Acknowledgments

This thesis would not have come into existence without the tremendous support and encouragement of several people, whose contributions I wish to place on record my appreciation here.

First, and foremost, is my thesis supervisor Professor Zoya Hasan, to whom I owe a lifetime of gratitude and have the deepest regard for. Without her painstaking direction and infinite patience, this thesis would not have taken shape. Her scholarly direction and strong political insights enabled me, a practising journalist, not only to embark on this arduous academic journey but to make this journey tremendously meaningful and exciting as the conceptual significance of political processes and developments became much clearer to me at different stages of the evolution of this thesis. I want to record here my greatest admiration and deepest appreciation of her insights and her thoughtful and kindly steering of this work.

The genesis of this thesis owes to the help and timely assistance of certain key people, without whom, my enrolment in this PhD programme would not have been possible. The timely and extremely helpful interventions of Professor Balveer Arora, who was the Rector and pro-Vice Chancellor at the time that I enrolled in this programme (July 2003), and Professor Prabhat Patnaik, then the Dean of the School of Social Sciences have enabled the emergence of this thesis.
I owe a special and heartfelt debt of gratitude to Professor Mushirul Hasan, whose moral encouragement and intellectual guidance was a major inspirational factor that emboldened me to embark on this journey. I place on record here my warmest gratitude to Professor Hasan, without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

To The Hindu newspaper, my timeless source of moral, physical and intellectual sustenance, I owe my life and work, and I place on record my humblest acknowledgment of its powerful and motivating influence in my life. I also wish to place on record my grateful thanks to a number of people in the institution whose warm and enthusiastic support of this endeavour was a very moving inspiration. Mr. N.Ravi, Editor, whose powerful intellectual and moral support through the last four years and whose insights and suggestions proved invaluable, Mr. N.Ram, Editor-in-Chief, whose sustained moral encouragement and lively intellectual interest in the subject of this thesis represented a strong source of motivation.

I wish to record my deepest appreciation of the help I received from my colleagues at The Hindu, whose unfailing assistance in the fixing of interviews and thoughtful assistance, provided critical support for my research. I wish to particularly thank Ms. Neena Vyas and Mr. Vinay Kumar in New Delhi, Mr. Arun Kumar Bhatt in Mumbai, Mr. Manas Dasgupta in Gandhinagar, Mr. Suresh Nambath and Mr. RK Radhakrishnan in Chennai for their help in obtaining the interviews with leading spokespersons of the Hindu nationalist movement. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. K. Rajendra Babu, Chief Librarian at The Hindu for his tireless and uncanny abilities in helping me to unearth an abundance of material from the archives of The Hindu, without this thesis could not have got its perspective. I also acknowledge with gratitude the inputs of Mr. M.C Sampath, Associate Editor, who read through my entire manuscript, despite its taxing length.
I owe a very special debt of gratitude and express my warmest thanks to two persons whose untiring efforts and sustained assistance through the last four years, without whom this thesis could not have taken shape, and whose dedication and patience was a quiet source of strength. The first is Mr. S. Ramanujam, in *The Hindu* at New Delhi, whose assistance has been wonderful, bordering on the miraculous, in terms of his ability to deliver the impossible. The second is Mr. T.S Gopalan, in the Chennai office of *The Hindu*, who has spent hours of his time helping me with the logistics and the mechanics of getting this thesis into an orderly and organised shape. I place here my deep appreciation of the help of these two people.

I wish to acknowledge here the extraordinary and kindly assistance of four people who went out of their way to facilitate my research, taking deep personal interest in my enquiries and doing their utmost to ensure that I could get the material I needed. The first is Mr. R. Balashankar, editor of *Organiser*, who set aside his reservations about assisting whom he regarded as yet another "pseudosecularist", in an earnest and good-humoured effort to support a research project which he hoped would reflect an open-minded enquiry. I am most grateful to Balashankar who not only allowed me free access to the archives of the *Organiser*, but also helped me in obtaining interviews that might have been difficult to fix, had he not put in a word. I also want to thank Dr. N. Balakrishnan, Director and Ms. Deepa Bhatnagar, Research Officer, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, who ensured that my research at the Nehru Library was never in vain, with their tireless and unstinting cooperation in locating elusive records and rare papers. I am deeply thankful to them for their help.

I also wish to record here my appreciation of the speedy and extremely knowledgeable assistance I got from Mr. N. Jagannivas Iyer, free-lance journalist
whose help in transcribing my interviews was invaluable and provided critical support.

What I owe my own family is immeasurable. My two sisters, Dr. Nirmala Lakshman and Dr. Nalini Krishnan, whose moral encouragement, good cheer and extraordinary sensitivity have provided the crucial underpinning for my entire life's journey, by their sustained support of my goals provided tremendous motivation for my work. The greatest source of my strength, whose own life has represented an ideal which I have greatly admired and who has been the beacon light of my life, is my mother, Mrs. Menaka Parthasarathy, to whom I dedicate this thesis in all love and gratitude.

MALINI PARTHASARATHY