

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the author will talk about the background of the title taken by discussing Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) treat the Indian Muslims in general. Then, discussing the formulation of the problem based on the background, "How did Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) treat the Indian Muslims in Narendra Modi Prime Minister administration 2014-2019" by using Conceptual frameworks, namely the concept of discrimination. In this chapter there will be a Hypothesis followed by scope of research and writing systematics.

1.1 Background

India is a country that became home to around 172 million Muslims, and India is the third-largest Muslim population in the world after Indonesia and Pakistan. Since 2014, when Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, came to power, tensions between Muslims and Hindus have increased in most parts of the country. Anti-Muslim attitudes have become standard in the country. The rise of Modi has increasingly pushed Muslims towards marginalization, which has led many to advise people to withdraw from politics. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister before Modi, Manmohan Singh, was relatively kind to the Muslim community. For example, the Ministry of Minority Group Affairs tried to develop waqf in India so that its management was more modern. At least, there are 490 thousand waqf properties in India. India, which is inhabited by 177 million Muslims, has many waqf assets but is not yet efficient. The income per year from waqf has only reached 26.3 million

US dollars. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also inaugurated the National Waqf Development Corporation to help manage Muslim waqf assets more transparently.

Because Narendra Modi was elected as Prime Minister of India and known as anti-Islam, Muslims in India felt threatened. Discrimination against Muslims in India occurs because people who belong to the Hindu Bharatiya party, which is the Modi party, are an anti-Muslim majority and uphold Hinduism. Although in his campaign speech, Modi said he would be fair and protect all religions in India. After being elected prime minister, Modi behaved arbitrarily with Muslims (Farooquee, 2018). Prime minister Narendra Modi also was an active member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) organization. The RSS campaigned for his 2001 election as chief minister of Gujarat state. The RSS helped shape Modi, and he still consults it on policy matters.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is an organization that exists in Indian society. Around the year (1889-1940), RSS was founded by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar in Nagpur at the Vijayadashami Festival precisely; in 1925, the organization was officially founded. RSS is an organization of India's right-wing Hindu nationalist volunteers that many consider India's governing party's parent organization. Seven years later, RSS formed the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) as its political vehicle. The BJP originated from the womb of the RSS political wing (McLeod, 2002). Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has a Hindutva ideology. Hindutva itself means Hindu-tattva or Hinduism. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar coined this term. According to him, a Hindu considers the Hindustan State stretching from the ocean to the Sindhu River as the holy land of Hindus, as their homeland and identifying themselves with the country's culture. This concept ultimately excludes Muslims and Christians whose sacred lands are Mecca and Jerusalem. Today, Muslims and Christians are seen as trying to destroy what they call India's national (Hindu) culture. This concept originates from the assumption that Muslims' presence in India

is aimed at eliminating the Hindu race from India by means of deception and coercion. The 'fear' of Islamization that will eradicate Hindu culture is often played as a strategy for spreading Hindutva ideology (Snehi, 2019).

Narendra Modi is a prominent Indian politician and current Indian Prime Minister. He is known for leading his party Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), for his historic victory in the Indian prime minister's election in 2014. Narendra Modi succeeds as the first Indian Prime Minister born after independence. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), led by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, won an absolute victory in the Indian elections outperforming his closest rival Party of Congress led by Rahul Gandhi (Suastha, 2018). Meanwhile, Muslims are increasingly anxious under the authority of the Hindu Bharatiya Janata (BJP) Nationalist Party led by Narendra Modi, given the increasing hate crime against Muslims in India in recent years. After Modi's election as prime minister, RSS seemed to get support for discriminating against Muslims without having to fear being banned by the government. Because Modi was an active member of the RSS and was known to be anti-Muslim too. RSS is increasingly arbitrary in oppressing Muslims in India.

From late 2019 to early 2020, there was a large demonstration in India, and this happened to protest the citizenship law, which discriminates against Islam. This law is called the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), aims to accelerate citizenship for Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, and Christians who are persecuted and reside in India. The law was legal on December 11, 2019 (Khan, 2020). Initially, the demonstration was peaceful, but, in the end, there was a riot that occurred between the masses involved in the protest and the masses contra the Citizenship Law, after which in New Dilli, there were fatalities, with the death toll reaching 20 people. Where 189 other people were injured, with 60 victims of gunshot wounds (Gupta, 2019), this law contains the convenience for immigrants to obtain Indian citizenship by

excluding Islam. The use of religion as a criterion actually violates India's secular constitution and prohibits religious discrimination. In the aftermath of 1.9 million Muslims in Assam, Northeast India is considered illegal; and threatened to be stateless. Not only that, the government at that time, led by Modi, also revoked the special autonomy status in Kashmir, a predominantly Muslim city. This oppression resulted in riots and repression isolation in Kashmir. This citizenship law is an important change that has shifted secular India into a Hindu state. Turns about 200 million Indian Muslims into second-class citizens (Behera, 2016). Modi's government is only the vehicle of the Hindutva ideology initiated by the RSS.

Discrimination of Muslims in India is currently reaping many protests by the world, one of which is the president of Pakistan, Arif Alvi, praising the attitude of the leader of the Iranian revolution, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who protested the Discrimination of Muslims in India. According to Arif, there must be a unified attitude from all world leaders regarding the solution to these problems. He added that if left unchecked, the events of the massacre of Muslims in India could lead to genocide in the future. The President of Pakistan also made an analogy of the massacre of Indian Muslims as the killing of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. Earlier, the leader of the Islamic revolution in Iran warned the Indian government not to continue the slaughter of Muslims in India. Ayatollah said that the ongoing program against Muslims in the South Asian country would result in the possible isolation of New Delhi by the Islamic world. (Yusnita, 2020) The massacre of Muslims was not only condemned by Iran, but Indonesia also condemned the massacre, one of the cities of Medan which held a demonstration in front of the Indian consulate general office in Medan, conveying their stance on the condition of Muslims in India. However, it seems that the United Nations (UN) has not taken part in solving the problems that befell the Muslims in India even though the forum was actually able to end it.

The analysis of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's (RSS) organization actions towards Indian Muslims is a study that is rarely studied by students, especially students of International Relations. This makes this research is interesting for researchers because this research contains the ideological interests of a country that opposes a religion that exists in the country. Starting from that, the researcher finally examined the issue. This research places the State as a decision-making actor and plays an important role in influencing society. The State is seen as a protector of its population and territory. This is related to the analysis of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) organization's actions against Muslims in India because the country there passed a law which contained the convenience for immigrants to obtain Indian citizenship by excluding Islam. In implementing the law, the Modi Government became the vehicle for the Hindutva ideology initiated by the RSS. This affects researchers in analyze RSS actions against Muslims in India.

1.2 Research Question

This research focuses on discrimination and has limitations on the use of theories and observations on RSS to Indian Muslims because the focus is on RSS and Indian Muslims that need to be examined more deeply is the RSS action toward Indian Muslims. Therefore, this research can put forward a formulation of the problem as follows:

How did Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) treat the Indian Muslims in Narendra Modi Prime Minister administration 2014-2019?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Concept of Discrimination

Based on the background that has been described, the author will focus on this discussion using the concept of discrimination. If we hear the term definite discrimination, what comes to our mind for the first time is unfair treatment and different treatment by a group of people. This is in accordance with the definition of discrimination expressed by (Fulthoni, 2009). Basically, discrimination is a difference in treatment. Discrimination is an unfair and unbalanced treatment that is carried out to differentiate between individuals, or groups, based on something, usually categorical in nature, or specific attributes, such as based on race, ethnicity, religion, or membership of social classes. The term is usually used to describe an action of the dominant majority party in relation to a weak minority so that it can be said that their behavior is immoral and undemocratic.

In this context, we can also put forward a definition from Doob in (Liliweri, 2005), further recognizing that discrimination is behavior aimed at preventing a group or limiting other groups trying to own or obtain resources. Theoretically, discrimination can be carried out through policies to reduce, destroy, conquer, remove, legally protect, create cultural pluralism and assimilate other groups. Furthermore, Discrimination in UURI NO 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights reads as follows "Any limitation, harassment, or exclusion that is directly or indirectly based on differentiation of humans on the basis of religion, ethnicity, race, ethnicity, group, class, social status, status, economy, gender, language, political beliefs, which end in confinement, deviation or elimination of recognition, implementation or use of human rights and basic freedoms in individual and collective life in the political, economic, legal, social, cultural and other aspects of life " (UURI, n.d.).

Discrimination often begins with Prejudice. With Prejudice, we make a distinction between ourselves and others. This distinction occurs because we are social beings who naturally want to associate with people who are similar to us. Prejudice is often based on ignorance, indifference to groups outside the group, or fear of differences. Prejudice is exacerbated by a bad brand (stigma / stereotype). This bad stamp is more based on various facts that lead to the same pattern, so then we often generalize someone on the basis of their group. This bad stamp is learned by someone from social influences such as society, neighbors, family, parents, school, media, and so on. Discrimination occurs when beliefs about bad labels and Prejudice have turned into action. Discrimination is the act of treating others unfairly just because they come from a certain social group.

At this time, the practice of discrimination is based not only on biological factors but has even been extended to the socio-cultural field, such as limiting rights to efforts to maintain a different cultural identity and trying to associate with ethnic groups. Furthermore, Rebecca M. Blank, Marilyn Dabbady, Constance F. Citro stated that the act of discrimination contains two components:

1. Racial discrimination is a different treatment based on race, which ultimately harms certain racial groups/groups outside certain races. Discrimination like this arises when one racial group is treated unfairly when compared to other racial groups so that it receives unpleasant (negative) consequences.
2. Treatment does not directly involve race but has an effect on racial groups who are harmed without clear reasons.

This racial discrimination is not homogeneous, but there are several types, namely:

1. Open discrimination (explicit discrimination) is divided into:

a. Verbal Antagonism / verbal violence

This form of discrimination is in the form of words and comments that do not directly harm the target group, but if it continues, it will create hatred. It often occurs in a school, work, market, etc., an environment that allows the meeting of many people from various ethnic backgrounds.

b. Avoidance

The dominant group refuses to join other races. In the short term, this action is not dangerous, but in the long term, it can result in segregation.

c. Segregation

Open rejection/separation of certain racial groups, such as in the allocation of natural resources, institutions, refusal of schools or jobs.

d. Physical attack

It is a form of follow-up discrimination committed against certain races, often experienced by minority groups that are not liked by the majority group, for example, indigenous people of the country.

e. Extermination/annihilation of races

It is rare and considered the greatest crime against humanity.

2. Subtle Discrimination

Difficult to observe and prove, usually in the form of negative Prejudice in certain groups but often the basis for acts of discrimination. Divided into:

a. Indirect Prejudice, namely indirect Prejudice, is hidden in nature, namely blaming other minority groups for all the neglect they have experienced.

- b. Automatic, namely acts of discrimination occur because of the magnitude of Prejudice, and discriminatory actions by the majority group are carried out automatically. The automatic reaction in groups outside of their own race illustrates the existence of Prejudice that is expressed nonverbally, which in turn results in racial avoidance, which leads to a discriminatory environment.

Of the several types of discrimination above, RSS treats Muslims in India by using several types of racial discrimination. Among others is the explicit discrimination that is verbal violence, segregation, physical attack, and also RSS dis the subtle Discrimination toward Indian Muslims that is indirect Prejudice.

1.4 Hypothesis

Based on the background and the theory mentioned above, the author analyzes that the act of discrimination carried out by the national voluntary organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) in the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi (2014-2019) toward Muslim India is a form of explicit discrimination and subtle discrimination. Explicit discrimination that is verbal abuse, segregation, and physical attacks. Meanwhile, subtle discrimination that is indirect prejudice and threats against Muslims.

1.5 Research Benefits

The theoretical benefits of this research are to obtain and increase knowledge related to the International Relationship for Students and Academics related institutions, especially regarding the analysis of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) organization toward Indian Muslims. The practical benefits of this research are providing the latest information on the analysis of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

(RSS) organization against Indian Muslims, as well as providing new reading references to students/academics in International Relations.

1.6 Research Method

The research conducted by this researcher used a qualitative method, which attempted to produce descriptive data in the form of existing data, both written and oral, from the people and the observed behavior. The method used is descriptive because in qualitative the research method used is to examine the condition of natural objects, and the results of the research have meanings that can be collected in the form of words, not numbers. In addition, this qualitative research can also view objects as dynamic, and the results will be easily interpreted for the symptoms that are fully observed (Sugiyono, 2014). The technique used by researchers in collecting data is library search or commonly called collecting data from scientific journals, books, articles, reports, both from electronic media and print media, reports, documents, and playing sites related to the materials needed.

1.7 Scope of Research

The research focused on RSS actions toward Muslim India under Narendra Modi Prime Minister administration in 2014-2019 started when Narendra Modi was elected Prime Minister of India and made RSS get government support to commit acts of Discrimination against Muslims and ended in 2019 where there was a big riot in India due to changes to the law on citizenship in India which harmed Indian Muslims.

1.8 Writing Systematic

Chapter I of this proposal is an Introduction. This chapter consists of background, research question, theoretical

framework, hypothesis as a temporary answer, research benefits, research methodology, research scope, and also ends by the systematics of writing.

Chapter II is the discussion of the history of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). It consists of how the beginning of the formation of the RSS and about when the beginning of the RSS enters Indian politics also the discussion about RSS's ambition to make India a Hindu Country (Hindutva).

Chapter III is the discussion on the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) in late 2019 that is detrimental to Muslims in India followed by the discussion on how Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh(RSS) encourages acts of Discrimination against Indian Muslims and what types of discrimination RSS did toward Muslims in India. And for the last chapter or chapter 1V is the conclusion and suggestion.