

The Foreign Exchange of Hate

IDRF and the American Funding of Hindutva

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	ii
1. Purpose, Methodology and Organization	1
1.1. Purpose	1
1.2. Methodology	1
1.3. Organization of this Report	1
1.4. Summary of Findings	2
2. A Brief Outline of the Hindutva Movement	4
2.1. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh	4
2.2. Hindutva: The Ideology of RSS	4
2.3. The Hindutva Movement and the Sangh Parivar	4
2.4. Constituents of the Sangh Parivar	5
2.5. Organization Structure of the Sangh Parivaar	6
2.6. The Methods of the Sangh: From Violent Riots to Planned Pogroms	6
2.6.1. Violent Underpinnings of <i>Hindutva</i>	7
2.6.2. The Sangh's Participation in Communal Riots	7
2.6.3. Targeted Violence Against Minorities: Two Recent Examples	8
3. Placing IDRF Inside Hindutva: An Institutional Analysis	10
3.1. Institutional Links: IDRF as a U.S. branch of the Sangh	11
3.1.1. The IDRF in US Government Documents	11
3.1.2. IDRF In Its Own Words	12
3.2. The IDRF's Leadership: The RSS Ideologue	14
3.2.1. The IDRF's Founders	14
3.2.2. The IDRF's Other Office Bearers	15
3.2.3. The IDRF's People in India	16
3.3. The IDRF and the Sangh in the United States	16
4. Funding Hate	18
4.1. The IDRF Funds and Their Distribution	18
4.2. Funding Hinduization	19
4.3. The IDRF as a 'Development and Relief' Organization	20
4.3.1. Relief	20
4.3.2. Development	21
4.4. IDRF: Funding Violent Organizations?	21
4.4.1. Anti-Christian Violence in Gujarat, 1998-2000	21
4.4.2. Tribal Participation in the Gujarat Genocide, 2002	23
4.4.3. Spreading Hate in Other States	24
Appendix A – Hindutva: The Growth of Violent Hindu Nationalism	25
Appendix B – The Blessed Nine! And The Sisters	38
Appendix C – Sewa International: Service with an Ideological Edge	55
Appendix D – Sewa Bharati: Hindu Consolidation at Any Cost	62
Appendix E – IDRF Relief Efforts: Sectarian, Not Humanitarian	66
Appendix F – Adivasi vs Vanvasi: The Hinduization of Tribals in India	70
Appendix G – Education? or the Promotion of Bigotry?	77
Appendix H – The Money Trail	80

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Organization Chart of the Sangh Parivaar	6
Figure 2 – Percentage Distribution of IDRF Funds By Ideology	19
Figure 3 – Percentage Distribution of IDRF Funds By Activities	20
Figure 4 – Amounts Distributed To Charities By IDRF	86
Figure 5 – Amounts Distributed Based on Ideology	87
Figure 6 – Amounts Distributed Based on Activities	87

1. Purpose, Methodology and Organization

1.1. Purpose

Hindutva, the Hindu supremacist ideology that has under girded much of the communal violence in India over the last several decades, has seen tremendous growth outside India over the last two decades. This report focuses on one US based organization—the India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF), which has systematically funded *Hindutva* operations in India. “The Foreign Exchange of Hate” establishes that the IDRF is not a secular and non-sectarian organization as it claims to be, but is, on the contrary, a major conduit of funds for *Hindutva* organizations in India.

1.2. Methodology

This report is a product of a careful study and analysis of more than 150 pieces of documentary evidence, almost three-quarters of which are those published by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (henceforth, RSS or *Sangh*) and its affiliates, either in printed form or electronically. These documents are diverse in nature, including forms of incorporation and tax documents filed by IDRF with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in the US, articles in *Sangh Sandesh*, the newsletter of the *Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh*, and occasional reports published by different *Sangh* organizations in India and the US. The remaining 25% of the documents are from secondary sources, largely drawn from: mainstream media reports, including published interviews with RSS, BJP and VHP leaders; reports of judicial enquiry commissions; reports from citizen’s panels; and reports published by various Human Rights organizations. The methodological emphasis on primary sources internal to the *Sangh Parivar*, is to ensure that the evidentiary basis of the conclusions drawn is of the highest standards.

1.3. Organization of this Report

This report is organized into three parts. A brief introductory segment outlines the broad contours of the *Hindutva* movement and defines some terms used in the report, including those on this page (such as *Hindutva*, RSS, VHP, BJP etc.). Those familiar with these terms can proceed directly to the second part of this report, where a detailed institutional analysis is presented; an analysis that clearly establishes that IDRF is a RSS affiliate both in terms of organizational connections and hierarchies, and in terms of personnel. The final section of this report focuses on the IDRF’s funding operations and establishes the sectarian nature of the funding. To ensure readability, the basic arguments and evidence are presented in brief in the main body of the report. Supporting material is located either as referenced footnotes or as appendices.

1.4. Summary of Findings

The purpose of this report is to document the links between the India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF), a Maryland, US based charity, and certain violent and sectarian Hindu supremacist organizations in India. The IDRF operates in the US under the rules governing tax-exempt charitable organizations. These rules prohibit such organizations from participating in political activity of the kind that involves funnelling money overseas to violent sectarian groups. Further, the report provides evidence to argue that IDRF's claim of being a non sectarian organization that funds development and relief operations in India is disingenuous at best, and that this claim is strategically designed to insert IDRF into the cultural milieu and goodwill of the Indian diaspora as the 'charity of choice'.

This report is in four parts. Section 1 briefly outlines the purpose, methodology and organization of the report. Section 2 is a brief introduction to the *Hindutva* movement, its ideology, organizations and operations in both India and the US. Section 3 is a detailed presentation of the documentation that links IDRF to the *Hindutva* movement. Finally, Section 4 specifically examines the financial links between the IDRF, *Hindutva* organizations and violence in India. For ease in comprehension this summary outlines the main points of Sections 2, 3 & 4 – though Section 2 is essentially a summary of established scholarship of the last fifty years.

The main points of this study are:

- The *Hindutva* movement is a violent sectarian movement seeking to create a *Hindu Rashtra* (an ethnically 'pure' Hindu Nation) in India, in many ways similar to the Nazi idea of a pure Aryan Germany. It seeks to exclude or eliminate religious minorities such as Muslims and Christians and fix *Dalits* and *Adivasis* into an internal hierarchy of caste.
- The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS, or the *Sangh*, literally, the National Volunteers Corps) is the core organization of the *Hindutva* movement, and it operates through hundreds of front organizations in both India and the US.
- From documents submitted to the US Federal government in 1989 as part of its application for tax exempt status, it is clear that from its very moment of inception, IDRF's goal was clearly to support the *Sangh* in India. That IDRF supports *Sangh* organizations in India is thus not a matter of accident but is instead the very purpose for its existence.
- Since its inception, IDRF's links with *Sangh* organizations in India have grown dramatically. Of the organizations in India that it lists as "sister organizations", an overwhelming number are clearly part of the *Sangh's* family of organizations.

- IDRF's leadership in the US has well-established links with the *Hindutva* movement both in India and the US. Officials of IDRF in India are also openly part of the Sangh.
- *Hindutva* organizations in the US do extensive publicity and fundraising for the IDRF. They openly acknowledge IDRF as a part of the *Sangh*.
- Of the funds that the IDRF transfers to India, almost two-thirds go to organizations that can be identified as RSS organizations. About half of the remaining funds go to organizations that can be identified as sectarian Hindu organizations. In other words, less than 20 percent of the funds sent to India by IDRF go to organizations that are not openly non-sectarian and/or affiliated with the Sangh.
- More than 50 percent of the funds disbursed by the IDRF are sent to *Sangh* related organizations whose primary work is religious 'conversion' and 'Hinduization' in poor and remote tribal and rural areas of India. Another sixth is given to Hindu religious organizations for purely religious use. Only about a fifth of the funds go for disaster relief and welfare—most of it because the donors specifically designated it so. However, there is considerable documentation indicating that even the relief and welfare organizations that IDRF funds, use the moneys in a sectarian way. In summary, in excess of 80 percent of IDRF's funding is allocated for work that is clearly sectarian in nature.
- Adequate documentation also exists to show that the IDRF funds organizations in at least three states in India that are directly involved in large scale violence against Muslim and Christian minorities. This reports documents the case of an the IDRF beneficiary, the *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram* in Gujarat and its extensive involvement in anti-Christian violence between 1998-2000 including the physical destruction of Christian institutions, schools, churches, colleges, and cemeteries and forcible conversions to Hinduism.
- Secondary documentation also exists to show that the same *Hindutva* organizations involved in the anti-Christian violence of 1998-2000 were involved in the Gujarat carnage of 2002 where, by most reliable accounts, more than 2000 people, mostly Muslims, were massacred.

2. A Brief Outline of the Hindutva Movement

2.1. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

The *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS, or the 'Sangh,'-- literally 'National Volunteer Corps'), was started in 1925 for 'propagating Hindu culture.' As an organization, the RSS is elusive and shadowy—it is only open to Hindu males – primarily upper caste; it maintains no membership records; it has resisted being registered with the Government of India as a public/charitable trust; it has no bank accounts and pays no income tax.

2.2. Hindutva: The Ideology of RSS

The RSS advocates a form of Hindu nationalism, which seeks to establish India as a Hindu *Rashtra* (Hindu Nation), and rejects the notion of a composite Indian identity brought about by a synthesis of different cultures and faiths. The RSS claims to be inclusive of all those who are racially and culturally Hindu and places outside of the nation all those who adhere to and identify with a different faith or ethos, thus establishing the idea of a Hindu *Rashtra* as an exclusive one where minorities are, at best, second class citizens. This particular ideology is variously called an ideology of Hindu pride, Hindu patriotism, Hindu fundamentalism, Hindu revivalism, Hindu chauvinism, Hindu fascism or *Hindutva*, depending on who controls the definition. What is beyond doubt is the exclusionary and discriminatory nature of the ideology. In this report we use the term used most often in the mainstream press – *Hindutva* – which translates literally to Hinduness or Hinduhood.

2.3. The Hindutva Movement and the Sangh Parivar

While the foundational core of Hindutva is inculcated in the RSS *swayamsevaks* (volunteers) through training that begins from childhood in its local *shakhas* (cells), the broad based work of spreading the ideology and its politics is undertaken through a network of organizations. The RSS (or more commonly, the Sangh) has created and propagated organizations in every facet of socio-political life in India—from political parties to children's centers, trade unions and militias. These groups are together known as the *Sangh Parivar* or the Sangh Family of organizations. In recent years, the *Sangh Parivar* has also expanded its operations outside India and made significant efforts to reach the 'Hindu' diaspora, especially in the US, the UK and the Caribbean.

2.4. Constituents of the Sangh Parivar

The spread of the Hindutva ideology in India is carried out at the grassroots level through an army of *swayamsevak*s deployed by the *Sangh Parivar*. The recruitment and ideological 'orientation' towards Hindutva is done on many levels and fronts: at the grade school level, or earlier, with Hinduised education, including such 'educational' activities as the holding of *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* competitions for school children in tribal areas—largely with the goal of supplanting tribal culture and traditions; with the 'celebration' of Hindu festivals on a grand scale in areas with large non-Hindu populations; and simultaneously, with the distribution of anti-minority pamphlets and literature and the sporadic creation of anti-minority programs such as the grabbing of minority land or buildings or the promotion of riots and murder. For these purposes, the Sangh has set up hundreds of smaller organizations all over the country, all supervised by volunteers from the Sangh and centrally coordinated, even though each claims to be independent of the Sangh.

While the RSS itself cannot currently accept monetary contributions for its activities from abroad, each of the Sangh-affiliated organizations has been designated a 'charity' and the Sangh actively solicits foreign funding for these organizations. In other words, given that the RSS has no corporate form and ensures an ambiguity around its specific location and form, it would be quite correct to argue that this myriad of smaller organizations together is what precisely constitutes the RSS.

The most visible and active organizations of the *Sangh Parivar* are represented below in a necessarily incomplete organizational chart of the *Parivar*. Each of these organizations has an equivalent "sister" organization in the US, which is shown in brackets in the chart below. The central organizations of the *Sangh Parivar* are:

- its parliamentary wing, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP, Indian Peoples Party),
- its cultural/political mobilization wing, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP – World Hindu Council),
- its paramilitary wing, the Bajrang Dal, and
- its service wing, the Seva Vibhag.

Each of these has a US equivalent –

- the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) mirrors the RSS with the Friends of India Society (FISI) functioning as its public arm,
- the Overseas Friends of the BJP runs the affairs of the BJP in the US,
- the Vishwa Hindu Parishad of America does the same for the VHP, and
- the IDRF looks after the *Seva Vibhag*'s activities in the US.

Further, Sewa International is the Seva Vibhag's coordination body for all international funds and service programs. In India, the Seva Vibhag operates through hundreds of single purpose organizations spread across the country. A sample of some of the prominent Seva Vibhag organizations are listed in the chart below.

2.5. Organization Structure of the Sangh Parivaar

The Sangh Parivaar {and the US equivalents}

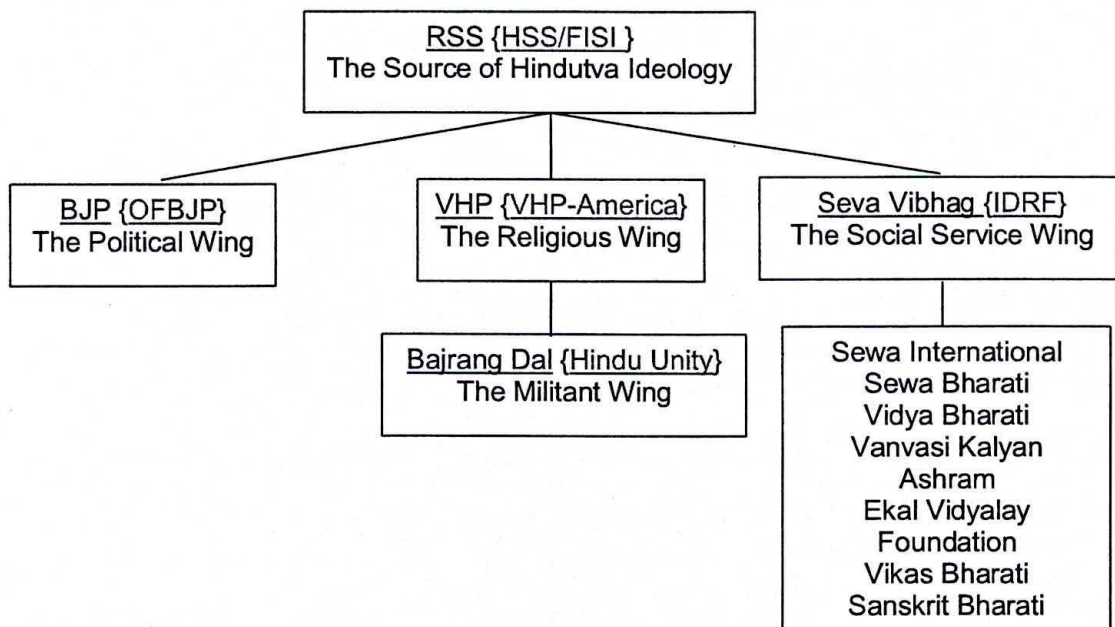


Figure 1 – Organization Chart of the Sangh Parivar

2.6. The Methods of the Sangh: From Violent Riots to Planned Pogroms

Violence is a central strategy in the Sangh's rise to political power. Often the Sangh presents its use of violence as "self-defense" against armed minority gangs—an idea that is supported by a claim that Hinduism is inherently a tolerant and peaceful religion. While large numbers of Hindus living all across India would shun violence just as many others of different faiths do, *Hindutva* has, from its inception, been very clear on the necessity of violence.

2.6.1. Violent Underpinnings of *Hindutva*

The use of violence as a political strategy has been clearly outlined by some of the earliest proponents of *Hindutva*¹.

- Golwalkar, the second Supreme Leader of the RSS, celebrated Nazi Germany and “her purging the country of the Semitic races — the Jews.” For Golwalkar, the “purging” of an entire people was entirely justifiable as it was an expression of “national pride at its highest...”
- Just as Golwalkar celebrated Nazi Germany, so did B. S. Moonje, one of the earliest proponents of *Hindutva* and the mentor of Hegdewar (the founder of the RSS). Moonje traveled to Italy to meet with Mussolini and study the methods of Italian fascism. Reflecting on what he saw in Italy and seeking a reproduction of Italian fascist organization in India he wrote:

This training is meant for qualifying and fitting our boys for the game of killing masses of men with the ambition of winning victory...

2.6.2. The Sangh's Participation in Communal Riots

Violence has not remained an abstract desire within *Hindutva*—there is ample evidence that this essential and strategic understanding of violence has continuously been practiced by the Sangh. Numerous government reports have clearly indicted the Sangh for fomenting communal violence². In each of these communal riots that the RSS fomented and participated in, the central strategy to greater power is clear. For the Sangh each religious riots translates to greater polarization between the majority Hindu community and the minority communities. Further, riots serve as a basis for the RSS to work with those parts of the “Hindu” community that are not part of the *Hindutva* project.

In other words, every communal riot that the Sangh incites is the basis for both:

- a further separation of each religious community into its own ghetto, and
- the consolidation of the Hindu community around the ideology of *Hindutva*.

¹ The following examples have been taken from M Casolari, (1993) *Hindutva's foreign tie-up in the 1930s: Archival Evidence*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan 22, 2000
<http://www.ercwilcom.net/~indowindow/sad/godown/secular/fascirss.htm>

² Jaganmohan Reddy Commission on the Ahmedabad riots (1969), Madan Commission on the Bhiwandi riots (1970), Justice Vithayathil's report on the Tellicherry riots (1971), Justice Jitendra Narain's Report on the Jamshedpur riots (1979) and Justice P Venugopal's report on the riots in Kanyakumari (1982) are good examples of the Sangh's consistent involvement in riots

While this dual process of polarization and consolidation has been central to the rise to power of Hindutva, what has changed in more recent times with the ascension of the BJP to State power, and the growth of the VHP and the Bajrang Dal, is that the communal riot has now transformed into an organized pogroms, where minority populations, residences, businesses and institutions are targeted with almost military precision.

2.6.3. Targeted Violence Against Minorities: Two Recent Examples

2.6.3.1. Anti-Christian Violence (1998-2000)

After 1998, when the BJP party came to play a leading role in the government, violence against Christian minorities in India has significantly escalated³. Between January 1998 and February 1999 alone, there were 116 attacks against the Christian community in India⁴, specifically targeting Christian missionaries, priests, nuns, schools and churches. Documenting anti-Christian violence in 1999, the South Asia Human Rights Documentation Center report states:

"Most of these attacks have been perpetrated by individuals connected to the Sangh Parivar, which is comprised of rightwing Hindu fundamentalist organisations including elements from the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council), Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Bajrang Dal and Hindu Jagran Manch."⁵

2.6.3.2. The Gujarat Genocide (2002)

The Gujarat Genocide of 2002 has been by far the most elaborate and well-planned pogrom to date. Numerous reports have documented the massacre of more than 2000 Muslims, the rape, mutilation and murder of Muslim women, the specific targeting of Muslim businesses for burning and arson, and the destruction of Muslim homes leaving in excess of 150,000 Muslims homeless⁶. According to the Human Rights Watch,

"The groups most directly involved in the violence against Muslims include the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council, VHP), the Bajrang Dal, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Bharatiya

³ Politics by Other Means: Attacks Against Christians in India, Human Rights Watch Report, Sept 1999 <http://www.hrw.org/press/1999/sep/christians.htm>

⁴ According to the Indian Parliament, as quoted in Indian Christians are victims of a 'concerted campaign', Jim Lobe, Asia Times, Sept 30, 1999 <http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/A130Df01.html>

⁵ Violence against Christians continues—Method in the Sangh Madness A Report by the South Asia Human Rights Documentation Center, Aug 28, 2000 <http://www.hri.ca/partners/sahrdc/hrfeatures/HRF25.htm>

⁶ See <http://www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/reports/index.htm> for reports by People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCI), Communalism Combat, National Human Rights Commission, and different women's groups.

Janata Party (BJP) that heads the Gujarat state government. Collectively, they are known as the sangh parivar, or family of Hindu nationalist organizations. ... Numerous police reports filed by eyewitnesses after the attacks have specifically named local VHP, BJP, and Bajrang Dal leaders as instigators or participants in the violence."⁷

What is currently unfolding is no longer simply the processes of polarization and consolidation (though these continue), but a planned effort at eliminating any semblance of power that a minority community may have, either economic or social.

Probably there is no better way to understand the growth of violent Hindu fascism in India than to look at it as the violent history between two moments in independent India. The first is the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of peace, by Nathuram Godse, a prominent member of the Hindutva movement in 1948 and the second is in Gujarat Genocide of 2002, in Gandhi's homeland of Gujarat.

(This part of the report describes various aspects of the Sangh and the Hindutva movement in a summary form. For a more detailed discussion of Hindutva and the Sangh see Appendix A.)

⁷ India: Gujarat Officials Took Part in Anti-Muslim Violence: Press Release by HRW, April 30, 2002 <http://hrw.org/press/2002/04/gujarat.htm>

3. Placing IDRF Inside Hindutva: An Institutional Analysis

The IDRF (India Development and Relief Fund) was set up as a tax-exempt, non-profit organization in 1989 under the provisions of section 501(c)(3) of the tax code. Its official, self-stated purpose is to raise money for organizations in India "assisting in rural development, tribal welfare, and urban poor."⁸ According to its tax filings, the IDRF raised \$ 3.8 million in the year 2000, of which it disbursed \$1.7 million in 'relief and development work.'⁹

The IDRF has claimed time and again that it has no connections with the Sangh Parivar. In response to a recent magazine article highlighting some of the links¹⁰, the IDRF issued a statement denying the connection,¹¹ "It [the IDRF] is not affiliated to any group, 'ism', ideology political party." During an exchange on the online portal Sulekha.com, the Vice-President of the IDRF wrote, "There is no relation between VHP/RSS and IDRF. Fullpoint."¹²

However, a closer scrutiny of the projects that the IDRF funds, of the IDRF itself, of the affiliations of its office-bearers, and of the organizations that support it and raise funds for it, reveals that the IDRF is fully linked with the Sangh Parivar and the Hindutva movement in India. This segment of the report will outline:

- (a) the institutional links between the IDRF and the RSS and its affiliates in India;
- (b) the links between the IDRF and RSS in terms of the overlaps in personnel, and
- (c) the links between the IDRF and the US affiliates of the RSS.

The next part will specifically look at the financial links between the IDRF and the RSS projects in India.

⁸ From the exemption application of the IDRF filed with the IRS in 1989

⁹ Form 990 filed by the IDRF for the 2000 tax year

¹⁰ *Deflections to the Right* by Ashish Sen, Outlook, Jul 22, 2002

<http://www.outlookindia.com/full.asp?fodname=20020722&fname=VHP+%28F%29&sid=1&pn=1>

¹¹ Response to recent malicious media reports

<http://www.idrf.org/reports/indiapost/ResponseToOutlook.html>

¹² 'A Left-Right Upper-Cut To The RSS' by Ramesh N Rao, Sulekha.Com, Jun 15, 2002

(see readers comments #82 and 88) <http://www.sulekha.com/allcomments.asp?cid=210562>

3.1. Institutional Links: IDRF as a U.S. branch of the Sangh

The institutional links between the Sangh and the IDRF are extremely well documented. There are two levels at which these links can be examined:

- a. Through documents submitted by IDRF to various US Federal and State Government agencies.
- b. Through documents published by IDRF as part of its public relations and advertising machinery.

3.1.1. The IDRF in US Government Documents

The most important of the documents submitted by the IDRF to the Internal Revenue Service of the United States is its application for a tax exempt certificate. Form 1023, duly filled by the IDRF executives when it was created in 1989, identifies nine organizations as a representative sample of the types of organizations the IDRF has been set up to support in India. These nine organizations are:

- Vikas Bharati (Bihar)
- Swami Vivekananda Rural Development Society (Tamil Nadu)
- Sewa Bharati (Delhi)
- Jana Seva Vidya Kendra (Karnataka)
- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (Madhya Pradesh)
- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (Gujarat)
- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (Nagar Haveli)
- Girivasi Vanvasi Sewa Prakalp (Uttar Pradesh)
- G. Deshpande Vanvasi Vastigrah (Maharashtra)

All nine are clearly marked Sangh organizations. For instance,

- In Sangh literature, the origins and growth of Vikas Bharati is described as follows:

The Vikas Bharati stream, *which originated in the fountainhead called Sangh*, has been quietly flowing towards the ocean called society, gathering many additional streams on the way.¹³ (emphasis added)

¹³ <http://www.sewainternational.org/integrate.html>

- Similarly, the Swami Vivekananda Rural Development Society (SVRDS) is a sister organization of the VHP in Tamil Nadu¹⁴. While the stated goal of SVRDS is rural development and education of tribals, considerable documentation exists to show its emphasis on tribals learning practices that surround Hindu religious festivals.¹⁵
- Of these various service organizations, Sewa Bharati is, in India, the most commonly RSS identified service organization¹⁶. Sewa International's website¹⁷ has extensive documentation of Sewa Bharati, and its religious/theological actions rather than service/developmental work. The following report on the work of Sewa Bharati in *Samatadham Basti* extracted from this site is illuminating:

After *Sewa-karya* [service] started, a temple has come into being. Daily *pooja* [prayer service] takes place in the temple with *Arati*. Because of this, the feeling of *Hindutwa* in our households has been awakened. All this is the contribution of Sewa Bharati.

For a more extensive documentation of the above nine organizations, see Appendix B. Of these nine organizations, Sewa Bharati is a crucial organization in terms of direct funding from the US. Hence it is covered especially in Appendix D.

The above three examples should suffice for now to point us towards an important conclusion: the nine organizations that the IDRF identifies as sample organizations that it will support in Form 1023, are all clearly marked Sangh operations. This illustrates the point that from its very moment of inception, the IDRF's goal was clearly to support the Sangh Parivar in India. That the IDRF supports Sangh organizations is thus not a matter of accident but is instead definitional of its very design.

3.1.2. IDRF In Its Own Words

A far more extensive set of linkages between the Sangh and the IDRF than identified through the nine organizations in Form 1023, emerge when we examine the organizations that the IDRF identifies as its "sister organizations." the IDRF lists nine subheadings under 'Sister Organizations'¹⁸— the ninth of which is called 'IDRF's affiliates in India'— a collection of 67 other organizations. Combined with the first eight sister

¹⁴ <http://www.sewainternational.org/vhptamil.html>

¹⁵ In a report to the IDRF, SVRDS states that it conducted competitions for Krishna Jayanthi (a Hindu Festival) in which the school children participated enthusiastically.

<http://www.idrf.org/reports/svdrs/svdrs.html> It should be kept in mind that these tribals do not consider themselves Hindu, nor do they usually observe Krishna Jayanthi.

¹⁶ The RSS lists Sewa Bharti under the title of "Various Alike Organizations"

<http://www.rss.org/Variousbranches.html>

¹⁷ Social Harmony, <http://www.sewainternational.org/social.html> ; Ennobling Social Conduct,

<http://www.sewainternational.org/ennobling.html>

¹⁸ <http://www.idrf.org/frontpage/OtherOrgs.html>

organizations listed, it brings the total number of “sister organizations” to 75.

Of these 75 organizations, 60 are clearly identifiable as Sangh affiliates in India. The remaining fifteen organizations are not classified in this report as RSS affiliates, not because we have evidence that show that they are independent organizations, but because there is very little information available on them per se. It is thus possible that most, if not all fifteen, are RSS affiliates.

If the nine organizations listed on Form 1023 point to the commitment of the IDRF to supporting RSS operations in India, this list of 60 (75) is sufficient evidence to indicate that since its inception in 1989, the IDRF has systematically grown and developed into a core participant in the foreign fund drives organized by the RSS. The list includes some of the organizations that are flagships for the RSS operations. Some of these are described below:

- Ekal Vidyalays (One Teacher Schools) is a VHP project aimed at the indoctrination of students in remote, tribal villages.¹⁹
- Vikasan Foundation started by the Hindu Seva Pratishthan and Jana Seva Vidya Kendra is also a Sangh organization²⁰ whose stated goal is to promote Indian culture in India and abroad. However, like all Sangh organizations, it conflates the ‘Indian’ culture with its version of ‘Hindu/Vedic’ culture and collects money for funding *gurukuls* (Hindu religious schools, equivalent of the Islamic madrassas) in India and abroad.
- Bharat Vikas Parishad is identified by the RSS as its branch organization that aims ‘to involve entrepreneurs and well-off sections of the society in National service and for protecting Bhartiya values.’²¹
- Sewa International is IDRF affiliate in India overseeing IDRF’s Indian operation. In terms of international funding, it may be amongst the most significant of IDRF’s “sister” organizations. It is a Sangh Parivar organization set up primarily for the purpose of coordinating foreign contributions for different Sangh projects in India. *Sevadisha*, the publication of the Seva Vibhag (Service Wing) of the RSS lists Sewa International as its arm established specifically to find international support for organizations working under the Sangh ideology:

¹⁹ http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/bekal%20vidyalaya/list_ekalvidyalaya.htm

²⁰ The VHP lists Hindu Seva Pratishthan as its organization in the field of education, http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/aSewa/NSNS/intheserviceofpoor.htm . For Jana Seva Vidya Kendra, see Appendix B

²¹ <http://www.rss.org/BHARAT%20VIKAS%20PARISHAD.htm>

"Yet another development is the establishment of an international organization titled Sewa International which now has branches in many countries. Sewa International will look after the interests of seva [service] related issues not only in the respective countries where they have chapters but also take up global level care of sewa [service] work carried out under the Sangh ideology.²²

We document here, in brief, these four flagship organizations of the Sangh to point to the centrality of the IDRF in Sangh operations. From its inception in 1989, the IDRF has grown not only in terms of the extensive list of the RSS organizations it supports but also in terms of its affiliation and support for critical Sangh operations. The IDRF thus is not a marginal organization within the Sangh framework but clearly an important, if not a core constituent.

A complete list of all seventy five "sister organizations" are in Appendix B (along with the nine organizations listed on IDRF's Form 1023) with evidence of their status as Sangh affiliate organizations. Of the seventy five, the detailed descriptions of Sewa International is included as a separate appendix, Appendix C, because of the critical role that Sewa International plays within the domain of international funding for the RSS.

3.2. The IDRF's Leadership: The RSS Ideologue

The institutional analysis above is further strengthened through a brief look at some of the IDRF personnel. Many of the people associated with the IDRF, including its founders, affiliates in India, and its officials, have extensive links with other Hindutva organizations in this country or the Sangh Parivar in India.

3.2.1. The IDRF's Founders

- o Bhishma Agnihotri, a well-known RSS ideologue and a HSS *Sanghchalak* (Supremo), is one of the founders the IDRF²³. HSS is RSS's equivalent organization in the US and UK.
- o Two of the IDRF's other founders, Jatinder Kumar and Ram Gehani, are office bearers of FISL. Mr. Gehani is also

²² http://www.hssworld.org/seva/sevadisha/sevadisha1/rss_seva_vibhag.html

²³ Agnihotri's connections with the RSS are detailed in the newspaper article, *Agnihotri's posting criticized*, *The Hindu*, Aug 30th, 2001

<http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2001/08/30/stories/02300007.htm> . Bhishma Agnihotri was appointed as the leader of HSS in the USA as reported in the HSS newsletter (*National Adhikaris of the HSS (USA)*), *Sangh Sandesh*, January 2000, page 11

<http://www.hskonline.co.uk/hss/assets/JAN00.PDF> . Agnihotri's connection to the IDRF is revealed in a program announcement for the Festival of India seminar held on August 16, 1997, where he is introduced as 'a founding member of the India Development and Relief Fund.'
<http://www.ipnatlanta.net/aug15/seminar-pro.doc>

associated with the OFBJP.²⁴ FISI is the public relations arm of the HSS. OFBPJ is the overseas arm of the BJP.

- o Vinod Prakash is one of the founders of the IDRF and also its President since its inception. The HSS Newsletter, Sangh Sandesh, for January 2001 announces the opening of a tribal boys hostel by Sewa Bharati, MP named after 'Sarla Vinod Prakash',²⁵ the wife of Vinod Prakash. Both Sarla and Vinod Prakash are listed as founders of the IDRF. Members of the Prakash family were present at the inauguration and shared the stage with Mr. Ashok Singhal, the international President of VHP, who has currently been in the news for voicing his "appreciation" of the anti-Muslim violence in Gujarat and the "cleansing" of several Gujarati villages of their Muslim residents.²⁶

3.2.2. The IDRF's Other Office Bearers

Of the 6 Zonal Vice Presidents listed on IDRF's website, four are HSS volunteers, and one of them is on the National Governing Council of the VHP of America.²⁷ The General Secretary of the IDRF, Shyam Gokalgandhi, is also responsible for running the *Balvihar* of the HSS in the San Francisco Bay Area.²⁸

²⁴ Jatinder Kumar and Ram Gehani are two of the four officers of IDRF listed on its exemption application, which it filed in 1989. Jatinder Kumar is listed as a vice-president of FISI in a newspaper article on the people who met with the then General Secretary of the BJP, Narendra Modi on his visit to the US (*BJP leader meets with community groups*, *India Abroad*, July 9, 1999). Ram Gehani is listed on FISI's web page as the contact for Maryland http://www.fisiusa.org/fisi_pages/us_chapters.htm, and was part of 'a delegation of the Overseas Friends of the BJP which called on Robert Seiple, ambassador-at-large, who runs the International Religious Freedom office within the State Department to express their concern about sections of the controversial annual report on International Religious Freedom for 1999 in India that implicitly criticised the Indian government for the increase in attacks on the Christian community in India.' (*Seiple defends religious report, says it does not target BJP*, by Ramesh Chandra, *The Times of India*, Sept 18th, 1999)

²⁵ *A Sewa Dham in Madhya Pradesh*, Sangh Sandesh, January 2001, page 10, <http://www.hskonline.co.uk/hss/assets/jan01.pdf>

²⁶ *'We'll repeat our Gujarat experiment'*, Indian Express, September 3, 2002 http://www.indian-express.com/archive_full_story.php?content_id=8831

²⁷ Abhay Belambe (IDRF VP, East Zone) is associated with the HSS as evident from this announcement for the *Vijay Dashmi* celebrations of the HSS -- http://www.hindunet.org/srh_home/1996_10/msg00165.html. Vijay Shrivastava, (IDRF VP, East Zone) is the HSS contact person in Atlanta, GA (<http://www.ipnatlanta.net/hss/contact.htm>) Vijay Pallod (IDRF VP, Central Zone) is listed as the governing council member of the VHP in the article, *Dharma Sansad Seeks To Involve 2nd Generation Indian Americans*, Arthur J Pais, Rediff.com, Sept 9, 1999 <http://www.rediff.com/news/1999/sep/09us1.htm>, and is also the HSS contact for Houston, TX http://www.hindunet.org/alt_hindu/1995_Jul_1/msg00071.html. Chetan Gandhi (IDRF VP, West Zone) is also listed as the contact for Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh in Cerritos, CA <http://www.ci.cerritos.ca.us/cominfo/comgroups.html>

²⁸ <http://www.indolink.com/SFO/balVihar.html>

3.2.3. The IDRF's People in India

Shyam Parande, the India Advisor of IDRF, is listed in an article from *The Observer*, as 'the organizer of Sangh activities abroad.' Vijay Mallampati, India Coordinator for IDRF, is also actively involved with the Sangh Parivar, and acted as the *Mukhya Shikshak* (Chief Instructor) at one of the HSS camps in the US.²⁹

3.3. The IDRF and the Sangh in the United States

The preceding two sections establish the organizational and personnel based links between the IDRF and the Sangh in India. In this section, we turn the lens around and look at the IDRF's links to *Hindutva's* US operations. *Hindutva* in the United States has grown systematically ever since the 1980s, experiencing exponential growth in the 90s corresponding with the boom in professional Hindu-Indian migration from India to the United States. This has meant that the growth has been in pockets with larger concentrations of the professional Hindu migrant – largely the West Coast, the North East and the Southern states of Florida and Texas.

Hindutva organizations in the US do extensive publicity and fundraising for the IDRF. Often the IDRF and the VHP-America are the only 'service organizations' recognized by these groups, completely neglecting respected non-sectarian development and relief organizations, such as Association for India's Development (AID), Asha for Education, Pratham-USA, Child Relief and You (CRY), India Development Service (IDS) and Indians for Collective Action (ICA).

- A multi media presentation commissioned by the HSS, commemorating 75 years of the Sangh identifies the IDRF as a Sangh organization in the US, and urges people wishing to support the Sangh in India to donate generously to IDRF³⁰.
- The FISI and the HSS hold fund-raising drives for IDRF³¹, which are usually centered around topics such as 'Islamic Terrorism.' These events, centered on such themes, function both as fundraisers as well as ideological training sessions that justify their opposition to Indian Muslims by seeking to link all Muslims in India with the wrongdoings of any Muslim anywhere.

²⁹Shyam Parande: *RSS goes global, chalks out expansion plan*, by Suresh Unnithan in *The Observer*, April 3, 1998 <http://www.hvk.org/articles/0498/0014.html>. For Vijay Mallampati, see the report of the North American winter HSS camp in the HSS newsletter, Sangh Sandesh, Dec 99, page 9 <http://www.hskonline.co.uk/hss/assets/DEC99.PDF>

³⁰http://www.hssworld.org/usa/wc/shakha/LosAngeles/rss_75years_files/frame.htm

³¹http://www.fisiusa.org/fisi_Campaigns/bd_hindu_solidarity_day.htm ,
http://www.fisiusa.org/fisi_press_rel/pr7.htm

- Hindu Unity, a militant Hindutva website and the voice of Bajrang Dal abroad—which openly advocates violence against minorities and maintains a 'hit list' of people opposed to its views—provides links to IDRf³². This is the only 'development' related organization listed on its page along with a number of Sangh Parivar organizations, or some even more militant Hindutva sites.
- The IDRf also hosts web pages for the HSS³³, where the HSS is introduced as an organization "started in the USA and other parts of the world to continue what RSS is doing in India."
- Several Hindu Student Council chapters (student wings of the VHP-America) raise money for the IDRf as part of their 'seva' activity.³⁴
- VHP-America, Hindu Universe, Nation of Hindutva, HinduWomen, Global Hindu Electronic Network, HSS-UK—all Hindutva sites—provide links to the IDRf and identify it as a 'Hindu' charity.³⁵

³² The Hindu Unity website (<http://www.hinduunity.org>) been yanked off the web once before by one of its website host for publishing hate-filled pages (<http://www.rediff.com/us/2001/jul/24usspec.htm>). The hitlist—a collection of politicians, artists, writers and religious leaders whom the Hindu Unity considers opposed to its viewpoint of Hindu Supremacy—appears on <http://www.hinduunity.org/hitlist.html>. IDRf appears on its links page under the title of 'Other Hindu and India related Organizations'

<http://www.hinduunity.org/links.html>

³³ <http://www.idrf.org/flyers/balvihar/html/hss.html>

³⁴ The GMU HSC unit advocates raising money for the IDRf and also for publicizing its activities (see http://www.gmu.edu/org/hsc/seva_gmu.html). The HSC at the University of Illinois at Chicago is raising money for IDRf to fund Swami Vivekananda Mission in Kashmir (http://icarus.cc.uic.edu/stud_orgs/religion/hindu/home.html) Also the Dharma project of the National HSC in its 'seva' edition, promotes donations to the IDRf (<http://www.dharmalife.org/November.htm>)

³⁵ <http://www.vhp-america.org/michigan/linkWebs.html>, <http://www.hindulinks.org/Seva/>, <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/9089/links/organisations.html>, <http://www.hinduwomen.org/seva.htm>, <http://www.noblecauses.com/india/index.htm>, <http://www.hssworld.org/uk/html/maincontent/internationallinks.html>

4. Funding Hate

The preceding section establishes the organizational and personnel links of the IDRF with the Sangh both in India and the United States. However, it could be argued that while the Sangh is sectarian and IDRF has well established links with the Sangh, that its funds do not necessarily aid and abet *Hindutva's* anti-minority programs. This would be true if either the IDRF's funds are distributed extensively to non Sangh operations or if the funds provided to Sangh operations are deployed towards purely economic empowerment of marginalized communities and not implicated in sectarian *Hindutva* activity. This latter aspect is especially relevant given the IDRF's claim, both on official US government documents as well as in its name and publicized goals that it is non sectarian. After all "development" and "relief" are largely understood as non-sectarian activities. Finally, if the sectarian nature of the IDRF's funding is established, it leaves just one further issue as to whether the IDRF funds could be implicated in more specifically the Sangh's violent activities. In other words, does the IDRF aid or abet Sangh sponsored violence? We evaluate each of the above three possibilities in order.

4.1. The IDRF Funds and Their Distribution

As with other charities, donors to IDRF can earmark their gifts for specific organizations in India (these are called donor-designated funds), or leave it up to IDRF to disburse the funds in ways its deems appropriate (IDRF-designated funds). In the former case, the IDRF only accepts donations of \$1000 or more, and assigns 10% of the donation to Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (a Sangh organization, see Appendix F).

In this section, we are primarily concerned with the IDRF-designated funds; the disbursement of which is completely controlled by the IDRF. While the details are presented in Appendix H, the main features of the analysis are:

- In the years from 1994 to 2000 for which the data is available, roughly 75% of the IDRF's total disbursements (over \$ 3.2 million) went to the IDRF-designated organizations.
- A vast majority (in excess of 80%) of the IDRF designated funds were sent to Parivar organizations, especially those affiliated with or controlled by the RSS, the VHP and the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (VKA).³⁶ This should be contrasted with the finding that for the same period, only 10% of the donor-designated funds were earmarked for Sangh charities.
- Further, it is clear the IDRF disburses its funds in a highly sectarian manner favoring the Hindu community. None of the organizations funded can be

³⁶ See Appendix H, consolidated spread-sheet of the IDRF grants from 1994 to 2001. Source: Annual Reports from the IDRF web-site. <http://www.idrf.org/frontpage/Accomp.html>

identified with any minority community, though 8% (in addition to the 83% that are Sangh affiliated) are clearly identifiable as Hindu or Jain religious organizations. Only 2% of the organizations funded can be recognized as secular organizations.

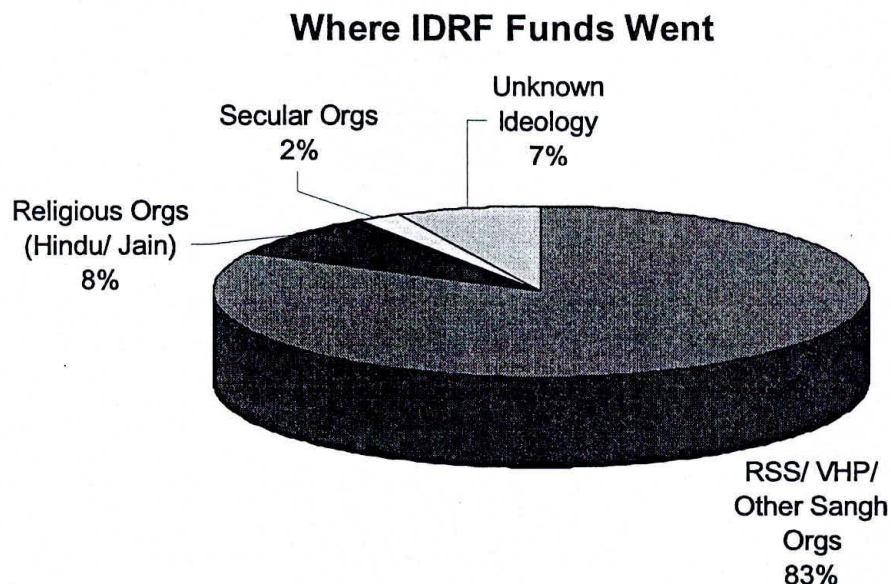


Figure 2 – Percentage Distribution of IDRF Funds By Ideology

4.2. Funding Hinduization

An analysis of what the primary aim of the IDRF-designated organizations reveals that the majority of them are indeed, not involved in what is commonly understood as 'relief' and 'developmental' work.

- Nearly 70% of the IDRF funds go to organizations dealing with education (largely in *adivasi*/rural areas), hostels, '*shuddhi*'/reconversion programs, and Hinduization efforts;
- about 8 % goes for health and welfare work;
- 15% goes for relief work, and
- only 4% towards what is normally understood in the NGO world as rural development.³⁷

³⁷ These numbers are our approximations based on inexact information about all the grantees. See Appendix H, consolidated spread-sheet of the IDRF grants from 1994-2001. Source: Annual Reports of IDRF <http://www.idrf.org/frontpage/Accomp.html>

Activities Supported by the IDRF

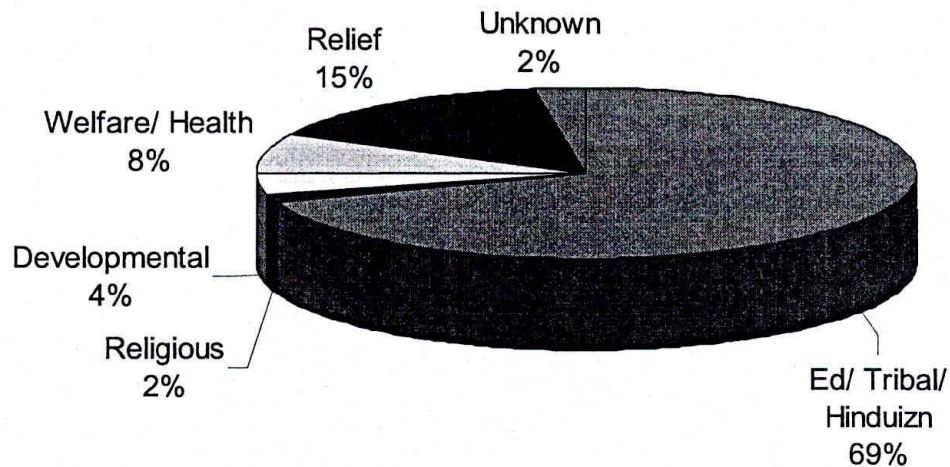


Figure 3 – Percentage Distribution of IDRF Funds By Activities

The data above, contradicts IDRF's first claim, that it supports NGOs engaged in 'strengthening the roots of a democratic, secular,...India,'³⁸ and serving the communities irrespective of their religion. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Over 90% of its funds are clearly in the hands of Hindu organizations which by the very definition along religious lines are sectarian.

4.3. The IDRF as a 'Development and Relief' Organization

4.3.1. Relief

It is possible that in times of great need and emergencies, even a religiously identified organization could grant assistance without discrimination. Even this possibility is eliminated given that 80% of the funds go to *Hindutva* organizations which have a track record of being discriminatory even in the most calamitous of situations. Even if we take natural disaster such as the Gujarat earthquake of 2001, it is clear from accounts in the mainstream media, that *Sangh* organizations used funds at their disposal largely only to help Hindu victims as against Muslim or

³⁸ A NRI's Quest For Serving The Underprivileged, by Dr. Vinod Prakash
<http://www.idrf.org/news/IndependenceDay2000.htm>

Christian victims. In other words, the 15% of its funds that IDRF disbursed for 'relief' must also be seen as sectarian funds. Details of the sectarian nature of relief work after the Gujarat earthquake are included as Appendix E.

4.3.2. Development

The data presented above also casts serious doubts on the IDRF's claim to be doing 'grassroots' NGO 'development' work. Only 4% of the funds have gone towards economic empowerment. Under an expanded definition, it could be argued that education and other kinds of welfare projects do fall under the rubric of development. However, there is extensive documentation available, that establishes beyond all reasonable doubt, that "tribal education" in the language of Hindutva are essentially aggressive programs to wipe out *adivasi* culture and religions, and replace them with a Vedic upper caste version of Hinduism on the one hand, and *shuddhi* (purification) and reconversion programs on the other.³⁹ Two detailed notes on the Sangh's operations in Tribal Areas and the Sangh's Educational Principles are included in this report as Appendices F and G.

Thus, the most liberal estimate of IDRF's funds that go towards "development" would be a meager 16% (economic programs and health and welfare activity) and a large part – 80% or more goes towards activity that is essentially sectarian.

4.4. IDRF: Funding Violent Organizations?

Though the IDRF has been in operation for over a decade in the US, it is only over the last five years, that adequate documentation about its activities has emerged, that makes visible IDRF's funding of organizations clearly implicated in violence against minorities in India.

4.4.1. Anti-Christian Violence in Gujarat, 1998-2000

The period from 1998 to 2000 saw a spate of anti-Christian violence in the tribal belts of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. For instance, a Human Rights Watch report of 1999 states the following:

³⁹ For example, Bharat Kalyan Pratisthan, which received over \$86,000 in the IDRF funding for 'tribal welfare' has been specially designated by the VHP to receive money for *Shuddhi* ceremonies for Dalits and Tribals, "to neutralise the Conversion Crisis that is presently threatening to swallow up the Hindu Society" and also "to re-establish the spiritual & moral glory of Hinduism," according to the Hindutva ideologue SP Attri http://www.hinduweb.org/home/general_sites/essays/proshuddhi.html

Attacks against Christians throughout the country have increased significantly since the BJP began its rule at the center in March 1998. They include the killings of priests, the raping of nuns, and the physical destruction of Christian institutions, schools, churches, colleges, and cemeteries. Thousands of Christians have also been forced to convert to Hinduism.⁴⁰

A US State Department Report on International Religious Freedom describes the following incident in Gujarat to illustrate the violent threats and religious conversion processes in India:

On January 27, 1999, 12 Christian villagers were “reconverted” forcibly to Hinduism under threat of the loss of the right to use the local well and the destruction of their homes. The “reconversion” was carried out by youths working with **Swami Ashim Anand**, a Hindu active in “reconverting” tribals in the area. However, the villagers stated that prior to becoming Christians they had not been Hindu.⁴¹

4.4.1.1. Swami Ashim Anand

In Gujarat, the laying of infrastructure for this conversion violence is attributed to Swami Ashim Anand (variously called Swami Aseemanand or Asheemanand). For the two years (1998, 1999) that he was active in the Dangs district in Gujarat, not only did the Swami conduct forcible re-conversions of tribals to Hinduism, he also spread terror amongst the local Christians by organizing large-scale, aggressively militant Hindu rallies on Christmas eve and Good Friday in tribal villages with significant Christian populations.⁴²

- Swami Ashim Anand is documented by Sangh activists as part of the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram in Gujarat. Ashwin Modi, the President of the Surat unit of the Bajrang Dal, identifies the

⁴⁰ Anti-Christian violence on the rise in India: New Report details politics behind extremist Hindu attacks. Press Release by the HRW <http://www.hrw.org/press/1999/sep/christians.htm> Full Report at POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS: Attacks Against Christians in India HRW Report, September 1999 <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/indiachr/>

⁴¹ U.S. Department of State Annual Report on International Religious Freedom for 1999: India Released by the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Washington, DC, September 9, 1999, http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/irf/irf_rpt/1999/irf_india99.html

⁴² Trouble anticipated in Dangs village after Swami's return, Indian Express, April 3, 1999 <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19990403/ige03011.html> and Halmodi tense as HJM gears up for shilanyas, Basant Rawat, Indian Express, December 22, 1999 <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19991222/ifr22047.html>

Swami as part of the "Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, an organization affiliated to the VHP."⁴³

- Further documentation for the same comes via a story in Indian Express, a mainstream newspaper in India, which identifies Swami Ashim Anand as "the national president" of the Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad and reports the Swami's recent presence in the Dangs as follows:

*After coming to Waghai a couple of years ago, the Swami had spearheaded the formation of Bajrang Dal units in every village. The recent violence against the Christian community was reportedly led by activists groomed by the Swami.*⁴⁴

4.4.1.2. The Link to the IDRF

The linking of Swami Ashim Anand with the Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad and his mandate as the creation of the Bajrang Dal units in the tribal villages of Gujarat, provides a critical link to the IDRF. Chetan Gandhi, one of the Vice Presidents of IDRF, writes in a report on his visit to Gujarat and to the ashram at Waghai as follows:

*Swami Ashimanandji is in charge of the Ashram's activities in this district... though is as some (sic) only before 18 months he is well known as respected by the community.*⁴⁵

Further, it is not difficult to explain the presence of an IDRF vice president in Gujarat and his reporting on the activities of the Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad in Waghai. The Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad is a direct beneficiary of the IDRF. It is listed under the title "IDRF Supported Projects in Gujarat."⁴⁶

4.4.2. Tribal Participation in the Gujarat Genocide, 2002

The anti-Muslim pogroms that took place in the state of Gujarat this year had a surprise element in them—the active participation of the *adivasis* in the violence against the Muslims. Several commentators have noted the role played by Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad and the Vivekananda Kendra (both funded by the IDRF) in actively communalizing the tribal mind, and creating the anti-Muslim ethos⁴⁷. An affiliate organization, the Vanvasi

⁴³ *Christian tribals beaten up, ostracised in Gujarat village*, Basant Rawat, Indian Express, December 4, 1998 <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19981204/33850044.html>

⁴⁴ *Controversial Swami does a disappearing act*, Indian Express, February 4, 1999 <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19990204/ige04097.html>

⁴⁵ <http://www.idrf.org/news/vanvasi/>

⁴⁶ http://www.idrf.org/sewa_proj/gujarat.html

⁴⁷ *Tribals made cannon fodder in Gujarat's communal war*, by Chandrakant Naidu, Hindustan Times, May 6 2002, <http://www.ambedkar.org/News/News050902.htm>

Seva Sangh, has also been identified as an active participant in the anti-Muslim, anti-Christian indoctrination of tribals.⁴⁸

4.4.3. Spreading Hate in Other States

Such cases of the IDRF funding of organizations directly implicated in the violence is not restricted to Gujarat alone. Documentation exists also for a similar role played by the IDRF in supporting organizations such as Sewa Bharati, Ekal Vidyalays and the VKA implicated in violence against Christians in Madhya Pradesh⁴⁹. The implication of Sewa Bharati, Madhya Pradesh in anti-Christian violence has been recognized by the local State government, which has taken an extreme step of revoking the license of Sewa Bharati, an the IDRF funded organization, because of its part in spreading anti-minority violence⁵⁰. Similarly, activists with the Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad in Kotda (also directly supported by the IDRF⁵¹) led a campaign of terror against the Muslim families in the Juda village, leading to their large-scale migration to neighboring villages⁵².

In summary at all levels, the IDRF's implication in sectarian work, including support for organizations of the Sangh that are directly implicated in violent actions over the last four years, is well documented. The documentation presented leads us to a simple and single conclusion – the IDRF does fund hate.

⁴⁸ *Poisoned Edge: The Sangh exploits Dalit and tribal frustration to recruit soldiers for Hindutva's 'war,'*

Davinder Kumar, Outlook June 24, 2002.

http://www.ektaonline.org/cac/updates/2002_06_23_archive.htm

⁴⁹ Sewa Bharati and Ekal Vidyalays organized the Hindu Sangam in the tribal belt in Madhya Pradesh earlier this year. A report from Sewa Bharati is available at <http://www.hvk.org/articles/0102/98.html>. The aggressively anti-Christian flavor of the meet, and the concomitant tensions it created are described in *RSS temples for tribals spell trouble for Digvijay*, Yogesh Vajpeyi, Indian Express, January 7th 2002 <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie20020107/top5.html>. For Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram's role, see Appendix F.

⁵⁰ *RSS outfit stripped of its licence in MP*, Yogesh Vajpeyi, Indian Express, February 28th, 2002 <http://www.indianexpress.com/ie20020228/nat6.html>

⁵¹ the IDRF lists Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Kotda in its "Statewise Listing of Sewa Programs" http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj1/IDRF_PAG/RAJASTH/Rajind.htm

⁵² *VHP offshoot behind reign of terror*, Mohammed Iqbal <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2001/11/13/stories/02130005.htm>

Appendix A– Hindutva: The Growth of Violent Hindu Nationalism

This appendix provides detailed support and elaboration of the descriptions and arguments in Part 1 of this report. Accordingly, it follows in large part, the same structure as Part 1 of this report. We cover the following ground in this appendix:

1. Hindutva, the RSS and the Sangh Parivar
2. The Sangh Parivar: The Institutional Infrastructure of Hindutva
3. The Effects of Hindutva: Violent Pogroms and the Destruction of the National Fabric

A.1 Hindutva, the RSS and the Sangh Parivar

The *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS, or the ‘Sangh,’-- literally ‘National Volunteer Corps’), was started in 1925 for ‘propagating Hindu culture.’ As an organization, the RSS is elusive and shadowy—it is only open to Hindu males – primarily upper caste, it maintains no membership records; it has resisted being registered with the government of India as a public/charitable trust; it has no bank accounts and pays no income tax.

The RSS advocates a form of Hindu nationalism, which seeks to establish India as a *Hindu Rashtra* (Hindu Nation), and rejects the notion of a composite Indian identity brought about by a synthesis of different cultures and faiths. This particular ideology is variously called an ideology of Hindu pride, Hindu patriotism, Hindu fundamentalism, Hindu revivalism, Hindu chauvinism, Hindu fascism or *Hindutva*. What is beyond doubt is the exclusionary and discriminatory nature of the ideology. The last mentioned – Hindutva (Hinduness/Hinduhood) – is the term most popularly attached to this ideology and will be term of choice in this appendix.

This exclusionary and discriminatory ideology is built around a complex and ingenious definition of “who belongs” or “does not belong” to the Indian nation. Probably the most explicit characterization of the question of “belonging” is outlined by the second *sarsanghchalak* (supreme leader) of the RSS, M. S. Golwalkar. He writes:

The foreign races in *Hindusthan* [India] must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must loose (**sic**) their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — ***not even citizen's rights***. There is, at least, should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an

old nation; let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races, who have chosen to live in our country.”⁵³

Golwalkar’s commentary on who belongs to the Hindu Nation, apart from its open fascist overtones, is peculiar because it contradicts the popular understanding of Hinduism as a religion. Instead, it frames Hinduism as a culture and Hindus as a race who adhere to a Hindu culture. In this peculiar but brilliant redefinition lies the specificity of Hindu fascism. It is unlike most of Euro-American fascism – whether it be Nazi Germany and its notion of Aryan purity or neo-fascist movements such as the KKK or BNP – which are all biologically defined ideas of racial purity. Hindutva’s cultural basis seems to remove it from such standard forms of fascism. However, the equation of race with culture – as in Golwalkar’s “Hindu race and culture” – introduces a notion of purity through the back door. Lochtefeld (1996), analyzing Savarkar, the man who preceded Golwalkar and the first Supreme Leader of the RSS, unpacks this redefinition as follows:

Savarkar [who first expounded on the Hindu Nation] defined a Hindu as anyone regarding India as a fatherland and holy land, and to this day these remain the litmus test. This defines the Hindu nation on cultural criteria—as a people united by a common cultural heritage—and from the start Hindutva proponents have insisted that the word ‘Hindu’ refers to a cultural rather than a religious community.... One must look at who this definition excludes. Savarkar’s definition of a Hindu is plastic enough to include everyone in a notoriously polyform tradition, but the condition that one regard India as the Holy Land largely excludes both Muslims and Christians. This definition equates Hindu identity and Indian nationalism, meaning that religious minorities are not only ‘aliens’, but because of their ‘extraterritorial loyalties’ (to holy lands in Arabia and Israel), they are also potential traitors.”⁵⁴

The ingenuity of tying culture and race together is that it makes possible a definition of a “pure” nation where none is otherwise possible. India, per se, is a fascinating melting pot of races and cultures. Even distinctions such as white and black as available in the US (though those are also mostly spurious) are entirely impossible in India. By defining belonging through a territorially contained notion of culture, it becomes possible to denote some minorities as within the ambit of “the Hindu” and others as outside it. A large number of minorities – Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains, for instance are objects of integration. So also, Dalits and tribals (*adivasis*) though historically oppressed by upper caste Hindus are in this definition not excluded from the nation. The idea here is to redefine these minorities as “Hindu” – where a certain specific upper caste Hinduism (Sanatan Dharma), is the hegemonic pure form and all others are at varying distance from this purity. In contrast, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and

⁵³ *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, Golwalkar, 1939, pp. 47-48

⁵⁴ James G. Lochtefeld (1996) *New Wine, Old Skins: The Sangh Parivar and the Transformation of Hinduism*, *Religion* 26, 101-118 <http://www.history.upenn.edu/hist086/material/lochtefeld.pdf>

Jews, are clearly defined as outside the fold of the Nation, not because they have not been part of India for centuries but because their cultural signifiers are seen as lying external to the territorial nation.

The definition of “pure” is what aligns Hindutva with classical fascism of the Nazi kind. Golwalkar is clearly inspired and convinced by the Nazi experiment of attempting to purge a land of all those who don’t fit into a definition of German-Aryan purity. He writes:

German national pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the nation and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic races — the Jews. National 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.⁵⁵

Today, the political leadership of the Sangh spends some marginal effort at denying any relation to Nazi Germany but does little to explain the distinction between its ideology and that of Nazi Germany.

In terms of ideology then, the Sangh’s brand of fascism is simultaneously indigenous and imported. Clearly their broad ideas of purity and exclusion are not very different from Nazi Germany. However, the peculiar conflation of culture and race does make this brand of fascism unique.

A.2 The Sangh Parivar: The Institutional Infrastructure of Hindutva

Institutionally, given that the RSS is itself an organization that is secretive and without specified membership, its visibility is low. It functions primarily through a broad range of organizations that exist in every aspect of sociopolitical life in India – what is referred to as the Sangh Parivar (Sangh family) of organizations. However, before we explicate this visible structure of the Sangh Parivar and its chief constituent organizations, we need to pay some attention to the minimal aspects of what is visible as the RSS.

A.2.1 The Role of the RSS Shakha

The core unit of the RSS is referred to as a shakha (cell). The shakha is a place for *swayamsevak*s (volunteers) to come together for physical and ideological training. These shakhas operate in large numbers of neighborhoods in India (and are now spreading across the US), and produce a constant stream of ‘volunteers’ who become the foot-soldiers for the *Sangh*’s projects and organizations. Here too, specific links can be drawn between European fascism and the RSS. B. S. Moonje, the mentor of the founding father of the RSS, Hegdewar, visited and met with

⁵⁵ *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, MS Golwalkar, 1939

Mussolini and was granted permission by Mussolini to observe and understand the nature of the fascist organizational structure⁵⁶. Moonje played a crucial role in molding the RSS along Italian (fascist) lines. The deep impression left on Moonje by the vision of the fascist organizations is confirmed by his diary.

The idea of fascism vividly brings out the conception of unity amongst people... India and particularly Hindu Indians need some such institution for the military regeneration of the Hindus: so that the artificial distinction so much emphasised by the British of martial and non-martial classes amongst the Hindus may disappear... Our institution of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh of Nagpur under Dr. Hedgewar is of this kind, though quite independently conceived. I will spend the rest of my life in developing and extending this Institution of Dr. Hedgewar all throughout Maharashtra and other provinces.⁵⁷

Moonje's central concern while looking at Italian fascism was, as he says, with the aim of "developing and extending this Institution." Thus the RSS cell structure of shakhas (cells) grew with some clear similarity to the cell structure of Mussolini's National Socialists, also borrowing with it the core ideas of physical training of youth and militarism. Moonje's diaries are very explicit in acknowledging the centrality of violent militarism to the RSS strategy.

This training is meant for qualifying and fitting our boys for the game of killing masses of men with the ambition of winning victory with the best possible casualties (sic) of dead and wounded while causing the utmost possible to the adversary.⁵⁸

The *swayamsevaks* generated at the Shakhas are seamlessly tied into the Sangh Parivar infrastructure. *Swayamsevaks* go on to direct and run, projects of every size and shape – from *Bal Vihars* (Children's centers) to opening up new shakhas, from student politics (through the *Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad*) to paramilitary operations (through the *Bajrang Dal*). The Sangh permeates every aspect.

A.2.2 The Sangh Parivar and Its Constituents

At the national level, *swayamsevaks* emerge to direct and run its most important institutions – the BJP, the VHP, the BD and the Sewa Vibhag.

⁵⁶ M Casolari, (1993) *Hindutva's foreign tie-up in the 1930s: Archival Evidence*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan 22, 2000
<http://www.ercwilcom.net/~indowindow/sad/godown/secular/fascirss.htm>

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

Each of these institutions also have an equivalent organization in the US – the RSS has its image mirrored through the HSS, the BJP in the OFBJP, the VHP in the VHP of America and its student wing – the HSC, the BD in Hindu Unity and finally the Sewa Vibhag in IDRF. Below is a brief description of each – the Indian organization first, followed by its US equivalent as well as a summary chart.

- RSS –Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh: The core fount of Hindutva Ideology.
 - HSS: The Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh is the US equivalent of the RSS. HSS is registered as a tax-exempt charity in the US, and like the RSS in India, is one of the main proponents of Hindutva in the US. According to one of its flyers, “HSS is started in the USA and other parts of the world to continue what RSS is doing in India.”⁵⁹ The RSS website states that the primary purpose of the HSS is to protect the children of Hindu parents from the “vicious propaganda and corrupt conversion techniques of Christians and Muslims”⁶⁰. Note the central concern of diasporic life in this definition is the possible “impurity” of Christian or Islamic influence. Much like the RSS branches in India, HSS also holds physical training exercises and camps, where the Hindutva doctrine is expounded. The structure of the RSS is duplicated in the US, with the *Sanghchalak* being the highest office bearer in the US.
- BJP: The Bharatiya Janata Party: This is a political party that participates in electoral politics. It is currently in power in the Indian state of Gujarat, which recently witnessed some of the most gruesome violence against Muslims. At the center in New Delhi, it is the leading member of a coalition that is currently in power.
 - OFBJP—Overseas Friends of BJP: This is the BJP support group in the US. While it cannot monetarily support the BJP directly from the US, many OFBJP functionaries work with other Sangh operations in the US to propagate Hindutva. In addition, it works to mobilize opinion in Washington D.C and invites BJP leadership from India to the US to meet with the Indian Diaspora.
- VHP—Vishwa Hindu Parishad: It was formed in 1964 with the explicit purpose of forming an aggressive and an activist wing to promote Hindutva. The first general secretary of the VHP, S.S. Apte, made its goals clear as follows: “It is therefore necessary in

⁵⁹ <http://www.idrf.org/flyers/balvihar/html/hss.html>

⁶⁰ <http://www.rss.org/rssstor.htm> under the subtitle ‘Towards Maintaining Cultural Identity’

this age of competition and conflict to think of, and organize, the Hindu world to save itself from the evil eyes of all three" [all three being Christianity, Islam and Communism].⁶¹ Since its formation, the VHP has played an aggressive and agitational role in India. It rose to prominence for spearheading from the early 1980s onwards the Ram Janmabhoomi movement that ultimately led to the violent take over and destruction of a 16th century Babri mosque in Ayodhya, India. This mobilization that lasted the better part of a decade was a watershed event in terms of creating new levels of polarization between Hindu and Muslim communities in India. More recently, its international working president, Mr. Ashok Singhal, called the carnage against Muslims in Gujarat a 'successful experiment' and warned that it would be repeated all over India⁶². In other words, the VHP, is the core political mobilization unit that is used to create and spread conditions of religious intolerance and violence.

- VHP— America : This is the US counterpart of the VHP in India, and is active at two levels – as the VHP of America chapters in large parts of the North East and the South with the primary function of support work for the Sangh in India among the professional Indian diaspora and as a student organization called the Hindu Student Council (HSC) with significant presence on prestigious American university campuses. Its work within the professional Indian diasporic community is essentially both ideological and fund raising. Though it claims to be independent of the VHP itself, this claim is at best a legal/technical claim. In real terms it works actively and in close cooperation with VHP, India. For instance, VHP America's biggest event to date in the US was the World Vision 2000, a conference organized in Washington D.C. The guest list for that event included nearly every potential luminary in the VHP India hierarchy – from Ashok Singhal to Uma Bharati and Vijaye Raje Scindia. In addition, the VHPA promotes fund collection for a range of Sewa Vibhag activity in India.⁶³

The HSC in contrast works primarily with second generation Indian Americans with a project of bringing them under the influence of Hindutva. It does this through multiple levels of ideological work – by organizing mass meetings and

⁶¹ The Organiser, Diwali Special, 1964.

⁶² 'We'll repeat our Gujarat experiment' Indian Express, Sept 4th, 2002
http://www.indianexpress.com/full_story.php?content_id=8831

⁶³ James G. Lochtefeld (1996) *New Wine, Old Skins: The Sangh Parivar and the Transformation of Hinduism*, Religion 26, 101-118 <http://www.history.upenn.edu/hist086/material/lochtefeld.pdf>

readings on campuses on a narrow range of Hindu thought, that is ideologically a perfect fit for Hindutva, (such as Gita readings) and for those who wish to get more involved as a gateway to larger Hindutva operations in the US.

- Bajrang Dal is the paramilitary wing of the VHP, and was started in 1984 to provide muscle and manpower to the VHP agitations. The Bajrang Dal regularly organizes arms training camps for its members, where it teaches them the use of firearms and *trishuls* (tridents). According to one of the participants, the training is imparted in order to teach them "how to beat those who do not respect Hinduism."⁶⁴ Bajrang Dal has been at the forefront of recent communal attacks against Christians in the tribal regions, against artists and intellectuals and against Muslims in Gujarat.
 - HinduUnity.org, a website run from the US claims to be the official website of the Bajrang Dal. This site is a virulent hate-filled site that has already once been yanked by a web-hosting service Addr.com because of the spiteful vitriol that it publishes, and its frequent calls to violence against Muslims. A typical passage from the Website under the pop-up window called Hindu Force is given below as a sample:

"Revenge on Islam must become the sole aim of the life of every Hindu today. Islam has been shedding Hindu blood for several centuries. This is something we should neither forget nor forgive. This sinister religion has been striking at Hinduism for just too long. It is time we resist this satanic force and kick it back into the same pit it crawled out of."

- Sewa Vibhag: The Service Wing of the Hindutva Movement is the RSS's most incoherent structure. However, in its very incoherence lies its ingenuity. The service wing operates through hundreds of organizations spread across the country – many different names and functions – all presented as if they were entirely independent organizations. This proliferation of Sewa Vibhag projects as independent organizations gives an impression of seeming incoherence. However, it is also the most inconspicuous way of placing swayamsevaks distributed across the country and creating entry points for them to do their ideological work. Often it is difficult to place an organization as an RSS Sewa Vibhag operation. It takes systematic matching of organizational trustees with other known RSS operations to establish the links. However, while this is true for a large number of RSS Sewa Vibhag operations, the role of

⁶⁴ *Bajrang Dal activists take up arms*, The Times of India, June 13th, 2001
<http://www.hinduunity.org/bajrangdal.html>



the Sewa Vibhag as an entry point to do the core ideological work of the Sangh creates some long term patterns and institutions. For instance, education offers an effective cover for ideological work and the remaking of identities. Thus many Sewa Vibhag operations are crafted as educational activities. Following such patterns it becomes possible to identify Vidya Bharati as an RSS operation. Similarly, it becomes possible to identify a whole range of organizations that work with tribals (*adivasis*) as RSS operations because the *adivasis* are an important target constituency for the RSS. As these multitude of projects are what is the object of funding from the US, in a sense, these organizations of the Sewa Vibhag that do the core work of spreading the ideology of the Sangh are an extremely critical part of this report. Thus two more appendices – F and G – attached to Part 3 of this report (Funding Hate?) are on the Sangh's work in tribal (*adivasi*) areas and on the Sangh's educational work.

- India Development and Relief Fund (IDRF): IDRF is the US based funding arm of the Sangh and primarily funds the Sangh through its Sewa Vibhag operations. It is directly connected to Sewa International, the part of the Sewa Vibhag that coordinates international Sewa activity. Sewa International itself operates as the equivalent to IDRF in the UK.

A.3 The Effects of Hindutva: Violent Pogroms and the Destruction of a Multicultural Society

Violence is a core aspect of Hindutva. It has never been shy of advocating violence for the achievement of its goals of a Hindu Rashtra. It depicts 'Hinduism' as constantly under threat from external/foreign forces (of Islam, Christianity and 'Secularism'), and hence, portrays violence against Muslims, Christians and advocates of pluralism in India as a form of 'self-defense.' This, self defense is further positioned as the process of regeneration of Hindu manhood. This twin trope of self-defense and a lost manhood that is in need of recovery are part of the daily rhetoric of Hindutva. This psychological justification of violence is under girded by a more open strategic and essential appreciation of it – some of which we have already recorded in this appendix – whether it be Golwalkar's open appreciation for the efforts to "purge" the German nation of all Jews by the Nazis, or Moonje's hope that the RSS would create conditions of a "military regeneration of Hindus", and prepare "our boys in the game of killing masses of people." Here violence is clearly both essential to purge the nation of all that it does not desire, and strategic in Golwalkar's goal to ensure that the minorities live in fear and seek no privileges.

There is ample evidence that this essential and strategic understanding of violence is central to the Hindutva project. Numerous government reports have clearly indicted the Sangh for fomenting communal violence:

"If the Jaganmohan Reddy Commission on the Ahmedabad riots (1969) and the Madan Commission on the Bhiwandi riots (1970) exposed the Unified Front tactics of the RSS and its political wing, the Jan Sangh, ancestor of the BJP, Justice Vithayathil's report on the Tellicherry riots (1971) censured the RSS for 'rousing up' communal feelings and for 'preparing the background for the disturbances'. Justice Jitendra Narain's Report on the Jamshedpur riots (1979) censured the RSS supremo M.D Deoras personally for the communal propaganda that had caused the riots. The RSS had held a conference there 'only four days before the *Ram Navami* festival (when the riots erupted) and the speech delivered by Balasaheb Deoras contributed their full share in fomenting these communal feelings'. The RSS had created 'a climate for these disturbances'. The report of Justice P Venugopal of the Madras High Court, on the riots in Kanyakumari in March 1982, found the RSS guilty of fomenting anti-Christian feelings: 'It has taken upon itself the task to teach the minority their place and if they are not willing to learn their place, teach them a lesson. The RSS has given respectability to communalism and communal riots and demoralise (sic) administration.' ⁶⁵

With a history of inciting and conducting violent campaigns going back to the partition of India and Pakistan, for the RSS violence is part of a strategy of breaking the back of an integrated multi-religious society and creating polarized communities of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. In a recent film on the RSS – "Men in the Tree" – filmmaker Lalit Vachani records a series of critical interviews with former RSS members – D. R. Goyal and Purshottam Agrawal. Both men speak openly of how it was part of their work as RSS *swayamsevak*s to create and spread rumors that would produce conditions conducive for a communal riot. The gradual but continuous polarization of the religious communities through violence is a fundamental fact of the Sangh strategy.

As Hindutva has grown more and more powerful and gained State power over the years, its strategic use of riots to polarize religious communities has slowly began to transform into a process of fundamentally destroying and displacing minority communities. In other words, over the last decade religious violence in India is no longer cases of Hindutva cadre fighting a Muslim or Christian right wing forces cadre on the streets but has increasingly become organized pogroms to eliminate and reduce minority communities to rubble. The recent Gujarat riot is a case in point.

⁶⁵ *A Half Century's Gory Record*, AG Noorani, The Statesman, January 15, 2000
<http://www.secularindia.net/article27.html>

A.3.1 From Riots to Pogroms: Gujarat 2002

On February 27, 2002, a train carrying Hindu activists was set afire in Godhra, a city in the western Indian state of Gujarat, allegedly by a Muslim mob, resulting in the death of 58 people.

The following excerpt from the Human Rights Watch report describes what followed:

“Between February 28 and March 2, thousands of attackers descended on Muslim neighbourhoods, clad in saffron scarves and khaki shorts, the signature uniform of Hindu nationalist groups, and armed with swords, sophisticated explosives, and gas cylinders. They were guided by voter lists and printouts of addresses of Muslim-owned properties—information obtained from the local municipality... The groups most directly involved in the violence against Muslims include the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council, VHP), the Bajrang Dal, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) that heads the Gujarat state government”⁶⁶

Over 2000 people were killed, and more than 100,000 were rendered homeless—around 90% of the victims were Muslims. In addition, reports from women's groups state that hundreds of Muslim women were gang-raped by the Hindutva mobs and then burnt.⁶⁷

The State government, headed by the BJP—the parliamentary arm of the Sangh Parivar, was strikingly ineffective in controlling the rioters, and has also been accused of complicity in the violence by several Human Rights groups⁶⁸. Instances of direct support of the Hindu rioters by the police and the administration have also been documented. What gives much credence to the accusation that the Gujarat State government actively participated in the riots, is a well documented story in a leading news magazine – Outlook India – where a minister of the State cabinet informed the press of a meeting on the evening of February 28th at the residence of the chief minister Narendra Modi where State administration officials were instructed not to stop the Hindu backlash that was coming.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ India: Gujarat Officials Took Part in Anti-Muslim Violence: Press Release by HRW, April 30, 2002 <http://hrw.org/press/2002/04/gujarat.htm>

⁶⁷ How Has The Gujarat Massacre Affected Minority Women? The Survivors Speak : A fact finding report by a Women's Panel, Citizen's Initiative, Ahmedabad, April 16th, 2002 <http://www.ektaonline.org/cac/resources/reports/womensreport.htm>

⁶⁸ See for example, the National Human Rights Commission's Report, Final order on Gujarat dated May 31, 2002, http://nhrc.nic.in/guj_finalorder.htm

⁶⁹ A Plot From The Devil's Lair, Manu Joseph, S. Anand, Outlook June 3, 2002 <http://www.outlookindia.com/full.asp?fodname=20020603&fname=Gujarat+%28F%29&sid=1>

Many independent fact-finding missions have verified the central role played by the different Sangh Parivar organizations in orchestrating the violence:

"In testimony after testimony, people identified by name members of the Bajrang Dal and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad involved in inciting and committing violence. The fact-finding team spoke with women activists and victims in the camps about their views on the growing polarization between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Both sets of people linked it to the aggressive agenda of the Sangh Parivar - particularly the Bajrang Dal, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and, in some cases, the Shiv Sena. In the rural context, women directly linked a rise in tension with the establishment of local units of the Bajrang Dal and the VHP. They spoke of meetings organized by these groups, and the arms they distributed at these meetings. Many believe that the tension has really escalated in the last six months."⁷⁰

Everything about Gujarat points in the direction of a pogrom. There is evidence that the distribution of arms was an on going activity. The material used in the violence, apart from the swords and *trishuls* was some variety of a chemical solvent which could not have been procured spontaneously. Voter lists and the specific targeting of Muslim businesses and homes is another clear indication of the organized nature of the violence. Even at the time of writing this report, eight months after the pogrom began, many Muslims remain homeless and are unable to return to their homes because of the fear that they will be killed.

A.3.2 The Confidence to Kill Without Cover

If Gujarat is a stark testimony that the Sangh's violence has reached the fascist proportions that Moonje and Golwalkar had in mind, then the complete confidence of the Sangh that it can carry out violent campaigns without any fear is also indicated by its targeted violence against individuals. The best case to illustrate this would be the continuous targeting of Christian nuns, priests and Evangelists by the Sangh activists. **Human Rights Watch, New York** published a report on anti-Christian violence in India in September 1999⁷¹ and also indicted the Sangh Parivar for their role in fomenting ethnic hatred against Christians:

⁷⁰ How Has The Gujarat Massacre Affected Minority Women? The Survivors Speak : A fact finding report by a Women's Panel, Citizen's Initiative, Ahmedabad, April 16th, 2002 <http://www.ektaonline.org/cac/resources/reports/womensreport.htm>

⁷¹ Anti-Christian violence on the rise in India: New Report details politics behind extremist Hindu attacks Press Release by the HRW <http://www.hrw.org/press/1999/sep/christians.htm> Full

Attacks against Christians throughout the country have increased significantly since the BJP began its rule at the center in March 1998. They include the killings of priests, the raping of nuns, and the physical destruction of Christian institutions, schools, churches, colleges, and cemeteries. Thousands of Christians have also been forced to convert to Hinduism.

Frontline, a mainstream newsmagazine, recorded over 50 incidents of violence, targeted against a specific individual or institution, in an organized effort to push Christian missionaries out of India⁷². These specified and directed attacks against individuals and institutions are equally important to note as organized mass violence because they are indicative of the fact that the movement has reached a point where it feels the confidence to undertake such violent campaigns without even the cover of a presumed communal riot.

A.3.3 Hindutva's First Indian Act: The Murder of Gandhi

Probably there is no more a poignant way to underscore the issue of Hindutva's definition as a violent movement than the murder of Mahatma Gandhi by a prominent Hindutva activist Nathuram Godse. On January 30 1948 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was shot dead by Nathuram Godse. In spite of the fact that the RSS disassociated itself from Godse, the then government of India banned the organization.

That the RSS's denial of any involvement with Gandhi's murder is false, is clear from many associated facts.

- Godse's successful attempt to kill Gandhi was not the first but the sixth attempt on Gandhi's life by the Hindutva movement⁷³. The thesis that Godse was an exception and a misguided young man marginally associated with Hindutva, fades in light of this history of attempts from within the movement.
- Further, the reaction to the murder of Gandhi within the RSS, was one of open elation – where RSS swayamsevaks were on streets celebrating. Clearly the sentiment was an openly available one within the Sangh. Sardar Patel, the first Home Minister of India, confirmed this in a letter to

Report at POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS: Attacks Against Christians in India HRW Report, September 1999 <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/indiachr/>

⁷² *A catalogue of crimes*, Pravin Swami, *Frontline*, Vol. 16 (3) Jan. 30 - Feb. 12, 1999 <http://www.flonnet.com/fl1603/16030130.htm>

⁷³ Tushar Gandhi, <http://www.mahatma.org.in/murderattempts/attempts.jsp?link=ld&id=1&cat=murderattempts>

the RSS supreme, M.S. Golwalkar in a letter dated September 11, 1948, he wrote⁷⁴,

“As a final result of the poison, the country had to suffer the sacrifice of the invaluable life of Gandhiji. Even an iota of the sympathy of the Government or of the people no more remained for the RSS. In fact, opposition grew. Opposition turned more severe when the RSS men expressed joy and distributed sweets after Gandhiji's death.”

- Years later, Gopal Godse, one of the co-accused in the Gandhi murder case and Nathuram Godse's brother, confirmed that both he and his brother were actively involved with the RSS at the time of the assassination. In an interview in 1994, he stated⁷⁵:

“All the brothers were in the RSS. Nathuram, Dattatreya, myself and Govind. You can say we grew up in the RSS rather than in our home. It was like a family to us. Nathuram had become a baudhik karyavah [intellectual worker] in the RSS. He has said in his statement that he had left the RSS. He said it because Golwalkar [the RSS Supremo] and the RSS were in a lot of trouble after the murder of Gandhi. But he did not leave the RSS.”

A movement, that began its work in a newly independent India, with the murder of an apostle of peace and respect for all communities, has today surfaced in its open and naked form – as a fundamentally fascist movement.

⁷⁴ *A Law Unto Itself*, AG Noorani, *Frontline*, Volume 15 (17), Aug 15-22, 1998
<http://www.flonnet.com/fl1517/15171170.htm>

⁷⁵ *Frontline*, January 28, 1994 quoted in *The RSS and the BJP: A Division of Labour*, AG Noorani, Leftword Books, 2000 p. 30 <http://www.sabrang.com/gujarat/rssbible.htm>

Appendix B – The Blessed Nine! And The Sisters

B.1 The Nine Originals

As mentioned in the body of this report, the IDRF submitted an application for a tax exemption certificate to the Internal Revenue Service of the United States. The Form 1023 filed by the IDRF in 1989 identifies the following nine representative organizations that the IDRF sought to support in India:

- Vikas Bharati (Bihar)
- Swami Vivekananda Rural Development Society (Tamil Nadu)
- Sewa Bharati (Delhi)
- Jana Seva Vidya Kendra (Karnataka)
- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (Madhya Pradesh)
- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (Gujarat)
- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (Nagar Haveli)
- Girivasi Vanvasi Sewa Prakalp (Uttar Pradesh)
- G. Deshpande Vanvasi Vastigrah (Maharashtra)

As detailed below, all of these organizations belong to the Sangh Parivar.

- Vikas Bharati (Bihar). Sewa International identifies this as a Sangh organization that was created for the purpose of 'educating' tribals. On its web site, Sewa International claims that '*The Vikas Bharati stream, **which originated in the fountainhead called Sangh** (italics added), has been quietly flowing towards the ocean called society, gathering many additional streams on the way.*'⁷⁶
- Swami Vivekananda Rural Development Society (Tamil Nadu): The Sewa International identifies this as a sister organization of the VHP⁷⁷. While the purported aim of this group also appears to be education of tribals, special emphasis appears to be placed upon teaching the tribals Hindu customs, particularly its religious festivals.⁷⁸
- Sewa Bharati (Delhi): Sewa Bharati is a well-known Sangh organization and is dealt with extensively in Appendix D.

⁷⁶ <http://www.sewainternational.org/integrate.html> , emphasis added

⁷⁷ <http://www.sewainternational.org/vhptamil.html>

⁷⁸ In a report to the IDRF, SVRDS states that it conducted competitions for Krishna Jayanthi (a Hindu Festival) in which the school children participated enthusiastically. <http://www.idrf.org/reports/svdrs/svdrs.html> It should be kept in mind that these tribals do not consider themselves Hindu, nor do they usually observe Krishna Jayanthi.

- Jana Seva Vidya Kendra (Karnataka): This is identified as an RSS-affiliated organization in the Sangh's own literature.⁷⁹ JSVK is purportedly an education society, but it also has the dubious honor of hosting the All India Meeting of RSS officials earlier this year, where the infamous RSS resolution of 'Godhra and After' was passed. In this resolution, the RSS puts the entire blame of the anti-Muslim violence in Gujarat on the victimized Muslim community and issued the following warning: 'Let the Muslims understand that their real safety lies in the goodwill of the majority.'⁸⁰
- The other five: The remaining five organizations belong to the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram in MP, Gujarat, and Nagar Haveli; the Girivasi Vanvasi Sewa Prakalp in Uttar Pradesh and the G. Deshpande Vanvasi Vastigrah in Maharashtra). Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram is one of the major Sangh affiliated organizations active in the tribal regions in India.⁸¹ While VKA and its affiliates claim to work for the 'welfare' of the tribal population, they are in fact mainly working to 'Hinduisse' the tribals and demonize the work of Christian missionaries in tribal area

B.2 The Eight "Sisters"

A far more extensive set of linkages between the Sangh and the IDRF emerge when we examine the organizations that the IDRF identifies as its "sister organizations." the IDRF lists nine subheadings under 'Sister Organizations', the ninth of which, called 'IDRF's affiliates in India', is a collection of 67 other organizations. Combined with the first eight, the total number of the IDRF sisters/affiliates adds up to 75. Of these, 60 are clearly identifiable as RSS affiliates in India. The remaining fifteen organizations are not classified in this report as RSS affiliates, not because we have evidence that show that they are not, but because there is very little information available on them. It is thus possible that some, if not all fifteen, are part of the RSS as well.

In this section, the eight "sister organizations" are examined below. In the next section, a list of all 67 organizations mentioned under "IDRF's affiliates in India" is provided along with the criteria used to judge whether they belong to the Sangh Parivar or not.

- One Teacher Schools (Ekal Vidyalays): This is a scheme started by the VHP to indoctrinate students in remote villages (tribal villages).⁸² Different Sangh

⁷⁹ It is listed as a Sangh organization in *Amrut-Kumbha of Service Streams*, Ekta Prakashan, Pune according to an article, *Winds of Change*, by Anosh Malekar, *The Week*, Feb 20, 2000 <http://www.the-week.com/20feb20/events6.htm#4>

⁸⁰ http://www.vskgujarat.com/rss_resolution_godhra.htm

⁸¹ http://www.hssworld.org/seva/sevadisha/sevadisha1/vanavasi_kalyan_ashram.html

⁸² http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/bekal%20vidyalaya/list_ekalvidyalaya.htm

organizations have raised money for this scheme and help in the administration of the schools. Some of them are the Bharat Kalyan Pratishthan, Swami Vivekananda Rural Development Society, Friends of Tribal Society, and the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram—all of which have been funded by the IDRF. Recently, the Ekal Vidyalay Foundation has been set up as an independent organization, but still remains under the control of Dr. B.K. Modi, the current president of the VHP-Overseas.⁸³

While the stated purpose of the schools is eradication of illiteracy in remote areas, the One Teacher Schools are heavily involved in spreading Hindutva 'education' with a focus on stopping conversions to Christianity and encouraging 'reconversions' to Hinduism. The VHP advances the doctrine that Indian society is in grave danger from Christianity, and hence it is necessary to counter the moves of missionaries to 'save' the nation⁸⁴. A senior VHP functionary claims, "Ekal vidyalayas can best counter the designs of the Church because they impart education based on Hindu *samskara* [culture]."⁸⁵ VHP's secretary-in-charge of Gujarat and Rajasthan, Mahendra Bhat, also asserts that Ekal Vidyalays impart the 'Hindu way of life' till the third class [grade] and that the focus on tribal areas is 'necessary if we have to save the tribals from being misguided and influenced by foreign missionaries.'⁸⁶

- Vikasan Foundation : This organization, started by the Hindu Seva Pratishthan and Jana Seva Vidya Kendra (both affiliated with the Sangh⁸⁷), claims to stand for the promotion of Indian culture in India and abroad. However, like all Sangh organizations, it conflates 'Indian' culture with its version of 'Hindu/Vedic' culture, completely negating the concept of a syncretic Indian identity that has been influenced by many religions. Vikasan collects money for funding some *gurukuls* (Hindu religious schools, equivalent of the Islamic madrassas) in India and also organizes the Teen Hindu Heritage Camps in India for teenagers of Indian descent who have largely grown up outside the country. As the detailed program of this camp suggests⁸⁸, there is a heavy influence of the RSS organizations on the curriculum at this camp.

⁸³ The funding by the IDRF of the various organizations can be learnt from its various Annual Reports at its website, <http://www.idrf.org/frontpage/Accomp.html>. EVFI's website, <http://www.ekal.org/foundation.shtml> lists the trustees of Ekal Vidyalay Foundation, including BK Modi.

⁸⁴ Religious Regeneration: The Only Solution to Various National Problems, by Mohan Joshi, Joint Secretary of the VHP

http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/cDharamPrasaar/religiousregeneration.htm

⁸⁵ VHP stepping up its drive to Hinduise tribal belts of Bihar, Ashish Sinha, Hindustan Times, July 29, 2000 <http://www.hvk.org/articles/0700/82.html>

⁸⁶ VHP plans to outdo missionaries on their turf, Tanvir Siddiqui, Indian Express, February 1, 1999 <http://www.indian-express.com/ie/daily/19990201/03251095.html>

⁸⁷ The VHP lists Hindu Seva Pratishthana as its organization in the field of education, http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/aSewa/NSNS/intheserviceofpoor.htm. For Jana Seva Vidya Kendra, see under part (a) above.

⁸⁸ http://www.vikasan.org/camp/2002/program_KVA2.htm

- o Yoga Bharati and Vivekananda Kendra Yoga Research Foundation (the latter currently goes by the name of sVYASA--Swami Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhan Samstha): These organizations have allegedly been created to provide training in yoga. Yoga Bharati is a subsidiary of the IDRF while sVYASA is an independent organization headquartered in Bangalore. Nevertheless, these organizations work together, share instructors, advisors, and teaching material. Besides, Yoga Bharati (and the IDRF by extension) collects funds for sVYASA's research efforts. However, as with all Sangh Parivar organizations, the yoga education is suffused with the Hindutva philosophy. Thus, Yoga Bharati invites David Frawley, a well-known Hindutva ideologue, to speak at its Bay Area event, while its Yoga Training Camp has drawn speakers from allied Sangh foundations such as Samskrit Bharati and the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh⁸⁹.

sVYASA, an offshoot of the Vivekananda Kendra and Rock Memorial, Kanyakumari (also of the Sangh Parivar⁹⁰), helps organize RSS training camps in India and abroad for international audiences—camps which actively propagate Hindutva, the supremacy of Hinduism and the revisionist history of India.⁹¹

- o Sanskrit Bharati: This organization works for the promotion of the Sanskrit language and is identified as a 'Branch' by the RSS⁹². According to the RSS website, "The Sangh has formed the Samskrita Bharati, which through several thousand speak Sanskrit camps have taught people to speak the 'language of the gods' sufficient for their daily use in just ten days."⁹³ In the US, this organization runs Sanskrit training programs and camps, where it not only imparts language training, but also a heavy dose of the Sangh ideology. It also participates in camps and functions organized by other Sangh Parivar groups in this country⁹⁴.
- o Sewa International: This organization, a member of the Sangh Parivar, is examined in some detail in Appendix C.

⁸⁹ A quick search through various Yoga Bharati fliers announcing training camps and events reveals its connections with sVYASA. http://www.yogabharati.org/fliers/july_2002/raghu2.pdf (Yoga Bharati raising money for sVYASA) http://www.yogabharati.org/2002/may_2002.html -- David Frawley's lecture, <http://www.yogabharati.org/reports/CampJonesReport.html> --report of a camp organized by Yoga Bharati

⁹⁰ Listed as such in Amrut Kumbha of Service Streams, Ekta Prakashan, Pune, quoted in the article, Wings of Change, Anosh Malekar, The Week, Feb 20, 2000 <http://www.the-week.com/20feb20/events6.htm>

⁹¹ See report filed on the HSS site of an HSS training camp held in Los Angeles in July 2002, *Hindu Youth Training Camp Commended* <http://www.hssworld.org/users/usevak/file4.htm>. Another report of an RSS training camp for NRIs—NRIs flock to RSS camps to become Global Hindus, Johnson T A, August 11, 2002 <http://www.hvk.org/articles/0801/66.html>

⁹² <http://www.rss.org/Varioubranches.html>

⁹³ <http://www.rss.org/rssstor.htm>

⁹⁴ For example, see http://www.hindunet.org/srh_home/1996_2/msg00047.html for an example of Sanskrit Bharati participating in an HSS function, <http://www.yogabharati.org/reports/CampJonesReport.html> for a report of its participation in a camp organized by Yoga Bharati

- Bharat Vikas Parishad: This is also listed by the RSS as one of its branches that is designed 'to involve entrepreneurs and well off sections of the society in National service and for protecting Bhartiya values.'⁹⁵ While their stated task, that of removing discrimination from society, is noble indeed, their methodology of bringing about this change by imposing hierarchical upper caste Hindu values speaks volumes about the reality. According to Vishwa Samvad Kendra, the public relations site of the Sangh Parivar, 'They [Bharat Vikas Parishad] have adopted 60 seva vastis (Slums) for all round development. They organize competitions on Ramayana and Mahabharata on All Bharat basis for school children. They organize competitions for students in chorus singing of patriotic. More than one lakh students participate annually in this competition.'⁹⁶

The President of Bharat Vikas Parishad is Justice Rama Jois, who is actively involved in the VHP movement for rebuilding a Hindu temple at the site of the 16th century Babri Mosque in Ayodhya that the VHP had demolished in 1992. As reported in an Indian daily, "Though his formal position in the Sangh Parivar is as the president of the Bharat Vikas Parishad, an RSS frontal organisation, Mr. Jois is known more for his legal assistance in the 'Ayodhya movement [to build the temple].' He has even attended a meeting at the Prime Minister's house last March when Atal Behari Vajpayee held extensive consultations in an attempt to deal with the VHP-imposed deadline of 'March 12'⁹⁷" [this 'deadline' refers to the date set by the VHP for the government to allow it to start the temple construction or to face a nationwide stir].

- Martyrs for National Integration Fund: This is an in-house the IDRF fund-raising effort to generate money for "families of security personnel, and of civilians" in order "to assist those who have suffered from the terrorist war being waged on our nation"⁹⁸ [the "terrorist war" here refers to the conflict in Kashmir, particularly along the Indian-Pakistani border].

⁹⁵ <http://www.rss.org/BHARAT%20VIKAS%20PARISHAD.htm>

⁹⁶ http://www.vskgujarat.com/like_minded_organization/bharat_vikas_parishad.htm

⁹⁷ VHP lawyer appointed Jharkhand Governor, *The Hindu*, July 7th, 2002

<http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2002/07/07/stories/2002070704210100.htm>

⁹⁸ <http://www.idrf.org/otherorg/mnif/mnif.htm>

B.3 The 67 Affiliates

On its web site, the IDRF provides links to its Indian affiliates, broken down by the state where they are located. This report uses the following criteria to determine if these affiliates can be identified as part of the Sangh Parivar:

1. Listed by the RSS under 'Various Branches'
<http://www.rss.org/Varioubranches.html>
2. Listed by Sewa International as its projects in different states
<http://www.sewainternational.org/states.html>
3. Any obvious affiliations with the One Teacher School scheme, the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram or other clearly identified Sangh projects.
4. Sharing an address with any Sangh organization.
5. Listed in Seva Disha – RSS report on the Sangh's sevakarya
http://www.hssworld.org/homepage/html/seva/sevadisha/sevadisha1/names_and_addresses.html
6. Listed in The Amrut Kumbh of Service Streams, Ekta Prakashan (as quoted in The Week, Feb 20, 2000 <http://www.the-week.com/20feb20/events6.htm>)

The criterion used to identify each organization listed below as belonging to or affiliated with the Sangh Parivar is specified (in parentheses). The organizations that could not be identified as part of the Sangh are italicized. Of the total 67 organizations, 52 can clearly be associated with the Sangh.

IDRF Supported Projects in Kashmir

http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/kashmir.html

1. Ved Mandir Saraswathi Vidya Vihar, Jammu
Sri Kumar J&K Siksha Bharati
Jain Bazar
Jammu - 180 001
Jammu & Kashmir
(Seva Disha: Regional HQ of Vidya Bharati)
2. Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission, Jammu
Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission
Ved Mandir, Amphalla Road
Jammu - 180 001
Jammu & Kashmir
Contact: Ved Prakash Gupta
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/jk-6.html>)

3. *Bharati Vidya Mandir, Kishtwar*
Bharati Vidya Mandir
Kishtwar - 182 204
Jammu & Kashmir
Contact: Ram Sewak

4. Jammu Kashmir Sahayata Samiti, Jammu
Jammu Kashmir Sahayata Samiti
Post Box No. 108, Pacca Darga
Jammu - 180 001
Contact: Vaid Vaishnav Dutt

(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/jk-8.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Punjab
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/panjab.html

5. Peedit Prakalpa Sewa Samiti, Amritsar
Bazar Bikaneria, Katra Ahluvalia
Amritsar, Punjab - 143 006
Contact: Veer Sen, Secretary

(Same address as the Punjab ABVP <http://www.abvp.org/contact.htm>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Arunachal Pradesh
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/haryana.html

6. *Arunachal Vikas Parishad, Itanagar*
P.O. Box No. 128, Bank Tinale
Itanagar - 791 111
Contact: Sri. Dwarikacharya

IDRF Supported Projects in Uttar Pradesh
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/up.html

7. Uttaranchal Daivi Apda Peedit Sahayata Samiti, Dehradun
Keshav Bhavan, 111 Moti Bazar
Dehradun - 248 001
Uttar Pradesh
Contact: Nityanand

(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/upm-daps.html>)

8. *Manikpur Kalyan Kendra, Manikpur*
Manikpur, Bandra
Uttar Pradesh

9. *Shanti Sewa Ashram, Meerut*
Jain Dharmarth Trust

20-B Jain Nagar
Meerut - 250 001
Uttar Pradesh
Contact: Pawan Kumar Jain

10. Girivasi Vanavasi Seva Prkalpa, Ghonawal
Ekalavya Nagar, Ghonawal - 231 210
Janpad (district), Uttar Pradesh
Correspondence Address:
A.D. Prints, New Market
Aasbharo, Varanasi, UP - 221 001
Contact: Krishna Kishore Mehra, President

(VHP org:

http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/aSewa/NSNS/serviceorientedorganisation.htm)

11. Saraswathi Shiksha Mandir, Village Nagauri
Village Nagauri, Post Flavda, Dist Meerut
Uttar Pradesh
Contact: Dr. Arun Datt Sharma, Sec/Administrator

12. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Janmabhoomi Smarak Samiti, Deendayal
Dham

Deendayal Dham
(Naglachandra Bhan)
Dist. Mathura - 281 122

(Amrut Kumbh of Service Streams)

13. Sewa Prkalp Sansthan, Rudrapur
Harimandir Marg,
P.O. Rudrapur
U.P. - 263 153

Contact: Lokman Singh

(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/upm-sps.html>)

14. Sewa Samarpan Sansthan, Kanpur
Veesa Munda Vanvasi Chhatravas
Ravatpur Gaon, Kanpur - 208 019

Contact: Suryaprakash Bhan

(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/upa-seva.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Himachal Pradesh
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/himachal.html

15. Himgiri Kalyan Ashram, Solan
Himgiri Kalyan Ashram
Balmukund Hospital
P.O. Solan
Himachal Pradesh - 173 212
Contact: Dr. Rajiv Bindal
(Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram address from Seva Disha)

16. Saraswathi Vidya Mandir, Shimla
Saraswathi Vidya Mandir
C5/19, Vikas Nagar
Shimla, Himachal Pradesh
Contact: Subash Sood
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/hp-4.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Bihar
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/bihar.html

17. Friends of Tribal Society, Calcutta
Friends of Tribal Society
52 Zakaria Street, Calcutta -700073
(Serving Bihar)
Contact: Bimal Lath, Gen. Secretary
(From Seva Disha
http://www.hssworld.org/seva/sevadisha/sevadisha1/vanavasi_kalyan_ashram.html)

18. Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Lahardaga
Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram
Ekalavya Nagar, Lahardaga
Bihar - 835 302
Contact: Mahrang Uranv
(Listed with the RSS)

19. Vikas Bharathi, Bishnupur
Vikas Bharathi
Bishnupur, Dist. Gumla
Bihar - 835 331
Contact: Ashok Bhagath
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/integrate.html>)

20. Birsa Seva Prakalpa, Hazaribagh
Birsa Seva Prakalpa
Mangal Bazar, Malviya Marg
Hazaribagh, Bihar
Contact: Hari Charan Sahu, Secretary
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/bih-bsp.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Rajasthan
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/rajas.html

21. Bharathi (Sanskrit Only), Jaipur
Bharathi Bhawan
B-15 Vijay Khanna Nagar
Nai Basti
Jaipur - 302 001
(From Seva Disha: Head quarters of the RSS Seva Vibhag in Rajasthan)
22. Rajasthan Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, Udaipur
1, Kamal Gali, Mamashah Marg
Udaipur - 1
Contact: Rameshwar Kumavat
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/chi-rvvp.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Delhi
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/delhi.html

23. Sewa Bharathi
10196/A Jhandewala Temple Complex
New Delhi - 110 055
Contact: Vishnu Kumar, Organising Sec.
(From RSS: <http://www.rss.org/SEWA%20BHARTI.htm>)

24. Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram
M-31, Malkaganj, Delhi - 110 007
Contact: Janardan Singh
(Obvious)

IDRF Supported Projects in Bengal
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/bengal.html

25. *Manav Seva Prathisthan, Calcutta*
Manav Seva Prathisthan,
14, Princep Street,
Calcutta - 700 072
Contact: L.N. Todi, Managing Trustee

26. Poorvanchal Kalyan Ashram, Calcutta
Poorvanchal Kalyan Ashram,
161/1 Mahatma Gandhi Marg,
Calcutta - 700 007

Contact: Gajanan Vapat
(From Seva Disha : Regional HQ of VKA)

27. Vanabandhu Parishad, Calcutta
Vanabandhu Parishad
(Friends of Tribal Society)
52, Zakaria Street, Calcutta 700073

(From Seva Disha:
http://www.hssworld.org/seva/sevadisha/sevadisha1/vanavasi_kalyan_ashram.html)

28. Vastuhara Sahayata Samiti
Keshaw Bhawan
9A Abhedananda Street
Calcutta - 700 006, Bengal, India

(From Seva Disha: Regional Headquarters of RSS Seva Vibhag)

IDRF Supported Projects in Meghalaya
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/purvanch.html

29. Kalyan Ashram, Shillong
Village Laitkor,
Shillong - 793 010
Contact: Dr.Vishwamitra

(Sewa Intl: <http://www.sewainternational.org/me-ka.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Assam
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/purvanch.html

30. Sishu Shiksha Samiti Assam, Guwahati
Sishu Shiksha Samiti Assam
Keshav Dham
K.B. Road, Paltan Bazar
Guwahati - 781 008
Assam

(Seva Disha: Regional HQs of RSS Seva Vibhag)

31. Kalyan Ashram, Guwahati
Kalyan Ashram
Usan Bazar, B.C. Road
Gauhati - 1
Contact: Ramgopal Gupta

(Seva Disha: Regional HQs of VKA)

IDRF Supported Projects in Manipur

http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/purvanch.html

32. Kalyan Ashram Manipur
Kakching Manipur
NR. Model High School
Sumak Leikai Kkching
Manipur - 795 103
Contact: Tomal Singh
(Obviously related to VKAs?)

IDRF Supported Projects in Miscellaneous Regions

http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/purvanch.html

33. *Janajati Vikas Samiti*
Room No. 101, Majestic Apartments
Circular Road
Dimapur - 797 112
Contact: Ramesh Babu

IDRF Supported Projects in Gujarat

http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/gujarat.html

34. *Shri Apang Parivar Kalyan Kendra, Bhavnagar*
Swastik Society, Ambawadi, Bhavnagar
Gujarath - 364 001
Contact: Banessih Chauhan, President
35. *Muni Seva Ashram, Goraj*
Post Goraj, Dist. Vadodara
Gujarath - 391 765
Contact: Anuben G. Thakkar, President
36. *Kutch Kalyan Sangh, Bhuj, Kutch*
(Behind Santhosh Maa Mandir)
Bhuj, Kutch - 370 001
Gujarath
37. *Sri Gujarat Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, Ahmedabad*
Sri Gujarat Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad
Shrilekha Bhawan
Paldi, Ahmedabad - 1
Contact: Nagarbahi Goswami
(Regional office of ABVP: <http://www.abvp.org/address.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Madhya Pradesh
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/mp.html

38. Akhil Bharatiya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, Jashpur Nagar
Jashpur Nagar, Dist. Raigarh
Madhya Pradesh - 496 331
(Serving whole INDIA)
Contact: R.K. Deshpande
Kripa Prasadji
(Obvious: listed with the RSS)
39. Akhil Bharatiya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, Ranchi
Old Commissioner Comp.
Ranchi - 834 001
Contact: Pranay Dutt
(Obvious)
40. Bharatiya Kushta Nivaran Sangh, Sonapara
Shri Pardeep Kumar Sao Bhavan
Sonapara, P.O. Champa
District Bilaspur - 495 671
Contact: Pardeep Kumar Sao
(Sewa intl: <http://www.sewainternational.org/mpc-bkn.html>)
41. Vanvasi Vikas Parishad, Bhopal
Maharana Pratap Nagar
Gayathri Mandir
Bhopal - 462 011
Contact: Balram Malviya
(Sewa Intl: <http://www.sewainternational.org/mpmb-vkp.html>)
42. Vanvasi Vikas Parishad, Jabalpur
955/5 Right Town, Madan Das Road
Jabalpur - 482 002
Contact: Maniram Pal
(Sewa Intl: <http://www.sewainternational.org/mpj-van.html>)
43. Vanvasi Vikas Samiti, Raipur
Opp. Panchvati Rohinipuram
Raipur - 492 010
Contact: Nishikant Joshi
(Sewa Intl: <http://www.sewainternational.org/mpc-vs.html>)

IDRF Supported Projects in Orissa
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/orissa.html

44. Akhil Bharatiya Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Bhubaneswar
Post Box No. 2
Bhubaneswar
Orissa
Contact: Ghanshyam Pradhan
(obvious)

45. Sookruti (One Teacher School), Bhubaneswar
218, Kharvel Nagar, Unit - 3,
Bhubaneswar – 751001
(Linked to One Teacher School, according to IDRF)

IDRF Supported Projects in Maharashtra
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/mahar.html

46. Devi Ahilyabai Smarak Samithi, Nagpur
Devi Ahilya Mandir, Dhantoli
Nagpur, Maharashtra - 440 012
Contact: Leela Deshpande, Secy
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/vid-das.html>)

47. Gopal Navjeevan Kendra, Pune
C/O Padmakar Vasudev Chandekar
166 Kasba Peth, Poona
Maharashtra - 411 011
Contact: P.V. Chandekar, Secy
(Sewa Intl: <http://www.sewainternational.org/m-4.html>)

48. Vatsalya Trust, Bhandup
C/32, II-Floor
Shree Vijaya Kunj Coop Housing Society
Kanjur Village, Bhandup
Mumbai - 400 042
Contact: G.A. Damle, Secretary

49. Dr. Hedgewar Raktapedi, Nagpur
2, Sitaram Smrithi
Paschim Uch Niyayalya Marg
Dharampeth
Nagpur - 440 010
Maharashtra
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/vid-hr.html>)

50. Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, Dadra & Nagar Haveli
18, Housing Society



Near Swami Narayan Mandir
Silvassa - 396 230
Dadra & Nagar Haveli
(Obvious)

51. Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission, Nagpur
2, Central Bazar Road
Ramdas Peth
Nagpur - 440 010
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/vid-svm.html>)

52. Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Nagpur
8, Hindu Dharm Sanskriti Mandir
Dhantoli, Nagpur - 440 012
Contact: Ramesh Padhye
(Obvious)

53. Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Nasik
15, College Road
Krishi Nagar, Nasik - 422 005
Contact: Suresh Kulkarni
(Obvious)

54. Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Andamans
Post Box 244, Port Blair
Andamans - 744 101
Contact: Radha Krishnan
(Obvious)

55. Vivekanand Medical Foundation, Latur
Janakalyan Samiti
Latur
Contact: Dr. Ashok Kukade
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/m-jan.html>)

56. Janakalyan Samiti, Pune
Moti Bag, Shanivar Pet
Pune
(Seva Disha: Regional HQ of the RSS Seva Vibhag)

57. *Krantiveer Chapekar Smarak Samiti, Pune*
Kra. Chapekar Sadan, Chinchwad Gao
Pune 411033

58. *Late Mohan Thuse Eye Hospital, Narayangaon*
Narayangaon 410504

Tal. Junner, Dist. Pune, India
Contact: Dr. M.K.Dole

IDRF Supported Projects in Andhra Pradesh
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/ap.html

59. Vatsalya Sindhu, Hyderabad
Vatsalya Sindhu (Orphanage Centre for Boys)
24-143/1, Anandbagh
Malkajgiri
Hyderabad - 500 047
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/andhra.html>)
60. Vaidehi, Hyderabad
Vaidehi (Orphanage Centre for Girls)
Shri Saraswati Shishu Mandir
Madhav Nagar
Saidabad, Hyderabad - 500 659
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/an-28.html>)
61. Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Hyderabad
Keshav Nilayam,
Barkatpura, Hyderabad - 500 027
At&Po Mattam
Hukumpet Mandal
Dist. Vishakha Patnam
Andhra Pradesh - 531 077
Contact: K. Parsuram
(Obvious)

IDRF Supported Projects in Karnataka
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/karnatak.html

62. Seva-in-Action, Bangalore
2487, 25th Cross, 17th Main
Banashankari II Stage
Bangalore - 560 070
Karnataka
Contact: Indumathi Rao, Proj. Director
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/ka-sa.html>)
63. Vanvasi Kalyan, Sirsi
Sanghe Dham, Banvasi Road
P.O. Sirsi
District Uttar Kannada
Karnataka - 581 401

Contact: Prakash Kamath
(Obvious)

64. *Swami Vivekanand Seva Pratisthan, Belgum*
2032, Kore Galli,
Shahapur, Belgum-3
Karnatak, India
Contact: Prakash Kamath

IDRF Supported Projects in Kerala
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/kerala.html

65. *Kerala Vanvasi Vikas Kendram, Calicut*
Payyadimathal, P.O. Pantheerankavu
Calicut - 673 019
Contact: Naresh Kumar

IDRF Supported Projects in Tamil Nadu
http://www.idrf.org/seva_proj/tamil.html

66. *Swami Vivekananda Rural Dev. Society, Madras*
43 Ramanujam Street, T. Nagar
Madras - 600017
Tamil Nadu
Contact: S. Vedanthan, Exe. Secretary
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/vhptamil.html>)
67. *Vanvasi Sewa Kendram, Karumathurai*
P.O. Karumathurai, Taluka - Attur
Dist. Salem, Tamil Nadu - 636 138
(Sewa International: <http://www.sewainternational.org/sevaktamil.html>)

Appendix C – Sewa International: Service with an Ideological Edge

For those attempting to understand the operations of the RSS, especially the role of foreign funds in its work, an examination of the role of its Sewa Vibhag is critical. Within the Sewa Vibhag, the Sewa Bharati and the Sewa International are two of the most critical organizations. Their criticality as the Sangh organizations lies in the fact that both are excellent examples of the precise way in which the Sangh's service work is organized, as well as key organizations in coordinating foreign funds for these service projects. Accordingly, this appendix is organized into two broad sections:

1. **Linking the service Institutions: The RSS. Sewa International and IDRF**
2. **The Work of Sewa International: Little Service, More Hinduization**

C.1 Linking the Sewa Institutions: The RSS. Sewa International and IDRF

At the very outset, Sewa International is a Sangh organization. Its historical connection to the Sangh is visible from the fact that in older Sangh literature, the address of Sewa International is the same as that of the RSS headquarters in Delhi.⁹⁹ Further, this fact is established time and again in much Sangh literature that describes the Sangh's *Sewa karya* (Service work). In its mission statement Sewa International characterizes itself as "an umbrella for more than 2000 projects and programs all over India" overseeing "more than 50000 *Swayamsevaks* (volunteers) involved in running 76 types of activities."¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Sewa Disha, the Sangh's Sewa Vibhag report introduces Sewa International as follows:

Yet another development is the establishment of an international organization titled 'SEWA INTERNATIONAL' which now has branches in many countries. Sewa International will look after the interests of seva [service] related issues not only in the respective countries where they have chapters but also take up 'GLOBAL' level care of *sewa [service] work carried out under the Sangh ideology*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ A website soliciting funds for the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram through the Sewa International gives its address as Sewa International, India, Keshav Kunj, Jhandewalla D.B.Gupta Marg, New Delhi – 110055 INDIA, Phone: +91 11 7779914 , <http://www.hinduweb.org/home/seva/vanvasi/> The RSS has its international headquarters at Keshav Kunj, Jhandewallan in New Delhi, and many of its subsidiary organizations such as Sewa Bharti also have their headquarters in the same complex at Jhandewallan. The listed telephone number is also the same as that for RSS's headquarters in New Delhi (<http://www.rss.org/contact/>) Sewa International has since moved away from that address and is now listed at 515 New Rajendra Nagar, New Delhi

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.sewainternational.org/intro.html>

¹⁰¹ http://www.hssworld.org/seva/sevadisha/sevadisha1/rss_seva_vibhag.html

So also, the RSS website documents its links with its operations abroad, "in over 100 countries":

where volunteers are busy organizing Hindus under different organizations. Hindu Council, Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh, Sewa International, Friends of India Society International, etc. are some of them."¹⁰²

The missing link in the above quote is clearly IDRF. However, the IDRF lists Sewa International as 'IDRF India' and Shyam Parande, the General Secretary of Sewa International, as IDRF Advisor in India¹⁰³. Shyam Parande is incidentally characterized by *Observer* an Indian news magazine as "the organizer of Sangh activities abroad."¹⁰⁴ The connections are also established in the reverse direction. Sewa International, on its website, also states that it is 'associated with the IDRF, USA and Sewa International, UK.'¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note here that Sewa International, UK, calls itself the 'service project' of HSS-UK,¹⁰⁶ thus providing the usual surfeit of connections between these seemingly independent organizations.

C.2 The Work of Sewa International: Little Service, More Hinduization

As we argued in section 2.1 of the main report, the basic focus of Sewa activity as coordinated by Sewa International is the various community activities taken on by the Sangh and the resulting spread of Sangh philosophy in different areas¹⁰⁷. This clarity – where "development" is merely the pretext for sectarian ideological training, is expounded in detail by H.S. Sheshadri, the ex-General Secretary of the RSS:

Our programmes and activities are but the outer form of our Sewakarya [service work]. The ultimate object of all these endeavours is Hindu Sangathan - consolidation and strengthening of the Hindu society.¹⁰⁸

The key phrase in the above passage is "consolidation of Hindu society" – indicating that there are many parts of Indian society that are at a distance from what the RSS defines as Hindu society. It is to "convert" these people who are "insufficiently Hindu", that *sewa karya* is a cover for. For instance, "Hindu consolidation" very often happens through celebrating Hindu festivals such as Holi, Raksha Bandhan, Yugadi, Sankranti—all festivals described by the VHP, as those promoting Hindu consciousness and 'national integration.'¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² <http://www.rss.org/rssho.htm>

¹⁰³ <http://www.idrf.org/contacts/contacts.htm#india>

¹⁰⁴ *RSS goes global, chalks out expansion plan*, by Suresh Unnithan in *The Observer*, April 3, 1998 <http://www.markazdawa.org/rss.htm>

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.sewainternational.org/index2.html>

¹⁰⁶ <http://sewainternational.com/intro.htm>

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.sewainternational.org/exep.html>

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.sewainternational.org/social.html>

¹⁰⁹ The Sewa International seems to seek inspiration from the VHP statement on 'Festivals for National Integration'

http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/hHindu%20Parv%20Samanvya/festivalformationalintegration.htm which states, "Holi, Dipawali, Vijyadashami, Raksha Bandhan, Sankranti

C.2.1 Less Service, More Hinduization

The centrality of consolidation work within *sewa karya* is amply visible in the following description where a 'social service' project in the slums often leads to the establishment of an RSS shakha (an RSS cell) in the locality:

After the day's tuition, the *Bhagwa Dhwaj* [saffron flag—the symbol of the Sangh] is hoisted and the *Prarthana* [the RSS prayer] too takes place. On Sundays, a regular full-fledged Shakha is conducted.¹¹⁰

Clearly, the flag, the prayer and the Shakha dominate the activities of Sewa International. In noting this trajectory of work, where a theological core is what constitutes the work of Sewa International, what is critical to understand is that all of this work is carried out in the name of "development." Most Sewa International projects are defined in terms of "rural development" or "tribal education" or some similar "developmental" category. In other words, there is a clear effort to mislead people who would otherwise be favorably disposed to developmental activity. Development with a Hindutva twist is mostly Hindutva and very little development.

There is another issue that bears some deliberation: If "Hindu consolidation" is being carried out in the name of development, who is it that the Sangh seeks to "consolidate"? As we noted above, there are large segments of the Indian polity that have little or nothing to do with Hindutva. This not only includes the Muslims and the Christians, two large minority groups in India but also others who are sufficiently outside of Hindu fold – the Dalits (untouchables) and the *adivasis* (the tribals). Dalits, for centuries considered outside the caste Hindu order, do not easily accept efforts to integrate them into Hinduism because they clearly understand that it would mean the continued subjugation by the caste hierarchy. Tribals (*adivasis*) similarly, have also traditionally been outside the hierarchy of caste Hinduism and have insisted for generations on a separate identity outside of upper caste Hinduism. Needless to say, the

and the like have a great impact in keeping the society intact and in promoting unity and integrity of the nation," although it recognizes that there may be social tensions in doing so, "*The festivals and parvas are being celebrated with interruption although there is some adverse effect because of the political atmosphere or economic disparities.*" The VHP further advises mass celebrations of these festivals, "*So far most festivals are celebrated at the family level or at some limited sectarian or institutional level. The area has to be widened and they should be brought to mass and collective level...Certain universal practices on the festive and other occasions also would be helpful in promotion of national integration. Tilak Dharana on the forehead, cow worship, hoisting of 'om' and 'Bhagava (Saffron) flags are some of them.*" The Sewa International seems to be doing exactly this as evident from its description of a Holi Festival, "*People of the Basti affectionately applied chandan and tilak to the visitors. All greeted one another; Holi songs were sung; sweets were shared... Sewa, Sangh and Hindutwa could thus enter the Basti.*"

<http://www.sewainternational.org/social.html>

¹¹⁰ 'Dedication and Perseverance Rewarded' <http://www.sewainternational.org/social.html>

core of Hindutva ideology is a very clearly marked upper caste doctrine that seeks to keep in place many of the traditional and regressive hierarchies of caste Hindu society. While these four groups are the Sangh targets through Sewa work for "consolidation" into a Hindu order, it is equally true that large numbers of those who are statistically identified as Hindus do not necessarily have a consolidated Hindu identity – that is they are not mobilized into action by their Hindu identity. Presented below are three cases of Sewa International's work, which they present as good textbook examples of their work. As usual, all three are categorized as "development" work.

C 2.2 Hazratpur Becomes Shivaji Nagar: The Essential Limits of Development

Hazratpur is, like many other Indian villages, largely poor, with both a Hindu and a Muslim population living in close quarters, just a small distance away from the town of Bulandshahar in UP. Like many other such villages, a large part of the poorer Hindus in the village are not upper caste and are thus traditionally not part of the Hindutva movement. So also, like so many other villages and towns in the region, the names of areas reflect the complex and rich history of the region. One town may have a tenth century Hindu king's name, while the next village may be named after a local Muslim saint. Hazratpur is an excellent example of the latter. There are few demarcations and this pattern of complex intermixing is the rule.

Here is an extract from the Sewa International propaganda material on 'rural development' that reflects their efforts to intervene in this multi-religious community¹¹¹:

When the Ram-Janma-Bhoomi Mukti Andolan swept the country, this village too energised itself. The *karyakartas* [Sangh workers] stepped in to orient people's enthusiasm in constructive directions.

They asked the villagers: "Do you have at least a *Mandir* [Temple] to express your religious sentiments? Is the atmosphere here conducive to progress? Don't you want to change?"

This set the people thinking. As a first step, they decided to build a temple. Because of their determination, a Devimata Mandir was ready within five months. This demonstrated that a great deal could be achieved through harmony and co-operation. Religious feelings became strengthened. Regular *Sankeertan* began to be held every

¹¹¹ Building-Block of Progress: "Hazratpur" Becomes "Shivaji Nagar"
<http://www.sewainternational.org/rural.html>

Saturday. On Sunday mornings people gathered together for *Shramdan* (Community Labour).

Men, women and youth - all joined to make the Mandir a live centre. They equipped the temple with loudspeaker and other facilities.

An evening of sports was organised for the youths (sic). This led to the formation of a Shakha soon. More and more youths were attracted to Sangh work. Now there are five *karyakartas* who have undergone Sangh Shiksha Varg training, one of them a tehsil (county) *karyawah*.... State-level functionaries of Sangh too began to visit the village from time to time....

The villagers decided that in order to reflect the inspiration behind all this activity, the Shishumandir and the Vidya Mandir should both be named after Chatrapati Shivaji. The village itself has now come to be known as Shivaji Nagar.

Many different aspects of this extract need to be highlighted:

- a. The Ram-Janmabhoomi Mukti Andolan refers to a violent mobilization of the Sangh which culminated in the destruction of a 16th century mosque – the Babri Masjid – and subsequently a protracted series of religious riots across India, where large numbers of Muslims were massacred by the organized forces of the Sangh. In other words, when this activity was begun in Hazratpur, the Muslim population was potentially feeling great levels of fear and insecurity and thus unable to participate in any democratic manner within a debate on what must be done in the village.
- b. RSS swayamsevaks as Sewa International workers entered the village, supposedly to do rural development work, but instead began to mobilize a community of Hindus, who had till then not necessarily held on to a separate rigid identity into building a whole new set of Hindutva institutions – Sishu Mandir and Vidya Mandirs, apart from a temple and the running of a weekly shakha. In other words, they consolidated a community and drew up new lines of division in the village. The village is now ready for a riot. Note that this is what the Sangh calls “progress” or “change.”
- c. The final act of consolidation is of course in the effort to change the name. By attempting to change a name that is a product of historic exigencies and is part of a sense of the past of the local people and replacing it with a new name – Shivaji Nagar – symbolic of contemporary Hindu revivalism, the Sangh is not just deepening the divisions it is in the process of creating locally, but also adding to its larger project of wiping out all traces of Islam from the sub continent.

Similar incidents with Christians are also highlighted in the Sewa International literature.

C.2.3 Religious Conversion as Development

Speaking of a poor neighborhood (*basti*), they write¹¹²:

The situation in these Bastis used to be rather peculiar. Boys with names like Mohan or Shyam Prakash wore the cross down their rock [sic]. Some had added the suffix "Maseeh" to their names - like Dinesh Maseeh, Govind Maseeh [Maseeh is variation of 'messiah' and is a common last name among South Asian Christians]. But change came so fast that it looked as if people were waiting for it. Now the cross has vanished and in its place one finds lockets of OM, Durga, Ram or Hanumanji. There was no temple; now a temple has been built by the residents themselves near the entrance of the Basti. A beautiful garden has been raised adjacent to the temple. This reflects the in-born *dharmik* [religious] temperament of the Basti residents.

The modus operandi is similar with the difference that the target for consolidation is a group of poor Christians. In other words, development in this case is in the main religious conversion work. The process of getting to this is similar to the example above, where Hindutva institutions are constructed and certain Hindu symbols are highlighted.

C.2.4 Fixing the Hindu Order: Consolidation of Caste

But as we said, it is more than the Christians and Muslims who are targets for consolidation. Efforts to draw Dalits and tribals into a narrow Hinduism are also on. Dalits and tribals as subjects of consolidation are to be integrated into the Hindu order as lowest within the ritual hierarchy:

A special programme was organised to honour aged men and women, in a Basti. A 'Havan' was performed, after which the Mahanagar Sanghchalak of Sangh [City Leader of the RSS] stood up, invited the oldest couple present to the stage, applied tilak to them and honoured them by offering shripal on behalf of the entire society. The scene reminded many of the affection with which Sri Ram had embraced Guha of the lowly hunter-tribe while on his way to the forest.¹¹³

¹¹² 'Dharmik Temperament the Key' <http://www.sewainternational.org/total.html>

¹¹³ 'In the service of the aged and ill' <http://www.sewainternational.org/ennobling.html>

The symbolic positioning of the RSS supremo as upper caste (god equivalent) is embarrassingly clear. Sri Ram – the upper caste (Kshatriya) god -- embracing the “lowly” Guha as a metaphor for a contemporary tilak ceremony (normally used as a welcome/acceptance ritual) leaves no doubts as to where in the order dalits and tribals fit within Hindutva.

What must be noted in summary is the significant levels of instrumentality in the way Sewa International projects are carried out. Using the cover of development, projects are undertaken where the most significant objective has got little to do with economic or social empowerment, and has everything to do with consolidation of a specific Hindu identity that is suited to the project of Hindutva. It would not be wrong to say that the integration-consolidation work is actually well positioned not just to spread a specific and narrow Hinduism, but also to reproduce traditionally oppressive hierarchies. There is little or no “development” work but mostly the building up of religious spaces such as temples and RSS institutions such as Vidya Mandirs or Sishu Vihars. Sewa International, yet again, like IDRF, named innocuously as merely a Service organization is surely more ideology and less service.

How could there be so many Muslim boys? It came out that a certain *Moulvi* [a Muslim preacher] had been visiting the area from time to time, and it is he who had named the children. Hindu priests had hardly ever come to them. Even dead bodies were disposed of in the Muslim fashion.

Such was the state of affairs in this hamlet. The people belonged to the Ghumantu Banjara caste and traditionally lived by cattle-rearing. They had no contact at all with Hindu society. This had encouraged the Moulvi.

After activities of Sewa Bharati started, things changed. Children got new names. The life-style of the people too began changing. Children began to take an interest in learning. They were gradually introduced to tenets of Hinduism.

The script is clear and similar to what we have already seen in Appendix C vis a vis Sewa International. The community in question is identified as Ghumantu Banjara caste of cattle-rearers. Cattle-rearing is traditionally a backward caste occupation, with some tribal populations on occasion also being involved in the same. Whichever the case maybe, what should be clear is that backward caste Hindus would share very few of the upper caste Hindu rituals and practices, and would hold themselves as distinct from upper caste Hindu formations. Even if the basic premise as described in the story – a *moulvi* converting Ghumantu Banjaras to Islam is taken as true – then, as Muslims the community would have been escaping, at least nominally, distinctions of caste. The process of conversion to Hinduism is thus effective at two levels: first, it clearly is an effort to consolidate a Hindutva identity and second, it brings the community back into the traditional caste order by virtue of which the community is yet again, subject to a hierarchy.

D.4 Hindutva at Any Cost

Probably the most recent example of how Sewa Bharati works to differentiate “Hindu” communities and sow the seeds of tension between “Hindu” communities and other minorities is during the Gujarat earthquake last year. Sewa Bharati, Gujarat, received a lot of funds last year following the earthquake, from foreign donors as well as the Indian government for rebuilding villages in Gujarat¹¹⁹. Sewa Bharati utilized these funds to include a temple and a crematorium in each village that it rebuilt and built no mosques, churches or graveyards¹²⁰. Either all the villages that Sewa Bharati chose to rebuild were predominantly Hindu villages (which begs the question as to why it chose villages so selectively), or it built only temples in villages that had significant non-Hindu populations. The reason why this example is a critical one is simply to show how fundamentally instrumental the Sangh is. Even the most disastrous of human calamities are for Sangh operations like Sewa Bharati moments for political/religious consolidation

¹¹⁹ An article about Goa state funds being used by Sewa Bharati for rebuilding Gujarat villages, *Parrikar uses Goa funds to boost RSS image in Gujarat*, <http://www.freenewsgoa.net/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=42>

¹²⁰ <http://www.sewainternational.org/rajrepo.htm>

rather than humanitarian aid. This example will be revisited in some detail in a later appendix that details such discrimination on the part of the Sangh in situations of extreme crisis.

In summary therefore, like Sewa International, Sewa Bharati is fundamentally a part of core Sangh activity, and uses every instance possible to consolidate a Hindu identity and involve itself in conversion activity. Thus it is simply important to underscore the fact that when funds from the US are received by Sewa Bharati, its primary use is for ideological/religious propaganda work.

Appendix E – IDRF Relief Efforts: Sectarian, Not Humanitarian

The IDRF has funded numerous relief efforts in response to natural disasters, communal violence, and other social crises. However, the distributive mechanisms utilized by the IDRF have consistently discriminated against Muslims and other minorities in India. IDRF's relief efforts are frequently divisive and have supported the further communalization of Indian society. The intentions that motivate such charity raise serious questions about the ethics and efficacy of such funding, and their repercussions.

E.1 Responding to Crises Around the Globe

The IDRF has demonstrated extreme efficiency in raising money for the victims of communal violence, even when the victims were situated outside India. Such a commitment to respond to communal crises would be commendable, but for the fact that its relief efforts are themselves discriminatory. Most recently, it has refrained from funding relief efforts in Gujarat after the communal riots of February and March 2002 where the victims were in large part Muslims. An analysis of the IDRF's partisan response to crisis makes visible a clear communal agenda.

E.1.1 Relief for Hindus Alone

The IDRF participated in fundraising efforts with the HSS and the FISI in the US to raise money for Bangladeshi Hindu victims of communal violence.¹²¹ Similarly, the IDRF raised money for Kashmiri Hindus victimized by militants in Kashmir.¹²² More recently the IDRF announced a donation of \$25,000 towards relief efforts following the World Trade Center collapse.¹²³ In all three cases, the people responsible for perpetrating the disaster were Muslims, and the victims largely non-Muslim. In contrast, to date, the IDRF has not announced any relief for the victims of communal riots in Gujarat in February and March 2002. Given the egregious nature of violence, civil disturbance and damage, death (between 850 and 2000) and displacement (98,000 people in over 100 relief camps) in Gujarat,¹²⁴ it is glaring that the IDRF has failed to organize aid or relief efforts in the state. Gujarat 2002 is different from the earlier instances of communal violence that the IDRF did respond to in one simple way: the perpetrators of communal violence in Gujarat were largely the forces of Hindutva and the victims predominantly Muslim. This in itself should confirm that IDRF disburses relief dollars along communal (sectarian) lines. However, there is more specific and directed evidence to support the case.

¹²¹ http://www.fisiusa.org/fisi_Campaigns/bd_hindu_solidarity_day.htm

¹²² <http://www.idrf.org/appeals/JKappeal.htm>

¹²³ <http://www.ipnatlanta.net/0109wtc.html>

¹²⁴ <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/india/>

E.2 The Administering of IDRF Relief

The IDRF's relief efforts in India have consistently been administered by Hindutva organizations. These relief operations have often denied relief to minority communities and furthered communal mistrust.

2.1 Earthquake Relief

In the Gujarat earthquake of January 2001, the majority of the IDRF's funds were donated to Sewa Bharati, an organization that we have already shown in this report to be a critical part of the Sangh Parivar. The RSS and other Hindutva organizations administered relief disbursements along communal lines, visibly neglecting Muslim areas. Kuldip Nayar reports on the state of relief in Gujarat as follows:

Some areas where the Muslims live have been purposely left out without any relief or rehabilitation work. The discrimination against them has been open. The press has complained about it. Some newspapers have even cited examples, alleging how the RSS and the VHP activists have "hijacked" relief supplies in the Kutch. The government appears to have connived at such flagrant instances of bias and prejudice."¹²⁵

It has been alleged that the RSS not only excluded relief disbursements in minority areas after the Gujarat earthquake of January 2001, but also disrupted non-Hindu organizations from participating in relief efforts. Scott Baldauf of the Christian Science Monitor states that:

But when Catholic workers from the St. Xavier's Social Services Society arrived at the hospital to provide some help as well, they were chased off with sticks, curses, and threats. "They [the RSS workers] were shouting at us, telling us literally to get out," says the Rev. Cedric Prakash, St. Xavier's director in Ahmedabad. "In a situation like this, anybody who wants to work and serve must be given the chance to do so. I don't think that any one group should be controlling it."¹²⁶

Further evidence to this pattern comes from reports that in villages with mixed religious populations, the RSS reconstruction efforts consistently involved the construction of a temple and a crematorium but no mosques, churches or cemeteries. Again, the Gujarat earthquake is an instance

¹²⁵ *Discriminating against the distressed in a democracy*, Kuldip Nayar, Financial Express, February 21, 2001. <http://www.financialexpress.com/fe/daily/20010221/fec21088.html>

¹²⁶ *India rises from rubble with old social divides*, Scott Baldauf, Christian Science Monitor, January 31, 2001. <http://www.csmonitor.com/durable/2001/01/31/fp1s3-csm.shtml>

where some consistent documentation is available on the communal patterns of the IDRF relief funding. Other instances outside of Gujarat, such as after the Orissa cyclone of 1999, where the IDRF-RSS relief efforts were communal, have also some documentation.¹²⁷

E.3 The Instrumental Uses of the Hajj Fire

Given such a consistent pattern of discriminatory funding, even a few isolated instances of the IDRF funds reaching Indian minorities would enable us to hypothesize that the IDRF, in spite of its pro-Hindutva bias does on occasion respond to the sheer human aspect of a calamity. One such event, of a person from IDRF attempting to raise funds for Muslim victims of a tragedy, does exist. In response to a fire during the annual Hajj season (the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia), in which many Muslims from India lost their lives, the IDRF undertook a project to raise money for the victims of the fire. The *Sword of Truth*, a prominent Hindutva site documents this event as follows:

IDRF...undertook a project to raise funds for the Indian Moslems who had gone to Saudi Arabia for Haj but died in a fire...IDRF immediately hired a man...to raise funds for the dead Mohammedans. When people asked him why was he doing that, ...the 'wise guy' ...from RSS replied that this was *not* to really help the Mohammedans but to 'create' a false impression of Hindu generosity toward the Mohammedans. That way...the Mohammedans would vote for the BJP in the coming election..."

"Note: We have since heard from the director of IDRF on the subject. He wrote on March 3rd 1998 'I am aware of the attempt made by an the IDRF volunteer to raise funds for the afflicted Indian Hajis in Saudi Arabia...We had investigated and reviewed the episode which had hurt the feelings of many the IDRF well-wishers. I wish to assure you that since that event, we have agreed to new guidelines for any such attempt and I feel confident that such a thing will not be repeated in the future.'¹²⁸

Such utter instrumentality must have its reasons. In summary let us look at what conclusions the above documentation helps us arrive at:

1. Even the relief component of the IDRF's funds must be understood as almost entirely sectarian. There is an active intent on the part of the IDRF and the organizations it specifically uses in crisis relief efforts to discriminate against minorities and provide relief to Hindus alone.

¹²⁷ <http://lists.cs.columbia.edu/pipermail/ornet/2002-June/004713.html>.

¹²⁸ <http://www.swordoftruth.com/swordoftruth/archives/oldarchives/bjprss.html>

2. In many areas of the world, relief is often provided by religious organizations because of the deep seated humanism in many religions. The IDRF on the other hand funds relief not within the ambit of humanitarianism but clearly as part of its strategy of consolidating Hindus.
3. However, it should also be clear that IDRF wants to retain an image of being non-sectarian. This should indicate that not only is IDRF sectarian even in relief, but also misleads donors with humanitarian pretensions.

Appendix F – Adivasi vs Vanvasi: The Hinduization of Tribals in India

Most indigenous tribal people of India refer to themselves as Adivasi (literally: first inhabitants). This term of choice is also the one that is used in almost all matters of public discourse about tribal peoples – from school textbooks to government documents and newspaper accounts to academic scholarship. The only exception to this more or less universal rule is the Sangh Parivar and all those who are ideologically committed to Hindutva. The term of choice for them is “vanvasi” (forest dwellers) as opposed to “adivasi” (first inhabitants).

Historically, the adivasi's have been marginalized from the mainstream of Indian society through the caste system. Adivasi's have been traditionally treated as outside the caste structure and are seen as entirely impure from within the Brahminic caste order. Adivasi societies, in turn, consider themselves distinct from the majority Hindu population of India, as well as from most other organized forms of religion. In post-independence India, the State has further marginalized adivasi communities through a systematic process of alienating them from their lands and resources in the name of “progress” and “development.”

The Sangh Parivar's efforts to recast adivasi's as vanvasi's is a critical component of their ideological project. Their project of “Hindu Rashtra” rests on a claim of Hindus being indigenous to India and any other claimants to that slot, as Adivasis are, fundamentally challenges their project of a Hindu Nation. For instance according to an analysis appearing in Indian Express:

The reason why the Sangh denies Adivasis the status of the original dwellers is that it runs counter to its own claim that the Aryans, who brought Vedic civilization to the country, are the original inhabitants of the land.¹²⁹

Adivasi communities have been especially weakened in the last century through imposed religious divisions, first by large scale Christian missionary activity—mostly peaceful and welfare based though often also patronizing; and more recently by the Sangh Parivar which has arrogated to itself the authority to control the lives of the adivasis and is engaged in a massive drive to ‘bring back’ the tribals into the fold of Hinduism—using everything from vicious attacks by thugs under the name of protecting Hinduism to setting up organizations that purport to work for tribal welfare and education.

¹²⁹ Hindutva, the lexical way: Delegitimizing the Adivasi, A.J. Philip, © Indian Express 1999
<http://www.ercwilcom.net/indowindow/sad/article.php?child=28&article=26>

The Sangh Parivar has set up a plethora of organizations that focus on tribal areas. Some of the prominent ones are:

- Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram
- Ekal Vidyalaya
- Sewa Bharati
- Vivekananda Kendra
- Bharat Kalyan Pratishthan
- Friends of Tribal Society

All of the above organizations are active in the tribal areas and all have received the IDRF funding. The remainder of this Appendix will explicate with brief examples how these IDRF funded institutions work in their attempts to “bring back” adivasis into Hindu fold.

The basic strategies deployed by the Sangh organizations include:

1. Primary focus on Hinduizing Tribals as necessary for National Integration.
2. Using its influence in adivasi areas to secure electoral gains
3. Activities geared towards creating communal tensions and violence

We examine each of these in order.

F.1 'Hinduizing' Adivasis For National Integration.

The objectives of the Sangh organizations working among the adivasis are two fold: to 'bring them back' to Hindu faith and to 'check' the conversions to Christianity. This vision is laid out clearly in many RSS texts. For instance, in “RSS: Widening Horizons”, an RSS publication, the origins of the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, an IDRF funded body is laid out clearly:

The systematic alienation of the tribals...who form an inseparable part of the Hindu society through proselytization was another grave challenge that demanded immediate corrective measures.... They had all along been a most exploited lot and an easy prey for unscrupulous conversion by Christian missionaries. It is to counter this twin menace of British legacy, that the Bharateeya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram (BKVA) was founded in early fifties. ...Over the decades, the Ashram has succeeded not only in putting a stop to conversions in all its areas of operation, but also in bringing the converts back to the Hindu fold.¹³⁰ (emphasis added).

Note the twin objectives: to halt Christian conversion and to 'bring back' adivasis into Hindu fold. The first objective by itself is incomplete for the project of

¹³⁰ <http://www.hindubooks.org/WideningHorizons/ch7.html>

Hindutva. It is in this core area of ideological work (religious 'reconversion') that a significant part of IDRF's energies and funds are put to work. In IDRF's own words in speaking of one of their 'NGO partners'¹³¹,

The objective of **Vidharba Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram** is to bring the vanavasis (Tribals) in the national main stream by generating awareness about their ancestral (Hindu) fold...and to guard them against the anti social and anti national elements... (emphasis added).

In the above IDRF documentation of the work it supports the ideological parameters are laid out even more clearly. First, the task of bringing adivasis 'back' into Hindu fold is seen as bringing them into a national mainstream – that is, the national mainstream in this definition is a Hindu one, perfectly in tune with the idea of a *Hindu Rashtra* and further, the "anti-national" elements are the Christians – thus underscoring the idea of a nation for Hindus as the core project of Hindutva. This ideological core of work among adivasis is a repeated trope in Hindutva writings. Mohan Joshi, the Joint Secretary to the VHP for instances comments on Muslim and Christian converts as follows¹³²,

[T]hey always try to increase their numerical strength. They deliberately jeer at the Hindu gods and goddesses, Hindu values and Hindu culture.... Along with the disrespect to [Hindu] religion disrespect to nation also gets generated. Conversion from religion means conversion of allegiance from State also...

Thus under the guise of tribal welfare and education what is undertaken by most IDRF funded Sangh organizations is an intense religious reconversion program. **Sewa Bharati**, another the IDRF partner, says in one of its reports on the IDRF website:

To cultivate faith in our religion in the minds of Tribals Sewa Bharati has picked up 23 Tribal youths and 4 tribal girls, they were sent to Ayodhya to undergo training in 'Shri RamKatha Pravachan' (discourses of Ramayan). This training lasted 8 months under the guidance of special Saints and Mahatmas. Now 'Anubhav Varga' has been formed at Jashpur Nagar, from where groups of two will visit 5 days in each five villages. They will live in the villages and propagate 'RamKatha.'¹³³

Not only is it important to note that *Ramkathas* have little to do with Adivasi traditions, but equally critical is to understand the spread of this Sangh operation. In the case of the Sewa Bharati example above, tribal youth are being relocated for religio-ideological training and then being sent back to their communities. A news report about **Ekal Vidyalayas**, another IDRF grantee gives another testimony to the spread of this work:

¹³¹ <http://www.idrf.org/reports/vidarbha/vidarbha.htm>

¹³²

http://www.vhp.org/englishsite/d.Dimensions_of_VHP/cDharamPrasaar/religiousregeneration.htm

¹³³ http://www.idrf.org/appeals/GujEQ/docs/mp_report.html

Such schools ...[are] being run in remote forest areas and north-eastern states with the aim of creating awareness among the tribals and the poor and preventing their conversion to Christianity by missionaries."¹³⁴

Thus, the IDRF funded operations of Sewa Bharati, Vanvasi Kalyan Ashrams and Ekal Vidyalayas, are only nominally development/welfare organizations but far more cogently adivasi reconversion institutions. It is also important to note that this ideological work is seen as central to the immediate real political gains of the Sangh.

F.2 Every Adivasi Counts: The Electoral End of Tribal Reconversion

While the IDRF, like the Sangh claims to be non-political, the stated goal of the Sangh Parivar is to get the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) into power—a prerequisite for the creation of a *Hindu Rashtra* (a Hindu Nation). The Sangh organizations working with the tribal populations are also mindful of this goal and are doing their bit to achieve it.

A report following elections in Gujarat states,

The Bharatiya Janata Party, without mincing words, accepted on Friday that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal, groups accused of anti-Christian violence in tribal areas about a year ago, helped the party's foray into the tribal areas. ... Congress leader Vishnu Pandya says that the BJP's victory in the tribal region has not come all of the sudden. "The Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad (a RSS wing), VHP and the Bajrang Dal have been working strategically to outscore the Congress in its stronghold..."¹³⁵

Another newspaper report on the plans for setting up more Ekal Vidyalayas in Gujarat by the VHP had this candid confession from the VHP functionary in the area:

We are just imitating our Bihar experience where the BJP could make inroads because of such schools run by the VHP in the Jharkhand region," Kaushik Patel, a parishad leader, said.... According to [the] VHP leader, the positive impact of these Ekal Vidyalays—which aim to bring tribals into the Hindu fold—will be evident in the next general elections... Pointing out that the experiment has been a huge success in Bihar, he said the VHP has already made inroads in tribal Gujarat, once considered a Congress stronghold."¹³⁶

Thus, a long term ideological project of Hindu reconversions, in itself a violent ideology (of a *Hindu Rashtra*) meets with the possibility of immediate electoral gains. There is no better ground for the creation of communal tensions and violence than such as lethal mix of ideological work and electoral politics.

¹³⁴ VHP plans schools in border areas to counter infiltration, Hindustan Times, May 9, 2001, <http://www.hvk.org/articles/0501/139.html>

¹³⁵ <http://www.ahmedabad.com/news/oct/9bjp.htm>

¹³⁶ Sangh School Plan for Gujarat, Basant Rawat, The Telegraph, July 4, 2000 <http://www.telegraphindia.com/1000704/national.htm#head5>

F.3 The Effects of Hinduization: Communal Tensions and Sectarian Violence

The effects of Hinduization drives, funded systematically by IDRF, are the constant production of communal tension and violence. We have already documented the spread of violence by IDRF funded organizations in the main report and in appendix A. Thus, this section will be brief and serve merely as a reminder to conclusions that have already been argued for.

The Sangh Parivar's actions in tribal areas, as elsewhere, are accompanied by a spread of literature full of hatred towards minorities.

An example from the literature for the Kalyanashram at Sidumbar, an IDRF grantee states,

The Muslims are also trying to create chaos in these communities, either by enticing these tribals or by raping the tribal girls by force...The Kalyanashram at Sidumbar is trying to put a stop to these activities of Muslims as well as Christians...The workers...are required to give a tough fight to the Christian Missionaries because they keep on harassing the local residents.¹³⁷

Note how the invocation of Muslims as violent is left entirely unsubstantiated and is essentially thrown into the framework of anti-Christian missionary work. This thematic continues consistently with other IDRF funded organizations. A report on the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram's school in Waghai (supported by IDRF) goes as follows:

AMONG THE GREAT HINDU warriors of this millennium, few rival Shivaji, the 17th-century leader who battled invading Mughal armies ... So it's no surprise to find a fresco of Shivaji gracing the entrance to the Dandkarniya Vanavasi School in Waghai, a remote town in the western state of Gujarat. Set in a quiet forest, the private institution appears to be an ideal place to study - except that its 28 pupils don't seem to be getting a very fair education. Many of the boys are too young to realize it, but...[a] short Hindi poem inscribed under Shivaji's portrait affords a glimpse of what the students learn. "If it weren't for Shivaji," the ballad goes, "we would all be circumcised." The message: Shivaji saved Hindus from being forcibly converted to Islam....Most of the students at Dandkarniya, for instance, used to be first-generation Christians. "Now they are all Hindus," smiles Bacchubhai Vasava, a young RSS leader who runs the school.¹³⁸

Of course the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram activists have little time for details such as the fact that the Mughal army had Hindu generals and the Maratha army Muslim generals. For them, the anti-minority violence is an essential part of the strategy

¹³⁷ *Amrut-Khumbha of Service Streams*, Dr. Shantaram Hari Ketkar, Ekta Prakashan, Pune 1995

¹³⁸ A REAL TEXTBOOK CASE: The BJP has begun to rewrite India's history, Ajay Singh, Asiaweek, March 26, 1999 <http://www.asiaweek.com/asiaweek/99/0326/nat7.html>

to bring tribals 'back' into Hindu fold. An editorial on the anti-Christian violence in the Dangs, Gujarat confirms this¹³⁹:

[O]fficials affirm that there was no overt hostility towards the community till two years ago. This period, not coincidentally, saw resurgence in aggressive Hindu mobilization. At the forefront of this campaign has been Swami Aseemanand, a member of the Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, an organization allied to the Sangh Parivar [and associated with the IDRF]. He has been quoted as saying that "Dangs cannot know peace so long as even a single tribal remains Christian". The swami has been actively reconverting tribals in the area. Unfortunately, this propagation of Hinduism has gone hand in hand with a hate campaign against Christians.

The documentary *Fishers of Men*¹⁴⁰ documents the terrorization of the Christian community in one village in Madhya Pradesh by the workers from the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Jashpur (again funded by the IDRF). The Christians describe the harassment, and one of the priests speaks on film:

The main problem faced by the Christians Adivasis here is mental harassment from outside agencies. The reason for this mental harassment is the campaign of misinformation launched against them. I have said before that Dilip Singh Judev [of the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Jashpur] takes out processions and other events and programmes at which he spreads anti Christian propaganda that these people are harmful to us as well as the nation that they are removed from the mainstream that they are working towards the creation of a non-Hindu nation. With this kind of propaganda against us definitely there is a distance that develops between us. They feel that we are not good citizens this surely causes us a lot of mental turmoil.

The documentary later goes on to document the tragic case of a Christian Adivasi beaten to death by a frenzied Hindu mob, which accused him of destroying a Hindu (Shiva) Temple. Kripa Prasad Singh, a functionary of the Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Jashpur is captured on film with the following analysis of the painful event:

It was just the reaction of a local village because it was a sentimental matter. So, they [the Hindus] got together and did the deed. Every society has their unity so they got together and did it.

Dilip Singh Judev, Patron of Operation *Ghar Vapasi* (Reconversion Drive of the Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram) explains it thus,

Over there, there was a 150-year-old Shiva temple, which these [the Christian] people went and destroyed. Now if you go and destroy our heritage...go on breaking our temples in this manner and if you expect us to

¹³⁹ *Dangs Violence is A Story Foretold*, Arun Varghese, Times of India, Feb 11, 1999
<http://www.indiafriends.org/media-watch/news/0299/182.html>

¹⁴⁰ *Fishers of Men*, by Ranjan Kamath and Padmavati Rao, 1997, RKO Moving Media,
<http://www.handmadeindia.net/fishers/index.htm>

sit quietly and watch...we will not tolerate it... We are not sitting at home wearing bangles.

Thus, IDRF funded Vanvasi Kalyan Ashrams are at the forefront of a violent campaign to reassert Hindu identity and 'reconvert' adivasis to Hinduism. Violence is justified in this strategy in part because the 'reconversion' are so central to Sangh ideology's very sustenance and also because the process of regaining this Hindu Rashtra is embedded within a rhetoric of regaining a lost manhood.

Appendix G – Education? or The Promotion of Bigotry?

Sangh Parivar/IDRF's 'Contributions' to Education

Considerable documentation exists outside of this report on the communalization of education in India¹⁴¹. This Appendix therefore is not aimed at developing an overall analysis of the RSS inspired communalization of education. Its intention are more narrowly focused on the nature of communalized education being spread by some Sangh organizations that are directly funded by IDRF. Accordingly, we focus on three IDRF funded Sangh organizations: Vidya Bharati, Sewa Dham, and the Bharatiya Education Society/Trust.

G.1 Vidya Bharati

The Vidya Bharati is the Sangh's leading organization in the area of education and runs several schools including Saraswati Shishu Mandirs. IDRF funds have been given to many schools affiliated with Vidya Bharati.

A sampling of 'Sanskrit Gyan' textbooks used in Vidya Bharati and Shishu Mandir schools offers some startling revelations¹⁴². The students are presented with 'facts' such as:

- Homer adapted Valmiki's Ramayana into an epic called Iliad,
- The language of the Native American Indians evolved from ancient Indian languages
- a map of India which includes not only Pakistan and Bangladesh but also the entire region of Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet and even parts of Myanmar.

These sample "facts" from the Sanskrit Gyan textbooks are picked to show the extent to which the project of building Hindu pride is taken to. Once we comprehend that claims are being made over Homer and Native Americans then it is not difficult to understand that the ancient Indian history that students are taught is closer to mythology, while medieval history is totally communalized. Islam is made out to be a violent and militant religion, and Muslims are depicted as intolerant rulers. In modern history, glory is placed upon the RSS, which is shown as being central to the Freedom movement. Inflammatory, anti-Muslim literature, which had been banned earlier for inciting communal passions, makes its way into the literary texts in these schools.

¹⁴¹ Most recently, a well documented and brilliant analysis, *Prejudice and Pride* by Krishna Kumar, Penguin India, 2002

¹⁴² *In the Name of History: Examples from Hindutva-inspired school textbooks in India*, Akhbar <http://www.ercwilcom.net/indowindow/sad/article.php?child=30&article=31>

State institutions have for some time taken note of these gross distortions and raised concern over it. An article in, Frontline, a leading mainstream magazine records this concern:

In 1996, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) conducted an evaluation of school textbooks, including those prescribed in Vidya Bharati schools in the country; it was reported that there were 6,000 such schools with 12 lakh children on their rolls under the tutelage of 40,000 teachers. The NCERT made the alarming diagnosis that many of the Vidya Bharati textbooks were 'designed to promote bigotry and religious fanaticism in the name of inculcating knowledge of culture in the young generation.' The evaluation found it a matter of 'serious concern' that such material was being utilised for instruction in schools which, 'presumably, have been accorded recognition'.¹⁴³ (emphasis added)

Of course, more recently, the NCERT itself has been gutted with most liberal intellectuals removed from the Council and the Council's leadership being handed over to an Hindutva ideologue.¹⁴⁴

G.2 Sewa Dham (Delhi)

Sewa Dham is also one of the educational organizations of the Sangh funded by the IDRF. The level of distortion and bigotry prompted attention from the New York Times. An article by Somini Sengupta who visited the Sewa Dham school concludes:

Education is a centerpiece of the Hindu revivalist campaign, which is natural, considering its cause: to build a Hindu nation out of what is officially a secular country with rights accorded to religious minorities.

The school curriculum, as we saw in the case of Vidya Bharati, promotes mythology as history where "Lord Ram, the blue-skinned warrior-king of Hindu lore, lived 886,000 years ago," a conclusion based on "ancient texts and astrology." Further Ram is described as "the source of inspiration for Indian culture" and a Hindu golden era is constructed as one that dates back to the "time of the Indus Valley civilization of the third millennium B.C." Furthermore, the students are also fed the Sangh propaganda about its campaigns. Sengupta records the contents of a quiz for eighth graders as follows:

[it] tests their knowledge of the continuing campaign to build a Hindu temple in Ayodhya, the mythical birthplace of Ram, where Hindu militants razed a 16th-century mosque in 1992. Students are grilled on everything

¹⁴³ A Spreading Network, by Venkitesh Ramakrishnan, Frontline, Nov 7-20, 1998
<http://www.flonnet.com/fl1523/15230100.htm>

¹⁴⁴ *Reading the NCERT Framework*, by Balmurli Natrajan, Rahul De' and Biju Mathew, Ghadar, Volume 5: Number 1, Feb 21 2002 <http://www.proxsa.org/resources/ghadar/v5n1/framework.htm>

from the date on which the temple reconstruction movement began to the names of those killed by the police”¹⁴⁵

G. 3 Bharatiya Education Society

The Bharatiya Education Society is an RSS School in Rajasthan. While we have already documented the elevation of mythology to the status of history and the communal bigotry in the RSS curriculum, we include this report on BES to point to the fact that regressive education goes beyond these parameters and includes the construction of women in specific ways. A Christian Science Monitor describes education in this school as follows:

Students get a large dose of ‘Hindutva’ values - teachings that argue for the preeminence of India’s 5,000- year-old civilization. Girls learn that Hindu females are at their best as mothers. ‘The woman has a special place in the home,’ says Jagdish Prasad Gujar, the principal of BET. ‘Our women, our mothers, help to keep India strong.’”¹⁴⁶

The conclusions again are apparent. Education clearly is a critical component in the Sangh’s efforts to build a *Hindu Rashtra* and the IDRF contributes significantly to the creation of infrastructure and promotion of a curriculum that can without exaggeration be described as bigoted.

¹⁴⁵ *Hindu Right Goes to School to Build a Nation*, Somini Sengupta, New York Times, May 13, 2002

¹⁴⁶ Hindu-based education, going strong, Robert Marquand, Christian Science Monitor, Feb 16th, 2001 <http://www.csmonitor.com/durable/2001/02/16/fp9s1-csm.shtml>

Appendix H – The Money Trail

Following the Money Trail An Analysis of Charities Funded by the IDRF

Over the past 7 years, IDRF has disbursed more than \$ 5 million for development and relief work in India. This appendix analyses the charities that the money has been disbursed for and the type of activity that these charities are involved in.

The data has been compiled from the Annual Reports issued by the IDRF which are published on its website¹⁴⁷. The six annual reports (from 1994/95 to 2000/2001) detail the disbursement of \$ 4.5 million of the \$ 5 million that it claims it gave to Indian development and relief organizations during this period.

H.1 Classification of Organizations

In order to do the analysis of the funds disbursed, all IDRF grantees listed in the annual reports have been classified according to their ideology and according to the activities they are involved in.

- **Ideology:** The organizations have been classified according to whether they can be easily identified as an RSS-affiliate or a religious organization. These classification category is listed in the third column of the table below. The different categories are:
 - RSS-affiliated or 'R': These organizations, such as *Sewa Bharati*, *Akhil Bharatiya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram*, are those that can be easily identified as RSS-affiliated charities through their own literature or other secondary sources.
 - Hindu/Jain religious organizations or 'H': These are organizations that can be easily identified as having a Hindu or Jain religious affiliation. These include organizations such as *Yoga Satsanga Samiti*, and the *Shanti Sewashram Jain Dharmartha Trust*. Hindu organizations involved in secular work are also included in this category.
 - Secular organizations or 'S': These organizations can be clearly identified as having secular credentials, and include the Army Central Welfare Fund, and well-known developmental NGO's such as the Saath Charitable Trust and Janpath/Janvikas in Ahmedabad.
 - Unknown: The third column is left blank in cases where it has been difficult to obtain relevant information regarding the ideological

¹⁴⁷ The IDRF's annual reports are available at <http://www.idrf.org/frontpage/Accomp.html>. The annual reports provide a listing of organizations that received the IDRF funding for the fiscal years 1994/1995 to 2000/2001, but it should be noted that the report for the year 1995/1996 is not present.

orientation of the organization in question. This category includes organizations such as Makhan Lal Charitable Hospital Trust & Research Institute in Delhi and Om Prakash Soni Charitable Trust, Jagraon, Punjab.

- **Activities:** The organizations have been classified according to the main type of activity that they undertake, and this category is indicated in the fourth column of the table below. In cases where one NGO undertakes several types of work, the aim has been to classify it according to its predominant activity. In other cases, where the IDRF funds were given for a specific activity/project, the charity has been categorized according to the activity/project funded. These categories are listed in the fourth column and are:

- Hinduization/Tribal/Educational or 'e': These organizations include organizations such as the *Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram* which work primarily for Hinduizing the tribals, and the *Saraswati Vidya Mandirs* which impart 'Hindu' Education to children. The two seemingly distinct categories of tribal welfare and education are merged together because many of the IDRF funded charities operate at the intersection of both. An excellent example are the *Ekal Vidyalyays* (One-Teacher-Schools), which are primarily based in tribal areas with a goal of bringing the tribals into the Hindu fold.
- Religious or 'rel': These organizations are primarily focused on religious or spiritual work, such as the *Matrimandir* Land Fund in Auroville, Pondicherry.
- Developmental or 'd': These organizations are those primarily involved in economic development work, such as the *Mahila Swavalamban Kendra* in Gujarat.
- Welfare/ Health or 'w': These organizations are organized around principles of welfare and service, such as the Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission in Nagpur.
- Relief or 'r': This category includes the various relief organizations that were funded during such calamities as the Gujarat Earthquake, 2001 and the Orissa cyclone in 1999.

H.2 Listing of the IDRF funded Organizations

The following table lists the 184 different organizations funded by IDRF that are available from its annual reports. The second column lists the total amount of money the organization received during the years for which the data is available. The third and fourth columns list the category in which the particular organization is placed, as per the definitions given above.

Organization	Total*	Type	Activity
Andhra Pradesh			
Annapurnamma Vidyarthi Vasathi Gruham	\$500	R	e
Association For The Care Of The Aged (Hyderabad, AP)	\$6,000	S	w

Development & Welfare Association of the Blind (Nalgonda, AP)	\$8,400	S	w
Grama Bharathi, Hyderabad, AP	\$26,530	R	e
Jana Sankshema Samiti (Vijayawada, AP)	\$28,500	R	r
K.B.C. Zila Parishad High School (Vijayawada, AP)	\$2,100		e
Keshava Seva Samithi (Hyderabad, AP)	\$49,825	R	e
P.P.P.R. Abivrudhi Samskhema Sangam	\$6,300		
Satya Vishnu Charitable Trust	\$8,250	H	w
Sewa Bharathi (Hyderabad, AP)	\$3,560	R	e
Smt. Misri Bai Kedia Charitable Trust (Hyderabad, AP)- for Education in Rural Areas in Rajasthan	\$55,385		e
Sri Saraswati Vidya Peetham (Hyderabad, AP)	\$2,900	R	e
Vaidehi Seva Samithi (Hyderabad, AP)	\$17,250	R	e
<u>Assam</u>			
Seva Bharati Purvanchal (Guwahati, Assam)	\$21,000	R	e
Uttar Purbanchal Janajati Seva Samiti (Guwahati, Assam)	\$2,500	R	e
<u>Bihar</u>			
Vikas Bharati Bishnupur, District Gumla, Chhattisgarh	\$88,885	R	e
Yodada Satsang Society	\$2,000	H	rel
<u>Gujarat</u>			
Lions Club of Mehsana (Mehsana, Gujarat)	\$33,190	S	
Lokniketan Ratanpur	\$17,425	R	e
Mahila Swavalamban Kendra (Ahmedabad, Gujarat)	\$24,475	R	d
Manekben Punamchand Shantidas Trust	\$1,360		
Muni Seva Ashram	\$1,500	H	w
Sewa Bharati Gujarat (Rajkot, Gujarat) – For Rehabilitation of Victims of Cyclone	\$30,000	R	r
Shree Banaskantha Anjana Patel Kalawani Mandal (Palanpur, Gujarat)	\$24,240	R	
<u>Haryana</u>			
Arpana Research & Charitable Trust (Karnal, Haryana)	\$2,350	H	rel
Sri Sathya Sai Gramin Jagriti (Darwa, Haryana)	\$2,800	H	d
<u>Himachal Pradesh</u>			
Himachal Shiksha Samiti (Simla, HP)	\$5,700	R	e
Jan Kalyan Nyas, Dharamsala, HP	\$8,090		
<u>Jammu and Kashmir</u>			
Jammu Kashmir Sahayata Samiti	\$10,100	R	r
Sanjeevani Sharda Kendra, Bohri, Jammu, J&K	\$31,600	R	e
<u>Jharkhand</u>			
Birsa Seva Prkalp Bihar, Hazaribag, Jharkhand (Bihar)	\$44,710	R	e
<u>Karnataka</u>			
Aid the Weaker Trust	\$1,500	S	w
Atma Darshan Yogashram (Bangalore)	\$2,000	H	rel
Bharateeya Shikshana Prasara Samiti	\$1,450		e
Center for Development of Advanced Computing	\$3,000		e
Hindu Seva Pratishthana (Bangalore, Karnataka)	\$30,655	R	e
Keshava Smrithi Samvardhan Samithi(Mangalore)	\$12,950	R	
Krishi Prayog Parivar (Bangalore, Karnataka)	\$14,640	R	d
Mangala Sewa Samithi Trust (Mangalore, Karnataka)	\$9,500	R	e

National Education Society of Karnataka (Bangalore)	\$8,775	S	e
Nrityagram	\$1,500	S	
Prabodhini Trust (Bangalore, Karnataka)	\$21,000	R	e
Prajaka Seva Trust (Bangalore, Karnataka)	\$1,900		
Rashtrorothana Parishat (Bangalore, Karnataka)	\$35,500	R	d
Sanskrit Bharathi (Bangalore, Karnataka)	\$31,850	R	e
Sewa-in-Action, Bangalore, Karnataka	\$29,030	R	w
Sri Chennakeshava Trikutachala, Bangalore, Karnataka	\$7,730	H	rel
Sri Kottal Basaveshwara Bharateeya Shikshana Samithi (Sedam, Karnataka)	\$2,400	H	e
Sri Rama Vithala Trust (Bangalore)	\$2,000	H	rel
Vivekananda Girijana Kalyan Kendra (Mysore, Karnataka)	\$2,710	S	d
Kerala			
Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission (Mutil, Wayanad)	\$5,420	R	w
Yogakshema Trust (Cochin, Kerala)	\$30,490	R	w
Maharashtra			
Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (Mumbai)	\$3,615	R	e
Anuradha Engineering College	\$1,550		e
Chhapra Gram Sahayak Samiti (Mumbai, Maharashtra)	\$3,800		
Devi Ahilyabai Smarak Samiti (Nagpur, Maharashtra)	\$14,500	R	e
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Vaidyakiya Pratishthan, Aurangabad, MS	\$74,730	R	e
Educate the Children-India, Mumbai	\$49,050	S	e
Eye Bank Coordination and Research Centre (Mumbai, Maharashtra)	\$2,000	S	w
Gopal Navjeevan Kendra	\$290	R	e
International Centre for Cultural Studies (Nagpur, Maharashtra)	\$4,000	R	e
Jnana Prabodhini-Solapur Maharashtra	\$22,935	R	e
Keshav Shrishti (Mumbai)	\$6,000	R	e
Miraj Medical Center	\$2,800		w
Shree Ganapati Devasthan, Janbhulpad	\$1,525	H	rel
Swami Vivekananda Medical Mission, Nagpur	\$17,200	R	w
Swa-Roopwardhinee	\$1,000	R	e
Vanavasi Kalyan Kendra, Mumbai	\$36,280	R	e
Vatsalya Trust (Mumbai)	\$3,000	H	
Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh			
Akhil Bharatiya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, Jashpurnagar, District Jashpur, Chhatisgarh, MP	\$262,175	R	e
Bhartiya Kushta Niwarak Sangh, Champa, District Janjgir, MP	\$26,860	R	w
Chattisgarh Shabri Sewa Sansthan	\$9,000	R	e
Deendayal Research Institute (Chitrakoot, MP)	\$19,450	R	d
Saraswati Vidya Mandir, Piplani (Bhopal, MP)	\$2,200	R	e
Sewa Bharati Madhyakshetra, Bhopal, MP	\$274,650	R	e
Viklang Sewa Bharati (Jabalpur, MP)	\$3,000	R	w
Delhi			
Amar Jyoti Charitable Trust (Delhi)	\$2,860	S	w
Bhao Rao Deoras Saraswati Vidya Mandir (NOIDA, UP))	\$1,400	R	e
Bharat Kalyan Pratishthan, New Delhi (in 2000/2001 for Uttar Purbanchal Samiti, Haflong, Assam)	\$86,750	R	e

Bharat Vikas Parishad (Delhi) [For Viklang Center, Paldi, in 1998/99]	\$7,410	R	w
Bharatiya Cattle Resource Development Foundation	\$30,355		d
Bhaurao Deoras Rashtriya Seva Nyas, New Delhi	\$72,310	R	e
Ghasi Ram Charitable Trust (Delhi)	\$6,650		
Makhan Lal Charitable Hospital Trust & Research Institute	\$63,500		w
Poorva Sainik Seva Parishad (Delhi) – for Kargil Relief	\$25,000	R	r
Sanskrit Bharati, New Delhi	\$21,335	R	e
Sanatana Dharma Sabha Charities	\$430	R	
Sewa Bharati (Delhi) (Sewa Dham)	\$74,880	R	e
Sewa International (Delhi) – for Drought Relief & Rehabilitation in Rajasthan.	\$51,330	R	r
Shri Bhartu Ram Memorial Charitable Trust (Delhi)	\$40,000		
Sri Aurobindo Education Society (Delhi)	\$44,165	H	e
Orissa			
ANANYA, Rourkela, Orissa	\$20,900		r
Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust – Utkal Branch (Dist. Cuttack, Orissa)	\$24,775	S	r
Orissa Dance Academy	\$1,500		
Shri Shri Abhiram Anandashram Seva Sangh, Bhubaneswar, Orissa	\$42,520	H	r
Sookruti, Bhubaneswar, Orissa	\$90,660	R	r
Sri Aurobindo Progress Trust, Bhubaneswar, Orissa	\$16,460	H	e
Sri Ramakrishna Vivekananda Bhava Prachar	\$460	H	r
Swami Bichitrananda Kalyan Ashram	\$6,000	H	e
Uchabali High School, Bhubanaswar, Orissa	\$40,000		e
Vanavasi Seva Prakalpa, Kalahandi, Orissa	\$7,025	R	e
Loksevak Yuva Mandal	\$5,000		d
Open Learning Systems	\$9,410	S	d
Orissa Cyclone Rehabilitation Foundation	\$23,255		r
Ramakrishna Vivekananda Bhava	\$5,000	H	r
Sri Aurobindo Srikshestra Trust	\$7,530	H	e
Unayan	\$6,000		r
Utkal Bipanna Sahayata Samiti	\$37,560	R	r
VAK Trust for Ichchapur School	\$4,200	H	e
Pondicherry			
Auroville–for Matrimandir and Auroville Land Fund	\$301,420	H	rel
Sri Aurobindo Action (Pondicherry)	\$4,750	H	rel
Sri Aurobindo Ashram/Matrimandir (Pondicherry)	\$2,500	H	rel
Punjab			
Bharat Seva Nyas (Chandigarh)	\$5,000		
Om Prakash Soni Charitable Trust, Jagraon, District Ludhiana, Punjab	\$34,950		
Peedit Pariwar Sewa Samiti	\$650	R	e
Shri Ram Shri Durga Mandir Charities	\$200	H	rel
Rajasthan			
Arya Samaj Bhadra (Hanumangarh, Rajasthan)	\$2,850	H	rel
Bharoo Gram Sikhsha Vikas Samiti (Bharoo, Dist. Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan)	\$2,410	R	e
Bhartiya Jan Sewa Pratishan, Raati Taali, District Banswara, Rajasthan	\$24,820	R	e

Chaudhry Charan Singh Girl's Hostel (Sikar, Rajasthan)	\$2,675		e
Dayanand Mahila Shikshan Sansthan Samiti (Jhunjhunu)	\$19,275	H	e
Dr. Ghasi Ram Verma Samaj Seva Samiti, Chirawa, District Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan	\$9,005		
Government Secondary School (Nibipura, Rajasthan)	\$1,450	S	e
Grameen Mahila Shikshan Sansthan (Sikar, Rajasthan)	\$17,695		e
Gramotthan Vidyapeeth Didwana (Hanumangarh)	\$9,025		e
Jhunjhunu Zila Awasiya Kalyan Samiti (Jhunjhunu)	\$2,950		
Kisan Chhatrawas Nawalgarh (Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan)	\$5,525		e
Mahatma Gandhi Kushta Ashram	\$1,100		w
Seva Bharati Rajasthan, (Jodhpur, Rajasthan)	\$13,000	R	e
Sewa Bharati Rajasthan (Jaipur, Rajasthan)	\$8,490	R	e
Sewa Sangam (Jaipur, Rajasthan)	\$6,000		
Village Service Trust (Sardarshahar, Rajasthan)	\$1,450	S	d
Tamil Nadu			
Bharath Cultural Trust, Trichirappalli, TN	\$45,980	R	
Grama Kovil Poojarigal Peravai (Chennai, TN)	\$2,250	R	rel
Naya Jyoti Charities Trust (Chennai, TN)	\$14,700	R	rel
Sevalaya (Chennai, TN)	\$6,550	R	e
Sri P. N. Narayana Sastrigal Meru Trust (Chennai TN)	\$9,500	H	rel
Sri Rama Dhanushkodi Abhaya Anchaneyar Seva Trust (Rameshwaram, TN)	\$5,110	H	rel
Swami Vivekananda Rural Development Society (Chennai)	\$82,290	R	e
The Ayurvedic Trust (Coimbatore, TN)	\$2,410	H	w
Unique Mountain Trust (Thiruvannamalai, TN) – <i>for Arunachal</i>	\$9,035	R	e
Vergal Charitable Trust (Chennai, TN)	\$11,500		
Vivekananda Kendra and Rock Memorial (Kanyakumari)	\$74,885	R	e
Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal			
Devi Shringarmati Intermediate College (Dist. Azamgarh)	\$6,000		e
Dr. Ram Kumar Gayatri Devi Shiksha Association (Etah)	\$24,100		e
Dropadi Devi Saraswati Vidya Mandir	\$870	R	e
Girivasi Vanavasi Sewa Prakalpa (Ghorawal, UP)	\$5,500	R	e
Gurukul Prabhat Ashram	\$940	R	e
Jeevan Dhara Rakt Foundation, Meerut, UP	\$45,930	R	w
Mahamana Malvia Mission	\$290	R	
Maharishi Valmiki Seva Sansthan (Naogarh, District Varanasi, UP)	\$24,110	R	e
Ramakrishna Mission Sevashram (Hardwar, UP)	\$13,310	H	rel
Saraswati Shiksha Mandir	\$37,350	R	e
Saraswati Vidya Mandir (Mawana, District Meerut, UP)	\$12,000	R	e
Shanti Sewashram Jain Dharmartha Trust (Meerut, UP)	\$17,000	H	rel
Shiksha Bharati, Hapur, UP	\$24,465	R	e
Shri Bhagwat Mission Charitable Trust	\$800	H	rel
Sri Aurobindo Yoga Mandir (Haridwar, UP)	\$9,700	H	rel
Sri Ram Gram Vikas Samiti Nagauri, District Meerut, UP	\$85,635		e
Uttaranchal Daivi Apada Peedit Sahayata Samiti, Uttarkashi, Uttaranchal	\$62,335	R	w
Yog Satsang Samiti, Allahabad, UP	\$88,000	H	rel
West Bengal			

Bastuhara Sahayata Samiti (Calcutta, West Bengal) – For Rehabilitation of Victims of Tornado	\$1,200	R	r
Friends of Tribals Society (Calcutta, West Bengal) – For One-Teacher School Project in Orissa	\$14,110	R	e
Lokenath Divine Life Mission (Calcutta, West Bengal)	\$3,300	H	rel
Manav Seva Pratisthan	\$1,200		
Oral School for Deaf Children	\$1,000	S	d
Voice of People (24 Paraganas, West Bengal)	\$2,720	S	d
Army			
Army Central Welfare Fund – for Rehabilitation of Kargil Victims	\$141,600	S	r
Gujarat Earthquake			
Anoopam Mission, Morgi, Dist. Anand, Gujarat	\$25,530	H	r
BAPS Swaminarayan Gujarat	\$10,000	H	r
JanPath/JanVikas Ahmedabad	\$10,000	S	r
Saath Charitable Trust, Ahmedabad	\$10,000	S	r
Sadhu Vaswani Mission, Pune	\$25,265	H	r
Sewa Bharati Gujarat, Ahmedabad (for two villages and several schools)	\$360,000	R	e
Sheth Vakhtawarmal Deopural Charitable Trust, Gujarat	\$10,000		r
Shree 5 Navtanpuri Dham, Jamnagar, Gujarat (for reconstruction of schools)	\$31,580	H	e
Shri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Rajkot, Gujarat	\$10,000	H	r
Overseas			
Bochasanwasi Swaminarayan Sanstha (New York, USA)	\$5,000	H	rel
Chinmaya Mission (Orlando/Casselberry, Florida)	\$18,000	R	rel
Hindu Society Of Central Florida (Casselberry, FL, USA)	\$2,500	H	rel
Hindu Students Council (Boston, MA, USA)	\$3,000	R	rel
Medi-Send International, Dallas TX, USA	\$7,500	S	w
VHP of America (USA) – for Support-A-Child Project	\$3,500	R	rel
Hindu Society of Ottawa-Carleton Inc, Kanata, Canada	\$29,200	H	rel
Total Listed	\$4,467,605		
Not Listed but acknowledged (donations of less than \$2,000 each)	\$77,680		
Not Listed NOT acknowledged (Missing?)	\$486,885		
Total disbursements claimed	\$5,032,170		

* The funds that appear in bold in the second column are to donor designated charities.

Figure 4 – Amounts Distributed To Charities By IDRF

H.3 Types of Organizations Funded by IDRF

Of the total of \$ 4,467,605 disbursements accounted for in the above table, a little over a quarter are donor-designated funds. Donor designated funds are those monies that are directed to a specific charity by the donor and thus are funds that IDRF has no control over vis a vis its disbursement. Therefore, only \$ 3.26 million is under the direct control of IDRF and is disbursed to charities identified solely by it.

The following table shows the break-up by ideology of the organizations directly designated by the IDRF.

Ideology	Total Money	%age
Sangh (R)	\$2,684,915	82.4%
Religious (H)	\$264,660	8.1%
Secular (S)	\$70,620	2.2%
Unknown	\$239,785	7.4%
Total	\$3,259,980	100%

Figure 5 – Amounts Distributed Based on Ideology

Sangh-affiliated organizations account for a whopping 80% or more of the total disbursed at the discretion of the IDRF. If we are to take the two categories of Sangh and Hindu Religious organizations together, it becomes clear that in excess of 90% of IDRF's funds were given to sectarian religious organizations. In contrast, only 10% of the donor-designated funds were earmarked for *Sangh* charities. These figures of 80% (*Sangh*) and 90% (*Sangh*+Hindu religious) would probably be larger but for the "Unknown" category that accounts for 7%.

Similarly, the table below shows the activities that are being most promoted by IDRF's beneficiaries.

Activity	Total Money	%age
Ed/ Tribal/ Cultural (e)	\$2,250,685	69.0%
Religious (rel)	\$58,890	1.8%
Developmental (d)	\$128,330	3.9%
Welfare/ Health (w)	\$247,935	7.6%
Relief (r)	\$494,730	15.2%
Unknown	\$79,410	2.4%
Total	\$3,259,980	100%

Figure 6 – Amounts Distributed Based on Activities

An overwhelmingly large percentage (69%) of IDRF's money goes for Hinduization/Education/Tribal activities, while less than 20% goes for "Development" and "Relief" activities. It is interesting to note here that only 23%

of the donor-designated funds are earmarked for Hinduization/Education/Tribal activities. Further, as the main report and Appendices A and E argue much of the funds disbursed under "relief" were used along sectarian lines and promoted communal divisions. Note that after "Hinduization," "Relief" is the single largest category accounting for more than 15%. Development and Welfare accounts for just over 10% of the total disbursement.

Both the analysis of organizations receiving funds and the activities for which the funds are expended point to a single conclusion: The IDRF's funds disbursement is the most concrete evidence of it being an essential arm of the Sangh in the US as also its primary work being that of funding religious sectarianism in India.