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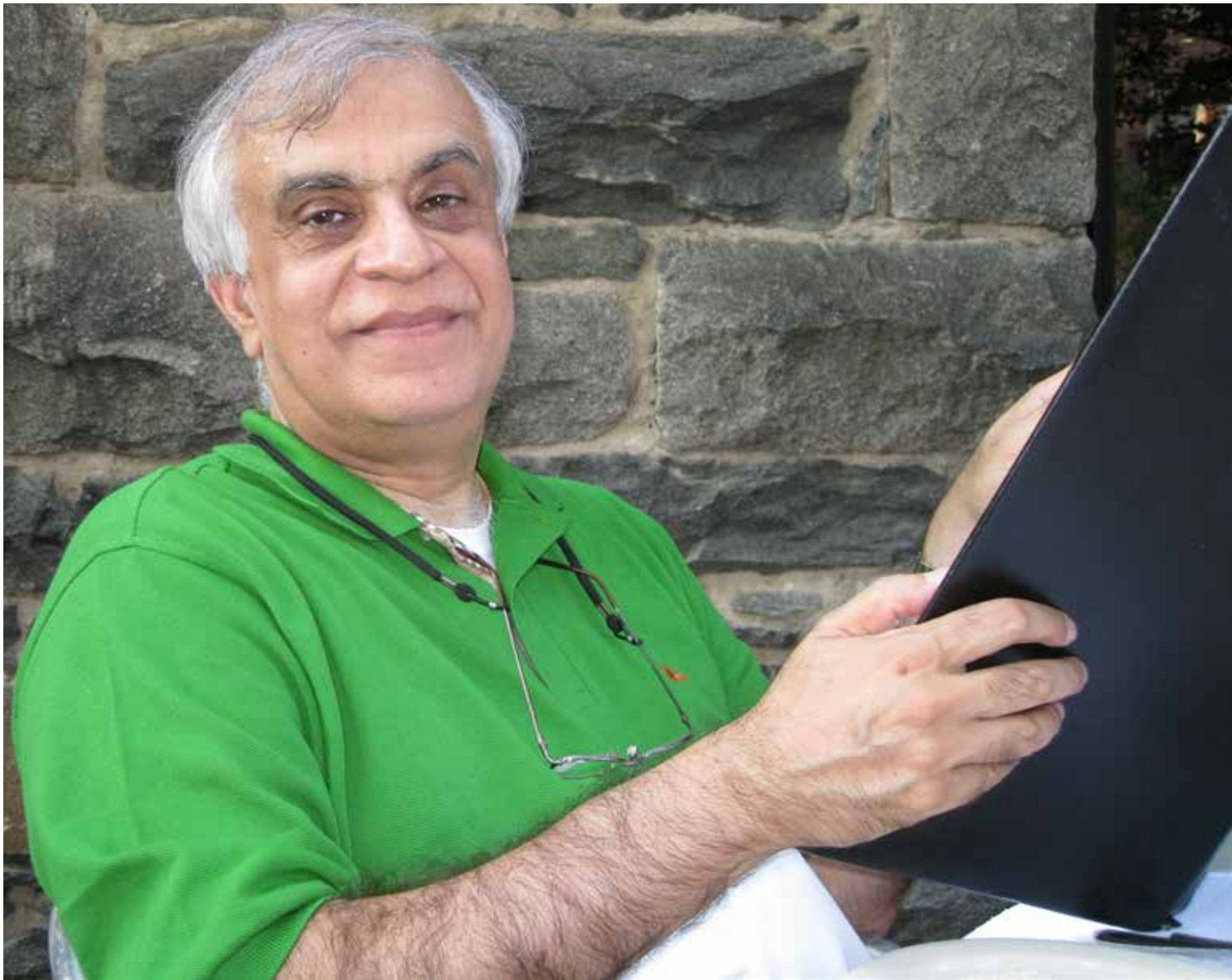
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“India is the world’s largest territory which is up for grabs by predatory forces.”

RAJIV MALHOTRA ON

THE BREAKING INDIA BRIGADE

HOW TO SAVE OUR PUBLIC SECTOR BANKS



*RAJIV MALHOTRA, author and Hindu intellectual, is the man who developed the “Breaking India” theory in his eponymous 2011 book. Malhotra has written prolifically in opposition to the academic study of Indian history and society, especially Hinduism, as it is conducted by scholars and university faculty of the West, which, he maintains, undermines the interests of India “by encouraging the paradigms that oppose its unity and integrity”. In an interview with **R Jagannathan**, he speaks about the dangers that Indian and Hindu nationhood face today. Excerpts:*

Can you give us a brief history of how you developed the “Breaking India” theory?

The Breaking India thesis is not something I came up with overnight. It is not a question of coining a term; it is actually

my lived experience in the US for over 45 years. There were some major events in this journey. I found some African-Americans coming back from India and talking about an Afro-Dalit thing that they were part of; I came across Marxists, many of them Indians, many of them aligned with Maoist forces in India; I came across Christian missionaries sending huge sums of money to India saying it was about social work. People in India were tracking isolated data points concerning either Islam, or Marxism or Christianity, but nobody was tracking end-to-end. They were not connecting all of this to foreign forces. I invested many years chasing the forces behind this. Then I hired a Tamil speaker in India to translate many of the works being funded by these people, and eventually he (Aravindan Neelakandan) became my co-author (in the book *Breaking India*). It was not a

project started in India, which is where it is different. It was a project started in the US, to check who supported NGOs, who supported what agenda in their home country, were they linked to the CIA, how they were linked to academic people and think tanks, and the links to churches. I found all of those to be the case. After looking at various so-called friends of India in the US, in Britain, in the European Union, and tracking the flow of money to India, tracking how they train leaders, how they export ideology, how they have conferences both in India and abroad to train their sepoys in India, after tracking all that, I realised that there is a huge story that has never been told before.

(Sometime in 2000) I was invited to give a lecture in Delhi on where is India in “the clash of civilisations” (a term spelt out by American political scientist

“India is the world’s largest territory which is up for grabs by predatory forces.”

Samuel Huntington). This is when I laid out the case that in the “clash of civilisations”, Breaking India forces were not based in India, they were global, but with a footprint in India. I showed that the clash between Islam, Christianity and left-wing Marxist ideologies was a global one, and India was in their crosshairs, but the Indian people didn’t know it. That is where I started the whole thing of Breaking India — activities that were in the global arena, and connecting activities that seemed local but were part of the globe. That was the big breakthrough — bridging the global and the local and bringing the three global forces and their activities in India where Hindu dharma, Indian civilisation and the Indian nation-state was the common enemy.

How do you define a “Breaking India force”?

Breaking India forces are centrifugal forces, making things go apart. Centripetal forces would be those that bring people together. Centripetal (in India’s context) would be a good, grand narrative of India, a good economy bringing people together, a good sense of collective identity of who we are, a good sense of who our enemies (outside) are, which are China, Pakistan, and so on. Forces that bind us, like common problems of economy, hunger, etc, are also centripetal. So, centrifugal forces are Breaking India forces. These forces are not localised, they are globalised. So, there are global Breaking India forces and local footprints, which exist in the form of sepoys and NGOs and so on. They are connected ideologically in terms of funding the local and the global. The interesting thing is that, globally, there may be a war between Christianity and Islam,

but locally, they have often been aligned, because they share a fight against a common enemy. So, imagine two predators that are fighting each other, but they are trying to kill an elephant since this will give food for both. So, till they have killed the elephant, finished him off, they are collaborating. Only after they have finished it off will they fight each other.

Is there anything common between one kind of Breaking India force and another?

Many Breaking India forces look completely independent of each other. But a person could have many diseases that may be independent of one another, but they have the collective effect of killing the person. If there are Islamist Breaking India forces, Christian Breaking India forces and Marxist Breaking India forces, they may all be independent of each other.



“The problem with a lot of Hindus is that they are optimising their micro interests in a way that compromises macro interests of India.”

er, but they have a tendency to discover each other and make practical alliances. These may not be strategic alliances, for, strategically they may even be rivals, but they may make tactical alignments for tactical projects locally.

We (in India) should exploit the conflicts between Christianity and Islam and Maoism in their global nexuses, because globally they are fighting each other and we are not even aware of that. Our people are not taking advantage of their fault lines. That is something we could do. Even though in India they seem aligned, globally they are at war with each other.

To reverse the idea, are not violent forces like “*gau rakshaks*”, who sometimes lynch people, and Karni Sena, which has vandalised film sets, also some kind of Breaking India forces?

Yes, you are right. All violent forces in India that are undermining the Indian state, the unity of the Indian people, are in fact playing into the hands of Breaking India forces.

The problem with a lot of Hindus, a lot of nationalists, is that they do micro-optimisation, which means a very localised optimisation of some interest that they have — it could be a political interest,



an ethnic interest. They are optimising (their local interests) in a way that compromises the macro interests of India. They don't have a wide-angle lens. So, yes, you do have Breaking India forces which think they are actually helping build India. But they are not.

What is the common ground between Breaking India forces based in India and the western democracies?

India is the world's largest territory, both geographically and by population, which is up for grabs by the expansionist, predatory ideological movements in the world. By that I mean pan-Islam, right-wing expansionist Christianity, and left-wing forces, which include post-modernism, Marxism and “liberalism”. These three are expansionists and they want a

global footprint, and they are fighting.

What we must do is reverse the gaze, and make the radical Muslim, radical Christian and radical Left understand that in their headquarters, they are at war with one another. Only in terms of exporting their ideologies to India are they in a tactical alliance.

There also seems to be a nexus between the Indian Lutyens elite and US academics, who control many of our historical narratives. How is this nexus nourished?

The Indian elites often go overseas for patronage, for funding, for prestige, and political funding — private agencies, governments, CIA, all kinds of things. The Lutyens elite is a term applicable not only to people in Lutyens Delhi; you find



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them all over India. I find them in Chennai, Hyderabad, Mumbai, everywhere. They are up for grabs, up for sale.

I would say India is for sale by its own elites. There is a global market that wants a positioning in India, positioning for vote banks of the future, positioning for consumer marketing, positioning for separatist movements, so that they can chip off parts of India, like Nagaland for Christian Baptists, and Kashmir for Islamists in Pakistan.

Even though there are many Hindu organisations, from the RSS to Baba

Ramdev to Sri Sri Ravi Shankar to the Ramakrishna Mission, and even individual groups, that are doing various things like fighting the case of temples in courts, why is it that these efforts seem uncoordinated, and they are often found fighting among themselves?

Well, the Hindu Dharmacharya Sabha, which was started by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, was to bring together various Hindu groups. It was doing a great job and during the Swamiji's life, he had made a huge amount of progress. Unfortunately, after the Swamiji left, his

successors have lost momentum. I don't want to be judgmental, but what I can tell you is that this grab for power within the Hindu Dharmacharya Sabha has compromised the momentum that Swamiji built so carefully. This is partly because the stature that the Swamiji had is not there among his successors, and so they don't command the same kind of respect. That is why a whole lot of activities among Hindu groups are falling apart in terms of collaboration.

There is not enough civic leadership, forget spiritual leadership.

There is not even *kshatriyata* to create



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a strong Hindu coalition.

You could say that a Hindu government should do this, but the Hindu government is also busy trying to establish its secular credentials. So you really have a vacuum at the top of the Hindu renaissance movement.

There is a charge that “Hindu” is different from “Hindutva”, and that “genuine” Hinduism is different from Hindutva, even if it is not violent. Your comment.

Well, within the Hindu sanatan dharma tradition, as recorded in its *shastras*, there is a political dimension. There is a political dimension in the *Mahabharata*, and also in the *Ramayana*. You have to take on enemies both external and internal. In the case of the *Ramayana*, there was the external enemy in a separate geographical area. In the *Mahabharata*, there was the internal enemy, your own cousins.

So, this business of having to fight adharma as a political kind of activity is

not something non-Hindu. It is in Hindu *itihaas*. So, Hindutva could be considered as a modern contemporary version of political Hinduism, and you can't say political Hinduism is not Hindu. If you say that, you will also be distancing yourself and denouncing *itihaas*, which is full of political activity.

There are many *margas* in Hinduism, and you don't have to be political, but there is a need for and legitimacy in political Hinduism. This has been forgotten because of 1,000 years of slavery.



The masters told the slaves to stop being political because politicised slaves are very dangerous — they will learn to work together, they will undermine their master, they will bring him down, disrupt him. Political slaves can be dangerous.

Let's forget the brand name Hindutva, for a moment, since that brings up a particular political party, and use terms like political Hinduism, assertive Hinduism, a Hinduism that is combative against its enemies. If you use these terms, I would say, yes, they are very much a part of Hinduism. I don't necessarily use (the term) Hindutva. I prefer to call it political Hinduism, assertive Hinduism, *kshatriyata* to show that this is important for

Hindu dharma. It always has been. **There is also a suggestion that the more radical Hindu groups are trying to make Hinduism take on an Abrahamic character... Is this charge correct?**

I don't think that assertive Hinduism should be denounced as having an Abrahamic character. After all, would you say that the *kshatriyata* in our ancient texts is Abrahamic? By saying that, you are telling Hindus that you should not be a *kshatriya*, you must get rid of all *kshatriyata*. That is a way to keep us as slaves, keep us weak, keep us dependent. I don't buy that.

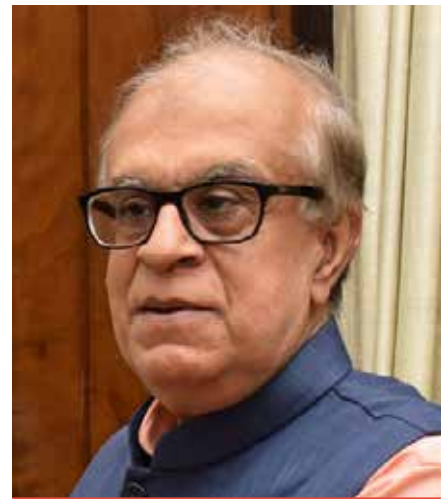
The best way to understand the nature of *kshatriyata* is illustrated in the *Mahabharata*. These are people fighting for dharma, and that is about using assertiveness. It has nothing to do with Abrahamism.

The difference between Abrahamic and Dharmic is not a difference between assertiveness and passivity. The real difference is explained in my book *Being Different*. It has to do with the metaphysics of history-centrism versus the metaphysics of embodied knowing. We are not supposed to be slaves sucking up to some masters, sitting passively. The *Mahabharata* shows how to be very active and assertive, and that is something we need to reignite in our people. Those who say that by reigniting that, you are being Abrahamic, are actually doing a disservice to our people.

Hinduism has traditionally been difficult to define. We are Hindu largely by self-definition. Various Hindu denominations are also difficult to categorise as one distinct religion, and some are seeking separate status (like Lingayats in Karnataka). Is it time to agree on putting together some common elements, so that this gap is bridged?

In my book *Being Different*, I give you half a dozen major ways in which dharmic systems are aligned with each other through sheer commonality and (this is) very different from non-dharma systems.

Dharmic unity is determined by the common elements we have, and these are different from the Abrahamic systems. Further, in my book *Indra's Net*, I discuss the idea of Hinduism's open architecture and how it is open enough to accommodate a whole lot of the diversity. At the



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same time, there are minimum principles of compliance. I give the example of the internet. The internet has an open architecture and allows a lot of diversity, but at the same time, it will not tolerate people who are subverting it by bringing viruses and who want to bring it down. They have mechanisms like the anti-virus to keep it clean, keep it from being subverted.

Hinduism needs a balance. The open architecture is very inviting and new forms can come and take root in Hinduism. At the same time, it needs (an anti-virus) against those who are projecting exclusivity and being subversive. Because, by projecting exclusivity, they are not giving space to other parts of the open architecture. They are trying to hijack open architecture and make it closed. This has been an important part of my work, to show the unity and diversity of Hinduism in a manner that is responsible, that is dynamic and vibrant and stays competitive. It is not passive.

You have written that some poison pills need inserting into Hinduism to prevent hijacking of cultural properties. Is this not a way to Abrahamise Hinduism?

Poison pills do not change the character



“Our *smritis* have always been radical. We need new 21st century *smritis* today, and the government has to step in to enable this.”

of Hinduism. Poison pills means taking the quintessential qualities of Hinduism and demanding that the other person must accept them as part of appropriating what they want from our tradition. If someone wants to appropriate yoga, you have to tell them that in the Samkhya system of yoga, karma and reincarnation are necessary. They are theoretical constructs required for understanding how yoga works beyond a superficial level. So, when you are saying karma and reincarnation are a poison pill, you are not Abrahamising Hinduism at all, but doing just the opposite. The whole purpose of a poison pill is that when the Abrahamic swallows it to get the benefit of yoga, if he swallows the poison pill along with it, he cannot be Abrahamic any more. He will have created a contradiction in his own metabolism.

Between predatory *jihadi* Islam and aggressive evangelism and conversion practices, which is a greater threat to India?

I feel that radical Islam and radical evangelical Christianity are both equally dangerous. One invites the other. One weakens, and the weakened body is then vulnerable to the other. Which is why the two of them in combination are a deadly

thing for India, and Indians haven't realised that. Most Indians, even Hindus, aren't even clear in their thinking in this matter. If you align with western Christian forces to fight radical Islam, it may look very good in the short term, but note my prediction — such an alliance will very soon lead to a radical Christianisation of India, a radical digestion of Hinduism into Christianity, and make us a second-class, second-tier, below-the-glass-ceiling kind of Christian colony. Hinduism will become a Christian colony and tolerated and allowed to live there and (will be) gradually sucked (dry), with each generation being converted and made more Christian.

And Hindu gurus will love it. They are so confused. They are marketing sameness anyway, and they will get a lot of marketing opportunities, they will be given more support by the West to expand their ideas because these ideas are a kind of soft Hinduism, weakening it. An outright alliance with the West is to be discouraged. India should have a tactical alliance with the Christian West, tactical in the sense that we should know we have our own selfhood to protect. We cannot let our defences down, we can't let our guard down with these guys, but outwardly, we should be friends with them, we want to be in alliance with them against a common enemy, which is radical Islam. This is the solution: join forces with the Christian West to fight radical Islam but, at the same time, don't succumb to them. Make it very clear as part of your negotiation that they need us as much as we need them, and one of the conditions for us to collaborate with them is that they have to end this aggressive evangelism that they are doing currently. We need that kind of alliance.

Many people have pointed out that Hinduism's historical fault lines — caste, anti-SC/ST feeling — are as much a problem as anti-India forces, since the latter are simply trying to fish in troubled waters...

Yes, it is true that our fault lines, whether it is caste, or north-south divide, are being exploited. For us to take control of these, we have to admit we have some fault lines, which the orthodoxy has not done. They believe we are perfect, but we need new *smritis*. The *shrutis* (the Vedas) are eternal and permanent, but the *smritis* have to be changed and can



evolve. For example, we need a new social science and sociological *smriti* on families in this modern era, when different members can geographically be thousands of miles away from each other and you can't have a joint family kitchen or living under one roof. We need *smritis* on the whole relationship between citizenry and government, on diversity — how the different *varnas* and communities have to come together, how we have to respect all the languages and the different sub-cultures in different parts of India even as we come together under the broader rubric and fabric of a unified *Bharatiya sanskriti*. How all this has to happen requires an amazing amount of new *smritis*. I do not see pro-dharma think tanks that are being funded. I see old, stodgy, fossilised, orthodox, and incompetent old guard of Hinduism being encouraged and funded, given jobs, prominence, awards and promotions.

I do not see evidence of a new kind of thinking within Hinduism being encouraged. In fact, a revival of the old is not something that's going to do us any good. We need a lot of changes, a lot of new rethinking, a lot of refurbishment, that is



“The big gurus are not fighting the intellectual battles. They are only looking after their own corporate interests, maximising their own particular venture.”

what *smritis* are for. *Smritis*, throughout our history, have always been very radical, very dramatic, and we need new 21st century *smritis*, and the government has to step up to enable this.

What do Hindus — and non-Hindus — need to do to tackle Breaking India forces? Or is this the job only of Hindus — to seal the internal cracks through some kind of social reforms, which can take decades?

There is a disconnect and mismatch between Hindu leaders who have talent, insight and vision, on the one hand, and Hindu leaders who have resources, land, *ashrams*, billions of dollars, and brand value. In other words, if you look at the large Hindu establishments under the hands of the big gurus, they are not *avant garde*, fighting the intellectual battles. They are only looking after their own corporate interests, maximising their own particular venture, and not Hindu-

ism at large. But there are individuals, intellectuals who are out there without all that support, without all that funding, without all that kind of corporate assets, who in their own personal capacity are trying to fight. Similarly, the government has huge resources. Look at the Ministry of Culture or HRD. With all their resources, they haven't done one darn thing of a strategic kind to help. Having a music performance here and a dance performance there and some *sammelan* where some guys come and talk of the same old stuff is hardly original. It is some kind of show-and-tell and some kind of personal brand building for a few individuals, but they lack strategic planning, strategic thought. So, I would say that at the government level and the level of the large ashrams and gurus, we do not have the kind leadership we need or what is expected of them. The academics are already sold out, and they are already on the wrong side. The Hindus who are in

academics tend to be very weak; they are not only politically weak but also intellectually weak. They are not the sharpest people. There are a few, but not in large numbers.

The industrialists who are Hindus are privately Hindus, but they are very careful in who they fund and who they support. Ultimately, they are looking out for themselves, and calculating what will this do for my brand, what would be bad for my brand. They don't want to be too controversial, who knows if the government changes tomorrow. They are sitting on the fence.

This is the problem we face as Hindus — lack of altruism, selfless leadership where people stick their necks out and put all they have got — their *tan, man dhan* — on the line...for the sake of dharma. That is what the current need is.

(The full interview can be found at www.swarajyamag.com)