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Indian *Hindutva* and Italian Fascism: A Critical Appraisal

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Abstract

In post WWI, the wave of nationalism had influenced many European countries particularly Italy and Germany. The Italian fascism and German Fascism emerged as the most influential nationalist policies. Other parts of the world also came under the influence of nationalism. In the Indian subcontinent, the rise of political struggle against British imperialism was started. There were different political groups or parties started that their political struggle. One of them was the rise of Hindu nationalism based on the ideology of Hindutva. Hindutva was wholly influenced by Italy and German Fascists. This was the reason that the founder of Hindutva, V. D. Savarkar systematized his ideology due to the influence of Italian fascism. Due to such influence, both Hindutva and fascism have similar and distinctive features. This paper has mainly focused on the comparative study of both the Hindutva and fascism based upon qualitative approach.

Keywords: *Fascism, Hindutva, Nationalism, Savakar*

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Introduction:

Fascism was originated in the 19th century and developed in the 20th century due to political turmoil, economic crises, and frustrated nationalism which provided fertile ground. The central themes of fascism are strength through unity. Its central cores include anti-rationalism, struggle, leadership and elitism, socialism and ultra-nationalism. Fascism including Italy influenced Germany as well. Italian fascism emphasizes the ideal of an all-powerful or totalitarian state while German fascism stresses the importance of race and racialism. Fascism collapse of fascism in Italy and Germany after WWII, the ideology did not end. It left influence and still, fascism prevails in the shape of political parties and groups. But these parties in the 21st century can espouse fascism in a state; though, it will exist in different shapes.¹

Kevin Harrison explained fascism broadly. He argued that fascism as an ideology emerge in the 20th century in Italy and exert influence on Germany. There are some of the essentials of fascism which include encouragement of conflict, struggle and war, non-materialism, anti-intellectualism, creationism, anti-attitude towards democracy, secularism and liberalism, glorification of nation and race, socio-Keynesian nature towards the economy, obedience and loyalty towards state and nation etc. After WWI, fascism swayed over other European states and the rest of the world. Therefore, fascism still exists in its new shape, form, structure and nature within the existing societies of some of the states.²

The Concept of *Hindutva*: A Brief Evolution

V D Savarkar stated that the term *Hindutva* is related to the term Hindu. To understand *Hindutva*, it is necessary to understand who Hindus are. According to him “Hindu is a person who possesses the essentials – like common religion, common culture, common blood, common motherland as well as holy-land – of *Hindutva*”. Ultimately, Muslims and Christians are excluded because of their different religions and holy lands. So, *Hindutva* is a political ideology based on which a state will be established which will be called *Hindu-Rashtra*: and in this state Hindu nation, Hindu race and Hindu culture will prevail. Here, the author excluded minorities and emphasized the establishment of a state based on nation and race which are similar to the fascist model of the state. Therefore, the *Hindutva* is a threat to the Indian secular, pluralistic, and democratic nature.³

Dr J Karuvadira portrayed that the roots of the *Hindutva* phenomenon are ancient, though the term is modern. The author argued that the roots of *Hindutva* lay in the 8th century in the shape of Adi Sankar, a religious scholar and philosopher thru his thoughts. He was the first who envisaged and effectively carried out an anti-other

policy towards all non-advaitic religions and worldviews and gave the concept of Brahmins nation. *Hindutva*'s contemporary scholars trace the origin and development of *Hindutva* solely to only two figures i.e. Savarkar and M.S Golwalker. Though, there is no doubt their contribution was significant for the *Hindutva* in the systematization of this ideology. Hence, the term *Hindutva* is an ancient concept; however, Sarvarker has the credit to use in modern times. Scholars also traced the inspiration for *Hindutva* in some of the writings of Indian thinkers in the 18th century Renaissance period. Therefore, Adi Sankar deserves to be the first proponent of *Hindutva*. To analyse, Adi Sankar had his role, but Sarvarker and Golwalker pragmatically contributed to the articulation, and systematization of *Hindutva* discourse.⁴

Dasan Jeyaraj certified that *Hindutva* aims to achieve hegemony over Indian society by asserting that Hindus alone are the true Indian nation. The development of the *Hindutva* in the 20th Century is carried out by three well-known scholars i.e. V D Savarkar, Golwalker, and Dr K. B. Hedgewar. In 20th Century, various Hindu movements began to take place and eventually Hindu Mahassaba *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), and *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* are the outcomes of the movement based on the ideology of *Hindutva*. However, the ultimate aim of *Hindutva* is to create a Hindu *Rashtra* or Hindu state and for this purpose different activities take place, for instance, demolishing Babri Masjid, teachers day change to guru day, Hindu as their religion, the importance of Ganga, ban on the celebration of valentine day etc. left some impacts on Indian society in the shape of communalism and fundamentalism, caste system and threat to minorities. Therefore, it needs to respond with utmost caution and alertness.⁵

Shams-ul-Islam pointed out that RSS is a Hindu militant organization and plays its role in the marketing of *Hindutva* ideology on the framework of fascism. This Organisation has a militant's role based on hatred attitude towards minorities and particularly to Muslims and also to the lower community of Hindus i.e. *Dalit* or untouchables and their women in India. The involvement of this organization in violence and atrocities provide a platform for communalism and violence. The historical study showed that the proponents and founders of *Hindutva* were impressed by the fascist regime in Italy and Germany. To critically analyse, he discussed the RSS role in marketing fascism through non-violence and militancy, but he lacks to point out that RSS also plays its role in indoctrination of youths through *Hindutva* ideas. Its organizational structure and indoctrination of youths are community Ballila organization in fascist Italy.⁶

Paola Trevisan aimed to determine the nexus between fascist Italy and those people who were conventionally called gypsies. Gypsies were the people travelling from to

place to do itinerate trade (to travel one place to another for trade purposes). These people had become to a threat community Mussolini a fascist Italian dictator and particularly to Italy as well. The implementation of different anti-gipsies policies showed that how were they treated by the fascist regime in Italy. As a result of these policies, they were confined and interned in different camps. The regime also declared *Rom* and *Sinti* as Italian citizens; but still, they are called 'peoples without territories'. These were the people who came through ceding territories of Austro-Hungarian. Therefore, it can be inferred that these were racial laws for the people of mixed races in the colonies to keep them stifled.⁷

Olido De Napol studied that the fascist regime adopted racial laws in the 1930s. The laws were first aimed at non-European and the people of mixed race in the colonies and then at the Jews. The racial laws of the fascist regime in Italy in 1938 was influenced by the fascist regime in Germany. Germany adopted the same racial laws based on anti-Semitism. Here, this can be said that these racial laws of Italy were part of its foreign policy because at the time of 1938, Italy had a closed ally with Germany.⁸

Goldy M. George studied that the murder of Rohit Verma in India, a person who belonged to the Dalit community was on a caste basis. His murder is the continuum of *Hindutva* assault on the Dalit community. The Dalit and Adivasi's are oppressed in India. This caste fascism is the political theology of domination within the ambit of *Hindutva* where the upper-class control all the institutions of life. These all arose due to the upsurge of the *Hindutva* ideology. To analyse, the Dalit and Adivasi's suffered in India and subsequently, due to this caste system which is prevailed in Indian society, the society became more disintegrated. This system was discouraged in the Indian constitution, but it failed in its eradication.⁹

In the existing literature, the problems need to be addressed. The gap in the existing literature is that it lacked to study comparatively the two ideologies together. Both the ideologies have a nexus between them but in some respects, the ideologies are distinct from each other. It's a fact that *Hindutva* has been influenced by fascism in many aspects, but to some extent both are different. It can be hypothetically assumed that after studying comparatively, both the ideologies, it will be assumed that *Hindutva* is not classical fascism, but it would be said that *Hindutva* is democratic fascism.

Comparative Study of Fascism and *Hindutva*

The Modi regime's accustomed Indians to various fascist principles like media censorship, spreading of hatred on social media which gave the impression that India is transforming into "New Fascist India". The focus is shifting from Hind-Muslim unity to Hindu-Muslim hatred. Surely one can question fascism's relevance in this

era. America's former Secretary of state, Madeline Albright has written a book on this topic that how fascism is returning to the whole world. Is India safe, when the danger of fascism looms over the world even over America and the United Kingdom? Fascism in India is not a one-day transformation; it is like cancer which slowly erodes the principles of democracy from a society. The reason for the new India is because of the current government whose ideology is based on *Hindutva* and *Hindutva* belief is to transform India into Hindu-Rashtra. As *Hindutva* popped up from the influence of fascism, so, there is a close connection between both. Both nationalist ideologies have some heterogeneity. Fascism came out as a result of a wave of nationalism that emerged in Europe and particularly in Italy and Germany. This was a time when India-subcontinent also came under nationalism. At that time, different political movements also emanated there. As a consequence, *Hindutva* cropped up as a Hindu-nationalism. Therefore, to identify the parallelism of *Hindutva* with fascism, one must be examined its foreign influence as well as domestic. Leaders of *Hindutva* had a close connection with fascist leaders of Italy and Germany. They expressed great admiration for the authoritarian leaders such as Mussolini and Hitler. They admired their fascist model of society and also applied the same model in their ideals and organizations.¹⁰

Homogeneity between Fascism and Hindutva

Thus, *Hindutva* came out a result of the influence, but the disparity also exists between them. Therefore, it needs to be studied comparatively and critically. For comparative, first of all, the link of likeness must be identified. Hence, the similarity between and *Hindutva* are as follow:

1. Radical Nationalism

Both fascism and *Hindutva* are the results of radical nationalism. Like fascism was based on Italian and German nationalism, the same *Hindutva* is Hindu-nationalism. Nationalism is a selling commodity in fascism. When *Hindutva* emerged, it was based on powerful and continuing nationalism. Under such nationalism, one has to prove its nationalist values. Questions will be raised on one's patriotism. Under their current government of India which is based on the ideology of *Hindutva*, passed a new bill of National Registered Citizen (NRC) in which one has to prove either one is an Indian or not. It means one has to show ones certificate of patriotism which entails to adopt Hindu culture, language and religion; and to chant slogans of "*Jai-Hind*", "*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*"; and any deviation from such path leads to declaration of traitor and will force one to go to Pakistan. BJP leader Sambit Patra slams an advocate Shabanam while defending Farooq that she is a traitor, she praises Pakistan while she stays in India. That is why it is called radical Hindu nationalism. And these showed that

Hindutva requires Hindu-nationalism, same like fascism acquire Italian and German nationalism.¹¹

2. Disdain Human Rights

In fascism, there is no place for human rights. There was a violation of human rights in Italy and Germany where people were killed, murdered and deprived of their basic rights. In *Hindutva*, there is no place for religious minorities and the lower castes. The rights of minorities are violated. They are not free to perform their religious ceremonies or preface their religions. Muslims were stabbed and killed by Hindu extremists on cow-slaughtering. Instead of rights to be given to humans, there are rights for cows. An activist of Bajrang dal said: *“those who killed cows, we killed them, and will further do the same, if thy slaughter cows”*. Therefore, both fascism and *Hindutva* violate human rights.¹²

3. Identification of Enemies as a Unifying Cause

Fascism hinders nation’s progress. Anyone who will show dissent to a fascist regime, such people are considered as the real enemies of the nation. Like the opposition, students of universities, journalists etc. ask questions and are the real enemies. Therefore, it is important to demonstrate their lessons. Students like Umar Khalid and Khanniya (who is the president of the Students Union Federation) of Jawaharlal National University (JLN) criticize and show dissent to lessons *Hindutva*-government policies; the *Hindutva* called the real dangers and enemies for the nation. Recently, when the Indian Parliament passed a bill of Citizenship Amendment Bill, the students of JNU started protesting and demonstrating against the government. In Indian General Elections, BJP a *Hindutva* based political party got absolute majority and due to the majoritarianism, they are embracing the fascist model.¹³

4. Key of the military

Politicians hide behind the army in fascist countries. In fascism, the military is supreme. In such states, the colour of armed forces has a potential for change, it does not mean that soldiers will start wearing a saffron uniform, but those who wear saffron might start acting like a soldiers. Major Tiwari, an Indian army soldier once said *“I feel the nations pride in this uniform, the uniform makes me feel proud as a*

Modi supporter". In fascism, questioning the government is synonymous with questioning the army. So, like fascism, in *Hindutva* army has also an important role.¹⁴

5. Patriarchal System

Patriarchy means a system or society where there males have dominant role over females. Fascism is a pro-patriarchal system. There is no place for women in fascism to participate in government affairs. Women are limited to their homes. In such a society, they are judged not based on their competency, what matters is their attire and physical appearance. Such a patriarchal system is exclusive for the matters of women. In India, ideologues of *Hindutva* criticize women for wearing jeans instead of saree. Savarkar has declared Manusmriti to be the most worshiped after Vedas. In this, laws concerning women are discussed which shows the dominance of patriarchy. These laws are as under: Women must be kept under the dependence of males. If they attach themselves to sexual enjoyment, they must be kept under one's control. Women will never be independent but will depend on their males. In childhood, her father will protect her, in youth her husband will protect her and in old age, her sons will protect her.¹⁵

- a) The foremost responsibility of all husbands is to guard their wives.
- b) A husband will employ his wife in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, to keep everything clean, to fulfil religious duties, to prepare his food and to look after his household affairs.¹⁶

All the above-mentioned laws regarding women show that how will woman survive and be treated under such a patriarchal system. It also opposed abortion same as the Nazi's social policy which involved banning abortion. Like the existence of the patriarchal system in *Hindutva*, fascism also believed the same. In Fascism, "*women are considered to be a private thing, therefore, should be confined to the private sphere of the home. They are subordinated to men, and have provided support for their menfolk.*"¹⁷

6. Controlled Media

The job of the media is like a watchdog. It asks questions, raise questions and has a close eye on the activities of govt. but in a fascist country, the media is not able to ask questions. In such a state, media either gets paid or is constantly kept under pressure.

Indian media is facing a similar threat. In a report, it identified that India's rank in the press freedom index falls to 142.¹⁸ In fascism, the government and media need to have a joint venture. The Indian media is under the control of the Modi government and is using it for its political objectives. In the current escalation between Pakistan and India over the Pulwama attack, the media was spreading an anti-Pakistan attitude and admiring the BJP government.¹⁹

7. Anti-Secularism

Secularism can be defined as the "separation of state and religion". But fascism is against secularism. Secularism is not only confined to the definition of separation of state and religion but it can be defined in different aspects. Like in secularism, religion will not be the state sponsored religion; and no religion must have great importance, but other religions have the same respect and prestige. In a fascist state, religion and government intervened. It took thousands of years to separate church and state. Religion has no place in a constitutional democracy. The constitution is sacred to democracy like in Indian polity, state foundation is on a secular basis. But in fascism, religion and government have a romantic relationship and *Hindutva* has a belief that the basis of state should be on a religious basis that's why it has an antagonistic approach to the secular feature of the Indian constitution. In India, the ruling BJP government which is believed in the political ideology of *Hindutva* has diminished and destroyed the secular nature of India. And it did in the last five years which imperialism did not achieve for a thousand years. Hindus are now in danger, according to exponents of *Hindutva* which have 80% of the country's population feels they are in danger. And that is why they need a strong leader to protect Hindus from danger.²⁰

8. Corporate power protected

Fascism is good for crony capitalists. As Gramsci said, "*Fascism emerged to support capitalism from the threat of communism*". Politicians get their funding and capitalists get business. The entire focus gets shifted from farmer crisis to corporates. They said that farmer only gives us food while corporates support us in election funding which is eventually used to distribute it before the election. It has been said that capitalists and businessmen had supported those fascist parties. Hence, corporates are the priority, in contrast to this, farmers will be dying and continue to die. Thus, both fascism and *Hindutva* are pro-capitalists and corporates.²¹

9. Anti-communism

The rise of fascism is the result of widespread communism in the early period of the 20th century. As fascism was a middle-class movement, communism was a lower-class movement. According to fascism, the most suffered class was the lower middle class. It must be said that due to the fear of the Russian revolution on the ideology of communism, fascism emerged as an ideology to respond to communism. During Hitler, and Mussolini regime, workers and labourers were suppressed. Another reason for the opposition of fascism to communism was that fascism had a belief in anti-materialism while communism has a belief in materialism. Like fascism, *Hindutva* also opposes communism. According to *Hindutva*, the life of a person should be lived on a spiritual basis, not on a worldly material basis. This is the reason that the *Hindutva* believers have a harsh attitude towards communists living in India at that time. Savarkar had also antagonistic towards communists, as he said, “we have some internal enemies which include Muslims, Christians, congress and communists”. Now under the *Hindutva* led government, trade unions and labourers are continuously suppressed and bullied. In India, recently, ten of the biggest trade unions were on strike, government offices and banks were closed, public transport was affected due to this strike. Their demands were where wages be increased, universal social security should be provided to workers, worker’s status and provision of better facilities. This was the biggest strike of trade unions with eighteen corer workers. In such situations, unemployment rise and many farmers committed suicide. Therefore, this shows that how much the current government is serious about the lower class issues.²²

10. Anti-democracy

Fascism is against democracy. As Mussolini said, “democracy is beautiful in theory; in practice, it’s a fallacy”.²³ According to Adolf Hitler, “democracy is the deceitful theory that the Jew would insinuate-namely, that theory that all men are created equal”.²⁴ Their sayings show that how much they are against democracy and support dictatorship. Democracy is a right to live, therefore, everybody is free to will, free to express and free to possess and free to vote. But in a fascist state, instead of democracy, there is a dictatorship that is ruled by dictators. In a dictatorship, nobody is free to will, free to express, free to vote and free to believe. There is continuous surveillance under regimes. Censorship of media, abduction of those who resist, torturing of journalists and writers and keeping the opposition under suppression, no rule of law are some of the features of dictatorship which is contrary to democracy.

Hindutva is also against democracy and this is the reason that they believe *Hindutva* reject the Indian constitution because Savarkaer disliked and Nehru and Gandhi because of their democratic and secular nature. Under the Modi government, there is disdain for the opposition, intellectuals, media and the arts. Everything is his control. These are the biggest enemies of fascism. In India, urban-naturals, libtards, turkey-turkey gang, JNU students are those who are disdained by their rights under Modi government. They called these people the biggest threat and stumbling block for the development. Therefore, democracy under Modism is diminishing and lost its significance which is not good news for the democratic features of India-constitution.²⁵

Anti-rationalism

One of the core ideas of fascism is that it is anti-rationalism. Rationalism can be defined as ***“a belief or theory that actions and opinion should be based on reason rather than on religious belief or emotions”***. When people use their reasons, they will mentally be liberated and will know right and wrong. People will be rational instead of emotional. Such rationale of the people is a threat to fascist’s governments because this rationality would challenge the malfunctioning and malfeasance of the government. And also the dictatorial policies imposed on the masses. Such rational people are under surveillance and constrained under these dragons who are in government. In Italy and Germany, these people were oppressed and stifled like *Hindutva*. *Hindutva* is also believed in religious theories and emotionalism. The rationalism of the people paved the way for anti-intellectualism. However, intellectuals under such regimes are in suppression. Sometimes, they are called the real threat to religion, state and culture. They even call them nonbelievers. This use of reason should be boycotted and should be banned. Those who use reason are the real enemies of the state.²⁶

Absence of constitutionalism

The absence of constitutionalism is another point of nexus between both. According to W. Waluchow, “constitutionalism is a set of rules and norms creating, structuring and defining the limits of government or authority”. It means that constitution is followed in theory but practically absent of the constitution. In those fascists’ regimes, there was a lack of constitutionalism. Fascists crossed the limits and violated the constitution. It means to say that no fundamental rights, no rule of law, and no

democracy at all. These are the features that led to the absence of constitutionalism in a state. The fundamental rights of the citizens are violated, lack of administration of justice and minorities are not equally treated. This is because of the violation of defined limits and misuse of authority. The same is the case with Hindutva. *Hindutva* even does not believe in the existing Indian constitution. The current government under majoritarianism exercises power in a tyrannical manner. Therefore, in both fascism and *Hindutva*, there is the absence of constitutionalism.²⁷

11. Cleansing of Minorities

The most important point of similarity between fascism and *Hindutva* is the cleansing of minorities. In fascism, minorities are treated in a violent manner which led to genocide and pogrom. In Italy and Germany, Jews and communists were killed and thrown out of the country. In Germany in 1938, the imposition of racial policies led to the killing of 6 million Jews. Similarly, Italy followed the same and adopted racial laws for Jews and also for non-Europeans and people of mixed race in the colonies colonized by Italy at that time.²⁸ *Hindutva* has the same belief and adopted a repulsive attitude towards minorities because Hindustan is only for Hindus. And all those whose fatherland as well as holy land is except Hindustan and Hindu religion have no place in India for them. Muslims and Christians are excluded because of their fatherland as well as holy lands which are in Arab and Palestine. Therefore, Hindustan is only for the Hindu race and it must be cleansed of those who are either traitors or enemies to the national cause. According to the second supreme leader of RSS, Muslims, Christians and communists are the real internal foes. M. S. Golwalker Said:

“From this standpoint, sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations [Nazi Germany and fascist Italy], the foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen’s rights”.²⁹

The communal riots in 1992 after the abolition of Babri masjid in which a large number of Muslims were killed and massacred. Similarly, in the 2002 riots, many Muslims were brutally killed. The current government founded on the ideology of *Hindutva* passed some bills from parliament which is similar to the racial laws

enforced in Germany and Italy by the fascist leaders. The citizenship amendment bill is passed not on a humanitarian basis which the government claim, but on a religious basis. The bill stated that all immigrants which came from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan, will be given the status of Indian citizens. But all those migrants which are Muslims are excluded to avail themselves of the opportunity. Recently, a communal riot happened in Delhi in which Muslims are killed in huge numbers which are to be called a pogrom. Although, the COVID-19 pandemic in India exacerbate islamophobia and moulded the virus into communal colour.³⁰ The followers of *Hindutva* and particularly members of BJP wholly blamed Tablighi Jamat for its dissemination in India. It is not deniable that the cluster of Tablighi Jamat would be the source of spreading virus, but the ruling government based on the ideology of *Hindutva* gave religious colour to epidemic and passed derogatory statements against Muslim community. This is the reason that govt hospital in the state of Gujarat segregated corona patients on religious lines, triggering feelings of “apartheid”. Therefore, the minorities in the ideology of the *Hindutva* indicate that the launching of minorities is the priority in the ideology of fascism and *Hindutva*.³¹

12. Military organizations

The presence of well-trained and structured military organizations is another similarity between both. For the attainment of their objectives, military organizations were established. Mussolini had founded his military organization under the title of ‘Ballila Organization’. The Same as the military organization of Mussolini, Hitler had also founded his own “SS organization”. These organisations were used for the achievement of their interests and maintenance of Hindu culture is the purpose of *Hindutva*. According to *Hindutva*, the old history and culture of Hinds should be revived. They leave relief that the Hindus have its own culture and civilization, but Muslim came to India-subcontinent, it disturbed and devastated their culture. That’s why, all those cultural sites which is related to Hindus culture should be revived. The reason of abolition of Bathe bri masjid was built in the era of the Mughal Empire which was replaced by the rather m temple. However, *Hindutva’s* ideologue’s main purpose is their revivalism of Hindu culture. Therefore, the preservation of Hindu culture is only possible when to replace all those sites which was belong to their culture. Now, the current government of India is trying to educate their Hindu masses about their culture and history. For the attainment of this objective, the film industry is a best source to acknowledge Hindus. In addition to this, number of movies has been made to glorify Hindus’ culture and their history like Paanipat movie, Padamavat, and Tanhaji. In these movies with showing Hindu culture and history, they admired the heroism of old Hindus who fought against Mughal Empire. What

does it show? It shows that the historical and cultural revivalism is mandatory for the creation of Hindu Rashtra. Subsequently, maintenance of culture is another point of nexus between both.³²

13. Nation and Race

The idea of nation and race has a central position in the thoughts of fascism. There is a difference between two. Race is a biological fact while nation is related to a group of shared common culture, language, history and other values. German fascism was both 'yolk (nation) and race, while Italian fascism had emphasized on nation which was the ultimate political source of all legitimacy. In the philosophy of *Hindutva*, nation and race both have its own importance. *Hindutva* exponents like V. D. Savarkar and Golwalkar both claimed that Hindustan is only for Hindu nation and race. All those who have no affinity with Hindu as a nation and race have no place for them. This is the reason the *Hindutva* hate non-Hindus. Like Hitler, M.S. Golwalkar also adopted the racist method of improving the "the breed of Kerala Hindus who were considered as non-Hindus". He addressed to the students of social science of Gujarat University in Dec, 1960. In this address, he insisted on the belief of race Theory and discussed the issue of cross-breeding of human beings in Indian society.³³

14. Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is a kind of political system in which there is centralized authority in the hands of an autocratic ruler or state. In such society, all private and public affairs are ban by government. Fascism was also totalitarianism. Mussolini and Hitler both were dictators and totalitarians in which authority was centralized to them. Like fascists, *Hindutva* ideologues were also in favour of totalitarianism. The most prominent ideologue of RSS, Golwalkar declared long before independence "RSS inspired by one flag, one leader and one ideology is lighting the flame of *Hindutva* I each and every corner of his great land". When Modi was re-elected as PM of India in 2019 election, he got absolute majority in parliament. Now, he is exercising his power like totalitarian leader under the banner of majoritarianism.³⁴

15. Detention Cells

In fascist countries, there were detention centres established for variety of purposes, including the detention of those who thought to be the enemies state (like minorities, opposition, intellectuals etc.) and also for forced-labour. During 1933-1945, Nazi Germany and its allies established more than 44,000 camps and other incarceration centres. Same detention centres are establishing in India for those immigrants who are excluded from citizenship amendment bill. Muslims are afraid of this because Muslims were those who are excluded from this list. Thus massive detention camps are building for those undocumented immigrants, many of them are Muslims. These detention centers are building in Assam which are under construction and will comp.³⁵

Divergences between Fascism and *Hindutva*

The above mentioned parallelism between fascism and *Hindutva* reflect that the line of nexus between both exists and have influence on one another. But in spite of that, there is some dissimilarities exists between both which will be discussed in the following paragraphs. The following are some of the points which show dissimilarities between both.

1. Nature of exercise of power

Notwithstanding, both believe in the exercise of power thru totalitarian way, but fascist regimes were exercising power like military dictators. Mussolini and Hitler wee military generals and their power of exercise was based on the military mind. They wore military uniform and behaving like military generals. But in *Hindutva*, this exercise of power is under the framework of civilian style. There is a sign of civilian dictatorship in the ideology of *Hindutva*, but in spite of all this, it has a belief on public opinion as well. Therefore, there is a contrast between both in the nature of exercising of power.³⁶

2. Nation, Race And Religion

In fascism, nation and race have central position. For Italian fascism, state and nation was everything, the state was an end. But in German fascism, nation and race was the main objective in their ideology. But in the ideology of *Hindutva*, nation, race and religion all have become the central ideas. *Hindutva* can be stated as a political ideology based on the creation of hindu-state in which Hindu religion, Hindu culture,

language and Hindu race and nation. Therefore, fascism has a belief on nation and race, while *Hindutva* believes on nation, race and religion.³⁷

3. Political Pluralism

Pluralism can be defined as “the existence of different types of people, who have different beliefs and opinions, within the same society” OR “the existence of people different races, religious beliefs and cultures within the same society”. To analyses this definition, we can say that fascism and *Hindutva* both against pluralism in their given societies. But instead of social, cultural, religious aspects of pluralism, there is political pluralism as well. *Hindutva* and fascism has a same belief and attitude on social, cultural, and religious aspects of pluralism. Political pluralism can be defined as “the existence of people who have different opinion on politics where more than one political party can exist”. To apply this definition on fascism then we can identify that in fascist regime there was a dictatorship of single-party in which only one party ruled. But *Hindutva* does not believe so, there may be more than one political party, but each party political party must not ignore the basic principles of *Hindutva* which is Hindu race, nation, language and culture. Therefore, the two ideologies intersect here.³⁸

4. Electoral Democracy

Electoral democracy ascribed a democratic government which is based on a system that enables all the citizens of a state to elect on candidate as their representative. The process of electoral democracy is known as election. Each citizen being a voter cast his/her vote as secret ballot with their own choices. This process required no specific creed, race, and ethnicity. All the citizens of state can cast votes and this type of democracy is known as electoral democracy. *Hindutva* believes on electoral democracy and against all other aspects of democracy. As far as fascism is concerned, it does not believe in any kind of democracy where only dictatorship reign. Therefore, both fascism and *Hindutva* vary in the concept of electoral democracy which is another point of intersection between them.³⁹

Conclusion

The thorough analytical and critical study of two nationalist ideologies reflects that both ideologies promote narrow nationalism based upon apartheid policy, intolerance,

undemocratic cultural values, class-ridden society, racialism, and the milieu of threats to minorities and other sister communities within the state.

¹ See Andrew Heywood, *Political ideologies An Introduction*, U.K: Palgrave, 2003

² Kevin Harrison, *Understanding Political Ideas and Movements*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003, 256.

³ See V D Savarkar, *Hindutva; who is a Hindu (Bombay: Savarkar Sudan, 1923.*

⁴ See Dr J. Kuruvachira, "Historical origins of Hindutva or Hindu Cultural Nationalism" in Dr J. Kuruvachira, J. Kuruvachira, *Roots of Hindutva: A Critical Study of Hindu Fundamentalism and Nationalism..* Delhi: Media House, 2005

⁵ See Insejungba "Hindutva: The Ideology, The Impact and The Implications," Church On The Rock Theological Seminary Dorathota, India 2016

⁶ See Shamsul Islam, *RSS-Marketing Fascism as Hindutva*, Media House, 2018.

⁷ See Paola Trevison "Gypsies in Fascist Italy; from Expelled Foreigners to Dangerous Italians", *Social History*, 42 (3), 2017.

⁸ See Olindo De Napoli "The Origin of the Racist Laws under Fascism. A problem of historiography" *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 17 (3), 2012

⁹ See for details Goldy M. George "The Political Theology of Hindutva" *Journal of People's Studies*, 1 (3), 2016

¹⁰ See Marzia Casolari, "Hindutva's Foreign Tie-up in the 1930s Archival Evidence", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35 (4), (Jan. 22-28, 2000), 218-228.

¹¹ Quoted in Ayub Rehman, "Hidutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study", BS Research Report (Unpublished), Department of Political Science, Islamia College Peshawar, 2020,

¹² Ibid.,

¹³ Ibid.,

¹⁴ Quoted in Ayub Rehman, "Hindutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study", BS Research Report (Unpublished), Department of Political Science, Islamia College Peshawar, 2020, 8. The idea is mainly taken from Shams Ul Islam, *RSS Marketing Fascism as Hindu Nationalism*, Media House, 2018; Goldy M. George, "The Political Ideology of Hindutva", *Journal of People's Studies*, 1 (3), 2016; G. M. George, *Fascism Versus Indigenous People*, 2006. Accessible on from www.countercurrents.org/dalit-george020906.htm ; M.S. Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*. Nagpur: Bharat Publications, 1939; M.S. Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thoughts*, Bangalore: Sahitya Sindhu Prakashana, 2000; Dasan Jeyaraj, "Hindutva: the ideology, the impact and the implications", Church On The Rock Theological Seminary, Dorathota, India, December 2016

¹⁵ Ibid., 9

¹⁶ Ibid., 9: See also Shamsul Islam, "Prakash Karat Unable to Locate Fascism in Hindutva", *Academia* Sep 2016, https://www.academia.edu/28477165/Prakash_Karat_Unable_To_Locate_Fascism_In_Hindutva.

¹⁷ Kevin Harrison, *Understanding Political Ideas and Movements* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 267.

¹⁸ "India ranks 142nd on Global Press Freedom Index", Accessed on April 21, 2021. <https://idonline.org/news/india-retains-142nd-position-among-180-countries-in-world-press-freedom-index/>

¹⁹ Quoted in Ayub Rehman, "Hindutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study", BS Research Report (Unpublished), Department of Political Science, Islamia College Peshawar, 2020, 10. Cited hereafter as Ayub Rehman, "Hindutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study"...

²⁰ Ayub Rehman, "Hindutva and Fascism...", 10

²¹ Ibid., 10-11

²² Ibid., 11

²³ See for more details Ronald Merullo, *Once Night Falls*, Washington: Lake Union, 2019.

²⁴ See for more details Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (Germany: Franz Eher Nachfolger, 1925

²⁵ Ayub Rehman, "Hidutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study"... , 12

²⁶ Ayub Rehman, "Hidutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study", 12

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 13. See also Olindo De Napoli, "The Origin of the Racist Laws under Fascism. A problem of historiography" *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 17 (13), 2012

²⁹ M.S.Golwalker, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*,(Nagpur: Bharat Publications, 1939, 104-105; See also Ibid., 13-14

³⁰ Billy Perrigo, "It was already dangerous to be Muslim in India. Then came the coronavirus", Accessed on April 14, 2020, <https://www.iamc.com/it-was-already-dangerous-to-be-muslim-in-india-then-came-the-coronavirus-by-billy-perrigo>.

³¹ *Al. Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/04/india-hospital-segregates-muslim-hindu-coronavirus-patients-200416080547650.html>.

³² Ayub Rehman, "Hidutva and Fascism: A Comparative Study", 15-16

³³ Ibid., 16. See also Shamsul Islam, "Prakash Karat Unable to Locate Fascism in Hindutva", *Academia* Sep 2016, https://www.academia.edu/28477165/Prakash_Karat_Unable_To_Locate_Fascism_In_Hindutva.

³⁴ Ibid., 16

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 17

³⁷ Ibid., 17

³⁸ Ibid., 18

³⁹ Ibid., 18-19