for those earning up to ₹7,500, following the recommendations of the Boothalingam Committee; argues for 'heavy consumer tax' on 'luxuries' like refrigerators, transistors, fans and the like.
- Future prime minister I.K. Gujral, then a Congress Rajya Sabha MP, had earlier demanded demonetisation on 18 November 1964.
- On 3 July 1967, the Uttar Pradesh cabinet, including Jan Sangh ministers in an alliance government led by Charan Singh, had also passed a cabinet resolution demanding that the Central government demonetise all notes above ₹10.

1971: Wanchoo Committee, set up by the Indira Gandhi government, unanimously recommends demonetisation as a measure to end black money.

22 April 1971: West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee passes resolution demanding demonetisation.

9 October 1971: Group of 100 AICC members demand demonetisation.

18 November 1972: Jan Sangh passes economic resolution demanding demonetisation.

16 July 1973: Jan Sangh Council again passes resolution demanding demonetisation.

1 August 1973: Future prime minister Chandra Shekhar, then a Congress MP, demands demonetisation.

12 August 1973: Rumours of demonetisation cause panic selling of notes in Delhi and a spike in gold prices. Finance Minister Y.B. Chavan publicly denies plans for demonetisation.

V. The Emergency, Janata Party Merger and Break-up

1977: Jan Sangh merges into the Janata Party, with four other Opposition parties, in response to Indira Gandhi's declaration of Emergency in 1975.

22 March–4 July 1977: RSS banned during Emergency.

16 January 1978: The Janata Party government, which includes erstwhile Jan Sangh members as ministers, demonetises ₹1,000, ₹5,000 and ₹10,000 notes.

23 July 1978: Indira Gandhi, now in opposition, alleges selective leaks of demonetisation news to ‘certain private banks’ prior to announcement for commercial benefits.

30 July 1979: Janata Party bans its members from having membership of ‘any organisation having faith in a theocratic state’.

28 February 1980: Janata Party’s Jagjivan Ram announces he would ‘not leave’ the RSS ‘dual membership issue’ undecided and would ‘pursue it to the end’.

VI. BJP’s Vajpayee–Advani Era: 1980 to the Early 2000s

5 April 1980: Ex-Jan Sangh faction and several other leaders walk out of Janata Party and create the BJP. They have with them fifteen of the Janata Party’s twenty-eight Lok Sabha MPs, all fourteen of its Rajya Sabha MPs, five former cabinet ministers, eight former ministers of state and six former chief ministers. The newly formed BJP claims it is the ‘real’ Janata Party, not a breakaway faction.

- Atal Bihari Vajpayee, BJP’s inaugural president, says new party would fight upcoming elections on the basis of the 1977 election manifesto of the Janata Party because there was nothing wrong with the Janata Party’s policies and programmes.
- L.K. Advani says there would be ‘no compromise’ in accepting ‘Gandhism as the ideology of the new party’.
- Three member-committee tasked with drafting the BJP’s new constitution: S.S. Bhandari, Ram Jethmalani and Sikandar Bakht.

21 April 1980: BJP General Secretary L.K. Advani says party ‘would never sever its link with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh’.

24 April 1980: Election Commission initially sides with the BJP, gives it ‘national party status’ and freezes the Janata Party’s election symbol for a few months until it took a final call. EC later recognised Chandra Shekhar’s rump as the Janata Party in October 1980.

28–30 December 1980: Vajpayee says the BJP has embraced ‘samata’ (equality) as the Constitution-maker and Dalit leader Dr Ambedkar had argued for. Also invokes a new notion of ‘positive secularism’.

27 December 1980: BJP Vice President Vijaya Raje Scindia publicly objects to adoption of ‘socialism’ as a BJP policy, says it a Western concept and that it would turn party into a ‘photocopy’ of the Congress.

28 December 1980: Scindia withdraws objection saying party’s senior leaders had clarified that the BJP’s socialism actually had ‘Indian content’, unlike that of Karl Marx. Says the ‘socialism’ the party was adopting was actually the ‘jan-kalyanwad’ of Indian tradition and the ‘integral humanism’ advocated by Deen Dayal Upadhyaya.

- BJP formally adopts ‘Gandhian socialism’ as a founding ideology for the new party in its inaugural policy statement.

28–30 December 1980: The BJP’s first organised attempt at mobilising the women’s vote with the launch of the BJP Mahila Morcha (women’s front) convened by Jayawantiben Mehta and inaugurated by the party’s first female vice president, Vijaya Raje Scindia.

December 1980: Nanaji Deshmukh withdraws from the party’s organisational affairs, moves to Gonda (Madhya Pradesh), and later to Chitrakoot, to work on rural education and farming cooperatives.

1984: After Indira Gandhi’s assassination, Nanaji Deshmukh says the Congress’s Rajiv Gandhi deserved ‘cooperation and sympathy’ for larger causes.

1984: The BJP wins only two Lok Sabha seats: its lowest ever in national elections.

1985: Vajpayee commissions a twelve-member working group to review the party and asks if Jan Sangh made a mistake merging with the Janata Party in 1977. Asks if BJP should go back and revive Jan Sangh. Working Group says no and creates a blueprint for revival.

1985: Assam Accord by the Rajiv Gandhi government specifically lists a key demand of the Assam movement for ‘detection, deletion and deportation’ of illegal Bangladeshi migrants. Puts a migration cut-off date of 24 March 1971, the year of the India–Pakistan war.

1 February 1986: Rajiv Gandhi-led Union government enables the opening of the locks on the disputed Babri Masjid for 'Hindu worshippers'.

1986: The BJP issues its first Economic Policy.

25 September 1988: Narendra Modi's name first appears as a politician in the pages of *The Times of India* as the organiser of an anti-Congress rasta-roko agitation on farmers' demands in Gujarat. His name appeared twice earlier in the newspaper in the late 1970s as an RSS pracharak.

9–11 June 1989: BJP formally embraces the political aim of building a Ram temple, initially started by VHP, through its Palampur Resolution. That resolution categorically framed the Ram temple as an article of faith and committed the party to building it at the site of the Babri Masjid.

1989: The BJP wins eighty-five of 543 seats in Parliament.

August 1990: PM V.P. Singh announces the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report for 27 per cent reservations in education and government jobs for OBCs.

September 1990: L.K. Advani embarks on a 10,000-kilometre Rath Yatra (chariot journey) from the Somnath temple to the disputed Babri Masjid site in Ayodhya. Narendra Modi is a key organiser of the Gujarat leg.

7 October 1990: Rajiv Gandhi announces the sacking of the Congress's Lingayat CM in Karnataka, Veerendra Patil, at Bengaluru airport; President's Rule is declared.

12 October 1990: The BJP's B.S. Yediyurappa says Patil's removal by Rajiv Gandhi was the 'most uncultured way to treat a chief minister'.

24 June 1991: Kalyan Singh sworn in as first BJP CM of UP.

1991: The BJP wins four Lok Sabha seats in Karnataka, its first-ever wins in the state; opens its electoral account in the South.

1991: The BJP crosses the 100-seat mark in Parliament for the first time, winning 120 seats.

November 1991–January 1992: As chief organiser of the BJP's Kanyakumari-to-Kashmir Ekta Yatra, Modi accompanies then BJP president Murali Manohar Joshi to unfurl the Indian tricolour in Srinagar's Lal Chowk in a symbolic ceremony.

1992: BJP launches movement to plant the national flag over Idgah Maidan in Hubli, Karnataka, when Anjuman-e-Islam (AeI), a local Muslim body, conferred with the right to use the 1.5-acre maidan for prayers, decides to construct a building there. Court overturns decision, orders demolition of the building. The BJP launches political movement after SC stay on demolition without a decision on the final matter.

14 March 1992: L.K. Advani expresses broad support for Manmohan Singh's economic reforms and the government's liberalisation policies.

15 March 1992: The BJP reverses its position on reforms, announces a nationwide agitation against the Union budget, which Murli Manohar Joshi calls 'highly inflationary' and 'anti-poor'. The BJP announces 26 March as 'Anti-Budget Day', with protest rallies around the country. Party rejects Dunkel proposals and calls Rao's budget a 'great fraud' on Parliament.

May 1992: The BJP issues its second Economic Policy statement in Gandhinagar titled 'Humanistic Approach to Economic Development—A Swadeshi Alternative'. Says it is:

- against 'unbridled capitalism', supports 'spirit of Swadeshi' and that 'self-reliance cannot be lost',
- India 'must liberalise, industrialise and modernise—but it must do so the Indian Way',
- 'consumer goods will not be kept open for foreign investment while existing multinationals in the consumer goods sector will have to dilute their control within five years, existing employees being given preference in the equity dilution',
- simultaneous focus on domestic Swadeshi industry and caution on the impact of foreign investments even as it supported the opening up of the economy.

6 December 1992: Babri Masjid is demolished. The BJP's Kalyan Singh resigns as UP CM and his government is dismissed by the Union government, which imposes President's Rule.

10 December 1992–4 June 1993: The RSS is banned after the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

1993: The BJP opposes Coca Cola's takeover of Parle, which it thought was 'injurious to our economy and therefore anti-national.'

1994: The BJP wins forty seats in the Karnataka state assembly, a jump from just four in 1989.

15 March 1994: L.K. Advani declares that the BJP is opposed to the jingoism on MNCs. Says 'if the BJP is to take its place in the Indian polity as a "modern party", it will have to articulate an economic policy that is taken seriously not merely in India but in the world.'

1994: The Gujarat government adds Hindu Modh Ghanchis to the OBC list, the Union government does so in 1999. These circulars mean Modi is legally classified as an OBC leader at forty-nine, halfway into his political career.

1996: The BJP emerges as the single-largest party in the Lok Sabha, with 160 seats. Atal Bihari Vajpayee sworn in as the party's first prime minister but his government falls in thirteen days.

1998: Vajpayee becomes prime minister again after winning a mandate as head of the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance.

- India conducts its second nuclear tests in Pokharan.

1998: The BJP wins a simple majority of Lok Sabha seats in Karnataka for the first time as part of an alliance with Ramakrishna Hegde's Lok Shakti.

1999: India fights the Kargil War with Pakistan; Vajpayee government falls after AIADMK withdraws support. Vajpayee returns to power for third time as PM, heading the NDA as the BJP wins its highest-ever Lok Sabha tally (till then) of 183.

25 September 1999: RSS starts its first 'cybershakha'. Cybershakha attendees:

- do not have to wear RSS uniforms,
- can approach the RSS supremo directly,
- women can 'send messages to the RSS chief'.

March 2000: RSS chief K.S. Sudarshan calls the PMO incompetent and laments that the BJP had become 'Congressised'.

April 2000: Senior RSS leader and SJM founder Dattopant Thengdi attacks Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha. RSS Joint General Secretary

H.V. Seshadri castigates the Vajpayee government for its ‘tandav [dance of death] of corruption’.

September 2000: The RSS’s Swadeshi Jagran Manch (SJM) opposes the Vajpayee government’s ban on the sale of non-iodised salt; says it would play into the hands of MNCs. On 12 September, the Vajpayee government withdrew its ban.

15 October 2000: L.K. Advani says that the ‘RSS exercises a moral influence on the government and both Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and I share a historical bonding with it’.

October 2000: RSS chief K.S. Sudarshan accuses Christian missionaries of using the north-eastern states to establish ‘military bases’ in ‘strategic areas’ to work against India. Calls for a new ‘Indian’ church, asking Christians to set up an indigenous church, delinked from foreign churches.

16 March 2001: RSS announces major membership-expansion programme.

7 October 2001: Narendra Modi becomes Gujarat chief minister.

27 February 2002: Fifty-seven kar-sevaks returning from Ayodhya are burnt to death in the Sabarmati Express at the Godhra railway station after an altercation.

28 February–June 2002: Communal riots in Gujarat.

22 December 2002: Modi wins his first Gujarat election as a sitting CM.

2003: RSS starts organising software shakhas or ‘IT Milans’.

2004: Vajpayee calls polls six months ahead of schedule, loses elections. The Congress-led UPA comes to power. Manmohan Singh becomes prime minister.

2004: The BJP wins an absolute majority of Lok Sabha seats in Karnataka, the start of a pattern that continues till 2019.

2004: The BJP becomes the single largest party in the Karnataka assembly for the first time, Yediyurappa becomes the first BJP deputy CM in the South in an alliance government with JD(S).

2 July 2004: Shiksha Bachao Andolan Samiti (SBAS) set up by the RSS’s Dinanath Batra. Files eleven cases in court, wins all of them: the removal of A.K. Ramanujan’s celebrated essay on ‘Three Hundred Ramayanas: Five

Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation' from the Delhi University syllabus, the removal of seventy-five passages from NCERT books for Classes VI to XII and the withdrawal of University of Chicago historian Wendy Doniger's book, *The Hindus: An Alternative History*.

2007: Yediyurappa becomes first BJP CM in the South, but the government lasts only five days after the JD(S) withdraws support.

23 December 2007: Modi re-elected Gujarat CM for his second term.

2008: The BJP forms its full-term state government in the South with Yediyurappa as CM after winning elections with a much bigger tally.

2010: Modi, as Gujarat CM, leads a move to build a large Mahatma Mandir (temple) Convention Centre in Gandhinagar. Sand is brought in urns from all 18,066 villages in Gujarat to be emptied into the foundation of the Mahatma Mandir. The convention centre includes a memorial to Gandhi's Dandi March and a large charkha (spinning wheel) installation.

2010: The Assam government under Tarun Gogoi tries to start a project to update the 1951 NRC list with a pilot project in 2010 in Barpeta and Kamrup.

31 August 2012: Modi does live Google+ Hangout with Bollywood star Ajay Devgn on 'Strong and Glorious India long cherished by Vivekanand'.

VII. Modi's BJP and His National Ascent

20 December 2012: Modi re-elected Gujarat CM for his third term.

1 January 2013: UPA government initiates Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) in forty-three identified districts for twenty-four selected schemes.

March 2013: Modi tells Google Big Tent summit 'technology in politics' plays a crucial role in the age of internet democracy.

2013: Amit Shah, as BJP's UP in-charge, pushes district-level elections in the party's state unit.

2013: The Supreme Court mandates an NRC updation exercise in Assam after a writ petition filed by the Assam Public Works. NRC exercise begins in Assam in 2015.

2014: Modi opens a LinkedIn account at the height of the Lok Sabha election campaign in 2014. His first post titled: 'ICT for One Nation-One Mission'.

10 February 2014: Modi calls Northeast states 'Asht-Lakshmi', says Lakshmi's seat is on the 'lotus' (BJP symbol).

May 2014: Modi becomes PM after BJP wins full majority in the Lok Sabha, winning 282 seats.

August 2014: Amit Shah appointed BJP president. The BJP claims to have 35 million members, about half of the Chinese Communist Party of China (CCP).

2 October 2014: Modi launches Swachh Bharat mission with an aim to make India open-defecation-free by Gandhi's 150th birth anniversary in 2019.

- The scheme modified the UPA government's erstwhile Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan, and put in place a five-year target. It increases allocation for individual household toilets to ₹12,000 from ₹10,000.

3 October 2014: Modi launches his *Mann Ki Baat* radio show, with messaging on Gandhi, cleanliness and khadi.

2014: The BJP begins setting up parallel IT teams in each district and voting booth that mirror its organisational structure at each administrative level.

2014: The BJP expands its panna-pramukh model, which was first tried successfully in Gujarat, to UP in the 2014 and 2019 general elections, the 2017 assembly elections and to Karnataka in the 2018 assembly elections.

1 November 2014: The BJP launches Sadasyata Maha-Abhiyan (great membership campaign) after winning elections.

- Does away with previous methods of filling paper forms to enrol members, switching entirely to digital form-filling and phone-based SMS and digital verification methods.
- Launched with the specific aim of increasing the party's strength five-fold and to overtake the CCP in cadre numbers.

29 November 2014: In a speech in the Northeast while flagging off the first Meghalaya–Guwahati train, Modi invokes Vaastu Shastra, the traditional Hindu art of architecture, and the importance it places on the East in construction design.

14 December 2014: The UN establishes International Yoga Day after a proposal by PM Modi himself in his address during the opening of the sixty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

27 February 2015: Modi says in Parliament that the MNREGA programme is the biggest failure of the decades of Congress rule.

April 2015: The BJP decides to own an office in 635 of the country's 694 districts. Till 2017, it owned land for its offices in only 190 districts.

20 April 2015: Rahul Gandhi accuses the Modi government of being 'suit-boot ki sarkar'.

2015: The BJP institutes caste- and gender-based quotas at the organisational level in UP: in local twenty-one-member committees at every level, the party begins to reserve 2 seats each for OBCs and SCs and five seats (23.8 per cent) for women.

May 2015: Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, then minister of state for parliamentary affairs, says those 'who are dying without eating beef, can go to Pakistan or Arab countries or any other part of world where it is available'.

- Kiren Rijju, then minister of state for home and BJP MP from Arunachal Pradesh, says 'I'm from Arunachal Pradesh, can somebody stop me?' Later claimed he had been misquoted, strongly denied that he personally ate beef and insisted that he was speaking in hypotheticals that no one could interfere with individual food choices.

August 2015: Himanta Biswa Sarma joins the BJP after quitting Congress, becomes fulcrum of its new Northeast outreach.

1 April 2016: Indira Awas Yojana restructured into PM Awas Yojana with an initial target of building 1 crore pucca houses by 2018-19, with a final end-target of 2022.

- Scheme provides ₹1.2 lakh per beneficiary in the plains and ₹1.3 lakh in hilly states, difficult areas and IAP districts. The beneficiary is entitled to ninety to ninety-five person days of unskilled labour from MGNREGS.

April 2016: K.P. Maurya, an OBC leader, becomes head of UP BJP.

24 May 2016: The BJP forms its first-ever state government in Assam with its alliance winning a majority in state polls.

- The BJP launches the NEDA coalition with ten regional parties, raising the slogan of a 'Congress-mukt North-East'.

July 2016: The BJP starts booth-level sammelans in UP.

September 2016: Jio phone network launched, revolutionises cheap data on mobile phones.

8 November 2016: Prime Minister Narendra Modi announces demonetisation.

December 2016: Amit Shah inaugurates Nanaji Deshmukh Memorial Library at the Chhattisgarh state BJP office in Raipur. BJP puts online a massive e-library of thousands of digitised documents.

- Between 2016 and 2019, the BJP creates new Nanaji Deshmukh libraries and e-libraries in six states: Raipur (Chhattisgarh), Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh), Jaipur (Rajasthan), Bengaluru (Karnataka), Ranchi (Jharkhand) and Jammu.

31 December 2016 and 29 May 2019: The BJP forms government in Arunachal Pradesh.

March 2017: The BJP fields more OBC candidates than any other party in UP (127, 31.5 per cent) in the state assembly polls.

- Yogi Adityanath appointed UP chief minister after the BJP sweeps the state in the assembly polls.

April 2017: The BJP launches the Vistarak (expander) Yojana from Naxalbari in West Bengal, where the Naxalite movement had begun in the 1960s. It encompassed thousands of party workers, who the BJP characterised as vistarakas, agreeing to spend between fifteen days, six months and a year in specific booths. The party claims that 277,922 vistarakas committed to fifteen-day booth visits.

2017: The BJP launches Shakti Kendra Yojana, which involves the setting up of cluster heads to supervise four or five voting booths each.

June 2017: Manipur's BJP chief minister, Biren Singh, says beef is 'very important' in his state. Says BJP 'will not violate people's right to eat what they have been traditionally eating for many years'.

October 2017: Modi government sets up the Rohini Commission to decide how to further sub-divide the 27 per cent quota for OBCs among the 2,400-plus OBC castes (which range across five broad categories) nationally.

November 2017: Yogi Adityanath launches the ‘chaupal’ (village gathering) programme for targeted political outreach on the government’s social welfare schemes.

2017: The UP BJP deploys ‘vistaraks’ (expanders). In each of the 403 UP vidhan sabha constituencies in 2017 and eighty Lok Sabha seats for 2019, the party posted a vistarak. These were deeply ideological party workers who volunteered to spend between six and twelve months working for the party in constituencies away from their homes.

21 January 2018: The RSS organises its biggest ever rally in Assam: the Liuparia (sons of Brahmaputra) Hindu Samavesh, a giant gathering of swayamsevaks from upper Assam held in Guwahati. Sixty-five Hindu saints and religious leaders attend, along with the heads of village bodies and twenty tribal kings and over ten chiefs of different satras in Assam.

February 2018: The BJP national headquarters in Delhi moves to a new complex on Delhi’s Deen Dayal Upadhya Marg.

March 2018: The BJP loses the Gorakhpur parliamentary by-election to a Nishad candidate. Defeat signals the first coming together of the SP–BSP Mahagathbandan (grand alliance).

6 March 2018: The BJP assumes power as a junior coalition partner in an alliance government in Meghalaya.

8 March 2018: The BJP assumes power in Nagaland as a junior alliance partner, in a state that has an 87.9 per cent Christian population.

9 March 2018: The BJP forms its first ever state government in Tripura, after ousting the CPI(M) which had been in power for twenty-five years.

2018: Tripura created as separate prant (province) in the RSS’s organisational hierarchy.

17 March 2018: Yogi Adityanath says that the government should be ‘panth-nirpeksh’ (community-neutral) not ‘dharm-nirpeksh’ (religion-neutral). Says ‘secularism as a word means panth-nirpekshta not dharm nirpekshta’.

27 March 2018: Gujarat Chief Minister Vijay Rupani claims that Lord Krishna’s consort Rukmini in the Hindu epics was a princess from Arunachal Pradesh and that the region had been a part of India since the

Dwapar Yug of Hindu cosmology. BJP's Manipur Chief Minister N. Biren Singh and Arunachal Chief Minister Pema Khandu concur.

April 2018: The BJP completes the task of purchasing land for district offices in 522 districts and construction starts on most of these.

29 April 2018: The Sangh launches a 'Join RSS' initiative on its website, which a senior Sangh functionary claims yields about 10,000 new recruits per month on average.

August 2018: National Backwards Castes Commission given constitutional status by an Act of Parliament.

9 September 2018: The BJP passes a political resolution on the slogan 'New India'.

22 September 2018: Amit Shah says the BJP won the 2014 polls because of the support of rural Indians, Adivasis, Dalits and OBCs as well as its work on cyber communications. Says the 'cyber-yoddhas' (warriors) and 'young workers' were the 'most important' factors behind the victory.

2018: The BJP launches 'Mera Booth Sab Se Mazboot' (My booth is the strongest) programme using NaMo app.

1 October 2018: On his *Mann Ki Baat* show, PM Narendra Modi urges Indians to buy Indian, says it helps Indians.

December 2018: Commission set up by Yogi Adityanath's government suggests a further carving out and streamlining of OBC reservation quotas into three broad categories.

- PM Modi launches commemorative stamp on Raja Suheldev, an eleventh-century king of Shravasti, said to be both a Rajbhar and a Pasi icon, who many believe led local resistance against the forces of the Afghan invader Mahmud of Ghazni centuries ago.

January 2019: The Modi government, through a constitutional amendment bill, legislatively enables 10 per cent reservation for economically weaker sections (EWS, i.e. the poor among non-reserved general category castes).

14 February 2019: Suicide bombing in Pulwama kills over forty Indian CRPF jawans.

26 February 2019: IAF surgical strikes on Balakot, in retaliation for the Pulwama bombings.

March 2019: NaMo app had been downloaded 10 million times across Android and iOS and sold merchandise worth over ₹5 crore.

19 April 2019: BSP chief Mayawati accuses Modi of being a ‘zabardasti ka pichhda’ (forced backward).

26 April 2019: Modi says he is born not just in a pichhda, but in an ati-pichhda (most-backward) caste.

May 2019: Amit Shah addresses rallies in constituencies where Nishads form a sizeable chunk of voters. He promises an 80-foot statue of Nishadraj, the Nishad king in the ancient epic, Ramayana.

17 May 2019: Amit Shah says BJP had 2.5 crore workers in 2014, was fighting 2019 polls with 11 crore workers. Claims to have set up booth-level committees in 83 per cent of India’s voting booths between 2014 and 2019.

23 May 2019: Modi elected for second term as PM, with the BJP winning 303 seats, its highest ever tally.

- Modi says in victory speech that there are only two castes in India: those who are ‘poor’ and ‘those who are trying to help make the country free of poverty’.
- The BJP wins a majority of the Lok Sabha seats in the Northeast (fourteen of twenty-five).

6 July 2019: The BJP launches its second big membership drive after winning second national election. Claims over 174 million members by year-end, higher than the Chinese Communist Party’s 88.76 million that year.

2019: NRC exercise completed in Assam; 19.07 lakh Assamese residents (almost 6 per cent of the 3.29 crore who applied) excluded from the final NRC list, including lakhs of Hindus.

18 October 2019: Amit Shah advises historians at Banaras Hindu University to write history from ‘India’s point of view’, saying it is ‘our responsibility to write our history’.

9 November 2019: Supreme Court rules for a Ram temple in a 5–0 judgement. Says Babri Masjid demolition illegal, but orders construction of Ram temple at the disputed site by a government-appointed trust.

December 2019: The Modi government passes CAA in Parliament to allow Indian citizenship to non-Muslim immigrants from select

neighbouring countries. Act also extends the cut-off by over four decades to 31 December 2014.

2019: Yogi Adityanath-led state government accepts the demands of seventeen non-Yadav OBC castes to reclassify them instead as Scheduled Castes (traditionally considered lower down the caste hierarchy).

- Reclassification issued in June 2019, but stayed three months later by the Supreme Court.

7 February 2020: After anti-CAA protests in Assam, the BJP promises to activate Clause VI of the Assam Accord, which promised constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards to local Assamese.

May 2020: Chinese incursions in Ladakh, which lead to deaths of several Indian soldiers and an unknown number of Chinese soldiers.

June 2020: Modi says the BJP was represented by over 113 OBC, forty-three ST and fifty-three SC members of Parliament in Lok Sabha, i.e. 68.9 per cent (209) of its 303 Lok Sabha MPs elected in 2019 were non-upper castes.

July 2020: The Modi government adopts India's New Education Policy (NEP; the first such policy after 1986). RSS magazine *Organiser* welcomes it with a cover story headlined 'Foundation for Freedom'. The Bharatiya Shikshan Mandal, among the most prominent Sangh affiliates involved in deliberations on the NEP, hailed it as a 'new revolution'. It announces that 'almost 60%' of its suggestions had found place in the NEP, which included renaming the ministry of human resource development as the ministry of education.

5 August 2020: PM Modi presides over the Ram temple consecration ceremony at Ayodhya.

14 August 2020: Facebook becomes embroiled in a controversy documented by the *Wall Street Journal*, where its then public policy head for India, South Asia and Central Asia was accused of ensuring that posts by some BJP leaders flagged as hate speech by Facebook's community guidelines team were not removed.

31 August 2020: The impact of COVID-19 leads to India GDP growth numbers in Quarter 1 of 2020-21 contracting by -23.9 per cent, the sharpest decline since quarterly numbers started being collected in 1996.

1 September 2020: Union IT Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad writes to Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg that the 'Facebook India team, right from the India Managing Director to other senior officials, is dominated by people who belong to a particular political belief'.

28 September 2020: Parliament passes three Farm Bills for agricultural reforms.

13 November 2020: Yogi Adityanath's UP government organises ritual lighting of over 606,569 lamps by the banks of the Sarayu river in Ayodhya, dedicates Guinness World Records for the lamp-lighting to 'all Ram-Bhakts'.

November 2020: Two BJP state governments announce plans for a 'love-jihad' law: UP and MP.

10 December 2020: PM Modi lays the foundation stone of a ₹971 crore plan for a new Parliament building, which is part of an overhaul of New Delhi's imperial heart, with the redevelopment of the 3 kilometre-long ceremonial avenue linking the Rashtrapati Bhawan and the iconic India Gate, representing a physical manifestation of Modi's idea of a 'New India'.

10 May 2021: Himanta Biswa Sarma sworn in as BJP's second chief minister of Assam, when the party wins the state's assembly election again after five years in power.

21 October 2021: India crosses milestone of one billion COVID-19 vaccine doses

29 November 2021: The Farm Laws Repeal Bill passed in Parliament

VIII. DBT: Key Dates and Figures: 2013-14 to 2018-19:

- Modi government doubled down on DBTs, significantly expanded it fifteen-fold to 434 schemes by 2018-19.
- The initial number of 10.8 crore beneficiaries reported in 2013-14 (many of which were added under UPA) went up by seven times to 76.3 crore beneficiary accounts by 2018-19.
- Actual direct cash payments into people's bank accounts went up by over twenty-nine times from ₹7,367 crore in 2013-14 to ₹2.14 lakh crore in 2018-19. If you add transfers in kind, then total transfers went up by forty-four times in the same period.

- Women beneficiaries had a large share in general non-women-specific Modi government schemes:
 - » 81 per cent of total financial beneficiaries in Stand Up India, 68 per cent of loans under the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (PMMY),
 - » 53 per cent of banking accounts under Pradhan Mantri Jan-Dhan Yojana (PMJDY),
 - » 11.4 million (66.9 per cent) of 17.1 million rural houses sanctioned under PM Awas Yojana-Gramin (registered in the names of women individually or as joint holders with their husbands),
 - » 43 per cent of new pensioners (93 lakh of 2.15 crore subscribers) under the Atal Pension Yojana (launched in May 2015, this scheme guaranteed minimum monthly pensions of up to ₹5,000 for those above sixty years of age),
 - » Over 40 per cent of beneficiaries under both the Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana (PMJJBY) and the Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana (PMSBY); by mid-2019, as many as 25 million women account holders had signed up for the life insurance scheme (of the 62.8 million Indians who enrolled); 66.2 million signed up by 2019 for the accident insurance policy (of 165.5 million Indians who enrolled overall).

IX. Modi's Women Outreach: Key Dates and Figures

10 March–20 September 2007: As Gujarat chief minister, Modi personally presides over twenty-seven mahila sammelans (women meetings) in various Gujarat districts as part of his outreach to women voters.

After 2014: Almost 25 per cent of posts were reserved for women in BJP executive councils (karyakarani) set up in each booth and district. In these twenty-one-member councils, five seats each were reserved for women, two each for SCs and for OBCs at 'every level' of the party.

January 2017: Modi government launches PM Matru Vandana Yojana (PMMVY) for pregnant women not employed by any Central or state government for direct-cash benefits from the state for the first time.

- 15.4 million pregnant women enrolled for maternity cash transfers as part of this scheme between 2017 and 2020.

- Of these, 13.8 million women received cash benefits. They each received payments of ₹4,138 on average in their bank accounts.
- Government amends the Maternity Act in 2017 to increase maternity leave for women working in establishments with over ten employees from the earlier requirement of twelve weeks to twenty-six weeks.

April 2016–September 2019: The Ujjwala scheme, which provided over 80 million free LPG connections between April 2016–September 2019, could only be availed by women under the poverty line who also received direct cash transfers of up to ₹1,600 each.

2019: Women accounted for 48.08 per cent of Indian voters in the 2019 Lok Sabha polls; 67.18 per cent of women voters cast their vote in 2019—on par with the overall voting percentage of 67.4 per cent—and higher than the male turnout rate of 67 per cent. In other words, women voters voted as much as men voters did in 2019.

2014–2020: Modi's two governments (NDA-1 and NDA-2) gave slightly higher proportional representation to women ministers (12.7 per cent average) compared to Manmohan Singh's two previous ones (11.2 per cent average in UPA-1 and UPA-2), and significantly higher than Vajpayee's previous BJP-led NDA government.

2019: BJP fields more women than any other political party in India, with fifty-five female candidates. It narrowly pipped the Congress, which fielded fifty-four women. In proportional representation terms, the BJP's share of women candidates (12.6 per cent) is marginally behind the Congress (12.8 per cent).

- Two out of every three women who fought on the BJP banner got elected.
- BJP in 2019 had the largest number of women MPs in Parliament: forty-one. The next largest women MP contingent in the Seventeenth Lok Sabha—from the Trinamool Congress (nine) and Congress (six)—were over four times lower.

2020: The BJP makes leadership changes to ensure the highest proportion of women among national office bearers in India when compared with other major outfits with 'national party' status.

- BJP had 16.9 per cent women as central officer bearers in October 2020. This was more than women's share in the central leadership of the CPI(M) (14.7 per cent), Trinamool Congress (13 per cent), CPI (11.1 per cent), NCP (10.8 per cent) and Congress (8.5 per cent).
- When BJP President J.P. Nadda announced his new central leadership team in September 2020, as many as five of his twelve party vice presidents (41 per cent) were women.