The Furies of Indian Communalism

Religion, Modernity and Secularization

ACHIN VANAIK

verso

London • New York
Contents

Acknowledgements ix

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION 3

2. REFLECTIONS ON COMMUNALISM AND NATIONALISM IN INDIA 29
   The Pattern of Modern Nationalism • Communalism • Communal Politics • The Hindu Nationalist and the Anti-Secularist • The Political Rise of Hindu Communalism • Secularism and Socialism • Conclusion: Prospects for Indian Democracy

PART II

3. RELIGION, MODERNITY, SECULARIZATION 65
   Four Notions of Secularization • The Definitional Issue: Assassins and Immortalizers • Religion as Ideology: Marxists and Others • Culture and Society: The Problem of Order • Religion in Modernity: The Question of Identity • Secularization Once Again • Secularism as Tolerance
4. COMMUNALISM, HINDUTVA, ANTI-SECULARISTS: THE CONCEPTUAL BATTLEGROUN

Civilization and Culture • Caste and Hinduism • Hinduism's Mystique of Tolerance • Hindutva • Anti-Secularism • Anti-Modernist Stridencies • The Curious Case of Subaltern Studies • A Subalternist's View on Secularism • Communalism, Religious Fundamentalism and Religious Nationalism

PART III

5. SITUATING THE THREAT OF HINDU COMMUNALISM: PROBLEMS WITH THE FASCIST PARADIGM

Contending Paradigms • The Marxist Paradigm: The Tensions Within • The Classical Marxist Views • The Basic Parameters • Hindu Communalism and the Question of Fascism • An Alternative Paradigm • Does It Make a Difference? • Some Political Conjectures • The Problem of Alliances

6. THE COMMUNALIZATION OF THE INDIAN POLITY

The Historic Decline of the Congress • Ideological Disarray • Searching for a New Centrism • The Rise of the BJP and of the Sangh Combine • Deconstructing Sangh Ideology • The Trajectory of the BJP • The Threat of the BJP • The Obstacle to BJP Politics • Dalit Assertion • Radical Dilemmas • The Eleventh Lok Sabha Elections: The Uncertain Panorama

Index