

Cultural Malware

An Hindutva Program in North America

Contents

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Foreword

Since the dawn of the twentieth century, the world has witnessed a wave of genocidal attempts to exterminate the “Other” — groups demonized as the source of sociopolitical troubles who, if only they were disappeared, would correct all the problems of society.

In Turkey, the Pashas oversaw the genocide of Armenians. In Soviet Russia, Stalin oversaw the genocide of Ukrainians. In Nazi Germany, Hitler oversaw the genocide of Jews. In Khmer Rouge-ruled Cambodia, Pol Pot oversaw the genocide of educated people. In Rwanda, Hutus oversaw the genocide of Tutsis.

These genocides are acts of open warfare — acute outbreaks of brute force in which the victims are dehumanized and systematically eliminated within relatively short periods of time. Generations afterwards, these slaughters remain engrained within the psyches of every individual from the affected communities. Yet there is a new form of genocide on the rise constituted by chronic, ongoing methods of extermination which variously include brute force, multi-generational oppression, and systematic erasure of the record of oppression.

Within this paradigm of a “new genocide,” the oppressor rewrites history to portray himself as the oppressed. This is rarely better illustrated than by a burgeoning East-West nexus which is taking the worldwide lead to perpe-

trate a new genocide by reinterpreting ancient Aryan/Hindu ideologies in modern terms and bridging the gap between white nationalism and Hindu nationalism. Examination of this nexus reveals that these two far-flung, fascistic groups are not such strange bedfellows. Indeed, they are beginning to openly embrace one another in order to spread cross-continental Aryanism.

In the East, within India, the caste system has resulted in the subjugation or death of countless millions over the past many centuries. Added to the oppressive weight of this dehumanizing, hierarchical, segregated society, since 1984, all independent India's largest religious minority communities have endured State-sponsored pogroms perpetrated along the model of the "old genocide." The consequences for those involved have been nothing less than a progressive increase in power. Summarizing the situation, Indian activist Harsh Mander writes,

The winds of hatred systematically manufactured against demonized communities have frequently scorched India. The large majority of these campaigns of hate target the populous Muslim community but, in the 1980s, the Sikhs were targeted, and from the turn of the century, violence has been mounted against the tiny Christian minority who peacefully inhabit most corners of this diverse land.ⁱ

At the conclusion of 2017, as India's Christians prepared to celebrate Christmas, they became a primary target. According to *The Telegraph*, Christian schools in Uttar Pradesh received letters from extremist group Hindu Jagran Manch warning them that they celebrated Christmas at "their own risk" and alleging the festival is "essentially a ploy to lure and convert Hindu children." The report states,

The Manch— also known as the Forum for Hindu Awakening — on the other hand, actively campaigns to keep Hinduism pure by reconverting Muslims and Christian to Hinduism and furthering its goal of turning India into a Hindu state.

It is also part of a complex web of religious organizations that have affiliations with Mr. Modi's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The BJP is also in power in Uttar Pradesh.ⁱⁱ

During the same Christmas season, approximately 30 Catholic priests were arrested in Madhya Pradesh for singing carols while their car was set on fire. Meanwhile, throughout 2017, other Christian communities elsewhere in India faced vicious attacks. A pastor in Punjab was assassinated, allegedly by members of Hindu nationalist organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Pastors in Telangana and Bihar were beaten. A pastor in Tamil Nadu found his church and home burned down. Christians

everywhere in India reported a collective feeling of unease and danger — as though they were foreigners in their own land. These assaults follow past acts of both routine and extreme violence. One of the most extreme was the 2008 Odisha Pogrom in which at least 70 Christians were massacred and tens of thousands were displaced.

Violence is often justified by charges that Christians are engaged in “forced conversions.” As explained by John Dayal, Secretary General of the All-India Christian Council,

It means putting pressure on people to convert, sometimes physically.... But according to [*Hindutva* groups] it could mean anything from praying for Jesus to heal you, to offering to put you in a Christian hospital or school, to paying a person American dollars or British pounds.ⁱⁱⁱ

In response to these atrocities, many members of persecuted communities fled to the West to find refuge and, after establishing secure livelihoods, used their positions to begin advocating for those in India who were not able to similarly escape oppression. In their adopted countries (which are becoming the lands of birth for their children) these diaspora communities are using their voices to urge their elected representatives to at least recognize their suffering. They frequently point out that all of these “campaigns of hate” — including the 1984 Sikh Genocide, the

2002 Gujarat Genocide, and the 2008 Odisha Pogrom — have all been met with virtually blanket immunity for the perpetrators. Sometimes the elected officials represent these new constituents and speak out against these egregious violations of human rights.

From their experiences seeking recognition of their sufferings, however, some members of the diaspora believe their persecutors are following them across the seas. Adding insult to injury, the same State apparatus which sponsored these atrocities now mounts systematic efforts to erase the memories of its crimes by opposing international efforts to recognize them.

In 2015, the California State Legislature became the first State body in the world to recognize the 1984 Sikh Genocide as a government-organized pogrom. In protest, as a representative of the Indian State, San Francisco Indian Consul General Venkatesan Ashok states, “I am very surprised by the fact that they have chosen to make a comment on this so long after the incident.”^{iv}

In 2016, when the Californian City of Fresno moved to pass a resolution declaring 1984 a “genocide,” the Indian State took quick action to squash it. According to *The Fresno Bee*, Ashok “met with each council member to convince them that... [the] resolution was inaccurate.”^v Under pressure from the Indian State, the resolution was withdrawn.

In 2017, when the Ontario Legislative Assembly passed a resolution declaring 1984 a “genocide,” the Indian State

lodged its protests with the Government of Canada. “We reject this misguided motion which is based on a limited understanding of India,” states External Affairs Ministry spokesperson Gopal Baglay.^{vi}

Attempts to recognize other atrocities have faced similar organized resistance. In 2013, members of the U.S. Congress introduced a resolution citing the “complicity of local officials” in the 2002 Gujarat Genocide, denouncing “anti-conversion laws” which require State permission before changing religion, and recognizing “the suffering of Indian citizens who have been victims.”^{vii} The resolution would have called on the U.S. Government to center official talks with India around human rights and religious freedom issues. Supporters referred to it as “putting people over profit.” In response, the Hindu American Foundation (HAF) “launched a public campaign and met with a number of Congressional offices to educate them on the pitfalls of the resolution.”^{viii} Ultimately, House Resolution 417 stalled and fell by the wayside.

These incidents are merely illustrations of how a larger agenda is at work. Perhaps emboldened by their rise to power, Hindu nationalists — whose ideology underlies every major pogrom against religious minorities in India — are organizing on a global scale to enact a new genocide. A silent and sometimes bloodless genocide which is no less lethal. Perpetrated by diplomats and academics

working within the halls of State and classrooms of universities, this new form of genocide is a rewriting of the past and a denial of the present.

This new form of genocide seeks to establish Hindu mythology as factual history, to deny the existence of centuries of indigenous opposition to the philosophy of Brahmanism, and to simultaneously (and contradictorily) portray the caste system as a fabrication of European colonizers as well as an admirable method for ensuring social cohesion. It seeks to preserve the subjugation of Dalits (those treated as Untouchables within the Hindu caste system) by denying that Dalits were ever subjugated. Furthermore, it seeks to deny all people of India the agency to define themselves by erasing their distinct identities as Buddhists, Christians, Jains, Muslims, or Sikhs and, instead, categorizing all those who belong to an indigenous Indian religion as members of the “Hindu race” and all those who do not as members of the “foreign races.”

An Indian American writer named Rajiv Malhotra is perfecting the methods of this “new genocide.” Speaking at an international forum in 2008, Malhotra equated Hinduism with India. Using similar terminology to other academics of his persuasion, he refers to the civilization of India as an “Hindu civilization,” thus implying that anything and everything contained within the Indian subcontinent is, by virtue of its geographical location, “Hindu.” He states,

When we look at India and her civilization, what makes the culture respectful and tolerant is the Hindu foundation, the Hindu civilization.... The Hindu difference of India has to be appreciated more than it has been. This should be the underlying foundation of any educational venture.^{ix}

Malhotra puts his money where his mouth is and is actively working to ensure that “the underlying foundation of any educational venture” — anywhere in the world — is the portrayal of the subcontinent as a solely “Hindu civilization.” In his mission, he joins a cabal of other pseudo-academics and activist organizations which are relentlessly pursuing an Hinducentric approach to interpreting both the history as well as the current events of the subcontinent. Chief among these is the HAF, which has spent over a decade waging “curriculum reform” campaigns in California, Texas, and Virginia.

The effect of these campaigns, which seek to rewrite school textbooks to feature revisionist histories, is to erase or rewrite the reality of oppressive elements of Indian history, thereby camouflaging ongoing oppression. The campaigns serve the intents and purposes of a *Hindutva* State by preventing an educated public from exposing its oppressions. Denying the existence of oppression in the past or present permits the State to continue pursuing the Brahmanical goal of preserving and expanding its established hierarchical, hereditary, and segregated society. It

is no surprise, therefore, that some of the primary targets of these demands for “curriculum reform” are historical figures like Kabir and Guru Nanak, who were among the staunchest indigenous proponents of a counter-revolution to liberate people from Brahmanism.

This curriculum revision campaign is extensively underwritten by the Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies, to which both Malhotra and HAF are intimately linked. Along with an intricately connected network of other personalities and groups, they are serving as some of the most preeminent international ambassadors of Hindu nationalism. While other agents of *Hindutva* are working towards eliminating minorities in India by force, these international ambassadors are working towards eliminating Indian minorities through craft and subterfuge. They are (sometimes successfully) seeking to control the dialogue about India in primary schools as well as universities. They are also (often successfully) mobilizing to steer international public opinion in favor of *Hindutva*.

Rather than own up to the truth of historical subjugations, they are pursuing the same agenda as the Holocaust deniers and simply attempting to deny — or erase — the truth. Instead of righting the wrongs of the past, they want to bury the past. Rather than recognizing systems like caste as oppressive, they are attempting to reinterpret and repackage them, make them palatable, and proverbially put old wine into a new wineskin.

To understand the *modus operandi* of people like Malhotra and groups like the HAF, this book delves deeply into the origins of the *Hindutva* ideologies they propagate — ideologies which originated in the pages of ancient Aryan *Shastras* (scriptures) but were more recently systematized by the RSS and its founding patriarchs. Internationally, the leading example of the operations of the RSS is the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) and its affiliate, the Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies.

Thus, in the following pages, we examine how Hindu Aryan supremacist ideology is being exported to the West. At the outset, we will begin with a case study of Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik and American white nationalist David Duke in order to reveal how and why they are enamored of India's caste system (in the case of Duke) and of Hindu nationalism (in the case of Breivik). Subsequently, we will detail the origin of the term *Hindutva* and how its originators were obsessed with preserving the “racial cohesion” of the so-called “Hindu race.” Finally, we will consider the organizational structures created by Hindu nationalists in India and abroad, leading into the specific subject of our report — the Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies.

In the process, we introduce and leave open the following questions:

- Considering Hindu nationalists in India are very open about their ultimate goal, which is the establishment of a Hindu *Rashtra* (nation) in which Christians and Muslims are dispossessed of citizens' rights and Buddhists, Dalits, Jains, and Sikhs are forced to identify as "Hindus," what is the ultimate goal of the *Hindutva*-affiliated, foreign-trained "sleeper cells" operating within North American academic and State arenas?

- Considering that the players involved in the issues and groups we will discuss are not merely confined to the classrooms of universities or the halls of State, but are both ideologically and physically entangled with the same outfits which engage in genocides in India with impunity, why are they not employing violence here in North America? In India, they act as supremacists, but in North America, they appeal to their minority status. Are they strategically using their position as minorities in a free society to push their agenda via academia and, meanwhile, biding their time as they accumulate greater power?

- How far will Western members of the *Hindutva* fold push their agenda? How will they reconcile their supremacist ideology with the American doctrine that "all men are created equal"? How will this play out in the arc of American history? And, as *Hindutva* ideology is

exported to the West and embraced by those who marginalize the most vulnerable segments of American society, the final question arises: Will they also export *Hindutva* methods?

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Introduction: Exporting Hindutva

Anders Breivik — In 2011, Anders Breivik personally massacred 77 people in Norway. Breivik’s purpose for selecting his targets — the offices of former Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg and a youth camp — was to strike a blow against the rise of what he termed “multiculturalism,” in defense of ethnic nationalism, and for “Aryan” people. In Breivik’s own words, he is a “fascist” and “one of the most fanatical National Socialists in Northern Europe.”

According to Norwegian journalist Åsne Seierstad, “Breivik’s main enemy was multiculturalism, a system he called cultural Marxism.” His war against this supposed enemy manifested in “hatred of people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds.” Specifically, in a letter to Seierstad, Breivik declares his goal as “saving the racially distinctive character of the Aryans.” Expanding on the ideological underpinnings of Breivik’s actions, Seierstad writes,

“I was wondering how many people I needed to kill to be read,” he said after he had committed his acts of violence in 2011. He had calculated that he had to kill a dozen people to be noticed. He ended up killing many more; 33 of his victims were under 18.

Breivik later described his massacre as his “book launch.” In a way, he was right: No one had been interested in reading his polemics before he placed a bomb outside the prime minister’s office in downtown Oslo and later that day shot teenagers at a Labor Party youth camp on the island of Utøya, an hour’s drive from the capital. Only then did thousands of people read, discuss, and comment on his 1,500-page manifesto.^x

Breivik’s manifesto details his “nationalistic political doctrines,” the core of which is his claim that multiculturalism is a threat to “the bases of Western culture.” The bases he identifies as at risk include authority, patriarchy, hierarchy, nationalism, heredity, and ethnocentrism.^{xi} What’s at stake for Breivik? Nothing less than racial purity. Denouncing any society which permits co-existence of cultures, he states, “Multiculturalism and the fantasy world of equality... is a widespread madness that is, without doubt, leading the entire white race into the abyss.”^{xii}

Although Breivik operated as a lone-wolf who was swiftly removed from society after his ideological views led him to slaughter his fellow humans, others who advocate a similar ideology of Aryan supremacy are instead infiltrating society with a more strategic approach.

David Duke — For instance, beginning in the southern state of Louisiana in the United States, David Duke has achieved an influential position with the international

realm of Aryanism by staging political campaigns, publishing books, and manufacturing white nationalist infrastructures.

“I am an Aryan (a racially conscious white person dedicated to the survival and freedom of his people),” states Duke. “We Aryans are those of European descent who are racially conscious and who have committed our lives to our people's survival and evolutionary advancement.”^{xiii}

According to biographer Tyler Bridges, “David Duke had gotten his start in politics as a teenager with the National Socialist White People’s party, the successor to the American Nazi party.”^{xiv} At the age of 14, Duke joined the Citizen’s Council, a white supremacist network originally formed in Mississippi. Bridges reports, “Duke began bringing a tattered copy of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler’s bible, to the Citizens’ Council office and praising the Nazi leader.”^{xv} Later, during his senior year in high school, “He wore a ring with the swastika insignia and carried around *Mein Kampf* as if he would be lost without it.”^{xvi}

In 1967, Duke joined the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) before attending university to earn a degree in history. Subsequently, Duke founded the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KUKK) in 1974. In 1980, he founded the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). From 1975 onwards, he began a series of political campaigns for a wide variety of offices — state legislature, state governor, U.S. Congress, U.S. Senate, and U.S. President. His persistence paid off and he was eventually

elected as a representative in the Louisiana State Legislature.

Published in 1998, Duke's first book was an autobiography entitled *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*. Besides detailing the events of his life, Duke's book also serves as his manifesto. Reviewing it in 1999, Anti-Defamation League Director Abraham Foxman writes, "Intended to read as the magnum opus of Duke's career as an extremist political organizer, *My Awakening* reads more like a minor league *Mein Kampf*."^{xvii}

Breivik says, "I was wondering how many people I needed to kill to be read." Duke, however, did not have to kill anyone to find readers for his book. In fact, he has sold countless copies of it — the latest edition, sold on his website, describes it as a "worldwide bestseller."

Breivik put his ideology into action by massacring 77 people in 2011, after which he was swiftly arrested and imprisoned. Duke has spent over 40 years putting his ideology into action through his organizations, political campaigns, and books, but he has never been personally or directly involved in violence. However, many of his associates and followers do embrace violence and Duke has participated as they pursue a path of force.

In 2017, for example, Duke joined a white nationalist rally — known as the "Unite the Right Rally" — in Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S. He stood shoulder-to-shoulder with demonstrators who wore body armor and helmets, carried rifles, and waved Nazi flags, *Schwarze Sonne*

(Black Sun) flags, Confederate Battle flags, and Roman Legion flags. While demonstrators chanted “you will not replace us,” “the Jewish media is going down,” and “blood and soil” (a Nazi slogan), Duke stated in an on-scene interview, “This represents a turning point for the people of this country. We are determined to take our country back.”^{xviii} As reported by *The Washington Post*, the rally ended in bloodshed.

Chaos and violence turned to tragedy Saturday as hundreds of white nationalists, neo-Nazis, and Ku Klux Klan members — planning to stage what they described as their largest rally in decades to “take America back” — clashed with counter protesters in the streets and a car plowed into crowds, leaving one person dead and 19 others injured.^{xix}

Thus, as both Duke and Breivik promote Aryanism, they are inevitably associated with violence. One an uneducated lone-wolf, the other an educated community organizer, both have achieved varying levels of success. Nevertheless, the ideologies propagated by Duke and Breivik intersect at key points, including the terminology they use, the purported problems which concern them, and their goals.

Intersections — “The fact is that the notion of multiculturalism is a lie, for it demands the destruction of Western culture,” claims Duke.^{xx} Many of his concerns

about changes in Western culture echo those expressed by Breivik. Breivik claims that hierarchy, heredity, and ethnocentrism — which he thinks are among the “bases of Western culture” — are at risk, while Duke praises “the vital role of heredity”^{xxi} and the “natural hierarchy” while demanding “racial integrity - the preservation of our racial genotype.”^{xxii}

Central to the concerns of both these Aryan ideologues is a preoccupation with racial cohesion as crucial to the “salvation” of the Western culture. Both preach homogenous societies, demanding countries *of* white people and *for* white people. Breivik, for instance, laments, “The West is declining as a percentage of world population.”^{xxiii} He claims, “A war is being waged.... A cultural and demographic war waged by mass immigration against native Europeans.”^{xxiv} Duke, meanwhile, assumes the role of a self-anointed prophet, predicting, “Replacement of the White race through immigration and race-mixing could conceivably destroy Western Civilization itself.”^{xxv} Thus, Aryanism perceives a cataclysmic event as the outcome of the shift away from monocultural, homogenous societies.

Although they are mutually united in their opposition to multiculturalism and defense of the “white race,” they do identify a different “Other” as the purported chief enemy who benefits from multiculturalism and endangers their concept of Western culture. For Breivik, the enemy is Muslims. For Duke, the enemy is Jews — as well as “Blacks, Mexicans, Indians”^{xxvi} and “the alien flood of

nonwhite immigrants.”^{xxvii} Both are committed to the same goal, however, which is the preservation, cohesion, and supremacy of Aryans.

Furthermore, not only are they equally disturbed by multiculturalism, concerned about preserving the “white race,” and convinced the very foundations of Western culture are being shaken to the core, but both Breivik and Duke are enamored of the same Eastern source as an example of a solution to their problems.

According to Breivik, the need of the hour is “the humility to listen to the advice of the Hindus of India.”^{xxviii} Breivik never travelled to India, but Duke did so in 1971, and it had an enduring impact on him. It transformed him.

According to Duke, “Before my journey to India, the racial ideals that I believed in were abstract concepts and principles.”^{xxix} There, in India, Duke’s slumbering Brahmanical identity awakened and, in his own words, he discovered his racial identity and purpose in life. In his mind, ancient India offers an ideal model for preserving racial purity through an Aryan caste system while modern India offers a warning of what a racially mixed society will become. Detailing his understanding of ancient India’s history and social system, Duke writes,

Aryans, or Indo-Europeans (Caucasians), created the great Indian, or Hindu, civilization. Aryans swept over the Himalayas to the Indian sub-continent and conquered the aboriginal people. The original term

India was coined by the Aryan invaders from their Sanskrit word Sindu, for the river now called the Indus. Sanskrit is perhaps the oldest of the Indo-European languages, having a common origin to all the modern languages of Europe. The word Aryan has an etymological origin in the word Arya from Sanskrit, meaning noble. The word also has been associated with gold, the noble metal, and denoted the golden skinned invaders....

Composed in about 1500 B.C., the Hindu religious texts of the Rig Veda tell the story of the long struggles between the Aryans and the aboriginal people of the Indian subcontinent.... Brahmanism became the chief religion of India. The conquering race initiated a caste system to preserve their status and their racial identity. The Hindu word for caste is *Varna*, which directly translated into English, means color.... The most pale skinned were called the Brahmin. These were the warrior-priest class, the top of the social ladder. The Untouchables (or Pariahs) were the racially mixed in the bottom caste.

Duke gleefully identifies “Aryans” as synonymous with his own “white race,” explaining, “Over the past few centuries the clear racial differences have faded, but one can still notice the lighter hues and taller statures of the higher castes.... A great deal of Sanskrit literature describes

many of the Aryan leaders as having light eyes and light hair.”^{xxx}

The abject poverty of India understandably shocked Duke. Describing his travels through Uttar Pradesh, he writes, “We passed many settlements teeming with rag-swathed, skeleton people. Children were starving everywhere. Cruel, open sores spotted their bodies, and the unrelenting flies swarmed the children to feast on their festering wounds.”^{xxxi} However, rather than being stirred to compassion by their pitiable condition, Duke used these depressed classes as fodder for his Aryanism.

From Duke’s perspective, Indian poverty is the result of a decline in the strength of the caste system (in contrast to Dalit activists today, who assert their communities were historically denied access to education and resources). As he states, “In spite of strict religious and civil taboos, the ancient Aryans crossed the color line.” Thus, he suggests, “Hindu history... seems to indicate that it was not preoccupation with sex that brought down the high culture as much as it was the racial impact of that obsession.” This poverty, which Duke believes was caused by “race-mixing,” inspired him to pursue a goal of preserving racial purity among the “white race.”^{xxxii}

“It seemed obvious that America would undergo a slow transformation to a racially mixed society with a corresponding demographic change similar to that of... ancient India,” argues Duke.^{xxxiii} “To the plaudits of the media, the Pariahs — the Untouchables — are slowly replacing

the Brahmin of America and the entire Western world.” Therefore, David Duke committed himself to propagating Aryanism, writing,

I resolved to live my life in the original meaning of the term Aryan, a noble life of dedication to my people.... I became determined that my life would be about awakening the Aryan inside of every European.

All my ideas were dramatically transformed into the reality of flesh and blood.... I realized who I am. I am an Aryan.... Not only was I awakened to the truths of race, I was awakened to the sacred purpose of all those who came before us, and those who will follow us in the unbroken spiral toward the heavens. I had become an Aryan.

His journey in India, he claims, “changed an intellectual commitment into a holy obligation.” Duke concluded that he had a specific duty. “I had to adopt the spirit of an Aryan warrior who understood the current struggle of our race transcends the centuries,” he writes. Drawing on *Bhagavad Gita* as the spiritual foundation for his new purpose in life, he quotes a passage: “Likewise having regard for duty to your caste, you should not tremble; for in a warrior, there exists no better thing than a fight required of duty.”^{xxxiv}

Breivik’s massacre bears witness to the unshakeable belief with which he holds the ideological assertions made

in his manifesto, one of the most recurring of which is a general agreement with Duke that there “exists no better thing than a fight required of duty.” Denouncing multiculturalism, he declares, “It is an evil ideology bent on an entire culture’s eradication, and we, the peoples of Europe, have not just a right, but a duty to resist it.”^{xxxv}

Committing himself to the same “holy obligation” as Duke, Breivik interprets “a noble life of dedication to my people” as requiring militant action. “My own ancestors, the Vikings, were known to be the most vicious and brutal warriors of the age,” he proudly states.^{xxxvi} He insists it is “a duty for all Europeans to defend themselves,” to be “combat-ready,” and to invest time in “training for combat.”^{xxxvii} Like Duke, Breivik desires the “white race” to “adopt the spirit of an Aryan warrior. As he writes, “It’s time for us, the European revolutionary patriots, to remember our prowess as warriors and to make sure our enemies remember it as well.”^{xxxviii}

In India, Duke found inspiration for his ideological struggle, claiming it transformed his “abstract ideals” into “the reality of flesh and blood.” Breivik, meanwhile, found inspiration for his destruction of flesh and blood in a specific Hindu institution. When suggesting that so-called Aryans should “listen to the advice of the Hindus of India,” he singles out India’s thriving and violent Hindu nationalist movement as an ideal example.

“Without nationalistic doctrines, Europe will wither and die, which we are seeing today,” says Breivik.^{xxxix} Thus,

he believes European nationalists need to emulate from Hindu nationalists. Praising “saffronisation,” *Hindutva*, and the Sangh Parivar, he writes,

Saffronisation is a political neologism (after the saffron robes of the Hindu clerics) used to refer to the policy of right-wing Hindu nationalism (or *Hindutva*) which seeks to make the Indian state into a “Hindu nation” and its Sikh, Buddhist and Jain minorities incorporated into Hinduism. These nationalist movements are also called *Sanatana Dharma* movements.

A related term, the Saffron Brigade, is used as a descriptor of people and organisations in India that promote Hindu nationalism (such as the Sangh Parivar) by their critics, who allege a militant Hindu agenda. The *Sanatana Dharma* movements or Hindu nationalists in general are suffering from the same persecution by the Indian cultural Marxists as their European cousins.

India will... wither and die unless the Indian nationalists consolidate properly and strike to win. It is essential that the European and Indian resistance movements learn from each other and cooperate as much as possible. Our goals are more or less identical.^{x1}

The Saffron Brigade — The term “*Hindutva*” was coined in 1923 by V. D. Savarkar (1883-1966) to encapsulate the idea that, in his words, “We, Hindus, are all one and a nation, because chiefly of our common blood.”^{xli} According to French political scientist Christophe Jaffrelot, “The *Hindutva* of Savarkar was conceived primarily as an ethnic community possessing a territory and sharing the same racial and cultural characteristics.... For Savarkar, the territory of India cannot be disassociated from Hindu culture and the Hindu people.”^{xlii}

More accurately, Savarkar’s *Hindutva* cannot be disassociated from Aryanism. “For him, the Hindus descend from the Aryas, who settled in India at the dawn of history and who already formed a nation at that time,” explains Jaffrelot.^{xliii} Savarkar premises his entire ideology on this claim, which is detailed in his manifesto, *Hindutva: Who Is A Hindu?*

Savarkar begins with a mythical description of ancient India, stating, “The foremost band of the intrepid Aryans made it their home and lighted their first sacrificial fire on the banks of the Sindhu, the Indus.”^{xliv} After these Aryans supposedly settled the banks of the great river which cuts across the Indus Valley, he claims it “fired the imagination of the then leaders of thought and action and made them restore the ancient Vedic name of our land and nation Sindhustan — the best nation of Aryans.”^{xlv} According to Savarkar’s interpretation, Hindus are, in fact, Aryans. Thus, he claims, “All Hindus claim to have in their

veins the blood of the mighty race incorporated with and descended from the Vedic fathers.”^{xlvi} From this, he draws inspiration for declaring “Sindhustan/Hindustan” as the original name of a supposed “common fatherland” from which all Hindus derive “the will to remain united as a nation.”^{xlvii} Consequently, Savarkar concludes that the Indian subcontinent is, always has been, and must remain a nation of Hindus.

In Savarkar’s view, the preservation of the purity of the “Hindu race” is essential to the existence of India. As he writes, “So long as India had to live at all a life whether spiritual or political according to the right of her soul, she must not lose the strength born of national and racial cohesion.”^{xlviii} To accomplish this goal, Savarkar devoted his life to awakening the Aryan he believed is inside of every Hindu and aligning them behind the ideology he crafted: *Hindutva*. In his words, “*Hindutva* embraces all the departments of thought and activity of the whole Being of our Hindu race.”^{xlix} Convinced that the “Hindu race” faced a “fight required of duty” in order to remain a homogenous, monocultural society, he and those who followed after him began working to transform Hindus into a strong, organized, and militant collective — a “combat-ready” people who are constantly “training for combat.”

The practical methods of *Hindutvawadis* (supporters of *Hindutva*) involved the creation of a new social order — a disciplined, regimented, uniformed community to stand against the alternative influences of the “Other.” Jaffrelot

writes, “Hindu nationalist ideology, even though it cannot be compared directly to Italian fascism or German national socialism, envisaged the organization of the whole of society as producing a new kind of people.”¹ Thus, *Hindutva* advocated “a process of cultural reorganization launched in reaction to external threats, real and/or imagined, in the form of proselytization by Christian missionaries, the impact of British rule, and the militancy of the Muslim minority” and “redefined Hindu identity in opposition to these ‘threatening Others.’”^{li}

This cultural reorganization embraced a paradigm in which modern Hindus face onslaughts from all sides and can only overcome persecution by reinvigorating an ancient martial spirit and unquestioningly fulfilling their “duty” as warriors. Thus, Savarkar spins an epic and poetic account of a past in which the people of Hindustan, universally dedicated to defending *Hindutva*, gloriously laid down their lives in battle.

The enemies hated us as Hindus.... It was the one great issue to defend the honour and independence of Hindustan and maintain the cultural unity and civic life of *Hindutva* and not Hinduism alone, but *Hindutva* (i.e., Hindudharma) that was being fought out on the hundred fields of battle.... Our bards bewailed the fall of Hindus, our seers roused the feelings of Hindus, our heroes fought the battles of Hindus, our saints blessed the efforts of Hindus, our statesmen

moulded the fate of Hindus, our mothers wept over the wounds and gloried over the triumphs of Hindus.^{lii}

This paradigm was explicitly shared by the originators and propagators of *Hindutva* philosophy, which include Savarkar as well as K. B. Hedgewar (1889-1940) and M. S. Golwalkar (1906-1973). After Savarkar birthed the spirit of *Hindutva* in 1923, Hedgewar birthed a physical body in 1925 when he founded the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) — meaning “National Volunteer Organisation.” Assigning a purpose to the RSS, Hedgewar declares,

The Sangh wants to put in reality the words “Hindustan of Hindus.” Hindustan is a country of Hindus. Like other nations of other people (e.g. Germany of Germans), this is a nation of Hindu people.^{liii}

Echoing Savarkar, Hedgewar also insisted that preservation of the purity of the “Hindu race” is essential to the existence of India. The golden opportunity offered by the RSS was, he claimed, the salvation of the Hindu people. “We have to organize the entire Hindu society,” writes Hedgewar. “Our object should be to show to the people the true path of national salvation. That true path is none other than ORGANIZATION. The Hindu race can save itself only through such organization.”^{liv} The purpose of

this organization, he argues, is to protect Hindu society from “persecution” by “outsiders” — that is, the “Other.” As he writes,

The Hindu culture is the life-breath of Hindustan. It is therefore clear that if Hindustan is to be protected, we should first nourish the Hindu culture. If the Hindu culture perishes in Hindustan itself, and if the Hindu society ceases to exist, it will hardly be appropriate to refer to the mere geographical entity that remains as Hindustan. Mere geographical lumps do not make a nation. Unfortunately, the Congress organization has given no thought to protecting the Hindu Dharma and Hindu culture. The organization keeps its eyes closed to the daily onslaughts by outsiders on the Hindu society. It is to fulfill this duty of protecting the Hindu society that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh has come into existence.^{1v}

As the first *Sarsanghchalak* (Supreme Leader) of the RSS, Hedgewar spent the rest of his life pursuing this goal — securing India as a land of Hindus and for Hindus. Under his leadership in pre-WWII India, the RSS developed into a full-fledged paramilitary organization. Members — known as *swayamsevaks* (volunteers) — attend daily meetings of *shakhas* (branches), dressed in uniform (originally khaki shirt and shorts, now white shirt, and

brown trousers), and participate in weapons drills, physical exercise, and ideological indoctrination.

In 1940, upon Hedgewar's death, Golwalkar assumed the position of RSS *Sarsanghchalak*. Like Hedgewar and Savarkar, Golwalkar perpetuated the notion that the preservation of the purity of the "Hindu race" is essential to the existence of India, writing "We repeat: in Hindustan, the land of the Hindus, lives and should live the Hindu Nation." Expanding on this idea, he declares,

In this country, Hindustan, the Hindu Race with its Hindu Religion, Hindu Culture, and Hindu Language (the natural family of Sanskrit and her off-springs) complete the Nation concept: that, in fine, in Hindustan exists and must needs exist the ancient Hindu nation and nought else but the Hindu Nation. All those not belonging to the national, i.e. Hindu Race, Religion, Culture and Language, naturally fall out of the pale of real "National" life.^{lvi}

Permitting multiculturalism to exist in India, implies Golwalkar, permits the existence of a cancer. All non-Hindu communities must shed their distinctive characteristics and allow themselves to be subsumed by Hindu culture — or else leave. India should make no allowance for differences. Instead, it should strip non-Hindus who refuse to behave as Hindus of all rights. Following this line of thought, Golwalkar argues,

There are only two courses open to the foreign elements, either to merge themselves in the national race and adopt its culture, or to live at its mercy so long as the national race may allow them to do so and to quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities' problem. That is the only logical and correct solution. That alone keeps the national life healthy and undisturbed. That alone keeps the Nation safe from the danger of a cancer developing into its body politic of the creation of a state within the state.... 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 in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizen's rights. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt.^{lvii}

Golwalkar, like Savarkar, invoked the same martial spirit as his inspiration for organizing the “Hindu race” to defend itself from “the foreign races in Hindustan.” Praising “the whole illustrious line of Hindu warriors,”^{lviii} he

claims, “The rich heritage that mainly sustains this sentiment of nationality... drives man to fight and risk his all for the preservation of his group.”^{lix} Thus, he declares, “The most strenuous efforts should be made at this time to protect Hindus, Hindustan and the Hindu religion.”^{lx}

Perpetuating the paradigm of persecution, Golwalkar called for resistance. There is, he says, “a whole race of martyrs... grimly fighting for their Mother — the Hindu Race and Nation.”^{lxi} What should that Hindu race do? Go to war. “We may inaugurate a grim war on all sides and devote the battle-field to it,” he writes.^{lxii} Painting a picture of an uphill battle, he derives hope from a revived “Race Spirit” which he compares to that of Nazi Germany, writing,

It is the fortune of war, the tide turns now to this side, now to that, but the war goes on and has not been decided yet. Nor is there any fear of its being decided to our detriment. The Race Spirit has been awakening.... The world has to see the might of the regenerated Hindu Nation strike down the enemy’s hosts with its mighty arm....

Race Spirit calls. National consciousness blazes forth and we Hindus rally to the Hindu Standard, the *Bhagwa Dhwaj* [Saffron Flag], set our teeth in grim determination to wipe out the opposing forces....

The ancient Race Spirit, which prompted the Germanic tribes to over-run the whole of Europe, has re-

risen in modern Germany.... Even so with us: our Race Spirit has once again roused itself.^{lxiii}

Consequently, Golwalkar praises the example of those who, filled with “Race Spirit” and perceiving a “fight required of duty,” gave up their lives for the preservation of the “Hindu Race.” As he writes, “We also find in our society, whole bands of heroes immolating themselves *en masse* to uphold what they considered as the duty of a warrior — *Kshatriya dharma*.” Promising divine rewards for such “heroes,” Golwalkar concludes, “So does the Almighty bless a hero with whatever he intensely desires while doing his duty as a warrior.”^{lxiv}

Golwalkar made no secret of the ultimate goal he desired these “bands of heroes” to accomplish — extermination of “the foreign races.” Thus, he pointed to the racial cleansing of the Nazi regime as an ideal model. In 1939, as the Nazis invaded Poland — where over half of the six million Jews exterminated in the Holocaust were destined to die — Golwalkar writes,

German race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic races — the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be

assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by.^{lxv}

With this as its ideological basis and Golwalkar as its chief until his death in 1973, the RSS gradually became the umbrella organization for a broad association of *Hindutva* groups which are today collectively known as the Sangh Parivar (Family of Organizations). Golwalkar, in overseeing the metastasis of the Sangh into a hydra-headed entity, was fulfilling the desires of Hedgewar. “The organisation of the Sangh is a living organisation and it must continuously keep growing,” declares the RSS founder. “Our goal can be achieved only if the organisation grows continuously and rapidly, otherwise not.”^{lxvi}

Today, Sangh Parivar entities include political, occupational/professional, educational, and religious organizations as well as media outlets. Some of the most prominent include:

- **Political** — Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), which is since replaced by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP);
- **Occupational/professional** — Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad (ABAP), Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), and Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS);

- **Educational** — Ekal Vidyalaya Foundation (EVF) and Vidya Bharati Akhil Bharatiya Shiksha Sansthan (VBABSS);
- **Religious** — Bajrang Dal (BD) and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP);
- **Media** — *Organiser* Magazine and Vishwa Samvad Kendra (VSK).

Many of the Sangh Parivar entities have put down international roots. For instance, VHP has branches in Australia, Canada, UK, USA, and elsewhere. The EVF boasts support from Hindu diaspora groups around the world. The ABVP has a counterpart in the form of the Hindu Student Council (founded in the 1990s as a subsidiary of VHP-America). Most notably, the RSS replicated itself as an international organization with the founding of the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS).

Throughout the decades, the militancy of the RSS in India has become infamous. Its participation in all the largest-scale Indian pogroms of the 1980s-2000s is well-documented. As the organization has repeatedly targeted and massacred innocents from minority communities, especially Christians and Muslims, the perpetrators are invariably awarded with total impunity.

The reason the Saffron Brigade's foot-soldiers so easily escape punishment is because, since India achieved independence in 1947, the Sangh Parivar's political outlets

have progressively gained ever greater levels of national power. The Sangh's political forays began in 1951 with the formation of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. In 1977, the BJS became the dominant coalition partner when the temporarily formed "Janata Alliance" obtained national power. In 1980, the BJS was reconstituted as the Bharatiya Janata Party.

From 1998 to 2004, the BJP obtained and kept national power. Reporting in 2004, the US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) explains, "India's two most senior leaders, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Deputy Prime Minister Lal Krishna Advani, are both members of the RSS and have never renounced its militant Hindu ideology."^{lxvii} The USCIRF report additionally warns,

Violence against religious minorities has coincided with the rise in political influence of groups associated with the Sangh Parivar, a collection of Hindu extremist nationalist organizations that view non-Hindus as foreign to India and aggressively press for national governmental policies to promote the "Hinduization" of culture. The ascent to power in 1998 of the Sangh Parivar's political wing, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the current ruling party in the national government coalition, has helped to foster a climate in which extremists believe that violence

against religious minorities will not be systematically punished.^{lxviii}

In India today, the leading proponent of *Hindutva* is Narendra Modi. According to *The New York Times*, “He was virtually raised by India’s Hindu nationalist movement. The son of a local grocer, he spent his childhood in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.”^{lxix} Speaking in 2013, Modi declares, “My identity is of a *Hindutvawadi*.”^{lxx} In 2014, Modi became Prime Minister of India as the BJP once again obtained national power.

Before taking the highest office in the Republic of India, Modi was Chief Minister of the State of Gujarat. He assumed that office by special appointment in January 2002. Within weeks, Gujarat erupted in flames as BJP and RSS members took to the streets for an extended pogrom against Muslims (and some Christians). From February to May 2002, the Sangh’s foot-soldiers slaughtered thousands in the streets. Thereafter, in December 2002, Modi was formally elected as Chief Minister in a landslide victory.

Within India, Modi faced no repercussions whatsoever, although he is widely accused of culpability in the Gujarat Genocide by human rights groups, police who served under him at the time, and even former members of his administration who personally participated in the violence. Furthermore, as Indian activist Harsh Mander writes, “The fact that the carnage continued not just for days but

for weeks should be evidence enough of the criminal complicity of senior state authorities.”^{lxxi}

As the senior-most State authority, Modi’s later public statements give even greater credence to those who allege he was intimately involved in fostering (if not actually architecting) violence. For instance, while campaigning for election in September 2002, he made what Mander calls “the single most offensive statement made by a head of government in independent India against a segment of his own people.” Referring to “why the government was not establishing relief camps for the two hundred thousand people displaced by the carnage,”^{lxxii} Modi declares, “Relief camps are actually child-making factories. Those who keep on multiplying the population should be taught a lesson.”^{lxxiii} In July 2013, months before the BJP announced him as their prime ministerial candidate, Modi exposed his callousness regarding the event. When asked if he regrets the violence, he dehumanized the victims by comparing them to dogs, stating,

If... someone else is driving a car and we’re sitting behind, even then if a puppy comes under the wheel, will it be painful or not? Of course it is. If I’m a chief minister or not, I’m a human being. If something bad happens anywhere, it is natural to be sad.^{lxxiv}

In the wake of the Gujarat Genocide, as the USCIRF warns, “India’s central and state police and judicial apparatuses have neglected to consistently or adequately examine evidence linking Sangh Parivar entities such as the [V]HP, RSS, BJP, and Bajrang Dal to acts of violence.”^{lxxv} Internationally, however, Modi did face some censure. For instance, *The New York Times* reports, “In 2005, the United States took the unusual step of imposing a visa ban on him for his role in the riots, and high-ranking officials from the United States and some European countries would not meet with him for almost a decade.”^{lxxvi} Explaining the U.S. ban, which accused Modi of “egregious religious freedom violations,” then-US Ambassador to India David Mulford stated, “It is based on the fact that, as head of the State government in Gujarat between February 2002 and May 2002, he was responsible for the performance of state institutions at that time.”^{lxxvii}

The violence was the culmination of Golwalkar’s message that “the foreign races in Hindustan... may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizen’s rights.” Mander consequently explains that the sociopolitical environment cultivated in the aftermath of the 2002 Gujarat Genocide constitutes “a kind of Dalitization of Muslims,” writing,

Through sustained social and economic boycott, and geographical and social segregation, the Muslim community has been “tamed” into adjusting to new social relations; to get used to fear and social subordination everyday; and forced to settle for second-class citizenship.^{lxxviii}

This message further aligns Modi and the Saffron Brigade with the same white nationalists in the West who are enamored of *Hindutva*. As Mander writes, “Alarmist saffron demographics have an old vintage, whipping up anxieties over generations about galloping ‘Muslim fertility rates,’ their uncontrolled breeding, and the dying of ‘the Hindu nation’.” It is the same fear-mongering tactic repeatedly employed by people like David Duke and Anders Breivik. Noting the parallels, Mander writes,

Similar alarmist fears of being demographically submerged... [are apparent in] the curious and chilling case of the 2011 Norwegian mass murderer Anders Behring Breivik, who claimed that Norway would become a Muslim-majority country by 2050.... Breivik felt a close affinity with *Hindutva* ideologies; they share a common dread of being submerged by swelling populations of Muslim people.^{lxxix}

Duke espouses an identical concern about the potential growth of “non-Aryan” populations. Describing the low-

caste and outcaste people he saw in India, he states, “As attested by the teeming population, the one thing they seem to do best is breed.”^{lxxx} Contrasting the conditions of India with the U.S., Duke laments, “Every day our nation grows a little darker from the torrential immigration of non-Whites, high non-White birthrates, and increasing racial miscegenation — and with each passing day, we see the quality of our lives decline.”^{lxxxii}

While the ideological intersections of white nationalism in the West and *Hindutva* in India are deeply disturbing, even more unsettling are the collaborative efforts developing between the two branches of the tree of Aryanism. In the West, the HSS (the international wing of the RSS) and its affiliates are infiltrating universities, subsidizing pro-*Hindutva* pseudo-academics of both Eastern and Western origin, and influencing educational materials. Simultaneously, white nationalists are publishing pro-*Hindutva* books — sometimes by the same pseudo-academics who are promoted by Hindu nationalist outfits — and attempting to arrange political alliances with BJP and RSS leaders in India.

Hindutva Rising in the West — “Hindu nationalists are right to be concerned about preserving the essentially Vedic nature of Indian civilization,” writes John B. Morgan, the co-founder and former editor-in-chief of Arktos Media.^{lxxxii}

On its website, the company states, “Arktos has established itself as the principal publisher in English of the

writings of the European ‘New Right’ school of political thought.” Arktos has published over 150 titles in fourteen languages. Writing for *The Caravan*, American journalist Carol Schaeffer describes Arktos as “the world’s largest and most influential publishing house for the ‘alt-right’.”

The term “alt-right” gained international prominence in 2017 after the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville ended in bloodshed. Defining the term, Schaeffer writes,

The alt-right—a loose affiliation of white nationalists, white supremacists, neo-monarchists, masculinists, reactionaries, conspiracists, neo-paganists and social-media trolls — has come to define a new, extreme-right political discourse.... Obsessed with white identity and perceived threats to it, the alt-right in the United States and Europe generally yearns for the coming of a golden age.

Arktos is closely linked to the Charlottesville agitation. In January 2017, reports Schaeffer, “the company officially partnered with the de-facto face of the alt-right, the neo-Nazi Richard Spencer, to found the ‘Alt-Right Corporation’ — an organisation created to foment, as Spencer was quoted as saying in *The Atlantic* magazine, ‘a total integration of the European New Right and the US alt-right.’” In May 2017, Spencer led a group of torch-bearing white nationalists through the city of Charlottesville as they chanted “you will not replace us” and “blood and

soil.” In August 2017, he was listed as the keynote speaker at the Unite the Right Rally, where he was joined by others including David Duke and Daniel Friberg, the CEO of Arktos.

Founded in 2009, Arktos Media established its first headquarters in Mumbai, India. Morgan and Daniel Friberg — the company’s current CEO — lived in India for several years, where they perceived the prevailing social system as one of the primary benefits. “It was good to be in a place where daily life is still for the most part an expression of the traditional spirit rather than a liberal one,” says Morgan.^{lxxxiii} Arktos is now based in Hungary, but it has maintained and expanded its links to India by organizing meetings with prominent BJP and RSS leaders.

In October 2013, the company reports, “The CEO of Arktos [Friberg], together with our Chief Marketing Officer [Patrick Ehn], paid the Hindu Traditional-Conservative party Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) an official visit.” They met Santosh B.L., the BJP’s national joint organizing secretary, who is described by Indian media as an “RSS loyalist” and an “RSS *pracharak* [full-time worker].” They also met Aravind Limbavali, a BJP Member of the Legislative Assembly and former Minister of Health and Higher Education in Karnataka. According to Arktos, “Topics discussed included similarities and possibilities of cooperation between traditionalist and conservative movements in Europe and Asia.”^{lxxxiv}

In December 2013, the company reports, “Team Arktos paid a visit to the capitol of India, Delhi, and had successful meetings with the national spokesperson of the grassroots Hindu nationalist organization RSS, Ram Madhav, as well as Ravi Shankar Prasad, the deputy leader of India’s largest Right-wing party, the BJP.” Madhav is now the National General Secretary of the BJP and Prasad is now India’s Minister of Law and Justice as well as Minister of Electronics and Information Technology.

During the trip, Arktos additionally worked on developing a contractual relationship with the publishing house, Voice of India. Founded in 1981 by Sita Ram Goel and Ram Swarup (old friends who were both born into upper-caste Punjabi Hindu families), Voice of India (VOI) is described by Arktos as “a Hindu nationalist publishing company.”^{lxxxv} According to VOI’s website, it publishes authors who “put up a Hindu ideological front to identify and respond to the united front of entrenched alien forces — Islam, Christianity, Communism, and Nehruism.” Echoing Golwalkar’s call to war, VOI declares, “Hindu society has many more battles to fight.”^{lxxxvi}

Goel’s *Hindutva* credentials are indisputable. He wrote for the RSS mouthpiece, *Organiser*, for decades and unsuccessfully ran for Parliament with the BJS, the precursor to the BJP. According to his autobiography, his goal in creating VOI was to give the Hindu nationalist move-

ment “a full-blooded Hindu ideology of its own and process all events, movements, parties, and public figures in terms of that ideology.”^{lxxxvii}

Swarup articulated that ideology. Invoking similar elements to *Hindutva*, Swarup upheld the supremacy of Hinduism while explicitly denouncing the presence of non-Hindu religions in India. Speaking about Swarup, Goel writes, “He had come up with the conclusion that they [Islam and Christianity] were not religions but cruel and intolerant ideologies like Communism and Nazism. The spread of these ideologies in India, he said, was fraught with fearful consequences for whatever had survived of Hindu society and culture in the only Hindu homeland.”^{lxxxviii} Swarup’s solution was not isolated to India, however, but involved the expansion of Hinduism internationally. “Europe has been subjected for centuries to systematic spiritual Semitization,” writes Swarup. He claims,

Europe became sick because it tore apart from its own heritage, it had to deny its very roots. If Europe is to be healed spiritually, it must recover its spiritual past.... Hinduism has a very important role in the religious self-recovery of humanity, particularly of Europe.^{lxxxix}

To advance this ideology, VOI has published several authors, both Eastern and Western, including Arun Shourie, David Frawley, Francois Gautier, Koenraad Elst,

Michael Danino, N.S. Rajaram, Rajiv Malhotra, and Subhash Kak. Over the past several decades, their publications have deeply influenced the Hindu nationalist movement. According to M. Reza Pirbhai, an American Professor of South Asian and World History,

Voice of India ideals have been successfully employed in rallying support for Sangh Parivar campaigns in India, extending from the Babri Mosque (Ayodhya) campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s to the Gujarat ‘massacres’ of 2002, all of which have claimed thousands of mostly Muslim lives and played a part in bringing Sangh Parivar parties to the highest echelons of state power.^{xc}

Despite — or perhaps because of — the influence VOI has exerted on the perpetrators of pogroms in India, Arktos Media has eagerly welcomed them as a bedfellow. After Friberg met with VOI, he reported his company intended to propagate the Indian publishing house’s ideology internationally. “Arktos intends to become the Indian Right’s gateway to the Western world, which will be fruitful both for our friends in India as well as for those interested in contemporary India elsewhere and the lessons it can offer us worldwide,” states the publishing house.^{xc}

As Schaeffer notes, “The publishing house seems to be inspired by certain strains of Hindu thought, although it

often refers to ‘Vedism’ instead of ‘Hinduism,’ and conceives of the ideas it venerates as more ‘Aryan’ than South Asian.” Thus, Arktos has published — either as originals or reprints — a host of publications about Hinduism (or, more accurately, about Aryanism in India). Its authors include Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Koenraad Elst, Richard J. Cole, Savitri Devi, Sri Ravi Shankar, Sri Dharma Pravartaka Acharya (born as Frank Morales), Julius Evola, Aleksandr Dugin, and Steven J. Rosen. Among these, Elst stands out as a point of intersection between VOI and Arktos.

Elst, a Belgian Indologist, has been described as “a ‘fellow traveller’ of the Hindu nationalist movement.”^{xcii}

Writing about Ram Swarup, Elst calls him “definitely the most important Hindu philosopher of independent India’s first half-century.”^{xciii} As a Western academic, he maintains the *Hindutva* line on a wide range of Indian issues, arguing, for example, that caste created social cohesion, that the desire to oppose Brahmanism was manufactured by British colonialism, that Guru Nanak was a Hindu, as well as that Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs are all Hindus.

In particular, however, he echoes Golwalkar, writing, “Hinduism has been native to India, whereas Christianity and Islam are irrevocably of foreign origin.... Golwalkar came up with his oft-quoted suggestion that, if India was to be a Hindu state, Christians and Muslims could only stay there as guests, not as citizens.”^{xciv} Thus, like Gol-

walkar, who warns that “the foreign races in Hindustan...must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race,” Elst declares, “South-Asian Christians and Muslims had better shed their divisive faiths and return to the Hindu civilization which their ancestors left.”^{xcv}

A similar proposition is put forth by another Arktos Media author, Frank Morales. In his 2013 book, *The Dharma Manifesto: A New Vision for Global Transformation*, he praises the concept of Hindu nationalism and the general spirit in which the RSS was founded. Yet he offers “constructive criticism” — the heirs of Savarkar, Hedgewar, and Golwalkar are not actually destructive enough. For instance, he suggests that Hindu nationalists require “a more revolutionary outlook and practical strategy to both gain political power and to consequently govern the Indian nation-state along purely Dharmic principles.”

“The RSS is currently a neo-Hindu, revivalist, Indian nationalist movement,” writes Morales. He insists it needs a total reorientation. “What it needs to become is a traditionalist, Vedic reconstructionist movement.” It needs to dedicate itself to a mission of “Vedic nation building.” Morales does admire its militarism, however, writing, “The RSS has been on the front lines of defending Hindu India from foreign aggression.” Yet his core complaint is that the RSS is not militant enough and must adopt a

deeper commitment to the preservation, cohesion, and supremacy of the “Hindu race.” He offers advice for reorientation, stating,

The RSS needs to change quite radically.... Annihilate the immediate existential threat from the Communist terrorists, Islamic jihadists, and Christian missionaries.... Revive the *Kshatriya* (warrior) spirit of your ancestors.... Re-Aryanize, re-Vedicize, and re-spiritualize the entirety of your present-day culture.^{xcvi}

Like Breivik and Duke, Morales denounces multiculturalism, claiming, “The contradictorily absurd ideation of a ‘multicultural’ political state (such as America and Canada, as presently constituted, and increasingly many of the once-homogenous nations of Europe) can never truly be an organic nation.” Therefore, he asserts, “Only a homogeneously ethno-cultural political formation can be a nation proper.”^{xcvii}

However, Morales believes that *Sanatana Dharma* transcends the “Hindu race” and that Aryans should embrace it as their original spiritual system. In his mind, it is the foundation for establishing every nation in the world as a racially homogenous one, a system useful not only for forming India as a nation *of* Hindu people and *for* Hindu people but also for forming the countries of the

West as nation *of* white people and *for* white people. Consequently, he declares, “*Sanatana Dharma* is... the sacred heritage not merely of those people who happen to possess an Indian passport, but of the entirety of the Indo-European peoples.”^{xcviii}

Speaking as a self-anointed prophet of modern Hinduism, he boasts of himself as an example of someone who is doing the hard work that he believes the RSS is not doing. “Vedic Reconstruction... is precisely what such individuals as David Frawley, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Shrikant Talageri, Subhash Kak, and myself, as well as other, more traditionalist Vedic thinkers are engaged in.”^{xcix} Beyond his own self-aggrandizement, however, Morales has also received accolades from a number of pro-*Hindutva* intellectuals, including Frawley, who says, “Dr. Frank Morales represents the *Sankalpa* [the will] of the Hindu people and the cause of *Sanatana Dharma*.”

Others praising Morales include Dr. Jeffery Long, who calls him “a pioneer,” *Hinduism Today* magazine’s editor-in-chief, Paramacharya Sadasivanathaswami, and Rajiv Malhotra, who says, “I recommend Dr. Frank Morales. He is a noteworthy academic scholar of Hinduism, a formal convert/practitioner as Acharya in Hindu temples, and a great public champion of Hinduism with courage to stick his neck out.”^c Long, Sadasivanathaswami, and Malhotra also all share another link — they’ve all appeared

more than once as “experts” at the Annual Meeting of Experts hosted by the Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies.

The Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies — The advancement of a *Hindutva* program is a single, saffron thread uniting Arktos Media, VOI, and the Uberoi Foundation. However, another point at which all three intersect is their common promotion of several of the same pseudo-academics. These include Koenraad Elst (and Uberoi “expert” who has been published by both VOI and by Arktos), N.S. Rajaram (an Uberoi grant recipient who has been published by VOI), Rajiv Malhotra (an Uberoi grant recipient and an Uberoi “expert” who has been published by VOI), and Subhash Kak (an Uberoi “expert” who has been published by VOI).

The Uberoi Foundation is chaired by Indian American Professor Ved Prakash Nanda, who simultaneously serves as *Sarsanghchalak* of the HSS USA, a branch of the international wing of the RSS which he founded in 1989. Nanda solidified his credentials as a Hindu nationalist in 2015 after the HSS USA and its affiliates successfully waged an intense campaign to revoke the U.S. State Department’s blacklisting of Narendra Modi. Once this ban was lifted, he eagerly signed his name second on a list of over 150 academics welcoming Modi to visit the country.^{ci}

Serving as a *de facto* reference, Elst, speaking in 2014, declares, “The Uberoi Foundation may genuinely be characterized as strongly ‘*Hindutva*.’” Malhotra concurs, stating in 2014, “Uberoi Foundation [is] a very explicitly *Hindutva* organization.”^{cii}

Our report, “Cultural Malware: An *Hindutva* Program in North America,” details how Nanda and his associates — many of whom are funded or otherwise controlled by Nanda and the organizations he directs — are implementing a program of *Hindutva* in North America. It reveals the web of North American personalities and groups which are all ultimately networked, particularly through institutions like the Uberoi Foundation, with the RSS.

The Uberoi Foundation is one of the most active and successful Hindu nationalist institutions in North America; thus, one can surmise that Anders Breivik must have been speaking of people like Elst, Malhotra, and Nanda when he praised the passion of “expatriate Hindus.” In India, notes Breivik, “The Hindu right wing... dominate the streets.” He glorifies the mobs which “often riot and attack Muslims when things get out of control, usually after the Muslims disrespect and degrade Hinduism.” However, he argues, “The irony in India is that the Hindus who are living abroad (expatriate Hindus) are more concerned about Hindu culture than the ones in India, because from abroad, they can get an eagle eye’s view of what’s happening in India while Indian Hindu residents don’t see it being in the scene.”^{ciii}

In contrast to those in India, *Hindutvawadis* abroad have shed the uniform of the RSS — just as white nationalists like David Duke have shed the white hood of the KKK — in favor of suits and ties. They are abandoning the street as their battlefield in favor of the boardroom — or, as in the case of the Uberoi Foundation and its host of affiliated personalities and institutions, they are turning to academia as their beachhead of attack. In the universities and primary schools of North America, RSS-associated groups are finding fertile ground to push a program of oppressive policies which were manufactured in *Hinduvta* laboratories.

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1. Hindutva Infiltrates Loyola Marymount University

When Loyola Marymount University (LMU), a private Roman Catholic institution in the Los Angeles, CA area, hosted an all-day seminar on November 10, 2017, to commemorate the 350th birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), the event erupted into chaos when a Sikh audience member voiced his objections.

Dr. Nirinjan Khalsa, Clinical Assistant Professor of LMU's Jain & Sikh Studies Professorship, served as emcee. At the outset of the seminar, she called two honored guests to the front for a ceremony. "[I would like to invite] Indian Consul General Ashokji to come up and welcome us all here today," says Professor Khalsa. After Venkatesan Ashok (who has been Consul General of India in San Francisco since 2014) stepped to the podium, Khalsa then says, "Dr. Sahota would like to come forward and honor Ashokji before we begin." Sahota then took a pre-tied turban from off the floor and attempted to place it on Ashok's head. Moments before the turban touched the Consul's head, Bhajan Singh stood and began shouting,

I protest this activity.... Guru Gobind Singh is a warrior. You are a coward. You have killed so many people near New Delhi. We are suffering. You are coming here representing the government. You say Guru Gobind Singh is a defender of truth. You are right here, representing untruth. You say Guru Gobind

Singh represents equality. You represent caste. You belong to the *Hindutva* forces.... That's disgraceful to put a turban on this Consul.... Take the turban away.

Shocked, Sahota stopped. The Consul stood speechless. Khalsa stepped away from Sahota and Ashok. Security arrived and threatened Singh with arrest. "You can arrest me, but you cannot put a turban," he says. The audience broke into disarray.

Most of the approximately 20 audience members were either invited speakers or members of 3HO (Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization), a religious movement founded in 1970 by Harbhajan Singh Khalsa (1929-2004), who is popularly called "Yogi Bhajan." Members of 3HO are universally Caucasian and keep some Sikh-style trappings such as wearing turbans and Indian clothing. Nirinjan Khalsa, for instance, is a member of 3HO. "Shame on Yogi cult," declares Singh as he continued to protest. "Yogi Bhajan [is an] *Hindutva* force.... *Hindutva* Sikh *Murdabad* [Down With Hindutva Sikhs]. Yogi Bhajan Hindu cult!"

Sitting in the row in front of Singh was the late Yogi Bhajan's wife, Inderjit Puri, and daughter, Kamaljit Puri. When Singh began raising the slogan, "Yogi Bhajan *Murdabad*," Kamaljit reached back and slapped the elderly Sikh gentleman with a brochure.

Finally, Khalsa stepped to the podium, saying, “We’re going to have a short break. Let us all remember that we are one.”^{civ}

The seminar was jointly sponsored by LMU’s Jain & Sikh Professorship, the Indian Ministry of Culture, and the Consulate General of India (San Francisco). According to Khalsa, “The first ever Jain and Sikh Studies program hosted in the Department of Theological Studies at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, California was developed to support the study of and dialogue between these two minority Indian religions. It was established in 2015 with the support from the Uberoi Foundation.”^{cv}

Dr. Nirinjan Khalsa, LMU — Since 2015, Khalsa has regularly taught one full-semester course on Sikhi, co-instructed a recurring intensive program on the teachings of Sikhi founder Guru Nanak (1469-1539), and organized three Sikhi-focused seminars.

Every semester, Khalsa teaches the course “Sikhism: Warrior Saints.” The intention of the course is to provide university students with a general overview of the Sikh religion. According to the course description, “This course will cover the history, philosophy, and practice of Sikhism to probe fundamental theological questions. The main focus of the course will be to highlight central Sikh ideas through the reading of primary and secondary texts to ask how these concepts contribute to the Sikh worldview and ethical outlook.” The two textbooks which are

required for the course are both by Dr. Arvind-Pal Mandair, an Associate Professor of Sikh Studies at the University of Michigan — *Sikhism: A Guide for the Perplexed* and *Teachings of the Sikh Gurus* (the latter of which Mandair co-authored with Christopher Shackle).^{cvi}

Additionally, Khalsa co-instructs (with LMU Extension Instructor Pritpal Khalsa, a Kundalini Yoga instructor and 3HO member) a three-day intensive program called “Guru Nanak’s Call of the Soul.” The program is centered around study of *Japji Sahib*, the first verses composed by Guru Nanak. According to the program description, “students will train in the recitation of Guru Nanak’s *Japji Sahib*, or ‘Call of the Soul,’ and its meditation practice.”^{cvi}

Otherwise, Khalsa has organized Sikhi-focused events in the past 18 months. In November 2017, as noted, she organized a “One-Day Seminar Honoring Guru Gobind Singh’s 350th Birthday.” In February 2017, she organized a two-day conference, “Spiritual Warriors: Nonviolence in the Sikh and Jain Traditions.” In February 2016, she organized a three-day conference, “The Music and Poetics of Devotion in the Jain and Sikh Traditions.”

Besides this, every semester, Khalsa teaches the course “Hinduism, Jainism, Yoga.” According to the course description, “In this course, students will study the Hindu, Jain, and Yogic traditions, with a special focus on the history, theory, and practice of Jainism and its relationship with Hinduism and Yoga.”^{cvi}

Who is this professor who is positioned as an expert on the Sikh religion, teaches courses to introduce university students to Sikhi, and is telling people about both Guru Nanak (the first Sikh Guru) and Guru Gobind Singh (the tenth Sikh Guru)? How has Khalsa become one of a mere handful of Sikh studies professors in the United States?

Born in 1988, Khalsa's parents were Kundalini Yogis involved in 3HO. Her father, Hari Singh Khalsa, is the co-founder, co-director, and Head Teacher of Yoga West. According to Yoga West, "Hari Singh Khalsa was one of Yogi Bhanjan's original students."^{cix} The institution states, "Yoga West is strongly connected with the international Kundalini Yoga community and the Kundalini Research Institute (KRI)."^{cx}

Defining the practice, KRI states, "Kundalini Yoga as taught by Yogi Bhanjan is considered the most comprehensive of yoga traditions, combining meditation, mantra, physical exercises and breathing techniques." The Institute claims the practice is foundational to Sikhi, further stating, "Kundalini Yoga was taught from Master to student for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years and intersects with the lineage of the Sikh Masters such as Guru Nanak, Guru Ram Das and Guru Gobind Singh for the past 500 years."^{cx}

Khalsa was certified as a teacher of Kundalini Yoga in 2001, at the age of 13. In 2003, at the age of 15, she moved to India and began attending the Miri Piri Academy. The institution, describing itself as "an international

boarding school for students in grades five through twelve,” was founded in 1977 by Yogi Bhajan.^{cxii} By 2005, she produced her first album, which consisted of mantras drawn from verses contained within the Sikh noble book, *Guru Granth Sahib*.

In 2014, Khalsa obtained her Ph.D. in “Renaissance of Sikh Devotional Music” at University of Michigan. Subsequently, in September 2015, she was appointed to head the brand-new Jain & Sikh Studies program hosted under LMU’s Department of Theological Studies.

As Khalsa writes in March 2017, “It was established in 2015 with the support from the Uberoi Foundation.”^{cxiii} Tax returns reveal that the Foundation spent \$57,500 in 2015 to fund its LMU projects. Thirty-five thousand dollars were earmarked specifically for “Creation of Center(s) for Sikh and Jain Studies.” In February 2016, Khalsa writes, “My professorship is unique, sponsored by the Uberoi Foundation.”^{cxiv} As she additionally notes, the structure of the program was influenced by two other figures. She writes, “This program was envisioned and brought to fruition by Dr. Sulekh Jain... and Dr. Harvinder Singh Sahota.”^{cxv}

The only reason the Jain & Sikh Studies Professorship exists is because of financial assistance from the Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies (UF). The only reason Nirinjan Khalsa is a professor at LMU is because of support from the Foundation. Without backing by the Foundation, Khalsa would not be teaching about Sikhi.

Since funding the Professorship, the Foundation has maintained some direct involvement. For instance, the Foundation was credited as a co-sponsor (with LMU's Department of Theological Studies) of the February 2016 seminar on "The Music and Poetics of Devotion in the Jain and Sikh Traditions."^{cxvi} The Foundation's relationship with LMU began much earlier, however.

In October 2011, the Foundation began laying the groundwork for establishing an LMU Professorship when it hosted a two-day "Annual Meeting of Experts" at the university. Its fourth such "annual meeting," Uberoi called the conference "In Our Own Voices: Dharma Education in North America." Its goal, reports the Foundation, was "to facilitate the emergence of innovative and creative theories, approaches, and methods to education and scholarship in Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, and Sikh Dharma traditions."^{cxvii} Essentially, the meeting was a strategy summit.

As we expand this report, we will detail what occurred at this 2011 conference and examine exactly what strategies the UF is implementing to "facilitate the emergence of... education and scholarship" regarding these four religions.

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2. The Uberoi Foundation

At the outset of our report, it is necessary to ask — what is the Uberoi Foundation? When and why was it founded? Who operates it? What are its primary activities? Furthermore, with which people and organizations does the Foundation partner?

Dr. Mahinder Singh Uberoi (1924-2006) was an aeronautical engineer. Born in Delhi and raised in Punjab, he immigrated to the United States in the 1940s to complete his higher education. From 1963 to 2000, he worked as a professor at the University of Colorado.

In 2000, Uberoi was the first tenured professor in the history of the university to be fired. According to *The Daily Camera*, a local newspaper in Boulder, Colorado, Uberoi was fired “for reasons that were never made public.”^{cxviii} One news report reveals that University authorities accused Uberoi of “demonstrable professional incompetency, neglect of duty, insubordination... or other conduct which falls below minimum standards of professional integrity.”^{cxix}

When he died in 2006, Uberoi’s will designated his nearly \$8 million estate to a trust and appointed his three nieces (who were based in Delhi) as the trustees. The trust, he said, was to use its funds “for the scholarly study of Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism, and other related religions and their music and arts.” The Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies was formally organized

in 2007 and began activities in 2008. According to the Foundation's website:

The mission of the Foundation can be summarized in these few words: The Uberoi Foundation for Religious Studies serves to raise awareness of the four major Dharmic religions of Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism, in an effort to promote understanding, communication, tolerance, and peace among the diverse peoples of the world.^{cxx}

The UF's leadership consists of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, three Trustees, and two staff-members — an Executive Director and a Secretary.

Dr. Ved Prakash Nanda, Chairman — Nanda was born into a Hindu family in 1934 in Gujranwala, Punjab (now in present-day Pakistan). He studied at the University of Punjab, the University of Delhi, Northwestern University (Chicago), and then at Yale University. In 1965, he was accepted as a Professor at the University of Denver Sturm College of Law. In 1972, he founded the college's International Legal Studies Program. From 1994 to 2008, he was Vice Provost of Internationalization at the University of Denver. In 2007, he was appointed as a Trustee for the Iliff School of Theology, Denver.

Beyond his academic career, Nanda has engaged in a host of social activities. According to a 2016 biography, "Nandaji is a senior *swayamsevak* [volunteer], who has

been with Sangh since the times of... Golwalkar, the second *Sarsanghchalak* [supreme leader]” of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The bio adds, “Nandaji has been a Sangh *pracharak* [full time worker].”^{cxxi} Additionally, in the 1950s, he was President of the Delhi University Students Union as well as President of the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP — the student wing of the RSS).

In the 1960s, while a student in Chicago, Nanda founded the first American *shakha* (branch) of the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (the international wing of the RSS). According to a 2015 biography, Nanda founded the *shakha* in partnership with the “younger brother of former RSS *Sarsanghchalak* K. S. Sudarashan.”^{cxxii} As reported by *The Telegraph*, “Nanda entered the RSS through the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and gained prominence by launching the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) in the US in 1989.”^{cxxiii} After founding the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh USA (HSS USA), Nanda became and remains its *Sanghchalak* (director).

Since 2008, Nanda has been Chairman of the UF. In 2012, he became a Trustee of the Dharma Civilization Foundation (DCF). He is also an Advisor to the Hindu Education Foundation (HEF).

In the words of philosopher Martha Nussbaum and Indologist Wendy Doniger, Nanda is “a leading member of the Hindu Right.”^{cxxiv} Indeed, his personal ideology is understood by the company he keeps and the activities in

which he engages outside of the UF. According to *The Telegraph*, “Nanda has a close association with top RSS leaders like Mohan Bhagwat.”^{cxxv}

Nanda has repeatedly spoken at international conferences hosted in India. In 2008, as president of the HSS, Nanda hosted a New York City release of the book, *M.S. Golwalkar: His Vision and Mission*. According to the HSS, “This book release ceremony was organized by Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh, which owes its inspiration to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, in the presence of the chief guest Dr. Mohan Bhagwat, General Secretary of RSS, India and Prof. Ved Nanda, President of HSS, USA.” At the event, “Prof. Ved Nanda spoke about the impact of RSS and [Golwalkar], emphasizing that the values advocated by the Sangh are not limited to any group but are applicable to the entire humanity.”^{cxxvi}

In 2005, Nanda attended the fourth Vishwa Sangh Shibir (VSS) in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. In its fifth conference the summit included a keynote speech by K. S. Sudarshan of the RSS. Also attending were VHP-America President Jyotish Parikh and VHP International Vice-President Dr. Mahesh Mehta. During the sixth VSS, in Indore in 2015, an RSS spokesperson explains, “At this Shibir, we discuss how to spread the work and the message of RSS. Often, it marks the first visit to India for many HSS members.”^{cxxvii} Nanda, who was again a speaker, was joined by VHP-Australia Founder and President Dr. Nihal Singh Agra and RSS General Secretary

Suresh Joshi. In his remarks, Joshi states, “We intend to influence the world by our thought and philosophy.”^{cxxviii}

In 2010, an article in the *India Tribune* claims, “Nanda inspires Hindu spirit,” and describes how, at a Chicago conference, “Prof. Nanda shared his experience on how the Hindu society and HSS USA has responded to the needs of Bhutanese Hindu refugees in their resettlement in the US and work done by Sewa International, VHP, and other organizations.”^{cxxix} As reported by *Samvat*, a newsletter published by Hindu organization Shri Vishwa Niketan, the audience included “prominent Hindu and social leaders... media persons, Sangh *swayamsevaks*, and *karyakartas* [workers].”^{cxxx}

In 2014, Nanda chaired a sub-conference on human rights at a World Hindu Conference organized in New Delhi by the VHP. He was joined by Mohan Bhagwat and Suresh Joshi. At the conference, Nanda presented a paradigm in which he believes Hindus are internationally victimized. Speaking about his sub-conference, Nanda states,

The session I chaired on human rights addressed the violations Hindus have faced in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Kashmir.... The pioneering work of Global Human Rights Defence in the Netherlands and the Hindu American Foundation in the US, seeking to protect Hindus’ human rights in several countries and influencing decision-makers in

Europe and the US, met with thundering applause from a packed house.^{cxxxix}

In 2015, years after Modi was denied a visa to enter the USA because of his role in the 2002 Gujarat Genocide, Nanda led a letter inviting the Indian politician to San Jose, CA in September 2015. Nanda's name is listed second on the letter of over 150 academics.^{cxxxix}

In 2016, Nanda authored and published a book called *Compassion in 4 Dharmic Traditions*. In July of that year, he attended a New Delhi book release hosted by Mohan Bhagwat and former Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani. As reported by *The Times of India*, "The former Deputy Prime Minister also said the work of the author Ved Nanda showed how there are commonalities in religions like Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism and Buddhism."^{cxxxix}

Despite Nanda's links to the RSS, VHP, ABVP, HSS, and other such groups, he continues to seek a close affiliation with communities such as the Sikhs. In 2012, Nanda describes his opinion of Sikhism, writing, "With our common heritage and history, American Sikhs and Hindus share a unique bond unlike any other two religious communities."^{cxxxix}

Parveen Sethia, Vice-Chairman — Sethia is related by marriage to one of the Foundation's three Trustees. He is a pharmacist. According to the Foundation's website,

“He is actively involved in the Ekal Vidyalaya project to support education of children in Indian villages.”^{cxxxv}

The Ekal Vidyalaya program is a project of the VHP begun in 1986. According to VHP Treasurer Ramesh Modi, “Ekal Vidyalaya is a single-teacher primary school where the tribal students are given lessons on Hindu culture and religion besides the normal academic course.”^{cxxxvi} Former VHP spokesperson Prakash Sharma states, “Ekal Vidyalayas are our effort to reach the most deprived areas of the country.... We do not mind even Muslim or Christian students learning in our institutions. However, they have to accept that they are by birth Hindus too.”^{cxxxvii} According to one teacher, as quoted by *Frontline* magazine, “We go for the RSS shakha meetings regularly. The teachers are selected only if they subscribe to the RSS way of thought.”^{cxxxviii}

UF Trustees — The three Trustees, all nieces of Dr. Uberoi, are Anu Bhatia, Jyothia Bhatia, and Sneha Harjai. All three women live and work in the area of Delhi, India.

UF Staffmembers — Jim Polsfut, Executive Director of the Foundation, is a specialist in Latin America and financial services management. Notably, he is Commissioner and past Chairman of the Colorado Commission on Higher Education, the coordinating body of the 28 public universities and colleges in the State of Colorado.

Katharine Nanda, Secretary of the Foundation, is an attorney who is actively involved in a large number of

Hindu religious activities. She is also the wife of Ved Nanda.

UF Activities — The Foundation engages in four primary activities. 1) An annual “Experts’ Meeting” to reflect on strategy. 2) Grant-making to universities and foundations. 3) Teacher Training to instruct high school teachers how to teach about India. 4) Textbook reform to change current curriculum about India, beginning with California schools.

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3. UF's Annual Experts' Meeting

The Foundation's first event, in October 2008, was an "Experts' Meeting" hosted in Denver, Colorado. Subsequently, the UF has held an "Annual Experts Meeting" every year up until 2014. Because these meetings are intended as strategic summits, the ideological leanings, goals, and influence of the Foundation is best understood by examining its agenda at these meetings as well as its affiliations with the attending "experts" and the organizations they represent. A thorough analysis of several years of meetings reveals an intricately interlaced web of recurring connections, including a financial link, between around 30 "experts" and a dozen different organizations and academic institutions.^{cxxxix}

2009. The second "Experts' Meeting" was in Orlando, Florida. The purpose was "to delve deeply into the commonalities of the four Indic Dharmic traditions as well as into the ways in which those traditions contribute to society." Experts present included:

- Dr. Arvind-Pal Mandair
- Dr. Bal Ram Singh
- Dr. Shiva Bajpai

2010. The third "Experts' Meeting" was in Denver, Colorado at the Iliff School of Theology. The topic was "Decolonizing Indic Studies." Experts present included:

- Dr. Abhinav Dwivedi
- Dr. Arvind-Pal Mandair
- Dr. Arvind Sharma
- Dr. Bal Ram Singh
- Dr. Balbinder Singh Bhogal
- Dr. Koenraad Elst
- Dr. Manohar Shinde
- Dr. Radheyshyam Dwivedi
- Dr. Ramdas Lamb
- Rajiv Malhotra
- Dr. Rita Sherma
- Dr. Shrinivas Tilak
- Dr. Subhash Kak
- Dr. Veena Howard
- Dr. Yashwant Pathak

2011. The fourth “Experts’ Meeting” was in Los Angeles, California at Loyola Marymount University. The topic was “In Our Own Voices — Dharma Education in North America.” Experts present included:

- Dr. Abhinav Dwivedi
- Acharya Arumuganathaswami
- Dr. Arvind-Pal Mandair
- Dr. Arvind Sharma
- Dr. Aseem Shukla
- Dr. Bal Ram Singh

- Dr. Balbinder Singh Bhogal
- Dr. Gurleen Grewal
- Khanderao Kand
- Dr. Manohar Shinde
- Dr. Mihir Meghani
- Rajiv Malhotra
- Dr. Ramdas Lamb
- Dr. Rita Sherma
- Dr. Shiva Bajpai
- Dr. Shrinivas Tilak
- Dr. Subhash Kak
- Dr. Veena Howard
- Dr. Yashwant Pathak

2012. The fifth “Experts’ Meeting” was in Denver, Colorado. The topic was “training U.S. schoolteachers in Dharmic traditions and correcting distortions and inadequacies of Dharmic traditions in North American textbooks.” Experts present included:

- Acharya Arumuganathaswami
- Dr. Arvind Sharma
- Dr. Bal Ram Singh
- Khanderao Kand
- Dr. Manohar Shinde
- Paramacharya Sadasivanathaswami
- Dr. Radheyshyam Dwivedi
- Dr. Ramdas Lamb

- Rishi Bhutada
- Dr. Rita Sherma
- Samir Kalra
- Dr. Saumitra Gokhale
- Dr. Shiva Bajpai
- Dr. Shrinivas Tilak
- Dr. Yashwant Pathak

2013. The sixth “Experts’ Meeting” was at the University of Massachusetts — Dartmouth. The topic was “the training of U.S. teachers in the Dharmic traditions and the correcting of distortions about the Dharmic traditions in U.S. textbooks.” Experts present included:

- Dr. Bal Ram Singh
- Dr. Shiva Bajpai
- Dr. Yashwant Pathak
- Dr. Manohar Shinde

2014. The seventh “Experts’ Meeting” was in Boulder, Colorado at Naropa University. The topic was “Compassion in the Four Dharmic Traditions.” Experts present included:

- Acharya Arumuganathaswami
- Dr. Bal Ram Singh
- Dr. Murali Balaji
- Dr. Radheyshyam Dwivedie

- Rajiv Malhotra
- Samir Kalra
- Dr. Shiva Bajpai
- Dr. Veena Howard
- Dr. Yashwant Pathak

Reports on “Experts’ Meetings” in 2015 and 2016 have not been made available by the Foundation. However, an analysis of the six meetings for which there is data shows the reoccurring presence of a large number of these “experts.” Furthermore, analysis reveals that the uniting factor for all of these “experts” is adherence, in varying degrees, to a *Hindutva* ideology.

Recurring Experts — Those who have been present at more than one meeting.

Dr. Abhinav Dwivedi (two “Experts’ Meetings”) is Emeritus Vice-President, former Vice President, and a Founding Member of the Hindu University of America and Advisor for Fundraising of the Hindu Education Foundation (HEF).

Acharya Arumuganathaswami (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is Managing Editor of *Hinduism Today magazine* and a resident monk at Kauai’s Hindu Monastery, known as the Himalayan Academy.

Dr. Arvind Sharma (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is a Professor of Comparative Religion at McGill University

in Montreal, Canada, he has been a Visiting Professor of Indic Studies at Harvard University with an appointment by the Infinity Foundation. Funding for his professorship and for his books comes from the Infinity Foundation.

Dr. Arvind-Pal Mandair (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is an Associate Professor of Sikh Studies at University of Michigan, a former Professor of Sikh Studies at Hofstra University in New York, and a former Professor of Sikh Studies at University of Warwick in the United Kingdom.

According to a 2014 article by Mandair, “In recent years, some Hindu scholars have propagated a softer version of the old Brahmanic ideology in the guise of the ‘Four Dharma’ traditions, putting Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism on the same list.”^{cxl} Suggesting that Mandair himself is one of those scholars, Kavneet Singh, a Director of Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF), explains, “Arvind’s... interactions in academia, his cavorting with right wing Hindu scholars, and his books seem to say something very different.”^{cxli}

He regularly receives grants from the Uberoi Foundation, including for translation of his books into the Punjabi language.

Dr. Bal Ram Singh (six “Experts’ Meetings”) is a Professor of Biochemistry as well as the Director of the Center for Indic Studies (CIS) at the University of Massa-

chusetts — Dartmouth. He is a Director for the World Association for Vedic Studies (WAVES). He is the Founder of the Institute of Advanced Sciences (IAS).

The IAS and CIS co-sponsored the 22nd International Congress of Vedanta at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in New Delhi in 2015. The keynote speaker was Baba Ramdev, who is known for his close association with the RSS. In 2014, for instance, Ramdev hosted a 3-day RSS youth training camp at his Haridwar ashram. Mohan Bhagwat spoke, and the RSS states, “Youths attending the camp would be motivated to dedicate at least one year of their lives to serve as an RSS *pracharak*.”^{cxlii} In a statement about the Vedanta Congress, the Students’ Federation of India says, “JNU had been one of the prime targets of the RSS-BJP during the previous NDA regime as well... The invitation to Ramdev is part of the systematic intrusion of *Hindutva* agents into the academic spaces.”^{cxliii}

The International Congress of Vedanta was founded in 1986 and many of the conferences since then have been variously sponsored by JNU’s Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, the IAS, the CIS, and the Infinity Foundation. In August 2017, the 23rd Vedanta Congress was held at UMass-Dartmouth with sponsorship from the CIS, the IAS, and the Dharma Civilization Foundation (among others).

Along with Ved Nanda and others, Bal Ram Singh joined a letter inviting Modi to San Jose, California in

September 2015. His name is listed third on the letter of over 150 academics.^{cxliv}

He regularly receives grants from the Uberoi Foundation.

Dr. Balbinder Singh Bhogal (two “Experts’ Meetings”) is a Professor of Religion and, since 2007, the Chair of the Bindra Chair in Sikh Studies at Hofstra University in New York. He teaches courses which include “Warrior Saints: An Introduction to the Sikh Religion,” “Sikh Mysticism,” “Religions of India,” and “Yoga, Psychology, & Health.”^{cxlv} He has worked closely with Arvind-Pal Mandair of University of Michigan.

Khanderao Kand (two “Experts’ Meetings”) is National Public Relations Coordinator of the HSS, a coordinator for the HEF, Founder of the Global Indian Technology Professionals of India (GITPRO), and a convener of the Indo-American Community of West Coast, USA (IACWC USA). IACWC USA was founded to host a September 2015 reception for Narendra Modi in California.

According to *India West*, Kand was “a key convener of the SAP Center event” hosting Modi in San Jose.^{cxlvi} In an interview with WomenNow TV conducted shortly before the event, Kand is described as “in the middle of organizing Mr. Modi’s visit” and “bringing this humongous event together at SAP Centre.”^{cxlvii} As reported by the *Business Standard* in August 2015, “Kand has been intimately associated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) for most of his life.”^{cxlviii}

In 2001, Kand organized a Hindu Sangam [Assembly] in Milpitas, CA. Kand says, “The volunteers of Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) spread the message of Hindu Sangam to 20,000 Hindus in the Bay Area in a meticulously planned and executed campaign that included a door-to-door campaign.” The keynote speaker was K.S. Sudarshan of the RSS, who says, “I congratulate the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh and all other Hindu organizations, who put in their collective effort to make the Hindu Sangam a great success with the participation of about 12,000 Hindus belonging to different language groups, sects, and religious denominations.”^{cxlix}

Dr. Manohar Shinde (four “Experts’ Meetings”) is a former Clinical Faculty in Child and Adult Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis at University of California, Los Angeles, the Chairman of the Uberoi Foundation’s Advisory Committee, a Director of Sewa International, and a Director of HSS, and the Founder and Chairman Emeritus of the DCF.

In 1994, Shinde was the keynote speaker at an HSS event in Milpitas, California honoring Dr. K. V. Hedgewar, the founder of the RSS. According to an HSS biography, “Shindeji has been active in RSS since childhood. After obtaining his medical residency in the US, he went back to India as a *pracharak* (full time worker) for 3 years.... In the 70s... he started the first VHP of America chapter in New York City.”^{cl} As reported by *India Journal* in 2016, “Shinde... has had ties with the Rashtriya

Swayamsevak Sangh and is known to have ties with the current administration in India.”^{cli}

Dr. Radheyshyam Dwivedi (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is Chairman of the Board of Directors for Sewa International, President Emeritus of the International Center for Cultural Studies (ICCS), and a member of the Advisory Council for the HSS. He was formerly a Karyawaha (secretary) as well as Sanghchalak for the HSS.

According to the ICCS website, “The International Center for Cultural Studies (ICCS) was established in Nagpur, India, by Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh (RSS) volunteers in 1994, under the guidance of senior RSS leaders.”^{clii} In 2005, Dwivedi spoke at the fourth Vishwa Sangh Shibir (VSS) in Ahmedabad, Gujarat alongside Ved Nanda, K. S. Sudarashan, VHP-A President Jyotish Parik and VHP-I Vice-President Dr. Mahesh Mehta.^{cliii} In 2012, Dwivedi spoke at the ICCS’s fourth triennial conference in Haridwar alongside Mohan Bhagwat.

Rajiv Malhotra (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is the Founder and Director of the Infinity Foundation. He is the author of several books, including *Breaking India*, which claims that a diverse set of anti-national forces — particularly Dalit and Dravidian communities in the Indian diaspora — are intent on “breaking” the unity of the Republic of India.

In *Scroll.in*, one commentator describes Malhotra as “the philosopher-in-chief of Internet *Hindutva*.”^{cliv} In 2013, Malhotra visited Baba Ramdev, an affiliate of the

RSS, at his Haridwar ashram. Praising Malhotra from the stage, Ramdev states,

His fame and reputation are well-known globally. He represents Hindu dharma and culture on the world stage.... Such a brother is Shri Rajiv Malhotra, among us now. Let us honor him.... He dedicated his entire life to this cause. His entire purpose in life has been for our Bharat, our knowledge, our tradition, the ideals of our *rishis* [saints], and how to establish them globally.^{clv}

Malhotra's primary ideological outlet is his books. According to a 2011 review of *Breaking India* published in *Outlook* magazine, "The book is really aimed at US policymakers in a bid to promote an alliance between the US state and Yankee *Hindutvavadis*."^{clvi} Additionally, having spoken at three of the Uberoi Foundation's Annual Experts' Meetings, in 2015, Malhotra states, "Uberoi Foundation [is] a very explicitly *Hindutva* organization."^{clvii}

In 2014, Malhotra explicitly details his perspective on the Sikh religion, writing, "All Sikh gurus were practicing Hindus. Only 19th c. Brits brainwashed many Sikhs into separate religion."^{clviii} In 2017, at a conference, Malhotra claims that Sikhism is a sect of Hinduism, stating,

I'm from Punjab.... My grandfather wore a turban.... In the 1800s, that separation didn't exist so much. It

has been created.... Guru Nanak was a Hindu.... If you look at the actual substance of the philosophy, then you'll find that Sikhism is a kind of sampraday (sect), or a lineage, within Hinduism.^{clix}

He regularly receives grants from the Uberoi Foundation.

Dr. Ramdas Lamb (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is a Professor of Religion at University of Hawaii-Manoa and Director of Programs for the Dharma Academy of North American (DANAM). His daughter, Sachi Lamb, is a former member of the Executive Council of HAF.

According to the website of the Hindu Janajagruti Samiti, a group which says it exists for “reinstatement of Dharma, meaning, establishment of the ‘Hindu *Rashtra*,’”^{clx} Ramdas Lamb is “teaching *Hindutva* at Hawaii University.”^{clxi} In 2007, he spoke at a conference organized by the HAF. In cooperation with HAF and the UF, he has been one of the most instrumental Western academics involved in demanding textbook “reform” from the California State Board of Education (CSBE). In 2014, Lamb praises the election of Narendra Modi, writing,

Modi is not just a new prime minister; he is the first one comfortable with openly expressing his commitment to the Hindu tradition after what many Hindus see as decades of political rule in India that seemed to

be increasingly anti-Hindu whenever dealing with religious issues.^{clxii}

Dr. Rita Sherma (three “Experts’ Meetings”) is Director of the Center for Dharma Studies at Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California, a position funded by the DCF since 2015. Also in 2015, she began filling a two-year Swam Vivekananda Visiting Faculty Hindu Studies Chair funded by the DCF.

Samir Kalra (two “Experts’ Meetings”) is an attorney as well as a Senior Director and Senior Human Rights Fellow at the HAF.

Along with Suhag Shukla, Kalra was one of two HAF attorneys to compose a brief opposing House Resolution 417 and defending India’s “anti-conversion” laws which criminalize religious conversion without State permission. H.R. 417 would have required that U.S.-India dialogues highlight religious freedom and human rights issues. According to Kalra,

HAF... spoke out against U.S. House Resolution 417 (H. Res. 417), a resolution that undermines U.S-India relations and contains misleading and inflammatory language. Specifically, H. Res. 417 selectively highlights certain incidents of violence in India to portray Hindus as the only perpetrators of religious riots...

while criticizing Freedom of Religion or “anticonversion” laws, which were created to protect poor and vulnerable populations.^{clxiii}

Additionally, Kalra has been one of the most instrumental activists involved in demanding textbook “reform” from the CSBE. In 2016, he writes, “For many years the American perception of Hinduism and India has been wrong, in part due to the content of California textbooks.... HAF is dedicated to correcting these inaccuracies.”^{clxiv}

He regularly receives grants from the *Uberoi Foundation*.

Dr. Shiva Bajpai (5 “Experts’ Meetings”) is a former Professor of History and Director of Asian Studies at California State University, Northridge in Los Angeles, CA, President of the *DCF*, Chairman of the Grants Committee for the *Uberoi Foundation*, and a Steering Committee member for *WAVES*. He is co-author of *The History of Hindu India: From Ancient to Modern Times*.

A 2006 article by *The San Francisco Chronicle* describes Bajpai as an “*Hindutva* sympathizer.”^{clxv} In a 2016 *Uberoi Foundation* funded report which Bajpai co-authored with Acharya Arumuganathaswami to demand textbook “reform” from the California State Board of Education (CSBE), the two defend the Hindu caste system. They write,

Caste... is always presented as entirely negative, with the focus on the bottom of the system, the untouchables, a tiny minority community through historical times.... The caste system actually offered at least some advantages over other social structures of the time.^{clxvi}

The co-authors claim, “The term Brahmanism... was coined by Orientalists.” Meeting their demands, the CSBE agreed to “drop all reference to a religion called Brahmanism.”^{clxvii} Furthermore, as reported by a 2006 *India West* article, Bajpai argues that caste is not based on birth. Particularly referencing the condition of Dalits (those historically treated as “Untouchables”), he states, “It was not blood that made a group untouchable, but conduct.... A Brahmin could be viewed as a *chandala* if he behaved badly.”^{clxviii}

He regularly receives grants from the *Uberoi Foundation*.

Dr. Shrinivas Tilak (3 “Experts’ Meetings”) is an Independent Research Scholar at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, a Coordinator of the *HEF*, and author of *Reawakening to a Secular Hindu nation: M.S. Golwalkar's Vision of a Dharmasapeksha Hindurashtra*.

In a book of advice for *Swayamsevaks* published by the *HSS*, Tilak praises Golwalkar, writing, “Shri Guruji never tired of stressing that well molded character... is requisite for all those who are associated with the RSS.... It is this

sense of a civic and cultural identity that the RSS has propagated under Shri Guruji's guidance, and which will provide the basis for rebuilding *Hindurashtra* [Hindu Nation]."^{clxix} He offers similar praise for Hindu Mahasabha President V. D. Savarkar. Writing about Savarkar, the man who coined the term "*Hindutva*," Tilak states,

Savarkar's definition of *Hindutva* is dynamic, not static as many of his detractors conceive it to be. It is compatible with, and accommodative of, the migration of Hindus beyond India that is happening right now. The only geographical limit of *Hindutva*, as such, is the limit imposed upon the earth itself.^{clxx}

Along with Ved Nanda and others, Tilak joined a letter inviting Modi to San Jose, CA in September 2015.^{clxxi}

Dr. Subhash Kak (2 "Experts' Meetings") is Regents Professor and Head of Computer Science Department at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater. He is the author of a number of books, including *The Astronomical Code of the Rigveda*. He has also been a faculty member of the Hindu University of America.

According to a 2001 article in *Outlook* magazine, Kak possesses "a vitriolic hatred of majority opinions about ancient Indian history in the scholarly community, and a desire to replace it with a completely different view."^{clxxii} Regarding Kak's academic credentials, American mathematician Alan Sokal writes, "Subhash Kak, a professor of

electrical and computer engineering... and one of the leading intellectual luminaries of the Hindu-nationalist diaspora, claims to find ‘astronomical codes’ in the *Rig Veda*’s descriptions of ritual fire altars.”^{clxxiii} Kak continues to propagate ideas about Vedic science. For instance, in 2016, he spoke at the Arya Samaj, DAV Public School in New Delhi about “Ancient Indian Scientific Concepts.”^{clxxiv}

Dr. Veena Howard (3 “Experts’ Meetings”) is a Professor of Philosophy at California State University, Fresno, where she teaches Asian Religious Traditions including Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism.

In one of her scholarly articles, Howard defends “the laws of *dharma* — laws prescribed by Sacred texts — as guidelines to ensure that one behaves in such a way that respects the other.” Specifying the source of these laws, she writes, “The *Manu Smriti (Laws of Manu)* describes in great detail how to avoid the actions which harm others.” She further quotes *Manusmriti* to defend her theory that one should [see] the other not as other but as one’s own self.”^{clxxv}

Dr. Yashwant Pathak (5 “Experts’ Meetings”) is a Professor of Pharmacy and an Associate Dean at University of South Florida, Co-founder of the *ICCS*, a Trustee for the *DCF*, an Advisor to the *HEF*, an Advisor to *Sewa International*, former International Coordinator of the *HSS*, and an affiliate of the Hindu University of America.

One of Pathak's most active organizations is the *ICCS*. Belgian Indologist Koenraad Elst, who writes in defense of *Hindutva*, describes the pharmacist as "RSS activist Yashwant Pathak." He further reports, "The *ICCS* was founded in Nagpur in 1994 by Prof. S.W. Bakhle. [*Organiser* 2011] Nagpur, near the geographical heart of India, is where the headquarters of the Hindu nationalist movement Rāstriya Svayamsevak Sangh (RSS, National Volunteer Corps, °1925) lie. It is also where co-founder Yashwant Pathak studied before relocating to London, Jerusalem and finally the US."^{clxxvi}

The goal of the *ICCS* is "to cultivate strong bonds with native communities of Africa, Australasia, Europe, North America, South America and South-East Asia."^{clxxvii} Elst writes, "Pathak personally worked in tribal areas of India.... Strengthening contacts with the tribals was also a pet project of the late RSS leader Moropant Pingle, who helped Yashwant Pathak in his tribal contacts." In 2012, speaking at the *ICCS*'s fourth triennial conference in Haridwar, Pathak says, "We are exploring having some youth camps on the RSS line [among tribal communities outside India]."^{clxxviii} The conference's keynote speaker was Mohan Bhagwat. In 2015, Pathak again spoke alongside Bhagwat at the fifth triennial conference in Mysore.

Single Appearance Experts. These single appearance "experts" all share an ideological link with each other

as well as those who have been present at recurring annual meetings.

Dr. Aseem Shukla is Co-Founder and a Director of the *Hindu American Foundation (HAF)* and husband of *HAF* Executive Director, Suhag Shukla. In 2012, when U.S. Congressmembers attempted to maintain a visa ban for Narendra Modi, Shukla alleged, “American legislators [are] disrespecting the free and fair democratic ballot in India.” Referring to the 2002 Gujarat Genocide, he asks, “Is a decade-old riot the only contemporary human rights issue deserving a coalition of the concerned?”^{clxxxix} After Modi was denied a visa, Shukla claims, “Modi, objectified as a pariah, ingeniously grew his stature under the ugly glare.... Modi was rendered a victim, and in refusing to grovel, his stature simply grew.”^{clxxx} When Modi visited San Jose, CA in September 2015, Shukla led a letter of invitation, stating,

Under Prime Minister Modi, India’s civilizational contributions of yoga, spirituality, religious pluralism, art, and music are enjoying renewed patronage and public acceptance globally.... We welcome Prime Minister Modi to the United States and look forward to a mutually rewarding and productive dialogue between the United States and India.^{clxxxi}

Shukla was in Gujarat around the time of the genocide. In one article from 2002, he denies State complicity in 2002 but admits that police “may have participated with the rioters” because they were “blinded by the rage of the moment.” He calls accusations of complicity, “A witch-hunt aimed at discrediting an opposing ideology.”^{clxxxii} In another 2002 article, he offers justifications for the mobs who perpetrated the genocide, writing, “Patience and restraint were demanded of us yet again — another bitter brutality was only to be ignored.” He describes how he witnessed, “building in the streets of Gujarat,” an “*Impotent Rage*. Impotent, for there was no outlet to a rage that was just.” Despite 2,000 Muslim deaths, he asks, “What of a wounded Hindu psyche perpetually wandering for even the most superficial of redresses?” The blame, he insists, lay solely on the Muslim population, writing, “Muslim provocateurs started... the Bombay riots in 1992, and they had succeeded in shattering communal calm in 2002.”^{clxxxiii}

Furthermore, Shukla supports Indian laws criminalizing religious conversion without State permission and an amendment to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights stating a right to “retain” one's religion. Shukla writes, “The violence of conversion is very real. The religious conversion is too often a conversion to intolerance.”^{clxxxiv} He has also written against Dalit activist movements, stating,

Neo-Dalit activism seems less the political activism of a neglected minority within the Indian American diaspora, but rather an identitarian ideological movement seeking to overthrow the foundational basis of all Hinduism in the American context.^{clxxxv}

Dr. Harvinder Sahota is a cardiologist and former member of the Board of Directors of Claremont Lincoln University.

In 2013, when Claremont Lincoln University established a Center for Sikh Studies, Sahota was described as one of the “donors and organizers of the center.”^{clxxxvi} In 2014, the Uberoi Foundation donated \$15,000 to support creation of a “Jain and Sikh Studies Center” at Claremont. The center is now defunct. In 2015, Sahota joined the DCF’s efforts to establish religious studies chairs at U.C. Irvine. Sahota himself funded a proposed “Dhan Kaur Sahota Presidential Chair in Sikh Studies,” named after his mother. The entire program was rejected in 2016 after university faculty and students objected that DCF is linked to the RSS.

In 2015, Sahota joined the Uberoi Foundation in creation of LMU’s Jain & Sikh Professorship, which Nirinjan Khalsa describes as “envisioned and brought to fruition by... Dr. Harvinder Singh Sahota.”^{clxxxvii} In 2017, Sahota attempted to place a turban on the head of Indian Consul General Venkatesan Ashok at an LMU seminar commemorating the 350th birthday of Guru Gobind Singh.

Dr. Gurleen Grewal is an Associate Professor of English and Founding Director of the Center for India Studies (now defunct) at the University of South Florida. In 2011, she and Yashwant Pathak jointly received a grant from the Uberoi Foundation to host a conference on “Eastern and Indigenous Perspectives on Sustainability and Conflict Resolution.”^{clxxxviii} Pathak is intimately linked to the RSS since his early public life, has repeatedly spoken at RSS events in India, and is described by Koenraad Elst as “RSS activist Yashwant Pathak.”

Dr. Koenrad Elst is an Indologist and author of several books, including *Dr. Ambedkar: A True Aryan, Decolonizing the Hindu Mind: Ideological Development of Hindu Revivalism, The Saffron Swastika: The Notion of “Hindu Fascism”*, and *Who is a Hindu?: Hindu Revivalist Views of Animism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Other Offshoots of Hinduism*. In his autobiography, L.K. Advani praises Elst, stating, “His two-volume book titled *The Saffron Swastika*, marshals an incontrovertible array of facts to debunk slanderous attacks on the BJP by a section of the media.”^{clxxxix}

According to *The Times of India*, Elst is one of “a set of foreign-bred Hindutva activists, whose ideology and writing... are bringing ammunition against the left-liberal discourse and legitimising the Hindutva version of nationalism, on matters like cow protection, triple talaq and the Ram Mandir.”^{cxc} He denounces “the anti-Hindu ideology that is falsely called ‘secularism.’”^{cxc} Among his many

claims, Elst defends the *Hindutva* idea that India is a land of Hindus and for Hindus, writing,

Hinduism has been native to India, whereas Christianity and Islam are irrevocably of foreign origin... Hindus will always identify with India in a way that Christians and Muslims cannot.

MS Golwalkar came up with his oft-quoted suggestion that, if India was to be a Hindu state, Christians and Muslims could only stay there as guests, not as citizens. This deduction followed logically from the premise that India would be a state of the Hindus....

Fact is that Hindus and non-Hindus were deemed different in respect of nationhood.^{cxcii}

Elst also writes in defense of Brahmanism and attempts to equate denouncing Brahmanism with being anti-Semitic. Elst writes, “Hate mongers often need concocted stories to buttress their political message. In India, these are most common in that peculiar Indian form of hatred: anti-Brahminism... [It is] the local counterpart to what anti-Semitism has been in the West.”^{cxciii} He insists that opposition to Brahmanism is a devious fabrication of the West, claiming, “The well-spring of anti-Brahminism is doubtlessly the Christian missionaries greedy design to rope in the souls of Hindus.”^{cxciv} Furthermore, he argues, “Anti-Brahminism comes in as a helpful tool for US-

based missionaries to pit Hindus against one another along lines of caste and ethnicity.”^{cxcv}

Besides his defense of Brahmanism, Elst proposes that the caste system offered many benefits to society in the Indian subcontinent, including for those treated as low-caste. He writes,

Caste... offered a lot of communal togetherness, social security and a certain pride in one’s caste identity.... Even for the lowest castes, humiliation by higher placed people on account of caste did not outweigh the considerable benefits of belonging to at least some caste. This caste cohesion is an important reason why Hinduism could survive where the cultures of West Asia disappeared under the onslaught of Islam.^{cxcvi}

Elst also emphatically and repeatedly insists that Sikhs are Hindus. “Guru Nanak was every inch a Hindu,” he writes.^{cxcvii} “Indian Buddhists are part of Hindu society. That equally counts for the Jain, Sikh and, indeed, Shaiva communities.”^{cxcviii} Writing about Guru Tegh Bahadur’s martyrdom, he describes the Guru as a “Hindu sect leader” and states, “He was not a Sikh defending Hinduism, but a Hindu of the Nanakpanth defending his own Hindu religion.”^{cxcix} About Guru Gobind Singh, he writes, “Guru Govind Singh was cent per cent a Hindu and founded the Sikh militant order to serve and defend Hindu

Dharma.”^{cc} Furthermore, he adds, “To take Sikhism as a separate religion, after summarizing its genesis as a sect within the Hindu movement... is another compromise with prevailing opinion. The scholarly but isolating view is that this is simply a Hindu sect.”^{cci} Elsewhere, he summarizes his opinion “from a Hindutva viewpoint,” writing,

It is only a dogma of the Nehruvians, including the separatist section among the Sikhs, that Sikhi is a separate religion. From a scholarly viewpoint, of course Sikhs are Hindus: all Indian “unbelievers” were called just that by the Muslim invaders who introduced the very term “Hindu”.... From a *Hindutva* viewpoint, Sikhs are Hindus just as Buddhists, Tribals and other Indian religionists are. That precisely is what “the unity of all Hindus” means.^{ccii}

Elst concurs with Rajiv Malhotra when, in 2014, he states, “The Uberoi Foundation may genuinely be characterized as strongly ‘Hindutva.’”^{cciii}

Dr. Mihir Meghani is Co-Founder and Chairman of the Hindu American Foundation. He is one of its larger supporters, donating \$100,000 in 2016 to fund HAF’s “textbook reform” campaign.^{cciv} He also has a decades-long connection relationship with the RSS.

In 1990, Meghani founded the Hindu Student Council (HSC), which was sponsored by the VHP. In 1993, for instance, VHP General Secretary Ashok Singhal states, “The first project we have in mind is strengthening the Hindu Student Council.”^{ccv} According to the VHP-A website, the group has “initiated many projects,” including the HSC. The website states, “It was started in 1990 as the youth wing of VHPA.”^{ccvi} The VHP website states, “VHP of America has served as an incubator for many organizations: Hindu University of America, Hindu Student Council....”^{ccvii}

While in medical school in 1995, Meghani attended the second Vishwa Sangh Shibir at Vadodara, Gujarat. According to a press release by the HSS,

This Shibir (camp) was conducted on RSS ideology for NRI workers, who despite being away, are exerting hard to keep the Hindus united, undertake SEWA projects, promote *Hindutava*.... Aptly titled as “Vishwa Sangh Shibir 95”, all its delegates were from several affiliated organisations of RSS, which operate abroad as Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh, Sewa International, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Hindu Students Council, Friends of India Society International, etc.^{ccviii}

While in India, Meghani also joined an RSS project, writing, “A delegation of 30 were touring the state of Maharashtra as part of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's project, *Bharat Mera Ghar* (‘India is My Home’).” Praising RSS projects to reach out to tribal groups, he argues, “Today, as tribal communities are strengthening their identities, there is a need to reaffirm to them that they are an integral part of Hindu society.”

In 1998, Meghani authored an essay titled, “Hindutva: The Great Nationalist Ideology.” His essay praises “innumerable groups and leaders who made their own distinct contribution to Hindu society,” including “Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh... Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bharatiya Janata Party, and others.” Remarking specifically upon *Hindutva*, he writes,

This movement, *Hindutva*, is changing the very foundations of Bharat and Hindu society the world over.... *Hindutva* awakened the Hindus to the new world order where nations represented the aspirations of people united in history, culture, philosophy, and heroes.... The future of Bharat is set. *Hindutva* is here to stay. It is up to the Muslims whether they will be included in the new nationalistic spirit of Bharat. It is up to the government and the Muslim leadership whether they wish to increase Hindu furor or work with the Hindu leadership to show that Muslims and the government will consider Hindu sentiments.^{ccix}

Dr. Murali Balaji is the Director of Education and Curriculum Reform for the Hindu American Foundation and former Chair of the Department of Mass Communications at Lincoln University. Balaji's position with HAF was created in 2013 with funding by the Uberoi Foundation.

Balaji's primary work with HAF has been to lead the "textbook reform" campaign. In that capacity, he's responsible for articulating the key aspects of HAF's demands. Chief among these demands is to delink caste from Hinduism and teach that caste is a social phenomenon, not a Hindu religious belief, which is comparable to other social systems found around the world.

In 2017, for instance, Balaji protests, "Hinduism's critics have consistently cherry-picked parts of scripture they believe uphold their arguments. As such, it strips the idea of caste of its complexity." Instead of opposing caste, he makes the fine distinction of insisting that caste is not hierarchical and that *caste discrimination* is wrong. Thus, he writes, "There have been Hindus who have used scriptures to justify a more hierarchical view of caste. But for every one of them, there are countless more who argue... that caste discrimination went against the very moral fiber of Hindu teachings."

Balaji argues, "The *Vedas*... idealized a well-functioning society based upon the contributions of four temperaments known as varnas." Employing the same claims

made in demands for "textbook reform," he states, "A complex ordering of society known as the *jatis* appeared, and over time they became entwined with the idea of *varnas*. *Jatis* were social classes based on one's occupation, had no connection to any religious texts or scriptures." Thus, he insists upon a distinction between *jati* and *varna*, while defending *varna* and without denouncing *jati*. Furthermore, he writes, "Varnas were not birth based and rigid.... Social mobility occurred far more frequently in the Vedic period and into the common era than what many believe."^{ccx}

Paramacharya Sadasivanathaswami is Editor-in-Chief of *Hinduism Today* magazine and a resident monk at Kauai's Hindu Monastery, known as the Himalayan Academy.

In his writings and activities, he frequently praises or works with top *Hindutva* leaders. For instance, he spoke at the 2014 World Hindu Congress in New Delhi alongside Amit Shah, Mohan Bhagwat, and Ashok Singhal. At the congress, he states about the Prime Minister, "Modi is a competent and intelligent man. Unfortunately, a section of the Indian foreign media is dismissive of his presence on the Indian political scene."^{ccxi}

Rishi Bhutada is Treasurer of the Hindu American Foundation, a former leader of the Hindu Student Council, and a former Director of the VHP-A's annual Hindu Heritage Youth Camp. Bhutada comes from a family of *Hindutva* activists. His father, Ramesh Bhutada, is the

former National Vice-President of the HSS and a Director of Sewa International.

In his work with HAF, Bhutada articulates the same perspective as Balaji regarding “textbook reform.” He also makes the fine distinction of insisting that caste is not hierarchical, and that *caste discrimination* is wrong and insists that textbooks must delink caste from Hinduism and teach that caste is a social phenomenon, not a Hindu religious belief.

For instance, Bhutada writes, “We at HAF are clear that caste-based discrimination is wrong and needs to end. However, we are also clear that caste-based discrimination is a social evil, cutting across all religions in South Asia and the South Asian diaspora, and is not sanctioned in Hindu scripture.” While denouncing textbooks which teach a connection between caste and Hinduism, he simultaneously denounces Sikh activists for not taking up his cause, writing, “The negative conflation of caste with Hinduism correlates with deleterious outcomes for Hindu students. Organizations like the Sikh Coalition, which has done a lot to combat bullying in schools of Sikh children, would seemingly undercut their own legitimacy by ignoring these results in order to pursue their own ideological agenda.”^{ccxii}

Dr. Saumitra Gokhale is International Coordinator for the HSS, an Advisor to the ICCS, an Advisor to Sewa International.

According to a biography of Gokhale, “He worked as a pracharak (full-time worker) of RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) for 4+ years in India. Since 1999 onwards, he has been working as a pracharak of HSS (Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh) in Caribbean countries, Canada and the United States of America.”^{ccxiii} Speaking at Sanatan Dharma Temple in Norwalk, CA in 2016, Gokhale states, “Sangh activities are happening world-wide.... For our activities outside of Bharat, the source of inspiration remains the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.”^{ccxiv}

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4. UF Grants

According to the most recent publicly available tax returns for the Foundation, it ended Fiscal Year 2015 with \$7,418,000 in assets. Since its inception, the Foundation's primary expenditures are in the form of grants. From 2010 to 2012, the Foundation annually spent \$200,000 or more, primarily on grants. Although no details are publicly available for 2016-2017, detailed expenditures are available for 2013 to 2015:

- **2015:** *\$286,000*
- **2014:** *\$212,478*
- **2013:** *\$197,500*

The longest-running and single largest grants are to the University of Massachusetts - Dartmouth (UMD) Foundation. It was the first institution to receive a grant from the Foundation and the only grant recipient which has received grants every single year since the Foundation began making grants in 2009. Since 2011, it has received a total of \$205,000 (according to figures gathered from a combination of tax returns and news reports), all but \$10,000 of which is earmarked for "teacher training."

Between 2013 and 2015, the largest total grant amount was to the Institute of Advanced Sciences (IAS), the second largest total amount was to the Himalayan Academy (HA), and the third largest total amount was to the Hindu

American Foundation (HAF). Most of these grants are earmarked for “textbook reform” and “teacher training.” Separate sections on these projects will follow.

Funding of the Jain & Sikh Professorship at LMU and Centers for Jain and Sikh Studies at Claremont Lincoln University in Southern California (which no longer appears to exist) are additional significant expenditures.

Available specifics regarding the size, date, and purpose of grants to recurring recipients are listed below:

California State University Long Beach Foundation (Key Participant: Shiva Bajpai)

- 2015. \$20,000. TeachIndia! Project at CSU Long Beach and CSU Northridge.
- 2014. \$11,000. TeachIndia! Project.
- 2013. \$22,000. TeachIndia! Project.
- 2012. Amount unknown. TeachIndia! Project.

Total: \$53,000

Hindu American Foundation (Key Participant: Murali Bajpai)

- 2015. \$30,000. Sponsorship of HAF’s Director of Education and Curriculum Reform position, which is filled by Dr. Murali Balaji.
- 2014. \$35,000. Director of Education and Curriculum Reform position.
- 2013. \$30,000. Director of Education and Curriculum Reform position.

- 2012. Amount unknown. Dharma Education Outreach Efforts.

Total: \$95,000

Himalayan Academy (Key Participants: Arumuganathaswami & Bajpai)

- 2015. \$15,000. California Textbook Reform Project.
- 2015. \$15,000. Documentary on “Hindu India.”
- 2015. \$11,000. TeachIndia! Project.
- 2014. \$28,000. California Textbook Reform Project.
- 2014. \$20,000. Documentary on “Hindu India.”
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- 2013. \$25,000. Documentary on “Hindu India.”

Total: \$117,000

Hindu University of America (Key Participant: Abhinav Dwivedi)

- 2015. \$10,000. “Teachers Empowerment on Hindu Dharma” - Teacher Training Program.
- 2014. \$10,000. Teacher Training Program.
- 2012. Amount unknown. Hindu Perspective of Ageing, Death, Dying, and Euthanasia.

Total: \$20,000

Institute of Advanced Sciences (Key Participant: Bal Ram Singh)

- 2015. \$25,000. Teacher Training in USA.
- 2015. \$45,000. Teacher Training in India.

- 2014. \$40,000. Teacher Training in India.
- 2014. \$9,978. “Vedic Tradition Program” - Teacher Training Program.

Total: \$119,978

Loyola Marymount University (Key Participants: Nirinjan Khalsa & Chris Chapple)

- 2015. \$35,000. Establishment of Sikh and Jain Studies Professorship.
- 2015. \$15,000. Summer School for Jain Studies.
- 2015. \$7,500. Yoga Studies Program.
- 2014. \$17,500. Master’s of Arts in Yoga Studies.
- 2013. \$10,000. Master’s of Arts in Yoga Studies.

Total: \$85,000

University of Massachusetts - Dartmouth (Key Participants: Bal Ram Singh & Rajiv Malhotra)

- 2013. \$65,000. Teacher training in Dharmic Traditions.
- 2013. \$10,000. Study of Indigenous Social-Economic Institutions of the Vedic Tradition.
- 2012. \$30,000. Teacher training in Dharmic Traditions.
- 2012. Amount unknown. Study of Vedic Traditions.
- 2012. Amount unknown. Books by Malhotra.
- 2011. \$100,000. Teacher training in Dharmic Traditions.
- 2011. Amount unknown. Books by Malhotra.
- 2011. Amount unknown. Science and Vedanta Symposium.

- 2010. Amount unknown. Teacher training in Dharmic Traditions.

Total: \$205,000

University of Michigan (Key Participant: Dr. Arvind-Pal Mandair)

- 2015. \$5,000. Punjabi Translations of Mandair books.
- 2014. \$4,000. Creation of Indian Religions Encyclopedia.
- 2014. \$18,000. Teaching Sikhism Workshop.
- 2012. Amount unknown. 7-Day Sikh Seminar.
- 2011. Amount unknown. Teaching Sikhism Workshop

Total: \$27,000

Southern CA School of Theology (Key Participants: Rita Sherma & Veena Howard)

- 2014. \$15,000. Creation of Center for Jain and Sikh Studies.
- 2013. \$10,000. Ahimsa High School Teachers Program in India.
- 2012. Amount Unknown. Dharma Studies Publishing Project

5. UF Teacher Training Program

The Uberoi Foundation's "Teacher Training Program" is its flagship project. It received grant funding in 2010 when Dr. Bal Ram Singh, working out of UMass Dartmouth, was approved to lead a project for "High School Teacher Training in Dharmic Traditions." According to reports by the Foundation:

The Uberoi Foundation sponsored a pilot program held at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth campus, during the summers of 2009 and 2010. The intended audience for the program was high school teachers, and the objective was to broaden the teachers' views of India as a country and, in particular, of the Dharmic traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism.^{ccxv}

Since 2010, the Teacher Training Program is the only project which has always received annual funding. Entities which receive funding for the program include:

- UMass Dartmouth (at least \$205,000 from 2010-2015)
- IAS (\$119,978 from 2014-2015)
- CSU Long Beach Foundation (at least \$53,000 from 2012-2015)
- Hindu University (\$20,000 from 2014-2015)
- Southern CA School of Theology (\$10,000 in 2013)

Figures who are closely associated with the Foundation and who lead the programs which are receiving funding include Dr. Bal Ram Singh, Shiva Bajpai, Abhinav Dwivedi, and Sulekh Jain.

The first three are intimately linked with *Hindutva* ideology. Singh's IAS regularly hosts the Vedanta Congress, at which top RSS leaders are keynote speakers. Bajpai has worked for "textbook reform," including demanding revisionist accounts of caste which deny it is based on birth. Dwivedi is Advisor for Fundraising for HEF, which focuses on "textbook reform" and is a project of the HSS.

In 2012, *The Standard-Times* reported on UMass Dartmouth's Teacher Training Program, which received \$30,000 in 2012. According to reports, "Teachers have become gurus of Indian culture by learning to sidestep myths and controversy at an intense five-day training program hosted by the Center for Indic Studies at UMass Dartmouth. The week-long program immersed teachers from nearby high schools in 12 hours a day of Indian religion, culture, and history."

Both Ved Nanda and Katharine Nanda commented on the event. "We're just trying to correct the misconceptions," says Ved. "Within the next year or two, it's in the works to move it past this campus," says Katharine.^{ccxvi}

Since then, Bal Ram Singh has developed the program, which is now formally hosted at Bridgewater State University (about 30 miles north of UMass Dartmouth). His

program website, “Perspectives on Teaching India for the K-12 Classroom” describes the program. One of the most interesting aspects is that teachers are paid to participate.

The *Perspectives* workshop is a five-day funded and credited professional development experience for K-12 teachers whose curriculum requires them to teach subject matter related to India in their classroom.

The workshop has existed in one form or another since 2010.... The workshop has trained upwards of 100 teachers.... Teachers receive on-campus full board and meals at Bridgewater State University, transportation cost reimbursement from the workshop, and a \$500 professional development stipend.^{ccxvii}

In 2016 (possibly earlier), the Foundation expanded its program to include a 3-week sponsored trip to India. According to reports by the IAS, “The Uberoi Foundation Fellowship program for teachers is being expanded into Uberoi Teacher Training India program to provide a natural and real immersive experience to teachers.”^{ccxviii} The program included training sessions at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Dev Sanskriti University, and Guru Nanak Dev University.

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6.UF Textbook Reform Program

The Uberoi Foundation's involvement in campaigns for "Textbook Reform" began in 2013 (possibly earlier) with its funding of a project led by Acharya Arumuganathaswami for "Review of California School Textbook Framework for Bias[ed] Treatment of Hinduism." According to reports by the Foundation:

The project seeks to engage in the State Revision of (the curricular) Framework for grades K-12 Revision Process.... The project, under the direction of Shiva Bajpai, will take up work on the proposed Framework revision and make recommendations through proper channels. Dr. Bajpai will coordinate with Khanderao Kand and the Hindu American Foundation to generate both public and scholarly support for the project's campaign to right the wrongs and introduce substantive changes on Hinduism especially, but also on Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism in the textbooks on World Civilizations.^{ccxix}

The *Hindutva* links of Bajpai, Kand (who led the 2015 San Jose, CA event hosting Modi), and the founders of the HAF are well-established. Since 2013, funding for the "Textbook Reform Program" has continued and expanded. Entities which receive funding for this program include:

- Himalayan Academy (\$36,000 from 2013-2015)
- Hindu American Foundation (\$95,000 from 2013-2015)

Understanding what the Uberoi Foundation interprets as “biased treatment of Hinduism” or “righting the wrongs” requires a brief analysis of some of the core framework and textbook edits which the Uberoi Foundation suggested. Suggestions for framework edits were submitted by Arumuganathaswami and Bajpai in November 2014.^{ccxx} Additional suggestions for textbook edits were submitted in March 2016.^{ccxxi} Following are a representative selection of highlights (struck-out words indicate phrases which were not just altered but rather simply deleted from original):

- **Framework - Inclusion of mythical “Saraswati” river/society.** Original sentences read: *“The earliest urban civilization, known as Harappan civilization after one of its cities, was centered in the Indus River valley, though its cultural style spread widely from present-day Afghanistan to west central India. The Indus River and its tributaries flow from the Himalaya mountains.... The Indus River and its tributaries flow from the Himalaya mountains.... The valley soil was not only rich but extended over about 250,000 square miles.”* Edited sentences read: *“The earliest urban civilization is known as Harappan, after the first city excavated at the*

site. The Harappan civilization was present in the Indus and Sarasvati River valleys. Its cultural style spread from the Himalayas in the north to the Indus and Sarasvati deltas in the south.... Both the Indus River and the Sarasvati originate in the Himalaya mountains.... The Indus-Sarasvati valley soil was not only rich but extended over about 285,000 square miles.”

- **Framework - Inclusion of mythical “Saraswati” river/society and inclusion of mention of yoga being “discovered” in ancient artifacts.** Original sentences read: *“In the Indus River region....”* Edited sentences read: *“In the Indus and Sarasvati River region.... Artifacts include... seals [which] have writing on them which remains undeciphered and show deities, ceremonies, symbols and sacred plants and trees related to Hindu practices. One seal shows a meditating figure seated in a yoga posture that most scholars link to God Shiva.”*
- **Framework - Inclusion of “Aryans” as “noble ones” and inclusion of mythical “Saraswati” river/society with *Rig Veda* used as historical evidence.** Original sentence read: *“In this period, a group known historically as Indo-Aryans (also Aryans) came to control much of India.”* Edited sentences read: *“The people who composed the Rig Veda in Sanskrit were called Aryans (‘noble ones’). They lived in the ‘Land of the*

Seven Rivers, ' which corresponds to the Harappan/Indus-Sarasvati region. The Rig describes the Sarasvati as 'the most mighty of rivers' flowing from the Himalayas to the ocean. Therefore the Rig had to be composed before 2000 BCE, by which time the river had dried up. ”

- **Framework - Denial of the existence of “Brahmanism” and inclusion of the idea that Brahmanical practices were accepted by ancient society.** Original sentences read: *“In this era, Brahmanism emerged as a belief system that combined Indo-Aryan beliefs with those of older populations. Brahmins, that is, priestly families who claimed Indo-Aryan ancestry, assumed authority over complex devotional rituals. The brahmin class expounded the idea of the oneness of all living things and of Brahman as the divine principle of being.”* Edited sentences read: *“By 600 BCE the social, religious, and philosophical ideas and practices central to early Hinduism are fully evident and in continuity with the Harappan culture and the teachings and ceremonial worship of the Vedas. Nineteenth-century historians spoke of a priest-dominated religion at this time called Brahmanism, but this concept has been discarded.... Brahman, the Supreme God, is defined in scripture as immanent (present throughout the world) and transcendent (beyond it as well).”*

- **Framework - Removal of mention of caste as hierarchical, inclusion of the idea that caste is not based on birth, and justification of caste as providing “stability.”** Original sentences read: *“The main social categories, known as varnas, were priests; warriors; farmers, artisans, and merchants; dependent laborers; and, by 500 CE or earlier, dalits, or ‘untouchables.’ This class system became distinctive over the centuries for being especially complex and formal, involving numerous prohibitions that kept groups ritually separated from one another. Because these divisions became particularly rigid, scholars have classified the hierarchy as a caste system.”* Edited sentences read: *“This system, often termed caste, provided remarkable stability to society and noteworthy identity to each community. The Vedas also describe four main social categories, known as varnas, namely: Brahmins (priests); Kshatriyas (kings and warriors); Vaishyas (merchants, artisans and farmers) and Sudras (peasants and laborers). A person belonged to a particular varna by his professional excellence and his good conduct, not by birth itself. In addition, by 500 CE or earlier, there existed certain communities outside this system, the ‘Untouchables.’”* In explanation for erasing the word “Dalit,” the Uberoi Foundation writes (underlining added), *“We have deleted the 20th-century political term dalit, which encompasses a much larger group in which true Untouchables are a small minority. Dalit is not a term from*

Sanskrit, nor from Hindu social history but a contemporary political construct to gain leverage mostly in elections and for economic concessions.”

- **Framework - Removal of ideas of “compassion” and moral prohibitions in description of Buddhism.**
Original sentence read: “*Buddhism’s fundamental ideas: ~~unselfishness; compassion for suffering; tolerance; and the prohibition of killing, lying, stealing, and gossiping.~~*” Edited sentence reads: “[Buddha’s] fundamental ideas: suffering, compassion and mindfulness.”
- **Textbook - Removal of mention of Dravidian languages, including Tamil and Telugu, and inclusion of mythical “Saraswati” society.** Original sentences read: “*The early Indic speakers were most likely animal herders. They may have arrived in India in scattered bands, later intermarrying with populations perhaps ancestral to those who speak Dravidian languages, such as Tamil and Telugu in southern India and Sri Lanka today.*” Edited sentences read: “*The early Indic speakers were most likely animal herders. They may have arrived in India in scattered bands, later intermarrying with the local populations. Historically, there was a significant dispersion of Harappan-Saraswati society from 1900 bc onward.*”

- **Textbook - Deletion of mention of caste as hierarchical or associated with purity.** Original sentence read: *“Success or failure at existing in harmony with dharma determines how many times an individual might be subject to reincarnation, or repeated death and rebirth at ~~either lower or higher positions of moral and ritual purity.~~”*
- **Textbook - Removal of mention of “Untouchables,” removal of association of Untouchability with caste, inclusion of the idea that Untouchability is caused by social and economic disadvantages rather than religious beliefs, and inclusion of the idea that Untouchability is no longer an issue.** Original sentence reads: *“In addition, by 500 CE or earlier, there existed certain communities outside the jati system, the “Untouchables,” who did the most unclean work, such as cremation, disposal of dead animals, and sanitation.”* Edited sentences read: *“In addition, by 500 bc or earlier, there existed certain socially and economically disadvantaged communities who did the most dirty work, such as cremation, disposal of dead animals, and sanitation. These communities were considered unclean because of their occupation. In the present day, their situation has changed both legally and socially, as it has for similarly disadvantaged communities in the West.”*

- **Textbook - Deletion of mention of caste as hierarchical or associated with purity.** Original sentence read: *“~~Relations between classes came to be expressed in terms of ritual purity or impurity, higher classes being purer than lower ones.~~”*
- **Textbook - Deletion of mention of caste as fixed.** Original sentence read: *“~~Over the centuries, the Indian social structure became more rigid.~~”*
- **Textbook - Inclusion of mention of caste as *not* originally hierarchical, inclusion of the idea that hierarchical castes were created by the British, and inclusion of idea that Bhagats such as Kabir did *not* oppose caste.** Added sentences read: *“Bhakti saints in the 14th and 15th centuries, such as Ramananda , Kabir and Chokhamela (of a low jati) did not directly oppose the jati system, but preached that one’s jati is no barrier to the worship of God. Organized efforts to reform the system only began in the 19th century. Oddly enough, those efforts came about as a result of British attempts to take a census counting the number of people in each jati, as well as to rank the jatis according to relative social status. This effort changed a system that was loose and fluid into one that was fixed and hierarchical. It also turned what was a community level organization into political blocks vying for influence.”*

- **Textbook - Removal of reference to Guru Nanak's opposition to Brahmanism or caste and inclusion of the idea that he opposed the Mughals (rather than the caste system).** Original sentence reads: "*Sikhism was founded by Guru Nanak, a social reformer who challenged the authority of the Brahmins and the caste order.*" Edited sentence reads: "*Sikhism was founded by Guru Nanak, a social reformer who stressed the personal worship of God, the equality of all people and challenged the power of the Mughal empire.*"

These edits were the result of the Uberoi Foundation's grants to the Himalayan Academy. While the Academy took a more academic route, the Hindu American Foundation used its grants to take a more activist route.

According to HAF, "Ensuring a fair and accurate representation of Hinduism in school textbooks and university classrooms is one arm of HAF's advocacy in academia."^{ccxxii} HAF's most successful and extensive campaign for "textbook reform" was in California, although it also conducted semi-successful campaigns in Texas and Virginia.

During the curriculum revision process in California, HAF and the Uberoi Foundation both separately submitted virtually identical suggested edits. What neither revealed was that the Uberoi Foundation was funding HAF's "textbook reform" campaign. According to an opinion in *The Indian Express*, "The Hindu American

Foundation (HAF) funded its full-time post for Director of Education and Curriculum Reform in 2013, and its 20-state curriculum reform campaign in 2014 using Uberoi Funds.”^{ccxxiii}

A few core aspects of the edits suggested by HAF include: 1) that “Teachers should make clear to students that this was a social and cultural structure, rather than a foundational religious belief”; 2) that “A person belonged to a particular varna by his professional excellence and his good conduct, not by birth itself”; and 3) “removing the common graphical misrepresentation of the ‘caste system’ as a pyramidal hierarchy.”^{ccxxiv}

In their June 2016 report, “Teaching of Hinduism in the California State School System,” Bajpai and Arumuganathaswami explain some of the reasons behind their suggested edits. In particular, they protest, “Key aspects of Hindu theology — karma, dharma, reincarnation, moksha — are made out to support caste, which is presented as an evil system imposed by priests that is without redeeming qualities.” They also insist on a distinction between “varna” and “jati [caste]” as well as insisting that varna was assigned by nature rather than birth, writing, “These two systems are only loosely related to each other.... According to scripture, a person belonged to a certain varna according to his nature, whereas jati was entirely a matter of family lineage.” Furthermore, along with arguing that caste is distinct from varna, they assert the “positive” aspects of caste, stating,

Caste (more correctly, *jati*) is always presented as entirely negative, with the focus on the bottom of the system, the untouchables, a tiny minority community through historical times, who did the most unclean work in urban life. In every society some people are at the bottom of the economic scale. The caste system actually offered at least some advantages over other social structures of the time.^{ccxxv}

These and other edits were vigorously opposed by an interfaith and inter-caste coalition called South Asian Histories For All (SAHFAs), which included activists and academics from Buddhist, Christian, Dalit, Hindu, Muslim, Ravidassia, and Sikh communities. As explained in a July 2016 article by four SAHFAs representatives — Thenmozhi Soundararajan, Anasuya Sengupta, Harjit Kaur, and Umar Malick — the erasure of the true origins of Sikhi was central to proposed edits.

The Hindu American Foundation, the Uberoi Foundation and the Hindu Education Foundation all sought to erase Sikhism’s historical defiance of Brahmin authority and the religion’s foundational resistance to the caste system.^{ccxxvi}

An article in *The Caravan* magazine exposes the collaborative nature of the demands for “textbook reform.”

Linking the Uberoi Foundation, HEF, and HAF — all of which share leadership or funding sources — *Caravan* editor Aria Thaker writes,

HAF, HEF, and the Uberoi Foundation all requested the removal of a sentence that contextualized caste as a social-science term for a ‘particularly unbending social structure, for example, slave-holding society in the American south before the Civil War.’ These same groups also took issue with a description of how the founder of Sikhism, the guru Nanak, “challenged the authority of the Brahmins and the caste order.’ All three groups proposed similar edits, swapping the phrase for more generic lines that did not reference caste or Brahminical authority.^{ccxxvii}

Dalit-American activist Thenmozhi Soundarajan identifies both *Hindutva*, the Uberoi Foundation, and several of the Foundation’s closest affiliates to the demands for “textbook reform.” She also identifies the demands as a call for revisionist history. In 2016, she writes,

California’s textbooks are once again an ideological battleground. Ground zero is the State Board of Education in Sacramento, where the nation’s leading conservative Hindu groups are hell-bent on rewriting history. This embittered alliance, led by the Hindu American Foundation (HAF), and including the

Hindu Education Foundation (HEF), Uberoi Foundation (UF) and Dharma Civilization Foundation (DCF), are conspiring to weave ideological agendas into the state's history and social science frameworks.^{ccxxviii}

In the June 2016 report by Bajpai and Arumuganathaswami, which they describe as “A Research Project Commissioned and Funded by: The Uberoi Foundation,” the authors flatly deny Soundarjan's conclusion that their suggested edits are intended to “weave ideological agendas into the state's history and social science frameworks.” Writing in protest, they state,

During this contentious period, any Hindu or Hindu organization objecting to the textbooks was labeled a “Hindu nationalist,” “Hindu fundamentalist” or advocate of “*Hindutva*” by a coalition of academics and activists who were purportedly defending the rights of India's minorities.... The edits... requested by Hindus were challenged, amid baseless accusations of ‘Hindu fundamentalism.’^{ccxxix}

However, as demonstrated, campaigns for “Textbook Reform” by the Hindu American Foundation and the Himalayan Academy were funded by the Uberoi Foundation. The chairman of the Uberoi Foundation is Ved Nanda, who simultaneously serves as Director of the

Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh. The Hindu Education Foundation is a subsidiary project of the HSS.

Nanda co-founded the HSS, in conjunction with the brother of former RSS *Sarsanghchalak* Sudarshan, after his initial membership with the RSS, ABVP, and VHP. As the HSS itself states, “Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh... owes its inspiration to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.”^{ccxxx} In 2015, *The Times of India* describes HSS as “the overseas wing of the Hindu nationalist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).”^{ccxxxii} Furthermore, in 2016, HSS Joint International Coordinator Ravi Kumar states, “Our soul is connected with the RSS. We take inspiration from it. The RSS is our role model. We seek its guidance on crucial issues.”^{ccxxxii}

Despite this unbroken and direct trail by which the Uberoi Foundation can be traced back to the RSS, Bajpai and Arumuganathaswami use their Uberoi-funded platform to insist it is an outrageous, “baseless accusation” to link demands for “Textbook Reform” to *Hindutva*.

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7. UF Affiliated Organizations

1. Dharma Civilization Foundation (DCF). Founded in 2012.

The *India Journal* describes the DCF as “mostly a brain-child of Dr. Manohar Shinde, who has been on the teaching faculty of UCLA’s medical school and Shiva Bajpai who was faculty at Cal State Northridge.”^{ccxxxiii}

The DCF claims its “spiritual patron” is Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1930-2015). The swami is described as “Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s spiritual guru.”^{ccxxxiv} In 1964, he wrote the VHP’s draft constitution. VHP International Joint General Secretary Surendra Jain states, “Swami (Dayananda) Saraswati is our inspiration.” When he died in 2015, his cremation was attended Ashok Singhal, Mohan Bhagwat, and BJP National General Secretary Ram Madhav.^{ccxxxv}

According to the DCF website, “Swami Dayananda Saraswati, from the very first moment, has been very enthusiastic about the initiatives being taken by Dharma Civilization Foundation. He has taken a keen interest in the Foundation’s activities and has guided DCF.” In its tribute to the Swami, posted upon his death, the DCF states, “Swami Dayananda Saraswati was a great visionary and global leader.”^{ccxxxvi}

UF “experts” associated with DCF include:

- Dr. Manohar Shinde (Board of Governors)

- Dr. Rita Sherma (Donor)
- Dr. Shiva Bajpai (Board of Trustees)
- Dr. Yashwant Pathak (Board of Trustees)

2. Himalayan Academy (HA). Also known as Kauai's Hindu Monastery. Founded in 1970.

Sivaya Subramuniaswami, born Robert Hansen (1927-2001), founded the HA. The HA is used synonymously with Kauai's Hindu Monastery and oversees the quarterly publication of *Hinduism Today* magazine.

The HA receives grants from UF. UF "experts" associated with HA include:

- Acharya Arumuganathaswami (resident monk)
- Paramacharya Sadasivanathaswami (resident monk)

3. Hindu American Foundation (HAF). Founded in 2003.

The HAF was founded by (among others) Mihir Meghani, Aseem Shukla, and his wife, Suhag Shukla. The HAF is one of the key participants in the "textbook reform" campaign in California, tracing back to 2005.

The HAF receives grants from UF. UF "experts" associated with HA include:

- Aseem Shukla (Co-Founder)
- Samir Kalra (Senior Director)
- Mihir Meghani (Co-Founder, Chairman)

- Murali Balaji (Director of Education and Curriculum Reform)
- Rishi Bhutada (Treasurer)

4. Hindu Education Foundation (HEF). Founded in 2004.

As reported on the HSS website, the “Hindu Education Foundation [is a program] of Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh USA.” According to HEF literature,

Although Hindu presence and influence is visible, misconceptions about India in general and about Hinduism and Hindus in particular prevail among the general public as well as in academic settings. Hindu Education Foundation, an educational project of Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh, strives to replace these various misconceptions with a correct representation of India and Hinduism.^{ccxxxvii}

As phrased by a 2006 *Christian Science Monitor* article, “The Hindu Education Foundation (HEF), was founded in 2004 by a branch of the right-wing Indian group the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.”^{ccxxxviii} The HEF is one of the key participants in the “textbook reform” campaign in California, tracing back to 2005.

UF “experts” associated with HEF include:

- Abhinav Dwivedi (Advisor)

- Khanderao Kand (Coordinator)
- Shrinivas Tilak (Coordinator)
- Yashwant Pathak (Advisor)
- Ved Nanda (Advisor)

5. Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh USA (HSS). Founded in 1989.

The HSS is the overseas branch of the RSS. As reported in *The Times of India*, the “USA is one of 39 countries where HSS runs shakhas.” RSS leader Ramesh Subramaniam states, “We don't call it Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh overseas. It's not on Indian soil so we can't use the word Rashtriya. We call it Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh as it unites Hindus worldwide.”^{ccxxxix}

UF “experts” associated with HSS include:

- Khanderao Kand (National Public Relations Coordinator)
- Manohar Shinde (Director)
- Radheyshyam Dwivedi (former Secretary)
- Saumitra Gokhale (International Coordinator)
- Ved Nanda (Sanghchalak)

6. Hindu University of America (HUA). Founded in 1989.

The HUA describes itself as providing “a unique academic environment to explore the many aspects encompassing human existence, derived from the system of

knowledge and practices popularly known as Sanatan Dharma.”

The university shares its definition of “Hindu” with *Hindutva* ideologues, stating, “The word ‘Hindu’ in the name of this university is used with a broad connotation, identifying all people who adhere to the traditions of Bhārat (i.e. India), no matter where in the world they reside.” Additionally, it identifies religions such as Sikhism as “Hindu,” stating, “HUA does not promote any one Hindu perspective, but rather strives to present all that is authentically available to study under broad terms such as Hindu, Vedic, Sanātana, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇaivism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, etc.”^{ccxi}

The VHPA website, which cites HUA as one of its accomplishments, reports, “1985 - Hindu University of America project announced.”^{ccxli} Furthermore, *Scroll* describes HUA as “the educational wing of the VHPA,” noting, “It offers courses and degrees in Hinduism, Hindu philosophy, yoga, meditation, Sanskrit and Vedic astrology.... The Vivek Welfare Educational Foundation, a Sangh-affiliate, donated \$4.2 million to the university from 2002 to 2008.”^{ccxlii}

The HUA receives grants from UF. UF “experts” associated with HEF include:

- Abhinav Dwivedi
- Subhash Kak
- Yashwant Pathak

7. *Hinduism Today* (HT) magazine. Founded in 1979.

A subsidiary of the HA, HT magazine is published quarterly from Kauai. HT describes itself as “a nonprofit educational activity of Himalayan Academy” and states as some of its goals “to foster Hindu solidarity,” “to dispel myths, illusions and misinformation about Hinduism,” and “to protect, preserve and promote the sacred Vedas and the Hindu religion.”^{ccxliii}

David Frawley, an American Hindu author and astrologer, praises HT for converting people to Hinduism while simultaneously linking the magazine to *Hindutva* groups like the VHP. Frawley writes, “The number of westerners formally becoming Hindus is slowly increasing through the efforts of organisations like Hinduism Today, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Arya Samaj.”^{ccxliv}

The *Hindutva* ideology of HT is particularly apparent through its annual “Hindu Renaissance Award,” which selects a “Hindu of the Year.” According to HT, “The Hindu of the Year Award is intended to honor one eminent religious leader who has most impacted the faith and spread its values, compassion and profundity across the globe.”^{ccxlv} Some recipients include:

- 1992. Swami Chinmayananda (1916-1993). He was the co-founder of the VHP.

- 1996. Satya Sai Baba (1926-2011). He led an ashram and was a conjurer. On his death, Mohan Bhagwat and Suresh Joshi issued a joint tribute to Sai Baba, stating, “Revered Baba had a special affection for the cause of Hindu unity and reform and always showered his choicest blessings on the activists of the RSS and VHP engaged in that mission.”^{ccxlv}
- 2007. Balagangadharanath Swamiji (1945-2013). He was a religious leader. On his death, the RSS issued its condolences. As reported by RSS outlet *Samvada*, “Sri Swamiji was closely associated with RSS, VHP since few decades. Swamiji also was guiding as Mahaposhak of Hindu Seva Prathisthan, a premier Seva organisation initiated by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.”^{ccxlvii}
- 2010. P. Parameswaran. He is a politician, activist, and author. According to *The Times of India*, he “is considered to be the senior-most Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh pracharak in Kerala and is the organization’s principal ideologues.”^{ccxlviii} Upon receiving the Hindu Renaissance Award, Parameswaran stated, “Selecting me for the coveted award is not a recognition of my services, but of the organizations such as Bharatheeya Vichara Kendram, Vivekananda Kendra, and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. It is a beacon of the acceptance of Sanathana Dharma as a perpetual solution

to the problems the humanity is facing today by the Western world.”^{ccxlix}

- 2014. Narendra Modi. He is the Prime Minister of India. On awarding him, HT reports, “Modi became a full-time pracharak for the RSS and rose through the organization’s leadership” and notes “his impact has been particularly notable on the youth, who came out in droves to elect him.” The magazine quotes VHPA President Dr. Abhaya Asthana, who states, “Hindus the world over are thrilled that there is a person at the helm of the government in India who is guided by dharma.”

UF “experts” associated with HT include:

- Acharya Arumuganathaswami
- Paramacharya Sadasivanathaswami

8. Institute of Advanced Sciences (IAS).

The IAS exists to “explore fundamental as well as applied sciences in all the disciplines related to health, agriculture, environment, and human behavior.”^{cci} In practice, it is heavily involved in sponsoring pseudo-scientific events such as the International Congress of Vedanta.

The IAS receives grants from UF. UF “experts” associated with IAS include:

- Bal Ram Singh

9. International Center for Cultural Studies (ICCS).

UF “experts” associated with ICCS include:

- Radheysham Dwivedi
- Saumitra Gokhale
- Yashwant Pathak

10. Infinity Foundation (IF).

UF “experts” associated with ICCS include:

- Arvind Sharma
- Rajiv Malhotra

11. Sewa International (SI).

UF “experts” associated with SI include:

- Manohar Shinde
- Radheysham Dwivedi
- Saumitra Gokhale
- Yashwant Pathak

12. World Association for Vedic Studies (WAVES).

UF “experts” associated with SI include:

- Bal Ram Singh
- Shiva Bajpai

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Conclusion: UF Installs a Cultural Malware Program

In May 2015, the University of California, Irvine (UCI) used a \$1.5 million donation — given by kidney specialist Dr. Ushakant Thakkar and coordinated by the Dharma Civilization Foundation — to establish the first of four planned chairs for the study of South Asian religions. The first chair was named the “Thakkar Family-Dharma Civilization Foundation Presidential Chair in Vedic and Indic Civilization Studies.” Subsequent donations, totaling \$6 million, were intended to create Chairs in Jain Studies, Sikh Studies, and one named the “Swami Vivekananda-DCF Chair in Modern India Studies.”^{ccli}

In August 2015, Dr. Harvinder Sahota donated \$1.5 million to fund creation of the Bibi Dhan Kaur Sahota Chair for Sikh Studies at UCI. Throughout that same time, Sahota was involved in creating “Sikh Studies” programs at other Southern California Universities, including the 2013 Claremont “Center for Sikh Studies” (which was later funded by UF as a “Center for Jain and Sikh Studies” and is now defunct) and the 2015 LMU “Jain & Sikh Professorship” (which was funded by UF).

The UCI chair was inaugurated in December 2017. Sahota, of course, attended the inaugural event, where he was joined by Indian Consul Venkata Ramana from the San Francisco Consulate. Speaking at the inauguration, Ramana perpetuated the perspective held by a multitude

of UF-associated “experts” — that Sikhs are Hindus. According to *India West*, referring to the 9th and 10th Sikh Gurus, Ramana “reminded the audience how the tenth Sikh Guru Gobind Singh Ji and his father Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru, sacrificed his life along with those of his four sons for the defense of the Hindu religion.”^{ccli}

This perspective — that the Sikh Gurus, who themselves repeatedly asserted their separate and distinct identity, were Hindus — was shared by the founding fathers of *Hindutva*. Savarkar, for instance, writes, “Really if any community in India is Hindu beyond cavil or criticism it is our Sikh brotherhood in the Punjab.” Expanding his assertion, he states,

The Sikh of today is the Hindu of yesterday and the Hindu of to-day may be the Sikh of tomorrow.... To the millions of our Sikh brethren, their *Hindutva* is self-evident.... As their Gurus themselves had been the children of Hindus, they would fail to understand, if not resent, any such attempt to class them as Non-Hindus.^{ccliii}

The mark of a true Sikh, asserts Savarkar, is his practice of Hinduism. Of course, the Gurus rejected key Hindu concepts such as the worship of idols, the practice of caste, or the worship of multiple forms of God. Yet, according to Savarkar,

As soon as you point at a Sikh who was true to his Guru you have automatically pointed at a Hindu who was true to the Guru for before being a Sikh he was, and yet continues to be a Hindu. So long as our Sikh brethren are true to Sikhism they must of necessity continue to be Hindus for so long must this land... remain their Fatherland and their Holyland. It is by ceasing to be Sikhs alone that they may, perhaps, cease to be Hindus.³

Golwalkar perpetuates this perspective, stating, “The great religious masters, Guru Nanak and his successors, laid the foundation of the Hindu upheaval exhibiting itself in the warlike Sikhs.”^{ccliv} Referring to the wars waged by Guru Gobind Singh and his followers, Golwalkar says, “In the Punjab was being welded that band of unconquerable Hindu heroes, the Sikhs, headed by their immortal Gurus.”^{cclv} The reality that Guru Gobind Singh fought more battles against high-caste Hindu Hill Rajas than against Muslim warlords — or that those treated as out-castes and low-castes by the Hindu caste system flocked to the Sikh banner because they found social equality within this new religion — was ignored by the RSS leader.

Like Savarkar and Golwalkar, the Norwegian mass murderer Breivik similarly found utility in denying the

unique identity of the Sikhs (as well as other Indian minorities such as Buddhists and Jains). He suggests that allowing Sikhs and others to identify as separate and distinct from Hindus gives ground to multiculturalism. Writes Breivik, “By Hindus, we mean the Four Arms of the Dharma — mainstream Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains.” As he claims,

Sikhs are considered a warrior sect of Sanatana Dharma. To a majority of Hindus: Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains are not a part of the minority but rather an integral part of Sanatana Dharma. However, anti-Dharmic, secularists and foreign media are bent upon separating each one into a separate religion. The British colonialists were the first who started to separate the four branches in order to play ‘divide and conquer’ in which they succeeded.^{cclvi}

Such was the *Hindutva*-tinged perspective pushed by the DCF as it sought to establish its academic outlets at UCI. However, by early 2016, the entire UCI scheme collapsed. Reporting in December 2015, *The Orange County Register* explains, “much is up in the air as UCI faculty and graduate students raise questions about the Foundation’s ties to Hindu nationalism.” Catherine Liu, a UCI Media Studies professor, states, “‘Dharma’ is code now for Hindu nationalism.”^{cclvii} *India West* reports “shortly af-

ter the first chair was established, faculty at UC Irvine began a petition drive protesting the endowments. A total of 391 professors from UCI and other universities throughout the world have signed an online statement, which states that DCF has ties to fundamentalist groups in India, and seeks to establish its own agenda through the gift.”^{cclviii}

Writing about the controversy in February 2016, Indian historian Vijay Prashad bluntly states, “A letter of concern from the UC Irvine Department of History points to the linkages between the DCF and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), an extreme right group based in India, and its US affiliate the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS).”⁴ Finally, UCI returned the endowment funds. Explaining its reason for rejecting the gift, the university states,

We find that association with the Dharma Civilization Foundation, the intents and views of which have been set down in public statements, is inconsistent with UCI’s core values as a public university that fosters diversity, inclusion, toleration, and respect. Further, any association with the DCF in name or funding would place restrictions on potential applicant pools in ways that run counter to academic freedom, shared governance, and faculty expertise.^{cclix}

DCF subsequently issued an outraged open letter objecting to the rejection of its gift. The letter, signed by DCF Chairman Ushakant Thakkar, protests “the [UCI] ad-hoc committee’s imputation of hidden political motivations on a respectable California-based foundation.” Thakkar flatly denies *Hindutva* links, stating, “Charges of Hindu fundamentalism and anti-pluralism are indeed baseless.... UCI’s allegation that DCF is an arm of some right wing Hindu fundamentalist organization because some of its past officers and some present members were part of RSS or HSS is totally false.”⁵

Of course, Thakkar neglected to mention that in December 2014, months before funding the Thakkar Family-DCF Chair,” he was the “chief guest” at a Southern California fundraiser for the VHP’s *Ekal Vidyalaya* program. He was also the primary donor at the event. *India West* reports, “Thakkar, in relating his passion for education and expressing his support for organizations such as Ekal [and] Dharma Civilization Foundation... pledged to match every dollar donated to Ekal by the audience. By the end of the evening, over \$75,000 in pledges had been raised — including the match by Thakkar — to support more than 200 Ekal schools.”^{cclx}

Nor did Thakkar mention that the DCF’s fundraising campaign for the proposed “Swami Vivekananda-DCF Chair in Modern India Studies” included donations from

HSS *Sanghchalak* Ved Nanda and DCF Founder Manohar Shinde. Shinde, of course, “has been active in RSS since childhood” while Nanda “has been with Sangh since the times of... Golwalkar.” Additionally, the earliest donation listed was given by HSS New Jersey. Expanding on the extensive *Hindutva* links of the DCF, Prashad writes,

The founder of the Dharma Civilization Foundation - Manohar Shinde - is an RSS-trained man who was one of the founders of the HSS. Several of its trustees (Ved Nanda, Sunil Agarwal) have been leaders of the HSS — while its Vice President, Dr. Vinod Ambashta — was the HSS Director. Vishwanathan rejects that these groups have any role in the Dharma Civilization Foundation.^{cclxi}

According to the DCF, UF is one of its “partner organizations,” which it says is “also interested in the domain of the academic study of Dharma.”^{cclxii} Some of DCF top leadership are also closely affiliated with UF, including Manohar Shinde, Rita Sherma, Shiva Bajpai, and Yashwant Pathak. The relationship between the UF and the DCF is one of hand in hand.

Where DCF failed to establish academic chairs at UCI, UF succeeded at LMU. Furthermore, UF has, through years of funding, established its influence at Claremont School of Theology, CSU Long Beach, University of Michigan, and University of Massachusetts Dartmouth.

Although Thakkar, despite contradictory evidence, protests that DCF has no association with “Hindu fundamentalism,” UF makes no such claim. Furthermore, close associates of UF specifically identify its ideological leanings. “Uberoi Foundation [is] a very explicitly *Hindutva* organization,” says Rajiv Malhotra. Koenraad Elst offers a collaborating opinion, stating, “The Uberoi Foundation may genuinely be characterized as strongly ‘Hindutva.’”

Mahinder Uberoi’s will stated that his trust was intended to support “the scholarly study of Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism, and other related religions and their music and arts.” However, by all appearances, it has instead been used to advance the agenda of *Hindutva* activists in the USA — ranging from the HSS to the HAF, the HA to the DCF, the HUA to the IAS. The Foundation’s \$8 million account has been systematically used to, often successfully, propagate an idealized version of modern India, erase the historical realities of caste, assault and malign Dalit movements, and portray Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism as sects of Hinduism.

This agenda especially manifests in attempts to control the dialogue — either at universities, by establishing academic chairs and funding academics or at primary schools, by dictating the content of textbooks. In 2015, Martha Nussbaum warned about this approach. As she writes,

For about 20 years at least, members of the Hindu community in the U.S. have been carrying on a well-funded campaign to substitute an ideological Hindu-right version of Indian history for serious historical scholarship.... India is one battleground for such ideas, since textbooks were massively rewritten during the first domination of the Hindu right, and they are now being rewritten again.^{cclxiii}

Alan Sokal describes what happened: “As part of its program for the Hinduization of Indian education, the BJP rewrote school history textbooks to excise the contributions of Muslims and other non-Hindus, and promoted university-level courses not only in Vedic Astrology (*Jyotir Vigyan*) but also in *karmakanda* (Hindu priestly rituals), *vastu shastra* (sacred architectural rules), ‘human consciousness and Yogic science,’ and ‘Vedic mathematics.’”^{cclxiv} Dalit activist Maari Zwick Maitreyi, who participated in the SAHFA campaign to stop the CSBE textbook edits, sees eery similarities between the Californian and Indian movements. “Before we even look at their motives in California, let’s look at the strange sense of *deja vu* hanging in the air,” writes Maitreyi. Elaborating, she writes,

When the Hindu right came to power in India, in 1998, the first thing they did was establish an organization called the National Curriculum Framework

(NCF). The NCF was a government-funded organization whose purpose was a total rewriting of the contents of Indian textbooks. What began from there, was a broad revisionist project that began to axe away the factual historical depictions of the subcontinent, and replace it with a fundamentalist political framing.^{cclxv}

Like Maitreyi, Nussbaum believes the American “textbook reform” are reminiscent of those conducted by the BJP in India. She identifies general ignorance aided and abetted by a failure to fact-check as key reasons for the success of such campaigns. “The U.S. is a particularly fertile ground for the struggle, since most Americans don’t know anything about India, and even second-generation Indians are often ready to believe what they are told,” writes Nussbaum.^{cclxvi}

The political — and, indeed, religious — framing which these groups are attempting to establish is, as UCI professor Catherine Liu states, one in which “‘Dharma’ is code now for Hindu nationalism.” It is a framework in which all Indians — Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, and Hindus — are treated as “Hindus” and in which, as *Hindutva* founders like Golwalkar and Hedgewar and Savarkar advocated, all other such as Christians and Muslims are treated as foreign to India. American academic Rohit Chopra concurs with this interpretation, writing,

The creation of an area of academic expertise called “dharmic” studies through philanthropy reflects an important shift in strategy of the global Hindu right, understood as a network of loosely affiliated organisations in India and elsewhere. Even if they do not share formal ties, the basic belief that Indian civilisation is defined by Hinduism is common to them.^{cclxvii}

The political-religious framework of these groups is also anti-secular and denounces any academic study of India by non-Indians. Thus, as Prashad points out, the DCF’s donation to UCI required that scholars hired with the donated funds must “imbibe the spirit of Hindu Ethos in their personal lives” and not be “confused and distorted by secularism.”^{cclxviii} Elaborating further, Chopra explains, “Underlying all this is the belief that authentic ‘practicing’ Hindus must control representation of Hinduism, whether within India or globally, and the nativist grouse that Hindu civilisational achievements have not been given their due recognition because of ideological reasons.”^{cclxix}

The outcome of these efforts, if and when they are successful, is the molding of the minds of American youth. As Nussbaum states, “Most Americans don’t know anything about India, and even second-generation Indians are often ready to believe what they are told.”^{cclxx} Thus, students from Buddhist, Dalit, Jain, or Sikh backgrounds may attend universities — or even primary schools — and

face teachers who tell them that caste provides some benefits to society or that it has nothing to do with Hinduism, that Brahmanism is a fabrication of anti-India scholars, and that Sikhs and the Sikh Gurus are all Hindus.

Do the parents of these students know what their children will be taught? Many of these families want to encourage activities and academics related to their own communities. How many Sikh families, for instance, who may have donated to these various Sikh Studies programs know the ways in which many of them are associated with and controlled by *Hindutva* linked groups?

Beyond attempts to control the academic dialogue, these groups are pursuing a deeper goal — controlling State policy. In an interview with DesiShades.com, Ved Nanda was not shy about revealing this goal. Asked about how Non-Resident Indians can “contribute to the welfare” of India, Nanda states,

What we can do from here is to put a great deal of pressure and influence on Washington decision makers, through congress people, through senators, that US India strategic partnership grows.... We cannot put a great deal of pressure on Indian government, but we put great deal of pressure on US government

because we live here.... We can work with organizations such as Sangh, Sewa International, and Ekal Vidyalay to provide assistance they need.⁶

White nationalism, Hindu nationalism entanglements grow - Arktos, originating in India, publishes Julius Evola - including "Notes on the Third Reich"

"Evola's thought can be considered one of the most radical and consistent antiegalitarian, antiliberal, antidemocratic, and antipopular systems in the twentieth century."

"For about ten years, he was in charge of the cultural page of an influential newspaper, *Ile Regime Fascista*. Moreover, toward the end of the regime, Evola had access to Mussolini and advised him... on racial policy." In 1943, he was among those who, after Il Duce's escape from Italy, welcomed him in Hitler's headquarters at Rastenburg. When Mussolini was rescued from Italy and brought to the Wolf's Lair - "Evola was one of a select group of Italians to be invited there"

"Speaking of awareness, has anyone wondered why, in 1944, following the invasion of Italy by the Anglo-Saxon cannon fodder of the

anti-European forces, J. Evola moved to Austria, where, in Vienna, he was commissioned by the SS to translate Freemasonic documents seized by the Gestapo from various lodges which had just been raided by the SS,”

Evola - “the awareness of the value of the race already shows in a set of norms that are discernible in the ancient civilisations, particularly wherever the system of caste and the law of endogamy were in use, norms that in part were continued until relatively recent times in the specifically aristocratic traditions. This was an un-theorised but practical racism.”

“Julius Evola was one of the most influential fascist racists in Italian history.”

His paradigm was that “the ideal state...was an empire resting on a hierarchical, caste-based social structure.”

He “stressed the need to define Aryan in spiritual and ethical terms, and be dedicated to the responsibilities of the Aryan identity.”

Supported - “that the races remain essentially pure; that there was in fact a racial hierarchy.”

“Evola spent a considerable amount of time in Germany in 1937 and 1938” - visited Nazi Germany throughout the war to deliver lectures, generate support for his racist journal, etc

Tie in Arktos and Evola - published 9 f his book

We repeat: there is true freedom only in hierarchy, difference, and the irreducibility of individual possibilities, on the basis of an ideal of articulation, and therefore of inequality, whose most perfect model is the ancient system of castes the Aryans of India: they did not have the "nation", they knew only their caste, and, in them, the caste expressed itself spiritually as supreme and inviolable principle of order and hierarchy.

Moving from castes to races, we must consequently say that the true difference between race and race is not something naturalistic and ideologically conditioned, but precisely something much deeper, which exists among the races preserving in the depth of their blood and the heritage and the presence of a principle which transcends blood, inoculated by the action of the dominant and "solar" elites; and the other races, which have nothing of this,

and in which something promiscuous and tied for the forces of the earth, of animality, and of biologic-collective heredity, prevails.

As Nanda and his associates seek to put “pressure and influence” on the American government while simultaneously working with *Hindutva* groups, it is necessary for concerned citizens to not only examine and expose the work of UF and its associates but to consider the international dimensions.

The first step of exposure is to understand that UF is an international arm of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. In short, the RSS controls the HSS; the HSS controls the UF and the HEF; the UF variously funds or controls the DCF, the HAF, the HA, the HUA, and the IAS.

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Bharat Mata Temple in Varanasi Figure A



Bharat Mata Temple in Varanasi Figure B



Bharat Mata Figure C



Bharat Mata Mandir, Haridwar Figure D



*MESSIANIC GANDHI SUSTAINER OF BHARAT MATA FIGURE E
(GANDHI IN THE GALLERY: THE ART OF DISOBEDIENCE, PAGE 153)*