

The Global VHP's Trail of Violence



SAVERA
UNITED AGAINST
SUPREMACY

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Savera: United Against Supremacy is a multiracial, interfaith, anti-caste coalition of Indian Americans and partners, standing together in the fight against the rise of the transnational far right. We are committed to combating Hindu supremacy and white supremacy, and the intersections between them.

"Savera" is a Hindustani word meaning "dawn" or "new beginning."

In that vein, we look toward a world where Hindu supremacy, white supremacy, and other supremacist ideologies are no longer deep rooted in our communities, our education system, our governments, and our everyday lives. We envision an Indian American majority that rejects these ideologies and the divisions they create within and between our communities, and instead uplifts the rich diversity of our cultures, backgrounds, and beliefs in order to create a more just society.

We see our security and flourishing as intimately intertwined with the security and prosperity of those around us. We refuse to respond to racism with hatred of our own.



Ambedkar King Study Circle



India Civil Watch
International



Dalit Solidarity Forum



Indian American
Muslim Council



Hindus for Human Rights

Table of Contents

Foreword	4
Introduction	8
The VHP's Role in Anti-Muslim Violence in India	13
The Global VHP in Major Events	15
1992 Babri Masjid Demolition	15
2002 Gujarat Riots	17
2008 Anti-Christian Riots in Odisha	19
2020 Delhi Riots	21
The VHP-A Regularly Platforms Extremists in the United States	24
The VHP-A's Virulent Anti-Muslim Rhetoric	25
The VHP-A's Casteism	27
The VHP-A's Collaborations With the US Far-Right Hate Ecosystem	29
Robert Spencer: A Case Study of the US Far-Right's Embrace of Hindu Supremacy	31
Hindu Supremacy is Moving Hindu-Americans Toward the Far Right	32
The VHP-A has Mounted Multiple Attacks on US Civil Society	34
Conclusion	36
Glossary of Terms	37
Endnotes	44

Foreword

Hindu supremacy's century-long and frequently violent history includes over five decades of patient institution building in the United States. While Hindu Americans, like other minority communities, have faced racism in the US, a subsection of the community has responded not with anti-racist solidarity but a supremacist politics of their own. Hindu supremacists have emulated far-right organizational and ideological structures, first drawing inspiration from Mussolini's Blackshirts in the 1920s, and today exhibiting deep affinities and collaborations with white supremacist projects in America – with avowed allies like Steve Bannon, an honorary chairman of the Republican Hindu Coalition, a paradigmatic example. In particular, white supremacy and Hindu supremacy unite around a shared project of spreading Islamophobia in the US, but they also jointly oppose many progressive causes, including affirmative action and civil rights protections. These have also produced deep fault lines within Indian American communities – most notably along the lines of religion and caste.

In India, the same movement holds prime responsibility for rendering the 1.4-billion-strong country's government authoritarian. In its pursuit of a Hindu ethno-state, the Hindu supremacist movement has violently targeted minorities; arbitrarily detained, harassed and killed political opponents (including outside its borders); and pursued a crony capitalism that has deepened the wealth gap, evicted indigenous communities off their land, and devastated the environment. India has recently been downgraded to an "Electoral

Autocracy" by the V-Dem institute and to a status of "partly free" by Freedom House.

The links between white supremacists and Hindu supremacists in the US are merely one example of broader affinities between far-right movements, and the rise of an "international ethnonationalism," with Modi in India joining the likes of Jair Bolsanaro, Viktor Orban, Benjamin Netanyahu, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Donald Trump in eroding democratic norms and institutions.

Among the central progenitors of this politics has been the global institution of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council, henceforth VHP), whose key overseas node is its American arm – which is the subject of this report. The report seeks to educate Americans about the true nature of the global VHP, the extent of its harms in the US, its enabling of violence in India, and its entrenchment in and influence over American politics and civil society.

The rise of far-right tendencies within the ethnic and religious minority community of Hindu Americans raises the specter of multi-racial compradors of white supremacist projects in the US. The links

between white supremacists and Hindu supremacists in the US are merely one example of broader affinities between far-right movements, and the rise of an “international ethnonationalism,” with Modi in India joining the likes of Jair Bolsonaro, Viktor Orbán, Benjamin Netanyahu, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Donald Trump in eroding democratic norms and institutions. In a world as interconnected as ours, far-right movements, and threats to democracy and pluralism more broadly, are deeply transnational phenomena. Supremacist and ethnonationalist movements across the world are no longer merely faraway conflagrations; their progenitors are well-networked, their strategies and language shared, and their impacts contagious.

However, a lack of awareness about Hindu supremacy has led well-meaning centrist and progressive institutions to mis-recognize Hindu supremacists as representative of the wider, far more diverse, and more liberal Indian American community. American politicians and civil society are frequently hoodwinked into collaborating with and legitimizing a far-right movement that operates under the guise of being a minority community within the US’s multicultural framework. This has routinely meant that organized and well-financed Hindu supremacists can infiltrate and influence spaces where they do not belong.

Pro-democracy actors in the United States must better understand the connections between these seemingly far-flung developments and the health of our democracy. This report offers a robust and insightful analysis of this phenomenon, taking as its starting point the deep transnational reach of the Hindu supremacist movement, and its organizational breadth

and sophistication, before walking readers through the impact these actors have had on our own, similarly fragile democracy. The Global VHP has sat at the center of this network for over five decades, founding a sprawling network in the US, while remaining closely tied to its parent organization in India.

Consider this – Hindu supremacist organizations, including the organization featured in this report, the VHP of America, have: entered into alliances with the likes of Laura Loomer, Robert Spencer, Pamela Geller, and the white supremacist far right; taken positions against affirmative action, academic free speech and critical social science instruction; incubated and vocally supported a range of right-wing leaders, the most recent example of whom is Vivek Ramaswamy; sought to imitate, and collaborate with, the Zionist far right in weaponizing multicultural protections to curb free speech; played leading roles in spreading disinformation and hate in social media ecosystems; and launched new formations, including SuperPACs, birthed with the explicit purpose of taking on progressive politicians. The critical challenges to democracy in the United States that these organizations pose could not be more clear.

Ironically, it is the very legitimacy that has been granted to Hindu supremacist groups in well-meaning centrist, liberal and progressive spaces that has fuelled their growth in the United States. Organizations like the VHP-A, despite their narrow political base, seek to make representational claims on behalf of all Indian Americans, cynically exploiting their positioning as a minority in a multicultural society. Like many other immigrant far-right networks, they have exploited a basic contradiction: while their positioning as a minority is easily visible to us, their

support for far-right politics often is not. This has allowed Hindu supremacist organizations to continue to operate in mainstream spaces, their true alliances remaining hidden to most actors in US civil society and politics.

This low-information environment has not just obscured the transnational nature of the far right in countries like India, but also muddled our analysis of the domestic anti-authoritarian movement. Without an understanding of Hindu supremacy – and the deep Islamophobia, anti-Blackness, casteism, and disdain for social democracy embedded in it – we will struggle to understand the role played by a figure like Vivek Ramaswamy in laying the groundwork for a broader far right that can hide behind a brown face to claim it is not racist. How else, similarly, might we understand the path taken by Shri Thanedar, voted into office last year by a largely Black electorate in Detroit, claiming to both be a progressive and an ally to people of color, but who has reneged so sharply on those commitments? We need the critical context of his significant ties with Hindu supremacist organizations and donors. We've made this mistake before, in only belatedly taking seriously Tulsi Gabbard's deep connections to the Hindu supremacist movement, which was an early sign of her true politics

These examples increasingly make clear that in the struggle against the authoritarian far right in the United States, the positioning of growing non-white immigrant communities – like the Indian American community – will be crucial. If we are not alert, the transnational far right will manifest in the United States as a multi-racial far right, in a form that will be virulent and many times more difficult to uproot. The global Hindu supremacist movement, and its presence in and impact on US politics, is arguably the most concerning

emergent example of this phenomenon – something only amplified by the space it occupies at the center of a growing geopolitical axis between the US and India. If left unchecked, Hindu supremacist groups are in danger of growing within both the far right and the center, fueling an evolving and ambitious white supremacist movement, while blocking any real progressive politics from emerging within the Democratic Party.

We're living through a moment of deep churn, one where a variety of social forces and contradictions – the climate crisis, supremacist politics, the wealth gap – have converged. It's a moment of great crisis and precarity, but also one that has produced deep clarity about our interconnectedness.

If left unchecked, Hindu supremacist groups are in danger of growing within both the far right and the center, fueling an evolving and ambitious white supremacist movement, while blocking any real progressive politics from emerging within the Democratic Party.

Amidst these high stakes, the work done by this report in documenting and weaving together a deep understanding of the negative impact of this brand of politics, both in the United States and here in India, is critical. The onus, as this information grows abundant, is now also on broader civil society, including those outside the Indian American community, to educate ourselves about Hindu supremacy, grasp the true nature of these organizations, and

evolve our own analyses accordingly.

To challenge these tendencies, we must build a multi-racial coalition of our own, crossing any existing silos, that stands united against supremacy. While this most crucially involves a challenge to deeply entrenched structures of white supremacy within the US, progressive movements within communities of color and religious minorities within the US must also confront supremacist and reactionary strands within our own communities.

This report is not just of niche intellectual interest; it speaks to an emergent threat deeply connected to our broader fight against fascism and authoritarianism. We encourage everyone to read this report with the care and concern it deserves.

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Introduction

The subject of this report is the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), or World Hindu Council, a far-right militant organization headquartered in India with overseas wings across the globe—including in the United States, where it is represented by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad of America (VHP-A). Throughout this report, we use the term “VHP” to refer to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in India, and “VHP-A” to refer to its American arm. The global VHP is arguably the most significant transnational actor working in service of the Hindu supremacist movement.

In this report, we examine the VHP’s destructive footprint across the world, with an emphasis on India and the United States, arguably its two largest and most politically significant chapters. The report summarizes a significant body of reporting and analysis that has identified the VHP as a key player in a decades-long process of wrenching apart Indian society. While the report focuses on key examples of spectacular violence in which the VHP has been clearly implicated, a focus on outbreaks of mass violence alone would understate the extent of harms faced by Muslims and other minorities in India. The VHP’s role in spreading hate speech and conspiracy theories; in acts of violent mobilization, intimidation and harassment; as well as in acts of physical violence, is endemic.

While the VHP’s American presence (the VHP-A) has played key roles in facilitating, protecting and materially and politically supporting the VHP in India, including during these instances of mass anti-Muslim violence, the VHP’s destructive impact

has not been limited to India. In the United States, the VHP-A has played a harmful role in multiple spheres: through their collaborations with other supremacist organizations and ideologies; their attacks on US civil society organizations; their role in moving Indian American communities to the right, and their unvarnished Islamophobia and bigotry. Actors in US civil society, politics and society must see the VHP-A, despite its claims to be the representative of a minority community, as a key part of a global far-right ecosystem, and as the critical threat to pluralism, democracy and civil rights that its actions betray it to be.

What is Hindu supremacy?

Hindu supremacy, sometimes referred to as Hindu nationalism or Hindutva, is a century-old ethno-nationalist political ideology distinguished from Hinduism by its emphasis on the absolute hegemony of Hindus in India.¹ Hindu supremacists seek to create a Hindu state around a narrow interpretation of Hinduism based on a glorified, mythical past.² This political goal involves the expulsion or subordination of Muslims, Christians, and other religious minorities in India. It also intensifies the violent subordination of oppressed-caste and indigenous communities (Dalits and Adivasis, respectively).³ Hindu supremacists reject the notion of a secular, pluralistic, democratic India, and seek to redefine the territorial boundaries of the country and encompass territories across Asia based on ancient Hindu scriptures.⁴

The roots of the VHP, and of Hindu supremacy more broadly, can be traced back to the paramilitary Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS, National Volunteer Corps). Founded in September 1925, the RSS drew inspiration from Italian fascist Benito Mussolini’s military academies and youth organizations.⁵ Since its inception, the RSS has developed a sprawling network of subsidiary organizations around the world, like Narendra Modi’s Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), as well as charities, religious organizations, and labor unions.⁶ This network empowers the RSS and its organs, like the VHP, to operate under many names in different sections of society. The RSS, which has repeatedly been involved in anti-minority violence, was banned once during British rule and then thrice by the post-independence Indian government, including after Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated by a member of the RSS, Nathuram Godse.⁷

Sangh Parivar

A vast network of organizations across the world centered around the Hindu supremacist RSS as a central node. While the RSS formally acknowledges its control over less than three dozen organizations, research suggests that the entire network spans tens of thousands of organizations.⁸

The VHP was founded in India in 1964, and in 1970 the VHP-A was founded in the United States.⁹ Both wings were set up on the orders of M.S. Golwalkar, the second Supreme Leader of the RSS.¹⁰

M.S. Golwalkar

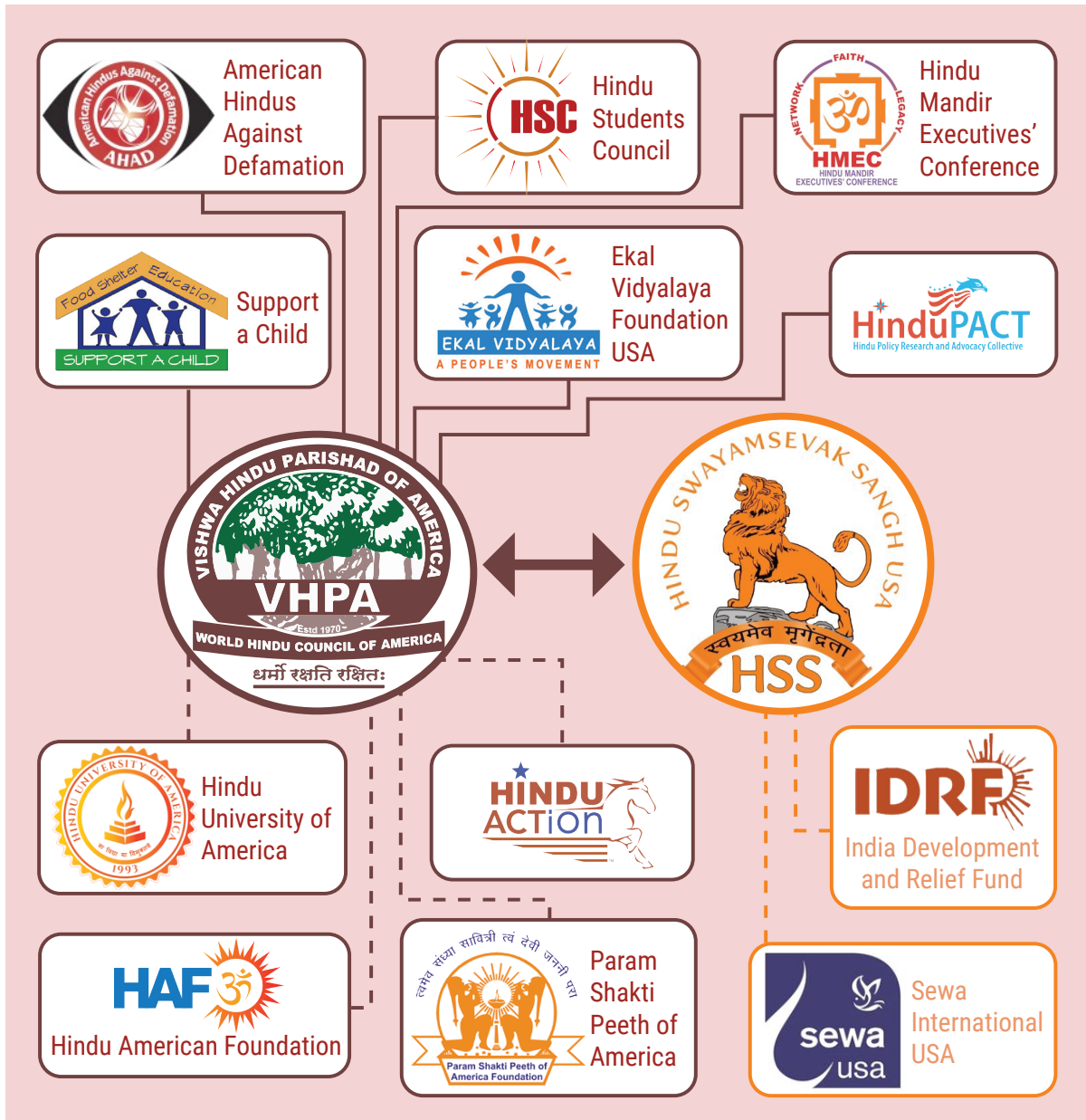
The second Sarsanghchalak (Supreme Leader) of the RSS – and one of its chief ideologues. In *We or Our*

Nationhood Defined, Golwalkar argues that Hindus should be inspired by the genocidal treatment of Jewish people by the Nazis as a model of how to treat religious minorities in India.¹¹

Under the guise of so-called “religious regeneration,” the VHP seeks to mobilize Hindus both in India and outside to convert the current Indian secular republic into a theocratic nation, often through violent agitation. Over the past five decades, the VHP – together with its youth militias, the Bajrang Dal and the Durga Vahini – has been responsible for a long and gruesome history of violence, particularly against Muslim and Christian minorities in India. Till 2018, the VHP was designated as a “militant religious organization” by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).¹²

However, by claiming to be a purely “religious” organization and claiming to represent Hindus in the US, the VHP-A has enjoyed significant privileges and access to domestic political power, including undeserved representational legitimacy and even funding from government sources.

The VHP has always been a transnational entity, seeking to build international networks to support an otherwise nativist cause. As of 2019, the VHP had a self-declared presence in 29 countries across the world.¹³ Its US wing has been the “crown jewel” in this network, playing a critical role in the significant harms the VHP has wreaked worldwide.






-  Daughter organizations that VHP-A self-attests to founding, or connecting to, or vice versa
-  Organizations where neither VHP-A nor the organization itself formally acknowledge a linkage, but the two, in reality, remain tied by shared personnel, financial flows, regular organizational collaborations or even shared offices.
-  HSS and VHP-A have interchangeable roles as the “mothership” or “umbrella” organizations with a number of daughter and affiliate organizations.

Fig. 1: Chart of VHP Connections¹⁴



Fig. 2: Screenshot of VHP-A website showing various projects¹⁵

In the United States, the VHP-A has formally founded dozens of organizations, projects and programs, including student, advocacy and temple wings. It has also informally birthed or remained closely tied to dozens of organizations committed to similar Hindu supremacist goals.¹⁶ In this mode, the VHP-A operates as the apex body of a similar hydra-headed network of organizations, taking on a role in the US analogous to that of the RSS in India.¹⁷

However, by claiming to be a purely “religious” organization and claiming to represent Hindus in the US, the VHP-A has enjoyed significant privileges and access to domestic political power, including undeserved representational legitimacy and even funding from government sources.¹⁸ The harms caused by the VHP have left an indelible impact not just on communities in India and its diaspora, but the broader American political landscape as well.

Fig. 1: Chart of VHP Connections

As the oldest Hindu far-right organization in the US, the VHP-A has been involved in founding, or is otherwise tied to, nearly every other American Sangh organization. These ties can be formally acknowledged, often by the VHP-A claiming a particular organization as a project or daughter organization, and are displayed above as a solid line. However, these inter-organizational connections can also be informal or covert, evidenced by the persistence of shared officials, financial flows, inter-organizational collaborations and even shared offices, displayed above as a dotted line. This is in keeping with global patterns of Hindu supremacist organizing observed by scholars and researchers, where the RSS is known to establish a range of proxy organizations, each dedicated to a particular purpose. In the United States, both the VHP-A and the HSS serve this role of being “mothership” organizations, with their members deputed to lead other organizations in advocacy (HinduACTION), charitable funding (Sewa International USA), or education (Hindu

University of America). Further information on each of these organizations can be found in the glossary at the end of this report, and evidence for each of these ties is referenced below.

Fig. 2: Screenshot of VHP-A website showing various projects

A screenshot of the VHP-A website showing some – but not all – of its projects, ranging from magazines to advocacy projects to youth camps. Each of these initiatives can be considered formally acknowledged “projects” or “daughters” of the VHP-A. However, which projects or organizations the VHP-A claims as its own is an intensely political question; many of the VHP-A’s unacknowledged affiliates play far more critical roles than the initiatives publicly listed above.

The VHP's Role in Anti-Muslim Violence in India

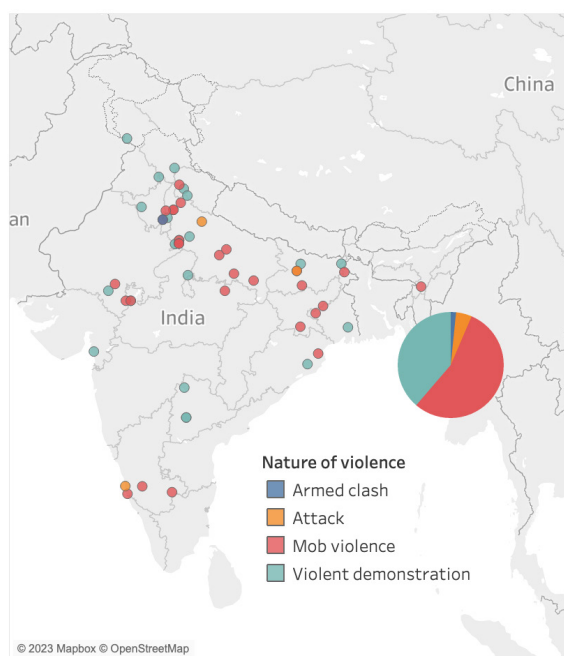
Hindu supremacist violence in India is frequent and widespread, making it difficult to convey the full scale of harm perpetrated by an organization like the VHP. Given the scale of anti-Muslim rhetoric, public mobilization, verbal harassment and physical violence, particularly against Muslims, no description of the VHP's involvement in violence can be exhaustive. Although some data remains available, attempts at collecting independent data on hate crimes have been stymied by censorship and harassment by the Modi government.¹⁹

Scholars studying the Hindu far right have convincingly demonstrated that riots and pogroms against Muslims and other minorities are often the outcome of a long process of misinformation campaigns, conspiracy theories, and other forms of hate speech that dehumanize targeted communities.²⁰ Acts of violence that mark the "culmination" of these campaigns are often described as organic and spontaneous conflagrations between communities, but more commonly tend to be deliberate and strategic choices, outsourced to lesser-known militias whose ties to larger organizations like the VHP are often obscured. This report follows scholarship on the Hindu far right in understanding various forms of violence – discursive and physical, and quotidian and spectacular – to be interconnected rather than discrete categories.

In this context, it is critical to understand the extent to which the VHP is at the forefront of long-running campaigns that use dehumanizing language to incite violence

against religious minorities. Most often – and as is the case with various far-right groups globally – this rhetoric is grounded in language marking out targeted communities, largely Muslims, as threats. For example, the VHP has played a key role in bringing to existence a variety of misinformation campaigns and conspiracy theories targeting Muslims. Among the concepts popularized by Hindu supremacist leaders are:

- "Love Jihad," a conspiracy theory claiming that Muslim men are conspiring to lure away Hindu women in order to forcibly convert them to Islam;
- "Land Jihad," which argues that Muslims are deliberately purchasing or occupying private and public lands in order to achieve demographic advantage;



Map of violent incidents between 2016 and 2019 linked to the VHP, as identified by ACLED.

- “Flood Jihad,” which accuses Muslims of orchestrating floods;
- “Thook Jihad,” which suggests that Muslims “spit” on Hindus to spread infectious diseases;

The *Guardian* recently wrote that “Hindu vigilante groups such as VHP have been allowed to operate freely and have increasingly begun to take the law into their own hands.”

- “Halal Jihad,” which argues that Halal food certifications reflect a coordinated attempt to threaten the Indian economy and raise money for terrorism;
- “Economic Jihad,” which argues that ordinary Muslim businesses and individuals are engaged in a coordinated effort to cause economic harm to Hindus;
- “Fertilizer Jihad,” which blames Muslims as primarily responsible for the overuse of fertilizers in the agricultural sector;
- “UPSC Jihad,” which claims that Muslims are “infiltrating” the Indian bureaucracy by gaming and manipulating the rules of national civil service exams organized by the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC);
- and “Population Jihad,” a Hindu supremacist adaptation of the Great Replacement Theory, which asserts the existence of a coordinated attempt by Muslims to become the majority community in India, overtaking Hindus.²¹

These patently false conspiracy theories are typically followed by calls to boycott Muslims; calls for Hindus to take up arms; and, finally, explicit calls for violence. In a similar fashion, the cause of cow protection has also been

regularly used by VHP and Bajrang Dal units to incite or justify several acts of violence, including lynchings.²² A recent article in the *Journal of Democracy* compared this phenomenon, and the broader situation in India, to the Jim Crow era in the US, citing hundreds of lynchings, largely of Muslims, since the BJP’s rise to power in 2014.²³

Even if under-reported, statistics taken from public sources display a frightening picture. Conservative but defensible estimates from sources such as the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) list the VHP and its youth militias as responsible for 62 violent incidents (24 violent demonstrations, 34 occasions of mob violence, an armed clash and 3 attacks) between 2016 and 2019 alone.²⁴ HindutvaWatch’s half-yearly report on Hindu supremacist violence in India, covering the first six months of 2023, identified the VHP and its youth wings as perpetrators of hate speech acts a staggering 62 times – in other words, a reported incident every 3 days.²⁵

In recent years, these trends have only accelerated, and the VHP has been allowed an environment of near-total impunity. The *Guardian*, for example, recently wrote that “Hindu vigilante groups such as VHP have been allowed to operate freely and have increasingly begun to take the law into their own hands.”²⁶ Increasingly, emboldened by this impunity, VHP leaders have advocated for the ethnic cleansing and/or genocide of the country’s Muslim citizens, and have themselves perpetrated mass violence against Muslims on a local scale.²⁷ These, for example, are the words of a VHP General Secretary:

“You see, this is no less than a civil war. And in a civil war, we have to pick up the weapons. We cannot just give speeches. We will fight the way it is needed.”²⁸

The Global VHP in Major Events

1992 Babri Masjid Demolition



A poster that says “Lest we forget the Babri Masjid demolition in Ayodhya.” Source: Kandukuru Nagarjun

The hegemony of Hindu supremacist groups in India today can be traced back to the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, a violent campaign led and orchestrated by the VHP beginning in the 1980s that culminated in the demolition of the Babri Masjid by a VHP-led mob in December 1992. In the months that followed the mosque’s demolition, anti-Muslim riots in a number of Indian cities killed approximately 2,000 people.²⁹

“The mobilisation of the karsevaks and their convergence to Ayodhya and Faizabad was neither spontaneous nor voluntary. It was well orchestrated and planned.” – The Liberhan Commission

Evidence of VHP Involvement

The Liberhan Commission, an independent body set up by the Government of India to investigate the demolition of the mosque and the violence that preceded it, conducted 399 sittings over 16 years. Its report found

68 high-ranking leaders from the VHP, BJP, and RSS culpable for the violence.³⁰ (However, with the BJP in power, cases against these leaders have not been allowed to proceed, or have been dismissed.³¹)

“The single-minded agenda of the

RSS and the VHP; and the extremely patient and focused manner in which the handful of ideologues and theologians manipulated the common masses and turned them into a frenzied mob, capable of acts of the greatest depravity, is unparalleled in recent times.”
– The Liberhan Commission

“The authors of the entire campaign were under no illusions about the illegality and immorality of their intended actions. They were aware about the likely outrage their deeds were likely to elicit around the nation and internationally, even from sections of the Hindu community.”
– The Liberhan Commission³²

The VHP-A's Role

All the way back in 1987, the VHP's American wing began organizing in sync with the VHP in India, and launched the American counterpart of the Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yagna, which was the primary VHP entity mobilizing for the demolition of the mosque and the building of a temple on the same site.³³ As the campaign escalated, VHP leaders made increasingly brazen speeches targeting India's Muslim minority, and US-based VHP-A leaders regularly traveled to India to support the movement.³⁴ Some VHP America leaders, like Anjlee Pandya, then VHP-A General Secretary and a former member of the VHP's Central Board of Trustees in India, were even celebrated for being part of the violent

movement.³⁵ Pandya has been described in VHP texts as “a vital link between [the] Central leadership of VHP and VHP of America.”³⁶

In the aftermath of the riots, the VHP-A's founder and then-President Mahesh Mehta justified the demolition of the mosque in a speech delivered at an event at Columbia University organized by the VHP-A's student wing, the Hindu Students Council.³⁷ On its official website, the VHP-A wrote, “What got destroyed on 6th December 1992 at Ayodhya was no mosque and no second wrong was ever committed,” adding that, “undoing any wrong is an act of justice and is essentially a noble act ... the tearing down of the Babri structure (a symbol of Mogul supremacy) [was] the undoing of a continuing wrong that was started in 1528.”³⁸

After the destruction of the mosque, the VHP mobilized internationally to soften the reputational blow. In 1993, the “VHP Chapter of Washington DC,” as described by its leader, held the “Global Vision 2000” conference in Washington, D.C., despite significant opposition from human rights activists protesting the VHP's role in the anti-Muslim violence.³⁹ At the event, VHP leader Uma Bharti reportedly told the crowd that, “after December 6th, the tiger has been let out of the cage.”⁴⁰ Other attendees included major RSS, VHP, and BJP leaders complicit in the violence, including Narendra Modi, then an RSS Pracharak and the BJP General Secretary, and then-BJP president Murli Manohar Joshi, who reportedly called the Babri Masjid demolition his life's “most memorable day.”⁴¹

The Global VHP in Major Events

2002 Gujarat Riots



The skyline of Ahmedabad filled with smoke as buildings were set on fire by rioting mobs in Gujarat in 2002. Source: Aksi great.

Under the watch of Narendra Modi, then serving as Chief Minister of the state, a pogrom took place in Gujarat in 2002, with targeted and coordinated violence against Muslims. Muslims were killed en masse and cleansed from entire neighborhoods, and subject to targeted lootings and horrific instances of sexual violence and torture.⁴² In total, nearly 2,000 people, mostly Muslims, were killed.⁴³ A UK government inquiry into the violence, recently made public by the BBC, concluded that the violence was pre-planned and that “the VHP and its allies acted with the support of the state Government.”⁴⁴

Evidence of VHP Involvement

Despite significant obstacles to independent investigations imposed by the BJP-led Gujarat state government, a Special Investigation Team appointed by the Supreme Court of India found Jaideep Patel, a VHP leader, and Mayaben Kodnani, a BJP

minister in the state cabinet, guilty of aiding and abetting a mob that killed 105 people, injured several others, destroyed property, and sexually assaulted women.⁴⁵ Multiple independent fact-finding reports, including one conducted by Human Rights Watch that year, found evidence of a planned conspiracy involving the VHP, Bajrang Dal and RSS and supported by

the BJP-controlled State Government.⁴⁶

“The attacks on Muslims are part of a concerted campaign of Hindu nationalist organizations to promote and exploit communal tensions to further the BJP’s political rule—a movement that is supported at the local level by militant groups that operate with impunity and under the patronage of the state.”

– Human Rights Watch report

“If VHP-BJP leaders led mobs from the front along with the police, they also took control of the institutional apparatus ... Many witnesses testified that their calls either went unanswered or that they were met with responses such as: ‘We don’t have any orders to save you.’ ”

– Human Rights Watch report

*“Throughout the state, **Bajrang Dal camps (the VHP youth organization) were set up, featuring secret meetings in which swords were distributed to youth who were explicitly prepared for ‘war.’ ”***

– Wilichowski 2012⁴⁷

VHP America Role

Following the pogroms, the VHP mobilized its network in the United States, seeking

to protect itself and its allies from scrutiny and accountability. That year, the VHP-A ran a campaign in the US against the airing of a Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) documentary on the devastation wrought by Hindu supremacist groups in the Gujarat pogroms.⁴⁸ It described the documentary as “blatant propaganda against Hindus,” and asked its members to send letters and emails to PBS in protest.⁴⁹

In a monthly VHP-A publication, former VHP-A President Dr. Madhu Jhaveri wrote a long article justifying the violence in Gujarat. Referring to Muslims as incapable of co-existing with others, the article was framed around the question: “How can ‘peaceful coexistence’ with those who do not believe in ‘peaceful coexistence’ result in peaceful coexistence?”⁵⁰

Gaurang Vaishnav, then the General Secretary of the VHP in America, went a step further. In an 11-page article justifying the pogroms and urging further action, he blamed the violence on Muslims, and wrote that the fact that the violence was limited to 40 cities, towns and villages was “a measure of Hindu tolerance.”⁵¹

“Hindus of Gujarat,” he wrote, “have not killed in the name of religion. Hindus have reacted to the ‘Aat-tayees’ as any society would after years of impotence and tolerance ... And our scriptures are very categorical about the punishment to be meted out to the Aat-tayees. It is punishment by death.”⁵²

Jhaveri and Vaishnav are not fringe figures in the VHP-A. They have served in leadership roles in the organization for half a century, and remain on the VHP-A’s advisory board as “selected senior members of the community” that “counsels the GC on various matters including its long term vision and direction.”⁵³

The Global VHP in Major Events

2008 Anti-Christian Riots in Odisha



Remains of a church property burnt down during communal violence in Odisha in August 2008. Source: All India Christian Council.

In the Kandhamal district of Odisha, after a VHP-led social boycott of Christians in the district, VHP members attacked Christian minorities, their homes and places of worship, leaving three dead and hundreds displaced.

Evidence of VHP Involvement

“Almost all victim-survivors who gave their testimonies to the Tribunal referred to members of the RSS, BJP, Bajrang Dal and VHP as being part of the violent mobs that attacked them and their villages.” (National

*People’s Tribunal on Kandhamal)*⁵⁴

*“For several years, extremist Hindu groups in Orissa have been conducting an anti-Christian campaign that has grown violent at times, while government officials have looked the other way... Right-wing Hindu organizations such as the **Vishwa Hindu Parishad and***

the Bajrang Dal have been promoting anti-Christian propaganda in Orissa because they want the state's Christians, most of them members of tribal groups, to convert to Hinduism." (Human Rights Watch report)⁵⁵

of this phenomenon can be seen in the next case study – the 2020 Delhi Riots.

The VHP-A's Role

VHP-controlled institutions involved in the violence have long been recipients of funding from VHP America and other global wings of the VHP. In that year, VHP America allocated US\$ 343,404 for “funds provided for relief & services, support-a-child activities, youth books & emporium, educational vidyalayas, seva projects, one teacher school, festival celebration etc.,” and to “various charities ... for charitable and humanitarian activities in India.”⁵⁶ Among these regular recipients of funds from the VHP-A in recent decades are two institutions in Kandhamal, the Sankaracharya Sanskrit Kanyashram and the Gurukula Sanskrit Vidhyalaya Shiksha Samiti, both of which are run by the VHP and retain clear ties to the perpetrators of the violence against Christians.⁵⁷ A report by Indian civil rights groups noted that the VHP’s schools “propagate various Hindu rites and rituals among Adivasi women. The pass-outs of the ashram schools help in spreading ‘Hindu consciousness’ across Kandhamal, and a number of them, subsequently, become Sangh Parivar activists.”⁵⁸

This is not to argue that VHP-A money was specifically used to fund violence – there is insufficient public material on how the VHP in India allocates the money it receives from foreign sources to say so – but that the broader VHP infrastructure, often supported by funds originating in the US, is often used to spread hate and propaganda, and house and train militant leaders. A further example

The Global VHP in Major Events

— 2020 Delhi Riots



The Wire Market in Gokal Puri (Gokal Pur) was burnt in the Delhi Riots. Source: Banswalhemant.

The Delhi Riots were a wave of anti-Muslim violence in North East Delhi that coincided with President Trump's February 2020 visit to the city. Beginning on 23 February 2020, after Hindu supremacist leaders had made violent and provocative speeches against peaceful sit-in protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), Hindu supremacist mobs attacked Muslims engaged in non-violent protest. This prompted a week of communal violence where mobs roamed the streets of India's capital, attacking Muslims. Of the 53 people killed, over two-thirds were Muslim.⁵⁹ In addition, thousands of Muslims were also displaced, and forced into selling their property out of fear of the violence recurring.⁶⁰

Evidence of VHP Involvement

Kapil Mishra, a prominent BJP leader, is universally understood as the primary provocateur for the violence – his role was reported by the *New York Times* in the moment and remains a matter of accepted public record. Moreover, multiple investigations launched since the riots have

found evidence of a conspiracy involving BJP, RSS, VHP and other Hindu supremacist groups, who methodically incited and orchestrated the violence.⁶¹ Fact-finding reports from 5 independent sources – the Delhi Minorities Commission, the Group of Intellectuals and Academicians (GIA), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Youth for Human Rights Documentation (YHRD),

and Amnesty International India all corroborate the key role played by VHP militants and their affiliates.⁶²

Among the key conspirators in the riots was Deepak Singh Hindu, a Bajrang Dal (VHP youth militia) member, who played a key role in mobilizing a mob of Hindu supremacist militants to the neighborhood of Maujpur, which became a major flashpoint of violence. His Facebook broadcast began with the lines: *"I am fighting this war alone but today I need your participation in this religious war,"* and ended with incendiary speeches targeting Muslims. *"You are not patriots, you swine. You are only traitors, traitors, traitors, and traitors will be beaten with shoes, I am telling you this in writing and this is what will happen."*⁶³ The riots began soon after the mob he had assembled convened.

Another key figure in the violence was Yati Narsinghanand, a militant Hindu monk whose involvement in the Delhi Riots has been revealed to be part of a broader years-long campaign against Muslims marked by calls for genocide.⁶⁴ As we shall see below, Narsinghanand received significant backing from VHP affiliates both in India and the United States.

Yati Narsinghanand

Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati is a militant Hindu supremacist preacher who has been spearheading a violent campaign against India's 200 million Muslims.⁶⁵ Considered India's most virulent Hindu supremacist monk, he has both orchestrated mass anti-Muslim violence such as the 2020 Delhi Riots that left 53 dead, and, emboldened by the impunity he has been given, made multiple calls for genocide.⁶⁶ "Those we call Muslims

in our current era were called demons in earlier eras," Narsinghanand has said. "Islam should be eradicated from Earth ... all Muslims should be eliminated."⁶⁷

In December 2021, Narsinghanand was the chief organizer of a "religious summit" in India that featured several clarion calls for genocide. Speakers at the summit said things like: "Even if just a hundred of us become soldiers and kill 2 million of them, we will be victorious" and "We have to make preparations... There is no more time, the case now is that either you prepare to die now, or get ready to kill... like in Myanmar, the police here, the politicians here, the army and every Hindu must pick up weapons and we will have to conduct this 'cleanliness drive.' There is no solution apart from this."⁶⁸

The VHP-A's Role

During the Delhi Riots, VHP-A members in the United States were not just distant apologists for the VHP's violence—rather, some played key roles in inciting violence and hatred, and providing public platforms and logistical and financial support to Kapil Mishra, Yati Narsinghanand and other far-right leaders. For example, Houston-based VHP-A member Sachin Chitlangia, who was active on Twitter under the handle @InternetYodha, was a known associate of Kapil Mishra and coordinated initiatives led by Mishra.⁶⁹ After the riots, Chitlangia raised funds in the US for Mishra's "relief efforts," which were routed through tax-exempt channels to the IIP Foundation, whose Managing Director Rajesh Goyal is also the General Secretary of Mishra's "Hindu Ecosystem."⁷⁰ Overall, Chitlangia has raised a minimum of \$115,000 USD through Facebook fundraisers for charitable causes supported

by Hindu supremacist groups – including funding for the Ram Mandir being built on the site of the demolished Babri Masjid.⁷¹

Moreover, the VHP-A – not merely one of its members, but the entire organization as a whole – started a fundraiser for the victims of the Delhi riots which only mentioned Hindu victims, neglecting to acknowledge that over two-thirds of victims were Muslim, and peddled Hindu supremacist propaganda about the violence that inverted categories of victims and perpetrators. Its website noted that “VHP of America will send the donations directly to a trusted NGO in New Delhi [likely the VHP itself] where funds will be distributed to the victims’ families.”⁷² Given the VHP’s role in perpetrating the Delhi riots, the irony of its American affiliate raising funds for relief to its victims is striking.

Chitlangia has raised a minimum of \$115,000 ... for charitable causes supported by Hindu supremacist groups – including funding for the Ram Mandir being built on the site of the demolished Babri Masjid.

In addition to the VHP-A’s fundraising efforts, VHP-A affiliated figures such as Vibhuti Jha also played a key role in supporting Yati Narsinghanand, whose anti-Muslim hate speech fomented deadly violence during the riots.⁷³ Jha hosted Narsinghanand on his show, *The Jaipur Dialogues*, on multiple occasions, broadcasting Narsinghanand’s genocidal calls to tens of thousands of viewers.⁷⁴ In his appearance on Jha’s show, Narsinghanand drew on the common Hindu supremacist conspiracy of a Muslim takeover, claiming that “we have only 8 years left. We have to make a country of only Hindus by then, or nothing will be left.”⁷⁵

Narsinghanand also asserted that Muslims had set up commando camps across the country, were preparing to kill 40% of India’s Hindus and convert another 50%, and that India would have a Muslim Prime Minister taking over by 2031. “It will be the end of the road,” he said, claiming that Hindus would only survive in the diaspora if drastic action was not taken.⁷⁶

These conspiracy theories were all used to justify open calls for genocide made repeatedly on the show. During the public discussion, Jha never objected to any of Narsinghanand’s comments, and instead urged him on. “*Our youth must be trained for war*,” Jha said. “*We have to make a call, we have become cowards in the political sphere... Science and technology is our strongest ally. Every student in India should be given 1-2 years of military training.*”⁷⁷

The VHP continued to maintain ties with far-right leaders like Narsinghanand after the riots. In April 2021, the VHP-A – despite full knowledge of his involvement in hate speech and violence – invited Narsinghanand to speak at a religious event hosted by the organization.⁷⁸ The event was plastered on the VHP-A website homepage, and set to be broadcast online. After a vigorous campaign from progressive groups, the VHP-A was forced to rescind their invitation.⁷⁹

The VHP-A Regularly Platforms Extremists in the United States

The example of Yati Narsinghanand mentioned above is consistent with a long pattern of hate speech and incitement of violence on behalf of the VHP-A in America. Over the decades, the VHP-A has hosted many dozens of militant anti-Muslim leaders from India, for whom speaking tours in the United States offer valuable political and financial clout.⁸⁰

Many VHP-A events in the United States have featured anti-Muslim voices, including Uma Bharti, Murli Manohar Joshi, Sadhvi Rithambara, Subramanian Swamy, and others.⁸¹ In 2018, for example, the World Hindu Congress, organized jointly by the VHP and VHP-A in Chicago, featured none other than RSS Supreme Leader Mohan Bhagwat as its keynote speaker.

The World Hindu Congress

A quadrennial event organized by the VHP in a variety of locations across the globe. It is the brainchild of VHP General Secretary Swami Vigyananand, who is infamous for the distribution of trishuls – small tridents – to VHP members. Trishuls were distributed en masse to VHP mobs during the 2002 Gujarat Pogroms, in which RSS and VHP members allegedly massacred over 2,000 Muslims.⁸² The most recent iteration of the Congress was held in Bangkok in November 2023.

Sadhvi Rithambara

A Hindu militant leader who leads the women's wing of the VHP and has a deep connection with the United States, which she has visited on dozens of occasions. Her hate speeches were distributed in

the lead up to the demolition of the Babri Masjid and were described by historian Tanika Sarkar as “the single most powerful instrument for whipping up anti-Muslim violence” in India.⁸³

Ashok Singhal

The World Hindu Congress was organized in the memory of Ashok Singhal, a leading architect of the VHP campaign that led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid.⁸⁴ Later, Singhal described the slaughter in Gujarat as a “successful... experiment... which will be repeated all over the country now,” and celebrated that entire villages were “emptied of Islam.”⁸⁵ Singhal repeatedly visited the US to speak at VHP events, including the first-ever Dharma Sansad (religious conference) organized by the VHP-A in Saylorsburg, Pennsylvania in 1998, and continued to visit the US until just months before his death.⁸⁶ Singhal's close friend Abhaya Asthana, a former President of the VHP-A, and now on its Advisory Council, described him as “a father, Pitamah, who generously showered his blessings and guidance,” and “a friend and a companion in the journey of VHP of America since the mid-80s.”⁸⁷

A recent example of this phenomenon was visible in May 2022, when Vishnu Shankar Jain, a far-right lawyer leading a virulent campaign that calls for the conversion of multiple mosques and buildings, including the Taj Mahal, into Hindu temples, appeared as a guest on VHP-A's “Hindu Lounge” show. Jain called attacks on Muslim places of worship a “revolution that is unfolding across India.”⁸⁸

The VHP-A's Virulent Anti-Muslim Rhetoric



Sexual violence in war has been a recurring pattern in Islam throughout history, encouraged by religious sanctions and inherent misogynistic attitudes in Islamic society

Screengrab of Hindudvesha website, run by the VHP-A.⁸⁹

Hindu supremacist ideology is premised on a deep-seated hate of Muslims – a sentiment that VHP-A members in the US have enthusiastically endorsed across the organization’s five decades of existence. VHP-A leaders in the United States have promoted various conspiracy theories and tropes that generate fear, suspicion, and hatred toward Muslims, including that Muslim men are paid money to entrap Hindu women, that Muslims are producing more children in order to overtake Hindus, and that raise the bogey of “Muslim appeasement.”⁹⁰ The VHP-A’s website features articles that say “fundamentals of Islam clearly divide humanity” and “many ayats (verses) in the Quran are indeed hateful.”⁹¹ Its Hindudvesha website, for example, has tweeted

#StopIslamicImmigration⁹² and regularly features deeply Islamophobic articles and cartoons.⁹³ Two recent articles, for example, are titled: “*Spit Jihad: Why Halal is the Trojan Horse of Islamic Invasion*” and “*Jihadi bestiality: Why Islamists target non-Muslim women for rape and abduction.*”⁹⁴

The VHP in America has also supported various anti-Muslim policies of the Modi government including the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has called “fundamentally discriminatory in nature.” The CAA provides fast-track citizenship for all religious groups except Muslims, while the NRC is a government-led exercise to identify “illegal migrants.”⁹⁵

Between 2020 and 2022, VHP-A has run multiple campaigns seeking to oppose or defeat resolutions introduced by various city councils across the US to condemn the CAA and NRC. In typical fashion, it has claimed that these resolutions were “pushed forward by special interest Islamic groups.”⁹⁶

“Muslims are not in need of any reason for rioting, beheading, killing and burning alive of Infidels. It is in Islam’s history and by nature, all Islamists are brutal, and aggressive. Through out the 1400 years of Islamic history, everything Muslims have touched have been marred with Al-Taqyiea (lying), wars, plunder, looting, destroying culture, invasion, tyranny, massacre and Jihad terror. Islam has destroyed all traditional faiths, peaceful religious practices, harmony, peace, coexistence, and higher transcendental learning.”

– **Babu Suseelan**, VHP leader⁹⁷

“If we do not kill the bacteria, the bacteria will kill us. Muslims will breed like rats and they will be a majority... Islam can be stopped! And it can be wiped out.”

– **Babu Suseelan** at the World Freedom Congress, sponsored by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer’s Stop Islamization of Nations (SION)⁹⁸

“I am compelled to come to [the] conclusion that the common link that binds “rakshasas” [demons] of 8th to 17th century with 21st century ones is nothing but Islam. We have heard the stale argument that no religion teaches violence, that Islam is not to be blamed, these are misguided followers, etc. But the questions that beg answers are, why doesn’t Islam have a self-correcting feature?”

– **Gaurang Vaishnav**, long-time VHP-A leader. Vaishnav also traveled to India to campaign for Pragya Thakur, a militant Hindu supremacist leader implicated in a string of bombings targeting Muslims in India.⁹⁹

The VHP-A's Casteism

The VHP-A has regularly sought to deny the very existence of caste-based discrimination. Most mentions of caste in its statements put “caste” in inverted quotes. Instead, it has attacked anti-caste activists as terrorist co-conspirators, and regularly opposed attempts to introduce anti-caste legislation in universities or city councils.¹⁰⁰ Most recently, this took the form of a concerted campaign to oppose SB403, a bill in the California state legislature that sought to include caste as a protected category in California's civil rights law.¹⁰¹ Arguments used by the VHP-A to oppose caste protections mirror white supremacist arguments against critical race theory, or protections for marginalized groups such as the LGBTQ+ community.¹⁰²

Arguments used by the VHP-A to exclude caste as a category of discrimination mirror white supremacist arguments against critical race theory, or protections for marginalized groups such as the LGBTQ+ community.

Public materials produced by the VHP-A have attempted to justify the existence of caste categories. One example quotes the Rig Veda in saying that “The duties of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras are distributed according to their qualities, in accordance with their gunas and not by birth.”¹⁰³ In claiming that the caste system is based on a merit-based distribution of qualities or skills, the VHP-A parrots the traditional Hindu supremacist and caste-

denialist line that defends caste as a harmonious arrangement of society – while turning a blind eye to the history of coercion, discrimination and violence that it relies on.

When confronted by anti-caste activists seeking to establish caste protections, VHP-A leaders in the United States have, in a strategy commonly used by Hindu supremacist groups, attempted to reduce caste to a colonial construct. “The entire word that is being used to describe this cause doesn’t even originate from the Indian subcontinent,” said VHP-A leader Utsav Chakrabarti on the organization’s official channel.¹⁰⁴ “This has been used to categorize professional guilds in Asia by the European colonial powers.”¹⁰⁵ The VHP-A’s own video, meanwhile, flatly states that a single British officer, “Herbert Hope Risley, introduced caste.”¹⁰⁶ By reducing millennia of caste hierarchies into “professional guilds,” diverting responsibility for the long-entrenched reality of caste to British officers, or claiming that caste has been given up by Hindu society, VHP-A leaders like Chakrabarti seek to erase the violent reality of caste.

Ironically, the VHP-A’s statement on the Santa Clara City Council resolution recognizing caste as a protected category noted that “what is being presented as ‘caste’ in Santa Clara is routinely practiced in Muslim and Christian communities in the Indian subcontinent,” while arguing that caste has been relinquished by Hindu society. “There are jati and varna concepts within Hindu scriptures, and they do talk about social hierarchies, but – and this is

the most important bit – those things have been given up legally by the Hindu society,” Chakrabarti said on the VHP-A’s weekly channel.¹⁰⁷ Such logic ignores the social reality of caste that persists in India despite legal efforts, and, indeed, the casteism that traveled with the diaspora when South Asians migrated to the United States.

The VHP-A’s casteism is inextricable from its deeply-rooted anti-Muslim and anti-Christian bigotry. In the same video cited above, Chakrabarti claims that efforts to develop protections against caste discrimination are merely “a ploy to divide Hindus, and now Muslims and Christians will be fighting over who gets to convert us.”¹⁰⁸ These statements have real implications for Dalit and caste-oppressed communities. For example, the VHP-A’s fierce defence of caste has extended to the case of BAPS (Bochasanwasi Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha), whose temples were raided in 2021 by federal authorities for their alleged illegal abuse of forced Dalit labor, trafficked from India to build BAPS temples at hourly wage rates of as little as \$1.20.¹⁰⁹ The VHP-A has repeatedly come to the defense of BAPS, claiming that caste is being “weaponized” against it.¹¹⁰

The VHP-A's Collaborations With the US Far-Right Hate Ecosystem

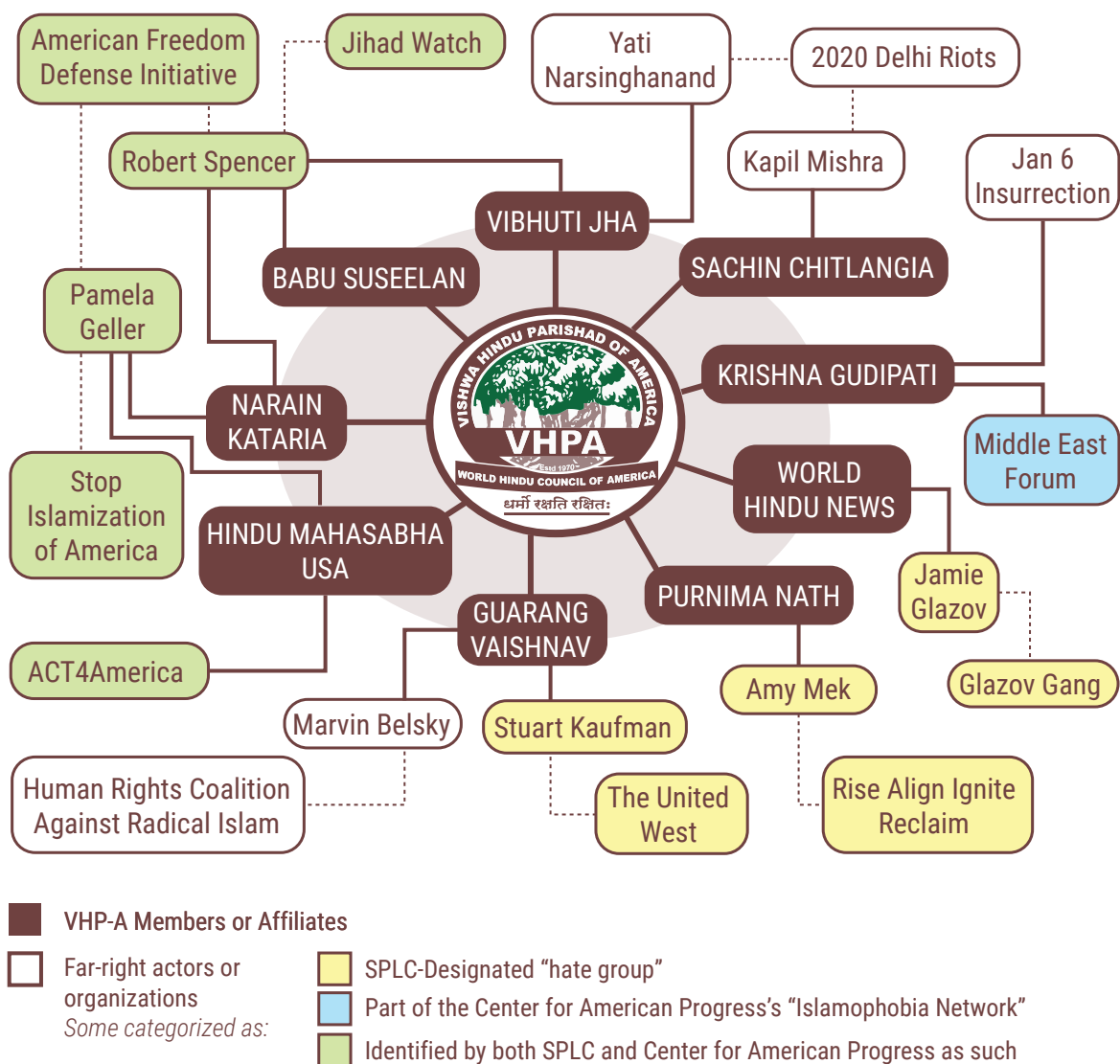


Fig. 3: Chart of VHP-A Connections with far-right groups¹¹¹

Hindu supremacist leaders have long expressed admiration for white supremacist and other US-based far-right movements.¹¹² The VHP-A epitomizes this phenomenon; for example, VHP-A member Krishna Gudipati participated in the January 6

insurrection at the US Capitol.¹¹³ He continues to actively associate in right-wing circles; for example, he was in attendance in July 2021 at a VHP-A event on Kashmir in Washington DC, which featured Cliff Smith, a senior staffer at the Middle East Forum

(MEF), a right-wing think tank that has been widely criticized for its anti-Islam positions.

Babu Suseelan, a high-level VHP leader, was an associate fellow at the American Freedom Alliance, working alongside the likes of Robert Spencer, Avi Davis, Stephen Coughlin, and Larry Greenfield. Suseelan also joined hands with Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer in an international anti-Muslim alliance titled Stop the Islamization of Nations (SION).¹¹⁵

VHP America member Krishna Gudipati participated in the January 6 insurrection at the US Capitol.

Suseelan's unvarnished Islamophobia, noted above, likely helped him find common cause with the American far right.

Pamela Geller's "Stop Islamization of America," Marvin Belsky's "Human Rights Coalition Against Radical Islam" and Stuart Kaufman's "The United West" have all co-sponsored and supported protests organized by VHP America.¹¹⁶ Pamela Geller described in an interview that she "was a great admirer of the late Narain Kataria," a Hindu supremacist leader who served for many years on the VHP-A's Governing Council.¹¹⁷

Jamie Glazov, the founder of Glazov Gang, a deeply Islamophobic weekly broadcast show whose parent company has been designated as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), has been featured on World Hindu News, a VHP-A-affiliated news portal run by the head of the VHP-A's North Houston chapter.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, Amy Mek's RAIR Foundation—also an SPLC-designated hate group—has collaborated closely with Purnima Nath, a Hindu supremacist figure with ties to the VHP-A, who has organized Hindus in support of the Trump campaign.¹¹⁹ Nath leads what she terms the #iExit movement, which encourages Indian Americans to leave the Democratic Party and embrace the far right. The movement's social media pages regularly employ hashtags like #HindusAndTrump, #iExitLeft and #MAGA.¹²⁰ Mek has since grown closer to the far right and associated openly with major RSS leaders in India.¹²¹

Manga Anantatmula, who has represented the VHP-A's CHINGARI project, has similarly joined the Republican Party and is now contesting elections in Virginia on a far-right platform.¹²² Anantatmula has similarly taken positions against affirmative action, attacked Democratic Party leaders like Pramila Jayapal for progressive positions, and is seeking to move Indian Americans away from the Democratic Party and into the Republican Party.¹²³

Beginning in 2015, Anantatmula worked with Edward Blum's Students for Fair Admissions (SFFA) and as a board member of Asian American Coalition for Education (AACE) to spearhead challenges to affirmative action that eventually resulted in the 2023 SCOTUS decision which ruled affirmative action protections unconstitutional.¹²⁴ And when the American Bar Association announced a motion prohibiting caste discrimination, Anantatmula threatened their spokesperson with a lawsuit: "is this one idiot f*ing moron going to talk for the entire ABA? It'll be a major embarrassment if there's a lawsuit filed against ABA for slander. He must render public apology or we will gear up to slap with a lawsuit."¹²⁵

Robert Spencer: A Case Study of the US Far Right's Embrace of Hindu Supremacy

Jihad Watch director Robert Spencer, whom the SPLC has described as “one of America’s most prolific and vociferous anti-Muslim propagandists,” has also grown increasingly close to Hindu supremacist groups, finding willing audiences on VHP-A-affiliated platforms like the Jaipur Dialogues.¹²⁶ Spencer’s increasingly close alliances with Hindu supremacist groups marks a broader shift in the “market” for anti-Muslim provocateurs, which, two decades after the Global War on Terror began, has found in Hindu supremacist groups new audiences and platforms.

“Hindus: don’t hesitate to defend your religion & culture against those Muslims who want to destroy them. This is no time for Gandhi-style cowardice & appeasement that invariably embolden the aggressor.”¹²⁷

– Robert Spencer

Spencer regularly amplifies Hindu supremacist propaganda.¹²⁸ He is a recurring guest on OplIndia, a Hindu supremacist website where he regularly converses with Nupur J Sharma, OplIndia’s editor, about global Islamophobic conspiracies.¹²⁹ Spencer also appeared on the Jaipur Dialogues, a YouTube show hosted by VHP-A affiliate and prominent right-wing Islamophobe Vibhuti Jha, an astonishing six times in a little over a year.¹³⁰ Spencer has also been a guest on Sangam Talks, a right-wing think tank based in New Delhi, and wrote a glowing obituary for VHP-A leader Narain Kataria in 2015 on his website Jihad Watch.¹³¹

Kataria, who gained infamy for his anti-Muslim hate speeches, often collaborated with Spencer to organize protests and events, and the two regularly shared each other’s materials.¹³²

“The great Hindu freedom fighter Narain Kataria has died... Narain Kataria was what we all should be: a man who stood for the right, no matter the cost. May we all emulate him. May his memory be eternal.”¹³³

– Robert Spencer on Narain Kataria

Spencer’s increasingly close alliances with Hindu supremacist groups marks a broader shift in the “market” for anti-Muslim provocateurs, which, two decades after the Global War on Terror, has found in Hindu supremacist groups new audiences and platforms.

Kataria, a former VHP-A Governing Council Member, was close to a range of far-right groups and often returned the compliments. “There’s Human Right Coalition against Radical Islam. Then there’s another organization being headed by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, we support that organization,” Kataria has said.¹³⁴ He once boasted that “Pamela Geller, Robert Spencer, they are my friends ... We have been advising them that the big danger is coming here also, so be careful.”¹³⁵

Hindu Supremacy is Moving Hindu Americans Toward the Far Right

While Indian Americans have long been a reliable Democratic constituency, Hindu supremacist forces have long attempted to move their communities to the right. This effort has often been led by groups like the VHP-A, which has indicated great enthusiasm about partnering with white supremacist and other far-right groups. This shift has only grown more pronounced of late, a trend accelerated by the creation of the Republican Hindu Coalition, co-chaired by Steve Bannon, the white supremacist leader and Trump ally.¹³⁶

For example, a year ahead of the 2020 Elections, VHP-A members and other Hindu supremacist groups founded Americans4Hindus, a PAC whose explicit *raison d'être* was to punish the Progressive Caucus and other Democratic Party members for their expressions of support for pluralism and democracy in India.¹³⁷ In its own words, Americans4Hindus “was set up in response to recent anti-India and anti-Hindu statements and actions by members of the Progressive Caucus (‘PC’) of the Democratic party that have aggrieved a large swath of the Hindu-American community.”¹³⁸

Americans4Hindus invited a range of white supremacist leaders such as Laura Loomer, a well-known far-right figure banned from a variety of social media platforms for spreading misinformation and hate, to their events.¹³⁹ Although the PAC claims to be non-partisan, it has consistently and almost exclusively endorsed and fundraised for Republican candidates for office, including

Donald Trump’s re-election campaign.¹⁴⁰ Across multiple primary cycles, Americans4Hindus have also launched and financed the campaign of Ritesh Tandon, whose challenge to incumbent Democrat Ro Khanna was explicitly conceived in response to Khanna’s public criticism of Hindu supremacy, and in fact launched out of the house of a prominent local Hindu supremacist, Romesh Japra.¹⁴¹

...VHP-A members and other Hindu supremacist groups founded Americans4Hindus, a PAC whose explicit *raison d'être* was to punish the Progressive Caucus and other Democratic Party members for their expressions of support for pluralism and democracy in India.

The VHP-A has continued to support new Republican leaders with Hindu supremacist positions, including former 2024 presidential Candidate Vivek Ramaswamy. In 2022, Ramaswamy was the keynote speaker for a VHP-A annual gala, well before he entered the national spotlight with his presidential run.¹⁴² He repeated his appearance a year later, at HinduACTion’s annual gala.¹⁴³ On both occasions, Ramaswamy expressed his close ties to the VHP-A, including a decades-long connection to VHP-A leader Renu Gupta. Ramaswamy has, in his own public appearances, praised

Narendra Modi as worthy of emulation in the United States.¹⁴⁴

Hindu supremacist groups have since opposed affirmative action as well. The VHP-A's advocacy wing, for example, tweeted in support of the US Supreme Court's decision against affirmative action: "We welcome #AffirmativeAction ruling by the #SCOTUS."¹⁴⁵ Hindu supremacist groups are often deeply beholden to the image of the "model minority"; for example, in an infographic on the "Trajectory of Hindus in America," the VHP-A writes that "Indians skipped the 'ghetto stage' common to most immigrant stories."¹⁴⁶

Other VHP-A affiliates such as Purnima Nath, Manga Anantmula and Vibhuti Jha have also joined the Republican Party or other far-right and MAGA formations, often united over a shared supremacist politics.¹⁴⁷ As mentioned above, all of them have worked to draw Indian American voters, particularly those of Hindu faith, away from the Democratic Party and into the Republican fold. For example, in a recent episode of his show, Jha hosted three Hindu far-right candidates running for Congressional office on Republican tickets: Anantmula, Niraj Antani, and Burt Thakur. Thakur is contesting

the Republican primary for Texas's 26th Congressional District on a border security platform, grounding his campaign in a "good immigrant" versus "bad immigrant" narrative.¹⁴⁸

Jha's framing for the conversation was explicit. "What would it take for the three of you who are Republicans to turn Indian Americans ... who overwhelmingly vote Democrat, to our side, if I may say so?" he asked. The video was titled "We may well see a representation of Hindu Americans in US Congress in 2024 elections in contrast with HINO from the Democratic Party."¹⁴⁹ (The term "HINO," or "Hindu in Name Only," a riff on the Trumpist "Republican In Name Only," is often used in Hindu supremacist circles to lambast those considered insufficiently committed to the cause.)

Anantmula's response invoked the alarmism of white supremacist discourse, but tailored to Hindus. "Let's not be daydreamers, thinking that bringing your paycheck home is enough to take care of your family. No, your next generation is about to be hanged," she said. "If they think that Hindus are safe in this country, they are not safe. The demographics and the culture of this country is changing. If we don't change along with the changes that are being forced on us, then we will perish."¹⁵⁰



Fig. 4: Screenshot of Laura Loomer announcing Americans4Hindus' endorsement of her campaign, where she termed Representatives Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib "Marxist jihadists."

The VHP-A has Mounted Multiple Attacks on US Civil Society

The VHP-A has routinely attacked Muslim American politicians and activists, religious freedom and human rights watchdogs, and anti-caste, interfaith, and other civil rights groups and individuals in the United States. Often, these attacks have constructed grand conspiracies steeped in Islamophobic tropes that falsely label these actors as proxies of Islamist groups, terrorist organizations, or foreign governments.

For example, in the February 27, 2022 episode of HinduLounge, the VHP-A's weekly show, VHP-A President Ajay Shah and VHP-A Executive Committee Member Utsav Chakrabarti referred to human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, as subjects to "infiltration" and "indoctrination" by Islamists, with "supporters of Taliban and al-Qaeda in high positions." For over an hour, Shah and Chakrabarti shared a number of unfounded conspiracy theories that drew on a number of deeply anti-Muslim tropes.

"They [Amnesty] have been successfully infiltrated by radical Islamists, and funded by them in many places," said Chakrabarti. "They were seen actively working with terrorist groups," Chakrabarti claimed. "It sides with all the dictators, it sides with fundamentalists, it sides with radicals. That is what Amnesty International does," said Shah.¹⁵¹

Shah and Chakrabarti's attack on Amnesty also veered into broader antisemitic and anti-Muslim conspiracy theories involving George Soros. "It's absolutely true, the money comes from these dubious pan-Islamist supporters

of the globalist left," said Chakrabarti. "George Soros gives money through his foundation to Amnesty International, Amnesty International goes and interferes in India's internal affairs," added Shah.¹⁵²

VHP-A President Ajay Shah has since claimed, without evidence, that "Pakistan is directly involved in bringing down the Hindu candidates in America in order to limit the influence that India has in statehouses as well as the Congress, and they're working through some of the organizations that are Indian Muslim organizations."¹⁵³ These unfounded conspiratorial claims often rely heavily on materials produced by pro-BJP disinformation networks.¹⁵⁴

The VHP-A has routinely attacked Muslim American politicians and activists, religious freedom and human rights watchdogs, and anti-caste, interfaith, and other progressive groups and individuals in the United States.

In March 2021, Shah termed the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) "a pan-Islamist organization, which is closely connected to terrorist groups, including Muslim Brotherhood."¹⁵⁵ The VHP-A's advocacy wing, HinduPACT, has repeatedly described the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Islamic Circle of North America, and Islamic Society of North America in tweets as "Islamist benefactors." Shah then went on to call the Indian American Muslim Council "a front for Council on

American-Islamic Relations.”¹⁵⁶ No evidence was presented to support any of these claims. In a separate appearance on India’s News18 channel, Utsav Chakrabarti, VHP-A’s HinduPACT Executive Director, falsely accused American Muslim civil society groups of colluding with “radical jihadists from groups like ISIS and Al Qaeda.”¹⁵⁷

In June 2022, the VHP-A claimed that HR 1196, a resolution that condemns “human rights violations and violations of international religious freedom in India, including those targeting Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Dalits,” would “embolden the global Islamists against India and will lead to more terrorist attacks.”¹⁵⁸

The same year, the VHP-A’s advocacy wing launched a campaign to oppose Congresswomen Jan Schakowsky and Ilhan Omar’s H.R. 5665 Combating International Islamophobia Act, which the group alleged, among multiple things, would be “used to legitimize child marriage and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).”¹⁵⁹ The VHP-A’s main ally in this campaign was none other than Robert Spencer.¹⁶⁰

The VHP-A has also led campaigns to restrict academic freedom. For example, in August 2021, it ran a social media campaign seeking to halt the “Dismantling Global Hindutva” conference, an online interrogation into Hindu supremacy led by scholars and academics from various American and international universities.¹⁶¹ As a result, many organizers and participants reported receiving death threats, according to *The Guardian*.¹⁶²

Hindu supremacist groups in the United States have not left US government bodies unscathed. In response to the US Commission on International Religious Freedom’s (USCIRF) reports that criticized deteriorating human

rights conditions in India, the VHP-A launched a vicious attack on USCIRF, claiming that it had been infiltrated and captured by Islamist groups.¹⁶³ “The USCIRF report is a ‘copy-and-paste’ of talking points peddled by an agglomeration of Islamist groups working with radical Islamist-linked group ‘Justice for All’ on whose platform USCIRF commissioners are known to appear regularly,” the VHP-A’s statement said. VHP-A leaders then went on a number of right-wing channels in India attacking USCIRF with Islamophobic smear campaigns.¹⁶⁴

Ajay Shah, speaking on behalf of the VHP-A and HinduPACT, claimed it was “obvious that the USCIRF has been taken over by the Indophobic and Hinduphobic members” who “have attended India and Hindu bashing events.” Shah claimed that their “selective observations are meant to promote a political agenda and further their electoral reach in selected communities.”¹⁶⁵

Conclusion

The VHP-A often positions itself as an exclusively religious organization that represents a minority community: Hindus in the United States. This positioning, which draws on the very protections won by social movements to build a multicultural, pluralistic society, offers the VHP-A an easy point of access into US civil society.

However, as this report demonstrates, both the VHP in India and its American wing act in clear contrast to these principles. The harms caused by the VHP-A have left an indelible impact not just on communities in India and its diaspora, but the broader American political landscape as well, where it has platformed extremists, attacked progressive movements and civil society actors, and collaborated with other supremacist and anti-democratic forces. US civil society and political actors must be clear in seeing the Global VHP as a supremacist, anti-democratic force and a key part of the global far right.

The evidence presented in this report is merely a preliminary inquiry into an emergent phenomenon. We encourage journalists and researchers to engage in a deeper investigation that can build on some of the findings presented in this report.

Glossary of Terms

■ Concept

Akhand Bharat A term that translates to “Undivided India.” It is a unifying concept for many on the Hindu right who believe that all the countries in the Indian subcontinent – including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Tibet – belong within Hindu governance. <https://casi.sas.upenn.edu/iit/udayandas>

Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) A right-wing student organization in India affiliated with the RSS. In addition to politically organizing in support of BJP political candidates and other Hindu supremacist platforms, they have been involved in acts of violence, including a 2020 planned attack on a left-wing student group. <https://ediss.uni-goettingen.de/handle/11858/14646>

Article 370 Article 370 of the Indian Constitution granted special autonomous status to the region of Kashmir, providing it with its own constitution, flag, and significant decision-making powers, except in areas of defense, communications, and foreign affairs. In August 2019, the Indian government controversially revoked Article 370, bifurcating the state into two union territories, Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. This constituted a significant violation of the autonomy of Kashmiris. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49234708>

■ Event/Movement

■ Organization

■ Person

Baba Ramdev An Indian yoga guru and businessman with close ties to the BJP. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/26/magazine/the-billionaire-yogi-behind-modis-rise.html>

Babri Masjid, Ayodhya The mosque destroyed by a VHP-led mob, and claimed by Hindu supremacists, with little evidence, to have been built on the birthplace of Hindu deity Ram. <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/explained-the-ram-mandir-movement-the-babri-demolition-and-the-acquittal-of-all-accused-news-210152>

Bajrang Dal The youth militia of the VHP, involved in numerous cases of violence and hate speech. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/bajrang-dal-the-aggressive-arm-of-hindutva/article67162932.ece>

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) The political wing of the RSS, and the ruling party in India at both the federal level and in approximately a dozen states. By various estimates, it is the largest political party in the world. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Bharatiya-Janata-Party>

Brahmin Within the four-tiered social hierarchy described by Hindu texts and practiced throughout Indian history, Brahmins are the priestly caste which occupy the

topmost rung. Thanks to a historic monopoly on cultural, educational, and political power, Brahmins enjoy structural privileges in contemporary India.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-35650616> , <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/00113921221105915>

Caste A social hierarchy prevalent in India that categorizes individuals into different hereditary groups known as castes. Based on birth, each caste is associated with a specific occupation and social status. The caste system has had a significant influence on social and economic relationships in India and continues to be the basis of severe systemic forms of prejudice.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-35650616> , <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/00113921221105915>

Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) A 2019 law passed by the Indian parliament which uses religion as a criterion for citizenship eligibility for persecuted minorities from India's Muslim-majority neighbor countries. The law selectively discriminates against Muslims in India by opening a pathway to citizenship for adherents of all major religions excluding Islam. As a result, it was severely criticized and became the basis for significant political mobilization and large-scale protests all across India and abroad.

<https://www.uscifr.gov/resources/factsheet-citizenship-amendment-act-india>

Delhi Riots Communal violence which took place in Delhi in 2020 in response to protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act. The riots, which left 53 dead and hundreds injured, were caused in large part by incendiary messaging by BJP members.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/02/21/india-biased-investigations-2-years-after-delhi-riot>

Durga Vahini The women's wing of the VHP, founded in 1991 by Sadhvi Rithambara.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-29798148>

Ekal Vidyalaya An RSS-run movement to establish "single-teacher schools" in rural India, with a special emphasis on Adivasi, or indigenous, communities. The schools often focus on "Hinduizing" indigenous children; in 2005, the Indian Ministry of Human Resources and Development froze grants to Ekal Vidyalaya schools, noting that it was "misusing these funds, and using the grants for creating disharmony amongst religious groups and creating a political cadre."

<https://caravanmagazine.in/politics/ekal-vidyalaya-abhiyan-rss-fts-vhp-hindutva-west-bengal-trinamool-bjp>

Gujarat Riots Intense communal violence which took place over three days in 2002 in the Indian state of Gujarat. Death counts are uncertain but rank in the thousands due to the targeted killings of Muslims in the state. Many VHP and RSS leaders coordinated the attacks, and Narendra Modi – the then-Chief Minister of Gujarat – has been implicated in the violence. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/02/24/india-decade-gujarat-justice-incomplete>

Hindu Students Council (HSC) A student organization with roots in the VHP-A with registered chapters in universities throughout the United States. Alumni from HSC have regularly been recruited to the upper echelons of other Hindutva organizations in the United States.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20230515020854/http://www.sacw.net/DC/CommunalismCollection/ArticlesArchive/2008HSC-FINAL-REPORT.pdf>

Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) The overseas wing of the RSS, and its direct counterpart in the United States. Like the RSS, it runs paramilitary training camps called “shakhas,” or branches; more than 220 such branches are thought to exist in the United States, according to a 2022 report.

<https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-hindu-swayamsewak-sangh-hss/>

Hindu University of America A project of the VHP based in Orlando, Florida. Continues to be very closely tied to the American Sangh.

<https://www.VHPmerica.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/>

<https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-vishwa-hindu-parishad-of-america-vhpa/>

Hinduphobia Hinduphobia is a term intended to be used analogously to Islamophobia or antisemitism to describe a negative bias, prejudice, or hostility towards Hinduism and Hindus. The term, however, has largely been pushed and weaponized by right-wing Hindu supremacist groups operating in the United States to shut down criticism of Hindu supremacy. This language often conflates racist or white supremacist xenophobia against people of color (including those of Hindu faith) with legitimate critiques of the Islamophobia or casteism embedded into Hindu supremacist politics. This serves to drive a wedge between the shared experiences and solidarity among South Asian Americans (and with other groups of color), and instead seeks to silence progressive activists. Just like any political ideology, Hindu supremacy must be open to scrutiny, contestation and analysis.

<https://scroll.in/article/1043735/what-fbi-data-about-anti-hindu-hate-crimes-in-the-us-reveals-about-fears-of-hinduphobia>

<https://harvardpolitics.com/unmasking-hinduphobia-in-the-us/>

Hindutva (Hindu supremacy) Hindu supremacy is a far-right ethnonationalist political ideology distinguished from Hinduism by its emphasis on the absolute cultural and political hegemony of Hindus in India. As such, Hindutva, which is often used interchangeably with Hindu supremacy and Hindu nationalism, is essentially a supremacist ideology with elements of religious intolerance against Muslims, Christians and other cultural and religious minorities. Adherents seek to turn India into a Hindu state, while also promoting a monolithic concept of Hindu identity and practice that obscures and denies the longstanding internal diversity of the Hindu tradition.

Goyal 2000; Kanungo 2002; Vanaik 2017; Jaffrelot 2019.

Also see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BMqkG6VMn4o&ab_channel=VICENews

Keshav Baliram Hedgewar The founder and first Sarsanghchalak (Supreme Leader) of the RSS.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Rashtriya-Swayamsevak-Sangh>

Liberhan Commission An independent commission set up by the government of India to investigate the 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid and the anti-Muslim pogroms that followed. Its report named the VHP, RSS and BJP as key conspirators in a pre-planned plot to tear down the mosque and foment anti-Muslim violence across the country.

<https://thewire.in/communalism/justice->

liberhan-commission-babri-masjid
[https://archive.org/details/
LiberhanCommissionReport/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/LiberhanCommissionReport/mode/2up)

M.S. Golwalkar The second Sarsanghchalak (Supreme Leader) of the RSS, and one of its chief ideologues. In his 1939 work, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, Golwalkar argues that Hindus must take inspiration from the treatment of Jews by the Nazis as an example of how to treat minorities in India.

<https://caravanmagazine.in/history/rss-golwalkar-links-nazism>

Mahesh Mehta The founder and ex-president of the VHP, and an RSS pracharak and member since his childhood. Mehta was instrumental in establishing the edifice of the Sangh in the United States, and played instrumental roles in establishing the Overseas Friends of the BJP USA, the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh USA, the Ekal Vidyalaya Foundation USA, and Global Indians for Bharat Vikas, among others.

Nathuram Godse A Hindu supremacist and RSS member who assassinated Gandhi for his commitment to Hindu-Muslim unity. Continues to be revered by a large section of the Hindu far right.

[https://caravanmagazine.in/reportage/
historical-record-expose-lie-godse-left-rss](https://caravanmagazine.in/reportage/historical-record-expose-lie-godse-left-rss)

National Register of Citizens (NRC) The National Register of Citizens (NRC) in India is an exercise to recognize and expel 'illegal immigrants' by demanding documentary proof of citizenship from every citizen of India. An NRC has been conducted in the Northeastern state of Assam, which has led to the disenfranchisement of nearly 2 million people. Muslims in Assam have been especially targeted for incarceration in prison camps. The process is riddled with errors, and the BJP's promise to expand it to the entire country has been strongly

condemned given that many Indians lack the necessary documents to provide "proof" of citizenship. The NRC process has also been criticized for selectively excluding minorities.

[https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/
humanrights/2020/08/10/the-national-register-
of-citizens-and-indias-commitment-deficit-to-
international-law/](https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/humanrights/2020/08/10/the-national-register-of-citizens-and-indias-commitment-deficit-to-international-law/)

Overseas Friends of the BJP (OFBJP) The BJP's overseas wing, forced to register as a Foreign Agent in the US after facing scrutiny. [https://scroll.in/global/973063/explainer-why-
the-overseas-friends-of-bjp-has-registered-as-a-
foreign-agent-in-the-us](https://scroll.in/global/973063/explainer-why-the-overseas-friends-of-bjp-has-registered-as-a-foreign-agent-in-the-us)

Param Shakti Peeth The name used internationally for a non-profit organization founded and run by Sadhvi Rithambara, an infamously virulent VHP-affiliated leader.

Pracharak A full-time worker of the RSS, deployed by the central RSS to make decisions on its behalf as a type of mobile executive. Pracharaks are carefully selected after years of training, which includes having to pass a three-tiered training camp organized by the RSS. *Walter Andersen and Shridhar Damle. The RSS: A View to the Inside. Penguin Random House, 2018.*

Ram Janmabhoomi Literally translates to "Birthplace of Ram." It is the name of a movement led by the Sangh which culminated in the violent destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. The demolition was followed by months of bloody riots.

[https://www.outlookindia.com/national/
explained-the-ram-mandir-movement-the-babri-
demolition-and-the-acquittal-of-all-accused-
news-210152](https://www.outlookindia.com/national/explained-the-ram-mandir-movement-the-babri-demolition-and-the-acquittal-of-all-accused-news-210152)

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is a

far-right paramilitary organization founded in 1925 with a commitment to Hindu supremacy, and the parent organization of India's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). It was explicitly modeled on the Italian Fascist movement. With the elevation of Narendra Modi, a lifelong RSS member, to India's Prime Ministership, the RSS enjoys unprecedented power in India today. In the decades since it was founded, the RSS has spawned an immense network of subsidiary organizations known as the Sangh Parivar (Sangh Family) in both India and the diaspora.

Andersen and Damle 2018; Brass 2003; Engineer 2004; Jaffrelot 1996, 2019; Noorani 2019; Wilkinson 2004; Chirmuley 2018. <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/foreign-hand-in-the-sangh-rss-hindu-society-muslims-christians-5117648/>
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/nathuram-godse-never-left-rss-says-his-family/articleshow/54159375.cms?from=mdr>
<https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-rashtriya-swayamsevak-sangh-rss/>

Sadhvi Rithambara A Hindu supremacist campaigner and leader of the woman's wing of the VHP, the Durga Vahini. Rithambara is infamous for her hateful speeches that were key to inciting large-scale violence during the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, the demolition of the Babri Masjid, and the riots that followed. She has since attempted to transform her image to the head of a charity, Param Shakti Peeth, that cares for widows and children.

Patricia Jeffery and Amrita Basu, eds. *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia*. Routledge, 2012.

Sarkaryavah The General Secretary of the RSS, and its most important organizational

position.

Walter Andersen and Shridhar Damle. *The RSS: A View to the Inside*. Penguin Random House, 2018.

Sarsanghchalak The head or Supreme Leader of the RSS, also described as its guide and philosopher. Chosen by nomination by his – the RSS is all-male – predecessor.

Walter Andersen and Shridhar Damle. *The RSS: A View to the Inside*. Penguin Random House, 2018.

Sewa Bharati/Sewa International The service wing of the RSS, structured as an NGO to receive massive amounts of national and international funding. There is evidence that much of this funding is disbursed through various Sangh projects. For example, Sewa collected millions of dollars in connection to the 2001 Gujarat earthquake with nearly a quarter of the funds directed towards RSS-affiliated schools with anti-Muslim agendas. Malini Bhattacharjee. *Disaster Relief and the RSS: Resurrecting "Religion" through Humanitarianism*. Sage, 2019.

Sewa International USA The US branch of the international wing of Sewa Bharati, the service wing of the RSS. It raises tens of millions of dollars a year to support RSS projects.

Malini Bhattacharjee. *Disaster Relief and the RSS: Resurrecting "religion" through Humanitarianism*. Sage, 2019.

Swayamsevak The term for an RSS member. Translates to "volunteer." Walter Andersen and Shridhar Damle. *The RSS: A View to the Inside*. Penguin Random House, 2018.

The American Sangh / US Sangh A term used to describe the various US-based

Endnotes

- 1 In this document we refer to Hindu supremacy as a specific (and the dominant) form of the broader Hindu right, formed from 20th century thinkers like V. D. Savarkar, M. S. Golwalkar and Deendayal Upadhyaya. Hindu nationalism, and the Hindu right more broadly, has longer intellectual roots and encompasses organizations outside the purview of this report.
- 2 See Goyal 2000; Kanungo 2002; Vanaik 2017; Jaffrelot 2019/
- 3 <https://carnegiendowment.org/2020/02/03/i-could-not-be-hindu-is-unique-testimony-to-sangh-s-casteism-pub-81000> , <https://time.com/6156124/india-hindu-muslim-caste/>
- 4 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/08/india-akhand-bharat-hindu-nationalist-rss-bjp/>, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/india-a-hindu-rashtra-akhand-bharat-will-come-true-says-yogi-adityanath/article66512640.ece>, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/06/13/india/india-akhand-bharat-map-parliament-intl-hnk/index.html>
- 5 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4408848> , P. Chirmuley (2018). Foreign Hand in the Sangh. Indian Express. March 31, 2018. <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/foreign-hand-in-the-sangh-rss-hindu-society-muslims-christians-5117648/>
- 6 See <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09584935.2022.2132219>
- 7 See Andersen and Damle 2018; Brass 2003; Engineer 2004; Jaffrelot 1996, 2019; Noorani 2019; Wilkinson 2004 <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/nathuram-godse-never-left-rss-says-his-family/articleshow/54159375.cms?from=mdr> <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/30/india-gandhis-killer-godse-never-left-rss-claims-new-book>
- 8 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09584935.2022.2132219> , <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-rashtriya-swayamsevak-sangh-rss/>, <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/many-members-of-the-extended-family-of-rss/300568>
- 9 <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-vishwa-hindu-parishad-of-america-VHPa/>, <https://www.VHP-america.org/all-chapters/>
- 10 <https://vhp.org.uk/about-vhp/founders-vh/>, The VHP-A claims to be legally distinct from the VHP, but as this report shows, this is true in only a narrow legal sense. Mahesh Mehta, *Hindu Philosophy in Action*, p. IV
- 11 <https://theprint.in/pageturner/excerpt/nationalism-golwalkars-head-of-rss-three-decades/31781/> Golwalkar wrote: "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."
- 12 <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/cia-names-VHP-bajrang-dal-as-religious-militant-organisations-in-world-factbook-5218249/>
- 13 <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Mangalore/VHP-says-it-will-expand-its-base-to-more-countries/article30437554.ece> , <https://web.archive.org/web/20211006201217/https://VHP.org/VHP-at-glance/hindus-abroad/>
- 14 **Support a Child** self-attests as a project of the VHP-A on its website, alongside the VHP-A's logo. <https://www.supportachildusa.org/>
American Hindus Against Defamation is claimed by the VHP-A as a project on its website, and self-attests to the same. <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205170216/https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/> , <https://www.vhp-america.org/against-defamation/> , <https://ahad.hindunet.org/american-hindus-against-defamation-ahad/history-of-ahad/>
- Ekal Vidyalaya Foundation USA** is claimed by the VHP-A as a project on its website, a fact corroborated in VHP-A founder Mahesh Mehta's memoirs. <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205170216/https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/>
Mehta, Mahesh. *Hindu Philosophy in Action*, p. 16. 2004
- The Hindu Students Council** claimed to be spun off as an independent organization in 2003, but the VHP-A has itself claimed the HSC as a VHP-A project on its website. See <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205170216/https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/> , <https://www.vhp-america.org/seva-programs-projects/>, which is corroborated by extensive reporting in the past. <https://web.archive.org/web/20230515020854/http://www.sacw.net/DC/CommunalismCollection/ArticlesArchive/2008HSC-FINAL-REPORT.pdf>
- HinduPACT** self-attests as a project of the VHP-A on its website, where the VHP-A's logo is prominently displayed. <https://hindupact.org/>
- Hindu Mandir Executives Conference** is also claimed by the VHP-A as a project on its website , and self attests to the same. <https://hmec.info/> , <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205170216/https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/>
- Hindu University of America** is also claimed by the VHP-A as a project on its website. VHP-A leaders like Abhaya Asthana continue to be involved with the organization. <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205170216/https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/>
<https://www.hua.edu/about/team/>
- HinduAction** is led by VHP-A leaders Renu Gupta and Utsav Chakrabarti, among others. <https://www.hindu-action.org/about>, <https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/governing-council/>
- Param Shakti Peeth of America**, founded by VHP leader Sadhvi Ritambhara, is heavily funded by VHP-A leaders such as Braham Aggarwal. <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/593623323/201812889349300831/IRS990ScheduleA> , https://www.mediavigil.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/US_HinduNationalism_Nonprofits.pdf

The Hindu American Foundation denies ties with the VHP-A; however, HAF co-founder Mihir Meghani was a member of the VHP-A, and VHP-A members remain on its Advisory Board. <https://hindutvawatch.org/hindu-american-foundation-fails-to-counter-mounting-evidence-of-links-to-violent-hindu-nationalist-movement/>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V9MrPL9FTuI>, <https://www.hinduamerican.org/advisory-committee>

Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh was also founded by VHP-A founder Mahesh Mehta, and the two organizations share multiple personnel. <https://www.vhp-america.org/dr-mahesh-mehta-vhpa-founder-and-a-great-visionary-leaves-us-for-eternity-2/>, https://www.mediavigil.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/US_HinduNationalism_Nonprofits.pdf, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230331060851/http://sacw.net/article14915.html>

A number of HSS members are heavily involved in the running of Sewa International USA; for example, Ramesh Bhutada, Saumitra Gokhale and Manohar Shinde are all identified leaders of the HSS. <https://india-herald.com/ramesh-bhutada-pioneer-places-philanthropy-over-bottom-line-p1992-1.htm>, <https://www.sewauusa.org/Team>, <https://truthout.org/articles/who-funds-higher-education-fears-of-hindu-nationalism-at-uc-irvine/>

The India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF) is also founded and run by HSS members. <https://www.sabrang.com/hnfund/sacw/part3.html>
15 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231124205438/https://www.vhp-america.org/>

16 The Hindu Students Council, HinduPACT and the Hindu Mandir Executives Conference are all claimed by the VHP-A as projects. See <https://www.VHP-america.org/>, <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205170216/https://www.vhp-america.org/about-vhpa/vhpa-history-and-milestones/> The same links also list a number of projects claimed by the VHP-A.

17 C.Bhatt & P.Mukta (2000). Hindutva in the West: Mapping the Antinomies of Diaspora Nationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(3); 407–41.

18 This includes not only PPP grants received during the COVID-19 pandemic, as reported on in Al-Jazeera, but also a regular inflow of government funds amounting to a minimum of \$560,000, as noted by the VHP-A on their tax returns. See

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/2/hindu-right-wing-groups-in-us-got-833000-of-federal-covid-fund> and <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/510156325>

19 <https://scroll.in/latest/937076/factchecker-pulls-down-hate-crime-watch-database-sister-websites-editor-resigns>, <https://thewire.in/media/hindustan-times-hate-tracker>

20 Brass, Paul R. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. University of Washington Press, 2003. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvcwn5mp>.
Hansen, Thomas Blom. *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

21 See <https://www.npr.org/2021/10/10/1041105988/india-muslim-hindu-interfaith-wedding-conversion>, <https://article-14.com/post/mainstreaming-of-the-land-jihad-propaganda-by-the-indian-media-6413ec7be7d2d>, <https://theprint.in/read-right/flood-jihad-hindu-right-press-sees-jihadist-conspiracy-in-assam-deluge/1051127/>, <https://indianexpress.com/article/political-pulse/assam-cm-himanta-sarma-fertiliser-jihad-bengali-muslim-8656703/>, <https://thewire.in/communalism/sudarshan-news-tv-show-upsc-jihad-suresh-chavhanke-fact-check>, <https://thewire.in/communalism/blaming-muslims-for-indias-population-growth-is-purely-hindutva-propaganda>, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/bengaluru-news/halal-meat-is-economic-jihad-bjp-s-ravi-adds-fuel-to-k-taka-s-communal-discord-101648616259297.html>, <https://www.thequint.com/news/politics/saffron-brigade-hate-speech-against-muslims-purolo-uttarakhand>

A full categorization is offered in <https://hindutvawatch.org/hate-speech-events-india/>.

22 See “The Hour of Lynching,” a 2019 documentary, which features Nawal Kishore, the then-head of Cow Protection at the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, who is filmed giving a speech defending the lynchings and protesting their arrest (12:10 onward).

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/ng-interactive/2019/may/24/the-hour-of-lynching-vigilante-violence-against-muslims-in-india-video>

23 <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/hindu-nationalism-and-the-new-jim-crow/>

24 <https://acleddata.com/dashboard/#/dashboard>

25 <https://hindutvawatch.org/hate-speech-events-india/>. Applications to the Bajrang Dal are even hosted on the VHP website: <https://www.vhp.org/joinbajrangdal/>

26 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/18/hatred-bigotry-and-untruth-communal-violence-grips-india>

27 See <https://thewire.in/communalism/manesar-haryana-vhp-muslims-threats-killings>, <https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/calls-for-genocide-ghar-wapsi-double-engine-hatred-1069139.html>, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/24/india-hindu-event-calling-for-genocide-of-muslims-sparks-outrage>, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/8/8/india-court-asks-if-nuh-demolitions-were-an-exercise-of-ethnic-cleansing>, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/13/why-muslims-are-fleeing-a-small-own-in-indias-uttarakhand-state>, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2023/08/25/in-the-indian-state-of-haryana-hindu-extremists-are-hunting-down-muslims-with-impunity_6107478_4.html,

28 <https://thewire.in/communalism/manesar-haryana-vhp-muslims-threats-killings>

29 <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/babri-masjid-demolition-the-events-that-led-to-the-fall-of-the-domes-news-242542>. Guha, Ramachandra (2007). *India After Gandhi*. MacMillan. pp. 582–98. The riots spread to cities like Mumbai, Surat, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Delhi, Bhopal, etc.

<https://theprint.in/india/vhp-struggle-for-ram-mandir-in-ayodhya-didnt-begin-in-1983-it-started-19-years-earlier/480190/>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/india-religion-temple-idINKBN1XJ01X/>

30 <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/Vajpayee-among-68-named-in-Babri-demolition/article16893961.ece>,

<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/liberhan-report-list-of-guilty-68-61569-2009-11-23>

31 <https://scroll.in/article/744403/in-the-times-of-yakub-memon-remembering-the-babri-masjid-demolition-cases>

32 <https://thewire.in/communalism/justice-liberhan-commission-babri-masjid>. See <https://archive.org/details/LiberhanCommissionReport/mode/2up> for the original report

33 <https://web.archive.org/web/20130930215734/http://www.VHP-america.org/whatVHPa/significantevents.htm>. The role played by the Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yagna Samiti in India is detailed by Nilanjan Mukhopadhyay, who has authored two books on the dispute, and who speaks of the role of the organization in the Wire: <https://thewire.in/communalism/ayodhya-rss-bjp-vhp-ram-temple>

34 Both Mahesh Mehta and Anjee Pandya made regular trips, as is described in their obituaries. <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130191354/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2021%2F10%2Fhindu-vishwa-jul-sep-2021-small.pdf>, <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130191438/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2022%2F05%2Fweb-hindu-vishwa-january-march-2022.pdf>

35 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130191354/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2021%2F10%2Fhindu-vishwa-jul-sep-2021-small.pdf>

36 <https://web.archive.org/web/20230330214401/https://hinduworld.vhp.org/post/?pk=137>

37 <https://pluralism.org/hindu-revival-on-campus>. A number of students did walk out of the hall when these comments were made.

38 <https://web.archive.org/web/20030503171911/http://www.VHP-america.org:80/dynamic/modules.php?op=modload&name=FAQ&file=index&myfaq=yes&idcat=5&categories=Shree+Rama+Janmabhoomi+Movement#37>

39 Mahesh Mehta, *Hindu Philosophy in Action*, p. 206

40 <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-vishwa-hindu-parishad-of-america-VHPa/>

41 <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-vishwa-hindu-parishad-of-america-VHPa/>

42 <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/india/India0402.htm>

43 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/02/24/india-decade-gujarat-justice-incomplete>

44 <https://thewire.in/communalism/full-text-bbc-documentary-gujarat-riots-modi-uk-report>

45 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/02/24/india-decade-gujarat-justice-incomplete>, https://web.archive.org/web/20201201125125/https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/28-years-for-kodnani-bajrangi-to-spend-entire-life-in-prison/article3844297_ece?homepage=true

46 <https://www.hrw.org/report/2002/04/30/we-have-no-orders-save-you/state-participation-and-complicity-communal-violence>, <http://www.doccentre.net/docsweb/gujarat/Human-Rights/gujarat-nhrc-submission.htm>

47 Wilichowski, Tracy. Premeditated Causes of the 2002 Gujarat Pogrom: A Comprehensive Analysis of Contributing Factors that Led to the Manifestation of the Riots, Volume VII, December 2012, pp. 128 - 144 <https://minds.wisconsin.edu/handle/1793/70989>

48 <https://web.archive.org/web/20030622111854/http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/about/film10.htm>, https://web.archive.org/web/20030604040325/http://www.VHP-america.org/dynamic/modules.php?name=News&file=a_ticle&sid=26

49 https://web.archive.org/web/20030604040325/http://www.VHP-america.org/dynamic/modules.php?name=News&file=a_ticle&sid=26

50 https://web.archive.org/web/20040108022711/http://www.VHP-america.org:80/dynamic_includes/ebooks/0702_v2_fina

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130191533/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fabout-vhpa%2Fvhp-advisory-board%2F>

54 <https://www.sabrang.com/cc/archive/2012/jan2012/citizens%20tribunal%20Kandhamal%20Report%20Full.pdf>

55 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/12/29/india-stop-hindu-christian-violence-orissa>

56 https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/510156325/2009_12_EO%2F51-0156325_990_20081

57 <https://www.supportachildusa.org/institutions/>. Both institutions were founded by VHP leader Swami Laxmananand, whose killing prompted the anti-Christian violence on the part of his subordinates. The institutions are self-attested as VHP institutions in *Seva Sanghasya Bhushanam*, a Sangh publication, as well as by the VHP Odisha on their website as a trust involved in their seva activities. The VHP-A's "Support a Child" annual report also lists these organizations as beneficiaries in their annual report. https://www.supportachildusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/SACAnnual_Report2019_20.pdf <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=5r52DwAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PA89&printsec=frontcover>, <http://sevaprakalpVHPodisha.blogspot.com/p/about-viswa-hindu-parishad.html>

58 http://sanhati.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/crossed-and-crucified_pd, p. 35

59 <https://thewire.in/communalism/police-complicit-careless-response-by-mha-fact-finding-committee-on-delhi-riot>, <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/INDIA-2020-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf>

60 <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/delhi-riots-forced-thousands-of-muslims-from-their-homes-and-theyre-afraid-to-go-back/>, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/23/fear-migration-a-year-after-anti-muslim-violence-in>

61 <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/world/asia/delhi-riots-kapil-mishra.html>

62 Delhi Minorities Commission, "Report of the DMC fact-finding Committee on North-East Delhi Riots of February 2020", 27 June 2020, New Delhi. Group of Intellectuals and Academicians (GIA), "Delhi Riots 2020: Report from Ground Zero – The Shaheen Bagh Model in North East Delhi: From Dharna to Danga," New Delhi.

Human Rights Watch (HRW), "Shoot the Traitors': Discrimination Against Muslims under India's New Citizenship Policy," April 2020, United States of America. Youth for Human Rights Documentation (YHRD), "An Account of Fear & Impunity: Preliminary Fact-Finding Report on Communally-Targeted Violence in North-East Delhi, February 2020," New Delhi.

Amnesty International India, "India: Six Months Since Delhi Riots, Delhi Police Continue To Enjoy Impunity Despite Evidence Of Human Rights Violations," 28 August 2020, New Delhi.

See <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/Åles/Documents/Issues/Religion/Islamophobia-AntiMuslim/Civil%20Society%20or%20Individuals/RitumbraM2.pdf> for a summary of these reports.

63 <https://thewire.in/communalism/delhi-2020-the-real-conspiracy-what-the-police-chose-not-to-see>

64 <https://thewire.in/communalism/delhi-riots-conspiracy-anti-muslim-cleric-yati-narsinghanand>

65 <https://thewire.in/communalism/narsinghanand-has-called-for-murder-and-genocide-so-why-isnt-he-behind-bars-yet>

66 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-59952851>,

<https://theprint.in/india/how-narsinghanand-a-russian-educated-london-retired-engineer-became-hate-spewing-sadhu/310092/>

67 <https://thewire.in/communalism/delhi-riots-conspiracy-anti-muslim-cleric-yati-narsinghanand>

68 <https://thewire.in/communalism/hindutva-leaders-dharma-sansad-muslim-genocide>

69 See india-herald.com/hindu-group-discusses-practice-of-dharma-in-america-p3800-1.htm for evidence of Chitlangia's VHP-A membership.

While Chitlangia's tweets are now deleted, we have scraped and preserved evidence of the tweets. See, for example, tweets like https://twitter.com/KapilMishra_IND/status/1247540159366615041, where he is repeatedly referred to by Kapil Mishra as a friend and colleague. He is also listed as the contact for online fundraisers held on sites like Milaap: <https://milaap.org/fundraisers/ajeetyadav>.

<https://www.altnews.in/who-runs-kreately-alt-news-investigates-the-factory-of-hate-and-misinformation/>

70 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130192101/https://www.facebook.com/donate/3172745009421229/>. According to the information Chitlangia provided on the fundraiser, the money raised would go to Auroveda foundation in the US, and then be transferred to India via IIP Foundation. Rajesh Goyal's connection to the "Hindu Ecosystem" is stated on his Facebook profile: <https://archive.ph/7QB2i>

71 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130192101/https://www.facebook.com/donate/3172745009421229/>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130192730/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fdonate%2F427259047923838>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130192953/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fdonate%2F234792524239928>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231205171000/https://www.facebook.com/donate/477928803190344>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130193327/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fdonate%2F402991077085014>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130193423/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fdonate%2F122700532388286%2F>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231214154513/https://www.facebook.com/donate/285932976049355/>,

<https://archive.ph/eFnNJ>

72 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130193935/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fappeal-for-new-delhi-riot-victims%2F>

73 While VHP-A membership lists are not public, Jha has tweeted, for example, about attending VHP-A events. See <https://twitter.com/VJha/status/1307416857750704128> for an example. Jha associates frequently with VHP-A leaders and speaks on their platforms, and vice-versa. For example, he has hosted Ajay Shah, Jai Bansal and Utsav Chakrabarti, VHP-A President and Executive Directors, respectively, on his show, and has spoken at events hosted by HinduACTION, a lobbying group founded and run by VHP-A leaders Renu Shah and Utsav Chakrabarti, on multiple occasions. See <https://youtu.be/ubCMTpmKcuk?feature=shared>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EnhLI-76AOE>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YkCndON2KVs>, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uKaU_8qGch8, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ye3Vwbrzz1w>

74 See, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DNM7xMG1qhg>, https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=292840645742668,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHDwthXLQVU>

75 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHDwthXLQVU>

76 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHDwthXLQVU>

77 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHDwthXLQVU>

78 <https://thewire.in/communalism/VHP-america-yati-narsinghanand-navaratri>

79 <https://twocircles.net/2021apr15/441801.html>

80 Our research has cataloged 6560 different visits to the United States by VHP leaders between the years 1970 and 2000 alone. This, of course, is a conservative estimate rather than an exhaustive one.

81 https://archive.org/details/raceethnicitycri0000unse_h5x4/page/380/mode/2up?q=Vishwa+Parishad,

<https://muslimmirror.com/eng/hatemonger-sadhvi-invited-to-us-by-rss-affiliates-o-deliver-speeches/>,

<https://truthout.org/articles/protesters-disrupting-world-hindu-congress-in-chicago-met-with-violence/>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195025/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fworld-without-borders-event-at-chicago%2F>,

https://archive.org/details/raceethnicitycri0000unse_h5x4/page/380/mode/2up?q=Vishwa+Parishad

82 As Human Rights Watch reported, "The attackers arrived by the thousands in trucks, clad in saffron scarves and khaki shorts, the signature uniform of Hindu nationalist, or Hindutva, groups. Shouting slogans of incitement to kill, they were armed with swords, trishuls."

<https://www.hrw.org/report/2002/04/30/we-have-no-orders-save-you/state-participation-and-complicity-communal-violence>

83 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14672715.1993.10416135>

84 <https://old.indiatomorrow.net/eng/ashok-singhal-man-behind-babri-razing-is-dead>

85 <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/india-hate-speeches-violence-gujarat-must-be-stopped>

86 https://web.archive.org/web/20000604120700/http://www.VHP-america.org:80/dharma_sansad.html,

https://www.lokvani.com/lokvani/article.php?article_id=11349

87 <https://www.worldhindunews.com/remembersing-ma-ashok-singhal-ji-vishwa-hindu-parishad-of-america-VHPa/>

88 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I10tyozy8vM>

89 <https://hindudvesha.org/jihadi-bestiality-why-islamists-target-non-muslim-women-for-rape-and-abduction/>

90 <https://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/hinduism/2002/03/what-some-indian-hindus-have-against-muslims.aspx>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20020310230346/http://www.VHP-america.org/michigan/religiousissue.html>,

<https://scroll.in/latest/1023559/muslims-fertility-rate-sees-sharpest-decline-over-two-decades-shows-health-ministry-survey>,

<https://www.outlookindia.com/national/the-14-2-muslim-takeover-threat-magazine-284891>

91 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195206/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vhp-america.org%2Fits-brazen-a-conference-on-dismantling-global-hindutva%2F>

92 <http://archive.today/2023.12.09-022849/https://twitter.com/IHindudvesha/status/1728472201203245112?s=20>

93 <https://hindudvesha.org/>. The Hindudvesha website is explicitly described as a project of the VHP-A and the Dharma Civilization Foundation on its website, which features both organizations' logos.

94 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195349/https%3A%2F%2Fhindudvesha.org%2Fjihadi-bestiality-why-islamists-target-non-muslim-women-for-rape-and-abduction%2F>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195428/https%3A%2F%2Fhindudvesha.org%2Fspit-jihad-why-halal-is-the-trojan-horse-of-islamic-invasion%2F>

95 <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/12/1053511>, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50670393>

96 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130201422/https%3A%2F%2Fhindupact.org%2Four-position%2Fcity-council-caa-ncr-resolutions%2F>

<https://youtu.be/EWkbcLsk2R4?feature=shared>

<https://www.dailyo.in/politics/tom-treanor-vd-savarkar-mahatma-gandhi-hitler-nationalist-hindu-mahasabha-20207>.

97 <https://hinduexistence.org/2012/09/30/muslims-are-not-in-need-of-a-reason-for-rioting-against-non-believers-at-any-time/>

Suseelan, a long-time RSS and VHP-A member, was a key figure in the global Sangh for over three decades. Suseelan was a Bauddhik Pramukh or Intellectual Head at the RSS, "among other positions and responsibilities," before joining the VHP, where he participated in the campaign that culminated in the razing of the Babri Masjid. He simultaneously coordinated major events for the VHP-A in the United States, and was a VHP spokesperson for a major 1989 mobilization to celebrate the 100-year birth anniversary of RSS founder K.B. Hedgewar. Suseelan wrote in Haindava Keralam, the RSS mouthpiece in the state of Kerala, and World Hindu News, a Hindu supremacist publication run by VHP-A leaders, where he was also a "patron." Suseelan also worked with a variety of other Hindu supremacist groups, such as the Hindu Mahasabha of America (HMSA), the Global Hindu Heritage Foundation (GHHF), and the Kerala Hindu Heritage Committee. He died in 2019. See

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/about-us/patrons/>,

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/19289/>,

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/changing-mindset-of-hindusdr-babu-suseelan/>,

<https://haindavakeralam.com/eminant-hindu-warrior-dr-hk24032>,

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/press-release-kerala-hindu-heritage-seminar-explores-state-of-hindu-dharma-in-kerala/>,

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/hindu-mahasabha-of-america-observes-hindu-memorial-day-hmd/>,

<https://www.hinduismtoday.com/magazine/march-1989/1989-03-vhp-calls-for-cooperation/>

98 <https://www.guernicamag.com/aaron-labaree-the-information-battle-space-counter-jihad/>

99 <https://web.archive.org/web/20161121110429/https://vicharak1.wordpress.com/2015/09/08/1399/>, <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195602/https%3A%2F%2Fvicharak1.wordpress.com%2F2019%2F05%2F11%2Fon-the-campaign-trail-10-may-6-7-8-and-9-bhopal-mp-sadhvi-pragya-sinh-thakurs-constituency%2F>,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195743/https%3A%2F%2Fvicharak1.wordpress.com%2F%3Fs%3DPragya>, <https://caravanmagazine.in/politics/pragya-singh-thakur-joins-bjp-samjhauta-express>

100 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130195847/https%3A%2F%2Fhindupact.org%2F2023%2F02%2F21%2Freject-seattle-caste-ordinance-cb-120511%2F>

101 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130200029/https%3A%2F%2Forganiser.org%2F2023%2F04%2F27%2F171324%2Fworld%2Fhinduphobia-in-west-thousands-of-indian-american-come-together-to-oppose-the-proposed-california-caste-bill-sb-403%2F>

102 See <https://tif.ssrc.org/2022/11/02/hindu-fragility-and-the-politics-of-mimicry-in-north-america/>

103 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTAkTi1UoBA>

104 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDhMBi6V5LE>

105 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDhMBi6V5LE>

106 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTAkTi1UoBA/>

107 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDhMBi6V5LE>

108 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDhMBi6V5LE>

109 <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/nyregion/baps-hindu-forced-labor.html>

110 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTAkTi1UoBA>

111 Most linkages in the diagram are attested to on pages 28-30 of the report; further details are provided below. This research is only an initial effort, and journalists and researchers are encouraged to more extensively investigate these growing trends.

The Hindu Congress of America, also known as the Hindu Mahasabha of America (HMSA), which shares members with the VHP-A, joined Stop the Islamization of America, American Freedom Defense Initiative, and a number of other far-right groups in inviting Geller and Spencer to an event at the ACT for America Houston chapter. Geller has since co-published press releases with Hindu supremacist groups, and JihadWatch articles are regularly referenced and syndicated in Hindu supremacist newspapers like World Hindu News, which is run by VHP-A members. See

<http://events.r20.constantcontact.com/register/event?oeidk=a07e3zanq5xd9d2bc6c&llr=la9i8jdb>

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/worth-watching-robort-spencers-message-to-the-kashmiri-hindu-community/>

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/bangladesh-muslims-hack-hindus-to-death-loot-and-torch-hindu-homes-for-voting/>

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/un-world-refugee-day-homeland-for-persecuted-kashmiri-hindus/>

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/jihad-watch-wikipedia-refuses-to-include-violence-by-muslims-in-its-article-on-the-delhi-riots/>

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/pakistan-muslim-leader-exhorted-muslims-to-kill-hindus/>

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/building-hindu-india-by-refuting-gandhis-pacifist-philosophy/>

VHP-A leaders, including long-time leader Narain Kataria, were known associates of Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer. Spencer's account of the protest is replete with descriptions of a variety of friends and allies from the Hindu far-right that he describes with pride and adulation. See

<https://www.worldhindunews.com/hindus-in-new-york-support-israel-and-other-victims-of-jihad/>

<https://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/09/911-freedom-rally-draws-freedom-lovers-from-all-over>

<https://www.jihadwatch.org/2015/11/hindu-human-rights-activist-narain-kataria-dies-at-85>

112 <https://novaramedia.com/2023/02/23/white-and-hindu-supremacists-are-a-match-made-in-heaven/>

113 <https://web.archive.org/web/20230328053802/https://www.VHP-america.org/event/VHPa-shree-ram-mandir-poojan-in-ayodhya-virtual-celebration/>,

<https://www.siasat.com/telugu-man-member-of-VHP-usa-raises-indian-flag-during-capitol-hill-attack-2064152/>

114 <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-middle-east-forum/>,

<https://www.hindusforhumanrights.org/en/blog/steps-away-from-us-capitol-VHPa-holds-event-with-january-6th-rioter-and-middle-east-forum-leader>

115 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231130200149/https%3A%2F%2Famericanfreedomalliance.org%2Fbabu-suseelan%2F>,

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2012/01/18/pam-geller-announces-new-international-anti-muslim-effort>

116 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205172743/https://vicharak1.wordpress.com/?s=stop+islamization>

117 <http://www.currenttriggers.com/world/pamela-geller-donald-trump/>

118 <https://web.archive.org/web/20201031012707/https://www.worldhindunews.com/the-counter-jihad-report-interview-of-dr-moorty-muthuswamy-by-jamie-glazov%E2%80%8B/>

119 <https://rairfoundation.com/iexit-founder-purnima-nath-leads-hindus-for-trump-movement-exit-the-democratic-party-reject-communism-interview/>

Since VHP-A membership lists are not public, we cannot confirm that Nath is a VHP-A member. However, protests organized by her have been supported and co-sponsored by the VHP-A and HSS, and she engages regularly with the VHP-A on Twitter. The Hindu Congress of America, which shares members with the VHP-A, has hosted fundraisers for Nath as well.

See <https://nathpurnima.com/articles/f/milwaukee-roars-against-the-hindu-genocide-in-west-bengal-stop>

<https://twitter.com/PurnimaNath/status/1629881140071870465>.

<https://twitter.com/PurnimaNath/status/1270040058670862337>.

<https://twitter.com/PurnimaNath/status/1255209871995174912>.

<https://www.facebook.com/hinducongressofamerica/photos/a.1558197167660040/2022992941180458/>

- 120 <https://www.facebook.com/ieixitleft>
- 121 See, for example: <https://twitter.com/RatanSharda55/status/1674638561294049280> ,
<https://twitter.com/AmyMek/status/1711263087486226592> ,
<https://twitter.com/AmyMek/status/1746064709231534149> ,
<https://www.kooapp.com/profile/amyme> ,
<https://twitter.com/RatanSharda55/status/1721364876034232438> ,
<https://organiser.org/2023/05/11/173522/special-report/islamic-war-on-female-religious-minorities-in-pakistan-abductions-forced-conversions-and-child-marriages/> ,
<https://www.opindia.com/2023/10/american-journalist-amy-tek-mohammed-zubair-for-painting-a-target-on-her-back-for-exposing-hamas/>
- 122 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHllalQtQ2I>. Anantatmula also attended the World Hindu Congress 2023, organized by the VHP in Bangkok. <https://organiser.org/2023/11/23/207552/world/world-hindu-congress-2023-know-all-about-the-sessions-and-speakers/>
- 123 <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/indian-american-woman-o-run-for-us-congress-from-virginia/1860776/>
- 124 <https://www.easterneye.biz/indian-americans-back-supreme-court-ruling-on-affirmative-action> ,
https://asianamericanforeducation.org/en/pr_20190522/
- 125 <https://twitter.com/Manga4Congress/status/1689385713672806400> ,
<https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2023/08/sb-403-california-caste-discrimination-bill-cisco/>
- 126 <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10152476187443952> ,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AN9XzgnE4-E>
- 127 <https://twitter.com/jihadwatchRS/status/1573819197351612416>
- 128 <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205173012/https://koenraadest.blogspot.com/2014/12/?m=0> ,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20231205173124/https://www.jihadwatch.org/2022/06/india-muslims-behead-hindu-tailor-in-his-shop-in-broad-daylight-after-he-expressed-support-for-nupur-sharma>
- 129 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_D8dPjx8t0 ,
<https://www.opindia.com/2020/08/islam-is-not-a-religion-of-peace-author-robert-spencer-talks-to-opindia-about-the-global-menace-of-jihad/>
- 130 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWtR-vSNImE> ,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YFZNuP-tmXl> ,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=noTJ1IDXcM0> ,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AN9XzgnE4-E> ,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wf52fMRBo-0> ,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ncw_8KyEduk
- 131 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oiVFGmCKEAA> ,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yTMFsl_RmeY ,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20231205173252/https://www.jihadwatch.org/2015/11/hindu-human-rights-activist-narain-kataria-dies-at-85>
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- 134 https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1055&context=gj_etds
- 135 <https://www.wnyc.org/story/117610-hindu-activists-broaden-fight-against-islamic-extremism>
- 136 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HMj_Ap8_EZI ,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20231130201045/https%3A%2F%2Frhc-usa.org%2Fevent%2Fthe-republican-hindu-coalition-rhc-and-national-indian-american-public-policy-institute-niappi-hosted-speakers-and-messages-from-the-committee-on-present-danger-china-steve-bannon-shalabh%2F>
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<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/10/30/hindu-nationalism-election-indian-american-voters-433608> ,
<https://www.opindia.com/2021/02/dr-romesh-jabra-indian-american-cardiologist-attacked-for-support-farm-laws/> .
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<https://americankahani.com/lead-stories/indian-american-candidate-kicked-out-from-event-in-wisconsin-for-alleged-anti-immigrant-racist-rhetoric/> ,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20230328020134/https://rairfoundation.com/iexit-founder-purnima-nath-leads-hindus-for-trump-movement-exit-the-democratic-party-reject-communism-interview/> ,
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- 151 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=89MtAh-kqUo>
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- 154 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/10/india-the-disinfo-lab-discredit-critics/> , https://caravanmagazine.in/media/ani-srivastava-group-named-in-eu-disinformation-campaign-to-promote-modi-govts-interests?fbclid=IwAR3LjK4q0AjrYh_a_EtiniDBrq7Fh40BCeBUcGf_A4tG5QK7wQO7Myw-XY
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- 161 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/7/us-academic-conference-dismantling-global-hindutva-hindu-right-wing-groups>
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