

Book Reviews

Globalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Christians in India. Lancy Lobo. Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications. 2002. pp. 240. Rs. 450.

The last twenty years or so have been very critical in the contemporary history of India. Indian economy, politics and society have seen many new processes and trends emerging during this period. Globalization and Hindu nationalism are two such important new phenomena that made their presence felt on the Indian scene during this period, more or less, simultaneously. Though it was during the Congress rule in 1991 that the policy of liberalization designed to “open” Indian to the inflow of global capital and cultural commodities was initiated, the process consolidated itself during the BJP led regime. Hindutva politics too began to gain ascendancy around the same time. Though the two appear to be very different, in fact contradictory, processes, there seems to be some association between the two. The relationship between Hindu nationalism and globalization is more than a mere “elective affinity”, to use a term from Max Weber’s sociology. Sociologically speaking, they both represent the aspiration of a common social category, the upwardly mobile Hindu upper castes and middle classes.

Contributions between globalization and Hindu nationalism are rather obvious. In a world dominated by US led capitalism, globalization would not only integrate Indian economy into the global market but would also inevitably bring with it Western values/culture, leading to some kind of cultural homogenization at the global level. The cultural agenda of Hindu nationalism on the other hand is openly sectarian. While it wants cultural homogenization at the national level, in relation to the outside world it presents itself as a movement against “external” influences, economic or cultural.

While the Indian economists have already generated a good amount of literature on the political economy of such globalization, and similarly sociologists and political scientists have commented on various dimensions of Hindutva politics, the twin processes have rarely been analyzed together. It is here that Lobo’s book stands out for the novelty of its theme. Though the primary focus of Lobo’s book is to look at the growing incidents of violence against members of Christian communities in the context of the twin processes, he also makes some useful general comments that help us understand the broader processes of change taking place in the Indian society.

Despite the obvious contradictions, Lobo argues that the twin processes feed into each other. Globalization creates a certain cultural homogenization of the world expressed most clearly in the icons of consumption. Such a cultural invasion from outside invariably produce a reaction and anxiety, which gives boost to religious fundamentalist forces. It helps in creating ‘a space for the binary opposites’.

It is not only the process of globalization that threatens the upper castes and the traditionally dominant, the processes of democratization and development that have helped the erstwhile poor and marginal also threaten them Christian missionaries through their work among tribals and other depressed sections of the Indian society have directly participated in this process of empowering Tribals and Dalits. The upward social and economic mobility has made the tribals aware of their ‘rights’. They are no longer willing to ‘be hoodwinked, cheated or alienated from their lands as easily as before’. The only way to beat the missionaries was by using the *conversion stick*. Those erstwhile dominant sections of the Indian society use the anxiety generated by the process of globalization and mobilize religious sentiments against minorities in order to reinforce their domination.

While the dominant Hindutva forces attack Christian missionaries, they are not willing to reform Hinduism. In fact, Lobo asserts that in most cases those among the tribals and dalits who have moved to Christianity have done so not merely because of the lure of the missionary but also due to the push of the hierarchical structure of Hindu society. In its given social structure, it was difficult for Hindu society to integrate tribals. For example, what position will they be assigned in the traditional caste order?

The Hindu moral and social order is not the only thing that Lobo is critical of. He also takes on the Christian Church and develops an extensive critique of their apolitical approach. Christian activists need to identify their enemies and friends. They can no longer avoid politics. They ought to align with other minority groups, such as Muslims and Sikhs who have similarly been target of attack. Similarly, they also need to identify with the politics of lower castes. The Christian Churches should also review critically the predominantly middle class orientation of their educational activities. The urban middle classes send their children to convent schools run by the Churches not because of they want their children to learn Christian values that are taught in these schools but solely because of the quality of their teaching, particularly the English language, which helps them make successful careers.

Lobo is also critical of the paternalistic attitude of the Christian Churches towards the poor. Church activists, according to Lobo, need to get out of this paternalistic model and move to ‘a participatory approach’ where individuals and communities are made to get involved as equal partners in the processes of deciding about what is food for them. Such an approach is empowering, democratic and inclusive. Making people participate also requires sensitivity to local cultures. Most importantly such an approach will go a long way in strengthening democracy at the grass root level. The chances of extremist ideologies, such as Hindutva, gaining foothold in a democratic setting are much lesser than they are in a hierarchically divided and unjust society.

Lobo’s book is not a conventional sociological study of the processes of globalization or the rise of Hindutva politics. He is not interested in identifying socio-economic or psycho-cultural factors that have given spurt to such a politics in contemporary India. His is a passionate argument and appeal against the Hindutva politics/ideology and west-centric globalization. Lobo is asking for building a broad political alliance among the minority communities and Dalits against majoritarian Hindutva politics. The Christians can participate in such an alliance better if they changed their own perspective of working among the weak and poor.

Surinder S. Jodhka

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Book Reviews

Globalization and Cultural Nationalism

Globalization, Hindu Nationalism and Christians in India, by Lancy Lobo; Rawat Publications, Jaipur and Delhi, 2002; pp 240, Rs. 450.

Rudolf C Heredia

This book represents the response of a Christian to the atrocities perpetuated by the Hindutvawadis, especially on Christians, and particularly in Gujarat. The "basic assumption" (p 38), or rather thesis, of this study is that the 'manthan' that has begun in India with independence and the mobilization of the subaltern classes that has resulted could no longer be contained with the old Congress model or the Nehruvian consensus. The first was defeated at the hustings, and consequently, the second lost the support of the dominant groups that had held it together. The articulation of Hindu nationalism spelt out in terms of cultural nationalism and religious fundamentalism, is, in fact, a response by some of these dominant groups to once again re-establish the brahmanic order of caste/crass dominance, and to co-opt the subaltern groups once again into their subordinate place in the old hierarchy. Globalisation has accelerated this process and as a result accentuated the inherent contradictions and dilemmas.

The author attempts an exposure of strategy and tactics of these Hindutvawadis. These "Hindu nationalists as seen in this study have two pseudo elements: pseudo- Hindu and pseudo-patriotic" ones at that (p 171). The anti-Mandal riots are but another example of this attempt to put the OBCs in their place. And the most prominent strategy has been scapegoating by targeting the minorities. First, it was the Muslims, and when this seemed to have reached the point of diminishing returns, especially electoral ones, it is now the turn of the Christians. But of course, there is no saying who the next minority targeted will be, or whether there will be a reversal to the old familiar one as it has happened once again in Gujarat. Gujarat is clearly the laboratory of the Hindutva experiment; we can see it run riot and cause the kind of national embarrassment where the prime minister and deputy prime minister apologise abroad, while they defend their minions at home. Will this be the beginning of the reversal of at least the worst trends that seem to be inexorably moving to their logical conclusion? The ambiguities are only now coming to the fore, as one can see in the contradictions between the nationalist BJP at the centre as represented by the prime minister and the Gujarati 'asmita' as propagandised by the state's chief minister. The author adopts a rather polemic tone. This may well just encourage the Hindutvawadis to respond in kind. It might precipitate a debate, but it is unlikely to

resolve the controversies involved. For such issues of religious ideology and cultural nationalism are hardly resolved by any rational appeal to facts. However, to the author's credit he does move forward to a critique to suggest a Christian response that deserves serious consideration. For in the end it is only such self-criticism that can really bring about some sort of reconciliation, if not with the extremists who have a vested interest in the communal violence, then at least with the vast majority of citizens who certainly are misinformed and manipulated into the kind of no-win situation that finally only benefits their fundamentalist leaders whatever hue they may be. The author is at pains to elaborate the strategy and tactics of the Hindutva forces (p 80). Five judicial commissions have painstakingly exposed the role of the RSS in various communal riots: Ahmedabad 1969, Bhivandi 1970, Tellicheri 1971, Jamshedpur 1979, Kanyakumari 1982, Mumbai 1992-93 (p 63). The immediate short-term response is obviously to take what protection can be had from media exposure and judicial restraint, since it is now quite evident that the government and police either stand by or are themselves participants in the riots. Gujarat is only the most recent and worst case scenario of this trend. The author does suggest a long-term response, which is basically to promote inter-cultural communication and a gradual transition from patriarchal to participative religious organisations. This, of course, is not just for Christians but in fact can be used by all the religious communities concerned. But perhaps the connection between the two needs to be more clearly established, for in actuality inter-cultural and inter-religious communication and dialogue are, only possible when it is preceded by an intra-cultural critique and open intra-religious conversation. This is the only way to stop the manipulations of culturally innocent and religiously naive people by political ideologues in the name of religion, who actually end up defiling it. The author does well to establish the kind of contradictions and constraints that globalisation has accelerated in the changing social and developmental processes prevailing in this country, and to underline the response of religious fundamentalism and cultural nationalism as one effort by dominant groups to maintain their hegemony. To this reviewer's mind, nowhere perhaps is the contradiction as clearly expressed, as between, on the one hand, the national BJP trying desperately to go global with its economic liberalisation and foreign policy pretensions to global power, using its NRI base to promote its cause, and on the other hand, the very indigenous brahmanical RSS scheming to be truly local in co-opting the dalits and tribals, and in sponsoring a Swadeshi Jagran Manch that is as far from Gandhi's swaraj - the inspiration of our freedom movement - as RSS militancy is from our bhakti-sufi tradition that has so enriched this land. The basic thesis of the book is sound, and while it is rather polemical it can certainly be developed further in a more

dialogic direction, not, of course, with a view to engaging the dogmatists or fundamentalists on either side, but rather to reach out to the vast pool of goodwill that certainly encompasses the majority of our citizens. However, there are some points that this reviewer would contest. Thus in referring to the Aryan conquest, the author seems to assume an invasion theory that is now questioned from many sides.

A gradual migration theory of Aryan occupation is now more generally accepted, which rejects a continuity, or certainly at least an identity, between the Harappan civilization and the Vedic one, such as the dubious studies inspired by Hindutva compulsions attempt. Further, in putting the Shiv Sena as part of the Sangh Parivar, the author seems to show a lack of familiarity with the kinds of tensions Maharashtra that every now and then come to the fore between the Shiv Sena and the BJP, which are not exactly like quarrels in the same family. The RSS is the inspiration of the entire Sangh Parivar, but the Shiv Sena pramuch certainly does not take any instructions from the RSS sarasanghchalak. Furthermore, in speaking of religion as a “primordial tie and a defining feature of one’s cultural identity” (p 166), the author is assuming an atavistic basis and an ascribed rather than a voluntary grounding for religion. This need to be radically questions. Religion is much more a matter of world view within which culture develops giving identity, rather than any kind of ascriptive status or predestination to the karma-dharma of one’s birth. There are some details that need to be put right. Certainly it is very annoying to find in any work with scholarly pretensions that reference are inadequately given. This does not allow a proper verification, and leaves the authenticity open to question. There are several authors quoted in the text but no complete bibliographical details are given and footnotes are conspicuous by their absence. There are some misprints that have escaped the proof-reader’s eye and ought to be corrected in a later edition, if there is one. But the book is tightly argued and well worth studying, though as all too often happens in such cases, it is more likely to be read by the already converted than by those in need of a change of heart.

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Book Reviews

Lancy Lobo. 2002. Globalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Christians in India. Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, pp. 240, Rs. 450 (hard back). ISBN 81-7033-716-X.

Globalisation and resurgent Hindu nationalism are the twin phenomena which represent the socio-economic and political face of India in the new millennium. Against this backdrop, Lancy Lobo attempts to deconstruct the rising incidence of atrocity on Christians in India.

The percentage of Christians in the total population of the country which was 2.4 in 1981 showed a slight decline by 0.1 percentage point. High literacy rate and low fertility rate among middle class Christians are factors behind this falling number. But, according to Lobo, active intimidation and forced re-conversion of Christians by Hindutva forces along with state discrimination, play a more significant role in reducing the existing number of Christians. He shows that, during the last four years, incidents of atrocity on Christians have risen geometrically, particularly in the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-ruled states. Instead of Muslims, Christians are now made targets of exploitation due to the latter's soft nature and lack of retaliatory mechanisms. Ever since the BJP has come to power in Gujarat, violence against Christians has risen. From isolated incidents of vandalism, arson, assault against Christians, one can construct a pattern in the strategy of Hindu nationalists all over the country. According to Lobo, communalization through contestation of local sacred space, inciting communal hatred by extensive distribution of hate literature, blowing local problems out of proportion and casting a communal angle to it, communalization of the Pope's visit to India, negation of Freedom of Religion Bill, etc., are a few systematic atrocities against Christians in India. And the role of the state is undoubtedly anti-minority, whereby it always attempts to downplay the violence and arson.

Globalization is an external force emanating from the First World capitalism and impinging upon India. In the economic sphere, globalization ideally leads to an unprecedented flow of people, technologies, money, goods, images across national borders. But, the internal logic of capitalism - its relentless search for market and profit maximization motive - heightens class polarization and pauperisation. In the cultural sphere, primordial identities like religion, caste and ethnicity feel threatened. To find a scapegoat for globalisation and its negative impact as well as to undermine secular democracy through a cultural backlash, the Hindu nationalists have targeted Christians and are committing continuous atrocities on them.

After providing exhaustive details of atrocities against Christians in India, Lobo reviews the response of Christians to the growing atrocity against them. He suggests two responses by the Church that can be realised in the future: the first stresses an increased inter-cultural dialogue and communication, and the second asks for a paradigm shift from a paternal to a participatory model of interaction among the Christians themselves. Lobo concludes by saying that the Church has to respond not only to Hindu nationalism but to globalisation as well. And this has to be done in a progressive and proactive manner.

This book deals with a burning issue that haunts contemporary Indian society. In the aftermath of the Gujarat riots, the book should become a compulsory reading for all social science scholars. However, emotional treatment of the subject has, at times, lead to over-simplifications and hasty generalisations.

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Book Reviews

The Plain Man's Guide to Hindutva

By Lancy Lobo; Globalization, Hindu Nationalism and Christians in India (Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2002), pp. 240.

The politics of hatred in India today has yielded an abundant harvest, and the future of justice, equality, democracy and secularism in the country appears bleak. In public discussions as well as in private conversation, the two questions which reiterate themselves are: How could this happen? Why are things the way they are? Many seemingly educated people whose opinions are based on hearsay and prejudice have absolutely no clue as to what is going on. More reason therefore to be grateful to Lancy Lobo, former director of the School of Social Studies, South Gujarat Univ.(Surat), and presently director of the Centre for Culture and Development, Vadodara, who has given us a concise and very readable description of the turbulence which affects India today.

Basically, Lobo argues, this is the result of two dominant processes at work simultaneously in the country. The first is globalization. "Globalization", according to Lobo, "generally refers to an unprecedented intensification and acceleration of an open flow of communication and movement of peoples, technologies, money, goods, images and ideas across national borders... Western dominated globalization has placed non-western countries on the defensive....There is increasing evidence that globalization has also led to a cultural backlash" (p. 36).

The backlash in India is a form of "cultural nationalism" or Hindutva, which is the second dominant process. Hindutva is not Hinduism, which is religious in scope, and tolerant (or at least co-existent) in practice. Hindutva is a political ideology akin to fascism: it glorifies the Hindu state, and tries desperately to mould the pluralistic identities of the Indian nation into one monolithic whole. It aims at homogenizing and centralizing not only Hindu culture, but also Indian culture. It implies that India is of and for the Hindus primarily and exclusively. Other minorities, if they wish to remain in India will necessarily have to convert to Hinduism or else remain second-class citizens. In brief, "Hindu nationalism" means one Hindu nation, one Hindu culture, and one Hindu state.

Globalization has led to Islamic fundamentalism in certain parts of the world, but here in India, globalization both attracts and repels the large Hindu middle-class. The attractiveness lies in the access to global capital and technology, and to global consumerism, the hallmark of the First World. The fear comes from "losing one's roots" particularly the loss of caste, a particularly Brahmin anxiety. For the

upward mobility which globalization promotes embraces everyone-women, lower castes and tribals too - and this quickly leads to a vast social revolution of equal opportunity which threatens the traditional Hindu social order. For Hindu nationalism is in reality a devious fabrication of the upper castes in India, meant to serve their own vested interests. It is no accident that all the higher office - bearers of the RSS and B.1P are Brahmins or belong to the landed aristocracy.

"Christians" are the third term in the title of Lobo's book, and he examines carefully how the two dominant processes impinge upon this group. Christians in India are a small minority - 2.32 percent (1991 census), largely Catholics and Protestants. Yet in spite of their small size, Christians run 25 per cent of India's voluntary service sector (schools, colleges, hospitals, orphanages, rehab centers, etc.), and the beneficiaries of these services belong to all castes, creeds and cults (pp.13 ff). It is no accident that the brahminical establishment resents any care of the lower castes if this in turn means that they will demand greater participation in government. Today, for various reasons, this small community - and that other larger minority, the Muslims - has come under threat (viz. denial of concessions to Christian dalits, restriction in jobs, anti-conversion tirades and physical attacks upon members of the community, especially their pastors and religious). These various forms of discrimination and hostility are meant to create a state of fear and obeisance among Christians, and they are succeeding.

Historically, the Brahmin establishment (later the Congress Government) continued with the British colonial policy of 'divide and rule' even after Independence. It has repeatedly attacked minorities whenever statecraft demanded - it targeted the Sikhs (Operation Blue Star and the anti-Sikh pogrom in Delhi, 1984), the Muslims (Babri Masjid, 1992), the Other Backward Castes (Mandal Commission, 1992) and the Christians (Dangs 1998, Staines murders, 1999). Taking one minority group after the other; they have terrorized each in order to render them compliant to state (read brahminic) hegemony. In this the Sangh Parivar is only doing brazenly what the Congress did surreptitiously. But the ruling classes of both have the same Brahmin deviousness, and are resolutely opposed to the aspirations of the poor and the upward mobility of dalits, tribals, and women. The hidden agenda of Hindu nationalism, whether of the Congress or of the RSS variety, remains the same: restore the lost power and privileges of the Brahminic social order. No accident that the symbol of Hindutva resurgence is a pseudo- religious one - the Ram mandir.

But what about the other India? The India which belongs to large numbers of ordinary people, peasants, artisans and labourers? These are regarded as irrational and traditional, to be governed with

ruthlessness. The governance of this country has been for the last 50 years in the hands of the upper castes, and the results have been there for all to see - a contemptible "Hindu rate of growth" - grossly uneven development, islands of wealth in a vast sea of poverty, patches of growth in a huge swamp of disease and corruption. It is this deprived India which clamours for its rights - for justice, participation in wealth, for self-determination. But will the Brahmin establishment ever allow 'inferior' caste groups their rightful share of power? "Globalization is for us, swadeshi for you!"

Sadly, the Church in India perpetuates a similar paternalistic model with its emphasis on rituals and devotions. There are large areas of injustice in the Church, especially in the treatment of dalit Christians, promotion of women to public office and the empowerment of the laity. All power in the Church is vested in the hands of a celibate male clergy, and it is this group, interestingly, that has been targeted by the Hindu right, in its attempt to dismay and mislead the larger Christian body. The fear of the Christian community is very real - there is growing discrimination against ordinary Christians in matters of work, domicile and economic benefits. But this discrimination does not affect the hierarchy, who continue to enjoy the patronage of the Hindu establishment for the institutional activities done in their favour (mainly schools and hospitals). Because of this, there is a reluctance among the churches to criticize the government publicly, to cooperate with each other; and a slowness to reach out to secular, humanist and non-Christian groups. And yet without such participation both within the Church and without, is the community not extremely vulnerable?

Lancy Lobo has written a slim book but one packed with data, statistics and well-reasoned arguments. For many of those ignorant of the reasons behind the present state of the country, it is a valuable guide. The nine appendices particularly contain select information not easily accessed elsewhere. A final word from the reviewer to the interested reader would not be out of place: buy two copies, and gift one to a friend this New Year.

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***The Examiner*, Jan, 4, 2003**

Book Reviews

Lancy Lobo: *Globalization, Hindu Nationalism and Christians in India*. Rawat Publications, Jaipur, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 240, Rs. 450.

This is about Hindu Nationalism and its relation to the minorities, especially Christians in India. The introductory chapter, after giving a statistical picture of Christians in India and their disproportionately large contribution to India's voluntary service sectors like health, education, etc., gives a quick survey of the attacks on Christians, especially in Gujarat, because of the Church's socio-economic uplift programmes for the tribals in Gujarat. Lobo describes the Sangh Parivar's well-thought out plans to attack the minority which was taken by surprise by such unexpected and uncalled for violence against them. This chapter looks to the working out of Hindu nationalism to preserve the privileges of the upper castes. The 2nd chapter offers a more detailed profile of Hindu Nationalism with emphasis on the Sangh Parivar constituted of the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal, Hindu Jagran Manch and Shiv Sena. Chapter three deals with the major propositions of the communal constitution by Hindu nationalism regarding Christians in India. Most of this chapter is devoted to answering the false allegations of M.V. Kamath in a Washington-based review. Chapter four is about globalization and Hindu nationalism. It describes the phenomenon of globalization in various sectors like the economic, social, Political and cultural. Hindu nationalism's reaction to globalization is at best ambiguous. The RSS calls for stiff resistance to globalization, while the BJP welcomes it and continues with globalization. Chapter five takes up Christian response to Hindu nationalism. The author argues that besides the normal approaches so far used, we need "intercultural communication" to understand each other's mindset and orientation; and secondly, a paradigm shift from a paternalistic church to a participatory model which is developed at length. The last chapter calls on the Church in India to join hands with other religious communities, with the state and other secular minded forces, as globalization is impacting them all and is the common enemy of all.

Then follow the appendices. Appendix 1 lists the incidents of violence against Christians in India from March 1977 to August 2000 (29 pages!). Two gives the Gujarat Freedom of Religion Bill 1999. Three lists the different wings of the RSS; four is M.V.Kamath's articles in Oyster, 1999. Six quotes from Gujarati papers attacking Christians,

making false accusation. Seven gives Archbishop Stanislaus' letter to the President of India. Eight gives a Hindu's defense of Christians; in nine an anonymous Hindu writes against Christians and Christ, attacking everything sacred to Christians. The book concludes with a bibliography and an index. As some of the chapters have been published earlier, there is a certain amount of repetition. A number of references given in the text are not accounted for in the Bibliography (Lourdayyan 2000, John Paul 2000, Shamat 1998, AIFOFR, Pimpert & Pretty 1994, E. Gellner 1964, Hawley 1991, Hansen 1998, Lobo 1985, 1991, and DH (p.147). Appendix 8 should have given the exact source of Jaithirth Rao's article. Notwithstanding these and some factual inaccuracies, this is a well written, very timely and useful book; it contributes to the on going dialogue with the *Hindutvawadis* to enable the Church to face up to the challenges of Hindu Nationalism.

Joseph Mattam, SJ

Book Reviews

Globalization, Hindu Nationalism and Christians in India. By Lancy Lobo. Jaipur/New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2002. pp. 240. Rs. 450. ISBN 81-7033-716-X.

The book-comprising six main chapters and a host of appendices – explores the dynamics of the twin processes of globalization and Hindu nationalism, and their effect upon the ‘minority’ Christian community in India. The ‘introduction’ that provides a panoramic view of the book, situated the problem of ‘Hindutva’ and highlights its ‘harvest of hatred’ against the backdrop of demographic details of the Christian community in India. It then juxtaposes the process of globalization with that of Hindutva in order to point out the nexus between them. The second chapter differentiates between ‘Indian nationalism’ and ‘Hindu nationalism’, the former being “largely western inspired, with universalistic values and yet deeply rooted in Indian ethos as represented by Jawaharlal Nehru and others”, while the latter, “appears as a political ideology and less of a religious faith” (p.58). An appraisal of both is undertaken to show how the upper castes have profited from such forms of nationalism. The second chapter concludes with a profile of the Hindu nationalist organizations (pp. 60-73).

The third chapter entitled, ‘Hindutva Script of Christians in India’ discusses details of the accusations and fabrications peddled by Hindutva ideologues – notable, Arun Shourie and M.V.Kamath – who deify Hinduism and demonize Christianity so as to target the latter. The author shows how Hindutva aims at the creation of communal ‘cognitive cultural models’, shaped by Nazi and Fascist ideologies, in order to whip up hatred and hostility towards the minorities, especially the Muslims and Christians (pp. 95-103). The fourth chapter, “Globalisation and Hindu Nationalism,” opens with an exposition of the nature and dynamics of the various forms of globalization – political, economic, cultural – indicating the inherent dangers and substantiating these with adequate data. The final part (pp. 131-4) indicates how globalization is gaining ground in India and finds a suitable bed-partner in Hindutva.

The fifth chapter of the book describes how Christians in India have tried to respond to the dangers of Hindutva. The most noteworthy response is what the author describes as a ‘paradigm shift from a paternalistic to a participatory model’ (pp. 147-56). Lobo also provides a chart that compares that two models (p.155). The final chapter assesses how churches worldwide (pp. 158-64), including the Indian church (pp. 164-7), can view globalization. As an antidote to Hindutva, the author

espouses a thorough examination and evaluation of all our 'evangelisation' activities. The chapter contains many guidelines that will engender reflection and, hopefully, action. Finally, the book has many appendices that provide details of the many incidents of violence against the Indian Christian community, some letters and articles by Hindutva ideologues, and copies of inflammatory anti-Christian pamphlets that were distributed prior to the Christian bashing in Gujarat's Dangs district (1998).

The book is important because it focuses on two burning issues of our time. The author deftly delves into the dynamics of both, globalization and Hindu nationalism. However, what seems lacking is a focused analysis on how these two processes work in tandem to marginalize minorities and also destroy the diversity that distinguishes India. More care could have been taken in the textual reference and the bibliography. For instance, certain authors are mentioned in the text – Thapar (p.50), Anderson (p.58), Baxi (p.82), Sahmat (p. 133) – but bibliographical details are missing. The book is highly recommended because it opens up vistas for discussion and decision. Lobo's work urges Christians in India to decipher the writing on the wall of find themselves as second grade citizens in a '*rashtra*' far different from any India of their dreams.

Francis Gonsalves, SJ

VJTR – April 2004.