

Hinduism: Retrospect and Prospect

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Holy men declared Sunday, December 6, 1992, auspicious and more than 300,000 people gathered that day in Ayodhya, a pilgrim town north of Varanasi in U.P. India.¹ Most wore the saffron color of Hindu nationalism. At midday, they broke down the police barricades around a mosque, reportedly built on the ruins of the temple that marks Rama's birthplace, and hammered it to the ground. The construction of a new Rama temple was to begin that evening. Violence triggered by the demolition killed 1,700 people across the subcontinent. Supporters justified the action as the liberation of Hindu sacred space to unify the nation. Critics decried it as communalism--the antagonistic mobilization of one religious community against another--as an attack on Indian civil society.

How are we to understand these events? And what impact do they have for the church in India and around the world?

THE EMERGENCE OF NEO-HINDUISM

To understand recent events, we need first to define 'Hinduism.' S. Radhakrishnan writes, "Hinduism is the way of life characteristic of an entire people, it is a culture more than a creed. It permeates every aspect of the individual's public and private life." As one author put it, "Hinduism has grown like some gigantic Banyan tree, with numerous spreading branches that put

¹ The roots of this was the Vishva Hindu Parishad (World Council of Hindus) which issued in April 1984 in Delhi a unanimous resolution for the "liberation" of three temple sites in north India, at Mathra, Varanasi and Ayodhya, because 1) these were historical sites in religious life [Ayodya the birth place of Rama], 2) ancient Hindu temples stood there, and 3) Muslims under the Mugals destroyed the temples and built mosques on the foundations.

down their own roots, and yet remained, however tenuously, attached to the main trunk”

(Kolanad 1994, 56). Jawarharlal Nehru wrote,

Hinduism, as a faith, is vague, amorphous, many-sided, all things to all men. It is hardly possible to define it, or indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word. In its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and practices, from the highest to the lowest, often opposed to or contradicting each other (Nehru 1946, 75).

Definitions of ‘Hinduism’

India is a land of incredible diversity; of thousands of tight ethnic communities [castes and tribes] each with its own customs and religious beliefs and practices, of intense religious communities vying for power, and of political states competing for land and the loyalties of the people. Given the diversity and complexity that characterizes Indian civilization, it is dangerous in a brief review to make generalizations about what is Hinduism, let alone where it is headed.

The term ‘Hindu’ has been used in at least five ways.² The first definition was geographic, given to India by the invaders of India: the Turk, Persian and Arab Muslims, and the British rulers. ‘Hindu’ was the Persian word for ‘Indian,’ and was originally used of peoples living beyond the Indus River, not followers of a particular religion. For the invaders from the West, Hindu meant ‘Native to India.’ Consequently, Muslims were divided into Arab Muslims (who could trace their decent from West Asia) and Hindu Muslims (native converts). Similarly, the British referred to European and Hindu Christians. Hindu did not refer to a religion, but to a geopolitical structure (or state) in which outside rulers ruled a state made up of diverse communities and religious. “Hindu” thus did not begin its career as a religious term, but as a

² For an excellent analysis of various definitions of ‘Hinduism’ see Frykenberg, 1993.

term used by outsiders and state officials to designate people who lived east of the Indus (Ludden 1996, 7). This practice of equating things “Indian” with the term “Hindu” has caused endless confusion, obliterating lines between religious and geopolitical realities.

The second definition is socioreligious. The most common description which Hindus give to their religion is *sanatana dharma*, “eternal religion,” which refers to what is sometimes called Brahmanical Hinduism, a highly sophisticated worldview for categorizing all of life that emerged by the tenth century B.C. Robert Frykenberg notes (1993, 527),

[Brahmanical Hinduism] lumped all mankind into a single category and then subdivided this category into a color-coded system of separate species and subspecies, genres and subgenres; and then ranked these hierarchically according to innate (biological, cultural, and ritual) capacities and qualities.

The result was the caste system: a religious community made up of diverse castes organized in a single hierarchy based on notions of purity and pollution based on blood and ritual.

The roots of this socioreligious system are found in the emergence of the Brahmins as ritual masters, and the spread of their religious hegemony over much of India.³ This meaning of Hinduism became so pervasive and deeply entrenched that it remains the dominant force in rural Indian life today despite numerous attempts to destroy it.⁴ Hinduism, here, is not a monolithic religion with formal doctrines and central institutions. Rather it is a worldview that incorporates

³The Brahmanical (Sanskritic) name for this ranked ordering, *varnashramadharma*, was devised so long ago that its roots go back at to the *Manu Smriti (Dharma Shastra)*, if not to the *Vedas* themselves. This worldview came to be regarded as virtually synonymous with *sanatana dharma* [Eternal Religion based on Cosmic Law] which has no founder, no universal doctrinal creed, and no particular institutional structure. Rather, it is a way of life and a highly developed religious worldview.

⁴ These movements include Buddhism led by Gautama Siddhartha, anti-Brahman Adi-Dravida (Tamilnadu), Adivasi (“Aboriginal People”), Islam, Sikhism, Christianity and Marxism.

different religious communities (*sampradayas*)--with its own gods, beliefs and practices--into a single hierarchical social system based on the concepts of purity and pollution. Central to this worldview are the themes of *eka jivam* (all life is one), *karma* (the law of rewards and fateful action), *samsara* (the cycle of rebirth), *dharma* (religious duty), and *moksha* (release from the cycle of rebirths), which were hammered out in the encounter between Brahminism, with its emphasis on caste and ritual, and the Sramanas with their stress on ascetic yogic praxis (Pandit 1998, 5-7).

This worldview found expression in the four ranked ritual categories [*varnas*]--Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra divided into countless caste groups [*jatis*] that form the primary basis of Hindu social identity. Each Hindu person's identity can be located ritually by religious duties appropriate for one's specific social status, ritual status, and age [one's *varnashramadharmas*]. "Religious practices revolve around many different deities [*devas*], sectarian traditions [*sampradayas*], and teachers [*gurus*] that form centers of personal devotion and affective religious affiliation. As David Ludden notes, "The ideas that define Hinduism as a religion, therefore, deeply discourage the formation of a collective Hindu religious identity among believers and practitioners. Hindu identity is multiple, by definition . . . (1996, 7)."

Many Indians have no place in this system. Tribals living in the mountains and forests, and untouchables in the villages are outside its pale. So, too, are Muslims, Christians, and Jews.. Others, namely the once-born Sudras, were second class citizens in the community.

The third definition of Hinduism was a product of the West's encounter with the Indian civilization. Edward Said points out (1978) that as British rule spread in India in the nineteenth century, European scholars, painters, novelists, journalists and museum curators began

systematically to create compelling images of Hindus for Western audiences. European scholars became enamored with the ancient Indian philosophies and began departments of Oriental Studies. They learned Sanskrit, and collaborated with Indian scholars to translate and publicize the Vedas and other sacred texts, which were largely forgotten in India. They defined Hinduism in terms of these ancient texts, and Hindus were presented as mysterious, exotic, sensual, despotic, traditional and irrational in their fervent religiosity. India became known in the West as “a land saturated with religion; its people . . . obsessed with the destiny and status of man in the hereafter (Wallbank 1965, 25).” In short, European imperialism invented Hinduism as coherent, unified religious tradition as its ideological other in the orient (Ludden 1996, 9), and used it to justify Western imperialism because it brought modernization and progress.

The fourth definition of the term Hindu was political. As the East India Company expanded its rule over what came to be known as ‘British India,’ it needed to govern a country made up of many rival communities. It did so by forming personal alliances with leaders in various powerful communities, and by adapting the Indian form of government based on mediating between rival communities. In this Indian polity local temples and shrines had endowed lands, *innam bhumi*, that were tax free. These generated large amounts of wealth, and were the field for struggles for control. After 1810 the British colonial government began to take over the management of local governments. It soon found itself responsible for maintaining the temples, and organizing and funding the temple rituals. British officials often found themselves participating as government representatives as temple rites. This led to the codification of an official or establishment “Hinduism” run by the British Raj. Under British rule, Hindu became a category of people who were not Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis or Buddhists. The Raj

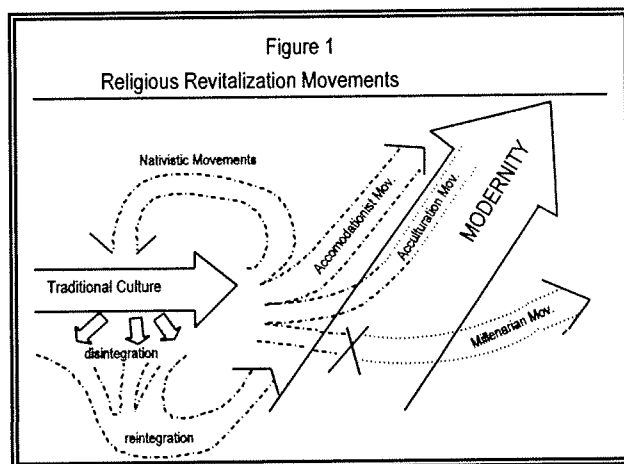
and later the Indian Government maintained this identification with temple Hinduism

The fifth definition of Hinduism is religious. Sometimes referred to as Neo-Hinduism, it is, like India itself, the creation of the British Raj. It is the child born of the encounter of Indian religious philosophy with Enlightenment and Christian thought. I will use the term “Hindu” in this sense in this analysis.

NeoHinduism

The last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century marked the emergence of a new form of Hinduism as an Indian response to the confrontation of Christianity. To understand the rise of NeoHinduism I will draw on A.F.C. Wallace’s theory of revitalization (1956). According to Wallace,

revitalization movement arise when traditional worldviews are threatened by external changes. Their are attempts to find meaning in life in the face of growing anomie. Wallace argues that when cultures and religions are overrun by more powerful ones, the people respond in several ways



(figure 1). The first response is ‘conversion movements’ in which people change their allegiances to the new ideology. When the British conquered India and introduced the Enlightenment, some Indians adopted a modern secular scientific worldview. Most of these came from high Hindu castes. When missionaries brought the Gospel, others became Christians

in Western based churches. Most of them were untouchables and tribals who had no status in the old Brahmanical order.

A second response is 'accommodation movements' in which people adopt many of the elements of the new religion or ideology, but reinterpret these in terms of their old categories and logic. In India this was seen in the rise of the Brahmo Samaj (Fellowship of Believers of the One True God)⁵ and Prarthana Samaj (Fellowship of Prayer), reform movements that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They called for a radical transformation of Hinduism by submitting Hindu scriptures and teachings to the test of rationality. The result was a synthesis of Vedic idealism, Islamic monotheism and Christian ethics. These movements failed, however to produce a viable synthesis that could attract orthodox religious leaders.

A third response to 'cultural collision' is 'revitalization movements.' These look to the past, and seeks to revive it, through a new synthesis based on the old religion but accommodating elements of the new. In India these are the movements that gave birth to Neo Hindu fundamentalist movements.⁶ They include the Arya Samaj and the Rama Krishna Mission.

The Hindu revitalization movements were the result of India's encounter with Enlightenment and Christian thought. On the one hand, NeoHindu scholars were inspired by this recognition given to the Vedas and Upanishads by the West created religious doctrines and

⁵ Founded by Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) sometimes called the Father of Modern India.

⁶ India's Supreme Court has recognize Neo Hinduism as the legal representation of Hinduism. It gave an 'adequate and satisfactory definition' of Hinduism as: "Acceptance of the Vedas with reference; recognition of the fact that the means or ways to salvation are diverse; and the realization of the truth that the number of gods to be worshiped is large, that indeed is the distinguishing feature of the Hindu religion."

institutions on the basis of the old texts, and organized Neo Hinduism as a modern, formal 'high' religion. They rejected undesirable customs, such as idolatry and untouchable, as degenerate accretions to the pure Vedic religion. They popularized their teaching by linking these to the great epics, the Mahabharata (with its Bhagavad Gita), and the Ramayanam, which are at the heart of popular Hinduism. On the other hand, these movements emerged out of the success of Christianity in winning untouchables. Gladstone notes (19##, 205), "Many Hindu leaders became extremely anxious about the landslide of the lower sections of Hindu society to Christianity, a 'foreign religion' weakening not only social bonds, but also the solidarity of the society."

The Growth of NeoHinduism

Successful revitalization movements, in the long run, tend to move in one of two directions. Some become increasingly religious in nature, detached from the sociopolitical arena in which they exist. Others become increasingly politicized as they seek to wrestle power from the dominant power around them. Both of these trends are evident in the Hindu revitalization movements.

Spiritualized Hinduism

One segment of Neo Hinduism has become increasingly religious in nature, stressing the spiritual nature of Hinduism. This has its roots in the work of Dayananda (1824-1883), Ramakrishna (1836-1886), Vivekananda (1863-1902) and the Theosophists. Swami Dayananda Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj (875) to defend and reform Hinduism. His watch-word was "back to the Vedas," and his emphasis was "India for Indians." He wanted to removed Christianity and Islam from India, and make Hinduism the only religion of India (Klostermaier

1989, 391). K. David notes, he became “the spearhead of a dynamic type of Hinduism unifying all sections of Hindu society and attempting to bring to light the inherent vitality of Hinduism (David 1979, 178).” Vivekananda, a disciple of Ramakrishna, argued that Hinduism alone can claim to be the universal religion of the world because it is not built around the life of historical persons, but around eternal and universal principles (O’conner 1974, 179). He instilled a pride in Hindu culture and religion and gave stimulus for the national revival of Hinduism.

New England’s Transcendentalists were the first American intellectuals to imagine the meeting of East and West. Another key figure in the Hindu revival was Annie Besant. She was a disappointed Christian who tried to bring all religions together using the Vedanta doctrine of Karma, re-birth and yoga. She became a devotee of Sri Krishna, one of the Hindu gods, and practiced Hindu rites.⁷ She worked in the Indian National Congress, and founded the Central College of Benares which later become the Hindu University.

Today Neo-Hinduism as a religious movement is centered around the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP], the World Council of Hindus that coordinates the activities of NeoHindu movements and monitors orthodoxy (see Figure 1).

Guruism

One of the popular manifestations of NeoHinduism is the spread of ‘guruism.’ A great many charismatic Hindu gurus have major audiences in India, and have attracted Western followers. Among them are Ramana Maharishi (1870-1950), Swami Sivananda (founder of the

⁷ In a lecture at Madras Presidency College she said, “[A]fter a study of some forty years and more, of the great religions of the world, I find none so perfect, none so scientific, none so philosophical, and none so spiritual as the great religion known by the name Hinduism. The more you know it, the more you will love it, the more you try to understand it, the more deeply will you value it (Gladstone 19##, 211).

Divine Life Society, died 1964) Ma Anandamayhi (considered by many to be a living deity), Satya Sai Baba, Rajaneesh and Bala Yogi.

Global Hindu Organizations

HINDU ORGANIZATIONS (Santana Dharma)

Arya Samaj, Ghinmaya Mission, Gitananda Ashram (Italy), Hindu Students Council, Hindu Temple Society of North America, International Swaminarayan Satsang (ISSO), Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam, Nityananda Institute, Ramakirshna Mission (New York), Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangs (RSS), Saiva Siddhanta Church, Swaminarayan Hindu Mission (BSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP)

QUASTI-HINDU ORGANIZATIONS

Yoga Vedanta

Arsha Vidya Gurukulam, divine Life Society, Ramanastram (Ramana Maharshi), Siddha Yoga Dham (Chidvalasananda), Sivananda Yoga Vedanta Centers

Social Service and/or Universalism

Ananda Marga, Gayatri Pariwar, M.A.Ashram (Mata Amritanandamayi), Sadhu Vaswami Mission, Integral Yoga Institute (Satchidananda), Satya Sai Baba, Self-Realization Fellowship, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar

NON-HINDU NEW RELIGIONS OR NON-RELIGIONS

Brahma Kumaris, ISCKON, Transcendental Meditation, Veerashaivite (Swami Chinmayananda. 1998. Identity: Who then are the Hindus? Hinduism Today. October. p. 33).

Temples, Festivals and Pilgrimages

On the popular level modern Hinduism has moved out of the hearth and home where it was to pervue of the purohits who ran the life cycle rites and family and caste rites to the temples and pujaris, and to festivals and religious fairs. Large temples have been revived and the celebration of nation wide Hindu festivals is increasing as neighborhoods compete to demonstrate their religious fervor. Many now attract large numbers of pilgrims⁸ who take

⁸ Pilgrimage or *tirtha-yatra* is an ancient Indian tradition. Hsuan-tsang, who travelled in India between 629-645 A.D., Alberuni in his famous *Kitab-ul-Hind*, written about 1030 A.D. and Abut Fzl in *Ain-I-Akbari*, written in 1593 A.D., all conceded the important of pilgrimage in Hindu tradition. The *Tirtha-Yatra* in the *Mahabharata* mentions 270 *tirthas*--sacred rivers,

religious bus tours to visit famous shrines. The most important actor of temple movement is the VHP and its assortment of priests and religious leaders.

Politicized Hinduism

The second stream in Neo Hinduism has become increasingly political in nature. In 1909 Pandit Malaviya founded the Hindu Mahasabha which soon developed into a right-wing Hindu political party. In 1925 Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, founded the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS], a Hindu religious movement which rejected cultural diversity and advocated the re-organization the nation build Hindu nationalism (theocentric state). In 1931 a young revolutionary in Maharashtra, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, was recruited for the RSS at Benaras Hindu University. He became its leader in 1940.

In his book, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, Savarkar popularized his concept of *Hindutva*, or Hindu nationalism. He argued that Aryans who came to the Indian sub-continent were a nation because they shared a geographical unity, racial features and a common culture⁹. He set out to create a Hindu national identity in which he hoped to make the RSS and Hindu society identical (Mangalwadi 1997, 289). M. S. Golwalkar, a leader in the RSS, wrote,

The ultimate vision of our work . . . is a perfectly organized state of society wherein each individual has been moulded [sic] into a model of ideal Hindu manhood and made into a living limb of the corporate personality of society (Golwalkar 1939, 88; quoted by Jaffrelot 1996, 59).

mountains, forests, and shrines where gods dwell, and where seekers go to be purified. The jounies were long and arduous, requiring strength, stamina, and austerities of personal purification--fasting, sleeping on the floor, sexual abstinence, avoidance of the use of vehicles and walking barefoot.

⁹ Savarkar based his vision of *Hindutva* on the Italian political theorist Giuseppe Mazzini (1807-1882), and Hitler's view that race is the most important ingredient of the *nation*.

The RSS seeks to extend to the whole of society the Hindu nationalist concept of man who denies his individual personality. While claiming not to be a political party, it is the revitalization movement that has spawned a great number of front organizations like the Bharatiya Mazur Sabha, a trade union, and Visva Hindu Parishad, a religious organization. The movement has millions of highly disciplined members spread all over India and abroad, and is the driving force behind the modern Hindu revitalization movement.

The central vision of the RSS is *Hindutva* [Hindudom], a Hindu National State. Bhartiya Janwadi Aghadi writes,

If there is one explosive idea that is setting the agenda for India today, it is *Hindutva*. . . . *Hindutva* has nothing to do with spirituality, but everything to do with political economy. . . . It has very little to do with Hinduism, but everything to do with an aggressive form of cultural nationalism It appears to be connected with India's past, but is actually an omen of the future . . . For some, *Hindutva* heralds the age of India's renaissance. For others, it reflects India's march towards fascism (Aghadi 1993, introductory page; cited by Mangalwadi 1997, 277).

To achieve its goal, the RSS espouses a uniform system of socialization to shape all people into one collective identity and Hindu nation. The movement has announced its intention to use political power to control educational institutions run by religious minorities so that they become the mediums for its own propaganda (Mangalawadi 1996, 296). M. S. Golwalkar writes,

The training that is imparted every day in the *shakha* [a local unit of the RSS] . . . imparts that spirit of identification and well-concerted actions. It gives the individual the necessary incentive to rub away his angularities, to behave in a spirit of oneness with the rest of his brethren in society and fall in line with the organised and disciplined way of life by adjusting himself to the varied outlooks of other minds. the persons assembling there learn to obey a single command (quoted by Jaffrelot 1996, 534).

How would the *Hindutva* movement deal with cultural and religious pluralism in India, a self declared secular pluralist government? Sadhvi Riothambra, a leader in the movement, says,

Wherever I go, I say, Muslims, live and prosper among us. Live like milk and sugar. If two kills of sugar are dissolved in a quintal of milk, the milk becomes sweet! But what

can be done if our Muslim brother is not behaving like sugar in the milk? Is it our fault if he seems bent upon becoming a lemon in the milk? He wants the milk to curdle. . . . I say to him, "Come to your senses. The value of increases after it becomes sour. It becomes cheese. But the world knows the fate of lemon. It is cut, squeezed dry, and then thrown on the garbage heap (cited by Kakkar in Basu and Subrahmanyam 1996, 223-224).

Hindutva rules out any possibility of Indian Hindus, Muslims and Christian living together in harmony and as equals. Golwalkar, one of the architects of the ideology wrote,

The foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture. . . . or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment--not even citizens rights (Golwalkar 1939, 62)

According to Sarkar, *Hindutva* is a Brahmanical reaction to the threats to upper caste dominance raised by lower caste, tribal, peasant and women's movements, and by the social mobility facilitated by democratic secular politics and economic planning. Its strength is its appeal to all those for whom Mother India is a reality, which includes landowners, industrialists, shopowners, college and high school teachers and small entrepreneurs, as well as the large masses who live in rural and small-town India who feel that the present elite is much too Western oriented and forgetful of India's own cultural and spiritual heritage.

The vision of *Hindutva* emerged following the subjugation of the Hindus by the Moguls and later by a small number of British rulers. Hindu nationalist thinkers from the second half of the 19th century tried to understand the inherent political weakness of Hinduism and the fragmentation of the Hindu community. They were impressed by the success of Islam and Christian to build powerful empires, so they concluded that Hinduism had to serve the cause of nationalism in the Indian context. They were impressed by the coherence of the Muslim and Christian communities, which is the reason for both their unity and their capacity for effective mobilization, and the universal claims of these religions which stood in contrast to the

multiplicity of caste religions in India. The mission of *Hindutva* is to reorient Hindus from their exclusive family and caste loyalties to loyalty to a greater Hindu community and the nation at large. As a majoritarian movement, it defines the Indian nation as a whole and seeks to remove alternative, pluralistic definitions. In this nationalism, religious minorities have no place as long as they refuse to become Hindus culturally (Thampu 1998). In its efforts to unify India, *Hindutva* gives top priority to opposition to Islam and Christianity, and justifies communalism as morally correct, inevitable and necessary.

Hindutva is a totalitarian ideology because it aspires to fill the whole space occupied by society, and because it seeks to endow individuals with the selflessness ideal of total submission [*ekchhalak anuvartita*] to the ascetic leader [*pracharak*]. It rejects a transcendent God and makes its chief, the *Sarsanghchhalak*, the unquestioned head of the movement. This is the practice common to all Hindu sects who worship their gurus as sovereign gods. Hindu nationalism demands that Indians must worship Mother India as a goddess and make nationalism the source of all other values.

If the RSS is the parent body and force behind “Cultural Nationalism,” the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), “The Indian People’s Party,” which is seeking to form a Hindu government, symbolized by images of Lord Rama’s righteous, peaceful kingdom. It is seeking to gain control of the State and, through it, the people and cultures of India.¹⁰ The BJP emerged after 1989 as a

¹⁰ The BJP (formerly the Jana Sangh founded in 1951) and its allied Hindu organizations--the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal (the VHP youth organization), Hindu Mahasabha, and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS founded in 1925)--together called the Sangh Parivar (“brotherhood of interconnected Hindu nationalist groups affiliated with the RSS -represent the effort by the Hindu nation to form a Hindu nation-state based on India’s native culture. The Sangh promotes Hindu majoritarianism, cultural nationalism and national “unity in diversity” based on its own definitions of India’s Hindu cultural heritage. It blames communalism on minority groups not willing to work under the rule of Hindu culture.

dominant political force when the old Congress control based on patronage networks of local leaders and central government collapsed, leaving a political vacuum in the ideological basis for allocation and use of power. Made up primarily of militant upper caste members, the BJP entered the arena, and over the years gained power and wide-spread appeal.¹¹ It emerged as the largest party in the 1996 election. Its first attempt to form the Indian government lasted less than two weeks, but in 1998 it returned to power and began to implement its agenda for the nation. It is commonly allied with Shiv Sena and the Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP], which is made up mainly of militant lower caste people. It is also affiliated with the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sang (BMS), the second largest trade union in the country.

The BJP's theory is that only Aryan [*Hindutva*'s] cultural colonialism can keep the country together. While most of BJP's rivals are losing political appeal, the "Hindu Nationalism" movement is gaining strength and acceptability in a wider constituency [e.g. the lower castes in U.P., the Sikhs who hate Congress, the non-resident Indians].

The primary concern today is not so much BJP's present political clout, but the spread of its militant ideology among the intelligentsia, and its redefinition of the nature of the state. After Independence in 1947, India declared itself a secular civil state built on the western notion of the a contract between the state and people as individuals. The BJP is now seeking to redefine the

M.S.Glowalkar, former head of R.S.S., declares Muslims, Christians and Communists (in that order) the major enemies of India and promises they will not be citizens of a Hindu India (Klostermaier 1989, 406).

¹¹ The fact that BJP is essentially an upper caste backlash to retain power led to a dilemma when the Backward Classes Commission headed by Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal recommended stronger affirmative action for the so-called Other Backward Classes. The BJP formally supported the Mandal reforms at the national level, but undermined them at the local level, particularly in places where it relied on upper-caste support (Basu 1999, 18).

basis of the state in terms of communal entities. The government has a contract with the different constituent communities, not with individuals. Mangalwadi writes, “In India . . . religion doesn’t have much to do with Truth. Its purpose is to serve as social cement, to teach human beings how to live in a community by putting the community about individuals (1997, 44).”

The BJP argues that in the state culturally diverse people cannot live together as equals. It favors a strong, centralized state based on cultural nationalism in which the safeguards of minority rights are eliminated, and the interests of the Hindu majority rule. The top BJP leaders all have RSS backgrounds, and a stress on the unity of ideological family. They are seeking to build a state on communal alliances rather than on networks of personal patronage as Congress did.

The idea that Islam and Christianity are foreign and alien is axiomatic among Hindu nationalists, who use this to justify the destruction of the Babri Masjid and burning of churches, and to argue Muslims and Christians are second-class citizens in India.¹² In doing so they equate “India” as an ancient civilization with “India” as an independent national state.¹³ They support this position by pointing to the split between Pakistan which is increasingly being Islamicized, and India, which they argue, is the heartland of Hinduism. From this perspective, the destruction

¹² This despite the fact that Islam is as old in India as in Pakistan and Turkey, and it has developed a distinctively Indian form indigenous to the region. Today India has the fourth largest Muslim population in the world, following Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

¹³ The conventional intellectual identification of “India” with “Hindu” and “Hinduism” is deeply mistaken. Historically, the subcontinent has included what is now India, Pakistan and Myanmar and has always has been populated by a great diversity of people, many of whom were not Hindus. Ironically, the territory now called “India” was formed by British imperialism without reference to Indian civilization at all (Ludden 199#,6).

of the Babri Masjid symbolized the removal of a foreign religiocultural invasion, and a restoration of the original Hinduism.

Since the BJP led coalition assumed power in 1997, there has been a noticeable increase in violence against Christians.¹⁴ There has been a shift from a more or less peaceful co-existence of different religious and ethnic communities to a polity of hegemony and dominance, and from a polity of rational discourse to the argument of threat and violence, warning Christians not to abuse the hospitality that Hindus have extended to them in India.

The BJP projects itself as a deeply moralistic party. It rejects the lack of social, ethical and personal values in the Western-style democratic politics, and upholds the myth that Hinduism is moral and tolerant, and that Islam and Christianity are intolerant. It mobilizes local groups that have deep feelings of injustice, and capitalizes on local myths to organize riots against minority communities. One that justifies genocidal violence against Muslims is the notion that Hindu women are vulnerable and victimized by Muslim men.

The BJP, RSS, VHP Sangh [Family] appeals to the traditional values and concerns of popular Hindu culture, and uses these to create friction between state and populace by new styled politics built around religious festivals involving public participation and culminating in processions through communally charged towns to intensify pressure on the state and to show that all space is Hindu space. To deny Hindus the right to use public space for religiopolitical ends is seen as anti-Hindu (Hasan 1999, 94). Religion has moved from the home and temple to the street and turned political.

¹⁴ This is reported by Valson Thampu in an unpublished paper titled, "Church and the Challenge of Hindutva". He notes that Christians have been targeted because they are smaller and less vocal than Muslims, and because they are known for being peace-loving, and often mistaken for cowardice

This intrusion of what was thought to be private sphere matters into the public sphere has created a crisis in the nature of the Indian state which has to do with the redefinition of Indian civil social space and who will be allowed to participate.¹⁵ The contract is no longer between the state and individuals, but between the state and religious communities. Supporters of Hindudom mobilize communal demonstrations in public space using public forms of communication to sway public opinion, and make public demands. They draw on deep cultural myths that justify the use of violence, and to define the 'other' (Freitag 1999, 221-222). The public discourse is no longer that of party politics based on ideology and class, but on communal parties based on religion, ethnicity and caste.¹⁶ In other words, the shift is from the western focus on the state and its relationship to individuals to the state and its relationship to communities. The result is communal politics based on the resurgence of Hindu and Muslim fundamentalisms.

Hindu Missionary Movements

In 1898 Hinduism crashed on western shores as a viable religion for the West when Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), a Hindu mystic, made a lasting impression on the people attending the Parliament of Religions in Chicago when he showed the reasonableness of Hinduism to Americans. The New York Herald wrote, "he is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After hearing him, we fell how foolish it is to send Missionaries to

¹⁵ The modern distinction between public and private spheres has never been strong in India, and is now breaking down. This began in the 18th and 19th century with activism by groups in public areas in such actions as the Cow Protection Movement in 1890s.

¹⁶ This shift began with the institution of reserved seats for Scheduled castes and other minority communities. It was the basis on which the Mandal Commission recommended the use of communalism as basis for making demands on government. It is not so much that communal parties have become institutionalized, but that community identity is the basis for high level political activities.

his learned nation (Zachariah 19##, 78).” Vivekananda preached Advaita Vedanta, a monistic form of Hinduism that affirms the equivalence of Brahman (God) and Atman (Self), that all religions lead to God and salvation, and that there can be no good without evil or evil without good. He called it sin to call a person a sinner. He founded the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897, and was the first Hindu missionary to America. In 1899 he established the Vedanta Society in N.Y. to attract American adherents through *jnana yoga* and *bhakti yoga*, which would become the rallying cry for generations of American Vedantists to come.

Swami Paramahansa Yogananda’s Self-Realization Fellowship [SRF] was the most influential Hindu movement in U.S. before World War II. Yogananda came to the U.S. in 1920, but, unlike Swami Vivekananda who returned to India a few years after the World’s Parliament, he lectured widely and left an estimated 150,000 devotee in 150 centers. Other missions to the West include International Society for Krishna Consciousness [ISKCON or Hari Kirshnas], Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Transcendental Meditation, and Satya Si Baba, the red robed Hindu guru.

Hindus of the Diaspora

Many Indians have moved outside the subcontinent. By the third century, Indians were trading with Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and other parts of East African. In the eleventh century, the Cholas (Tamil princes) conquered the great Indonesian empire of Sri Vijaya, and established outposts of Hindusim in Bali and other parts of Indonesia. In the eighteenth century, Indian bakers and traders extended their activities to Burma, Malaya and Thailand, bringing their religion with them.

Following the close of the slave trade,¹⁷ plantation owners (sugar, tea, coffee) and public works contractors (railroads, roads, harbors, jails) around the world needed a new source of cheap labor. They found it in India in the indentured system that replaced slavery. Starting in the early nineteenth century and continuing up to the 1920s, tens of thousands of Indians were transported to British colonies and protectorates including Fiji, Malaya, Mauritius, Ceylon, East African Protectorate (Kenya), Rhodesia, Natal, Cape Colony, Transvaal and the West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Martinique, British Guiana) and settled in Indian labor colonies. Those who volunteered to go were promised a livelihood, the prospect of getting rich in five to ten years, and passage back to India. The indentured labor system, however, kept them poor, and few ever returned to India. The result of this is Indian settlements in more than a dozen countries around the world, many of which preserved their own Hindu practices which, in time, evolved into local traditions. The priests were generally Brahmin immigrants who left the plantations for the more rewarding life of religion. They became hereditary guardians of many of the shrines (Tinker 1974, 210-211). This is especially true of Mauritius, Fiji and Guyana where Indians form the majority of the population. They also form important groups Malaysia, Ceylon and Singapore. To my knowledge, little Christian outreach has been done among Indians of the diaspora.

As opportunities in the former British colonies dwindled, Indian found new opportunities in Britain, Canada, Australia and the United States. Many of these were businessmen and professionals. An estimated five to six million Indians now live outside India (Tinker 1977, 11).

Hindus of the diaspora have brought their religion with them and have built Hindu temples in their communities. The first two Indian-style temples in U.S. were the Sri Ganesha

¹⁷. After May 1, 1807, no British ship was permitted to sail with a cargo of slaves, and after March 1, 1808 no slave could be landed in a British colony from any ship.

Temple [now called the Maha Vallabha Ganapati Devasthanam] in Flushing, NY, and the Sri Venkateswara Temple in Pittsburgh, PA. Others include the Sri Ganesh Temple in Nashville and the Iraivan (Siva) Temple on Kauai. Today almost every major city in the U.S. and Canada, boasts a temple, large or small. Since 1985, these have become important centers for American Hindu pilgrimages. *Tirtha yatras* in cars or planes from one to the next across the country (Tweed & # 293) guide provided by Council of Hindu Temples of North America.

Hindu temples are now found in England,¹⁸ Fiji (Subramaniya Temple in Nadi), Trinidad, S. Africa, Kenya, Surinam, Brazil, Colombia, Australia, and other countries where Indian immigrants Murugan [Kartikkeya];

Hinduism Today, magazine founded in 1979 by Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami, from Sri Lanka, and head of Hawaiian monastic community. Created to strengthen Hindu spirituality in West. Published in 7 editions around the world, including one for N.Am.

The presence and influence of the “South Asian diaspora” has significantly shaped the new ideological constructions of the community that is emerging. Funds raised by sadhus in Great Britain and summer camps in U.S. *Ramayana* videos, and Hindi mythological films make mass consumer market lucrative for those controlling popular cultural output.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA

The story of Christianity in India is a long and tangled one, extending from the time of Christ to the present. In this subcontinent Christianity has encountered great empires, sophisticated scholars, and some of the most profound philosophical and religious systems on

¹⁸ In many cases state owned Christian churches which have been declared ‘redundant’ have been turned over to Hindu communities for use as Hindu temples.

earth. In the encounter it has shaped and been shaped by India. In many ways this Jewel in the Crown of the British Empire has been the testing ground for Christianity and the modern mission movement. Here Christianity has been forced to deal with institutionalized ethnic and religious pluralism, with the uniqueness of Christ, and with the unity of the Church. The encounter has shaped the thinking of western leaders, such as E. Stanley Jones, Stephen Neill, Leslie Newbigin and Donald McGavran, and gave rise to Indian theologians and leaders such as Sadhu Sundar Singh, A. J. Appasamy, V. Chakkarai, V.S. Azariah and M. M. Thomas.

We will look briefly at the history of the Christian Church in India, and then at the current scene. Finally we will examine what the experiences of the Indian Church have to say to the global Church.

Protestant Mission Churches

Protestant missions began in India in the early eighteenth century. They pursued two general strategies: one to reach Hindus and the other to reach tribals.

Mission to Hindus

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heirich Plutschau arrived in India in 1706 at Tranquebar, South East India. They were sent by Frederick IV of Denmark to evangelize the Indians in the Dutch trading ports. Both mastered Tamil and started elementary schools. Their work was based on five principles: 1) education and church should go together, 2) the Scriptures and Christian literature should be translated and printed in local languages, 3) preaching should be based on a clear knowledge of the people's cultures, 4) definite personal conversions should be stressed, and 5) the establishment of churches with Indian ministers at an early date. The missionaries bought property, and build houses, schools and churches. They set up a printing press, and started

philanthropic works. They trained and sent out native evangelists to the villages, and ordained their first Indian minister in 1733.

The Tranquebar mission took the caste system for granted, and made no attempt to condemn it. Converts retained their caste identities after conversion, and separate places were assigned for different caste groups in the church. Considerable effort was given to developing self-supporting and self-governing churches.

In 1793 William Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman established the Serampore Mission in North East India. They practiced the British Mission Society policy of self-support of missionaries. After suffering great hardships during their early years, the team established itself in Calcutta. They sought to spread the Gospel by every possible means, opening outstations and hiring Indian evangelists. They translated and printed the Bible, organized Baptist churches (which were in no way under Baptists in England), studied the local cultures deeply, and trained indigenous leaders. In 1818 they looked after 126 elementary schools. By 1834 six translations of the Bible, and twenty-three of the New Testament appeared. Portions of Scripture were published in ten other languages. In 1819 they established Serampore College which later became India's leading seminary.

The Serampore Mission became the model for later Protestant missions in India. Alexander Duff stressed the importance of education as an evangelistic strategy. Clara Swain and Ida Scudder introduced women's hospitals which opened the door for reaching women behind the veil. Christian schools and hospitals spread across the country.

Following the lead of the Serampore trio, Protestant missionaries condemned the caste system as the essence of Hinduism, and required converts from all castes to attend the same

churches.¹⁹ The result was a mass inflow of converts from the untouchable castes, and the identification of Christianity with untouchability. Despite the strong insistence by western missionaries that converts renounce their castes and join the church as a new Christian community, most Indian Christians brought caste into the church. Herbert Hoefler notes (1991,157),

The studies demonstrate how the Christian community is understood both by the Christians and by their neighbours as another “*qaum*”, or caste-community, within the overall social bracket. The Christians share with other *qaums* the general attitudes towards religion and morality, and they also share the general attitudes toward their *qaum*: membership through birth, group-serving loyalty, and accommodation as one community among many other . . .

This is particularly true of the mass of Untouchables who make up most of the mission churches. In many cases, denominational differences have become the new arena in which caste differences are fought. For example, in Andhra Pradesh, the untouchable Malla have largely become Lutherans, and the untouchable Madigas Baptists. Now they justify endogamy and separation on the basis of denominational differences.

The development of truly indigenous churches was a priority from the beginning, but Protestant missions delayed the transfer of power to them, arguing that they were not ready for the responsibilities. The result was foreign control of mission churches, and increasing tensions between mission agencies and the churches. These were finally resolved when most mission agencies withdrew their control and personnel after Indian independence, and “turned over” the work to Indian mission churches.

One consequence of this foreign control was that Christianity was shaped by western

¹⁹ For an in-depth study of Protestant mission responses to the caste system see Duncan Forrester, *Caste and Christianity*, 1980.

forms and widely seen as a foreign religion associated with colonialism and, more recently, the global economy, and Christian converts as aliens to their own land. This was reinforced by the 19th and 20th century mission goal which was to Christianize and Civilize the people.

Response to missions to Hindus was mixed. Today most Christians are in the South (more than 6% of the population in some areas). There are few in the great Gangetic plain. One reason is that missions have worked in the south a hundred years longer than in the north. Another, and probably equally important reason, is that the South has always been cultural marginal to the North, which is the heartland of Hinduism, Hindi and Hindu nationalism. For many in the south Christianity and English gave them an identity which they did not have in the traditional Indian cultural wars.

Mission to Tribals

The second Protestant mission strategy was to evangelize tribal societies found in the mountainous regions of North East India, and the hills of central India. In the North East Hills Area (NEHA), British patrols pacified the mountainous regions after 1800. The British policy was to preserve the traditional cultures as much as possible, but by destroying tribal governance and opening the hills to the outside world, British Raj had devastating effects on these cultures. There was much resistance, but the British put a stop to this by military conquest.

British Welsh Presbyterians and American Baptists began evangelistic tours and establishing schools in the region after 1836. The mission policy was to establish schools using the vernaculars to teach Christians how to read the Bible, and to train native evangelists and leaders for the rapidly growing churches. The government restricted where they could work under a "a discrete licensing policy," but as new areas were opened up by patrols, the

missionaries extended their network of schools into the hills.

Initially there was resistance to the gospel from tribal communities, but by the end of the century, Christianity was spreading rapidly among the tribes. The growth was based on an extensive educational system and a comprehensive indigenous church structure. Most of the Christian growth was the result of native evangelists and missionaries going to unreached villages and neighboring tribes, and occurred as group movements in which whole families and villages became Christian on the basis of corporate decisions.

During the twentieth century, Christianity continued to spread rapidly throughout the region. The methods most commonly used were to establish low level schools in which local leaders were trained, and itinerant evangelism by local evangelists. Relief and medical ministries were added, but there was considerable concern lest people become “rice Christians.” Some tribes became almost entirely Christian while others had few Christians among them. Christian revival movements (1906, 1913, 1919, 1929), often rooted in the singing of songs composed by the people, contributed much to the indigenization of Christianity in the region. By the twenty-first century, the majority of people in several North East Indian states considered themselves Christians (Figure 1).

One benefit of Christianity, socially speaking, was to help the hills tribes preserve their identity in the face of the threat of assimilation into the Hindu societies of the plains at the lowest level of the socio-ritual hierarchy (Downs 1992, 4). In doing so, however, it fostered among some tribals the desire to succeed from India and establish their own independent nations.

Assam (plains, Hindu)	2.4
Mizoram tribals	86
Manipur tribals	76
Nagaland tribals	67

A second benefit of Christianity for tribals was that it educated the young and prepared them to participate in the global world. Tribals became outstanding political and religious leaders

Outreach to the tribals in NEHA raised important missiological questions. One had to do with the validity of people movements in which whole families and villages became Christians en masse. These followed the traditional tribal patterns of making important decisions together. It was clear that many went along with these corporate decisions to maintain the unity of the village, and not for religious reasons. These movements often occurred during times of calamity, such as the great earthquake (1897), the so-called bamboo famines which take place at intervals of twenty-five years or so, and the failure of tribal rebellions (Downs 1992, 141-142). Debates arose whether these conversions genuine, and over how should missions and churches deal with such movements?

A second question had to do with dealing with traditional cultural practices such as birth rites, marriages, festivals, intoxicants, slavery, head-hunting, hygiene, status of women, and dress and hair style (Downs 1992, 146-164). The first missionaries and early converts called for radical changes in life style which were a major factor in the acculturative role that Christianity played. In some areas, these changes were beneficial. Head hunting and slavery declined, and the role of women greatly improved through biblical instruction and education of women. In other areas, these changes led to an undermining of the people's cultural identity. Today Christians in NEHA are increasingly connected to the world, but also struggling to rediscover their cultural heritage and identity.

How can we assess the modern Protestant mission movement in India. There have been positive and negative outcomes.

Contributions

One contribution of Protestant missions to India has been the establishment of the Indian Church (table 2). Through the great sacrifices paid by those who went and those who supported the work, Christianity plays an important role in Indian life, particularly in the South and North East.

RELIGION	1900	1970	2000
HINDU	184,023	433,214	700,513
MUSLIM	31,552	62,877	122,570
CHRISTIAN	3,820	23,353	62,341
Orthodox	200	1,425	3,100
Roman Catholic	1,920	8,433	15,500
Protestant	650	8,137	16,826
Indian Initiated	90	6,944	34,200
Hindu-Christian	200	15,552	31,000

[Barrett, Kurian and Johnson. 2001, 360]

A second outcome has been to bring Untouchables and tribals a sense of dignity and upward mobility. Today the children and grand-children of Untouchables are Christian doctors, lawyers, professors and government officials. Tribal communities have preserved their identities in the face of strong assimilative forces. At first this reinforced separatism among these communities, but eventually Christianity became a vehicle for bringing together different tribes and castes in larger ecumenical movements. An emerging trend is for Christian communities to establish links all over India through the training of their leaders in inter-denominational seminaries and participation in the National Christian Council and Indian Evangelical Fellowship.

Christian missions are also responsible for establishing schools and hospitals throughout India to serve the general public.

Shortcomings

Christian missions in India have also had serious limitations. One is their identification with western colonialism and civilization. No serious student of Christianity in India would argue that Christian missions and the Church did not benefit from the British Raj. While it may be technically correct, in terms of official policy, to say that the British were neutral in religious matters, there were many ways in which highly placed representatives of the British government assisted Christian missions, and the missionaries accepted that support gratefully. It is also clear that the missionaries did not consider themselves agents of the colonial power. Their primary purpose was the proclamation of the gospel. Frederick Downs writes, “[T]he relationship between the missions and the government can best be described as cooperation in certain limited areas of mutual coincidence of interests. In other areas there was often conflict between the two (1992,31).” What can be said is that Christian missions and the colonial government were there for their own purposes, and found each other useful.

One area in which British administrators and missionaries worked together was in starting schools. British colonial administrators saw these as a means to civilize and pacify the tribals. Mackenzie, an official, writing in 1884, said,

I strongly urged the advisability of establishing a regular system of education, including religious instruction, under a competent clergyman of the Church of England. I pointed out that the Nagas had no religion; that they were highly intelligent and capable of receiving civilization; that with it they would want a religion, and that we might just as well give them our own, and make them in that way a source of strength, by thus mutually attaching them to us (Mackenzie 1984, 43).

An area of conflict was the use of vernacular languages in these schools, and the displacement

and assimilation of tribals into the colonial empire.

From the point of view of the Indians, missionaries were often seen as agents of imperialism, and Indian Christians as traitors to their own cultures. No national church was free from missionary domination. Even the National Council of Churches in India was controlled by missionaries. When the independence movements emerged in the late nineteenth century, missionaries, by and large, supported continued British rule.

Another set of problems arose out of the principle of comity adopted by protestant missions, in which they divided out the land so as not to compete. One unintended consequence, however, was that tribes and castes often became identified with denominations. For example, in South India the Baptists became known as the church of the untouchable Madigas, and the Lutherans of the untouchable Malas. Tribal and caste rivalries now take the form of denominational rivalries. In NEHA the Khasi and Mizo became Presbyterians, and the Nagas, Kuki and Garos became Baptists.

A third set of problems arose out of the lack of adequately contextualizing the gospel and churches. Christianity came in western dress, and often existed like a potted plant, dependent on outside nurture and support. Many Indians saw it as a foreign religion, and as a religion of Untouchables. The lack of contextualization also meant that Christianity came to mean articulating the right beliefs and performing the right rites. The result was a lack of depth in discipleship, and little conversion of the Indian worldview in the light of the gospel.

After World War II, governance in most mission churches was turned over to Indians. These leaders are now working hard on contextualizing the Gospel in the Indian setting, and are leading the churches in mission outreach. Today, India is the second largest mission sending country in the world. Most Indian missionaries are from the South and serve in the North, which

is culturally very different from the South.

Indian Initiated Christian Movements

As we have seen, Hindu revitalization movements have tried to revive Indians of their Indianness. They do so by identifying India with Hinduism. Protestant church in India have struggled with the tension of being Christian and part of a global body, and being Indian and part of a national community. Too often churches affiliated with western denominations are accused of being foreign and anti-Indian. In response many churches in India are seeking express the Gospel in Indian dress. The result has been a rapid rise in Indian Initiated Churches [IICs]. We will examine two types of such movements.²⁰

Indian Initiated Churches

After 1850 many indigenous attempts have been made to form Hindu-Christian churches affirming faith in Jesus Christ, but rejecting Western missionary control and retaining India culture and nationalism. Among the first were the Hindu Church of the Lord Jesus (1858), Yuomayam (1874), and Fellowship of the Followers of Jesus (1920). Recent movements include the Indian Pentecostal Church of God (1924), The Assemblies (Jehova Shammah) started by Brother Bhakht Singh (1942), and the Nagaland Christian Revival Church. In recent years there has been an explosion of these Indian Initiated Churches (IIC)²¹ which formed more than a hundred denominations in 2000.

²⁰ For an current review of indigenous Christianity in India see Roger Hedlund, 2000.

²¹ In many ways these are parallel to the African Independent Churches (more recently known as the African Initiated Churches) the autochthonous churches of Latin America (Berg) and the Chinese house church churches.

Many of the Indian indigenous movements claim to be Christian, but some have sought to plant Hindu-Christian churches which worship Christ, but remain Hindu in identity. The largest of these is the Subba Rao movement begun in Andhra Pradesh (1942 - cf. Baggo 1968). Subba Rao conducts large healing ministries in the name of Jesus, but rejects baptism, and considers himself a Hindu.

Churchless Christians

In recent years, Hebert Hofer, a Lutheran missionary in South India, has studied the influence of Christianity outside the church. He writes,

Our statistics have shown that there is a solid twenty-five percent of the Hindus and Muslim population in Madras city which has integrated Jesus deeply into their spiritual life. Half of the population have attempted spiritual relationships with Jesus and had satisfying and learning experiences through it. Three-fourths speak very highly of Jesus and could easily relate to Him as their personal Lord if so motivated (1991, 109).

Most of these silent followers of Christ are young educated poor people who have come in contact with dedicated Christians. The majority are women and high caste people. Many have experienced the confirmation of Jesus' place in their lives through physical healing, moral growth and a sense of forgiveness of sins. David Barrett and his associates estimates that there are more than four million 'radio believers,' Hindus who take Bible correspondence courses and pray regularly to Jesus (2001, 361).

Hofer's findings have provoked a heated debate regarding the spiritual state of these "churchless Christians." Some of these are theological. Are these people indeed Christians? In Hinduism individuals are allowed to worship their own personal god (*ishta devata*), so a wife may believe in Jesus as her savior. But as a member of the family she must carry out the family duties of making evening offerings to the family and caste god (*kula devata*). Second, should

they be encouraged to be baptized when baptism means joining a church that itself is identified with specific untouchable castes? Should Muslims be required to join churches whose members practice low caste customs? Should high caste Brahmin vegetarian converts be encouraged to eat meat to show that they are indeed 'one in Christ' with meat eating Christians from the untouchable castes? Other questions relate to Christian ministry. How should the church minister to women in Hindu and Muslim homes who will be cast out or killed if they take a public stand for Christ? Should new homogeneous churches be planted for converts from different communities in order to win them, and make the unity of the church a long term goal? How can leaders transform caste-based churches into covenant communities in which all castes are welcome and valued when they, themselves, are part of the caste system? These are not easy questions to answer. It is all too easy for us from outside to pass judgment on the Indian churches. We need deal first with the racism, classism and genderism in our own churches.

IV. REFLECTIONS ON THE CHURCH IN INDIA

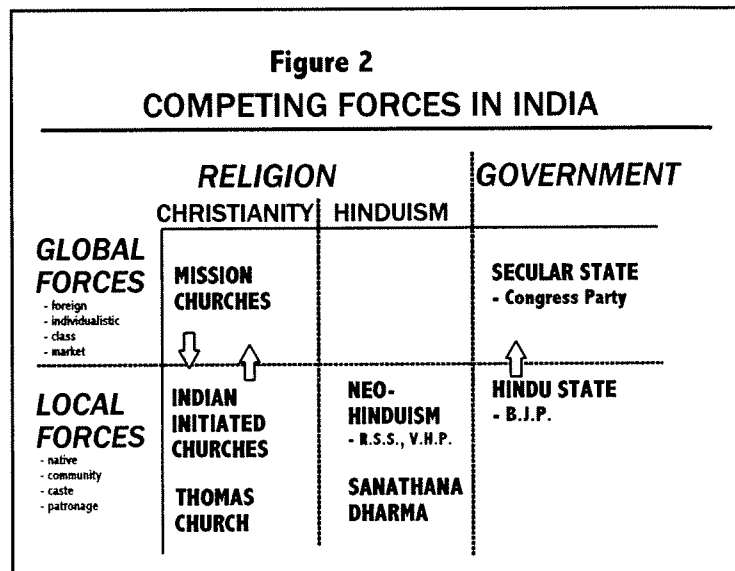
What can we learn as members in the church from the case of Christianity in India? Let us return to the four competing forces for some insights.

Globalism-localism

The Church in India, like the church in every country, is caught between the forces of globalization and those of localization. In a sense, it is to be an insider in every country, and yet remains an outsider. To the extent it is part of the global Christian community it appears to be foreign to the local people. To the extent it identifies itself with the local community, it is distanced from the global community. This tension manifests itself in a number of ways in the Indian churches.

The Church in the Indian Context

Many of the current tensions the churches faces in India have to do with the countervailing forces of globalization and localization (figure 2). The modern Indian secular state and the mission churches represent the forces of globalization. The Indian Initiated Churches, Thomas Church and Neo-Hindu Nationalism represent localization movements.



This raises two questions for Indian Christians. On the one hand, how can they affirm their Indian identity when that supports the establishment of a Hindu State? On the other hand, how can they support the secular state when that is seen by many as foreign?

Christian leaders have largely supported a secular nation state, even though the political wing of the Neo-Hindu Nationalist movement has said it would welcome Christians and Muslims in a Hindu State if they became truly India (figure 2). The result has been a sharp increase in persecution of Christians by Hindu fundamentalists.

The current escalation of persecutions raises another question. Indian leaders have been debating how Christian should respond to them. If they turn to the secular government for protection, they reinforce in the minds of many that they are a foreign presence in India. Many

argue that the church should bear suffering without resorting to the state or violence, and, in so doing, bear witness to love and forgiveness, a theme (*ahimsa*) deeply rooted in Indian culture.

Globalism-localism in the church

The Indian churches themselves are caught between global and local forces. Mission churches have global connections, which give them access to resources and power. These connections, however, reinforce the widespread belief that Christianity is a foreign religion. Indian Initiated Churches, on the other hand, are seen as truly Indian, but they lack resources and global ties.

In recent years the two kinds of churches have moved towards the middle. After World War II most mission agencies turned ownership and control over to Indian leaders, who are now seeking to make their churches more Indian in character. The Indian Initiated Churches, on the other hand, have organized joint fellowships, and are setting up boards in the West to raise funds and to gain global visibility. Ecumenical relationships between the two groups is also increasing.

Indian Mission Churches and Foreign Mission Agencies

Since World War II there has been a shift in relationship between Indian Mission Churches and their parent mission agencies. Many of the churches still depend, to some extent on outside funds, and enjoy participation in global activities. Indian nationalists argue that this proves the foreignness of Christianity in India. Mission agencies, for their part, talk of partnership, but often give aid with strings attached. There is much discussion on how Indian churches should relate to churches in other lands.

Globalism-localism and the Gospel

Gospel issue of contextualizing the church and gospel and make it Indian, without selling out the gospel. Most urban mission churches are copies of the home churches of their founding missions. Indian Initiated Churches, on the other hand, are Indian in their worship styles. Their theologies range widely from 'New Testament' churches to those in which Christ is the central god, but one among others.

Global Christianity

The churches in India raise the question of the relationship of local churches to the global church. The Roman Catholic Church sees local churches as expressions of the one global church administered from on top. The indigneous churches see the local church as the true church, and work towards globalization from the bottom up through interchurch associations and networks of joint ministry. Protestant Mission churches in India, though members of global denominations, have cooperated from the beginning through the division of the country under comity agreements, and joint efforts such as Bible societies, schools and hospitals. It is not surprising that the ecumenical movement in western churches was born in India when a number of denominations joined to form the Church of South India and the Church of North India.

Caste

Caste remains a central issue in the Indian churches. This is complicated by the fact that different castes and tribes are now often associated with different denominations to form ethnic-religious communities. Christianity has not brought an end to caste in the churches themselves.

Ethnic identities raises the question of evangelism. Following William Carey, Protestant churches required all converts to attend the same churches. In 1960s Donald McGavran, a life long missionary to India, began to advocate planting homogeneous churches aimed at reaching different caste groups. This would mean Brahmins would start Brahmin churches, Shudras would start Shudra churches, and Untouchables would start Untouchable churches. For the most part, the churches in India have publically rejected this strategy, but some, particularly some western mission agencies, have adopted this approach. This raises the question of the relationship between unity and diversity within the Church.

The challenge of Religious Pluralism

Given the Hindu stance that all religions lead to God, Indian theologians, such as M. M. Thomas and R. Pannikar, have sought for ways to understand and communicate the Christian claims of the uniqueness of Christ without being colonial and foreign. They have also sought to do Indian theology within the context of global theology.

Dominance Theory

Finally, the fact that the Untouchables and the South Indians have been most responsive to the Gospel raises theological and missiological questions. Should the church have a preferential option for the marginal and oppressed, or should it seek to win the rich and powerful? Should the church speak out against systems of dominance, such as the caste system, and regional politics?

As we noted at the outset, India has been a major testing ground for Christianity and the modern mission movement. It is also the greatest challenge to Christianity in the west through its

spread through the New Age Movement and through its message of religious relativism and tolerance.

Implications for Missions and the Global Church

What implications do the experience of the Church and Mission in India have for global missions and the global church?

The Unfinished Mission

First, we must not forget that the task of evangelizing India is not complete. There are many who have not heard the Gospel, and many who have but who find it almost impossible to break out of the ideological grasp of Hinduism, and the social webs of family and caste. The work is not finished, and the church in India cannot complete it alone. The good news is that the church in India is rapidly gaining a vision

for missions. India, today, sends the second largest number of missionaries per country. Many of these go from the South and the North East to North and Central India. The global church

Figure 1
Growth of Hinduism

Year	Number	% of Wrld. Pop
1900	203,033,300	12.5
1970	473,823,000	12.8
mid-1999	774,080,000	12.9
2000	786,532,000	12.9
2025	1,020,666,000	12.7

must join with the church in India to proclaim the good news of salvation to every Indian. But outsiders must come as co-workers and partners in the Gospel.

In focusing on Hindus in India, we often lose sight of the millions of Hindus of the diaspora. They, too, need to hear the gospel, and they are often more open to receive it. For

many of them Hinduism is more a cultural identity than a religious allegiance. Here a partnership between the Indian church and the global church can shape mission outreach that is seen as truly Indian.

Indian Identity

Second, we must join the church in India as it develops a meaningful response to Hindutva. It is important that Indians see Christianity in India as truly India, not foreign. Indian Christians must model what it means to be good citizens who can contribute much to India by upholding healthy standards in public life, and by defending the marginal, weak and powerless.

Persecution and Suffering

The current escalation of persecutions raises another critical set of questions for the Indian and the global church. How Christian should respond? If they turn to the secular government or foreign agencies for protection, they reinforce in the minds of many that they are a foreign presence in India. Many argue that the church should bear suffering without resorting to violence or help from the state. In so doing it can bear witness to love and forgiveness, a theme (*ahimsa*) deeply rooted in Indian culture. Others call for political responses.

The global Church must stand with Indian church leaders as they develop a Christian response to persecution. They point out that from a spiritual perspective, the decisive thing is not what happens to Christians, but how Christians respond to it. Persecution is an opportunity for the church to reflect on the implications of Jesus' teaching that we love our enemies. It is as a victim that Jesus prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." It is not easy for those of us living in comfort and security to say this, but we must learn from our persecuted

brothers and sisters the theology of suffering and the cross. Hoefler writes, “Spiritual authenticity is the critical issue in the Indian mentality. It’s the issue that lies behind the guru-principle in Hinduism. It is also one of the dissatisfactions with the Western style of training and appointing spiritual leaders for a congregation”.²² In a land that highly values *ahimsa*, or nonviolence, the Christian response of love and compassion has been a powerful message to many observing the scene.

The global church must stand with Indian Christians in their persecution and suffering. It must minister to the traumatized victims of persecution, and recognize that they are the vanguard of Christian presence in India. It must also minister to the aggressor. Being a community committed to truth, it is incumbent for Christians to try to remove the prejudices and misconceptions that distort the attitudes others have towards them. There are times when protesting is necessary, but it must be spiritually based and redemptive in nature. The purpose is to confront the aggressor with the nature and implications of what he is doing and to open his eyes to what he is becoming, to bring him, hopefully, to repentance.

There is and will be continued persecution of the church in India. The critical question is how will the church and Christians respond. Will they seek to spare themselves from suffering, or stand as a witness to the gospel of love, forgiveness and reconciliation? Ironically, atrocities are a form of acclamation, an indirect authentication of the relevance and effectiveness of the Christian message.

²² H. Hoefler 1999, 36.

Responding to Pluralism

Finally, we must recognize the impact of Hinduism on the rest of the world. Most of our church leaders are little aware of the challenges Hinduism poses in their communities. Today the post-modern world, in its reaction to scientism and materialistic reductionism, is increasingly turning to Hindu believes and practices. In a pluralistic, relativistic world, the church must clearly bear witness to the uniqueness of Christ as the only way to salvation, but do so with humility and love.

The church is to live and to proclaim the gospel boldly until the end of this age. In each time and place, it must discern how best to communicate that good news, but the joy of participating in Christ's mission to the world remains its vision and hope.

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Global Hindu Organizations

HINDU ORGANIZATIONS (Santana Dharma)

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Hinduism: Retrospect and Prospect

Paul G. Hiebert

Holy men declared Sunday, December 6, 1992, auspicious and more than 300,000 people gathered that day in Ayodhya, a pilgrim town north of Varanasi in U.P. India.¹ Most wore the saffron color of Hindu nationalism. At midday, they broke down the police barricades around a mosque, reportedly built on the ruins of the temple that marks Rama's birthplace, and hammered it to the ground. The construction of a new Rama temple was to begin that evening. Violence triggered by the demolition killed 1,700 people across the subcontinent. Supporters justified the action as the liberation of Hindu sacred space to unify the nation. Critics decried it as communalism--the antagonistic mobilization of one religious community against another--as an attack on Indian civil society. The event is symbolic of the emergence of Hindu nationalism in India that defines the nation by ethnicity and religion, and appeals to loyalties deeper than the civil state based on Nehru's socialism. It express primordial loyalties that were unleashed by crumbling state control over political systems and societies. Religion has emerged as a populist political force articulating people's cultural and national identity at a level of emotive meaning more basic and fundamental than other kinds of political affiliation.

How do we account for this explosion of Hindu nationalism? Where is Hinduism headed in the twenty-first century? Before we can seek an answer we must first define Hinduism. S. Radhakrishnan writes, "Hinduism is the way of life characteristic of an entire people, it is a

¹ The roots of this was the Vishva Hindu Parishad (World Council of Hindus) which issued in April 1984 in Delhi a unanimous resolution for the "liberation" of three temple sites in north India, at Mathra, Varanasi and Ayodhya, because 1) these were historical sites in religious life [Ayodya the birth place of Rama], 2) ancient Hindu temples stood there, and 3) Muslims under the Mugals destroyed the temples and built mosques on the foundations.

culture more than a creed. It permeates every aspect of the individual's public and private life.”

As one author put it, “Hinduism has grown like some gigantic Banyan tree, with numerous spreading branches that put down their own roots, and yet remained, however tenuously, attached to the main trunk” (Kolanad 1994, 56). Jawarharlal Nehru wrote,

Hinduism, as a faith, is vague, amorphous, many-sided, all things to all men. It is hardly possible to define it, or indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word. In its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and practices, from the highest to the lowest, often opposed to or contradicting each other (Nehru 1946, 75).

Definitions of ‘Hinduism’

India is a land of incredible diversity; of thousands of tight ethnic communities [castes and tribes] each with its own customs and religious beliefs and practices, of intense religious communities vying for power, and of political states competing for land and the loyalties of the people. Given the diversity and complexity that characterizes Indian civilization, it is dangerous in a brief review to make generalizations about what is Hinduism, let alone where it is headed.

The term ‘Hindu’ has been used in at least five ways.² The first definition was geographic, given to India by the invaders of India: the Turk, Persian and Arab Muslims, and the British rulers. ‘Hindu’ was the Persian word for ‘Indian,’ and was originally used of peoples living beyond the Indus River, not followers of a particular religion. For the invaders from the West, Hindu meant ‘Native to India.’ Consequently, Muslims were divided into Arab Muslims (who could trace their decent from West Asia) and Hindu Muslims (native converts). Similarly, the British referred to European and Hindu Christians. Hindu did not refer to a religion, but to a

² For an excellent analysis of various definitions of ‘Hinduism’ see Frykenberg, 1993.

geopolitical structure (or state) in which outside rulers ruled a state made up of diverse communities and religious. “Hindu” thus did not begin its career as a religious term, but as a term used by outsiders and state officials to designate people who lived east of the Indus (Ludden 1996, 7). This practice of equating things “Indian” with the term “Hindu” has caused endless confusion, obliterating lines between religious and geopolitical realities.

The second definition is socioreligious. The most common description which Hindus give to their religion is *sanatana dharma*, “eternal religion,” which refers to what is sometimes called Brahmanical Hinduism, a highly sophisticated worldview for categorizing all of life that emerged by the tenth century B.C. Robert Frykenberg notes (1993, 527),

[Brahmanical Hinduism] lumped all mankind into a single category and then subdivided this category into a color-coded system of separate species and subspecies, genuses and subgenuses; and then ranked these hierarchically according to innate (biological, cultural, and ritual) capacities and qualities.

The result was the caste system: a religious community made up of diverse castes organized in a single hierarchy based on notions of purity and pollution based on blood and ritual.

The roots of this socioreligious system are found in the emergence of the Brahmins as ritual masters, and the spread of their religious hegemony over much of India.³ This meaning of Hinduism became so pervasive and deeply entrenched that it remains the dominant force in rural

³The Brahmanical (Sanskritic) name for this ranked ordering, *varnashramadharma*, was devised so long ago that its roots go back at to the *Manu Smriti (Dharma Shastra)*, if not to the *Vedas* themselves. This worldview came to be regarded as virtually synonymous with *sanatana dharma* [Eternal Religion based on Cosmic Law] which has no founder, no universal doctrinal creed, and no particular institutional structure. Rather, it is a way of life and a highly developed religious worldview.

Indian life today despite numerous attempts to destroy it.⁴ Hinduism, here, is not a monolithic religion with formal doctrines and central institutions. Rather it is a worldview that incorporates different religious communities (*sampradayas*)--with its own gods, beliefs and practices--into a single hierarchical social system based on the concepts of purity and pollution. Central to this worldview are the themes of *eka jivam* (all life is one), *karma* (the law of rewards and fateful action), *samsara* (the cycle of rebirth), *dharma* (religious duty), and *moksha* (release from the cycle of rebirths), which were hammered out in the encounter between Brahminism, with its emphasis on caste and ritual, and the Sramanas with their stress on ascetic yogic praxis (Pandit 1998, 5-7).

This worldview found expression in the four ranked ritual categories [*varnas*]--Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra divided into countless caste groups [*jatis*] that form the primary basis of Hindu social identity. Each Hindu person's identity can be located ritually by religious duties appropriate for one's specific social status, ritual status, and age [one's *varnashramadharmas*]. "Religious practices revolve around many different deities [*devas*], sectarian traditions [*sampradayas*], and teachers [*gurus*] that form centers of personal devotion and affective religious affiliation. As David Ludden notes, "The ideas that define Hinduism as a religion, therefore, deeply discourage the formation of a collective Hindu religious identity among believers and practitioners. Hindu identity is multiple, by definition . . . (1996, 7)."

Many Indians have no place in this system. Tribals living in the mountains and forests, and untouchables in the villages are outside its pale. So, too, are Muslims, Christians, and Jews..

⁴ These movements include Buddhism led by Gautama Siddhartha, anti-Brahman Adi-Dravida (Tamilnadu), Adivasi ("Aboriginal People"), Islam, Sikhism, Christianity and Marxism.

Others, namely the once-born Sudras, were second class citizens in the community.

The third definition of Hinduism was a product of the West's encounter with the Indian civilization. Edward Said points out (1978) that as British rule spread in India in the nineteenth century, European scholars, painters, novelists, journalists and museum curators began systematically to create compelling images of Hindus for Western audiences. European scholars became enamored with the ancient Indian philosophies and began departments of Oriental Studies. They learned Sanskrit, and collaborated with Indian scholars to translate and publicize the Vedas and other sacred texts, which were largely forgotten in India. They defined Hinduism in terms of these ancient texts, and Hindus were presented as mysterious, exotic, sensual, despotic, traditional and irrational in their fervent religiosity. India became known in the West as "a land saturated with religion; its people . . . obsessed with the destiny and status of man in the hereafter (Wallbank 1965, 25)." In short, European imperialism invented Hinduism as coherent, unified religious tradition as its ideological other in the orient (Ludden 1996, 9), and used it to justify Western imperialism because it brought modernization and progress.

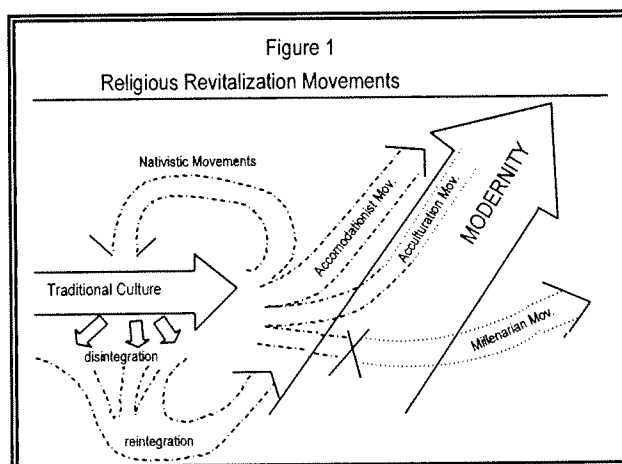
The fourth definition of the term Hindu was political. As the East India Company expanded its rule over what came to be known as 'British India,' it needed to govern a country made up of many rival communities. It did so by forming personal alliances with leaders in various powerful communities, and by adapting the Indian form of government based on mediating between rival communities. In this Indian polity local temples and shrines had endowed lands, *innam bhumi*, that were tax free. These generated large amounts of wealth, and were the field for struggles for control. After 1810 the British colonial government began to take over the management of local governments. It soon found itself responsible for maintaining the

temples, and organizing and funding the temple rituals. British officials often found themselves participating as government representatives as temple rites. This led to the codification of an official or establishment “Hinduism” run by the British Raj. Under British rule, Hindu became a category of people who were not Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis or Buddhists. The Raj and later the Indian Government maintained this identification with temple Hinduism

The fifth definition of Hinduism is religious. Sometimes referred to as Neo-Hinduism, it is, like India itself, the creation of the British Raj. It is the child born of the encounter of Indian religious philosophy with Enlightenment and Christian thought. I will use the term “Hindu” in this sense in this analysis.

The Rise of NeoHinduism

The last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century marked the emergence of a new form of Hinduism as an Indian response to the confrontation of Christianity. To understand the rise of NeoHinduism I will draw on A.F.C.Wallace’s theory of revitalization (1956). According to Wallace, revitalization movement arise when traditional worldviews are threatened by external changes. Their are attempts to find meaning in life in the face of growing anomie. Wallace argues that when cultures and religions are overrun by more powerful ones, the people respond in several ways



(figure 1). The first response is ‘conversion movements’ in which people change their allegiances to the new ideology. When the British conquered India and introduced the Enlightenment, some Indians adopted a modern secular scientific worldview. Most of these came from high Hindu castes. When missionaries brought the Gospel, others became Christians in Western based churches. Most of them were untouchables and tribals who had no status in the old Brahmanical order.

A second response is ‘accommodation movements’ in which people adopt many of the elements of the new religion or ideology, but reinterpret these in terms of their old categories and logic. In India this was seen in the rise of the Brahmo Samaj (Fellowship of Believers of the One True God)⁵ and Prarthana Samaj (Fellowship of Prayer), reform movements that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They called for a radical transformation of Hinduism by submitting Hindu scriptures and teachings to the test of rationality. The result was a synthesis of Vedic idealism, Islamic monotheism and Christian ethics. These movements failed, however to produce a viable synthesis that could attract orthodox religious leaders.

A third response to ‘cultural collision’ is ‘revitalization movements.’ These look to the past, and seeks to revive it, through a new synthesis based on the old religion but accommodating elements of the new. In India these are the movements that gave birth to Neo Hindu fundamentalist movements.⁶ They include the Arya Samaj and the Rama Krishna Mission.

⁵ Founded by Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) sometimes called the Father of Modern India.

⁶ India’s Supreme Court has recognize Neo Hinduism as the legal representation of Hinduism. It gave an ‘adequate and satisfactory definition’ of Hinduism as: “Acceptance of the Vedas with reference; recognition of the fact that the means or ways to salvation are diverse; and the realization of the truth that the number of gods to be worshiped is large, that indeed is the

The Hindu revitalization movements were the result of India's encounter with Enlightenment and Christian thought. On the one hand, NeoHindu scholars were inspired by this recognition given to the Vedas and Upanishads by the West created religious doctrines and institutions on the basis of the old texts, and organized Neo Hinduism as a modern, formal 'high' religion. They rejected undesirable customs, such as idolatry and untouchable, as degenerate accretions to the pure Vedic religion. They popularized their teaching by linking these to the great epics, the Mahabharata (with its Bhagavad Gita), and the Ramayanam, which are at the heart of popular Hinduism. On the other hand, these movements emerged out of the success of Christianity in winning untouchables. Gladstone notes (19##, 205), "Many Hindu leaders became extremely anxious about the landslide of the lower sections of Hindu society to Christianity, a 'foreign religion' weakening not only social bonds, but also the solidarity of the society."

The Growth of NeoHinduism

Successful revitalization movements, in the long run, tend to move in one of two directions. Some become increasingly religious in nature, detached from the sociopolitical arena in which they exist. Others become increasingly politicized as they seek to wrestle power from the dominant power around them. Both of these trends are evident in the Hindu revitalization movements.

Spiritualized Hinduism

distinguishing feature of the Hindu religion."

One segment of Neo Hinduism has become increasingly religious in nature, stressing the spiritual nature of Hinduism. This has its roots in the work of Dayananda (1824-1883), Ramakrishna (1836-1886), Vivekananda (1863-1902) and the Theosophists. Swami Dayananda Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj (1875) to defend and reform Hinduism. His watch-word was “back to the Vedas,” and his emphasis was “India for Indians.” He wanted to remove Christianity and Islam from India, and make Hinduism the only religion of India (Klostermaier 1989, 391). K. David notes, he became “the spearhead of a dynamic type of Hinduism unifying all sections of Hindu society and attempting to bring to light the inherent vitality of Hinduism (David 1979, 178).” Vivekananda, a disciple of Ramakrishna, argued that Hinduism alone can claim to be the universal religion of the world because it is not built around the life of historical persons, but around eternal and universal principles (O’connor 1974, 179). He instilled a pride in Hindu culture and religion and gave stimulus for the national revival of Hinduism.

New England’s Transcendentalists were the first American intellectuals to imagine the meeting of East and West. Another key figure in the Hindu revival was Annie Besant. She was a disappointed Christian who tried to bring all religions together using the Vedanta doctrine of Karma, re-birth and yoga. She became a devotee of Sri Krishna, one of the Hindu gods, and practiced Hindu rites.⁷ She worked in the Indian National Congress, and founded the Central College of Benares which later became the Hindu University.

Today Neo-Hinduism as a religious movement is centered around the Vishwa Hindu

⁷ In a lecture at Madras Presidency College she said, “[A]fter a study of some forty years and more, of the great religions of the world, I find none so perfect, none so scientific, none so philosophical, and none so spiritual as the great religion known by the name Hinduism. The more you know it, the more you will love it, the more you try to understand it, the more deeply will you value it (Gladstone 19##, 211).

Parishad [VHP], the World Council of Hindus that coordinates the activities of NeoHindu movements and monitors orthodoxy (see Figure 1).

Guruism One of the popular manifestations of NeoHinduism is the spread of ‘guruism.’ A great many charismatic Hindu gurus have major audiences in India, and have attracted Western followers. Among them are Ramana Maharishi (1870-1950), Swami Sivananda (founder of the Divine Life Society, died 1964) Ma Anandamayhi (considered by many to be a living deity), Satya Sai Baba, Rajaneesh and Bala Yogi.

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NON-HINDU NEW RELIGIONS OR NON-RELIGIONS

Brahma Kumaris, ISCKON, Transcendental Meditation, Veerashaivite (Swami Chinmayananda. 1998. Identity: Who then are the Hindus? Hinduism Today. October. p. 33).

Temples, Festivals and Pilgrimages On the popular level modern Hinduism has moved out of the hearth and home where it was to perview of the purohits who ran the life cycle rites and family and caste rites to the temples and pujaris, and to festivals and religious fairs. Large

temples have been revived and the celebration of nation wide Hindu festivals is increasing as neighborhoods compete to demonstrate their religious fervor. Many now attract large numbers of pilgrims⁸ who take religious bus tours to visit famous shrines. The most important actor of temple movement is the VHP and its assortment of priests and religious leaders.

Politicized Hinduism

The second stream in Neo Hinduism has become increasingly political in nature. In 1909 Pandit Malaviya founded the Hindu Mahasabha which soon developed into a right-wing Hindu political party. In 1925 Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, founded the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS], a Hindu religious movement which rejected cultural diversity and advocated the re-organization the nation build Hindu nationalism (theocentric state). In 1931 a young revolutionary in Maharashtra, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, was recruited for the RSS at Benaras Hindu University. He became its leader in 1940.

In his book, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, Savarkar popularized his concept of *Hindutva*, or Hindu nationalism. He argued that Aryans who came to the Indian sub-continent were a nation because they shared a geographical unity, racial features and a common culture⁹. He set out to create a Hindu national identity in which he hoped to make the RSS and Hindu society

⁸ Pilgrimage or *tirtha-yatra* is an ancient Indian tradition. Hsuan-tsang, who travelled in India between 629-645 A.D., Alberuni in his famous *Kitab-ul-Hind*, written about 1030 A.D. and Abut Fzl in *Ain-I-Akbari*, written in 1593 A.D., all conceded the important of pilgrimage in Hindu tradition. The *Tirtha-Yatra* in the *Mahabharata* mentions 270 *tirthas*--sacred rivers, mountains, forests, and shrines where gods dwell, and where seekers go to be purified. The journies were long and arduous, requiring strength, stamina, and austerities of personal purification--fasting, sleeping on the floor, sexual abstinence, avoidance of the use of vehicles and walking barefoot.

⁹ Savarkar based his vision of *Hindutva* on the Italian political theorist Giuseppe Mazzini (1807-1882), and Hitler's view that race is the most important ingredient of the *nation*.

identical (Mangalwadi 1997, 289). M. S. Golwalkar, a leader in the RSS, wrote,

The ultimate vision of our work . . . is a perfectly organized state of society wherein each individual has been moulded [sic] into a model of ideal Hindu manhood and made into a living limb of the corporate personality of society (Golwalkar 1939, 88; quoted by Jaffrelot 1996, 59).

The RSS seeks to extend to the whole of society the Hindu nationalist concept of man who denies his individual personality. While claiming not to be a political party, it is the revitalization movement that has spawned a great number of front organizations like the Bharatiya Mazur Sabha, a trade union, and Visva Hindu Parishad, a religious organization. The movement has millions of highly disciplined members spread all over India and abroad, and is the driving force behind the modern Hindu revitalization movement.

The central vision of the RSS is *Hindutva* [Hindudom], a Hindu National State. Bhartiya Janwadi Aghadi writes,

If there is one explosive idea that is setting the agenda for India today, it is *Hindutva*. . . . *Hindutva* has nothing to do with spirituality, but everything to do with political economy. . . . It has very little to do with Hinduism, but everything to do with an aggressive form of cultural nationalism It appears to be connected with India's past, but is actually an omen of the future . . . For some, *Hindutva* heralds the age of India's renaissance. For others, it reflects India's march towards fascism (Aghadi 1993, introductory page; cited by Mangalwadi 1997, 277).

To achieve its goal, the RSS espouses a uniform system of socialization to shape all people into one collective identity and Hindu nation. The movement has announced its intention to use political power to control educational institutions run by religious minorities so that they become the mediums for its own propaganda (Mangalawadi 1996, 296). M. S. Golwalkar writes,

The training that is imparted every day in the *shakha* [a local unit of the RSS] . . . imparts that spirit of identification and well-concerted actions. It gives the individual the necessary incentive to rub away his angularities, to behave in a spirit of oneness with the rest of his brethren in society and fall in line with the organised and disciplined way of life by adjusting himself to the varied outlooks of other minds. the persons assembling there learn to obey a single command (quoted by Jaffrelot 1996, 534).

How would the *Hindutva* movement deal with cultural and religious pluralism in India, a self declared secular pluralist government? Sadhvi Riothambra, a leader in the movement, says,

Wherever I go, I say, Muslims, live and prosper among us. Live like milk and sugar. If two kills of sugar are dissolved in a quintal of milk, the milk becomes sweet! But what can be done if our Muslim brother is not behaving like sugar in the milk? Is it our fault if he seems bent upon becoming a lemon in the milk? He wants the milk to curdle. . . . I say to him, "Come to your senses. The value of increases after it becomes sour. It becomes cheese. But the world knows the fate of lemon. It is cut, squeezed dry, and then thrown on the garbage heap (cited by Kakkar in Basu and Subrahmanyam 1996, 223-224).

Hindutva rules out any possibility of Indian Hindus, Muslims and Christian living together in harmony and as equals. Golwalkar, one of the architects of the ideology wrote,

The foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture. . . . or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment--not even citizens rights (Golwalkar 1939, 62)

According to Sarkar, *Hindutva* is a Brahmanical reaction to the threats to upper caste dominance raised by lower caste, tribal, peasant and women's movements, and by the social mobility facilitated by democratic secular politics and economic planning. Its strength is its appeal to all those for whom Mother India is a reality, which includes landowners, industrialists, shopowners, college and high school teachers and small entrepreneurs, as well as the large masses who live in rural and small-town India who feel that the present elite is much too Western oriented and forgetful of India's own cultural and spiritual heritage.

The vision of *Hindutva* emerged following the subjugation of the Hindus by the Moguls and later by a small number of British rulers. Hindu nationalist thinkers from the second half of the 19th century tried to understand the inherent political weakness of Hinduism and the fragmentation of the Hindu community. They were impressed by the success of Islam and Christian to build powerful empires, so they concluded that Hinduism had to serve the cause of

nationalism in the Indian context. They were impressed by the coherence of the Muslim and Christian communities, which is the reason for both their unity and their capacity for effective mobilization, and the universal claims of these religions which stood in contrast to the multiplicity of caste religions in India. The mission of *Hindutva* is to reorient Hindus from their exclusive family and caste loyalties to loyalty to a greater Hindu community and the nation at large. As a majoritarian movement, it defines the Indian nation as a whole and seeks to remove alternative, pluralistic definitions. In this nationalism, religious minorities have no place as long as they refuse to become Hindus culturally (Thampu 1998). In its efforts to unify India, *Hindutva* gives top priority to opposition to Islam and Christianity, and justifies communalism as morally correct, inevitable and necessary.

Hindutva is a totalitarian ideology because it aspires to fill the whole space occupied by society, and because it seeks to endow individuals with the selflessness ideal of total submission [*ekchhalak anuvartita*] to the ascetic leader [*pracharak*]. It rejects a transcendent God and makes its chief, the *Sarsanghchhalak*, the unquestioned head of the movement. This is the practice common to all Hindu sects who worship their gurus as sovereign gods. Hindu nationalism demands that Indians must worship Mother India as a goddess and make nationalism the source of all other values.

If the RSS is the parent body and force behind “Cultural Nationalism,” the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), “The Indian People’s Party,” which is seeking to form a Hindu government, symbolized by images of Lord Rama’s righteous, peaceful kingdom. It is seeking to gain control of the State and, through it, the people and cultures of India.¹⁰ The BJP emerged after 1989 as a

¹⁰ The BJP (formerly the Jana Sangh founded in 1951) and its allied Hindu organizations—the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal (the VHP youth organization), Hindu

dominant political force when the old Congress control based on patronage networks of local leaders and central government collapsed, leaving a political vacuum in the ideological basis for allocation and use of power. Made up primarily of militant upper caste members, the BJP entered the arena, and over the years gained power and wide-spread appeal.¹¹ It emerged as the largest party in the 1996 election. Its first attempt to form the Indian government lasted less than two weeks, but in 1998 it returned to power and began to implement its agenda for the nation. It is commonly allied with Shiv Sena and the Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP], which is made up mainly of militant lower caste people. It is also affiliated with the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sang (BMS), the second largest trade union in the country.

The BJP's theory is that only Aryan [*Hindutva*'s] cultural colonialism can keep the country together. While most of BJP's rivals are losing political appeal, the "Hindu Nationalism" movement is gaining strength and acceptability in a wider constituency [e.g. the lower castes in U.P., the Sikhs who hate Congress, the non-resident Indians].

The primary concern today is not so much BJP's present political clout, but the spread of

Mahasabha, and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS founded in 1925)--together called the Sangh Parivar ("brotherhood of interconnected Hindu nationalist groups affiliated with the RSS -represent the effort by the Hindu nation to form a Hindu nation-state based on India's native culture. The Sangh promotes Hindu majoritarianism, cultural nationalism and national "unity in diversity" based on its own definitions of India's Hindu cultural heritage. It blames communalism on minority groups not willing to work under the rule of Hindu culture. M.S.Glowalkar, former head of R.S.S., declares Muslims, Christians and Communists (in that order) the major enemies of India and promises they will not be citizens of a Hindu India (Klostermaier 1989, 406).

¹¹ The fact that BJP is essentially an upper caste backlash to retain power led to a dilemma when the Backward Classes Commission headed by Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal recommended stronger affirmative action for the so-called Other Backward Classes. The BJP formally supported the Mandal reforms at the national level, but undermined them at the local level, particularly in places where it relied on upper-caste support (Basu 1999, 18).

its militant ideology among the intelligentsia, and its redefinition of the nature of the state. After Independence in 1947, India declared itself a secular civil state built on the western notion of the a contract between the state and people as individuals. The BJP is now seeking to redefine the basis of the state in terms of communal entities. The government has a contract with the different constituent communities, not with individuals. Mangalwadi writes, “In India . . . religion doesn’t have much to do with Truth. Its purpose is to serve as social cement, to teach human beings how to live in a community by putting the community about individuals (1997, 44).”

The BJP argues that in the state culturally diverse people cannot live together as equals. It favors a strong, centralized state based on cultural nationalism in which the safeguards of minority rights are eliminated, and the interests of the Hindu majority rule. The top BJP leaders all have RSS backgrounds, and a stress on the unity of ideological family. They are seeking to build a state on communal alliances rather than on networks of personal patronage as Congress did.

The idea that Islam and Christianity are foreign and alien is axiomatic among Hindu nationalists, who use this to justify the destruction of the Babri Masjid and burning of churches, and to argue Muslims and Christians are second-class citizens in India.¹² In doing so they equate “India” as an ancient civilization with “India” as an independent national state.¹³ They support

¹² This despite the fact that Islam is as old in India as in Pakistan and Turkey, and it has developed a distinctively Indian form indigenous to the region. Today India has the fourth largest Muslim population in the world, following Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

¹³ The conventional intellectual identification of “India” with “Hindu” and “Hinduism” is deeply mistaken. Historically, the subcontinent has included what is now India, Pakistan and Myanmar and has always has been populated by a great diversity of people, many of whom were not Hindus. Ironically, the territory now called “India” was formed by British imperialism

this position by pointing to the split between Pakistan which is increasingly being Islamicized, and India, which they argue, is the heartland of Hinduism. From this perspective, the destruction of the Babri Masjid symbolized the removal of a foreign religiocultural invasion, and a restoration of the original Hinduism.

Since the BJP led coalition assumed power in 1997, there has been a noticeable increase in violence against Christians.¹⁴ There has been a shift from a more or less peaceful co-existence of different religious and ethnic communities to a polity of hegemony and dominance, and from a polity of rational discourse to the argument of threat and violence, warning Christians not to abuse the hospitality that Hindus have extended to them in India.

The BJP projects itself as a deeply moralistic party. It rejects the lack of social, ethical and personal values in the Western-style democratic politics, and upholds the myth that Hinduism is moral and tolerant, and that Islam and Christianity are intolerant. It mobilizes local groups that have deep feelings of injustice, and capitalizes on local myths to organize riots against minority communities. One that justifies genocidal violence against Muslims is the notion that Hindu women are vulnerable and victimized by Muslim men.

The BJP, RSS, VHP Sangh [Family] appeals to the traditional values and concerns of popular Hindu culture, and uses these to create friction between state and populace by new styled politics built around religious festivals involving public participation and culminating in processions through communally charged towns to intensify pressure on the state and to show that

without reference to Indian civilization at all (Ludden 199#,6).

¹⁴ This is reported by Valson Thampu in an unpublished paper titled, "Church and the Challenge of Hindutva". He notes that Christians have been targeted because they are smaller and less vocal than Muslims, and because they are known for being peace-loving, and often mistaken for cowardice

all space is Hindu space. To deny Hindus the right to use public space for religiopolitical ends is seen as anti-Hindu (Hasan 1999, 94). Religion has moved from the home and temple to the street and turned political.

This intrusion of what was thought to be private sphere matters into the public sphere has created a crisis in the nature of the Indian state which has to do with the redefinition of Indian civil social space and who will be allowed to participate.¹⁵ The contract is no longer between the state and individuals, but between the state and religious communities. Supporters of Hindudom mobilize communal demonstrations in public space using public forms of communication to sway public opinion, and make public demands. They draw on deep cultural myths that justify the use of violence, and to define the 'other' (Freitag 1999, 221-222). The public discourse is no longer that of party politics based on ideology and class, but on communal parties based on religion, ethnicity and caste.¹⁶ In other words, the shift is from the western focus on the state and its relationship to individuals to the state and its relationship to communities. The result is communal politics based on the resurgence of Hindu and Muslim fundamentalisms.

Hindu Missionary Movements

In 1898 Hinduism crashed on western shores as a viable religion for the West when Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), a Hindu mystic, made a lasting impression on the people

¹⁵ The modern distinction between public and private spheres has never been strong in India, and is now breaking down. This began in the 18th and 19th century with activism by groups in public areas in such actions as the Cow Protection Movement in 1890s.

¹⁶ This shift began with the institution of reserved seats for Scheduled castes and other minority communities. It was the basis on which the Mandal Commission recommended the use of communalism as basis for making demands on government. It is not so much that communal parties have become institutionalized, but that community identity is the basis for high level political activities.

attending the Parliament of Religions in Chicago when he showed the reasonableness of Hinduism to Americans. The New York Herald wrote, “he is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After hearing him, we fell how foolish it is to send Missionaries to his learned nation (Zachariah 19##, 78).” Vivekananda preached Advaita Vedanta, a monistic form of Hinduism that affirms the equivalence of Brahman (God) and Atman (Self), that all religions lead to God and salvation, and that there can be no good without evil or evil without good. He called it sin to call a person a sinner. He founded the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897, and was the first Hindu missionary to America. In 1899 he established the Vedanta Society in N.Y. to attract American adherents through *jnana yoga* and *bhakti yoga*, which would become the rallying cry for generations of American Vedantists to come.

Swami Paramahansa Yogananda’s Self-Realization Fellowship [SRF] was the most influential Hindu movement in U.S. before World War II. Yogananda came to the U.S. in 1920, but, unlike Swami Vivekananda who returned to India a few years after the World’s Parliament, he lectured widely and left an estimated 150,000 devotee in 150 centers. Other missions to the West include International Society for Krishna Consciousness [ISKCON or Hari Kirshnas], Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Transcendental Meditation, and Satya Si Baba, the red robed Hindu guru.

- New Age: Chandler.

Hindus of the Diaspora

Many Indians have moved outside the subcontinent. By the third century, Indians were trading with Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and other parts of East African. In the eleventh century, the Cholas (Tamil princes) conquered the great Indonesian empire of Sri Vijaya, and established

outposts of Hinduism in Bali and other parts of Indonesia. In the eighteenth century, Indian bakers and traders extended their activities to Burma, Malaya and Thailand, bringing their religion with them.

Following the close of the slave trade,¹⁷ plantation owners (sugar, tea, coffee) and public works contractors (railroads, roads, harbors, jails) around the world needed a new source of cheap labor. They found it in India in the indentured system that replaced slavery. Starting in the early nineteenth century and continuing up to the 1920s, tens of thousands of Indians were transported to British colonies and protectorates including Fiji, Malaya, Mauritius, Ceylon, East African Protectorate (Kenya), Rhodesia, Natal, Cape Colony, Transvaal and the West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Martinique, British Guiana) and settled in Indian labor colonies. Those who volunteered to go were promised a livelihood, the prospect of getting rich in five to ten years, and passage back to India. The indentured labor system, however, kept them poor, and few ever returned to India. The result of this is Indian settlements in more than a dozen countries around the world, many of which preserved their own Hindu practices which, in time, evolved into local traditions. The priests were generally Brahmin immigrants who left the plantations for the more rewarding life of religion. They became hereditary guardians of many of the shrines (Tinker 1974, 210-211). This is especially true of Mauritius, Fiji and Guyana where Indians form the majority of the population. They also form important groups Malaysia, Ceylon and Singapore. To my knowledge, little Christian outreach has been done among Indians of the diaspora.

As opportunities in the former British colonies dwindled, Indians found new opportunities in Britain, Canada, Australia and the United States. Many of these were businessmen and

¹⁷. After May 1, 1807, no British ship was permitted to sail with a cargo of slaves, and after March 1, 1808 no slave could be landed in a British colony from any ship.

professionals. An estimated five to six million Indians now live outside India (Tinker 1977, 11).

Hindus of the diaspora have brought their religion with them and have built Hindu temples in their communities. The first two Indian-style temples in U.S. were the Sri Ganesha Temple [now called the Maha Vallabha Ganapati Devasthanam] in Flushing, NY, and the Sri Venkateswara Temple in Pittsburgh, PA. Others include the Sri Ganesh Temple in Nashville and the Iraivan (Siva) Temple on Kauai. Today almost every major city in the U.S. and Canada, boasts a temple, large or small. Since 1985, these have become important centers for American Hindu pilgrimages. *Tirtha yatras* in cars or planes from one to the next across the country (Tweed & # 293) guide provided by Council of Hindu Temples of North America.

Hindu temples are now found in England,¹⁸ Fiji (Subramaniya Temple in Nadi), Trinidad, S. Africa, Kenya, Surinam, Brazil, Colombia, Australia, and other countries where Indian immigrants Murugan [Kartikkeya];

Hinduism Today, magazine founded in 1979 by Satguru Sivaya Subramuniaswami, from Sri Lanka, and head of Hawaiian monastic community. Created to strengthen Hindu spirituality in West. Published in 7 editions around the world, including one for N.Am.

The presence and influence of the “South Asian diaspora” has significantly shaped the new ideological constructions of the community that is emerging. Funds raised by sadhus in Great Britain and summer camps in U.S. *Ramayana* videos, and Hindi mythological films make mass consumer market lucrative for those controlling popular cultural output.

Missiological Implications

¹⁸ In many cases state owned Christian churches which have been declared ‘redundant’ have been turned over to Hindu communities for use as Hindu temples.

What implications do the changing face of Hinduism have for Christian missions. We must begin by recognizing that mission outreach in the past has led to a large and growing church in India. Whatever missions do in India they must do recognizing that church and its growing sense of mission.

Mission in India

The first implication is that India remains a subcontinent in which mission outreach must continue.

Second, church and mission in India must develop a response to the message of

Hindutva. In the heartland there is and will be continued persecution of the church, and the global church must bear with the local believers in their suffering. This is an opportunity to reflect on the implications of Jesus' teachings that we should love our enemies. "From a spiritual perspective, the decisive thing is not what happens to us, but how we respond to it. The empowering aspect of faith is that it enables us to see the opportunities hidden in every crisis situation (Thomas unpublished paper)".

- we must minister to the victims. We must stand by our traumatized members in unambiguous solidarity, seeking them as the vanguard of Christian presence in this country. This must go beyond expressions of nice sentiments and find practical expressions.

- we must minister to the aggressor. Being a community committed to truth, it is incumbent on us to try and remove the prejudices and misconceptions that distort the attitudes

Year	Number	% of Wrld. Pop
1900	203,033,300	12.5
1970	473,823,000	12.8
mid-1999	774,080,000	12.9
2000	786,532,000	12.9
2025	1,020,666,000	12.7

(Source: David Barrett 1999,25)

others have towards us. there are times when protesting is necessary, but it must be spiritually based and redemptive in nature. The purpose is to confront the aggressor with the nature and implications of what he is doing and to open his eyes to what he is becoming, to bring him, hopefully, to repentance. we are to be meek, but not mute. It is as Victim that Jesus prays for the aggressors, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." This is not easy.

- we must reflect on the morality of power-management. We must uphold healthy standards in public life. Aggression is a function of cowardice, born out of fear of the victim. It proves, however, that the victim has a significance and scope that the aggressor is not able to cope with in the normal course. Atrocities are, hence, an ironic form of acclamation, an indirect authentication of the relevance and effectiveness of the Christian message.

In NEA where Christians are dominant the BJP and other Hindu parties seek to change government from secular to religious foundations.

Mission to the Hindus of the diaspora. US, and West, East Indies, W. Africa, Fiji and other Indian communities.

Mission to the West.

Guard against the conversion of the west not by confrontation but infiltration through the New Age and other movements which are 'going mainstream' and so harder to detect. Chandler on medicine, entertainment, business, sports,

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