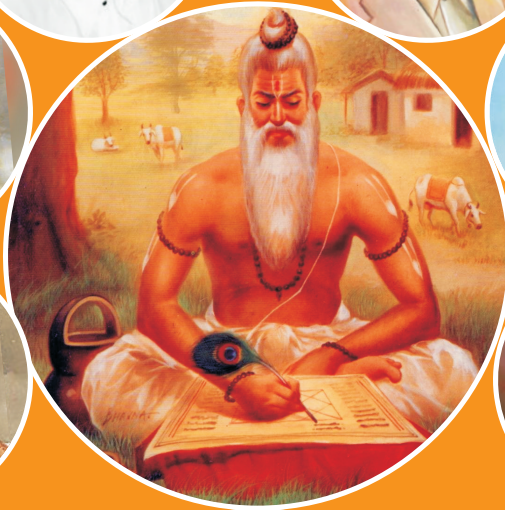


HINDUTVA EXPLAINED



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Written by:
MAZHAR HUSSAIN

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to millions of followers of Buddhism and Jainism who have been victims of Brahmin apartheid continuing in the subcontinent of India and Pakistan for over two millennia since the time of Pishwa Mitra Shungha. Millions got killed and others got migrated across mighty Himalayas to save lives. This book is dedicated to millions of Dalits , Adivasis and Other Backward Classes who have been facing atrocities from the Brahmins ever since times of Manu. This book is dedicated to the Dravidians who were killed in millions or were cornered by invading Aryans. This book is dedicated to the Muslims of the sub-continent who have started to feel the bitterness of Brahmin hegemony in name of Hindutva for over a century particularly those who were deceived in the name of constitutionalism and secularism before, in and after 1947.

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MESSAGE

Message for the Muslims of the sub-continent of India and Pakistan is that it took Aryans around one thousand years to kill or displace the indigenous inhabitants of the sub-continent. Their descendant's i.e Brahmins took around five hundred years to kill or dislocate the followers of Buddhism and Jainism. For Muslims, it is just start of violent Brahmin resurgence, in action hardly for one century in the name of Hindutva. Muslims of the sub-continent need to be sensitive about impending Hindutva threat.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer cosulte/reproduced multiple online news ,current affairs, history, research and archeological resources including research articles available online. Special mention is made here of The Times of India, India Today, The Wire, The Print, The Quint, Deccen Herald, Caravaan, and the web sites of various organizations including BJP, RSS, Hindu Mahasabha and several others which were also consulted /reproduced to help compile this work. Various reports of Archeological Survey of India, commissions including Mandal Commission and Librahan Commission were consulted/reproduced. Texts of books by ideologues like Savarkar, Golwalker etc avilble on different online platforms were also consulted/reproduced along with text of Vedas and Manusmriti available on various online platforms. Acknowledgment and gratitude is extended to all above mentioned individuals and entities .

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BACKGROUND

Modern Hindu religion (Sanatan Dharma) started to get its raw shape with arrival of the Aryan tribes in around 2000 BCE . The Aryan tribes first settled in the plains of Punjab along rivers. The earliest and the most revered Hindu religious texts i.e Vedas were written in the plains of Punjab . The Aryans were basically pastoral people when they landed in the plains of the Punjab but gradually turned into agrarians as they settled along rivers and adopted agriculture as means of their livelihood. With their settlement in the plains, the Aryan culture started to evolve and their literature also started to surface. The first Hindu religious text i.e. Rig Veda is believed to have been written in the plains of the Punjab. It was the Rig Veda which introduced stratification i.e caste system in Vedic society. The Rig Veda (10:90) says that the gods created by sacrificing the primal Purusha. His mouth became the Brahmin, his arms the Kshatriyas, his thighs the Vaishayas and his feet became the Shudras. The subject stratification which was meant to organize profession based society was taken as license by the privileged of the time to formulate a regressive, inflexible and patriarchal caste system. The pre Aryan invasion original inhabitants of the soil were declared untouchables i.e Dalits. The said stratification is prevalent in the Indian society with its full force of regression till date.

According to the subject stratification, the Brahmin community assumed the role of custodians of Hindu (Sanatan) philosophy, intellect and religion. All the criticism set aside, despite ups and downs in the history in the post Vedic period till date, the Brahmin community has the credit to keep Hinduism (Sanatan Dharma) alive and a force to reckon with. Whenever the Hindu (Sanatan) religion was under pressure, the Brahmins adopted themselves to the arising situation but re- asserted themselves with the change of circumstances and the saequence of events continues. For the said purpose, the Brahmins sometimes adopted highly peaceful means while highly violent means were also adopted.

In the History of the Indian sub-continent, the Hindu (Sanatan) religion was challenged multiple times by different faiths and forces but it felt particularly threatened twice. The first time the Hindus (Brahmins) felt threatened was during the reign of Asoka the great. Bhuddhism is believed to have originated in 6th century BCE in the Ganges basin and spread very fast among masses in Northern India. Guatma Budhha is believed to be founder of Buddhism. The major reason for the expansion of Buddhism was repulsion among common people for Brahmin lead caste structure. Asoka (272-232 BCE) was most prominent among rulers of Maurya dynasty. Asoka the great was the first ruler to rule over maximum territory of present day India particularly Northern India. He was originally a Hindu but during course of time he abandoned Hinduism (Sanatan) and converted to Buddhism. As per practice of the day it was not individual conversion, rather it was mass conversion involving

the nobility and masses at large. This conversion indeed was a serious threat to Hinduism (Sanatan dharma and Brahmins both). The Hindu intellect (Brahmins) tolerated this state of affairs during the regime of Asoka himself. The demise of Asoka resulted in decline of the empire due to mutual discord of the successors but this time was used by the Brahmins to plan reversal of the events. Consequently PushyamitraShunga, a Brahmin himself revolted, murdered 10th king of Mauryan dynasty Barihadratha and established Shunga Dynasty in 180 BCE. The establishment of Shunga Dynasty by PushyamitraShunga was followed immediately by systematic persecution of the Buddhists in India resulting in decline of Buddhism in India. During this systematic Buddhist persecution, the Buddhists were converted to Hinduism, killed or forced to leave India. Buddhism migrated to neighboring countries as result of subject persecution as the followers of Buddhism migrated across borders.

The Shunga Empire was followed by the Gupta dynasty. The rulers of Gupta dynasty were Vaishyas, the third in the caste ladder of Hinduism were followers of Hinduism under crippling Brahmin influence. The Gupta rulers created significant space for the Brahmins in the politics and the society. Resultantly, the Brahmin hold on Hinduism became more strengthened. The Brahmins established firmly and institutionalized themselves as the upper most in the caste hierarchy as referred to in Rigvedas. The Gupta rulers under the influence of the Brahmins accelerated the pace of extinction of the already brutally suppressed Buddhism from Indian soil. It was under the Gupta rule that new theological dimensions for Hinduism were created. This was under this theological expansion of Brahminism that Buddhism was formally absorbed in Hinduism by Brahmin classification of Buddha as an Avtar.

The second religion that became the victim of Brahmin hegemony and rigidity was Jainism. The Jainism also originated in the same Ganges basin around 500 BCE. Mahavira was founder of Jainism.

There are a lot of things common between Buddhism and Jainism. The founder of both Buddhism and Jainism were originally Hindus but not Brahmins. Both Guatm Buddha and Mahaveera, the founders of Buddhism and Jainism belonged to Kshatriya caste of Hindus. Both religions were born in Ganges basin in almost same period. The ideologies of both religions were almost identical with a few exceptions. One noteworthy point is that both Guatam Buddha and Mahavira preached non-violence which leads us to conclude that the age when both these leaders were born was full of violence most probably by Brahmins against lower castes. This was the same age when the Aryans had started to settle in Ganges basin after Indus basin. There is sufficient literary evidence to conclude that both Mahavira and Gautam Buddha were revolutionaries and were revolting against the atrocities by Brahmins against other castes of Hinduism. Both the religions got popularity amongst the masses

from lower castes and both got victims of Brahmin hegemonic designs.

After gaining superiority in Gupta dynasty, the Brahmins successfully did away with already oppressed Buddhism. Simultaneously Jainism was also successfully restrained by the Brahmins. This also reflects another aspect of Brahmin mentality that no religion other than of Brahmins should sustain in India because the Brahmins consider India as their religious constituency. It is Buddhism, Jainism and now Islam. This mentality is affecting the proceedings in India for over four millennia and is expected to cause inconvenience in future as well.

The reinstatement of Hindu (Brahmin) hegemony after Maurya dynasty resulted in production of bulk of Hindu religious Smriti literature including considered extremist one i.e. Manusmriti. Manusmriti is a classical example of Brahmin mentality. Manusmriti set a religious code for orthodox Hindus (Brahmins). Brahmins being the ultimate beneficiaries of the Laws of Manu became its custodians and practitioners.

The Laws of Manu legitimize and formally codify form of birth-based inequality—social, economic and gender; inequalities that are inescapable and unchangeable. Professions too are determined and to be followed according to one's birth i.e. by the caste into which one is born. In its very first chapter, Creation, the Manusmriti says,

“For the growth of these worlds, moreover, he (the Creator) produced from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra”.

Dalits do not find any place within Dharma; they are the 'outcastes'. The Manusmriti further divides the four castes into two sub categories i.e. the once born and the twice born. The two upper castes have been categorized as twice born while two lower castes are categorized as once born. It gives very precise instructions for the conduct of the male infants of the twice-born. While their threads should be of varying quality, the most superior is reserved for the Brahmin, the next in quality for the Kshatriya and the coarsest thread is reserved for the Vaisya. Sudras, being 'once-born', are excluded from this ritual. The names to be given to these infants are also differently graded: 'For the Brahmin, the name should connote auspiciousness; for a Kshatriya, strength; for a Vaisya, wealth and for a Sudra, disdain...' (Chapter 2, Shlokas 30, 31, 32).

Chapter 8, shlokas 21, 22 of Manusmriti say: “When a Sudra interprets the Law for a king, his realm sinks like a cow in mud... the entire realm, stricken with famine and pestilence, quickly perishes when it is teeming with Sudras, overrun by infidels and devoid of twice-born people.”

Chapter 8, shloka 410, says, “A king should make Sudras engage in the service of twice-born people”, and shlokas 413, 414, say “the Sudra was created by the self-created one solely to do slave labour for the Brahmin. Even when he is released by his

master, a Sudra is not freed from his slave status for that is innate in him; and who can remove it from him?” Chapter 8, shloka 129: “Even a capable Sudra must not accumulate wealth; for when a Sudra becomes wealthy, he harasses Brahmins.”

Chapter 10, shlokas 51 to 56, say: “Candalas and Svepacas, however, must live outside the village... Their property consists of dogs and donkeys, their garments are the clothes of the dead, they eat in broken vessels, their ornaments are of iron... A man who follows the Law should never seek any dealing with them... They depend on others for food and it should be given in a broken vessel. They must not go about in villages and towns at night; they may go around during the day to perform some task at the command of the king, wearing distinguishing marks. They should carry away the corpses of those without relatives... They should always execute those condemned to death...”

Chapter 8, shloka 418 of Manusmriti says “The King should strenuously make Vaisyas and Sudras perform the activities specific to them; for when they deviate from their specific activities, they throw this world into confusion.” Shloka 162 states: “He (the King) should treat Brahmins who are cattle herders, traders, artisans, performers, servants or money lenders just like Sudras.” Chapter 10, shloka 92: “By selling meat, lac, or salt, a Brahmin falls immediately from his caste; by selling milk, he becomes a Sudra in three days.” Chapter 10, shloka 95, 97: “Far better to carry out ones own Law imperfectly than that of someone else's perfectly; for a man who lives according to someone else's Law falls immediately from his caste”.

About women, the Manusmriti states: (chapter 5, shlokas 148, 149) “Even in her own home, a female – whether she is a child, a young woman or an old lady – should never carry out any task independently. As a child, she must remain under her father's control, as a young woman, under her husband's; and when her husband is dead, under her sons.” Shloka 154 adds, “Though he may be bereft of virtue, given to lust, and totally devoid of good qualities, a good woman should always worship her husband like a god.” In Manusmriti a widower is advised that, “After he has given his sacred fires to his predeceased wife at her funeral, he should marry a wife again and establish anew his sacred fires.” (Shloka 168, chapter 5). Chapter 8, shloka 416 removes all ambiguity by stating: “Wife, son and slave – all these three, tradition tells us, are without property. Whatever they may earn becomes the property of the man to whom they belong.” (Chapter 3, Shlokas 12, 13). “At first marriage, a woman of equal class is recommended for twice-born men; but for those who proceed further through lust; these are, in order, the preferable women. A Sudra may take only a Sudra woman as wife; a Vaisya, the latter and a woman of his own class; a Kshatriya, the latter two and a woman of his own class; and a Brahmin, the latter three and a woman of his own class. Chapter 3, shlokas 24 to 26 of the text, describe eight types of marriage, some of which justify abduction and assault in the name of 'consent'. One form of 'marriage' stands

out for its unilateral assertion of brutality. This is the 'fiendish' method of marriage. According to shloka 24, this method which is recommended only for Kshatriyas, occurs “when someone violently abducts a girl from her house as she is shrieking and weeping by causing death, mayhem and destruction, it is called the 'fiendish procedure’”.

Manusmriti text has many shlokas that deal with penal system. The killing of a Brahmin is repeatedly described as the most grievous sin. For example, chapter 11, shloka 307, says: “By wanting to hurt a Brahmin, a man goes to hell – if he threatens him, for one hundred years, if he strikes him, for one thousand years.”

The killings of members of other castes, however, are to be punished in different ways. Chapter 11, shloka 127, says: “One-quarter the penance for the murder of a Brahmin is prescribed by tradition for the murder of a Kshatriya; one-eighth for the murder of a virtuous Vaisya; and one-sixteenth for the murder of a Sudra.” In the same vein, chapter 8, shloka 267, 268, state: “For assailing a Brahmin, a Kshatriya ought to be fined 100, and a Vaisya 150 or 200 but a Sudra ought to suffer corporal punishment. A Brahmin should be fined 50 for abusing a Kshatriya, 25 for abusing a Vaisya and 12 for abusing a Sudra.”

The worst punishments are prescribed for the Sudras and Dalits. Chapter 8, shlokas 270 to 272, say: “If a 'once-born' man hurls grossly abusive words at 'twice-born' men, his tongue shall be cut off for he originated from the lowest part. If he invokes their names and castes with disdain, a red hot iron nail ten fingers long should be driven into his mouth. If he arrogantly gives instruction on the Law to a Brahmin, the king should pour hot oil into his mouth and ears.”

The killing of a cow is considered a grievous crime. Chapter 11, shlokas 40 to 47, assign it to the same category as many crimes the punishment for which is the loss of caste. Some of the crimes that it is given equivalence with are rape and murder of a Vaisya, Kshatriya, Sudra and a woman. The crime of killing a cow, however, elicits greater punishment than for these murders. In this context, the lynching of Muslims accused of eating cow meat or killing cows or even being engaged in cow trading, can be directly linked to belief in the Manusmriti.

The complete immunity enjoyed by Brahmins is unambiguously stated at the very end of chapter 11, Penances, in shloka 162: “Even if he has slaughtered these three worlds and even if he has eaten food of anyone at all, no sin taints a Brahmin who retains the Rig Veda in his memory...”

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Laws of Manu or Manusmriti or Dharma Shastra Manava, was written between 1st century BCE and 1st century CE. As referred earlier, The fall of Maurya Empire caused by revolt of PushyaMitra and foundation of Shunga Dynasty resulted in production of bulk of smriti literature. It proved to be an era of codification of Hindu laws. It is believed that a large number of Smrities were produced during that time. Even around seventy versions of Manusmriti are believed to be in existence but one believed to be found in Kukatta is taken as the most authentic one. When the British established their rule in the Indian Subcontinent, they faced the problem of codification of Hindu personal law and Hindu marriage law. The British formulated Hindu laws in the light of Manu smriti.

Dr. Ambedkar was of the concerted view that Manusmriti is ultimate cause of all sufferings of the people of India particularly the low caste people. Dr. Ambedkar publically burnt Mnusmriti and converted to Buddhism. Mahatama Gandhi however contested views of Dr. Ambedkar and defended Manusmriti.

Manusmriti is considered very sacred among the orthodox Hindus till date. It is believed to be the written constitution of dreamed Hindu Rashtra. More discussion on Manusmriti will follow in the coming chapters.

After doing away with threat of Bhudhism, for around one thousand years, the Hindus (Brahmins) didn't feel any existential threat from any faith or force against their faith. With the arrival of Muslims in the sub continent, a challenge for the Hindus (Brahmins) surfaced. It is worth mentioning here that the first ruler to be killed in battle with Muslims in India was Raja Dahir of Sind who happened to be a Brahmin. Muslims in India were here to stay. Muslims had younger faith, better force and most importantly willingness to live in India and make India their home. This caused very perplexing situation for the Hindus (Brahmins). As Muslims were militarily superior, Hindus (Brahmins) were not in position to defeat or dethrone them. Muslim political hegemony in India was coupled with a flavor of their faith on ground. A large number of Muslim mystic Sufis settled in India and started to practice and preach their religion. Being a younger, dynamic and energetic religion, Islam started to attract a large number of Hindu masses leading to large scale conversions to Islam. This situation was even more perplexing for the Brahmins. To counter this turn of events, the Hindus (Brahmins) started a peaceful resistance by their religious people called as Bhakts. The campaign by Bhakts was sustained, prolonged and objective oriented. That's why the works of the Bhakts are generally termed as Bhakti Movement. The

Hindus called Bhakti Movement as a reformist movement but it is very much obvious that the Bhakti Movement was designed and implemented with particular objective to check spread of Islam in India. Almost all the figures in Bhakti movement tried to copy the thoughts of Muslim sufi mystics and blended it in flavor of Hinduism to make Bhakti thoughts identical to Muslim sufi thoughts to distract the common Hindu folks from Muslim sufis. A thorough analysis of the works of members of the Bhakti movement makes it easier to conclude that this peaceful Brahmin lead Hindu movement significantly helped its orchestrators to achieve their objectives. The leading figures of Bhakti movement include Tulsidas, Ramananda, Ravidas, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu and Eknath among others most prominent being kabir and Nanak. Muslim rulers remained very tolerant towards the members of the Bhakti movement except followers of Nanak who politically challenged the Muslim rulers.

Except low level and negligible military conflicts, Hindu Muslim relations remained very cordial and tolerant during Hindu Muslim rule. Hindus were major part of civil and military bureaucracy under Muslim rule starting from Muhammad Bin Qasim era. During medieval period Hindus were integral part of the civil and military structure of Muslim rulers including the slave dynasty, lodhi dynasty, Syed Dynasty, Khilji dynasty and other regional Muslim kingdoms. During Mughal rule in India, Hindus availed even more opportunities in state apparatus. Rjputs were part and parcel of Mughal rule. From homes to barracks and from policy formulation to execution on ground, Hindus enjoyed extra ordinary privileged positions. Along with Rajputs, the Brahmins of the era also held positions of privilege in the state structure. That's why valid historical records find no instances or incidents of repression on Hindu population of India including Brahmins.

It however is the fact of the history that establishment of Muslim rule in India powerfully jolted the Brahmin lead caste system in India and the Brahmins were seemingly losers in the power shift in India. That's why the Brahmins are found to be main intellectual and physical force in decline of the Muslim rule in India and subsequent events creating unease for Muslims in the subcontinent till date. Mugahal-Rajput Alliance in particular deprived the Brahmins of their muscles.

Most glaring feature of mediaval India was that domination of the higher castes tended to disappear with the establishment of Turkish Rule and later the Mughal rule. The rigid caste system felt the loosening effect of the spirit of the age which was result of the decline in status of the Brahmins in the aftermath of the Turkish conquest despite non-interference by the Muslim rulers in caste affairs.

The advent of Islam with the Turkish conquest also caused setback to the power and prestige command by the Brahmins. Thus the way was paved for the growth of non-conformist movements based on anti-Brahmanical ideology. The Brahmins had

always made people believe that the images and the idols in the temples were not just symbols of God but gods themselves who possessed divine power and who could be influenced by them. The Turks deprived the Brahmans of their temple wealth and state patronage. But despite collapse of Rajput-Brahmin Alliance, the Brahmins continued to enjoy much prestige and influence due to their ritual authority and because they could still be forces of tradition and superstition. Brahmins however managed to gradually recollect their confidence by end of Muslim rule in India.

Shivaji Bhonsle was born to Shahji Bhonsle, a Maratha general in the army of Bijapur, and Jijabai in Shivnery, Junnar District Pune in Maharashtra, India on 19th February, 1630/April 1927. He spent most of his childhood at Lal Mahal built by Dadaji Konndev in 1640 two years after he had ownership of Pune City from Adilshahi Sultans. Shivaji died on 3rd April 1680 of fever in Rajgarh, his capital. He started his military campaigns in 1645 by conquering Torna Fort in Bijapur followed by conquest of Chakan, Kondana and Rajgad fort. His military history includes deceitful murder of Bijapur army General Afzal Khan in 1659, capture of Mughal territories of Ahmednagar and Junner in 1657, deceitfully attacking Mughal General Shaista Khan in 1660, raid and looting of Soorat in 1664. In 1666, Mughals attacked Shivaji, defeated and recaptured territory lost to him, made Shivaji sign treaty of Purandar, compelled him to visit the court of Aurangzeb from where he escaped again craftily. From 1670 Shivaji restarted his military campaign, recaptured forts lost to Mughals, raided Surat again, won battle of Vani Dindori. In 1674 Shivaji captured Kandesh, Bijapur, Ponda, Karwar, Kolhapur and Janjeera, crowned himself as king of Marathas at Rajgarh Fort with title of Kshatriya Kulavantas Sinhasanadheeshwar Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. In 1675 Shivaji captured Ramnagar, Athani and Belgaun and in 1676 captured Vayem Raem, Villore and Gingee.

The above narration is to indicate that Shivaji was a self made clever warrior and due to his extraordinary abilities he established a tiny kingdom along coastal Maharashtra dominantly in Konkani region. Shivaji was contented with the territory under his control as he almost abandoned offensive strategy in 1676, four years before his death in 1680. There can be criticism over his tactics as that of a coward but as outcome of all the events he emerged as a strong man. Usually there were no religious biases in his military campaign as there were no reasons at all for any religious bias. Shivaji was son of Shahji Bhonsle. Shahji Bhonsle was a prominent military general in Bijapur Sultanate. Shahji along with his father Maloji along with Malik Amber were responsible for expansion of Bijapur Sultanate. Not only father but also grandfather of Shivaji were pillars of Shahi dynasty. However he was clever enough to use Hindu religious sentiments to attract support whenever he needed so including use of saffron flag.

Shivaji's territorial gains shrank during years of his successors including Sambhaji,

Rajaram and Shahuji due to consistent military check by Mughal army till the death of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707. The events anyhow took the reverse turn during the reign of successors of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir due to downfall of Mughal Empire and rise of Peshwas to the prominence. Peshwas were Chitpawan Brahmins from Konkan area of Maharashtra. Most prominent among the Peshwas were Balaji Vishwanath, Balaji Rao I and Balaji Baji Rao. The Chitpawan Brahmins were in control of events in most part of India during the period between 1707 and 1761 when the fateful third battle of Panipat was fought between the Afghans and the Marathas where Marathas were decisively defeated.

The Chitpawan Brahmins who rose to prominence during the downfall of the Mughal Empire were to shape the future history of India. The role of Chitpawan Brahmins is more than any other Hindu community in creating communalism in India. Legacy of Chitpawan Brahmins is echoing across the sub-continent since the early 18th century till date. In the 18th Century they hijacked the territorial and political gains of Shivaji and in the 20th century the Chitpawan Brahmins hijacked the future of the entire Indian subcontinent. This Chitpawan legacy is going to occupy a major part of the contents of this book to follow.

CHAPTER 1

Late 19th and Early 20th Century

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

After the fateful third battle of Panipat between the Afghans and the Marathas in 1761 the political landscape of India continued to be dominated by the British in form of East India Company or by British Raj till 1947. The Hindus (Brahmins) had lost political leverage in the subcontinent and were reduced to bureaucratic functions during period of British dominance. They resorted to old age tactics of Hindu reformation on the pattern of Bhakti Movement. The period between the Bhakti Movement and the British Rule had further radicalized the minds and thoughts of the Hindus (Brahmins). As a result the Bhakti Movement styled as Hindu Reformist Movement started in India was more radicalized and more extremist. One among many other reasons for this radicalization may be the major shift in demography of India during past five hundred years of Muslim rule. During the Bhakti Movement there was a threat perception in the minds of the Hindu (Brahmins) that Muslim Rule may change the demography of India and also the caste structure. But after the passage of five hundred years, the fear had proven true. Muslim rule indeed had changed the demography of India and also had made major dent to Hindu (Brahmin) supremacy. Muslims constituted 30 to 35 percent population of India. Even after the downfall of Muslim rule in the sub-continent, the Muslims were a force to reckon with. Another reason for this Hindu Reform Movement was the threat from the new rulers. The new rulers of India were the British who happened to be Christians. Already having 30 to 35 percent of Non-Hindu population on soil of India, the addition of such numbers of Christians was simply a nightmare for the Hindus (Brahmins). Resultantly history witnesses a number of Hindu reform Movements in a span of a century.

BrahmoSamaj was one such influential Hindu Reform Movement. The founder of the BrahmoSamaj was Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Basically he was Ram Mohan Roy; title of Raja was given to him by Akber II. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a Kulin Brahmin of Bengal who worked extensively with the British. His work with the British guided him to bring the traits of monotheism among Hindus. This also made him aware of the evils within doing away with whom he thought was essential to check another wave of conversion in India.

The other but more aggressive reformist movement was Arya Samaj founded by Sawami Dayanand Saraswati, Brahmin from Gujrat. The Arya Samaj was a blend of social and political activities. It was more extremist and more violent. The Arya Samaj can truly be called as predecessor of Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtarya Sawayemsewak Sangh. In theory it was designed to reform beliefs and practices of the Hindu population of India but practically Arya Samaj proved to be more revisionists socially and politically. Similar to BarahmoSamaj, the Arya Samaj preached reforms as monotheism, removal of caste system, end to childhood marriage, sati etc but practically it went highly anti Muslim. It was Sawami Dayanand Saraswati who for the first time in the history of India introduced the term SAWARAJ meaning India for Indians. From the time of Vedas till time of Dayananad Saraswati, no reference or

evidence of the word Sawaraj is found. Arya Samaj simultaneously was the one to introduce a systematic campaign to convert Muslims of India to Hinduism under term Shudhi. DyanandSaraswati vilified all religions except Hinduism (Sanatan Dharma) and openly criticized the revered personalities. Dyanand used to openly express heretic thoughts about Islam, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the Holy Quran. He expressed his disrespectful thoughts about the Christianity, the Christ and the Bible. Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism also could not remain safe from his outrageous vilification.

Reformation is the process of purification from unwanted additions which penetrate any system or set of beliefs over a period of time. Reformation always a healthy process and is supported by every sane individual. Reformation process in Hinduism unfortunately is always equated with systematic campaigns against non Hindus in India particularly Muslims. It started with Bhakti Movement and continued in different shapes in the 19th Century. The effects of these reform movements were felt by the Muslim community of India across the board. Coupled with these Hindu reform movements were some political developments in India. After establishment of British Raj in India , there started an interaction between the rulers and the ruled. The rulers were the British but the ruled were not Hindus only. It was a diverse population in India. Hinduism was the religion with largest number of followers in India. Around three fourth population of India was follower of Hindu religion while around one fourth population was following Islam. The Hindu population particularly the elite adopted itself quite quickly to the new situation and started to find place for itself in the new circumstances. The formation of All India Congress in 1882 was one such bid. The first meeting of All India Congress was held in 1885 in Bombay which was attended by 73 delegates in total out of which only 2 were Muslims. Similarly other means of interaction including induction in civil services between the rulers and the ruled were Hindu dominated. Congress, dominated by Hindu (Brahmins) was a very confused creature since its beginning. The congress could not understand the public sentiments and situation on ground since beginning. Extremist Hindu elements had radicalized the Hindu society.

Muslims of India found themselves squeezed between the extremist and secular Hindus. On one hand the religious extremist Hindus were questioning the very existence of Muslims by their Shudhi Movement while on the other hand the secular Hindus were also denying political and administrative space to Muslims.

A major development with far reaching impact on history of India during the early years of 20th century was the Partition of Bengal in 1905. Bengal in the early 20th century under the British Rule was unusually large entity. The population of Bengal was made up of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam , Orissa and a part of Chhattisgarh with a quarter of Indian population numbering around 8 crores . It was very difficult to

properly manage such a huge administrative entity. Lord Curzon decided partition of Bengal in Western and Eastern Bengal purely for administrative convenience in 1905. The western part of Bengal consisted of Hindu dominated areas while the eastern part with Dakka as capital consisted mostly of Muslim dominated areas. The population of Western Bengal was around 5 crores while that of east was above three crores. The administrative capital of united Bengal was Calcutta which being in the western part of the province caused concentration of administrative energies and investment of government finances in the western part itself. The eastern part was picture of administrative neglect. Farming, peasantry etc were in poor shape and natural disasters and famines were very common there. These factors drove Lord Curzon to execute partition of Bengal. The eastern part had an area of 106,540 sq miles with 18 million Hindu and 12 million Muslim populations.

The educated Bengali Hindus felt that it was a deliberate blow inflicted by Curzon at the national consciousness and growing solidarity of the Bengali-speaking population. The Hindus of Bengal, who controlled most of Bengal's commerce and the different professions and led the rural society, opined that the Bengalee nation would be divided, making them a minority in a province including the whole of Bihar and Orissa. They complained that it was a veiled attempt by Curzon to strangle the spirit of nationalism in Bengal. They strongly believed that it was the prime object of the government to encourage the growth of a Muslim power in eastern Bengal as a counterpoise to thwart the rapidly growing strength of the educated Hindu community. Economic, political and communal interests combined together to intensify the opposition against the partition measure.

The Hindu dominated press particularly the Bengali press opposed the partition move from the very beginning. The British press, the Anglo-Indian press and even some administrators also opposed the measure. The partition evoked fierce protest in west Bengal, especially in Calcutta and gave a new fillip to Hindu extremism. The Indian National Congress played a very controversial part in the anti partition movement.

The leadership of the Indian National Congress portrayed the partition as an attempt to 'divide and rule' and as a proof of the government's vindictive antipathy towards the outspoken Bhadrakol intellectuals. Mother-goddess worshipping Bengali Hindus depicted the partition was to the vivisection of their 'Mother province'. 'Bande-Mataram' (Hail Motherland) almost became the national anthem of the Indian National Congress. Defeat of the partition became the immediate target of Bengalee nationalism. Agitation against the partition manifested itself in the form of mass meetings, rural unrest and a swadeshi movement to boycott the import of British manufactured goods. Swadeshi and Boycott were the twin weapons of this nationalism and Swaraj (self-government) its main objective. Swaraj was first mentioned in the presidential address of Dadabhai Naoroji as the Congress goal at its

Calcutta session in 1906.

Leaders like Surendranath Banerjee along with journalists like Krishna Kumar Mitra, editor of the Sanjivani (13 July 1905) urged the people to boycott British goods, observe mourning and sever all contact with official bodies. In a meeting held at Calcutta on 7 August 1905 (hailed as the birthday of Indian nationalism) a resolution to abstain from purchases of British products so long as 'Partition resolution is not withdrawn' was accepted with acclaim. This message was popularized by the songs of Dwijendralal Roy, Rajanikanta Sen and Rabindranath Tagore. As with other political movements of the day this also took on religious overtones. Pujas were offered to emphasize the solemn nature of the occasion.

The Hindu religious fervor reached its peak on 28 September 1905, the day of the Mahalaya, the new-moon day before the puja, and thousands of Hindus gathered at the Kali temple in Calcutta. In Bengal the worship of Kali, wife of Shiva, had always been very popular. She possessed a two-dimensional character with mingled attributes both generative and destructive. Simultaneously she took great pleasure in bloody sacrifices but she was also venerated as the great mother associated with the conception of Bengal as the Motherland. This conception offered a solid basis for the support of political objectives stimulated by religious excitement. Kali was accepted as a symbol of the motherland, and the priest administered the Swadeshi vow. Such a religious flavour could and did give the movement a widespread appeal among the Hindu masses, but by the same token that flavour aroused hostility in average Muslim minds. Huge protest rallies before and after Bengal's division on 16 October 1905 attracted millions of people heretofore not involved in politics.

The Swadeshi Movement as an economic movement would have been quite acceptable to the Muslims, but as the movement was used as a weapon against the partition (which the greater body of the Muslims supported) and as it often had a religious colouring added to it, it antagonized Muslim minds.

The anti partition movement in Bengal against the Partition spread to different regions in India- Punjab, Central Provinces, Poona, Madras, Bombay and other cities. Instead of wearing foreign made outfits, the stalwarts of the anti partition movement vowed to use only swadeshi (indigenous) cottons and other clothing materials made in India.

The anti-partition agitation was peaceful and constitutional at the initial stage, but when it appeared that it was not yielding the desired results the protest movement inevitably passed into the hands of more militant leaders. Two techniques of boycott and terrorism were applied to make their mission successful. Consequently the younger generation, who were drawn into politics, adopted militant methods by using firearms, pistols and bombs indiscriminately. The agitation soon took an ugly turn towards anarchy and disorder. Several assassinations were committed and attempts

were made on the lives of officials including Sir Andrew Fraser. The militant movement soon became an integral part of the Swadeshi agitation.

The partition of Bengal affected by Lord Curzon purely for administrative convenience invited unusually high resistance from the Hindu leadership and Hindu intelligentsia. This was unusually high level of Hindu resistance. As the eastern part of Bengal was already backward, the government simply wanted to raise standard of living of people, 60 percent of whom happened to be Muslims but the Hindus went to unprecedented scale of opposition despite the fact that 40 percent of those living there were Hindus themselves whose standard of living was also expected to be elevated by this move.

The Congress which claimed to be representing all communities in India failed miserably to establish itself as unbiased organization as it tilted openly towards the opponents of the partition of Bengal. Owing to the question of partition of Bengal and the subsequent resistance to this move, Congress got divided into extremist and moderate sections. The memorable Surat Split was a practical manifestation of the war of ideologies within congress. It is quite interesting to note that there was no split on the question of opposition to the partition of Bengal. There was quite an agreement between both extremist and moderate factions over opposition to the partition of Bengal. The point of conflict and split was the adoption of means of opposition and resistance. The moderate elements wanted to resist the move by peaceful means while the extremist elements wanted to use violent means to bow down the British government. Despite the split, both factions of the Congress opposed the partition of Bengal and carried out their respective activities under the umbrella of their party. Bal-Pal-Lal an abbreviation for BalGangadharTilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and LalaLajpat Roy, championed the cause of the extremist faction within Congress.

This situation resulted in a lot of thinking and consultations among the Muslims about their social and political future. The increased consultations among Muslims from different parts of India resulted in a big meet up in 1906 when All India Muslim League was formally founded. The foundation of All India Muslim League was a major development in the early 20th century with significant far reaching impact on politics, geography and demography of Indian subcontinent in years to come. It was the Muslim League who was to champion the cause of separate homeland for Muslims which resulted in creation of Pakistan in August 1947.

Another event with far reaching consequences in India was the Khilafat Movement. The Khilfat Movement started by Muslims of India in favor of the Ottoman Caliphate abolished by the British after World War I. The Congress seemed once again helpless in front of radical Hindu elements here. Mahatma Gandhi tried to include Muslim weight in No cooperation movement by supporting Khilafat Movement but faced stiff

resistance from within party and outside Hindu elements. The result was that Gandhi abandoned the support for Khilafat Movement but this action left very deep imprints on Muslim understanding of proceedings which helped Muslims select future course of action.

CHAPTER II

Hindu Mahasabha

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

Hindu Mhasabha can truly be called as mother of Hindutva theory and practice. Hindu Mahasabha is one of the oldest Hindu extremist organizations in India. Before Hindu Mahasabha there were few organizations in India but they were either religious or secular. Organizations like Congress were secular while the organizations like Arya Samaj were religious in nature. Hindu Mahasabha was first Hindu religious cum political organization. Hindu Mahasabha was essentially an extremist Hindu organization which introduced the idea of Hindutva. Almost all prominent politicians having difference with Congress over more tilt towards extremist Hinduism joined Hindu Mahasabha at one stage or the other.

Hindu Mahasabha introduces itself as “Akhil Bharat Hindu Maha Sabha is one of the oldest organizations of India that is Bharat as it was formed in 1907. Eminent Hindu leaders extended this Organization in 1915 on All India basis. Hindu Mahasabha is a hindusangathan movement and politics of hindutva. Hindu Mahasabha is a non-secular party, established for safeguarding issues of Hindus”

“The Eminent personalities who founded this Organisation and who presided over the ALL INDIA Sessions held are: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Swami Sharadhanand, Shankaracharya Dr Kurtkoti, N.C.Kelkar, LalLajpat Rai, Raja Narendranath, Ramanand Chatterjee, Vijayaraghavacharya, Bai Parmanand, Bhikustootama, Veer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Dr B. S. Moonje, Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. N.B. Khare, N.C. Chatterjee, Prof V.G. Deshpande, N.N. Banerjee, Vikram Savarkar, Balarao Savarkar. This party was also represented in Parliament by noted Parliamentarians like Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Prof. V.G. Deshpande, N.C. Chatterjee, Dr. N.B. Khare, Bhishan Chand Seth, Mahant Digvijaynath Pandit Brij Narayan Brijesh, SMT Shakuntala Nayar. In freedom struggle some personalities of this party were prosecuted by British, sentenced to death, sentenced and sent to Andaman's. Among them were Veer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Babarao Damodar Savarkar, Bhai Parmanand, Ashutosh Lahiri and Baba Madan Singh Goga. Several revolutionaries were active members.”

The first Hindu Sabha was established in the Punjab in the year 1907 with the following objects:-” (1) To Promote brotherly feelings amongst the various sections of the Hindu community (2) To help destitute and disabled Hindus (3) To act as trustees of such properties as may be entrusted to the Sabha for charitable, religious, educational and other purposes (4) To improve the moral, intellectual and material condition of Hindus (5) Generally protect, promote and represent the interests of the Hindu community (6) To help the establishment of similar Sabhas in other important towns. The first Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference was held in 1909 at Lahore. Nearly 800 delegates from different parts of the Province attended the two days sitting 21st and 22nd October 1909

As per its resolution in 1949 the Hindu Mahasabha narrates its mission as

THE IDEAL OF "AKHAND HINDUSTHAN"

The indivisibility of the land extending from the Himalayas down to the Southern and Eastern Seas being an article of faith with Hindudom, the Mahasabha shall strain every nerve, and try all possible methods— from peaceful negotiations on Inter-State level to utilisation of international strategies—to bring about the reunion of the States now called "Bharat" and "Pakistan," into a consolidated one, to be called "Akhand Hindustan," For this purpose, the Hindu Mahasabha shall mobilise popular opinion in Bharat, in foreign lands and above all, in Pakistan, so as to enlist moral and material support of all people to its cause.

THE IDEAL OF HINDU-RASHTRA

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the ideal of "Hindu-Rashtra" or a "National Home for the Hindu." The large section of human population, numbering upwards of three hundred and forty millions at the present moment, who go by the name of Hindus, are a distinct ideological group, with a very broad-based ideology, possessing a characteristic outlook on life, a well-defined cultural back-ground and historical traditions and entering world politics as clear-cut unit, easily distinguishable from all others in more respect than one. This ideological group of human beings (which is often referred to as a Nation, in the absence of a more appropriate collective term to describe them), have no land on the earth, which they may call their own and where they may give a practical shape to their great, rational ideology, protecting, developing and fashioning their native genius. Their "National Home" was forcibly captured, and has been retained under wrongful possession, by non-Hindu invaders, just as the Jews' Homeland was held up by non-Jews. In the countries, in which the Hindus are now found, viz., Bharat and Pakistan, they are allowed to exist as a community only along with a host of other communities — and enjoy a status which prevents them from building up Independent Bharat on the basis of the country's native genius and heritage. The alleged freedom of Bharat or Pakistan is no more real to the Hindus than the independence of America was to the Red Indians. There is no Government or "power," which may avowedly call itself a champion of Hindu cause—which may earnestly take up the Hindus' case in the international sphere and raise an effective voice against the disabilities, humiliations, penal legislations and even inhuman atrocities, to which Hindus, as Hindus, are subjected in many countries of the world today Islamic ideology reigns supreme in many States of the Middle East, as Christian ideology does in Europe, Africa, and Australia, and as if the area already under the Quranic law was not sufficient for the wide world to observe how 'efficiently' Muslims ruled, a new Muslim state—Pakistan—has been given to them at the cost of Hindus. For the working of Communistic ideology, one can look to USSR.

How Christian Governments work, can be judged from the state of affairs in the various European countries. Even Jews have, at long last, regained part of their lost Homeland and are free to display their genius in their newly built state, Israel. The Hindus alone are a homeless people in the modern world and the Hindu ideology alone is being denied a homeland where its sublime qualities of love, truth, peace, toleration and rationalism, which indeed, tin- world needs most today, can find proper scope for self-fulfilment.

It is imperative that a "National Home" for the Hindus should be established on this sacred soil of Bharat where they may set up a Hindu Government of their own design and solve their internal and external problems—Social, political as well as economic—in their own way. The Hindu Mahasabha regards, and shall officially declare when in power, the present State of Bharat, (and after reunion with Pakistan, the entire land from the Himalayas to the Seas) to be the "National Home of the Hindus," or "Hindu-Rashtra," and shall take upon its shoulders the moral and legal responsibility of protecting and promoting Hindus' cultural, economic and political interests, and of rehabilitating Hindu refugees within its territorial jurisdiction in the event of non-Hindu people turning hostile to their Hindu neighbours.

For discharging its duties towards Hindudom in foreign lands, the Hindu-Rashtra Government may take whatever steps are warranted by the nature and magnitude of the emergency and obligations of our national self-respect. The Hindu Rashtra shall thus be the natural "National Home of the World Hindus," (as Israel is of the World Jewry), and all Hindus, no matter where they reside and belong shall have full claim upon, and a share in, its assets and liabilities and shall look to Bharat—their Mother Country—for inspiration and guidance as much for the preservation of their self-interest, as for the promotion and dissemination of Hindu culture and Hindu outlook on life.

NON-HINDUS IN HINDU-RASHTRA

The non-Hindus shall be entitled to the enjoyment of equal civic rights and religious freedom with Hindus. In the event of war or some such emergency, however, the Government shall have powers to make distinction, if deemed necessary, between its Hindu and non-Hindu nationals, even as it may, at times have to distinguish between different sections of the Hindus themselves. Moreover, the Hindu-Rashtra Government shall not be duty-bound to take up the defence, in foreign lands, of the interests of such of the non-Hindus as are not its bonafide nationals. In other words, while the Hindus of the whole world shall have legal claim upon it, the non-Hindus of the Hindu-Rashtra only, and no other, shall be legally entitled to claim help, protection and shelter from its Government. It will be thus seen that responsibilities of the Hindu-Rashtra Government shall be far more onerous, and the fields of its activity, much

wider, than those of the present Government, in as much as the safeguarding of interests of the Hindus, not living within its own jurisdiction, will be an additional, thought self-imposed, duty, over and above all those, that the present Government discharges. The Hindus in Pakistan and other alien lands cannot be adequately looked after, and their miseries cannot be mitigated, except by thus radically modifying the outlook of the Bharat Government and enlarging the scope of its activities. If such "enlargement" appears to be "narrow-mindedness" and communalism to some of our misguided politicians it is because their own political vision is myopic. In the interest of Hindu Rashtra such enlargement of its responsibility is dictated by political, not communal considerations.

REFUGEE PROBLEM

HinduMahasabha will approach the refugee problem in a realistic and a radically different way; for, its solution will be in keeping with its ideal of Hindu-Rashtra - it regards Bharat pre-eminently as the "National Home" of the Hindus. If a hostile attitude of Pakistan towards Hindus accelerates mass migration, upsetting the economy Of Hindu-Rashtra and making rehabilitation impossible, the Hindu Mahasabha will not hesitate to force part of their Muslim nationals to migrate to Pakistan, so as to maintain parity in migration. Besides these basic principles guiding the Hindu Mahasabha's approach to the refugee problem, the opinion of displaced persons themselves shall be obtained on specific issues affecting them, from time to time, through their accredited representatives and shall be given effect to as far as possible. The following concrete suggestions shall come up for active consideration of Mahasabha if and when in power, for affording relief to displaced Hindus (including Sikhs):

Imposition of a special Rehabilitation Tax on non-refugees;

Permanent allotment of Muslim evacuees' lands and tenements of Hindu refugees;

Last possible dislocation of refugees settled in urban areas,

CULTURAL POLICY

The Hindu Rashtra shall aim at strengthening the common Pan-Hindu culture amongst different sections of its nationals, which shall serve eventually as a nucleus for Pan-human culture. Bharat must have a common language, a common calendar and a common system of weights and measures. But the process of shedding-off of the local colour and accepting of rational and universalised standards shall start from a voluntary urge from within and will necessarily be a question of time and shall not result from compulsion.

Common cultural consciousness shall be actively fostered by making Sanskrit a

compulsory subject of study, the lingua franca of the Hindu Rashtra shall be Hindi in Devnagri script, the official calendar shall be the Vikramiya calendar and similar other features of Hindu cultural life shall receive official recognition when people so desire. It shall have power to exercise control on economic, political and other activities of secular nature, indulged in by certain people under the cloak of religion. The State shall actively participate in national celebrations such as Dussera, Dewali, Holi, Janmastami etc., and a nationwide campaign shall be inaugurated through these and other celebrations for building up national character and focussing the energies of the rising generation on true national ideals and conduct. The slaughtering of any animal belonging to the cow species, within the Hindu-Rashtra, shall be crime unless permission has been granted by the Government to do so, under exceptional circumstances.

The Hindu Rashtra Government shall besides enlist fullest possible co-operation of Dharmic and spiritual leaders of the nation in awakening the moral sense of the masses and in strengthening their character. The Hindu Mahasabha believes that absolute emphasis on secular programmes-economic planning, legal reforms etc., etc., — to the neglect of moral and spiritual up-building of the masses, shall be injurious to the State. Fear of legal action only leads to tendency to seek escapement technical loopholes of legal machinery and it alone cannot go very far to check crime and to minimise misery. The anti-crime campaigns of the Executive and judiciary must be supplemented by systematic moral and spiritual education and an all-round effort to impart internal discipline not the individual. Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, while fighting superstition and dogmatism ruthlessly with the luminous flood of scientific rationalism, shall make the best use of the religious instinct in man to fight out unruly, aggressive, sadistic and anti-social tendencies in him.

DEFENCE POLICY

In the border provinces of the Punjab and Bengal and Assam, able-bodied civilians shall be fully militarised. Recruitment to State forces shall be brought up to war-time standards — in numbers as well as in efficiency — and the Army shall be maintained in a tip-top condition' of preparedness for meeting any emergency. Training in modern scientific warfare shall be given to the Hindu youth in more advanced friendly States of the world. The Hindu Mahasabha aims at making entire Hindudom military-minded.

The Hindu Mahasabha notes with regret that the members of the armed forces, on whose valour and sacrifice the safety of the State depends, are not given adequate representation in determining the policies of the country. The disregard shown to the military men in day to day administration is bound to create discontent among them, the signs of which are already visible. The Hindu Mahasabha holds that the Defence

Minister's post must be held by some person with some military antecedents and the Commander-in-Chief should be an ex-officio member of the Cabinet.

RADICAL DEMOCRACY

The Hindu Mahasabha recognises the importance of the individual as against the group and shall strive its utmost to uphold his liberty. It believes in reducing the restrictions on the individual to the barest minimum and shall gradually evolve a governmental machinery, in which decentralisation and delegation of maximum powers consistent with national efficiency, to the provincial units shall be effected and in which the Executive will have maximum responsibility and will wield minimum powers. The Government jobs will cease to attract careerists, in; I will capture incorruptible idealists, only if premium is not put on vanity and superficiality. During the initial few years of its ascending in power, however, the Hindu Mahasabha shall retain in its hands the executive powers, which the out-going Government will relinquish.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Hindu Mahasabha is fully cognisant of the shortcomings of the present education and examination system and shall set up, as soon as may be, an Education Board, consisting of eminent Hindu educationists and a few foreign experts, to prepare an education scheme more in consonance with the actual requirements and ideological aspirations of hindudom. The change-over from the present to the new system, shall naturally be slow, but no hesitancy shall be allowed to stand in the way of undertaking the reformation in right earnest. A new system of education shall receive top priority, since the nation can be built on new lines through proper planning of education alone.

Although the detailed scheme will be drawn up by the experts, the broad principles guiding their work shall be laid down by the party. In-particular, the systematisation and expansion of Sanskrit studies, research on and popularisation of Ayurved, preparation of historical text books on national lines, revival of Hindu arts, (painting, music, dance, sculpture etc.), and teaching of Hindu science and mathematics along with modern subjects, shall form an essential part of the educational programme. The Hindu Mahasabha aims at making literacy a universal phenomenon in Hindu Rashtra and shall make primary education free and compulsory. It shall include the acquisition of sufficient knowledge of the mother tongue, the national language, arithmetic and geography and history, to enable the pupil to pull on decently in life. The medium of instruction throughout the primary, secondary and higher secondary stage shall be the mother-tongue Hindi being taught as a compulsory second language from the third year of the pupil's educational career. Where Hindi is the mother-tongue, the child must take up some other advanced provincial language—Bengali, Marathi, Tamil etc. Sanskrit shall be a compulsory subject of study.

CONCEPTION OF SECULARISM

Unskilled administrators and raw politicians, who do not even know the full meaning of secularism, are using this new concept, unfortunately, to cover hundreds of their sins against Hindudom. In order, therefore, that secularism, as a means of averting petty parochial disputes, may not defeat its very purpose, the Hindu Mahasabha feels it to be its primary obligation to bring home to the people its own conception of a secular state, which Hindu-Rashtra shall aspire to be.”

The above narrated mission of Hindu Mahasabha was formulated and made public in 1949 at Colcatta after India had gained independence from British Rule. Pre independence Hindu Mahasabha was more toxic and lethal. Anti Muslim riots at the time of partition were mostly Hindu Mahasabha orchestrated.

The Hindu Mahasabha was founded and lead by eminent Hindu right wing leaders including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Swami Sharadhanand, Shankaracharya Dr. Kurtkoti, N.C.Kelkar, LalaLajpat Rai, Raja Narendranath, Ramanand Chatterjee, Vijayaraghavacharya, Bai Parmanand, Bhikustootama, Veer VinayakDamodarSavarkar, Dr B. S.Moonje, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. N.B. Khare, N.C.Chaterjee, Prof V.G.Deshpande, N.N.Banerjee, VikramSavarkar and BalaraoSavarkalike.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malawya is regarded as founder of Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha. Madan Mohan Malawya himself was a Brahmin Hindu. His parents migrated from Malwa, present day Madhya Pardesh to Allahabad. Due to their linkage with Malwa, Malawya was added to names of his family members. He was among founding member of Congress and presided its sessions four times. Madan Mohan Malawya gradually detracted from Congress and founded readical Hindu organization Hindu Mahasabha. Madan Malawya established newspapers like The Leader and also founded Banaras Hindu University in 1916. From 1918 to 1938 he remained vice chancellor oh Banaras Hindu University.

He is generally portrayed as a secular among far right Hindus but his following words few days before his death reflect inner most of his feelings

“Till the time the Hindu society does not strengthen its own condition and plight, there will be no solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem.”

“Unfortunately, over the last few decades, Hindus have become associated only as a people endowed with Dharma, truth, non-violence, and peace-loving people. The spirit of Kshatra has completely vanished from the mental space of Hindus.”

“A wholly communal organization like the Muslim League has attained parity with a nationalist organization like the Indian National Congress Party. It is only due to this

development that the larger Hindu community has become demoralized. The Hindu community's aspirations, its culture, Dharma...all of these have been drowned under the weight of something called "Secular India."

"Perhaps the political fortunes of Hindus are still safe in the hands of the Congress Party. However, an entirely new and powerful organization needs to be formed from the scratch to safeguard the Dharma, culture, traditions, customs, institutions, and social good of the Hindus. This organization must also constantly raise a strong voice on behalf of the Hindus."

"I have offered these suggestions from a profound sense of duty towards Dharma. The Hindu society and culture is now faced with grave danger. In these tumultuous times, all Hindus must organize themselves being inspired by the same sense of existential duty and make provisions for their self-defence. At the present time, Muslim leaders have embarked on a dangerous spree of making incendiary speeches and writings. They are repeatedly throwing challenges to the Hindu community in a spirit of heightened, unprovoked aggression."

Dr. B.S. Moonje (1872-1948) was another famous figure in Hindumahasabha. He was born at Bilaspur, currently in Chattisgarh state. He completed his Medical Degree from Grant Medical College in Mumbai in 1898 and was employed in Bombay Municipal Corporation as a Medical Officer on a handsome salary. He left this job to participate in the Boer War in South Africa through the Medical Wing as the King's Commissioned Officer because of his keen interest in Military Life. After returning from South Africa, he started his medical practice at Nagpur. He was also a Sanskrit scholar.

Dr. Moonje was a strong supporter of Lokmanya BalGangadharTilak. The Congress Party's annual session was held at Surat (Gujarat) in 1907. Trouble broke out between the Moderate (Soft Faction) and the Extremist (Hot Faction) factions of the Congress party over the selection of a new President. The Congress party split into two factions. The extremists were led by the triumvirate of LalaLajpat Rai, BalGangadharTilak, Bipinchandra Pal. Dr. Moonje and his followers literally gave physical protection to Tilak when he was attacked by few people throwing chairs and stones. From then onwards, the relationship between Tilak and Moonje became very close. Dr. Moonje toured the entire Central India and collected huge funds for Tilak on many occasions. Dr. Moonje also introduced Ganesh and Shivaji Festivals in Central India and also accompanied Tilak to Calcutta for this purpose. He was The General Secretary of Central Indian Provincial Congress for many years.

After the death of Tilak in 1920, he dissociated from Congress. He disagreed with the two main policies of M. K. Gandhi, namely his non-violence and pro-Muslim policy. He took up the Hindu Cause and continued to pursue it till his death in 1948. He was

the All India President of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1927 until he handed over charge to Veer Savarkar in 1937. Till his death, he was very active in the Mahasabha and used to tour all over India. V D Savarkar also got his support and they worked as a team in building a strong Hindu organisation.

He, strongly advised Dr Ambedkar to convert to any religion of Indian origin (and not any Abrahmic creed), when the question of Dalit exodus from Hinduism gained fire. Initially Ambedkar thought of joining Sikhism but later settled for Buddhism.

He had a keen interest in Indianisation of the military and militarization of India". He was member of the "First Defense Committee of India" under the Chairmanship of General Chetwood and also member of Central Legislative Council (now known as the Parliament).

Taking the advantage of new recruitment opened by British Government during World War II, he conducted several Recruitment Rallies for inducting young men into the British Army, thinking that the well trained Indian Blood (at the cost of British) will revolt against British when nation needs it.

He visited many Military Schools in Britain, Germany, France and Italy. He met many Generals of First World War and also met Benito Mussolini to study the military training imparted in Italy. He took initiative in starting Indian Military Academy at Dehradun as the first Indian Academy in 1936. After this tour he established Central Hindu Military Education Society at Nashik in 1935 and started Bhonsala Military School in 1937 as a feeder Institute to IMA, Dehradun.

Bhonsala Military School, Nasik was established by Late Dharamaveer Dr. Balkrishna Shivramji Moonje, who was a firm believer of Indianisation of the Armed Forces during the British rule and indispensability of military training to Indian youth. Dr Moonje formed the Central Hindu Military Education Society at Nasik in 1935 and started the school on 12th June 1937.

Shayama Prasad Mukherjee was born on 6th July 1901 in a Brahmin family of a high social status, to Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, a well respected advocate in Bengal and mother Lady Jogmaya Devi Mukherjee in Calcutta. Mookerjee obtained his degree from the University of Calcutta. He graduated in English securing the first position in first class and also did MA and BL.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee enrolled as an advocate in Calcutta High Court in 1924 after his father's death. Subsequently he left for England in 1926 to study in Lincoln's Inn and became a barrister in 1927. At the age of 33, he became the youngest Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, and held the office till 1938.

He was elected as member of the Legislative Council of Bengal, as a Congress

candidate representing Calcutta University in the year 1929. But in the very next year he resigned when Congress decided to boycott the legislature. Subsequently, he contested the election as an independent candidate and got elected. In 1937 he was re-elected from the university constituency.

V.D. Savarkar had created a deep impression on him. He emerged as a spokesman for Hindus and he joined Hindu Mahasabha and in 1944. To Mukherjee, the Muslims were a minority and thus could not in any system of logic and reason be given a status superior to the majority Hindu masses. Thus Mukherjee adopted causes to unite Hindu voices, and protect Hindus against the Muslim League. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was a strong opponent of the Partition of India initially. He disfavored strongly Hindus continuing to live in a Muslim-dominated state and under a government controlled by the Muslim League.

Following the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by, the Mahasabha was blamed chiefly for the villainous act and became deeply unpopular. Mukherjee himself left the Mahasabha.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee disagreed with the policy of the Government towards Pakistan after partition. Mookerjee resigned from the Cabinet on 6th April 1950 on the issue of the 1949 Delhi Pact with Pakistani Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan. Mukherjee was firmly against Nehru's invitation to the Pakistani PM, and their joint pact to establish minority commissions and guarantee minority rights in both countries.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee wanted to hold Pakistan directly responsible for the terrible influx of millions of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan. Mookerjee considered Nehru's actions as appeasement.

With Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, leader of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Mookerjee founded the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (Indian People's Union) on October 21, 1951 at Delhi and became its first President. The rest of his life was spent in actively building up this party. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly criticized the favoritism towards India's Muslims by the Nehru administration

The BJS also favored a uniform civil code for both Hindus and Muslims, wanted to ban cow slaughter and end the special status of Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir. The Hindutva agenda founded by the BJS, became the wider political expression of India's Hindu extremists. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee championed the cause of integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India. Mookerjee went to visit Kashmir in 1953, and went on hunger strike to protest the law prohibiting Indian citizens from settling in a state in their own country and the need to carry ID cards, and was arrested on 11th May while crossing border.

Although the ID card rule was revoked owing to his efforts, he died as detenu on May 23, 1953 under mysterious circumstances. His death in custody raised wide suspicion across the country and demands for independent enquiry, including earnest requests from his mother, Jogmaya Devi to the then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. Shayma Prasad Mukherjee along with Vinayak Damodar Savarkar is considered as the godfather of Hindu nationalism in India, notably the Hindutva movement.

The members and supporters of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad widely honored Shayma Prasad. Atal Bihari Vajpayee to whom Shayma Prasad Mukherjee was a major role model, made the BJS the chief Hindu conservative political party in the 1960s and 1970s, and founded its successor, the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) was a leader of the Indian Nationalist Movement, the Indian independence movement led by the Indian National Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, Hindu reform movements, and Arya Samaj. Lala Lajpat Rai was active leader of Hindu Mahasabha in Punjab in particular. He was also the founder of organisations like Hisar congress and Hisar Arya Samaj.

Swami Sharadhanand (1856-1926) was another leader of Hindu Mahasabha. Originally from Arya Samaj, he joined Congress and then went to Hindumahasabha. After joining Hindumahasabha, Swami Sharadhanand further intensified his Shudhi activities for conversion of Muslims to Hinduism.

NC Kelkar was an associate of Tilak and was the secretary of Poona Home Rule League (1916). He became president of hindumahasabha (1927 and 1929) and actively joined the Shudhi movement. He was also a Marathi writer. Known to have been a 'trusted lieutenant' of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Kelkar, a lawyer and writer, later went on to serve as the editor of Tilak's newspaper Kesari, established in 1881. Kelkar was born at Modnimb in Solapur district where his father worked as an administrator in then princely state of Miraj. In his book History of Indian Journalism, J Natarajan writes, "Kelkar and (K P) Khadilkar were trusted lieutenants of Tilak..."

Last but not least, the founder of Hindutveideology, V.D .Savarker also remained the member and president of Hindu Mahasabha.

Hindu Sabha which originated in Punjab in 1907, transformed itself into Hindu Mahasabha which played a major role I Indian politics in years to come.

CHAPTER III

SAVARKAR

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

Brahmins are the upper most in caste hierarchy of Hindus. Presently there are around sixty million Brahmins in India constituting five percent of population of India. The Brahmins have been enjoying a prestigious position in society and polity of India since times of the Vedas. It is said that since time prehistory almost everything in India from geography to demography, from dynasties to empires has undergone transformation except hegemony of Brahmins on Indian society. The Brahmin hegemony is intact as it was during times of Mannu or Vedas. The political hegemony of the Brahmins has seen ups and downs but the Brahmins have survived every down and risen up. That in short is the past, present and future of India in a nutshell.

In India there are around two thousand sub castes of Brahmins which include Khandelwal Brahmins, Kota Brahmins, Konkanastha Brahmins, Koteshwara Brahmins, Nagar Brahmins, Namboothiri Brahmins, Niyogi Brahmins, Padia Brahmins, RajapurSaraswat Brahmins, Saklapuri Brahmins, Sanketi Brahmins, Saraswat Brahmins, Shivalli Brahmins, Smarta Brahmins, Sthanika Brahmins, Thenkalaiyengars, Tuluva Brahmins, Vadagalaiyengars, Vaidiki Brahmins, Vaishnava Brahmins Chitpavana Brahmins, Daivajna Brahmins, Deshastha Brahmins, Dhima Brahmins, Gouda Saraswat Brahmins, Havyaka Brahmins, Hoysala Karnataka Brahmins, Iyers, Kandavara Brahmins, Karade Brahmins, Karhada Brahmins and Kayastha Brahmins.

The Brahmin subcastes are broadly categorized into two great geographical divisions—the north and the south divided by Narmada River. The Gaur (white) subcastes inhabit the region north of the Narmada and the dravidasubcastes inhabit the south. The chief gaur subcastes are Kanakubja, Saraswat, Gaur, Maithila and Utkala and the chief dravidasubcastes are Maharashtra, Tailanga, Dravida, Karnata and Gurjar.

According to another classification according to Vedas, the Bhargaus, Sankritas, Gargs (Chandras), Bhrigus and Saunaks follow the Rigveda. The Kasyaps, Kaasyaps, Vatsas, Sandilas and Dhananjays follow the Samaveda. The Bharadwajs, Angirahs, Gautams and Upamanyus observe the Yajurveda and the Kaushikas, Gritakaushikas, Mudhgalas, Galawas and Vashisht follow the Atharvada. All others follow the Yajurveda.

Then there are supplementary subcastes like Mathur (from Mathura), Magadh, Malwa, Kurmachali, Naipali (from Nepal), Kashmiri, Sapt-Shati, Shenevi, Palashe, Sengardaro, Sankahar, Thatiya, Ahwasi (Haiwasi), Byas, Bilwar, Lrikhishwar, Agachi, Bagaria (Parchuniya), Unwariya, Golapurab, Lyariya, Nade, Myale, Dasadwipi, Dehra-dun, the names largely indicating their habitat.

The Chitpavan or Chitpawan or Chittapawan, also known as Konkanastha Brahmins (KoBra) are a SmartaBrahmin community of Konkan, the coastal region of western Maharashtra in India. Also, in Karnataka one can find most of the Chitpavans residing

in coastal parts of western Karnataka. Though some of them speak Kannada, most of the old people are still speaking Chitpavanilanguage which is considered as the original language of all Kokanastha Brahman community. The historical origins of the Chitpavan community are explained in Hindu scriptures by referring to the tale of Parshuram in the Sahyadrikhanda of the SkandaPurana.

However, the recorded history of the Chitpavans begins in the 18th century. The Chitpavans gained prominence in the Marathi-speaking region when Shivaji's grandson Shahu appointed a Chitpavan Brahmin BalajiVishwanath Bhat as the fifth Peshwa (prime minister). During the reign of the successive Peshwas, some of whom enjoyed status as de facto head of the Maratha confederacy, the Chitpavans settled in various provinces under the Peshwa rule. The Chitpavans established themselves firmly in the social hierarchy of the Marathi-speaking region, and played a prominent role in the political history of India. The community remains concentrated in Maharashtra but also has populations all over India and the rest of the world including the USA and UK.

The legends from the later versions of Sahayadrikhanda mention that Parshuram, defiled by the slaughter of Kshatriyas, needed Brahmins who could perform Vedic ceremonies for him. So, he recovered a narrow strip of land from sea (now called Konkan). He resuscitated Brahmins from the fourteen corpses washed ashore the Sahayadri foothills after shipwreck. The corpses were purified on a funeral pyre before being restored to life, due to which the Brahmins received the name Chitapavan ("pure from pyre"). The above legend probably suggests that the ancestors of Chitapavan Brahmins came to Konkan by the sea. It is because of this legend that the Chitpawan Brahmins are sometimes referred to as descendants of Bani Israel who came to sub continent of India through sea.

The Chitpavan are classified among the PanchaDravida Brahmins. It is said that the fourteen Deshastha Brahmins of different gotras accompanied Parshuram to Konkan and settled at Chitpolan (modern Chiplun). Their descendants came to be known as Chitpols or Chitpavans.

Most of the Chitpavan Brahmins in Maharashtra have adopted Marathi as their language. Till the 1940s, most of the Chitpavans in Konkan spoke a language called Chitpavani Konkani in their homes. BORI records Chitpavani as a fast disappearing language in 1941. There are no inherently nasalized vowels in standard Marathi whereas the Chitpavani dialect of Marathi does have nasalized vowels.

The Chitpavan Brahmins have two sub-groups: the RigvediKonkanastha and the YajurvediKonkanastha. They belong to the Smartha Sect. The community comprises fourteen gotras (clans) which as one of the regulators of marriage the gotras are linked with sains and sages. The gotras are Atri, Kapi, Kashyap, Koundinya, Gargya,

Kaushik, Jamadagni, Nityundana, Bhargava, Bharadwaj, Vatsya, Vashistha, Vishnuvruddha and Shandilya. All the fourteen gotras are clustered into seven groups which are known as the gana. A gotra belonging to a particular gana cannot be considered for marriage with another gotra of same gana. The gana are as follows:- Atri-Kapi, Gargya-Bhardwaj, Koundiya-Vashistha, Kashyap-Shandilya, Kaushik-Bhargava, Jamadagni-Vatsa, Nityundana-Vishnuvruddha. Besides gotra and gana, konkanasthabrahmins observe the Tri (three) and Panch (Five) Pravara system. Chitpavans also revere deities connected with gotras known as the devakas and each family worships its devaka at the time of marriage, while individuals with the same devaka can marry. There are four hundred and forty surnames amongst Konkanastha Brahmins.

The above introduction and classification of the Brahmins has been given because two Brahmin personalities from two sub-castes from Maharashtra have reshaped the politics of Indian subcontinent since start of the twentieth century. In twenty first century the entire world is feeling the impacts of contributions of these two personalities. The first one is a Chitpavan Brahmin V.D. Savarkar while the second is the Deshastha Brahmin Dr. Hedgewar.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar is called the father of philosophy "Hindutva". By concluding years of 19th century Hindu extremism in India had started to get its raw shape. The organizations like Arya Samaj had started to target Muslims ideologically and even physically. The terms like Sawaraj and India for Indian had been invented and their practical manifestation in form of forcible conversion of Muslims to Hinduism and hate and violence against Muslims also had started. In the foregoing chapters the organizations and individuals working against Muslims have been discussed. The term "Hindutva" had been invented by an extremist Hindu from Bengal namely Chandranath Basu in 1892. But it was V.D. Savarkar who through his writings gave hate against Muslims by extremist Hindus an established form by codifying Hindutva.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was born in 1883 in Bhagur village near Nasik in Maharashtra to father Damodar Pant and mother Radhabai. He had two brothers, Ganesh and Narayan, and a sister, Mainabai. He was educated at the local Shivaji High School before he enrolled in the Ferguson College, Poona, in 1902.

As already discussed the Chitpavan Brahmins were descendants of Peshwas of Maratha Confederacy. Maratha confederacy was at brink of getting hold of entire Indian sub-continent when Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India and defeated the Maratha confederacy forces in third battle of Panipat. The defeat caused end of Maratha confederacy in India and a dream to rule entire India. The confederacy was being ruled by Peshwas who happened to be Chitpavan Brahmins while the descents

of Shivaji were mere titular heads. Alongwith others, this event caused Chitpavin Brahmins to be highly damaging towards Muslims. That's why brains like those of V.D. Savarkar got produced. Another well known name from among Chitpawan Brahmins was that of NathuramGodse. NathuramGodse is the one who murdered MuhatmaGanghi in 1949.

V.D. Savarkar s mind was infested with anti Muslim feelings since his early childhood. It is said that at the age of 12, Savarkar headed a crowd and attacked a mosque in his village and vandalized it to maximum .V.D. Savarkar with the same mind grew up and championed the cause of Hindutva. For such like activities Savarkar was expelled from his college. He was permitted to take his BA degree and with the help of ShyamajiKrishnavarma attained a scholarship to study law at Gray's Inn in London.

Savarkarleft for London on 9 June 1906 where he arrived on 3rd July and immediately found lodging at India House in Highgate. Savarkar soon founded the Free India Society, based on the thoughts of the Italian nationalist Giuseppe. Savarkar also sent bomb manuals off to India. The militancy of Savarkar left him and Gandhi at odds when Gandhi visited the House. On 1 July 1909, on the steps of the Imperial Institute in London, Sir William Curzon Wylie was shot by one Madan LalDhingra. Captain CawasLalkaka tried to defend Curzon-Wylie and was also shot. Savarkar was not present but was believed to have provided Dhingra with the revolver. Dhingra was sentenced to death. After the assassination Savarkar left London for Paris in early January 1910. Meanwhile, a warrant was issued for Savarkar's arrest in England. He returned to London on 13 March 1910 and was immediately sent to Brixton Jail. It was decided that he should stand trial in India, and on 1 July he embarked on the S.S. Morea. As the ship lay outside Marseilles, Savarkar escaped to French territory. The British tried to recapture him on French soil and the incident became a celebrated case in international law. He eventually arrived in Bombay on 22 July and was immediately taken to jail. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and arrived in the Andaman Islands in July 1911 where he stayed until 1921, when he was moved to Ratnagiri, Bombay Presidency, where he was imprisoned until 1924 and interned until 1937. During his imprisonment, he wrote Hindutva: What is a Hindu?. After 1937, Savarkar continued his anti-Muslim, politics and became the ideological alternative to Gandhi's non-violence politics, Hindu Mahasabha. He remained a huge political influence until his death in Bombay in 1966.

Savarkar is writer of around six books but his “Essentails of Hindutva” are a true reflection of his thoughts and mind. Below are few extracts from “Essentials of Hindutva by Savarkar

“At last she was rudely awakened on the day when Mohammad of Gazni crossed the

Indus, the frontier line of Sindhusthan and invaded her. That day the conflict of life and death began. Nothing makes Self conscious of itself so much as a conflict with non-self. Nothing can weld peoples into a nation and nations into a state as the pressure of common foe. Hatred separates as well as unites. Never had Sindhusthan a better chance and a more powerful stimulus to be herself forged into an indivisible whole as on that dire day, when the great inconoclast crossed the Indus. The Mohammedans had crossed that stream even under Kasim. But it was a wound only skin-deep, for the heart of our people was not hurt and was not even aimed at. The contest began in grim earnestness with Mohammad and ended, shall we say, with Abdalli? From year to year, decade to decade, century to century, the contest continued”

“Heaven and hell making a common cause-such were the forces, overwhelmingly furious, that took India by surprise the day Mohammad crossed the Indus and invaded her. Day after day, decade after decade, century after century, and the ghastly conflict continued and India single-handed kept up the fight morally and militarily. The moral victory was won when Akbar came to the throne and Darashukoh was born. The frantic efforts of Aurangzeb to retrieve their fortunes lost in the moral field only hastened the loss of the military fortunes on the battlefield as well. At last Bhau, as if symbolically, hammered the ceiling of the Imperial Seat of the Moghals to pieces. The day of Panipat rose, the Hindus lost the battle, but won the war. Never again had an Afgan dared to penetrate to Delhi. While the triumphant Hindu banner that our Marathas had carried to Attock was taken up by our Sikhs and carried across the Indus to banks of the Kabul.”

“The enemies hated us as Hindus and the whole family of peoples and races, of sects and creeds that flourished from Attock to Cuttack were suddenly individualised into a single Being. We cannot help dropping the remark that no one has up to this time taken the whole field of Hindu activities from A. D. 1300 to 1800 into survey from this point of view, mastering the details of the various now parallel, now correlated movements from Kashmir to Ceylon and from Sindh to Bengal and yet rising higher above them all to visualise the whole scene in its proportion as an integral whole.”

“We must try, therefore, - to be on our guard so that in our attempt to determine the essentials of Hindutva we be guided entirely by the actual contents of the word as it stands at present. So although the root-meaning of the word Hindu like the sister epithet Hindi may mean only an Indian, yet as it is we would be straining the usage of words too much-we fear, to the point of breaking-if we call a Mohammedan a Hindu because of his being a resident of India. It may be that at some future time the word Hindu may come to indicate a citizen of Hindusthan and nothing else; that day can only rise when all cultural and religious bigotry has disbanded its forces pledged to aggressive egoism, and religions cease to be 'isms' and become merely the common

fund of eternal principles that lie at the root of all that are a common foundation on which the Human State majestically and firmly rests.”

“An American may become a citizen of India. He would certainly be entitled, if bona fide, to be treated as our Bharatiya or Hindi, a countryman and a fellow citizen of ours. But as long as in addition to our country, he has not adopted our culture and our history, inherited our blood and has come to look upon our land not only as the land of his love but even of his worship, he cannot get himself incorporated into the Hindu fold.”

“For although the first requisite of Hindutva is that he be a citizen of Hindustan either by himself or through his forefathers, yet it is not the only requisite qualification of it, as the term Hindu has come to mean much more than its geographical significance.”

“The Hindus are not merely the citizen of the Indian state because they are united not only by the bonds of the love they bear to a common motherland but also by the bonds of a common blood. They are not only a nation 65 but also a race-jati 66.”

“All Hindus claim to have in their veins the blood of the mighty race incorporated with and descended from the Vedic furthers, Sindhus.”

“And no word can give full expression to this racial unity of our people as the epithet, Hindu, does. Some of us were Aryans and some Anaryans; but

Ayars and Nayars-we were all Hindus and own a common blood. Some of us are Brahmans and some Namashudras or Panchamas; but Brahmans or Chandalas-

We are all Hindus and own a common blood. Some of us are Daxinatyas and some Gauds; but Gauds or Saraswatas-we are all Hindus and own a common blood. Some of us were Rakshasas and some Yakshas; but Rakshasas or Yakshas-we are all Hindus and own a common blood. Some of us were Vanaras and some Kinnaras; but Vanaras or Naras-we are all Hindus and own a common blood. Some of us are Jains and some Jangamas; but Jains or Jangamas-we are all Hindus and own a common blood.

Some of us are monists, some, pantheists; some theists and some atheists. But monotheists or atheists-we are all Hindus and own a common blood. We are not only a nation but a Jati, a born brotherhood nothing else counts; it is after all a question of heart.”

“We feel that the same ancient blood that coursed through the veins of Ram and Krishna, Buddha and Mahavir, Nanak and Chaitanya, Basava and Madhava, of Rohidas and Tiruvelluvar courses throughout Hindudom from vein to vein pulsates from heart to heart. We feel we are a JATI, a race bound together by the dearest ties of blood and therefore it must be so.”

“and speaking relatively alone, no people in the world can most justly claim to get recognize as a racial unit then the hindus and perhaps jews.”

“But only two; because a moment's consideration would show that these two qualifications of one nation and one lace-of a common fatherland and therefore of a common blood cannot exhaust all the requisites of Hindutva. The majority of the Indian Mohammedans may, if free from the prejudices born of ignorance, come to love our land as their fatherland. As the patriotic and noble-minded amongst them have always been doing. The story of their conversions, forcible in millions of cases is too recent to make them forget, even if they like to do so, that they inherit Hindu blood in their veins. But can we, who here are concerned with investigating into facts as they are and not as they should be, recognize these Mohammedan as Hindus?”

“Many a Mohammedan community in Kashmir and other parts of India as well as the Christians in South India observe our caste rules to such an extent as to marry generally within the pale of their castes alone; yet, it is clear that though their original Hindu blood is thus almost unaffected by an alien adulteration, yet they cannot be called Hindus in the sense in which that term is actually understood, because, we Hindus are bound together not only by the tie of the love we bear to a common fatherland and by the common blood that courses through our veins and keeps our hearts throbbing and our affections warm, but also by the tie of the common homage we pay to our great civilization, our Hindu culture, which could not be better rendered than by the word Sanskriti 71 suggestive as it is of that language, Sanskrit, which has been the chosen means of expression and preservation of that culture, of all that was best and worth-preserving in the history of our race. We are one because we are a nation a race and own a common Sanskriti (civilization).”

“As our history tells the story of the action of our race, action of our race so does our Literature taken in its fullest sense tell the story of the thought of our race? Thought, they say, is inseparable from our common tongue, Sanskrit. Verily it is our mother-tongue-the tongue in which the mothers of our race spoke and which has given birth to all our present tongues. Our gods spoke in Sanskrit, our sages thought in Sanskrit, our poets wrote in Sanskrit. All that is best in us-the best thoughts, the best ideas, the best - lines-seeks instinctively to clothe itself in Sanskrit.”

“We Hindus are not only a Rashtra, a Jati, but as "Consequence of being both, own a common Sanskriti expressed. Preserved chiefly and originally through Sankrit, the real mother longue of our race.”

“A Hindu then is he who feels attachment to the land that extends from Sindhu to Sindhu as the land of his forefathers - as his Fatherland; who inherits the blood of the great race whose first and discernible source could be traced from the Himalayan altitudes of the Vedic Saptasindhus and which assimilating all that was incorporated

and ennobling all that was assimilated has grown into and come to be known as the Hindu people; and who, as a consequence of the foregoing attributes, has inherited and claims as his own the Hindu Sanskriti, the Hindu civilization, as represented in a common history, common heroes, a common literature, common art, a Common law and a common jurisprudence, common fairs and festivals, rites and rituals, ceremonies and sacraments. Not that every Hindu has all these details of the Hindu Sanskriti down to each syllable common with other Hindus :”

“That is why Christian and Mohammedan community who, were but. Very recently Hindus and in a majority of cases had been at least in their first generation most unwilling denizens of their new fold, claim though. They might have a common Fatherland, and an almost pure Hindu blood and parentage with us, cannot be recognized as Hindus; as since their adoption of the new cult they had ceased to own Hindu civilization (Sanskriti) as a whole.

They belong, or feel that they belong, to a cultural unit altogether different from the Hindu one. Their heroes and their hero-worship, their fairs and their festivals, their ideals and their outlook on life, have now ceased to be common with ours)”

“That is why in the case of some of our Mohammedan or Christian country men who had originally been forcibly converted to a non-Hindu religion and who consequently have inherited along with hindus, a common Fatherland and a greater part of the wealth of common culture-language, law, customs, folklore and history--are not and cannot be recognized as Hindus. For though Hindustan to them is Fatherland as to any other Hindu yet it is not to them a Holy land too. Their holyland is far off in Arabia or Palestine. Their mythology and Godmen, ideas and heroes are not the children of this soil. Consequently their names and their outlook smack of a foreign origin. Their love is divided. Nay, if some of them be really believing what they profess to do, then there can be no choice-they must, to a man, set their Holy land above their Fatherland in their love and allegiance.

That is but natural. We are not condemning nor are we lamenting. We are simply telling facts as they stand. We have tried to determine the essentials of Hindutva and in doing so we have discovered that the Bohras and such other Mohammedan or Christian communities possess all the essential qualifications of Hindutva but one and that is that they do not look upon India as their Holyland)”

“A Hindu, therefore, to sum up the conclusions arrived at, is he who looks upon the land that extends from Sindu to Sindu--from the Indus to the Seas, as the land of his forefathers -his Fatherland (Pitribhu), who inherits the blood of that race whose first Discernible source could be traced to the Vedic Saptasindhus and which on its onward march, assimilating much that was incorporated and ennobling much that was assimilated, has come to be known as the Hindu people, who has inherited and claims

as his own the culture of that race as expressed chiefly in their common classical language Sanskrit and represented by a common history, a common literature, art and architecture, law and jurisprudence, rites and rituals, ceremonies and sacraments, fairs and festivals; and ,who above all addresses this land. This Sindhusthan as his Holyland (Punyabhu), as the land of his prophets and seers, of his godmen and gurus, the land of piety and pilgrimage. These are the essentials of Hindutva—a common nation (Rashtra) a common-race (Jati) and a common civilization (Sanskriti)”

“If the Zionists dreams are ever realized—if Palestine becomes a Jews state and it will gladden us almost as much as our Jews friends.”

Essentials of Hindutva, extracts from which have been narrated above is a flagship book of Savarkar. This book concentrates on definition of Hindu and essential elements of Hindutva. But “Essentials of Hindutva” is a less toxic book in comparison with his other books particularly “Hindu Pad-padshahi” and “Six Glorious Epics of Indian History”

Reproduced below are few extracts from Savarkar’s “Six Glorious Epics of Indian History”

“An effective way of liquidating the Muslim religious authority could easily have been availed of by the Hindus of those times, if they had but done what the Muslims had been doing in their hundreds of offensives against Hindu states. The Muslims went on slaughtering wholesale the Hindu population. Similarly whenever the Hindus gained an upper hand, they could have retaliated by massacring Muslim population and making the region Muslim-less ! Devoid of Muslims ! Even their ban on re-purification would not have prevented them from doing this. For in doing this there was no question involved of eating or drinking or of having any dealings with the Muslims! But—! But if not the ban on re-purification, the suicidal Hindu creed of religious tolerance was certainly a major obstacle! From the very ancient times, the Hindus had been boasting of their high ideals of religious tolerance, of the equal status they conceded to all the religions of the world, of preaching the sameness of Ram and Rahim, of allowing everyone to follow his own faith! This they considered to be the height of their religion”

“Instead of massacring en masse the hundreds of thousands of Muslims, who from time to time fell in their hands completely vanquished and utterly helpless, in order to avenge the untold wrongs and humiliation heaped by them on Hindus, the Hindus in their turn refrained themselves from doing the Muslims even the slightest harm because they were in minority, and belonged to another religion. On the contrary, the Muslims were allowed to enhance the glory and scope of their own religion without the least possible hindrance. Not only like the Hindu citizens, but even more leniently and with more facilities were the Muslims allowed, by Hindu states of those days, to

enjoy the legal rights—a fact which is borne out by pages after pages of Indian history?”

“Religious tolerance! A virtue! Yes, it can be a virtue only where the other religion is tolerant of our own! But to tolerate the Muslim religion, the followers of which right from the Sultans like Mahmud of Ghazni and Ghori and others to the various Shahs and Badshahs thought it their religious obligation to massacre the Kafir Hindus to celebrate their accession to the throne and had been carrying on horrible religious persecution of the Hindus for nearly a thousand years, was tantamount to cut the throat of one's own religion! It was not tolerance towards other religions, it was tolerance of irreligion! It was not even tolerance, it was impotence! But this truth never dawned upon the Hindu society of those days even after the horrible experience of a thousand years or so. They on their own part went on tolerating even such a hideous religion as the Islam and considered it a glorious virtue of their own—a special ornament in the crown of the Hindu community!

O thou Hindu society! Of all the sins and weaknesses, which have brought about thy fall, the greatest and most potent are thy virtues themselves.”

“The souls of those millions of aggrieved women might have perhaps said, 'Do not forget, O, your Majesty, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, and O! Your Excellency, Chimaji Appa, the unutterable atrocities and oppression and outrage committed on us by the Sultans and Muslim noblemen and thousands of others, big and small. Let those Sultans and their peers take a fright that in the event of a Hindu victory our molestation and detestable lot shall be avenged on the Muslim women. Once they are haunted with this dreadful apprehension that the Muslim women, too, stand in the same predicament in case the Hindus win, the future Muslim conquerors will never dare to think of such molestation of Hindu women.'

But because of the then prevalent perverted religious ideas about chivalry to women, which ultimately proved highly detrimental to the Hindu community, neither Shivaji Maharaj nor Chimaji Appa could do such wrongs to the Muslim women.”

“It was the suicidal Hindu idea of chivalry to women which saved the Muslim women (simply because they were women) from the heavy punishments of committing indescribable sins and crimes against the Hindu women. Their womanhood became their shield quite sufficient to protect them.”

“The same law of nature is instinctively obeyed by the animal world. If in the cattle-herds the number of oxen grows in excess of the cows, the herds do not grow numerically in a rapid manner. But on the other hand, the number of animals in the herds, with the excess of cows over the oxen, grows in mathematical progression. The same is true of man, for at the core man is essentially an animal. Even in the pre-

historic times the so-called wild tribes of the forest-dwellers knew this law quite well. The African wild tribes of to-day kill only the males from amongst their enemies, whenever there are tribal wars, but not the females, who are eventually distributed by the victor tribes among themselves. To obtain from them future progeny to increase their numbers is considered by these tribes to be their sacred duty.”

Savarkar has emerged as the most controversial character at least in the history of modern India. He is hated by many and also praised by a large number. He is an atheist and also a deeply religious Hindu. Savarkar is very brave and also very coward. But one thing that goes unchanged in his body and brain is venom for Muslims. From his early childhood when he got a mosque attacked and demolished at age of 12 to writing of a bulk of anti-Muslim literature till his death in 1966, there was no change in his anti-Muslim rigidity. He was born in a Muslim hating family, brought up in anti-Muslim atmosphere and continued to spit venom on Muslims all his life and that's what is the crux of literature he produced. In simplest words Muslim free subcontinent of India was his desire and dream and that's what his followers are doing and will continue to do in the name of Hindutva. And let's be very clear, simplest definition of Hindva is Muslim free subcontinent India and that's it.

Savarkar had his life divided into many phases. He started as Hindu extremist, turned into an Indian nationalist and then resorted back to be a Hindu extremist. His life can be divided into different phases including his early life in Maharashtra, life in England, life in prison and post prison life. Most important phase in the life of Svarkar was the period he spent in Jail. Savarkar was convicted and then was sentenced to two terms of life imprisonment extending collectively to fifty years and was sent to Andoman islands. He anyhow was released much before the due time. Savarkar, who now in India is termed as veer Savarker, is notorious for his mercy petition among scholars. These mercy petitions which are six in number reveal an entirely different aspsect of the personality of Savarkar and also the political.

Following are extracts from mercy petetions by Savarkar

"I had to pass full 6 months in solitary confinement. The other convicts had not. During that time I was put on the coir pounding though my hands were bleeding. Then I was put on the oil-mill — the hardest labour in the jail. Although my conduct during all the time was exceptionally good still at the end of these six months I was not sent out of the jail; though the other convicts who came with me were. From that time to this day I have tried to keep my behaviour as good as possible...

"When I petitioned for promotion I was told I was a special class prisoner and so could not be promoted. When any of us asked for better food or any special treatment we were told 'You are only ordinary convicts and must eat what the rest do'. Thus Sir, Your Honour would see that only for special disadvantages we are classed as special

prisoners.

“When the majority of the casemen were sent outside I requested for my release. But, although I had been cased (caned?) hardly twice or thrice and some of those who were released, for a dozen and more times, still I was not released with them because I was their casemen [fellow convicts]. But when after all, the order for my release was given and when just then some of the political prisoners outside were brought into the troubles I was locked in with them because I was their casemen.

"Therefore will your honour be pleased to put an end to this anomalous situation in which I have been placed, by either sending me to Indian jails or by treating me as a transportee just like any other prisoner. I am not asking for any preferential treatment, though I believe as a political prisoner even that could have been expected in any civilized administration in the Independent nations of the world; but only for the concessions and favour that are shown even to the most depraved of convicts and habitual criminals? This present plan of shutting me up in this jail permanently makes me quite hopeless of any possibility of sustaining life and hope. For those who are term convicts the thing is different, but Sir, I have 50 years staring me in the face!

"How can I pull up moral energy enough to pass them in close confinement when even those concessions which the vilest of convicts can claim to smoothen their life are denied to me? Either please to send me to Indian jail for there I would earn (a) remission; (b) would have a visit from my people come every four months for those who had unfortunately been in jail know what a blessing it is to have a sight of one's nearest and dearest every now and then! (c) And above all a moral - though not a legal - right of being entitled to release in 14 years; (d) also more letters and other little advantages. Or if I cannot be sent to India I should be released and sent outside with a hope, like any other convicts, to visits after 5 years, getting my ticket leave and calling over my family here. If this is granted then only one grievance remains and that is that I should be held responsible only for my own faults and not of others.

"It is a pity that I have to ask for this - it is such a fundamental right of every human being! For as there are on the one hand, some 20 political prisoners - young, active and restless, and on the other the regulations of a convict colony, by the very nature of them reducing the liberties of thought and expression to lowest minimum possible; it is but inevitable that every now and then some one of them will be found to have contravened a regulation or two and if all be held responsible for that, as now it is actually done - very little chance of being left outside remains for me.

"In the end may I remind your honour to be as good as to go through the petition for clemency that I had sent in 1911 and to sanction it for being forwarded to the Indian Government? The latest development of the Indian politics and the conciliating policy of the government have thrown open the constitutional line once more. Now no man

having the good of India and Humanity at heart will blindly step on the thorny paths which in the excited and hopeless situation of India in 1906-1907 beguiled us from the path of peace and progress.

“Therefore if the government in their manifold beneficence and mercy release me, I for one cannot but be the staunchest advocate of constitutional progress and loyalty to the English government which is the foremost condition of that progress. As long as we are in jails there cannot be real happiness and joy in hundreds and thousands of homes of His Majesty's loyal subjects in India, for blood is thicker than water; but if we be released the people will instinctively raise a shout of joy and gratitude to the government, who knows how to forgive and correct, more than how to chastise and avenge. Moreover my conversion to the constitutional line would bring back all those misled young men in India and abroad who were once looking up to me as their guide. I am ready to serve the Government in any capacity they like, for as my conversion is conscientious so I hope my future conduct would be. By keeping me in jail nothing can be got in comparison to what would be otherwise. The mighty alone can afford to be merciful and therefore where else can the prodigal son return but to the parental doors of the Government? Hoping your Honour will kindly take into notion these points.” (Cited in RC Majumdar, “Penal Settlement in Andamans”)

It is to be noted that Savarkar's mercy petition presented to Craddock on November 14, 1913 personally at the cellular Jail was not the only one. He submitted in all five mercy petitions in 1911, 1913, 1914, 1918 and 1920. We find mention of his 1911, 1914 and 1918 mercy petitions in his two petitions reproduced here. Sadly, the texts of these are not available in the archives.

His mercy petition of 1920 was also a comprehensive one which offered total surrender. It is being produced here:

"Cellular Jail, Port Blair,

“The 30th March 1920.

“To,

“The Chief Commissioner of Andamans

“In view of the recent statement of the Hon'ble Member for the Home Department to the Government of India, to the effect that “the Government was willing to consider the papers of any individual, and give them their best consideration if they were brought before them”; and that “as soon as it appeared to the Government that an individual could be released without danger to the State, the Government would extend the Royal clemency to that person,” the undersigned most humbly begs that he should be given a last chance to submit his case, before it is too late. You, Sir, at any

rate, would not grudge me this last favour of forwarding this petition to His Excellency the Viceroy of India, especially and if only to give me the satisfaction of being heard, whatever the Government decisions may be.

“I. the Royal proclamation most magnanimously states that Royal clemency should be extended to all those who were found guilty of breaking the law “Through their eagerness for Political progress.” The cases of me and my brother are pre-eminently of this type. Neither I nor any of my family members had anything to complain against the Government neither for any personal wrong due to us nor for any personal favour denied. I had a brilliant career open to me and nothing to gain and everything to lose individually by treading such dangerous paths. Suffice it to say, that no less a personage than one of the Hon'ble Members for the Home Department had said, in 1913, to me personally, '...Such education so much reading...you could have held the highest posts under our Government.'

"If in spite of this testimony any doubts as to my motive does lurk in any one, then to him I beg to point out, that there had been no prosecution against any member of my family till this year 1909; while almost all of my activity which constituted the basis for the case, have been in the years preceding that. The prosecution, the Judges and the Rowlatt Report have all admitted that since the year 1899 to the year 1909 had been written the life of Mazzini and other books, as well organised the various societies and even the parcel of arms had been sent before the arrest of any of my brothers or before I had any personal grievance to complain of (vide Rowlatt Report, pages 6 etc.). But does anyone else take the same view of our cases? Well, the monster petition that the Indian public had sent to His Majesty and that had been signed by no less than 5,000 signatures had made a special mention of me in it. I had been denied a jury in the trial: now the jury of a whole nation has opined that only the eagerness for political progress had been the motive of all my actions and that led me to the regrettable breaking of the laws.

“II. Nor can this second case of abetting murder throw me beyond the reach of the Royal clemency. For “(a) the Proclamation does not make any distinction of the nature of the offence or of a section or of the Court of Justice, beyond the motive of the offence. It concerns entirely with the Motive and requires that it should be political and not personal.

“(b) Secondly, the Government too has already interpreted it in the same spirit and has released Barin and Hesu and others. These men had confessed that one of the objects of their conspiracy was 'the murders of prominent Government officials' and on their own confessions, had been guilty of sending the boys to murder magistrates, etc. This magistrate had among others prosecuted Barin's brother Arabinda in the first “BandeMataram” newspaper case. And yet Barin was not looked upon, and rightly so,

as a nonpolitical murderer. In my respect the objection is immensely weaker. For it was justly admitted by the prosecution that I was in England, had no knowledge of the particular plot or idea of murdering Mr Jackson and had sent the parcels of arms before the arrest of my brother and so could not have the slightest personal grudge against any particular individual officer. But Hem had actually prepared the very bomb that killed the Kennedys and with a full knowledge of its destination (Rowlatt Report, page 33).

"Yet Hem had not been thrown out of the scope of the clemency on that ground. If Barin and others were not separately charged for specific abetting, it was only because they had already been sentenced to capital punishment in the Conspiracy case; and I was specifically charged because I was not, and again for the international facilities to have me extradited in case France got me back.

"Therefore I humbly submit that the Government be pleased to extend the clemency to me as they had done it to Barin and Hem whose complicity in abetting the murders of officers, etc., was confessed and much deeper. For surely a section does not matter more than the crime it contemplates. In the case of my brother this question does not arise as his case has nothing to do with any murders, etc.

"III. Thus interpreting the proclamation as the Government had already done in the cases of Barin, Hem, etc. I and my brother are fully entitled to the Royal clemency 'in the fullest measure.' But is it compatible with public safety? I submit it is entirely so. For (a) I most emphatically declare that we are not amongst 'the microlestes of anarchism' referred to by the Home Secretary.

"So far from believing in the militant school of the type that I do not contribute even to the peaceful and philosophical anarchism of a Kropotkin or a Tolstoy. And as to my revolutionary tendencies in the past: - it is not only now for the object of sharing the clemency but years before this have I informed of and written to the Government in my petitions (1918, 1914) about my firm intention to abide by the constitution and stand by it as soon as a beginning was made to frame it by Mr Montagu.

"Since that the Reforms and then the Proclamation have only confirmed me in my views and recently I have publicly avowed my faith in and readiness to stand by the side of orderly and constitutional development. The danger that is threatening our country from the north at the hands of the fanatic hordes of Asia who had been the curse of India in the past when they came as foes, and who are more likely to be so in the future now that they want to come as friends, makes me convinced that every intelligent lover of India would heartily and loyally co-operate with the British people in the interests of India herself.

"That is why I offered myself as a volunteer in 1914 to Government when the war broke out and a German-Turko-Afghan invasion of India became imminent. Whether

you believe it or not, I am sincere in expressing my earnest intention of treading the constitutional path and trying my humble best to render the hands of the British dominion a bond of love and respect and of mutual help. Such an Empire, as is foreshadowed in the Proclamation, wins my hearty adherence. For verily I hate no race or creed or people simply because they are not Indians!

“(b) But if the Government wants a further security from me then I and my brother are perfectly willing to give a pledge of not participating in politics for a definite and reasonable period that the Government would indicate. For even without such a pledge my failing health and the sweet blessings of home that have been denied to me by myself make me so desirous of leading a quiet and retired life for years to come that nothing would induce me to dabble in active politics now.

“(c) This or any pledge, e.g., of remaining in a particular province or reporting our movements to the police for a definite period after our release - any such reasonable conditions meant genuinely to ensure the safety of the State would be gladly accepted by me and my brother. Ultimately, I submit, that the overwhelming majority of the very people who constitute the State which is to be kept safe from us have from Mr Surendranath, the venerable and veteran moderate leader, to the man in the street, the press and the platform, the Hindus and the Muhammadans [sic]- from the Punjab to Madras - been clearly persistently asking for our immediate and complete release, declaring it was compatible with their safety. Nay more, declaring it was a factor in removing the very `sense of bitterness' which the Proclamation aims to allay.

“IV. Therefore the very object of the Proclamation would not be fulfilled and the sense of bitterness removed, I warn the public mind, until we two and those who yet remain have been made to share the magnanimous clemency.

“V. Moreover, all the objects of a sentence have been satisfied in our case. For (a) we have put in 10 to 11 years in jail, while Mr. Sanyal, who too was a lifer, was released in 4 years and the riot case lifers within a year; (b) we have done hard work, mills, oil mills and everything else that was given to us in India and here; (c) our prison behaviour is in no way more objectionable than of those already released; they had, even in Port Blair, been suspected of a serious plot and locked up in jail again. We two, on the contrary, have to this day been under extra rigorous discipline and restraint and yet during the last six years or so there is not a single case even on ordinary disciplinary grounds against us.

“VI. In the end, I beg to express my gratefulness for the release of hundreds of political prisoners including those who have been released from the Andamans, and for thus partially granting my petitions of 1914 and 1918. It is not therefore too much to hope that His Excellency would release the remaining prisoners too, as they are placed on the same footing, including me and my brother. Especially so, as the

political situation in Maharashtra has singularly been free from any outrageous disturbances for so many years in the past. Here, however, I beg to submit that our release should not be made conditional on the behaviour of those released or of anybody else; for it would be preposterous to deny us the clemency and punish us for the fault of someone else.

“VII. On all these grounds, I believe that the Government, hearing my readiness to enter into any sensible pledge and the fact that the Reforms, present and promised, joined to common danger from the north of Turko-Afghan fanatics have made me a sincere advocate of loyal co-operation in the interests of both our nations, would release me and win my personal gratitude. The brilliant prospects of my early life all but too soon blighted, have constituted so painful a source of regret to me that a release would be a new birth and would touch my heart, sensitive and submissive, to kindness so deeply as to render me personally attached and politically useful in future. For often magnanimity wins even where fails might.

“Hoping that the Chief Commissioner, remembering the personal regard I ever had shown to him throughout his term and how often I had to face keen disappointment throughout that time, will not grudge me this last favour of allowing this most harmless vent to my despair and will be pleased to forward this petition - may I hope with his own recommendations? to His Excellency the Viceroy of India.

“I beg to remain,

”SIR,

'Your most obedient servant,

”(Sd.) V.D. Savarkar, Convict no. 32778.”

There were other revolutionaries too, who wrote petitions to the British Government. When Craddock came to visit the Cellular jail, Savarkar was not the only one who presented a petition to him. Apart from Savarkar, Hrishikesh Kanjilal, Barindra Kumar Ghose and Nand Gopal too wrote petitions. However, these were only Savarkar and Barindra Ghose (Aurobindo Ghose's brother) who pleaded to renounce their revolutionary past in order to secure personal freedom.

Unlike Savarkar and Barin, the other two revolutionaries, Hrishikesh Kanjilal and Gopal, instead of pleading for personal favours, demanded a humane treatment for the whole lot of political prisoners. They showed no remorse for their past.

Nand Gopal, editor of the newspaper “Swaraj” of Allahabad, was sentenced to transportation to life for seditious writing. He too, did not make any personal plea but like Kanjilal raised the issue of terrible persecution of the political prisoners in the

Cellular Jail.

Savarkar's biography "Veer Savarkar" by Dhananjay Keer can be described as the official biography. This biography, while presenting actual details of Savarkar's release, also throws light on unsavoury deals struck between the British and Savarkar. While referring to Savarkar's release in 1924 biography reads:

"Now helpful winds began to blow in his direction. Sir Rufus Isaacs, now Lord Reading, who as Solicitor General had led for the Crown in Savarkar's extradition trial in England, was Governor General in India. He must have felt sympathy for Savarkar. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, came with his Councillors to interview Savarkar. Lt. Col. J. H. Murray, I. M. S., who was the Jail Superintendent in the Cellular Jail, was now at Yeravda as the Jail Superintendent. The conditions of release were prepared in the light of the discussions held between Savarkar and H. E. the Governor who was accompanied by Mr. A. Montgomerie, the then home member. After substituting a few words, Savarkar accepted the conditions; signed the terms on December 27, 1923..."Savarkar was released conditionally on January 6, 1924, from Yeravda Jail. The terms read:

"That Savarkar shall reside in Ratnagiri district and shall not go beyond the limits of that district without the permission of Government or in the case of emergency of the District magistrate; that he will not engage publicly or privately in any manner of political activities without the consent of Government for a period of five years. Such restrictions being renewable at the discretion of government at the expiry of the same term.

On 2 May 1921, the Savarkar was moved to a jail in Ratnagiri. During his incarceration in Ratnagiri jail in 1922, he wrote his "Essentials of Hindutva" On 6 January 1924 Savarkar was released from jail in Ratnagiri but was confined to Ratnagiri District. It was during this time that Savarkar met Nathuram Godse, a 19 years old young man who later on assassinated Gandhi.

Savarkar became president of Hindu Mahasabha in 1937. As president of the Hindu Mahasabha, during the Second World War, advanced the cause of the British government under his slogan "Hinduize all Politics and Militarize Hindudom. When the Congress launched the Quit India movement in 1942, Savarkar criticised it and asked Hindus to stay active in the war effort and not disobey the government. Hindu Mahasabha activists protested Gandhi's initiative to hold talks with Jinnah in 1944, which Savarkar denounced as "appeasement". He assailed the British proposals for transfer of power, attacking both the Congress and the British for making concessions to Muslims.

In August 1938, Savarkar spoke to a crowd of 20,000 in Pune: "Germany has every

right to resort to Nazism and Italy to Fascism and events have justified that those isms and forms of governments were imperative and beneficial to them under the conditions that obtained there. But it should be made clear to the German, Italian, or Japanese public that crores of Hindu Sanghatanists in India whom neither Pandit Nehru or nor the Congress represents, cherish no ill-will towards Germany or Italy or Japan or any other country in the world simply because they had chosen a form of government or constitutional policy which they thought suited best and contributed most to their National solidarity and strength”.

In March 1939, he said: "Only a few socialists headed by Pandit J. Nehru have created a bubble of resentment against the present Government of Germany, but their activities are far from having any significance in India. The vain imprecations of Mahatma Gandhi against Germany's indispensable vigour in matters of internal policy obtain but little regard insofar as they are uttered by a man who has always betrayed and confused the country with an affected mysticism."

In the 21st session of the Hindu Mahasabha, Savarkar said "The Indian Muslims are on the whole more inclined to identify themselves and their interests with Muslims outside India than Hindus who live next door, like Jews in Germany."

Savarkar further said "But besides culture the tie of common holyland has at times proved stronger than the chains of a Motherland. Look at the Mohammedans, Mecca to them is a stronger reality than Delhi or Agra. Some of them do not make any secret of being bound to sacrifice all India if that be to the glory of Islam or could save the city of their Prophet. History is too full of examples of such desertions. The crusades again attest to the wonderful influence that a common holyland exercises over peoples widely separated in race, nationality and language, to bind and hold them together."

Savarkar defines a Hindu as one "who regards this land of Bharatvarsha, from the Indus to the Seas as his Father-Land as well as his Holy-Land that is the cradle land of his religion". He said: "So with the Hindus, they being the people, whose past, present and future are most closely bound with the soil of Hindusthan as Pitribhu (fatherland), as Punyabhhu (holyland), they constitute the foundation, the bedrock, and the reserved forces of the Indian state. Since Muslims and Hindus do not possess "unity of thought, religion, language and culture", they cannot coexist. Muslims' allegiance to India is weaker than their allegiance to their holyland (which lies outside of India), and so their patriotism is suspect. Being the minority, Muslims need to be at the mercy of Hindus. Getting rid of Muslims is also justified, for that was what the Germans did to the Jews.”

CHAPTER IV

Nathuram Godse

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

Description of Nathuram Venayak Godse is basically description of Hindu Mahasabha and Venayak Damodar Sawarkar. Godse is primary practical manifestation of philosophy and thoughts of Savarkar along with other manifestations including SanghPariwar. After killing of Mahatma Gandhi by Nathuram Godse, Hindu Mahasabha died but Savarkar, Hindutva and Godse prevailed. Only difference to happen was that Hindu Mahasabha was replaced by Rashtrya Sawayesevak Sangh and Sangh Prevar. In other words Savarkar, Hindutva and Nathuram Godse are now on shoulders of RSS and SanghPrevar instead of Hindu Mahasabha.

Godselike Savarkar belonged to Chitpawan Brahmin sub caste of Brahmins of Maharashtra who considered them to be elite for being the heirs of the Peshwas. It seems that the caste bond he shared with them gave him, in his own eyes, a certain sense of superiority over other Hindus.

Chitpawans are one of the rare Brahmin communities in India who claim to have a long history of valour on the battlefield, apart from the usual priestly privileges that Brahmins traditionally enjoy. As rulers during the later medieval times, they also had a long history of struggle against Mughal and Pathan rulers in India. This fact now led them to reinterpret their history in terms of the needs of Hindu nationalism; they presented themselves as the upholders of a tradition of Hindu resistance against Muslim occupation.

In any case, Godse might have been no stranger to the sense of pride that Savarkar provoked in enthusiasts of Hindu revival. Being ancestrally connected to Poona, Godse would have known, even if vaguely, something of this sentiment. Poona was seen by traditional Chitpawans as the staging area of Hindu national revivalists. It was in the hills beyond Poona that Shivaji was born, where he lived and launched his guerrilla campaign against the forces of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.

Shivaji was a Maratha of the warrior caste but his heirs, the prime ministers or the Peshwas, were Chitpawan Brahmins. Poona served as their nerve centre as, after Shivaji, the Peshwas fended off the Mughals, the Pathans and the British until succumbing, finally, to the last in 1818.

Poona's Chitpawans had produced a number of men like Tilak, the militant Congress leader, and the Chapekar brothers, Damodar Hari Chapekar, Balkrishna Hari Chapekar and Vasudeo Hari Chapekar; the people involved in the assassination of WC Rand, the British plague commissioner of Poona, in 1897.

Though Godse belonged to a lower middle-class family, his known ancestors, by virtue of belonging to the Chitpawan Brahmin caste, were of the priestly class at Uksan village near Poona. The family's genealogy holds that towards the end of the seventeenth century, they had moved to this village from Harihareshwar, the land of

the rocky beach in the sheltered creek formed by Savitri River on the Arabian Sea coast in Raigad district of Maharashtra.

GodseKulvritant, a compilation of the genealogies of all Chitpawan Brahmins belonging to the Godse clan – puts Vinayakrao, Godse's father, at the eighth ladder of his known ancestors, starting from RamchandraGodse, who lived towards the end of the seventeenth century. Little is known about the intervening generations, except that the descendants of RamchandraGodse, like other Chitpawan families, came into prominence and received land grants in Uksan village during the reign of the Peshwas in the eighteenth century. As agricultural land got divided through generations, Vinayakrao's father, Vamanrao, inherited a meagre estate.

Like his forefathers, Vamanrao lived by mixing the profession of priesthood with agriculture, but he was keen on his son getting modern education. He, therefore, set up a parallel establishment in Poona as soon as his son finished his primary education. Vinayakrao was the first member of the family to complete his matriculation. Thereafter, he secured a government job in the postal department. As his job was transferrable, Vinayakrao almost abandoned his ancestral village, although he still owned a small patch of agricultural land and a spacious house there.

Godse's background was enough to make him interpret his conversion or recruitment into Savarkar's clique at that age as a natural passage of a true Chitpawan. Whatever his ideas about his past and his caste, it seems that Godse, for some time as a young adult, moved freely to the ideas preached by Savarkar in the name of preparing Hindus to fight the so-called internal enemies, the Muslims. Savarkar was a distant figure during Godse's early adulthood but apparently an inspirational one, for he paid his first visit to Savarkar just three days after his family shifted to Ratnagiri. Yet, most of the reliable evidence about Godse's transformation into a fully recognised follower of Savarkar dates to the early months of 1930. Godse was nineteen when he first met Savarkar. Godse remained quiet and respectful, apparently mesmerised by Savarkar's stature as a revolutionary who had returned after a decade spent in the Andamans. Godse initially resisted but perhaps he was thrilled to be close to someone who was seen by many, especially Chitpawan Brahmins as the authentic continuation of the line of the Peshwas, former Brahmin rulers of Maharashtra. Eventually, Godse started finding more comfort among his caste brethren and was integrated into their revivalist project. They were an eclectic group – some religious, some irreligious – tied together by their caste loyalties as well as their dependency on Savarkar's leadership. Savarkar's way, however, was very cautious. He spoke with force but always short of revealing his mind, indulging instead in demagoguery carefully crafted to hide his conciliatory sentiment towards the British. Perhaps he could not have known then that the demagogic rhetoric represented substantially strong politics of a certain kind. It was only after partition that Savarkar's Godse planned and

executed killing of Father of Indian nation.

Along with others a very important reason for killing of Gandhi by savarkar was that by taking the fight against British rule to India's villages and framing the low-status, non-Brahminic and peasant cultures as genuine Hinduism, Gandhi was threatening those Hindu elites who dreamed of reviving their past supremacy. Even his bid to fight colonialism by fighting patriarchy and trying to bring women on an equal footing with men, was being watched with deep anxiety by such Hindus. What must have multiplied their sense of insecurity was the fact that Gandhi, who happened to be from Vaishya caste despite seeking to subvert Brahminical hegemony, was not ready to call himself a social reformer; he was convinced that he was a sanatani, an orthodox Hindu. Ripping up this vision of Gandhi was an important part of Savarkar's politics. For only then could he have thought of making his politics succeed? Savarkar had some advantages. The vision he espoused was easy to convey to those who shared his obsession with Brahmin ascendancy in politics – projecting Muslims as enemies of their faith-based nationalism to unite various castes of Hindus without altering the hegemony of the traditional social elite. For the section of Chitpawan Brahmins, particularly those who couldn't reconcile with the gap between their traditionally privileged position and their actual status in the contemporary sociopolitical setting, anxiety was a permanent emotion of the time. As they longed to redeem their lost glory, the charisma of Gandhi did not appeal to them. There was also a parochial and casteist flavour to this aversion. Gandhi was a Bania, a caste of traders and money lenders, and belonged to Gujarat, a socio-cultural zone in the Bombay Presidency distinct from Maharashtra, the region traditionally dominated by Brahmins. A section of Maharashtrians always had reservations about Gujaratis, and many Brahmins considered Banias as scheming.

Godse was hanged; Savarkar was arrested but eventually acquitted for lack of evidence, a reason why so many nationalists say it is not wrong to officially rehabilitate and honour him. However, considering the circumstantial evidence against Savarkar and how modern Indian courts have reacted to this type of evidence, it is unlikely he would have been freed if he were tried today. Vallabhbhai Patel, a hero for Hindu nationalists, now memorialized as the world's tallest statue, grumbled that the technicalities of the judicial process may have acquitted Savarkar, but “morally” he was a murderer. It is absurd that any party should condemn Godse and venerate Savarkar. Yet, there are reasons why it happens. But first let us look at the case against Savarkar. Nine people were accused in the assassination. Two were hanged, five were given life imprisonment, and one turned approver, who portrayed one of the accused as the plot's mastermind. The only one who was acquitted was this alleged “mastermind”, Savarkar. Godse and Narayan Apte, who were hanged for the murder, were disciples of Savarkar, the formulator of modern Hindutva, a man who argued that India belonged to Hindus, and that Gandhi's empowerment and appeasement of

Muslims was despicable.

Indeed, Savarkar suffered from what is called the crisis of masculinity. As a 12-year-old, he and his friends attacked a mosque in Bhagur, his village. Contemporary accounts speak of his effeminate voice. Behind Savarkar's disdain for Muslims was his secret admiration for Muslim masculinity which he thought Hindus lacked. Savarkar wanted Hindus to acquire the masculine self, evident from his book *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History*. Citing dodgy historical sources, he mocks Buddhism for enfeebling Hindus, who therefore became vulnerable to foreign invasions. And because they were forbidden to take up arms, the “treacherous Buddhists” had no option but to save their religion and themselves by siding with foreign conquerors, argued Savarkar. He accuses Muslims of raping millions of women and forcing them to embrace Islam. He faults Hindu rulers for not pursuing a rape-for-rape policy whenever they vanquished Muslims in battlefields.

On the February 22, Savarkar, who was by then held under detention, gave to the Indian government the same undertaking he had once given to the British Raj:

“I shall refrain from taking part in any communal or political activity for any period the government may require in case I am released on that condition.”

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, then the deputy prime minister and Union home minister, and now a figure claimed by the Hindu Right as their own, was the chief prosecutor of the case, who was convinced of Savarkar's guilt. In a letter he wrote to Nehru on February 27 that year, he clearly stated:

“It was a fanatical wing of the Hindu Mahasabha directly under Savarkar that [hatched] the conspiracy and saw it through.”

However, personal conviction would not compromise Patel's commitment to due legal process. Allaying Mahasabha leader Syama Prasad Mookerjee's concern that Savarkar “was being prosecuted on account of his political convictions,” Patel wrote a letter to him 20 days before Savarkar was named in the chargesheet, explaining:

“I have told quite clearly, that the question of inclusion of Savarkar must be approached purely from a legal and judicial standpoint and political considerations should not be imported into the matter... I have also told them that, if they come to the view that Savarkar should be included, the papers should be placed before me before action is taken.”

Patel added:

“This is, of course, in so far as the question of guilt is concerned from the point of view of law and justice. Morally, it is possible that one's conviction may be the other way

about.”

The cowardice out of which Savarkar chose to disown his 'lieutenant' (as Godse's brother said he was regarded) stands in stark contrast to the audacity of the Hindu Mahasabha today, which – perhaps emboldened by Narendra Modi government's great respect for freedom of speech – has publicly announced its mission to install Godse's idols in temples across the country.

Seventeen years after Godse was hanged – or “martyred”, as the Mahasabha tells us – Savarkar, then aged almost 83, renounced food and medicine in the beginning of February 1966 and died on February 26. But the truth about his role in Gandhi's murder was not cremated with his body. Only three years later, evidence found by the Kapur Commission implicated Savarkar in Gandhi's murder.

Kapur Commission, 1969, established Savarkar's guilt

When Godse's brother was released from prison in 1964, a programme was held to commemorate him. There, BalGangadharTilak's grandson, G.V. Ketkar, boasted that he knew about Godse's intention to kill Gandhi. What followed was a national controversy, which led to the setting up of a commission under Justice JeevanLalKapur in 1969, with the mandate to investigate who all had prior knowledge of the plot to assassinate Gandhi, which authority they informed and what measures were taken by the authorities who received this information.

Two of Savarkar's aides who hadn't previously testified during his trials spoke up before the commission. Their statements not only provided an independent corroboration of the two meetings with Savarkar which Badge had referred to in his testimony, but also revealed that before carrying out the assassination, Godse and Apte had met Savarkar once again on January 23 or 24, after MadanlalPahwa's first attempt on Gandhi's life had failed.

Based on the statements of Savarkar's bodyguard, AppaRamchandra, Justice Kapur stated in the commission's report:

“On or about 13th or 14th January, Karkare came to Savarkar with a Puniabi youth (Madanlal) and they had an interview with Savarkar for about 15 or 20 minutes. On or about 15th or 16th Apte and Godse had an interview with Savarkar at 9.30 P.M. After about a week so, may be 23rd or 24th January, Apte and Godse again came to Savarkar and had a talk with him for about half an hour.”

Statements of Savarkar's secretary, Gajanan Vishnu Damle, also corroborated the fact that Apte and Godse met Savarkar in the middle of January. Both their statements, as well as Badge's testimony, indicated that Savarkar had lied before the court when he said, “Apte and Godse did not see me on 17th January 1948 or any other day near

about (emphasis added).”

Their statements not only established the close working relationship Gode and Apte had with Savarkar since 1946, the report said, but also provided evidence which shows that:

“Karkare was also well-known to Savarkar and was also a frequent visitor. Badge also used to visit Savarkar. Dr. Parchure (another accused for whom P.L. Inamdar won an acquittal) also visited him. All this shows that people who were subsequently involved in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi were all congregating sometime or the other at SavarkarSadan and sometimes had long interviews with Savarkar. It is significant that Karkare and Madanlal visited Savarkar before they left for Delhi and Apte and Godse visited him both before the bomb was thrown and also before the murder was committed and on each occasion they had long interviews.”

After re-examining all the relevant information – old and new – unearthed by Bombay's deputy commissioner of police, JamshedNagarvala, the Kapur commission concluded:

“All these facts taken together were destructive of any theory other than the conspiracy to murder by Savarkar and his group.”

Before being hanged in the early hours of 15 November 1949, NathuramVinayakGodse, the Hindu-supremacist fanatic who killed Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on 30 January 1948, recited a prayer:

Namaste SadaVatsale Matrubhume
Twaya Hindubhume Sukham Vardhitoham
Mahanmangale Punyabhume Twadarthe
Patatvesh Kayo Namaste, Namaste!

O affectionate motherland, I eternally bow to you
O land of Hindus, you have reared me in comfort
O sacred and holy land,

May this body of mine be dedicated to you and I bow before you again and again. These four Sanskrit sentences constitute the first of the three stanzas of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's official prayer, which continues to be sung to this day at its shakhas—regular assemblies meant for physical and ideological training.

For the sake of decency, the writer intentionally skips to reproduce here the literature regarding physical relations between Savarkar and Godse.

CHAPTER V

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Between 1925 and 1940

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh commonly known as RSS was formed in Nagpur; Maharashtra, India on September 27, 1925 by KeshavBaliramHedgewarwho was a medical doctor by profession. RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh was founded on the day ofVijayadashmi a hindu festival which is celebrated in eastern and southern India as the day of victory of Durga over buffalo demon Mahishasura. The same day is celebrated in northern and western India to commemorate the victory of King Rama over Ravanawith name Dussehra instead of Vijayadashmi.

On September 27, 1925 a meeting was held among Dr. Hedgewar, L.V. Paranjpe, B BTholkar, BS Moonje and Ganesh Savarkar in largely Brahmin neighborhood of Nagpur known as Mohite Wade.

Ganesh Savarkar was the elder brother of VenayakDamudarSavarkar and was alleged by Delhi police for orchestrating the plot to kill prominent Muslim leaders in 1929. Ganesh Savarkar anyhow failed to execute the assignation plot. Ganesh Savarkar played a critical role in expanding the RSS, particularly among the youth in Maharashtra, and fashioning the ideological moorings of what is generally considered Hedgewar'sorganisation. But for his work, it is debatable whether the RSS would have even survived for long. He merged his Tarun Hindu Sabha as well as the Mukteshwar Dal into the RSS and accompanied Hedgewar, the first Sarsanghchalak, on tours of western Maharashtra, introducing him to Hindu fundamentalist leaders. Soon, because of his efforts, Pune became the hub of the RSS' work in western Maharashtra.

In 1925 after starting RSS, Dr. Hedgewar participated in 1930 Dandi march under Gandhi's leadership. He had temporarily handed over his RSS Sarsanghchalak role to Dr. LV Paranjape during that period. In Jungle Satyagraha, Dr. Hedgewar was put in Akola jail for 9 months.

BS Moonje, the medical doctor, the patron and mentor of Hedgewar was All India President of Hindu Mahasabha from 1927 to 1937 .He was the one to visit Italy in 1931 to meet Mussolini. (Life and works of Moonje discussed at length in Chapter III.) Dr. B S Moonje remained patron in Chief of RSS till his death.

It is believed that RSS was primarily formed as subsidiary organization of Hindu Mahasabha with proof that RSS worked as Volunteer force in Hindu Mahasabha in its meeting at Akola in 1931.

Rashtriya Swaemsewak Sangh (RSS) narrates its mission as

“The Hindu culture is the life-breath of Hindusthan. It is therefore clear that if Hindusthan is to be protected, we should first nourish the Hindu culture. If the Hindu culture perishes in Hindusthan itself, and if the Hindu society ceases to exist, it will hardly be appropriate to refer to the mere geographical entity that remains as

Hindusthan. Mere geographical lumps do not make a nation. The entire society should be in such a vigilant and organized condition that no one would dare to cast an evil eye on any of our points of honour.

Strength, it should be remembered, comes only through organization. It is therefore the duty of every Hindu to do his best to consolidate the Hindu society. The Sangh is just carrying out this supreme task. The present fate of the country cannot be changed unless lakhs of young men dedicate their entire lifetime for that cause. To mould the minds of our youth towards that end is the supreme aim of the Sangh.

Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar -Founder of RSS”

Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh further writes

“Sangh: Unique and Evergreen

A unique phenomenon in the history of Bharat in the twentieth century is the birth and unceasing growth of RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh (RSS). The Sangh's sphere of influence has been spreading far and wide, not only inside Bharat but also abroad, like the radiance of a many splendored diamond. Sangh-inspired institutions and movements today form a strong presence in social, cultural, educational, labour, developmental, political and other fields of nationalist endeavour. Sangh initiated movements - be they social-reformist or anti-secessionist - evoke ready response and approbation from the common multitudes as well as from vast numbers of elite of different shades. It has increasingly been recognized that the Sangh is not a mere reaction to one or another social or political aberration. It represents a corpus of thought and action firmly rooted in genuine nationalism and in the age old tradition of this country.

No other movement or institution has attracted such vast numbers of adherents, several thousands of them making social work their life's mission, whose character and integrity are not doubted even by their most virulent critics.

As a movement for national reconstruction totally nurtured by the people, Sangh has no parallel in Bharat or elsewhere. The growth of the Sangh - as a movement for assertion of Bharat's national identity - acquires added significance when we remember that the birth of the Sangh was preceded by mental, cultural and economic onslaught by alien rulers for long decades.

There could be only one explanation for the continuing march of the Sangh from strength to strength: The emotive response of the millions to the vision of Bharat's national glory, based on the noblest values constituting the cultural and spiritual legacy of the land and collectively called 'Dharma', comprising faith in the oneness of the human race, the underlying unity of all religious traditions, the basic divinity of the

human being, complementarity and inter-relatedness of all forms of creation both animate and inanimate, and the primacy of spiritual experience. That the mission of the Sangh is in tune with a millennia old heritage itself carries an irresistible appeal.

It would have been logical for our post-1947 rulers to re-structure the national life in keeping with our culture. Sadly, that golden opportunity was lost. Until Dharma also is recognized as a basis of survival and progress, national integration and such other oft-repeated goals will remain a far cry indeed. Idealism and patriotism are tangible exterior manifestations of Dharma.

Absence of idealism has been at the root of most problems haunting our polity. Amidst such an environment, Sangh is unique in according primacy to inculcation of patriotism in all citizens and in all life's activities. National reconstruction demands the fostering of a national character, uncompromising devotion to the Motherland, discipline self-restraint, courage and heroism. To create and nurture these noble impulses is the most challenging task before the country - what Swami Vivekananda succinctly called man-making.

It is to this historic mission that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh has addressed itself.

Sangh: A Dynamic Power-House

Great oaks from little acorns grow. What started as a tiny stream in an obscure corner of Nagpur in Maharashtra 92 years ago has now swollen into a mighty river engulfing the remotest villages of the country. That the number of Sangh Shakhas has crossed 57000 is one indicator of the expanding reach of the Sangh.

It redounds to the foresight of Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1889-1940) that he anticipated the need for strengthening the foundations of the Hindu society and for preparing it for challenges on social, economic, cultural, religious, philosophical and political planes. A galaxy of savants such as Dayananda and Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Tilak, had sown the seeds of the most recent phase of national renaissance. What was needed was a sufficiently strong instrumentality for carrying that process onward. This instrumentality was created and bequeathed to the nation by Dr. Hedgewar in the form of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh which he, after years of deliberate and patient preparation, founded at Nagpur on 27th September, Vijaya dashami Day of 1925.

One of the hazards of organisation building is allowing one's vision to be clouded with immediate concerns, resulting in dilution of perception of the ultimate goal. Dr. Hedgewar's especial strength was that he never allowed demands of the immediate present to veer him away from the ultimate mission he set to himself.

Keeping aflame the spirit of freedom and endeavoring simultaneously to strengthen

the cultural roots of the nation marked the twin features of the character of the Sangh from the beginning; and that has to this day remained its main plank. Every passing day has confirmed the validity of this basic philosophy. Erosion of the nation's integrity in the name of secularism, economic and moral bankruptcy, incessant conversions from the Hindu fold through money-power, ever-increasing trends of secession, thought-patterns and education dissonant with the native character of the people, and State-sponsored denigration of anything that goes by the name of Hindu or Hindutwa: these pervasive tendencies provide ample proof of the soundness of the philosophical foundation of the Sangh as conceived by Dr. Hedgewar and its continued relevance for the survival and health of the Hindu society and of the nation as a whole. It is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh alone which has consistently been sounding the alarm against all these wrong tendencies in the body-politic of Bharat.

Dr. Hedgewar said often, "Even if the British leave, unless the Hindus are organised as a powerful nation, where is the guarantee that we shall be able to protect our freedom?" His words have proved to be prophetic. Conjointly with Independence, parts of Punjab, Bengal, Sindh and the Frontier areas were sundered from Bharat; and, four and a half decades after the nation's attaining freedom, Kashmir remains a thorn in the flesh.

Continuous efforts have been there to make Assam a Muslim majority province. Likewise, no-holds-barred efforts to proselytize by Christian missions continue unabated. Even armed revolt has been engineered (e.g., in Nagaland) to carve out independent Christian provinces. Such activities receive ready support and unlimited funds from foreign countries and agencies keenly interested in destabilizing Bharat for their own ends.

Sangh's alone has been the voice of genuine patriotic concern amidst the cacophonous, politically inspired shibboleths of undefined secularism, etc.

Even at the inception, the Sangh was viewed by its founder not as a sectoral activity or movement, but as a dynamic power-house energizing every field of national activity.

Antidote to Self-Oblivion

The idea of founding the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was conceived at a time when self-oblivion had overtaken the society. The struggle for political independence occupied the minds of people; this was but natural. However, what was askew was the tacit assumption that the advent of freedom would automatically usher in a revival of genuine nationalist values which had perforce receded during foreign rule. Looking to the West as the pinnacle of civilization, irrationally perpetuating the Britishers' self-serving theories of the 'White Man's burden'; that the Hindus were 'a nation-in-the-making', that the Hindus had achieved nothing of significance in the past, that

Westernisation was the only hope for 'the dying race' that were the Hindus; unquestioning acceptance of myths floated by Westerners even in the name of history (e.g., that the Aryans came from outside), that life in Bharat was and had always been at a near primitive state; - acceptance of such numerous myths had virtually become mandatory for anyone with the slightest pretensions to education or intellectuality.

That this breed still claims adherents even seven decades after Independence bespeaks the intensity of the overarching colonial legacy.

All the father-figures of national renaissance from Swami Vivekananda to Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi had laid great stress on the fact that releasing the society from such mental thralldom was as necessary as throwing out the imperialist rulers.

While efforts to hasten political independence were being pursued in various forms, there were few or no sustained efforts for restoration of the Hindu psyche to its pristine form. Indeed, it is the latter which should constitute the content or core of freedom.

Such was the backdrop for envisioning a country wide movement such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Is it not the lack of social cohesion which enabled a handful of traders and shop keepers (who were no match to us either in intellectual brilliance or physical prowess) to establish their empire here? It was the native chieftains who facilitated the repeated destruction of the sacred Somnath shrine. Wasn't it Raja Mansingh who, by becoming a kingpin of Akbar's regime, betrayed the interests of the Hindus?

As if testifying to the sagacity of the proverb 'The more things change, the more they remain the same' - considerable sections of the so-called academia and the elite even today display a singular lack of national consciousness even after witnessing such horrendous insult to nationhood as partition of the country.

The fact that such a breed continues to exist even after so much historical and recent experience provides the strongest *raison det're* for intense and continuous propagation of the ideal of nationalism and the recognition of the Hindu national identity as a fundamental fact transcending corroboration and discussion. Any compromise in this regard is bound to cause peril to hard earned freedom; and without freedom there will be no prospect of progress for all either. Equally, it is a fact of history that national consciousness should not merely remain an idea or concept, but should be reflected in every single activity of life.

A burning devotion to the Motherland, a feeling of fraternity among all citizens, intense awareness of a common national life derived from a common culture and shared history and heritage - these, in brief, may be said to constitute the life-springs of a nation.

It is these sentiments which have to be instilled in each child. Obviously, this task is beyond the capabilities of political institutions. This is basically a social task. The mechanism Dr. Hedgewar evolved for fulfilment of this all-important task is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Dr. Hedgewar not only had the foresight to anticipate this need, but also the skills of organisation needed to give a concrete shape to that concept.

The Founder

Keshav Baliram Hedgewar was born on Varsha Pratipada, the Hindu New Year Day, 1st April 1889, at Nagpur. Even as a child he started questioning how a handful of foreigners could for so long rule over a vast and ancient nation like Bharat. No wonder that he threw away the sweets distributed on the occasion of the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria's coronation. He was eight years old at the time. When studying in high school he started participating in nationalist activities, and, in fact, unfurled the banner of independence during Dusserah at Rampayali in 1907. The intensity of his urge to free the Motherland grew steadily. In 1908, he was expelled from school for leading the students in raising the 'seditious' cry of 'Vande Mataram'. He had to move to Pune to complete his matriculation.

Hedgewar opted for a medical course in Calcutta, chiefly prompted by the prospect of getting first-hand acquaintance with the underground movement. He soon became a core member of one of the leading revolutionary groups called Anusheelan Samiti, and also plunged himself into various social-service activities. When the river Damodar was in floods in 1913, he rushed to join the relief team.

He returned to Nagpur in 1916 as a qualified doctor. However, he did not (indeed never intended to) practice medicine despite dire poverty at home. Remaining a bachelor, he preferred to become a physician to cure the ills of the nation. By then, he had established active contact with stalwarts like Lokmanya Tilak, Dr. Munje and Loknayak M. S. Anay. He worked in responsible positions in the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha, till the early 1920s.

Hedgewar's public speeches of those days were sheer fire and brimstone. It was not long before he had to face court-trials. In one such trial, he defended himself declaring, 'The only government that has a right to exist is a government of the people. The Europeans and those who call themselves the government of this country should recognise that the time for their graceful exit is approaching.' He was awarded one year's rigorous imprisonment.

After release from prison, Dr. Hedgewar, while continuously immersed in various social and political activities, intensified his quest for an understanding of the true nature of our nation for whose freedom the struggle was being carried on. Political

emancipation from the foreign rule alone could not provide the cure for all the nation's ills.

Bharat is not a nation born recently. It has not only been a nation for millennia, but also had made phenomenal progress in science, commerce, arts, technology, agriculture and other spheres, not to mention philosophy and the spiritual domain wherein its achievements continue to elicit wonderment to this day. It is also a fact of history that the cultural empire of Bharat extended to the whole of South-east Asia for over four centuries. Equally, it is a sad fact of history that social disunity and dissension have been the cause of Bharat's political subjugation by alien invaders.

The 800-year-long resistance of the Hindus to Islamic rule had its own lesson for the British. Seeing that physical repression would not be of much avail, the British, through subtle and not-so-subtle ways, attempted to subvert the Hindu mind itself. They did succeed in part; and a Westward-looking social segment was created, mainly through enforcing the new system of education tailored to generate armies of clerks and 'brown sahibs'. Needless to say, in such an environment, a cleavage developed between the society and its cultural roots and legacy. The nation's identity became eroded.

It was to such a national self-oblivion that a cure had to be found. The Congress leaders' policy of appeasement of the Muslims was but one symptom of the malaise. It is an irony of history that - even after paying the ultimate price of vivisection of their cherished motherland - the Hindus have been treated as second-order citizens by successive governments of post-independence Bharat.

This was indeed foreseen by Dr. Hedgewar. Years of thinking had convinced him that a strong and united Hindu society alone is the sine qua non for not only the all-round prosperity but for the very survival of Bharat as an independent sovereign nation. Social cohesion alone could ensure national integrity.

Dr. Hedgewar's response to this challenge was the founding of the RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh in 1925. The sweep and amplitude of one great mind can be fully grasped only by minds with a like vision and imagination. Thus, even in the early days of the Sangh, it drew praise and approval from eminent stalwarts including Mahatma Gandhi, Savarkar, Subhash Chandra Bose, Madan Mohan Malaviya and others.

The first Shakha of the Sangh was started with a handful of youth at Nagpur. Gradually, Shakhas sprouted in other provinces. Soon, there were vast numbers of 'Pracharaks' (whole-time social workers totally dedicated to nation-building activities) working for fulfilment of the Sangh mission.

Dr. Hedgewar toiled night and day to lay a secure foundation for strengthening and growth of the Sangh. That tremendous work spanning fifteen years did take its toll, and Dr. Hedgewar succumbed to illness on 21st June 1940 - at the comparatively young age of 51.

From 1940 onwards, the task of steering the organisation as the second Sar-Sanghachalak came upon the shoulder of Madhav Sadashiva Golwalkar, (19.2.1906 - 5.6.1973). He, with his tireless movement all through the year to each and every province meeting the swayamsevaks, made the Sangh grow rapidly even up to far-off places in Assam and Kerala. The Sangh which previously had only a few Shakhas in and around Nagpur, Vidarbha, Maharashtra and in some distant places like Lahore, Delhi, Varanasi, Calcutta and Madras began to spread with him at the helm, far and wide, in the highly surcharged prevailing political atmosphere of the country, then struggling for its freedom, with ever increasing number of Pracharaks submitting themselves for the Sangh work, giving a further fillip to the process. He with his great erudition, cogently propounded the historical and sociological background, and the logicity of the concept of Hindu Rashtra, which until then was just an empirical thought. He thus widened the ideological base of the Sangh, making it intelligible to a lay villager and the urban intellectual alike. With his uncompromising stress on the one-hour Shakha technique through his own word and deed, he perfected the Sangh methodology also, in every minute detail, thus making it, through proper samskars, an ideal instrument. As more and more co-workers, imbued with Sangh ideology and organisational skill, got ready, with his blessings, one after another organisation (like ABVP BMS, BJS and BKVA etc.) began to branch forth, as and when the circumstances demanded.

In the meantime, after the assassination of Gandhi, the Sangh also had to - though unjustly and temporarily - pass through the fire-ordeal of a ban, but ultimately it came out totally unblemished and as out of eclipse again continued with its mission. In 1973, after thirty-three years of long and unstinted stewardship, when Sri Guruji passed away, the responsibility was passed on to Balasaheb Deoras (Madhukar Dattatreya Deoras: (11.12.1915 to 17.6.1996) the third Sar-Sangha chalak. In his tenure of twenty years, the growth of the Sangh, apart from geographical spread far and wide, has been meteoric, with leaping numbers of varied service projects and ever expanding horizons of the Sangh-inspired organizations.

Balasaheb Deoras passed on the baton of Sarsanghchalak to Prof. Rajendra Singh in 1994. He in turn delegated his responsibility to K S Sudarshan in the year 2000. In 2009, Sudarshan passed on his responsibility as Sarsanghchalak to Dr Mohanrao Bhagwat under whose leadership the RSS is marching ahead on its way to accomplish its mission and translate its vision of a united, strong, and prosperous Bharat.

The Sangh Methodology

Expressed in the simplest terms, the ideal of the Sangh is to carry the nation to the pinnacle of glory, through organising the entire society and ensuring protection of Hindu Dharma.

Having identified this goal, the Sangh created a method of work in consonance with that ideal. Decades of functioning has confirmed that this is the most effective way of organising the society.

The Sangh's method of working is of the simplest kind, and there is hardly anything esoteric about it. Coming together every day for an hour is the heart of the technique, and the Sangh has always grown only by personal contact. This is a self-contained mechanism; hence its success.

The daily Shakha is undoubtedly the most visible symbol of the RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh. The Shakha is as simple in its structure as it is grand in conception. No better example can be given to prove the truth of the adage that it takes a genius to simplify a mechanical tool, while even a third-rate engineer can complicate a simple mechanism! After nearly seven decades since the inception of the Sangh, people continue to express puzzlement as to how such a simple tool as the daily Shakha can produce idealists and patriots of such sterling worth, willing to dedicate all their energies and talents to the cause of the Motherland, willing even to shed their lives if need be to protect the honour of the Motherland. Herein lays the extraordinary vision, skill and foresight of Dr. Hedgewar, the founder of the Sangh.

What is the Shakha?

A saffron flag (called the Bhagawa Dhwaj) flutters in the midst of an open playground. Youths and boys of all ages engage in varieties of indigenous games. Uninhibited joy fills the air. There are exercises, Suryanamaskar, sometimes training in skilfully wielding the "Danda". All activities are totally disciplined. The physical-fitness programmes are followed by group singing of patriotic songs. Also forming part of the routine is exposition and discussion of national events and problems. The day's activity culminates in the participants' assembling in orderly rows in front of the flag at a single whistle of the group leader, and reverentially reciting the prayer "Namaste Sada Vatsale Matrubhoomi" (My salutation to you, loving Motherland). The prayer verses, even as the group leader's various commands are all in Sanskrit. The prayer concludes with a heart-felt utterance of the inspiring incantation "Bharatmata Ki Jai". This, in outline, is the Shakha of RSS. The participants are the "Sangh Swayamsevaks".

The Shakha is the most effective and time-tested instrument for the moulding of men

on patriotic lines - outreaching by far its physical dimension.

The Shakha process is further strengthened by graded training-camps celled "Sangha Shiksha Varga" at provincial and all-Bharat level, at regular intervals.

The Sangh has popularised the observance of six national festivals of social significance: VarshaPratipada or Hindu New Year; Hindu SamrajyaDinotsav on JyeshthaShuddhaTrayodashi, commemorating the coronation of ChatrapatiShivaji; Gurupooja on AshadhaPoornima; RakshaBandhan on ShravanaPoornima; Vijayadashami on AshwayujaShuddha Dashami; and Makara Sankranti.

A Sea-Change in Hindu Psyche

People expressing doubt about the continued survival or growth of an idea like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh were aplenty in the Twenties and later. However, such doubts have, after seven decades, given place to amazement. Such has been the phenomenal growth of the Sangh. Today, there is not a single major field of life which has remained beyond the purview of the Sanghswayamsevaks.

This does not imply that it has always been smooth-sailing for the Sangh. It has had to pass through many adversities. It was twice banned officially by the government - once in 1948 and again in 1975; and each time Sangh came out of the ordeal with redoubled splendour.

The steady growth of the Sangh is in remarkable contrast with many a national or international movement or "ism" which, after an initial flurry, slowly died a natural death or degenerated and changed their form beyond recognition.

But, to say that the Sangh has survived and grown into huge dimensions (true as this is) does not fully convey the dynamism and vibrancy of the Sangh as the biggest and most widespread movement of this kind perhaps in the entire world. A far truer index of the success of the Sangh is the greatly enhanced self-confidence now visible in the Hindu society. This is clearly evidenced by the warm public response which has greeted not only the hundreds of service projects inspired by the Sangh, but also the campaigns and movements undertaken from time to time, such as those for removal of untouchability, re-invoking the Swadeshi spirit (Swadeshi JagaranAbhiyan), etc. The support that Sangh-inspired causes like "Save Kashmir" and restoration of Ramajanmabhoomi have been attracting from laymen and intelligentsia alike is a further vindication of the soundness of the Sangh's approach to issues of national concern.

Gone are the days when Hindu society could be denigrated by all and sundry; gone too are the days when heaping contempt on Hindu society by one ruse or another was equated with intellectual superiority. It is these latter types of pseudo-intellectuals

who are now running for shelter. And the more pragmatic among them have now coolly adopted the vocabulary.

Sangh - Inspired Organisations

After the advent of Independence in 1947, the centuries-long struggle for freedom gave place to the task of nation-building precisely in a literal sense. But the crucial question was what should be the goal and the means to achieve it. It was here that the men then at the helm stumbled. They had all along been. While engaged in the freedom struggle equating the mere transfer of power from the alien rulers, with real independence and hence to some extent, were bewildered at the sudden turn of circumstances in which they were empowered with authority to rule.

In fact, for them, it was a God-given historic opportunity to shape the destiny of the nation, which was as it were taking a new birth altogether. The real need then was to identify the character and the time-tested basic values, which this ancient nation stood for millennia, and to reshape the nation on that basis with any modifications suited for the changing needs of the day. But they deemed economic progress and material welfare as the finality of an independent nation.

They had before them two models, both from the West. While the American one had in it the capitalist economy with all-permissive individual freedom, which in fact was eating into the very vitals of her social life, the Russian socialist alternative with its ambitious five-year plans, presented a facade of heaven on the earth, in which actually the individual was but a cog in the wheel. Being enamoured by both, and material progress alone being made the touchstone, the new rulers opted to simultaneously ape both - an exercise which ultimately tended to make the nation a carbon copy of neither.

The thinking of the Sangh in this regard has all along been of a very basic nature. From its inception, the goal before the Sangh was to attain the "ParamVaibhav" (the pinnacle of glory) of the Hindu Rashtra, the freedom from the alien rule being just a step in that direction. The transfer of power can at the most be "Swaraj" (one's own rule) but definitely not "Swatantrya" (actualisation of one's own potential being). The concept of "ParamVaibhav" has ingrained in it the material progress too of the nation, but not with its very identity and interests mortgaged.

The Sangh with its total commitment to the actualisation of "Swa", in other words the Hindu ethos, keeping itself away from the powers-that-be, from 1947 onwards, began on its own to extend its influence to varied fields of social life. The Sangh "Pratijna" (pledge), which until then was for the liberation of the Hindu Rashtra, was amended to indicate "SarvangeenaUnnati" (all-round development) of the nation. The entire gamut of social life was planned to be designed on the rock-bed of Hindu nationalism. The swayamsevaks with the insight and the organisational skill they acquired through

the "samskars" on the "sanghasthan" and with the uncompromising urge for the national reassertion gradually began to enter one after another field of national life. The process commenced as early as in the end of forties, and has in these four decades encompassed a vast number of areas that the society is composed of.

In 1948, after the assassination of Gandhiji, when the Sangh was unjustly banned, the exuberant student and youth force, which until then was active in the Shakha work only, was mobilised to contact the public with issues of national interest, particularly the draft constitution which was then being debated in the Constituent Assembly. This movement, the AkhilBharateeyaVidyarthiParishad (ABVP), in course of time has grown into a massive nation-wide student organisation, successfully harnessing the buoyancy, time, intelligence, talent and creativity in the students, over and above their educational responsibilities, for nation-building activities. Today ABVP is recognised as the front-rank student organisation with a totally nationalist outlook.

Earlier, when most of the Sangh functionaries were unjustly incarcerated, and baseless canards against Sangh were let loose by the establishment, to set the record straight, apart from the "Organiser" weekly in English, a series of language periodicals like "Panchajanya", "Yuga Dharma" (both Hindi), Vicrama (Kannada) etc., were started. Nowadays, with regard to this fourth estate of democracy, almost all the provinces have their own vernacular papers all belonging to Sangh school of thought, and command a very wide range of readership.

The educational system initiated by Macaulay with the motive of producing an army of "brown-skinned Englishmen", to serve the imperial administration as "the most obedient servants" was another legacy of the British rule in Bharat. After Independence, there was dire need to reshape the entire system. In 1952, the first "SaraswatiShishuMandir" (nursery school) was founded in Ghorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, as an attempt towards inculcating, along with mandatory academic knowledge, discipline, patriotic outlook, love for mother tongue, high moral values and Hindu principles the thrust of education being based upon a holistic approach to the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual growth of the pupil. The small sapling of this "ShishuMandir" - which it was in fifties - has now grown into, a mighty banyan tree as "VidyaBharati", an umbrella body for thousands of educational institutions, ranging from nursery to post-graduation level. The system of education being evolved by VidyaBharati is based on age-old Hindu values, but having an outer structure in consonance with present-day needs of modern education.

The systematic alienation of the tribals, inhabiting remote forest areas, but who form an inseparable part of the Hindu society through proselytization was another grave challenge that demanded immediate corrective measures. Far away and hence uncontaminated by the sophisticated modernity, they are yet, though deprived of

literacy, committed to their own rustic cultural moorings and also are very talented. They had all along been a most exploited lot and an easy prey for unscrupulous conversion by Christian missionaries. It is to counter this twin menace of British legacy, that the Bharateeya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram (BKVA) was founded in early fifties. The BKVA, now spread over a hundred districts in 21 States, has been striving for the all-round development of the vanavasis, in their own natural surroundings, enabling all their latent potentialities and talents to blossom. Over the decades, the Ashram has succeeded not only in putting a stop to conversions in all its areas of operation, but also in bringing the converts back to the Hindu fold.

The trade union movement guided by the alien socialist and Marxist philosophy, started in thirties, was gaining ground by the time and British left the country. This philosophy, with its faith in class conflict and its methodology of anti-production strikes, was in fact, both in theory and practice, a negation of labour and national interests. Bharateeya Majdoor Sangh, a totally new labour movement, apolitical in character, based on Hindu tenets, was started in 1955. The BMS believes in conciliation whenever dispute arises, and considers strike as the last resort. It does fight against exploitation in any form from whichever party, and upholds the all-comprehensive interest of the society as a whole with supreme concern. It is now recognised as a leading labour organisation even at the international level and in the home-front, the second biggest one, far ahead of other similar organisations with socialist and Marxist leanings.

While the Sangh was by itself effective in organising the Hindus and inculcating in them healthy "samskars" like discipline and social consciousness, the need for Vishwa Hindu Parishad began to be felt in the sixties, for augmenting certain grey areas of the activities of the former. For example, there was need to organise overseas Hindus residing in about 150 countries and provide them with necessary arrangements for upholding their Hindu samskars and faith in their daily lives. There was also need to bring all sadhus sannyasins and orthodox mathadhipatis on a common platform, so that their combined influence could be channelized for the common good of the entire Hindu society. A mechanism to reconvert all those who had been knowingly or unknowingly proselytised to alien faiths and are now desirous of coming back to the Hindu fold was needed. The VHP was founded in 1964, to fill this need.

The VHP is now spearheading the movement to rebuild the temple at Sri Ramajanmabhoomi at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh. After a four-centuries-long physical struggle fought by the Hindus, a period in which as many as seventy-six battles were fought to recapture the premises, where once stood a beautiful temple, which was desecrated by the Moghul invader Baber, the VHP has now picked up the gauntlet to rebuild the temple, yet more magnificently, at the same spot, whatever be the price in terms of sweat and blood. The first phase of this renewed struggle was won in 1986,

when the temple-door, which was unlawfully locked by the government to spite the Hindus, was thrown open to the public by a court order. Again in 1989, the VHP could successfully accomplish the "Shilanyas" of the proposed temple (foundation-laying ceremony), in spite of the numerous hurdles, legal and administrative, and in the teeth of bitter opposition from all those opposed to the project for their own Ulterior motives. The very next year, literally lakhs of Hindus from all over Bharat stormed Ayodhya in a bid to stars "Kar-seva" (rendering physical service as an expression of their devotion), braving the hurdles caused by a hostile government, and successfully hoisted the Bhagawa Flag atop the disputed edifice. There was unprecedented bloodbath. The VHP is committed to undo the historical insult to the last nuts and bolts and it is this determination of the VHP that has instilled a spirit of righteous militancy in the Hindu society.

With the end of the British raj, Bharat became a democratic republic with a constitution of its own, when the need for a strong political alternative to the ruling party with unalloyed nationalism arose. The Sangh, though it preferred to remain apolitical, was well aware of its commitment to social transformation, including in the political field, based on Hindu values. In fact, politics was and has been wielding all-pervading influence over each and every other field of social life; and as such there was need to evolve a totally new political culture in the country. It was in that contest that a few senior Sangh functionaries, driven with the uncompromising commitment to Hindu nationalism, decided to form Bharateeya Jan Sangh in 1951, under the president ship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee. The party, apart from electoral battles, had been waging many a political fight for upholding the nation's integrity and honour. It was in the forefront of the "Save Kashmir" movement in 1952 and also in the movement against the formation of Muslim-dominated Malappuram district in Kerala in 1969.

Having firmly established its foothold on the political arena for over twenty-five years, BJS became the strongest constituent in the Janata Party, which assumed power at the centre in 1977, on a common forum of the linen existing opposition parties. Unnerved with the growing political cloud of BJS, when the other constituents made the very membership of Sangh a bone of contention in the Janata Party, the swayamsevaks came out of that party and formed the Bharateeya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980. This new party continued the legacy of the BJS, with "Integral Humanism" propounded by late Deendayal Upadhyaya as its philosophical base. The BJP, without bothering about its being isolated from other political parties, has been in the vanguard of the movement for Sri Ramajanmabhoomi and also, as a major party, has opposed the move for transfer of Tin Bigha over to Bangladesh. Their differences apart, even the opponents of the BJP accept that it has initiated a totally new political culture. After the general elections of 1991, the party has become the main opposition at the centre and is ruling in four States.

As early as in 1936, Srimati Lakshmibai Kelkar (Mauseeji) of Wardha was prevailing upon Dr. Hedgewar that just as men were being trained in Sangh, women too needed to be trained in nationalism and proper samskars. After many months of discussion, Dr. Hedgewar in the end promised to extend all help to Mauseeji, to found RashtraSevikaSamiti, an exclusively women"sorganisation, its goal being the same as that of Sangh but which was called upon to operate parallel to the latter and with a different name, prayer and independent structure.

The above is a brief, illustrative account of just a few among the vast number of organisations inspired by the Sangh, generally looked upon as "SanghPariwar". The "Pariwar" in fact is very vast, since no field of activity is beyond the reach of Sanghswayamsevaks; and as such a description of each and every activity is beyond the scope of the present book. The swayamsevaks, in whichever field they entered, with their invincible drive to translate their dream of "SarvangeenaUnnati" have made it vibrant with Hindu nationalist ethos. Thus, what was started as a humble man-making activity in the form of SanghShakha, in a brief span of seven decades, especially after the advent of Independence, has now assumed the form of a unique and mighty nation-building instrument, with its benign influence pervading each and every field of social life.

Sangh"s March: Some Thrust-Areas

The Sangh has often been misrepresented by its detractors, political or ideological, as having political motives or as a para-military organisation. The seven-decades-long growth of the Sangh and its ever-growing influence over the society are also sometimes attempted to be evaluated in political terms. But the Sangh, it must be remembered, is for attaining the "Saravangeena Unnati" (all-round development) of Bharat, and for this end only the swayamsevaks pledge to dedicate themselves. They do desire that the political field too needs to be cleansed and reformed, based on Hindu values and ethos, but politics is just one among the many facets of social life. As such, to cast political aspersion on Sangh is, to say the least, baseless, since the concept of all-round development encompasses the entire spectrum of life, including politics. The Sangh has to its credit a few thousands of service projects, covering varied fields of social life. Apart from the projects, the swayamsevaks on their own are rendering service to the society, individually and collectively too, wherever needed, whatever the cause. In fact, a Sarvodaya leader, in appreciation of the service rendered by the swayamsevaks for the cyclone-hit victims of Andhra Pradesh in 1977, meaningfully said that "RSS" stood for "Ready for Selfless Service".

Obviously, the real purpose of the Sangh is rightly understood by the unbiased and discerning analyst only.

The thrust of all samskars in the Shakha, though it outwardly appears to be for

military-like discipline, which in any case is essential for any nation-building exercise, is for imbibing the noblest qualities of head and heart. Admittedly, a Swayamsevak attending a Shakha is a common man, with exposure to unhealthy and corrupt practices now rampant in the society outside the Sanghasthan. Yet, by involving himself in all the wholesome physical and intellectual programmes, both formal and informal, in the Shakha, he in course of time becomes broadminded and service-oriented, ready to serve the society. In the Shakha, because of his interaction with the other members of society, his angularities become rounded off, the tastes and the outlook get moulded for a purer plane where, in place of self-aggrandizement, the dedication for the service of the society becomes his fervent preoccupation. With these samskars rooted deep in his mind, while he considers participating in daily Shakha, a must in his routine - for that alone provides him the driving-force for all his social work - he gets real satisfaction in applying all his energies for the amelioration of social maladies.

The Shakha, in fact, is not an end in itself, but just a means to achieve the end, which in brief is social transformation. The programmes in the Shakha are so structured that while they develop a proper insight and make one aware of the deficiencies and drawbacks in the society, it also instils a sense of pride and intense love for its glorious cultural heritage and, simultaneously, awakens his commitment to work for his emancipation. Thus, through the instrumentality of the Shakha, men are moulded, and they in turn enter varied social fields to ennoble them with Hindu fervour. Just as the pure blood flows out of the heart, to reach each and every body-cell, taking along with it oxygen and nourishment, purging it of its dross, making it function properly and then returning back to the heart to get itself once more energised, the swayamsevaks also imbibe proper samskars in the Shakha, and then propel themselves into diverse social activities.

The aim of the Sangh is to organise the entire Hindu society, and not just to have a Hindu organisation within the ambit of this society. Had it been the latter, then the Sangh too would have added one more number to the already existing thousands of creeds. Though started as an institution, the aim of the Sangh is to expand so extensively that each and every individual and traditional social institution like family, caste, profession, educational and religious institutions etc., are all to be ultimately engulfed into its system. The goal before the Sangh is to have an organised Hindu society in which all its constituents and institutions function in harmony and co-ordination, just as in the body organs. While this is easily perceived at the conceptual level, the institutional outer form of the Sangh is also necessary for internalisation of this habit of organised living, but without making it a creed.

The swayamsevak considers the Hindu society itself as "Janata Janardana"-god incarnate. Any service rendered to this society, accepting nothing in return, is for him

the worship of his god, the "Samaja-roopeeParameshwar! (God in the form of the society). To him, who feels intensely for the good of the society, it provides any number of opportunities of service. The abject poverty, illiteracy, caste barriers, false sense of high and low, untouchability, exploitation, lack of medical facilities, etc., are, to name just a few, the social maladies which call for immediate corrective steps. The prime concern of the swayamsevaks all over the country is now for such service activities. At the Shakha level, a strong orientation is now given for this purpose.

It is but natural that in a self-oblivious society like ours the innate oneness and the fraternal bonds are the first casualty. As such, the poor, the illiterate and the weaker sections in the society become an easy prey for exploitation and conversion to other faiths. While the unsympathetic rich try to suck the blood of the poor, the crafty intelligent exploit the gullible. So, apart from rendering positive service, the swayamsevaks consider it equally important to combat such injustices, on behalf of the weaker sections. Militancy and intolerance become good traits when they are put to use for helping the innocent and the weak in the society. The Bharateeya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, the Grahak Panchayat, the BMS, the BKS (Bharateeya KisanSangh) etc., are all spearheading such movements for social justice whenever the need arises.

In a society divided on caste, class and language lines, the greatest service from a social worker to his community will be to keep intact the very social fabric. The oneness of the society being an article of faith with the swayamsevak, it becomes all the more important for him to strive for social consolidation, especially when the self-seeking politicians try to drive a wedge between diverse groups for their own selfish ends, and anti-social elements take advantage of such sensitive situations. The unifying Hindu appeal generated by Sangh has always acted as a powerful antidote to the disintegrating pulls exercised by separatist elements, in many a trying situation of conflicts born out of casteism, untouchability and sectarianism. The Rashtriya Sikh Sangat, the Samajik Samarasata Manch of Maharashtra, the "Speak Samskrit" movement of Karnataka, and the like have been rendering yeoman service in this direction.

While founding the Sangh, Dr. Hedgewar - himself a freedom fighter had before him the goal not only of independence, but also of "swatantrya" in its literal sense, i.e., the blossoming of "swa"- the national identity - in every walk of our social life. As such, it has always been the supreme concern of the swayamsevaks, to uphold and seek re-assertion of the national honour wherever it is at stake.

The State of Jammu & Kashmir, with its oppressive Muslim-majority character, has been a headache for our country ever since Independence. The forces inimical to Bharat never wanted Kashmir to integrate itself with Bharat, and in October 1947, immediately after Independence when Pakistan s forces invaded Kashmir, these

elements conspired with the enemy to defeat every move to save the situation from our side. However, thanks to the timely collaboration of the entire Sangh force then present at Jammu with the Armed Forces of Bharat, Kashmir was saved. Had it not been for the premature and insensible cease-fire declared unilaterally by our own government, even while a large chunk of our territory was still under the siege of the enemy, our Armed Forces would then itself have driven out the later completely beyond the borders and there would not have been this problem of "Pakistan-occupied Kashmir" (POK), which even now continues to be a scourge undermining the sovereignty of Bharat.

The problem of Kashmir, in fact, is one of our own making, since, keeping in mind its unique demographic character, unlike other States, it has been conferred a special status under Article 370 of the Constitution, even after its total accession with Bharat. In 1952, Bharateeya Jan Sangh and Praja Parishad, in those days the political front of the Sangh in Jammu & Kashmir State, jointly agitated against this special status; and the BJS had to pay a heavy price in the death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the founder-president of the party, in Srinagar jail. He died under dubious circumstances, after being incarcerated there for having led a batch of satyagrahis defying the ban on his entry into the State. However, because of this agitation, the game plan of the conspirators which Sheikh Abdullah as the kingpin, after being exposed, was thwarted and Kashmir was once more saved, for the time being.

The endless appeasement of the Muslim population, especially in Kashmir, practiced by the successive governments at Delhi, has been the bane of our government's Kashmir policy. Just as too much mollicoddling and lack of discipline spoil the child, so has been Kashmir, a problem created out of our own folly. With about one-third of the State territory illegally occupied by Pakistan, a hostile neighbour, the alienated area has virtually become a haven for subversives. Knowing fully well that an open war with Bharat may prove too costly and also with chances of winning unpredictable, Pakistan is waging a cold war, abetting the militants, supplying them with arms, training them for armed revolt from within.

The militants are taking advantage of the government's weakness, being sure that government dares not take ruthless action against them because of their privileged "Minority" tag. They have resorted to all types of inhuman measures to evacuate the minuscule Hindu population from the Valley. They went to the extent of openly burning the national flag at Lal Chowk in Srinagar on an Independence Day. It was the ABVP which first accepted the challenge from the Kashmir militants, and took a massive 10,000 - strong contingent of students from all over the country to Lal Chowk to hoist the tri-colour there. The attempt, however, was foiled by the then government under V.P. Singh. Two years later, the BJP picked up the cue and a historic "Ekta Yatra" (Unity March) from Kanyakumari to Srinagar, with Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi the party

president himself as the leader, was organised. This 25,000 km-long Yatra successfully culminated at LalChowk, exactly on the decided day, braving all the challenges, political as well as others, and did hoist the national tri-colour there, thus proclaiming to the enemy within and without that a competent party had arrived to settle the account.

Apart from the Kashmir issue, the Sangh has all along been in the forefront in each and every national campaign, be it "Ban Cow-slaughter" campaign of 1952 or the mass collection drive for the Vivekananda Rock Memorial at Kanyakumari in 1963. The EkatmataRathYatra of Ganga Jal and Bharatmata in 1983 and the later issue of Ramajanmabhoomi temple, sponsored by the SanghPariwar, have irrefutably established that the Hindu society would respond like a "ViratPurush" (one corporate body), when the innate chord of Hindusthan is stimulated to pulsate in every Hindu heart.

Thus the thrust of the Sangh and its methodology is not restricted to its outward institutional form only, but is multi-dimensional, extending beyond the boundaries of "sanghasthan". The aim is to activate the dormant Hindu society, to make it come out of its self-oblivion and realise its past mistakes, to instill in it a firm determination to set them right, and finally to make it bestir itself to reassert its honour and self-respect so that no power on earth dares challenge it in the days to come.

Toward The Hindu Century

Not only the context of Bharat, but also the global situation re-confirms the validity of the philosophical foundation of RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh.

That the coming or twenty-first century will be a century dominated by Hindutwa and what it stands for is a prophecy which has been heard from many quarters including eminent historians.

What is the state of the world on the eve of the twenty-first century?

The materialist approach to life which has been honed to perfection from the 16th to mid-20th century appears to have now run its course. Aggressive industrialism has proved its own undoing; the life-style and institutions based on such a philosophy no longer seem viable; America now finds itself driven to resorting to open wars in desperation, in order somehow to secure a further lease on the world's resources which it has been recklessly consuming. At the other end of the spectrum was communism which had started as a reaction to the downgrading of man by capitalism, but has now itself walked into the capitalist mansion - after 70 years of experimentation in the Soviet Union and 50 years in China. In the name of socialism, China has accepted modern monopoly capitalism.

The capitalist and communist ideologies alike base themselves on postulates such as survival of the fittest, unlimited exploitation of nature, unhindered individual right, and struggle as the normal pattern of existence.

While the Marxist vision has crumbled even in its home-ground, the capitalist system is on its last throes, gasping to survive as a secluded archipelago of half a dozen islands of physical prosperity. The world is looking for a viable and universally acceptable life-vision. It is Hinduism alone which is in a position to provide such a vision.

The West views the world as made up of different parts functioning according to certain rules and patterns. In contrast, Bharat has always recognised mutual interdependence and complementarity as the basis of life, and a symbiotic relationship between man and nature. Man is regarded by Hinduism not as a separate creature superior to the rest of creation, but as a part and parcel of the whole. The validity of this philosophy has gained added credence in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and has found votaries far beyond the borders of Bharat.

The proclamation that the coming century will be the Hindu Century is thus not a chimera but based on hard facts, analysis and prospects.

Panacea: Cultural Rejuvenation

Economic ideologies governing present policies have proved to be unworkable, not merely because of implementation level aberrations as frequently argued, but because of basic flaws and wrong assumptions. For instance - supply, demand, and market mechanisms have been regarded as the basic parameters of economics. Adherence to this mind set has resulted in fast depletion of natural resources on the one hand, and, on the other, a physically elusive and morally indefensible life-style. In contrast, the Hindu view of life has always advocated living in harmony with nature; such harmony desiderates voluntary restraint on consumption. A corollary of this basic premise is that self-restraint is not only inevitable for practical reasons, but also a source of universal joy and a stepping-stone for spiritual evolution.

The relevance of this conservationist approach is now being increasingly recognised by progressive economists in many parts of the world.

It is the neglect of these basics which has driven countries like Bharat to the brink of bankruptcy and the West to regressive colonialist strategies.

That the rubric of Dharma should be reflected in all facets of life is a founding principle of Sangh. A constant endeavour of Sangh and all its offshoots has been the propagation of Hindu values as the guiding principles in all sectors ranging from education to labour, sociology to economics.

Obsession with West-originated theories has resulted in blinkered vision in major knowledge-areas like history, science, technology, economies, administration, etc. Thus, mainstream economics as taught and practiced today is blissfully unaware of the fact that such nuances as real commodity prices were comprehensively dealt with by Shukracharya, Kautilya and other sages. The materialist approach, blindly copied from the West, has led the country downhill. While Independent Bharat started with a balance of Rs. 18,000 crores, the Bharat of 1992 is in debt to the tune of Rs. 400,000/- crores. The so-called "industrial Revolution", supposed to have led to the prosperity of the West, was made possible from the post-Plassey loot from Bharat. With no such plundered capital, Bharat obviously could not reach the heights of material progress scaled in the West. This externally induced impoverishment has been used by the West to make Bharat a debtor country. However, what should cause greater concern is the culturally induced poverty in the psyche of the people through endlessly repeating "you are poor", "you are backward", and 'you are primitive".

The need is to recreate the self-confidence of the people of Bharat. Not so long ago, Bharat produced such superior yarn that Britain had to ban the sale of textiles from Bharat. Likewise, Bharat produced the best steel in the world costing as little as Rs. 50 per tonne, while the "advanced" West produced inferior steel at Rs. 250 per tonne.

That the indigenous science and technology of Bharat were deliberately crushed by the West is undisputed. Curiously, the same colonialist intervention from the West continues even on the eve of the twenty first century, now in the form of GATT, World Bank and IMF conditionality, "Structural Adjustment", "Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty", etc. While political independence was attained in 1947, a major and sustained struggle for economic independence appears warranted as we approach the Golden Jubilee Year of political emancipation of Bharat.

A lasting solution to the economic crisis can come only from cultural rejuvenation and re-assertion of Hindu values such as reverence for man and nature, a non-acquisitive and non-exploitative life-pattern, recognising mutuality rather than individual right as the basis of economy, voluntary austerity in consumption, and a premium on self-reliance. Sangh has been propagating this value-system based on self-knowledge and self-control, not merely because it is necessitated by the present state of the world, but even more basically because it is a source of individual joy, social harmony, cultural richness, spiritual advancement and universal peace. “

The above narrated mission of RSS presents a practical manifestation of Hindutva philosophy of V.D. Savarkar.

The history of RSS can broadly be divided into two phase's i.e pre partition RSS from 1925 to 1947 and Post Partition RSS from 1947 till date.

There were particular circumstances which lead Hedgewar to lay foundation of RSS in 1925. Hedgewar, previously a member of Congress was upset with the support of Gandhi to Khilafat Movement. This coincided with the communal rioting in Nagpur. Nagpur was a city with population of 150,000 out of which only 20,000 were Muslims. Hedgewar felt that despite being in minority, Muslims were not afraid to fight while Hindu despite being in decisive numerical majority were on the defensive during communal fighting. Hindutva by V.D .Savarkar also had profound impact on thinking pattern of Hedgewar along with other previous biases against Muslims which lead to intellectual work by him to conceive a plan for a new organization.

The pre 1947 history of RSS can be further subdivided into two phase's i.e under Dr. Hedgewar till 1940 and under Gulwalkar till 1947. Although the meeting for establishment of RSS was held in September 1947, the formal name to the newly founded organization was given in 1926. Hedgewar launched his new movement of Hindu revitalization in September 1925 on the Hindu festival of Dasara, a festival commemorating the victory of King Rama over the demon king Ravana. The first participants were recruited from a largely Brahms in locality in Nagpur. This early group had neither a name nor a developed program of activities. The participants were expected to attend an akhara (gymnasium) during the week and take part in political classes on Sunday and Thursday.

The word 'akhara' literally means a wrestling arena, and the akhara system is believed to have been started by Adi Shankaracharya in the 8th century AD to prepare a warrior class that could fight for Hinduism against foreign invaders. The reason behind creating a force of monks and seers was that they would not have a family of their own, and hence would not be weakened by materialistic desires.

Initially, there were four akharas, but their numbers increased with time. As of now, there are officially 13 akharas divided by their belief systems. The Sanyasi sampradaya has seven akharas – Juna Akhara, Avahan Akhara, Agni Akhara, Niranjani Akhara, Anand Akhara, Nirvani Akhara and Atal Akhara. The Vaishnaosampradaya has three akharas, namely Nirmohi Akhara, Digambar Akhara and Nirvani Ani Akhara. There are three akharas which worship Guru Nanak Dev – Bada Udasin Akhara, Naya Udasin Akhara and Nirmal Akhara.

The traditional Hindu gymnasium is closely associated with the Kshatriya life style all over India. In Maharashtra, where Brahmins served conspicuously as rulers and soldiers, the Brahmins actively participated in akharas.

The elder brother of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar G.D.(alias Babarao) Savarkar designed the R S S 'flag, the bhagvadhvaj, and it was displayed on the day Hedgewar launched the R S S .

During, the communal violence of the mid 1920s in the Central Provinces, the number of akharas in Nagpur division increased from 230 to 570.

Traditional Indian gymnasiums have a spiritual purpose as well as an athletic one, and hence, were considered by Hedgewar the ideal places to look for the cadre he was seeking to create. Youths at such gymnasiums were taught that the exercises performed were a form of worship to the God Maruti (or Hanuman). Maruti is among the most demanding gods in the Hindu pantheon, requiring physical strength, subordination, and a strict ascetic commitment from his devotees, most of whom are young men. In Maharashtra, Maruti is associated with the struggle against "evil" and his incarnations appear when Hindus are "oppressed." Ramdas Swami (a seventeenth century Hindu saint) was himself a devotee of Maruti, and the god's idol was installed in the maths monasteries) which he established. The Abhinava Bharat formed by V. D. Savarkar set the poetry of Ramdas to music to arouse a revolutionary fervor among the young. Hedgewar drew on the writings of Ramdas for the same purpose. During the formative period of the RSS, members took their oath before the saffron-colored RSS flag and pictures of Maruti and Ramdas.

Hedgewar selected the first mission of the young organization with great care. He

Wanted to demonstrate the value of discipline to both the volunteers and to the general public, and chose a popular religious occasion— Ram-Navami—to do so. The Ram Navami festival (celebrating the birthday of Rama, the seventh avatar of the Vishnu was celebrated in April each year at Ranrtek, a village near Nagpur.

According to Hedgewar's biographer, the chaotic conditions around the temple created great hardships for the worshippers. Moreover, many villagers were reportedly cheated by the Brahmin pandits. He decided to take his volunteers to the 1926 festival to remedy the situation. For the occasion, he chose both the name and the uniform of the organization. The swayamsevaks, in their new uniforms, marched to the temple singing verses from Ramdas. They enforced queues for the worshippers visiting the temple housing the main idol, provided drinking water, and drove off the corrupt priests. The uniform was the same as that worn by the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the volunteer force Hedgewar organized during the 1920 Congress session in Nagpur. It consisted of white shirt, khaki shorts and a black khaki cap. In choosing a name, Hedgewar rejected putting Hindu in the title because that would suggest that Hindus were but one community among many. Rather, Hindus were, in his view, the nation. He also rejected names that emphasized the Maharashtrian origins of the RSS.

Soon after this dramatic introduction to the public, lathi instruction (a lathi is a five foot bamboo stick used as a weapon) and group prayers were incorporated into the RSS discipline. In the same year, a large open area was acquired and military training was introduced by Martandra Jog, a former officer in the army of the Maharaja of

Gwalior, who was to become head of the military section of the RSS. To strengthen their sense of discipline, volunteers were required to wear their uniforms to the RSS meetings, and a bugle corps was formed to accompany the volunteers when they marched through the streets of Nagpur. In 1926, the first daily shakha (branch) was held, and the practice of meeting daily was quickly adopted by other RSS groups. Ninety-nine young men were accepted into RSS membership in 1928 by taking a life oath in a forest close to Nagpur.

The oath was administered before the bhagvadhvaj, an ochre-colored standard associated with Shivaji. In RSS ritual, this standard is a symbol of the unity of all Hindus, and it is the "guru" to which each swayamsevak commits him when he joins the organization. Some of the older RSS informants recall that the paramilitary orientation of the RSS at that time was popular among the youth of the Hindu middle class in Nagpur because it was proof to them that Hindu young men were the equal in manliness to the British soldier. Communal riots which erupted again Nagpur in September 1927 led the RSS to take steps which captured the attention of Hindus far beyond the city. Anna Sohani, a former revolutionary and close associate of Hedgewar, organized RSS members into sixteen squads to protect various Hindu neighborhoods in the city. Perhaps because of the publicity generated by this move, the organizers of the December 1927 Hindu Mahasabha national conclave at Ahmedabad in Bombay province invited Hedgewar to send RSS members in uniform to the session.

Afterwards, the RSS continued to expand. Because of this growth, Hedgewar called senior RSS figures to Nagpur in November 1929, to evaluate its work and to consider ways to link together the expanding network of shakhas. They decided that the organization should have one supreme guide (sarsanghchalak) who would have absolute decision-making power. He would choose all office bearers and personally supervise the activities of the RSS. RSS literature compares the position to the head of a family who acts for the well-being of the collective unit.

By a unanimous decision of the senior workers, Hedgewar was acclaimed the first

Sarsanghchalak. While the term guru is never employed to describe the position, the guru model of authority governs the leadership principle of the RSS. A guru in the traditional sense is a spiritual preceptor who knows a path to realization, and his guidance is required for the seekers after spiritual wisdom. A novitiate is expected to obey the guru in all matters. Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, Hedgewar's successor, referred poetically to Hedgewar as an avatar (an incarnation of the divine). Hedgewar's samadhi (memorial) at Nagpur is a pilgrimage center for swayamsevaks.

Following his release from prison in 1931 for participating in a civil disobedience campaign, Hedgewar devoted himself full time to the RSS. Having established the

discipline during the formative years (1925-1931), the new set out to make it a national organization

In the early 1930s, the RSS began to spread beyond its Marathi-speaking base in the Central Provinces. Bhai Parmanand, a leader of the Arya Samaj in Punjab, invited Hedgewar to Karachi in mid-1931 to attend the All-India Young Men's Hindu Association session. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Hedgewar started RSS work in the Sind, and soon after launched the RSS in Punjab and the United Provinces. In the United Provinces, RSS students from the Central Provinces began the work. Among them were Prabhakar Balwant Dani, later general secretary of the RSS, and Bhaurao Deoras, later a senior RSS zonal organizer. The work in north India progressed so well that Hedgewar in 1937 sent ten organizers to expand the organization in Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces. G. D. (alias Babarao) Savarkar, a former revolutionary and the older brother of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, helped the RSS expand into western Maharashtra. He merged his own Tarun Hindu Sabha (Hindu Youth) as well as the Mukteshwar Dal (Liberation Organization), associated with Pachalegoankar Maharaj (a Hindu saint), into the RSS.

Between 1931 and 1933 the number of shakhas increased from 60 to 125, and the membership increased to 12,000. Work was started in Madras, Bengal, and Gujarat in 1938, and by 1939 there were about 500 shakhas, approximately one-half in Marathi speaking areas, and 60,000 participants.

A women's affiliate, the Rashtra Sevika Samiti, the first RSS affiliate, was started in October 1936 in the Central Provinces by Mrs. Lakshmi Bai Kelkar, mother of a swayamsevak.

She sought RSS assistance to fulfill one of the revivalist goals—training women in the martial arts. During a visit to Hedgewar, she reportedly told him, "Just as women are an integral part of the household, so they too are a part of the nation. If the ideology of your organization is taught to women, it would also help the Sangh." However, Hedgewar considered it imprudent for the RSS to accept women. He agreed to assist Mrs. Kelkar to establish a separate women's group. The discipline and organization of this group parallel that of the RSS. While there is no formal connection between the two groups, leaders of the Rashtra Sevika Samiti often consult with their RSS counterparts, and they support the other organizations affiliated with the RSS.

Because the RSS kept no membership rolls during the pre-war period, and because it does not officially recognize caste divisions, it is not possible to make any precise description of its membership. However, RSS informants note that it recruited largely in urban areas and from high caste, middle-income groups. Its success in recruiting middle-level government employees and teachers worried the government, and a Central Provinces Government Gazette notification in 1932 prohibited government

employees from taking part in the activities of the RSS. Nagpur District officials also ruled that teachers in government schools could not join the RSS. Hedgewar maintained close ties with the Hindu Mahasabha leadership, due to his close association with Dr. Munje and V. D. Savarkar. Dr. Munje presided over the 1927 Hindu Mahasabha annual session at Ahmedabad, and he invited the RSS to perform drills session, providing Hedgewar with the opportunity to establish contacts with Mahasabha leaders throughout India. Material at the V. D. Savarkar collection in Bombay suggests that the RSS benefitted more from this relationship than did the Mahasabha. Prominent members of local Hindu sabhas would introduce RSS organizers to potential recruits and donors; provide organizers housing and the RSS with a meeting area. This assistance led many members of the Mahasabha, including Dr. Munje, to conclude that the RSS would function as the youth wing of the Mahasabha. But the Mahasabha-RSS relations went to decline with the death of B S Moonje. To emphasize the distance of RSS from Savarkar and Hindu Mahasabha, Hedgewar refused to sanction RSS support of the Mahasabha's 1938-1939 civil disobedience campaign in the princely state of Hyderabad, though individual RSS members took part in it. Savarkar was trying to turn the Mahasabha into a political party, at a time when Hedgewar was seeking to insulate the RSS from politics. The Mahasabha established its own paramilitary youth group, the Ram Sena, in 1939. Consequently, RSS formally parted its ways from Hindu Mahasabha after Savarkar became president of Hindu Mahasabha. Although at top level there was disconnect but on ground level there were interactions between members of both organizations. A person could simultaneously be member of RSS and Hindu Mahasabha because essentially both organizations were working for promotion of Hindutva. The glaring example of this phenomenon was Nathuram Godse who remained member of both organizations simultaneously till assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The first head of RSS called saghsarhchalak Dr. Hedgewar died in 1940. Dr. Hedgewar was replaced as Sanghsarchalak by Madhavrao Sadashivrao Golwalkar (19 February 1906 – 5 June 1973) commonly known as Guru GULwalkar. The activities of RSS remained less or more same during the period between 1940 and 1947. RSS continued to concentrate on strengthening its organizational structure and expansion of its outreach and its acceptability and popularity among Hindus.

But above discussed is the only one side of the picture. Simultaneously RSS was working on a multipronged strategy. The RSS between 1925 and 1947 kept itself absolutely aloof from mainstream political proceedings. RSS was miles away Mahatma Gandhi lead freedom struggle of India quite like its sister Hindutva organization Hindu Mahasabha. Both the organizations remained under fire from their critics for their absolute estrangement from freedom movement of India. Hindu Mahasabha and RSS both boycotted Quit India Movement by Mahatma Gandhi. Simultaneously both RSS and Hindu Mahasabha encouraged Indians to join British

Army during World War II at a time when there was overwhelming opposition to support British Army for World War II in India. The unconditional support to the British during decisive days of Indian freedom struggle is a phenomenon open for simple interpretation by any student of Indian History.

The second interesting phenomenon of Hindutva organizations was their links simultaneously with Nazis of Germany and Fascists of Italy. The links between the Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany are well researched, established and documented. The impact of Fascism and Nazism on Hindutva can be traced at ideological, training and execution level of RSS.

The RSS method of recruitment was practically identical to that of the Balilla youth organisation in Italy. Shaka members, for instance, were grouped according to their age (6–7 to 10; 10 to 14; 14 to 28; 28 and older). This is amazingly similar to the age bands of the hierarchical organisation of the fascist youth organisations, with its subdivision of boys and young men in Figli della Lupa, Balilla, Avanguardisti, and Camicie Nere (Sons of the She Wolf, Balilla, Avant-gardists and Blackshirts). The hierarchical ordering of RSS members, however, came after the organisation was founded and may well have been derived from Fascism, as we shall see.

Initially, the RSS must have been very closely modelled on the akharas, the Bengali gymnasiums where martial arts and paramilitary training were performed – and the secret societies founded in Maharashtra by young militants close to Tilak, including the Savarkar brothers. It is also a known fact that the decision to found the RSS was taken by a small group of individuals, all belonging to the same political environment. Apart from Hedgewar, the group of founders of the RSS included B.S. Moonje, L.V. Paranjipe, Babarao Savarkar, and Tholkar. All were members of the Hindu Mahasabha. Before founding the RSS in autumn 1925, Hedgewar met Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, at the time confined at Ratnagiri, and asked his advice on how to set up the organisation. Although the decision to found the RSS was taken by local political circles, the members of these groups must have been fairly interested in developments outside India. Italy's recent history and the remarkable events witnessed there, of course, had not escaped the attention of Indian public opinion, including Marathi and Hindu nationalists. Marathi presses including Kaisri are rather notorious for having Fascist literature printed in their papers to an extraordinary level.

By the late 1920s, the fascist regime and Mussolini had many supporters in Maharashtra. This patently anti-democratic system was considered a positive alternative to democracy, seen as a typical British institution. A sub text of this literature was the parallel between Fascism and the Risorgimento, Italy's struggle for unification. Marathi nationalists and the radicals in general, saw Fascism, which was

ushering in a state organized along rational lines, as the final chapter of the epic experience represented by the Italian Risorgimento.

Fascist ideas had been taken up by many Hindu nationalists, at least in Maharashtra. Fascism must have met with a certain amount of approval among Hindu and radical political circles, although it is hard to establish how popular it was. The idea behind establishment of military schools by Moonje was “the military regeneration of the Hindus irrespective of their castes or sects”. Moonje was concerned that the so called “martial races and castes” might be weakening:

“Looking at the present conditions of Hindus from this point of view, it cannot be denied that the physical development of our boys is at low ebb, and the martial instinct is practically extinct in most of them.” This, according to Moonje, was a threat to Hindu society, especially in comparison with the martial qualities of the Muslims, so well represented in the army. The concern over the lack of military training among Hindus was due to the fact that the majority of the population was Hindu.

Initially, Moonje seemed to believe that the Hindu Mahasabha would serve as the main means of military training among the Hindus. This idea was illustrated in the document, “General Scheme of the Hindu Mahasabha Military Schools for the Military rejuvenation of Hindus”. Although undated the document can be placed in the early 1930s, perhaps 1932. It can be considered an early piece of Moonje's theorization on military education. This theoretical construct would later find a practical application at the school set up by Moonje as a model for similar bodies of varying sizes and importance emerging in the main centres in Maharashtra, like Nagpur, Poona and Nasik.

It was Moonje's intention that these “trained teachers” should be recruited from the “Hindu SewakSangh”, to make sure that they were “imbued with the spirit of the Hindu movement inaugurated by the Hindu Mahasabha”. Moral teachings, based on Hindu traditions and on Indian “sacred books”, first and foremost, the Bhagavadgita, but also the Ramayana and Mahabharata, not to mention the works of the masters of epic and devotional literature (Ramdas, Tulsidas and Tukaram). It was hoped that this literature would “inculcate ideas of common brotherhood of 'Purn-Hindutva'” in the youths.

The school should be conceived like a military camp, in which strict discipline was to prevail. Moonje reckoned that an institute for 300 youngsters, with facilities such as a swimming pool and stables, would cost approximately 150,000 Rs. The school was to be financed by donations and monthly fees paid by the students

(From 20 to 300 Rs) The public relations campaign aimed at potential sponsors reached its high point in 1936. During this period, Moonje had established contacts

with various royal families from Indore, Travancore, Bikaner, Vizagapathnam, Kashmir and Barodacol. An appeal was also made to the Maharajas of Mahabaleshwar, Miraj and Patiala, the princess Kamala Devi of Gaikwad, as well as the Maharajas of Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bundi, Koha, Dholpur and Palampur, some of whom made donations. At the same time, Moonje had established contacts with a number of British personalities, especially in army circles, where Moonje sought technical advice. One such contact was Major Rend, Military Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Robert Cassels, with whom Moonje had entered into correspondence. There

may have been some fellow feeling between the two. Moonje was indeed a member of the examinations board of Sandhurst Academy in India. Moonje was interested, above all, in establishing contacts with the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon first, and then Lord Linlithgow. Cassels and the Viceroy made small donations (100 Rs) and declared that they were on the whole in favour of the project.

Apart from the difficulty in raising sufficient funds, Moonje had to face other difficulties. Originally, the school was to be in Nagpur, but there was no land available. At last, a site was found in Nasik, and building began in early 1937. The Bhonsla Military School was inaugurated in the spring-summer of 1938. Moonje had finally reached his objective. Of course, the context was different, but the values and practices that Moonje considered the roots of military education were more or less those of the akharas and the secret societies. The RSS had contributed to the dissemination of these ideas among Hindus, although as an organisation, it maintained a secretive character and strict selection procedures. The institutions for military education, the RSS and other bodies had complementary roles and all contributed to disseminate among the largest possible part of the Marathi Hindu society traditional values and militant spirit. The links between the RSS, the Hindu Mahasabha and the military institutions connected with Moonje were fairly close. Hedgewar was a member of the board of governors of the aforementioned Central Hindu Military Education Society together with Jayakar, Kelkar, Aney and Khaparde (all leading members of the Hindu Mahasabha) and, of course, Moonje. The chairman was Shreeman Motilal Manakchand, also known as Pratap Seth, and the vice-chairman was Khaparde. The rules of this new society included a provision whereby if it were to be disbanded, all real estate and other properties including liquid assets and donated goods were to be devolved to the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh. British sources confirm the existence of close links between Moonje and the RSS, as well as the fascist character of the latter. According to an Intelligence Report of 1933, "Note on the Rashtrya SwayamSewak Sangh", Moonje had re-organised the Sangh in the Marathi speaking districts and in the Central Provinces in 1927. The report, describing the activity and the character of the RSS, warned that

It is perhaps no exaggeration to assert that the Sangh hopes to be in future India what the “Fascisti” are to Italy and the “Nazis” to Germany.

The RSS had at this time 66 branches and approximately 6,000 members. Its influence was spreading toward the United Provinces and Bombay, and in July 1931 an office was opened up in Benares. During the meeting of 24th–26th September 1932, the Hindu Mahasabha passed a motion praising Hedgewar for his success in building up a strong Hindu organisation. The meeting urged RSS to open up offices throughout India. It was in fact noted that no new offices, as such, had actually been opened.

RSS, by its very nature was opposed to Gandhian non-violence. Hedgewar saw the RSS as a means of collective self-defence, while Moonje had other ideas: Dr Moonje went even further by favouring offence rather than defence, and advocated a policy of “STRIKE FIRST”.

During the second round of the Bombay and Suburban Hindu Sabha Conference, held in Bombay on 23rd and 24th June 1934, the RSS came in for praise once more:

This conference congratulates Dr. Hedgewar of Nagpur, for the great service he has been rendering to the Hindu Cause by organising a volunteer corps called the 'Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh' wherein Hindu youths of all castes from Brahmins to the so called untouchables are being trained with a view to prepare the Hindus, the premier community in India, to be able to discharge their prime duty of undertaking the sole responsibility for the defence of India, with or without the cooperation with others. This Conference appointed the Committee of the persons to carry on the work of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in Bombay and Suburbs .

The list included 15 names, among which were N.D. Savarkar and N.C. Kelkar. This is further documentary evidence of close and warm relations between the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS. The developments described above indicate that Moonje's militarization plans had been put into practice. Both the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS contributed to Moonje's cause.

It is also quite clear that these initiatives were all vitally important elements of a general campaign aiming at creating militant Hindus, and indeed more and more Hindus responded to the call over the following decade.

It is, however, capable of being used for any purpose the organizers decide on, and is a potential danger. The Sangh is essentially an anti-Muslim organisation aiming at exclusively Hindu supremacy in the country. Finally, it is clear who was the “adversary” mentioned in the document quoted above: it was the internal Muslim enemy, rather than possible external enemies, and much more than the British rulers.

On the other side on the occasion of a public meeting held at Malegaon in the autumn

1938, Savarkar dealt at length with the 'Jewish problem' in Germany. According to him, India should follow the German example to solve the 'Muslim problem': A Nation is formed by a majority living therein. What did the Jews do in Germany? They being in minority were driven out from Germany. Some time later, when the Congress passed the already mentioned motion, during a public meeting held at Thana, at the presence of local RSS voluntary workers and supporters, Savarkar stated that: In Germany the movement of the Germans is the national movement but that of the Jews is a communal one. On 29th July, in Poona, speaking about Hindu-Muslim relations, Savarkar quoted the German anti-Jewish policy as an example: Nationality did not depend so much on a common geographical area as on unity of thought, religion, language and culture. For this reason the Germans and the Jews could not be regarded as a nation. Without a common cultural, linguistic, and religious background, not even Hindus and Muslims could reach the national unity. Muslims would just have to accept being a minority whose rights depended upon the magnanimity of the Hindu majority. During the 21st congress of the Hindu Mahasabha held in December 1939, Savarkar once more drew parallels between the 'Jewish problem' in Germany and the 'Muslim problem' in India: the Indian Muslims are on the whole more inclined to identify themselves and their interests with Muslims outside India than Hindus who live next door, like Jews in Germany. Just as the land of Germans is Germany . . . even so we must have it indelibly impressed on the map of the earth of all times to come "Hindustan" – the land of the Hindus.

Golwarkar's well-known statement is almost coincident with Savarkar's views: German national pride has now become the topic of the day. "To keep up the purity of the nation and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic races – the Jews. National pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by". Golwarkar went further than Savarkar and even considered the possibility of denying the Muslims citizens' rights: in one word, they [Muslims] must cease to be foreigners or may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment, not even citizen's rights. It is well-known that Golwarkar's idea of nation was inspired by Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, "an exponent of German ethnic nationalism" and author of The Theory of the State.

Hindu public opinion was continuously exposed to statements of this kind, disseminated by any possible mean. The Mahratta of 6th January 1939 published the article 'The Savarkar Method of rejuvenation of the Hindudom. New Drive in Hindu Thought and Action'. Savarkar's concept was repeated: "Germans are the nation in Germany and the Jews are a community" – more or less the same words used by Savarkar.

Once again emphasized here that a dominant majority of leaders and followers of both Hindutva organizations i.e RSS and Hindu Mahasabha were Brahmin of one sub caste or the other basically trying to turn the tide of events secretly in favor of their Brahmanical dominance this time under umbrella of Hindutva philosophy. The British were on their way to leave India and free India was in the offing alongwith an undeniable reality of Pakistan. So RSS in particular anticipated and prepared itself for the future and devise a comprehensive strategy to capture the future India certainly to be dominated by Brahmins and run by Manusmriti. Dr. Hedgewar was a Deshastha Rigvedi Brahmin so was BS Moonje. VD Savarkar was a Chitpavan Brahmin so were Nathuram Godse and NC Kelkar. Almost entire founding lot of RSS was of Brahmins of Maharashtra origion with links with Maratha Empire.

CHAPTER VI

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Between 1940 and 1973

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh(RSS), was founded on September 27, 1925 by Dr. K B Hedgewar in Nagpur, Maharashtra, India. Since 1925 till 1947 RSS spent most of its time in structural organization, ideological make up, internal consolidation and bid for recognition. Intentionally, the leaders of RSS kept it away from politics including freedom struggle of India. By one way or the other, RSS successfully managed to distance itself from other Hindutva organization. RSS can be considered a sister organization of Hindu Mahasabha till the time of B S Moonje who being President of Hindu Mahasabha and patron and mentor of Dr. Hedgewar yielded significant influence on RSS . After BS Moonje, both VD Savarkar and Dr. Hedgiwar followed their own independent thoughts. Despite detachment of RSS Hindu Mahasabha leadership, the common Hindutva followers could not understand the difference between the two organizations. In a number of cases one person remained member of the two organizations simultaneously. Natuhram Godse is a clear example of membership overlapping. Till 1947 RSS was an organization with only one subordinate organization reserved for women. Pre Partition, RSS was banned once not across the country but in Punjab only by the Unionist Government.

Post partition was an entirely different ride for RSS. In other words the pre partition era was just a trailer, the actual story started after partition of India in 1947. From 1947 till 2022, RSS has seen many ups and downs but it not only survived all the hurdles, it rather emerged more powerful after every crisis. The credit for RSS survival and its success goes to internal structure, discipline, devotion and leadership of the organization which rescued RSS from all odds. Resultantly, today RSS is the largest volunteer organization in the world with a huge number of subordinate or affiliated organizations. Today Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh has around 70 affiliated organizations from all fields of life commonly known as Sangh Pariwar. The affiliated organizations of RSS are further operating around 1000 NGOs in India.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad, World Hindu Council ,Bajrang Dal, Hindu Jagarana Vedike, Dharm Jagaran Samiti ,Muslim Rashtriya Manch, National Front of Muslims ,Rashtriya Hindu Andolan, Rashtriya Sikh Sangat, Hindu Rashtra Sena are among religious organizations operating under RSS umbrella. Similarly ,Bharatiya Vichara Kendra, Hindu Vivek Kendra, Vivekananda Kendra, India Policy Foundation, Bharatiya Shikshan Mandal, Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana (ABISY), Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation are few of the think tanks which have been the members of Sangh Parivar. Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh, Hindu Students Council, Overseas Hindu Students' Wing, National Hindu Students' Forum, Sewa International, India Development and Relief Fund and Rashtriya Bajrangdal are also affiliated organizations of Sangh Parivar. Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, Indian Labourers' Association, Bharatiya Railways Sangh, Sanskar Bharati, Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad, All India Lawyers' Council, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Akhil Bharatiya Shaikshik Mahasangh, All India Teachers'

Federation, National Medicos Organisation, Akhil Bharatiya Poorva Sainik Seva Parishad, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch, Vitta Salahkar Parishad, Laghu Udyog Bharati, Sahkar Bharati are professional organizations of professionals affiliated with RSS. Rashtra Sevika Samiti, Shiksha Bharati and DurgaVahini are women exclusive SanghParivar affiliates. Bharatiya Janta Party is the political member of Sangh Parivar. Deen Dayal Shodh Sansthan, My Home India, Bharat Vikas Parishad, Vivekananda Medical Mission, Seva Bharati, Sabarimala Ayyappa Seva Samajam, Sakshama, LokBharati, Seema Suraksha Parishad, Seemanta Chetana Mancha are among social organizations working with RSS. Since partition of India in 1947, RSS has penetrated into almost all spheres of human life in India. There are RSS loyalists in each and every institution of India and world continues to witness its effects on regular basis. The whole system of the state now seems to be hijacked by RSS affiliated Hundutva sympathizers. And let's not forget, the driving force behind this organization still remains Hindutva as preached by Savarkar. RSS after 1937 was never in the good books of Savarkar but with the passage of time and with RSS getting more hold on Indian society, Savarkar is becoming more and more central figure in RSS. Portrait of Savarkar has been placed in Indian parliament by BJP government and a serious effort has been made to award Bharat Ratna to V D Savarkar.

Dr. Hedgewar as already discussed ,laid foundations of RSS in 1925 and gave it ideological and organizational feed. RSS was still in its infancy in 1940 when Dr. Hedgewar passed away. As per wishes of Dr. Hedgewar himself, MS Golwalkar was made the Sarsanghchalak of RSS. Madhavrao Sadashivrao Golwalkar (19 February 1906 – 5 June 1973) who became head of RSS in 1940 continue to occupy this post till his death in 1973. It was MS golwalker who gave new energy, new dimensions and new horizons to RSS during his 33 years as Sarsanghchalak. What RSS is today is indeed Golwalkar made. Among his followers and admirers Golwalkar is known and called as Guruji.

Golwalkar was born on 19 February 1906 to Sadashivrao and Lakshmibai in a Marathi Karhade Brahmin family at Ramtek, near Nagpur in Maharashtra. His family was prosperous and supported him in his studies, activities. Sadashivrao, a former clerk in the Posts and Telegraphs Department, became a teacher in the Central Provinces and ended his career as headmaster of a high school. Golwalkar was the only surviving son of nine children. Since his father was frequently transferred around the country, he attended a number of schools.

In 1922, Golwalkar enrolled in Hislop College, a missionary-run educational institute in Nagpur. In 1924, Golwalkar left Hislop College for Benaras Hindu University (BHU) in Varanasi, receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in 1925 and a master's degree in biology in 1927. His students called him “Guruji” because of his beard, long hair and simple robe, a practice later continued in a reverential manner by his RSS

followers. Golwalkar returned to Nagpur, and obtained a law degree by 1935.

The founder of the RSS, KeshavBaliramHedgewar or 'Doctorji' as he was called, came to know about Golwalkar through a student from BHU. He met Hedgewar in 1932 and appointed him sanghchalak at BHU. In a search for spirituality, he left for Sargachi in Bengal in 1936, and spent two years in the service of Swami Akhandananda of Ramakrishna Math. Upon his return, Hedgewar convinced him to dedicate his life to the Sangh. In 1940, when the RSS chief passed away, Golwalkar took over as sarsanghchalak at the age of 34.

Golwalkar after death of Dr. Hedgewar nurtured RSS, everyone agrees but he nourished RSS on hatred, hatred for everything going around, hatred for Mahatma Gandhi, hatred for Indian flag, hatred for Indian constitution, hatred for Indian anthem and hatred for everything against Hindutva ideology. Particular victims of Golwalkar's hate mongering were the Muslims of the subcontinent living across borders. Golwalkar not only adopted and promoted Hindutva ideology as presented by Savarkar; he added further venom to Hindutva. Bunch of Thoughts, the book having speeches, lectures and thoughts of Golwalkar, called the Bible of RSS is a book full of hate and disrespect for other thoughts, systems, ideologies and religions. The Bunch of Thoughts gives a thorough overview of RSS conception of the past, the present and the future of India. The book presents an elaborate view of RSS about defense; foreign and internal policies of India to be observed by any RSS influenced and affiliated government. Anyone who wants to understand India operating under must read Bunch of Thoughts by MS Golwalkar. Following are a few of the extracts from Bunch of Thoughts by MS Golwalkar.

”There are some who tell us, "Bygones are bygones. What is the use of raking up old dead issues? After all, Partition is now a settled fact." How is this ever possible? How can a son forget and sit idle when the sight of his mutilated mother stares him in the face every day? Forget? No true son can ever forget or rest till she becomes once again her complete whole. If Partition is a settled fact, we are here to unsettle it. There is, in fact, no such thing as a 'settled fact' in this world. Things get settled or unsettled solely by the will of man. And man's will is steered by a spirit of dedication to a cause, which he knows to be righteous and glorious. “

“There are some others who justify Partition saying, "After all, Hindus and Muslims are brothers. Partition is just a brotherly division of their property." But have we never heard of children cutting up their mother saying that she is their common property? What depths of depravity! Motherland has verily become an object of bargaining; only lands of enjoyment, Bhogabhoomi, just like a hotel, and not a Dharmabhoomi, Karmabhoomi and Punyabhoomi. The tearing away of the limbs of our mother and the gory blood-bath of millions and millions of our kith and kin is the price that we have

paid for that ignoble attitude. Even today the tragedy of Partition has not come to a close. Kashmir has been partitioned. And now it appears Nagaland is well on the way.”

“That means, those who do not love Rama, i.e., the object of devotion, and who come as an obstacle must be considered as ten million times an enemy, though they may be extremely near and dear to us.”

“In fact, all over the country wherever there is a masjid or a Muslim mohalla, the Muslims feel that it is their own independent territory. If there is a procession of Hindus with music and singing, they get enraged saying that their religious susceptibilities are wounded. If their religious feelings have become so sensitive as to be irritated by sweet music then why don't they shift their masjids to forests pray there in silence?”

”The greatest 'nationalist Muslim' of our times, Maulana Azad too in his last days gave out his mind in the book *India Wins Freedom* in unmistakable terms. Firstly the whole of the book, from start to finish, is an unabashed egocentric narration which depicts all other leaders including Gandhiji, Nehru, etc., as simpletons and Patel as a communalist. Secondly, he has not a single word of censure for heinous massacres and atrocities committed by Muslims on Hindus in various places like Calcutta, Noakhali, etc. More than all, the entire burden of his opposition to the creation of Pakistan was that it would be against the interests of Muslims! In fact, Azad says, the Muslims were fools in following Jinnah, as thereby they got only a fraction of the land whereas if they had followed his advice they would have had a decisive voice in the affairs of the entire country, in addition to all the benefits of Pakistan! Sri Mehrchand Mahajan, ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, had come out with the same comments about the book. For instance, he says, "The Maulana was more shrewed than Mr. Jinnah. Left to him, India would have become virtually a Muslim-dominated country."

”The formation of Pakistan has only proved that we have not as yet learnt the lesson of history and remedied our fatal weakness. At the time of the quitting of the British, the Hindus were too disorganised and the national leadership too demoralised to face even the small sporadic onslaught of the Muslims and the machinations of the British. And Partition was the result. History repeated itself. Alas, the only lesson that we learn from our history is that we do not learn anything from history! Big slices of our motherland – half of Punjab, half of Bengal, Sind and the Frontier Province – once again fell into enemy hands.

These parts were once the glory of our Hindu Nation. Punjab is the birth-place of Vedas – the holiest of our holy heritage. Our great rishis meditated on the banks of the Sindhu. Bengal has been cradle-land of saints, poets and revolutionaries. NWFP was our life-line of defence for millennia.”

“After the first partition, there has been again partition of Kashmir. At one time, our late Prime Minister Pandit Nehru had even expressed his willingness to offer the Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir to Pakistan in a bid to 'solve' the so-called Kashmir problem. The offer of plebiscite in Kashmir was also mooted by our leaders. What does this indicate? If there is an injury to a limb of the body, then, should that particular limb be asked to decide its fate by itself? On the contrary, is it not the complete body, which has to decide? Similarly, if at all there is to be a plebiscite, it should be conducted in the whole of our country. Plebiscite in Kashmir alone would only mean that the consciousness of the unity of our motherland has all but disappeared from our mind.”

“In fact, we lost Srihat (Sylhet) district to Pakistan only because of the same Assami Bengali discord. In 1947 there was a plebiscite in Srihat to decide whether that district was to remain in Bharat or go to Pakistan. The Hindus, torn with Assami-Bengali quarrels and jealousies, did not care to vote at all. But the Muslims being politically alert had immensely mobilised their numbers from far and near and solidly voted for Pakistan. Such is the sordid story of how we lost Srihat to Pakistan even though it had a Hindu Majority”

“Then came our present Constitution converting our country into a number of almost distinct units each with a 'state' of its own and all 'federated' into one 'Union'. When one pauses to think of the conditions in which makers of this Constitution lived when they framed this Constitution one sees that the atmosphere then was extremely congenial to the formation and evolution of a Unitary State –One Country, One Legislature, One Executive Centre running the administration throughout the country- an expression of one homogeneous solid nation in Bharat or what remained of it then. But mind and reason of the leaders were conditioned by the obsession of 'federation of states' where each linguistic group enjoyed a 'wide autonomy' as 'one people' with its own separate language and culture.”

“Towards this end the most important and effective step will be to bury deep for good all talk of a federal structure of our country's Constitution, to sweep away the existence of all 'autonomous' or semi-autonomous 'states' within the one State viz., Bharat and proclaim 'One Country, One State, One Legislature, One Executive' with no trace of fragmentational, regional, sectarian, linguistic or other types of pride being given a scope for plying havoc with our integrated harmony. Let the Constitution be re-examined and re-drafted, so as to establish this Unitary form of Government and thus effectively disprove the mischievous propaganda indulged in by the British and so unwittingly imbibed by the present leaders, about our being just a juxtaposition of so many distinct 'ethnic groups' or 'nationalities' happening to live side by side and grouped together by the accident of geographical contiguity and one uniform supreme foreign domination.”

“For example, our leaders have set up a new flag for our country. Why did they do so? It is just a case of drifting and imitating. How did this flag come into being? During the French Revolution, the French put up three stripes on their flag to express the triple ideas of 'equality', 'fraternity' and 'liberty'. The American Revolution inspired by similar principles took it up with some changes. Three stripes therefore held a sort of fascination for our freedom fighters also. So, it was taken up by the Congress. Then it was interpreted as depicting the unity of the various communities-the saffron colour standing for the Hindu, the green for the Muslim and the white for all the other communities. Out of the non-Hindu communities the Muslim was specially named because in the minds of most of those eminent leaders the Muslim was dominant and without naming him they did not think that our nationality could be complete! When some persons pointed out that this smacked of a communal approach, a fresh, explanation was brought forward that the 'saffron' stood for sacrifice, the 'white' for purity and the 'green' for peace and so on. All these interpretations were discussed in the Congress Committees during those days. Who can say that this is a pure and healthy national outlook? It was just a politician's patchwork, just political expediency. It was not inspired by any national vision or truth based on our national history and heritage. The same flag has been taken up today as our State Flag with only a glorious past. Then, had we no flag of our own? Had we no national emblem at all these thousands of years? Undoubtedly, we had. Then, why this void, this utter vacuum in our minds?”

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vacuum in our minds?”

“In the world of today, whether one desires it or not, conflicts are bound to arise. Merely because we remain pious, does it imply that others also will be cured of their wicked tendencies? Can there be a greater self-deception than believing in such a palpably absurd superstition? The sacrificial goat which is peacefully led to the altar of sacrifice is, in fact, the very embodiment of 'non-retaliation'! Without the slightest murmur, it puts its head under the knife of the butcher. The butcher never feels for a moment that he should not kill such an innocent, 'non-violent' creature. At the same time no one dares even to think of offering a tiger in sacrifice. It is only the weak, docile, 'non-violent' goat that is pitched upon for sacrifice.”

“We should also not allow others to do violence to us. Allowing violence to be done to oneself is also violence and therefore adhrama. Once a great Jain Sadhu explaining the significance of ahimsa said, "If you are faced with a brute force bent upon destroying you and you do nothing to protect yourself in the name of ahimsa, then you will have only encouraged the evil power to indulge in violence. You thus become an abettor in the crime and an abettor is as guiltier of the crime as the actual perpetrator." He added, "Intention, and not the physical act, is the only criterion to decide whether the act is in the nature of himsa or ahimsa.”

“The more we give the more their appetite gets whetted. So this one-way traffic must stop. The only basis for talks with Pakistan is to tell them, "China is a common danger for both Bharat and Pakistan. If China succeeds neither of us will remain free. Therefore let us stand shoulder to shoulder to face this common powerful foe." This must be the only basis for talks. If we begin to appease them, there will be no end”

“We should therefore firmly tell the mediating powers that the only question that remains is the vacation by Pakistan of its aggression from parts of Kashmir, which it had illegally and forcibly occupied in 1947. We should not enter into any other discussions, not even seeking an assurance from the UNO that there will not be any further aggression by Pakistan. In the past all such assurances have been found to be meaningless. Even in the present, the UNO has, in spite of all its solemn assurances, failed to check the armed infiltrators or the regular army of Pakistan from entering Kashmir. And if for implementing its assurance in future the stationing of foreign troops is implied, then there cannot be anything more disgraceful for a great country like ours than to allow foreign troops to be stationed on our soil for the protection of our boundaries. To exhibit any sign of slackening of will at this hour and allow once again the foreign powers to play their dirty game of power politics would seriously affect the splendid morale of our people and undo all the beneficial effects that have accrued to us by the limitless suffering and self sacrifice of our jawans on the battlefield. We should not lose on the diplomatic front what we have gained on the

military front.”

All those studying India or the political practitioners particularly from Pakistan , Afghanistan, China and Bangladesh must study Bunch of Thoughts by MS Golwalkar before formulation of views or policies towards India because as long as Hindutva enthusiasts are in power in India, Bunch of thoughts will continue to be guiding principal for the rulers and the policy makers there.

One of major contributions of M S Golwalkar was making RSS sail through many difficult times. Immediately after partion of India in 1947, India had to go through a trauma situation when Mahatma Gandhi was killed by Nathuram Godse. The prime suspect of the crime was RSS. Nathuram Godse himself denied the involvement of RSS in the murder planning and conspiracy. But Gopal Godse, the brother of Nathuram Godse stated that Nathram was member of RSS at the time when he committed the murder of Gandhi. Even Sardar Valabhai Patel who considered RSS a patriotic organization got convinced of RSS involvement in the murder of Gandhi. As consequence of the murder RSS was banned in India.

M S Golwalkar was the Sarsanghchalak of RSS at the time. Golwalkar engaged himself with the government in order to get ban lifted on RSS. Nohru referred the case to Sardar Patel. RSS at that time did not accept the constitution and even flag of India. In order to get ban lifted Golwalkar accepted almost all conditions of Sardar Patel. RSS formally accepted Indian constitution and also Indian flag. RSS under Golwalkar anyhow refused to comply with one condition i.e. change in the process for appointment of RSS Chief. Consequently ban was lifted on RSS by Government of India. RSS tried to change its image from a radical organization to a mainstream organization. Soon RSS got an opportunity to get its image changed when war broke out between China and India in 1962. In the meanwhile RSS had played its role in Dadar affair whereby Indian Army captured the Portuguese territory by invasion. During 1962 war, RSS played its role in maintenance of law and order in Delhi through its volunteers. As acknowledgment of its services, government of India allowed a contingent of RSS volunteers to be part of 1963 Republic Day parade.

But apart from the above, M S Golwalkar started expansion of RSS in political as well as religious front. Till 1950, RSS was just a volunteer organization. Despite demands from renks within the organization, M S Golwalkar always refrained from involvement of the organization in politics. Even many RSS members had shown their resentment against the decision by Golwalkar to keep distance from politics and ha left the organization. After 1949 ban on RSS Golwalkar started to bend towards formation of a political party to politically safeguard the interest of RSS. So Bharatya Jana Sangh commonly known as Jan Sangh came into being.

It is important to understand the reasons for the establishment of the BJS and its

subsequent evolution, as it helps one to understand the present-day BJP's organisational structure and the ideological framework that guides its governments and the party. It may be underlined here that the establishment of the BJS was significant in post-independence Indian politics as it was the foremost counter-measure to challenge the Nehruvian paradigm of politics and present an alternative paradigm. It has been a long journey for first the BJS and then the BJP. But 70 years later, as we analyse the Indian polity and public discourse, it is clear that the Nehruvian paradigm is struggling to survive, while the BJS's ideology and programmes based on a non-Nehruvian paradigm dominate both the polity as well as the public discourse in the form of BJP's policy and programmes. That is why it is important to look back at the evolution of the BJS as it laid the foundation on which the BJP, which was set up in 1980, later evolved and has finally become the most dominant political force in the country since 2014. For a brief period (1977-80), the BJS had merged in Janata Party, but the latter disintegrated in 1980 and BJS leaders carried forward their battle to set up an alternative paradigm under the name of the BJP. The organisation had received a new name, but its ideology and structure remained firmly rooted in the BJS's organisational and ideological framework.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was the founding president of the BJS. One of the key factors that led to the formation of the BJS was the role of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) which never agreed with the Nehruvian paradigm. It was 1951 that M.S. Golwalkar and Syama Prasad Mookerjee met in a house on Kolkata's then Cornwallis Street. The main agenda was – why not start a new party in the shadow of M.K. Gandhi's assassination in January 1948 and in the light of the scheduled general elections. Mookerjee's proposal was that the RSS should promote a political party. Golwalkar's response was that the Sangh was essentially a socio-cultural organisation and to bring it into politics would disturb its idealistic focus.

The RSS had realized that after a ban was wrongly imposed on it in 1948 after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, there were hardly any political voices to support the organization when its cadres were hounded and victimized.

When the ban on the RSS was lifted in 1949, there was an intense debate about the future roadmap of the RSS within the organisation. A section of the Sangh wanted it to enter politics directly. Following this intense debate and discussions at several levels, the second Sarsanghchala M.S. Golwalkar decided to back Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's efforts to establish a political party which could challenge Nehru and the Congress.

Dr. Mookerjee had resigned from Nehru's cabinet in the wake of the Nehru-Liaquat pact between India and Pakistan. In the next six months, provincial party units were formed in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat (Central India)

also. The BJS was, however, formally, set up as an all-India party in a national convention, held in Delhi on 21 October 1951.

In the run up to the formal setting up of the BJS, Mookerjee had met Golwalkar, Balasaheb Deoras and Bhaurao Deoras in early 1951, at the home of Nagpur sanghchalak Babasaheb Ghatate. This meeting was significant as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh not only decided to fully back the BJS, but it also loaned out some of its pracharaks (full-time workers) for organisational work to help the newly-set-up political outfit. That tradition continued with the formation of the BJP also and the RSS continues to loan its full-time workers to the party.

The Jana Sangh replicated the RSS structure under the aegis of its supreme leader M. S. Golwalkar, who had agreed to the creation of the party only reluctantly and who was keen not to let it acquire any significant autonomy. Most of the party cadres came from the RSS, including Deendayal Upadhyaya, who functioned as the party's General Secretary until his mysterious death in 1968. RSS cadres also occupied the positions of Organizing Secretaries who formed the party's steel frame. The party-building pattern that crystallized under Upadhyaya therefore enabled the RSS to exert a strong influence over the Jana Sangh because of the relationship between the party cadres and their mother organization. As a result, the party tended to replicate the taste for ideological discourses and secrecy of its mother organization. Its leaders were eager to retain the ideological purity of the RSS and its upper caste, even brahminical ethos. Therefore, the canvas of the Jana Sangh as a political party was limited to traditional elites of North India since the southern provinces could not accept languages deriving from Sanskrit, including Hindi, as their idiom. The Jana Sangh remained a niche party for that reason and contended itself with that status for ten years.

In fact, it was as much a role party less interested in winning elections than in using electoral platforms to propagate its ideology.

But the party was supposed to speak for all the Hindus and to influence the state. It was even supposed to capture power in order to correct the public policies which the ruling party, the Congress, had designed and which, according to the followers of Hindutva were detrimental to the Hindus. Among these were the recognition of English and regional languages at the expense of Hindi, the correlative

creation of linguistic states in the framework of a federal union, institutions that the Hindu nationalists wanted to abolish because of "their dangerous potential for secession" the granting of an autonomous status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir that Nehru had promoted to defuse the separatist tendencies in the province something that in the eyes of the Hindu nationalists weakened national unity the continuation of the Shariat as personal law of the Muslims whereas the Hindu personal law was reformed according to western principles; the freedom to convert to another religion;

and last but not least, the possibility of slaughtering cows.

Cows are sacred animals in Hinduism and many Hindu leaders – including traditionalist congressmen– were in favor of a ban on cow slaughter, something the secular Indians) and the minorities, especially the Muslims, regarded as objectionable since they were meat eaters. The Jana Sangh decided to instrumentalize this symbol of identity in order to mobilize the majority community at the time of elections. A case in point was the 1967 election campaign.

The party joined hands with another front organization of the RSS, the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP – World Hindu Association) which was intended to federate all the Hindu sects and to gather their representatives on the same platform. Some of the most prominent religious figures went on fast for weeks, and in the street the Jana Sangh, with the support of the RSS, made unprecedented efforts to mobilize its supporters. In February 1967, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators rallied around the Parliament of India and assaulted this temple of Indian democracy in order to force the MPs to pass a law prohibiting cow slaughter. No mass movement had been so popular since independence in 1947. As the activists were determined to storm the Parliament, the police intervened and killed eight of them, who in turn became the martyrs of this cause. The Jana Sangh made some progress during the general elections immediately thereafter, jumping from 6.4 to 9.4% of the valid votes. But the cow protection movement failed to make a major impact for three reasons. First, Hindus were not as responsive as the Jana Sangh party expected because cow slaughter was not an existentialist issue and many states of the Indian Union had already passed prohibitive laws in that respect. Second, the government did not compromise with secularism. While India admitted religious parties, its Constitution committed the country to secularism, thereby prohibiting the use of religion in the political sphere. Prime Minister Nehru observed strict secular norms and fought the Hindu nationalists as his archenemies. He was very well aware of the Hindu nationalists'. The importance of the Kashmir issue for the Jana Sangh was evident from the personal involvement of its first president, S. P. Mookerjee, who took part in the Kashmir Andolan in 1953 and died in jail in Jammu and Kashmir (probably of heart attack) earlier he had been arrested for taking part in this movement, attempts to instrumentalize religion during election campaigns. In 1956, he ordered the imprisonment of activists who had reprinted a book titled Living Biographies of Religious Leaders of the World, whose provocative depiction of the Prophet Mohammad had resulted in violent Hindu/Muslim tensions in North India. Nehru was convinced that the riots had been masterminded by Hindu nationalist parties “to attract votes in the forthcoming elections” by polarizing the voters along religious lines. In 1959, RSS leader Golwalkar was sentenced to a fine of 500 rupees and six months' imprisonment for a speech encouraging communal hatred. He was eventually acquitted on appeal, but the trial signaled that Hindu nationalist leaders could not articulate their most extreme

views in public as long as Nehru was watching them. Press reports of that time suggest that as a result of the state's vigilance, the Hindu nationalists abstained from instrumentalizing religion openly: in Lucknow the Jana Sangh was shy of parading itself as a Hindu party the house to house propaganda is different from platform speeches". In 1965, even after Nehru's death, RSS dignitaries considered that indirect participation in communal riots would result in a ban," as it did in 1948-1949, the darkest years of the RSS. Undoubtedly, Nehru's commitment to secularism contained the most extreme use of religion by Hindu nationalists in India's political arena. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, maintained the same line of conduct as her father. In 1967, she did not bow to any of the Hindu nationalists demands regarding cow slaughter and she justified continued police repression. She let one of the religious leaders die while on hunger strike; she refused to negotiate any interim ban on cow slaughter – a suggestion of some Jana Sangh leaders in order to break the stalemate and she fired the Home Minister who had failed to contain the demonstrations, allegedly because he somewhat sympathized with them.

Another milestone for RSS during MS Golwalkar time was the foundation of AkhilBharatiyaVidyarthiParishad (ABVP), the student wing of RSS in 1948. ABVP protects and promotes RSS interests and agenda in education institutions particularly universities in India. ABVP was initially assigned to counter the communist strength in the universities across India. Gradually ABVP continued to expand simultaneous with expansion of RSS itself. ABVP today is the largest student body in India with membership extending to millions. Like BJS, ABVP history is replete with countless instances of communalism. But fact remains that ABVP exists as the major organ of RSS with full vigor and vitality till date.

Another addition to RSS family took place in 1955 when BharatiyaMazdoorSangh was formed. The BharatiyaMazdoorSangh is among major labor unions in India. The BMS was formed in 1955 with objective to work out penetration of RSS ideas and philosophy among the labor class of India to further expand the RSS outreach and make more human resource available at disposal of RSS. With the expansion of RSS the expansion of BMS also remained in full swing. Consequently, BMS today is among top ranking labor unions of India with its membership in millions. BharatiyaMazdoorSangh presently has become vital member of RSS family called SanghParivar.

But most significant and far reaching addition into family of RSS under MS Golwalkar was the creation of Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP).

The VHP was founded in Mumbai on August 29, 1964 with Swami Chinmayanand as its President. ShivramApte was nominated its General Secretary. The formation of VHP was direct result of aspirations and efforts of Golwalkar .One hundred and fifty

leaders and eminent Hindus engaged in social reform were invited to participate in the deliberations. It was decided to hold a world convention of Hindus at Prayag (Allahabad) during the Kumbh Mela of 1966 to formally launch the VHP. It was also decided that the VHP would be a non-political organization and no office-bearer of any political party shall be simultaneously a functionary of the Parishad, perfectly echoing the organizational norm of its provider, the RSS. The 1964 statement of the VHP's objectives was indeed expressed in non-party and non-political terms and it articulated a comprehensive reform programme in the Hindu social order. But the study of the evolution of the VHP in the past decades would bring out a palpably political character of its Hindu agenda. The agenda of Vishva Hindu Parishad included to take steps to arouse consciousness, to consolidate and strengthen the Hindu society. It further envisaged to protect, develop and spread the Hindu values of life-ethical and spiritual and to establish and reinforce contacts with and help all Hindus living abroad. The VHP agenda further included to welcome back all who had gone out of the Hindu fold and to rehabilitate them as part and parcel of the universal Hindu society and to render social services to humanity at large. To revitalise the eternal Hindu society by rearranging the code of conduct of age-old Dharma to meet the needs of changed times and to eradicate the concept of untouchability from the Hindu society was part of VHP agenda.

The agenda of VHP included to establish an order of missionaries for the purpose of propagating dynamic Hinduism representing the fundamental values of life comprehended by various faiths and denominations including Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Lingayats, etc and to open manage or assist seminaries or centers for training such missionaries. To promote and conduct activity of literary, scientific, cultural, social, religious or charitable nature and to conduct research in such fields and to establish maintain, take over, manage or render assistance to libraries and schools and colleges, technological institutes and medical and other relief centers and other institutions of like nature was also part of VHP agenda.

To found, maintain, take over, manage or render assistance to orphanages, rescue homes and homes for widows and old and infirm persons and to found, maintain, take over, manage or render assistance to temples, maths and other centres for preaching and teaching of the principles and practices of Hindu Dharma and Culture was also part of VHP agenda.

From 1964 to 1982, the VHP concentrated on establishing its branches in almost all parts of the country, especially reaching out to the tribals and the Scheduled Castes, consolidating its social welfare programmes, including initiating several educational enterprises and organizing Hindus overseas in a massive way. However, it should be noted that the VHP's entire organizational expansion, its success in unifying the leaders of Hindu religious centres and its acquiring a significant salience in the social

and cultural life of the Hindu society and in the Indian political process were made possible by the active involvement of the RSS. AS a matter of fact the VHP, the brainchild of the RSS, became its powerful front organisation.

At a meeting of the influential heads of the Hindu organisations in June 1982 in Delhi, the VHP acquired its final organisational structure. Its structure has two levels: (a) an assembly of religious heads (Dharma Sansad) as a central authority, and (b) the Advisory Committees (Margdarshak Mandals) consisting of representatives of all the sects, communities and schools. There are two other committees as well: (a) The Kendriya Prabandh Samiti and (b) the Standing Committee. The organizational work is divided into five areas with one Organizing Secretary for each area. Every State has been divided into units and every unit into districts and branches. The VHP since its inception in 1964 has organized several world conventions. In addition to these, the VHP has also organized State-level and district-level conventions. It is interesting to mention here that some of the district-level conventions were held in the districts which have a majority or a sizeable Muslim population.

The edifice of the VHP organisation abroad was laid down by the founder General Secretary, SS Apte. VHP has divided the world in five Khands (Zones), each headed by a Khand Pramukh (Zonal Coordinator). These Khands are: American Khand consisting of the USA and surrounding countries; Europe Khand comprising the UK and Europe; Africa-Madhya Asia Khand consisting of Africa and West Asian countries; South-East Asia Khand comprising countries of South-East Asia, Australia, New Zeland, Pacific Islands; and Bharat Khand, comprising India, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan and neighbouring islands.

The transnational functioning of the VHP has interesting implications for the relationship between transnationalism and transnational Hinduism on the one hand, and between Hindu nationalism and secularism and democracy on the other. An analysis of the VHP's activities as a discernible identity and collective purpose amongst the Hindus living abroad would reveal the role of the VHP as a cultural agent of Hinduism. An ethnicised Hinduism or Hindu nationalism abroad may help to understand the nature of the VHP project in the Indian context. This ethnicisation of Hinduism abroad might, at least, partially explain why the BJP has been able to gain massive support for Hindu nationalism among the immigrants. The latter, after leaving India, continue to have ties with their homeland and are confronted with challenges to their identity that are often met by religious activism by linking it with nationalism. In this connection one may note that the VHP is 'committed champion the cause of Hindu minorities residing in different countries for the redress of their grievances'. This is all the more interesting when we are confronted with the VHP's total lack of empathy and commitment for the doctrine of 'minority rights' in India. The VHP organized conventions in New York, 1984; Denmark, 1985; Netherland,

1988; Nepal, 1988; Singapore, 1988; England, 1989; and in the USA, 1993 to celebrate the centenary of Swami Vivekananda's famous lecture in 1893.

The VHP has established the following subject-departments to carry on its organizational, ideological, social and religious activities: (1) Sangathan, (2) Mahila, (3) Videsh, (4) Seva, (5) Dharma Prasar, (6) Dharamcharya, (7) Margdarshak Mandal, (8) Goraksha, (9) PashuRaksha, (10) Math-Mandir, (11) Yuva Sangathan, (12) Sanskrit, (13) Dharmanuthsthan, (14) Prachar-Sampark, (15) Publications, (16) Parva, (17) Sri Ram Janmabhoomi, (18) Purohitiya-Archak, (19) Office, (20) Arth (21) Nyas, (22) AnchalSampti, (23) Adhyan and, (24) Bhandar.

From the above-mentioned meticulous and comprehensive division of its ideological, doctrinal and propaganda tasks, it is thus clear that the VHP's ideological vision and praxis are sought to be realized through a highly modernised and bureaucratized organisational structure.

Margdarshak Mandal is a bold attempt to unite the Dharmcharyas of all the Hindu sects on a single platform. The Mandal has played a central role in the VHP's struggle on the Ram Janma-bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute.

The VHP has constituted yet another body known as Dharm Sansad in 1984, consisting of Dharmcharyas and Sants. The Dharm Sansad has held several conventions since then. These conventions have highlighted the problems and concerns of the VHP and challenges facing Hindus with regard to their identity, existence, unity and interests, such as the property of Hindus in Bangladesh, Punjab problem, struggle for the construction of Ram temple at Ayodhya and restoration of temples at Kashi and Mathura, Hindu awakening, Hindu culture, approval of a 12-point program for individual, family and society for national unity and culture, approval of yet another 36-point reform program in the context of intra-Hindu struggles in the spheres of 'language, caste and regions', 'evils of the dowry system and untouchability' in the Hindu social life' 'neglect of Maths and Mandirs', 'cow slaughter', 'abduction of women and children', 'change of names of holy cities and towns' , 'curbing atrocities on Hindus', establishment of 'autonomous boards to manage Hindu temples' and increasing the 'initiative, influence and leadership of Sants in all the arenas of the society. The Dharm Sansad in its session in Delhi on April 2-4, 1991 not only condemned the insults heaped on the Sants in the October-November 1990 Ayodhya struggle but also appealed to Hindus to 'vote carefully' in the May 1991 elections, keeping in view the losses suffered by Hindus in the October-November 1990 Ayodhya turmoil. The Delhi Dharma Sansad Convention acknowledged the support of the BJP to the Ayodhya cause and blessed the party for the same. On April 4 1991, a mammoth rally was organised in Delhi and was claimed to be the biggest in the history of Delhi. 'No other rally organised by any political or

religious organization was bigger than this... The Ram Bhakats were assured by the religious heads and political leaders and parliamentarians that no power on earth can stop construction of 'Ram temple at Ayodhya.' The fifth convention held again in Delhi on October 30-31, 1991 was attended by 600 Sants which decided to start 'karseva' for reconstruction of the Ram temple at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992. It also opposed the demand for the extension of the constitutionally guaranteed concessions to the ex-Hindu converts to other religions, Christians and Muslims. The sixth Dharma Sansad was held at four places—Nasik, Tirupati, Kashi and Hardwar. Apart from local-regional issues, these conferences stressed the need for establishing Dharm Rajya and reconstructing society on the basis of spiritual values.

The Dharm Sansad decided to mobilize the Ram Bhakats to annex the complex at Ayodhya presently under the control of the Indian Central Government for the construction of the Ram temple. It also took measures to sharpen the organizational power of the youth wings, Bajrang Dal and Durga Vahini.

The VHP has undertaken the project of honoring and training the temple priests. In the context of promoting social harmony, the VHP has described this project as a significant one. Protection of the cow and ban on cow slaughter has been given a pointed thrust in the VHP's campaigns. The VHP has demanded a legislation banning the slaughter of cow and its progeny, ban on cow export, and strengthening 'gaoshalas'.

The constitution of a 'Bharat Sanskrit Parishad' is yet another project to promote and propagate Sanskrit as a language of social communication. The VHP is also engaged in popularizing the Vedas—the source of Hindu religion and culture. A number of 'Veda Mandirs' have been established in India and abroad. The Parishad organised a 'Veda Sammelan' in Prayag (Allahabad) on January 10-11, 1992 in which eminent Vedic scholars participated. The most important campaign, underscoring the self-identity, 'unity' of Hindus and correcting of the 'wrongs' done to the Hindus in the medieval period of Indian history, and also consciously and unconsciously underscoring the 'Hindu power', has been on the issue of Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute. The VHP's entire organisational effort, the extraordinary and energetic mobilisation by the religious leaders of different maths, 'akharas', sects and cults through its Margdarshak Mandals and Dharm Sansad backed by the RSS and the BJP cadres as also the mass members of the later, including the support and empathy from large sections located in lower middle and middle classes, as also the rich and wealthy in both rural and urban areas, were harnessed to realize the VHP's 'do or die' demand, first for the 'relocation' of the Babri Masjid, and now for the 'reconstruction' of the Ram temple on the ruins of the Babri Masjid.

Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) which was founded in 1964 with the backing of the

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has emerged as one of the most powerful members of the 'Sangh Parivar' and has become the ideological initiator of a Hindu Unity movement to champion an assertive and aggressive, Hindutva platform in the religious and cultural domains of the Hindu society. The foundation of VHP was the product of emotional, inspirational and organizational support of RSS. The RSS-blessed VHP's massive social and cultural enterprise has not only influenced the post-1984 evolution of the RSS-inspired BJP's Hindutva politics, but also energetically endeavoured to put Hindutva on the top of India's political and cultural agenda. The 'Hindu Unity' plank of the VHP has been achieved by an unprecedented politico-religious unity of almost all the heads of different religious centers and establishments of Hindus located in different parts of the country, the systematic launching of the social reform programmes, though without assaulting the caste-based hierarchical Hindu social order, the emphatic contributions of the RSS cadres and the total and complete acceptance of Hindutva ideology by the post-1984 BJP in resolving its massive Hindu identity crisis in the wake of its debilitating 1984 electoral defeat, resulting in the building and expansion of the VHP's social and organisational base.

The VHP's un-self-conscious projection of its claim that it is a non-party and even non-political forum for Hindu consolidation is only half true, in the technical and formal sense, as is the claim of its originator, the RSS. But in reality, the crusade-like campaigns of the so-called non-party and non-political VHP, especially in the post-1989 phase of the Indian politics, has not only unfolded a party-centered and a highly politicized Hindu agenda for the realization of the RSS' political goal of 'Hindu Rashtra', but has also ardently attempted to transform Hinduism from its traditional sense to Hinduism as an ideology for the purpose of capturing political power on the one hand, and to transform pluralistic Hinduism into a uniform religion. The VHP-led movement for the politicization of Hinduism, in the name of Hindu Unity is also meant to reconstruct Hindu nationalism as an ideological alternative to the freedom struggle-nurtured secular nationalism and historically evolved composite culture.

The BJP, the political arm of the RSS, lent its powerful political support to the VHP's Hindu Unity project in uniting these forces with the modernized elites located in the bourgeoisie, bureaucracy, landed and professional interests, the Hindu-inclined sections of the organized working classes, economically and emotionally vulnerable lower-middle classes and several layers of peasantry, especially those amongst the latter, who have developed closer socio-economic ties and linkages with the urban classes and the upwardly mobile sections of the Scheduled Castes and the backward classes who are increasingly gaining the social acceptability and confidence of the upper castes and are willing to be identified with the VHP-led movement for Hindu resurgence and awakening

For the first time in its history, the VHP came out with an exhaustive 'Hindu Agenda':

The 40-point 'Hindu Agenda', issued on the eve of the 1996 Lok Sabha elections put in perspective the religio-cultural basis of the politics of 'Hindu Rashtra' being diligently pursued by the RSS. The RSS' politics and vision of 'Hindu Rashtra' comes out clearly in the VHP's 40-point 'Hindu Agenda' as under: -

1. From the beginning of the creation of Bharatvarsh, known by the name of Aryavart and Hindustan, it has been the birth place of Hindu race and its ancestors. It is an undisputed and self-evident Arya Rashtra or Hindu Rashtra.

2. After its freedom from the unfortunate slavery of 1000 years, the Hindu nation, as a result of its continuous struggle and unmatched sacrifices should have got political, religious and cultural freedom in its motherland, Bharat. After the unfortunate partition of Bharatbhoomi, the remaining portion of divided Bharat inevitably and self-evidently remains and continues to be Bharatbhoomi. It is indeed extremely unfortunate that due to the shortsighted and foreign-oriented thought and perception of then political leaders responsible for the partition of the country, this most ancient, glorious and cultural civilization finds itself powerless, helpless and orphaned in its own country.

3. The political parties promoted by the spirit of pseudo-secularism, and not real secularism, which the term conveys, by resorting to the policy of appeasement of anti-national elements, have rendered the mainstream Hindu Samaj deplorably orphaned and their motherland Bharatvarsh like a wretched dharmashala.

4. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad presents this Hindu Agenda before the political parties to salvage Bharat and Hindu nation unfortunately surrounded by inimical forces and innumerable difficulties to ensure just human rights to the vast community of 80 crore in their homeland. It is the duty of every political party in the country to promise to safeguard the interests of the national mainstream, that is, Hindu Samaj (Sanaatan, Buddha, Jain, Sikh panths, etc).

5. In the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections we want the parties to promise the following agenda:

I. Hindutva and nationalism in Bharat are synonymous. Hindu Samaj is indisputably the main current of Bharat. Hindu interest is the national interest. Therefore the honour and the interests of Hindus will be protected in every manner.

II. The patriotic Hindus all over the world aspire to construct a magnificent temple at Sri Rama Janmabhoomi in Ayodhya in accordance with the model approved by the revered sants.

III. The Janmabhoomi complex will be immediately handed over by enacting a suitable legislation to Sri Rama Janmabhoomi Nyas which is in the forefront of Sri

Rama Janmabhoomi awakening and is recognised as such by Hindus all over the world.

IV. The Holy campuses of Sri Krishna Janmasthan at Mathura and Kashi Vishwanath temple at Varanasi which were desecrated and remodeled by foreigners will be immediately handed over to the Hindu Samaj by enacting a suitable legislation.

V. Slaughter of cow and its progeny shall be completely banned throughout the country by enacting an effective legislation and made a rigorously punishable offence.

VI. Gau-seva Ministries will be formed at the Centre and in the States to protect environment, natural-ecology and agro-economy for establishment of self-reliant village-oriented economy to foster and develop the national species of cow and its progeny for production of natural and organic manure and to enhance the production of milk, butter, ghee and yogurt, etc., and utilise the tremendous ox-power in national interest.

VII. The anti-national activity of religious conversion of Hindus by force, fraud or false propaganda by exploiting the innocence and poverty of backward communities will be entirely banned.

VIII. All foreign remittances to non-governmental agencies, social, religious or service organizations and individuals will be stopped so that the money and the material is not misutilised for religious conversion and other divisive conspiracies.

IX. A uniform civil code will be promulgated throughout the country to check inequality, imbalance, injustice, atrocities on women and to stop the malpractice of polygamy.

X. Abortion and female infanticide which promote immorality and female persecution will be banned. More stringent provisions will be made against rape and kidnapping of women. Firm steps will be taken to check the scourge of dowry system.

XI. Article 370 of the Constitution, which smacks of a separate balkanized identity of Kashmir from the rest of the country will be scrapped. The restriction on the sale and purchase of property in Kashmir by Bharatiya citizens will be abolished.

XII. The Kashmiri migrants will be honourably rehabilitated. Their snatched properties will be restored and the deprived families will be compensated. Adequate arrangements for their security will be made.

XIII. Secessionist demands and propaganda in Kashmir or anywhere else will be ruthlessly repressed. The secessionist demand will be a strict penal anti-national offence.

XIV. Terrorism results in untold sufferings to the people of the country. Therefore, the very source, whether internal or external, will be uprooted by determined action of the government.

XV. Special rights and privileges granted to the minorities will be available to all sections of society to end inequality.

XVI. University recognized, well developed and scientific language Sanskrit will be made compulsory subject of study throughout the country.

XVII. The mother tongue will invariably be the medium of primary education.

XVIII. Teaching of Bharatiya culture and Dharma will be made compulsory.

XIX. The status of second official language accorded by certain states to Urdu in foreign script will be withdrawn.

XX. The distorted presentation of modern, social and cultural history of Bharat will be got re-written by honest, patriotic and learned historians and archaeologists. The teaching syllabus shall be accordingly reformed.

XXI. Singing of 'Vande Mataram' will be compulsory in all educational institutions.

XXII. Pooja, archana and religious construction activities of maths, mandirs and ashrams will be deemed a charitable society and will be entitled for exemption from the income tax.

XXIII. A specified portion of government revenue shall be earmarked for the various dharmic, charitable objects of the tax payers.

XXIV. Efforts will be made at governmental level to spread and develop Ayurved and other indigenous medical system.

XXV. Government interference and control in pilgrim centres, maths, mandirs and ashrams will be removed and they will be made autonomous for proper management.

XXVI. Pilgrimages shall be made tax-free. Ministries shall be established at the centre and in the states to restore the glory of pilgrim centers.

XXVII. Drinking and non-vegetarianism will be discouraged by the government. All meat export from the country will be banned. All big mechanical abattoirs will be closed.

XXVIII. Vigorous efforts will be made for immediate expulsion of all those who have infiltrated into Bharat after January 1, 1970. The country's borders will be

impreguably guarded and sealed. Identity cards will be issued to the residents of bordering areas.

XXIX. Pervasive arrangements will be made for the cleanliness, piety and glory of religious centers and rivers.

XXX. Terrorist and anti-national activities will be ruthlessly crushed by appropriate legal provisions.

XXXI. Any denigration of, or disrespect to any faith including Hindu culture, belief or tradition, or any venerated character by audio-visual, written or spoken means will be a penal offence and strictly enforced.

XXXII. The national economic policy will be based on swadeshi and self-reliance.

XXXIII. It shall be the moral duty of the Government to protect the religious and cultural rights of non-resident Bharatiyas living in neighbouring and far-off countries and to develop their dharmik, cultural and social relations.

XXXIV. Non-resident Bharatiyas will be treated as Bharatiya citizens.

XXXV. The old and glorious historical names of towns, roads and places will be restored.

XXXVI. Prominent Hindu festivals will be declared national holidays.

XXXVII. The rights and privileges accorded to Scheduled castes and tribes will be withdrawn on their conversion.

XXXVIII. In view of the unimpeachable historical, literary and archaeological evidence, the Places of Worship (Special Provision) Act, 1991 shall be suitably modified/repealed.

XXXIX. The Minority Commission and similar partisan institutions will be abolished.

XL. Recruitment in armed, paramilitary and police forces on communal lines will not be permitted.

Thus, it is reasonably clear that the elaborate 'Hindu Agenda' of the VHP in its contents and tone in their totality is nothing but strident, assertive and passionate plea for legitimising the theory and practice of majoritarianism. The VHP has sought to hegemonise a 'Hinduised' politics, hego-minising Hindu religion and culture. The 'Hindu Agenda' also has the grave potential to communalize Hinduism and rob Hinduism of its elegant and erudite spiritual and metaphysical traditions steeped in

dissent and democratic pluralism. The 'Hindu Agenda' is meant to galvanize the Hindus at the grass roots by politicizing Hinduism and creating and inventing an identifiable form of 'political Hinduism' and 'Hindu nationalism' and mercilessly synonymizing the latter with Indian nationalism. The net and massive political and electoral gainer of the VHP's enormous effort and endeavour to aggressively articulate its 'Hindu Agenda' has been none other than the RSS-inspired BJP. The VHP-led powerful institutions and campaigns and its politically inspired religious activities have created a sort of well-entrenched and stable 'Hindu vote-bank' and the latter is an integral part of the social and organizational base of the BJP, giving it significant political and electoral advantage. In fact, the grass roots cadres and leaders of both the VHP and the BJP share in both intellectual and emotional terms the letter and spirit of the 'Hindu Agenda'.

MS Golwalkar is therefore remembered as most influential personality in the history of Hindutva and RSS. SawamaiVivekanda pioneered modern Hindutva by his Arya Samaj, Madan Mohan Malavaya founded Hindu Mahasabha, VD Savarkar gave an ideological synchronization to modern Hindutva and Dr. Hedgewar founded RSS. Hindu Mahasabha almost got dysfunctional after partition following assassination of Gandhi by NathuramGodse. RSS rose to the occasion and swiftly filled the vacuum left by Hindu Mahasabha. It was the sarsanghchalak of RSS that time i.e. M.S Golwalkar who lead the RSS rom forefront and showed the track to Hindutva for its present rise. Savarkar s books gave an idea of Hindutva. Golwalkar shaped the ideas of Hindutva according to prevailing post partition political and geographical circumstances of India. He kept pre- partition RSS aloof from politics and did not think of its expansion by concentrating exclusively on internal organization. Post partition after surviving the shock of murder of Mahatma Gandhi, Golwalkar lead RSS to a path of glory with multi pronged strategy. On ideological front Golwalkar concentrated on reshaping Hindutva in accordance with the post partition circumstances and touched every aspect of national life. Golwalkar through his written and spoken words gave a road map for future of Hindutva in independent India. Golwalkar gave his views on issues like foreign policy, internal security policy, defense policy and policy towards non Hindu residents. Golwakar laid foundation of future Hindutva government policy towards Kashmir. Similarly he gave guidelines about national security policy to be followed by future Hindutva governments. Thoughts about defense policy also have been conveyed by Golwalkar. Golwalkar has set the broad parameters of Hindutva government. Simultaneously Golwalkar has defined the plight of minorities in India at length. Since 2014 what the world has been witnessing is in letter and spirit implementation of words of Golwalkar. Coupled with the conceptual meticulousness, Golwalkar started physical expansion of RSS for promotion of Hindutva in India. Golwalkar heralded the foundation of Bharatya Jana Sangh, BharatyaMazdoorSangh, AkhilBhartyaVidyarthiParishad and Vishwa Hindu Parishad. All these organizations evolved into pillars of SanghParivar which later

paved the way for political and ideological expansion of RashtriyaSwayemsevakSangh and Hindutva. Along with the expansion of Hindutva, Golwalkar lead RSS added more venom to Hindutva ideology and paved the way for more difficult days ahead for minorities particularly the Muslims in India.

Golwalkar writes: “Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus and is the terra firma for the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon” and for Golwalkar, salvation lies not in Indian democracy, but in the Manusmriti. Gowalkar further says “Ever since that evil day, when Moslems first landed in Hindustan, right up to the present moment, the Hindu Nation has been gallantly fighting on to shake off the despoilers. The Race Spirit has been awakening”.

Golwalkar further says “There are only two courses open to these foreign elements (Muslims), either to merge them in the national race and adopt its culture or to live at its mercy so long as the national race may allow them to do so and quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities' problem... [The] foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment—not even citizen's rights.”

Golwalkar wrote another book, more inflexible in anti Muslim views named “We – Our nationhood defined”.

MS Golwalkar died of cancer on June 5, 1973.

CHAPTER VII

RashtriyaSwayamsevakSangh after 1973

Written by:

MAZHAR HUSSAIN

Madhukar Dattatraya Deoras took the reins of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh as the third sarsanghchhalak after the death of second sarsanghchhalak MS Golwalkar 6th June, 1973. Madhukar DattatrayaDeoras remained a chief of RSS till 11 March 1994 when he stepped down due to ill health. He died in 1996. RSS sarsanghchhalak is held for lifetime but Deoras was the first RSS chief to have early retirement on his own request on account of his health.

Madhukar Dattatraya Deoras was continuation of RSS legacy of having its chief from the Brahmins caste. Deoras was a Dasheshtha Rigvedi Brahmin from a Telgu speaking family. He was born in Nagpur making it third RSS Chief from a Brahmin family of Nagpur, Maharashtra and leaving a deep impression of Maharashtra on the organization. Earlier Dr. K B Hedgewar, the founder of RSS and MS Golwalker, the second sarsanghchhalak of RSS were born in Brahmin families of Nagpur. The founder of Hidutva theory VD Savarkar was also born in Maharashtra (District Nashik)

Deoras was the third RSS chief with second longest tenure of service. He headed RSS for twenty one years. The twenty one years of RSS under Deoras were most defining and crucial for the volunteer organization. Deoras inherited a reasonably strong organization from MS Golwalkar. MS golwalkar had established two main strong pillars of RSS i.e VHP and BJS meaning that apart from its primary objective as a volunteer force, RSS was now formally involved in political and religious matters and had turned into a religio-political organization although trying to portray itself as apolitical organization. The labor Union of RSS BharatyaMazdoorSangh and student organization ABVP had also turned into strong pillars of RSS.

RSS under Deoras known among RSS followers as Balasahib Deoras further progressed and prospered. The number of affiliated organizations of RSS raised many folds and a large number of new organizations became part of Sangh Parivar resulting in more social, intellectual, religious and political space for RSS in India. Almost twelve significant new organizations were added to RSS fold of Sangh Parivar. Rashtriya Kisan Sangh, the organization for farmers was established in 1978. Seva Bharti, the organization devoted for social welfare works was established in 1979. Vidhya Bharti, the organization managing RSS schools throughout India was founded in 1978. Bharatiya Vichar Kendran, the official think tank of RSS devoted to intellectual and national reconstruction work was formed in 1982. Sanskrit Bharti, the RSS affiliated organization reserved for promotion of arts and culture in India was formed in 1981. Vishwa Samavad Kendra, the media organ of RSS was established in 1980. Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad, the lawyers body of RSS was formed in 1977. Bajrang Dal the child of VHP was formed in 1984. Ekal Vidyalaya Foundation reserved for education was founded in 1986. Vijnana Bharti, the organization reserved Science education promotion was founded in 1991. Friends of Tribal Society ,

working for literacy in tribal areas was founded in 1989 while Swadeshi JagranManch , an organization reserved for thinking over economic issues was founded in 1991.

Aside from organizational expansion to multiple dimensions from agriculture to education and from think tank to science education, RSS under Deoras was part of three major phenomena from 1975 to 1992.

The first major phenomenon during rein of Deoras as RSS chief was emergency imposed by Indra Gandhi , the then Prime Minister of India. Even in the first few weeks of the emergency, it was realized that the RSS was the force to reckon with due to its size. The RSS had some 8,500 shakhas in 1975, each with around 50-100 participants. The total strength of the RSS, therefore, was between 425,000 and 850,000. Then there was the rest of the Sangh Parivar: The BMS, a labour union of 1.2 million in 1977; the ABVP, a student union of 170,000. There were other affiliates, too. All in all, the Parivar probably counted around 2 to 3 million members.

The deep connections of the RSS to the JP Movement helped as well: when the key protagonists of Jayaprakash Narayan's insurgent forces came together to form the LokSangharshSamiti the evening before the Emergency was declared, the Parivar was well positioned to absorb a number of central positions in the new outfit, which then grew into the nerve centre of the underground.

The Jana Sangh's Nanaji Deshmukh was made its secretary. A large number of those detained during the Emergency, 4 per cent according to the government, 33 per cent to the Sangh came from the RSS and its affiliates. This greatly influenced its makeover from a fringe force in the Indian political imagination to one that could have its own man sworn in as prime minister in two decades' time.

The RSS bosses were quick to realize that the Emergency was in fact a blessing. A member of RSS writes "What could not have been achieved in twenty years will be possible in two" was the message they sent out to their cadres. This was going to be their struggle."That attitude of 'who is not with me must be my enemy' that has dogged the Opposition for the last thirty years finally came to end, all thanks to the quandaries we faced together because of the Emergency", Narendra Modi, then a young pracharak, later observed. Modi, who spent this period disguised as a Sikh with the nom de guerre Prakash, not only distributed grey literature and liaised with Sanghis abroad, but escorted political fugitives, including Socialists like George Fernandes, to safe houses as well. For their part, elements within the Sangh not otherwise keen on merger quickly reconciled to building bridges with the rest of the Opposition when news began to emerge of Sangh defections to the Congress. Sure enough, many in the RSS who were imprisoned under MISA returned home as changed men, becoming active supporters of the Congress, if not its active workers. The Jana Sangh in Uttar Pradesh, for instance, pledged its "full support" to the government on 25 June 1976,

promising not to engage in "any activity which disturbs the peace and security of the state"; thirty-four Jana Sangh MLAs in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh crossed over to join the ruling party. These defections were not the only sign of the Sangh Parivar's ambivalence to the regime. Indeed, its satyagrahas and sangathan (mobilisation) represented just one half of a two-pronged strategy.

Immediately after the declaration of Emergency, on 27 June, Balasaheb Deoras, the sarsanghchhalak of the RSS, wrote "a letter of guidance" to the organisation's workers: they "should continue Sangh work in accordance with directions of those appointed for the purpose by sar-karyavaha Shri MadhavraoMuley."

In essence, a new division of labour had emerged: Muley was to lead the resistance underground while Deoras himself, who was arrested on 30 June, adopted a conciliatory attitude, penning missives to the prime minister from his cell in Yerawada Central Jail, Poona.

On 22 August, Mrs Gandhi received the first instalment of his epistolary courtship: "From the jail I listened with rapt attention to your broadcast message relayed from AIR and addressed to the nation on August 15, 1975. Your speech was suitable for the occasion and well balanced." After the plaudits Deoras moved on to more substantial matters, regretting the ban on the RSS and the arrest of "approximately 23,000 [RSS] workers":

"What could possibly be the right cause of banning the Sangh is difficult to assess and to attribute through the ordinance. The RSS has never done anything as might hamper the smooth running of the government, the internal security and peace of the country. The aim of the Sangh is to unite the All-India Hindu community, to organize the same. The organization tries to discipline our society, the organisation has never advocated the cause of violence, neither it has initiated anyone to such acts. Though the field of the Sangh is limited only to the Hindu community, yet nothing is taught here against any non-Hindu society. This is my humble prayer to you that you shall kindly keep the above in view and shall lift the ban on RSS. If you think it proper, my meeting with you will be a source of pleasure to me.

Yours faithfully, Madhukar Dattareya Deoras.

No reply was forthcoming. Despite the rebuff, Deoras wrote her a second letter on 10 November, traversing the same terrain but this time laying it on thick. "Let me congratulate you as five judges of the Supreme Court have declared the validity of your election", he crooned, before proposing to put the Sangh's cadres at her service: "Set free thousands of RSS workers and remove the restrictions on the Sangh. If done so, power of selfless work on the part of lakhs of RSS volunteers will be utilized for the national upliftment and as we all wish, our country will be prosperous."

When she failed to respond yet again, Deoras sought to recruit as his emissary Vinoba Bhave, whose ashram he had visited in 1973 shortly after becoming sarsanghchalak.

"The Sangh has neither been violent nor encouraged acts of violence. The main function of the Sangh is to rectify man. The RSS volunteers are asked to observe control and discipline, hence it can have no place for violence", he wrote on 12 January 1976.

Deoras was ignored by Bhave as well. A presumably dejected Deoras then sent him yet another letter when he heard that Mrs Gandhi was scheduled to visit Paunar on 24 February.

"It is my prayer to you that you kindly try to remove the wrong notion of the prime minister about the Sangh, and as a result of which the RSS volunteers will be set free, the ban on the Sangh will be lifted and such a condition will prevail as to enable the volunteers of the Sangh to participate in the planned programme of action relating to country's progress and prosperity under the leadership of the prime minister."

Constructive ambiguity had its uses. On the one hand, Deoras hoped he could have the ban on his organisation lifted by turning the Sangh's cadres into the shock troops of the regime, the entryism remaking the Congress, perhaps even the nation, in its image.

Deoras was not alone. Hans Raj Gupta, former Delhi mayor and 'provincial RSS sanghchalak for Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Chandigarh, Haryana, and Delhi', too, wrote Mrs Gandhi a similar letter from Tihar, promising in exchange for lifting the ban the beginning of a "new era of co-operation" between the Parivar and the Congress, the former assisting the latter in its "nation-building activities".

According to the Jana Sangh MP Subramanian Swamy, "Atal Bihari Vajpayee also wrote apology letters to Indira Gandhi, and she had obliged him. In fact for most of the 20-month Emergency, Mr Vajpayee was out on parole after having given a written assurance that he would not participate in any programme against the government."

In November 1976 Swamy, who was abroad trying to stir up the Diaspora, was told by Muley that "the RSS had finalised the document of surrender to be signed" at the end of January 1977. "On Mr Vajpayee's insistence", Swamy was to be the sacrificial lamb "to appease an irate Indira and a fulminating Sanjay whose names I had successfully blackened abroad by my campaign."

In the event, no surrender took place, hence no oblation either, for Mrs Gandhi announced a snap election on 18 January 1977.

On the other hand, after Deoras' arrest the bulk of the RSS leadership quickly went into hiding. Swayamsevaks, the Sangh's foot soldiers, were instructed to continue

showing up at the shakhas, but in plain clothes instead of in their identifiable white shirts and khaki skirts.

On 4 July 1975, Muley invited the surviving chiefs of the Sangh -- among others Bhaurao Deoras (brother of the sarsanghchhalak), Rajendra Singh, Sunder Singh Bhandari, DattopantThengadi, NanajiDeshmukh, and MoropantPingle to his residence to take stock of the situation. It transpired that virtually the entire RSS machinery was intact. It had certainly helped that on 25 June 1975 itself, some of the RSS leaders had "come to know of what was coming", as the Jana Sangh's Deshmukh later admitted.

Only one prantpracharak (provincial organiser) and 189 of the RSS' 1,356 pracharaks (full-time organisers) had wound up in prison. The rest were safe underground, occasionally resurfacing at the numerous "summer camps" that the organisation held as part of its routine activities.

Indeed, the chain of command was uninterrupted: Directives flowed from Nagpur, the Sangh's headquarters, to the prantpracharaks, who passed them on to the vibhagpracharaks below them, who in turn relayed them further down to the district and tehsil levels -- all in the span of a few days.

Despite the strength of its clandestine networks, the RSS preferred not to fight the Emergency on its own. At an August 1975 meeting that brought its tactical positions into sharper relief, its leaders reasoned that while "the RSS had the capacity to save democracy by itself", going it alone risked a post-Emergency settlement that was a democracy only in a formal sense: A hegemonic Congress confronting a gaggle of Opposition parties on the verge of extinction. How, then, were the "defunct political parties be revitalized?

In the main by the RSS. "Thus, the Sangh had to work on two fronts. On the one hand it had to revitalize Opposition parties and on the other organize a strong public opinion for the re-establishment of democracy. Hence the decision of the RSS to conduct all activity in the name of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti." But democratic rule was not an end in itself. The Sangh's commitment to representative government was only skin-deep:

"It is accepted on all hands that the present democratic process in India is not a growth of the soil and it is neither adequate nor favourable nor capable from the point of view of conditions in and requirements of the country. But its protection can save the country from dictatorship. It can afford scope for the thinking and action necessary for a new system that accords with the tradition, nature and circumstances of the country. In a dictatorship this is not possible. So opposing the dictatorship of the Emergency became a natural duty of the Sangh."

In the event, the question was settled in favour of coalition politics. The LSS' secretary was Nanaji Deshmukh -- until his arrest in August 1975 -- and the better part of its cadres were Sanghis. So it was decided by RSS leaders and pracharaks in Delhi that the LSS was the perfect barque for capture.

Liaising with the Samiti was bound to bring it into contact with a large spectrum of Opposition politicians -- just as the Parivar's involvement in the JP Movement had in the run-up to the Emergency.

The emergency by Indra Gandhi added to organizational depth , flexibility, rigidity and maneuverability of RSS. RSS learnt to survive amidst the worst circumstances. Another thing learnt by RSS through emergency was duality of character or difference between its appearance and reality . In reality RSS had operated from the underground against the emergency but simultaneously RSS was engaged with the regime for concessions as discussed above.

Another major thing to happen during Deoras tenure as sarsanghchalak of RashtriyaSwaemsevakSangh was the emergence of BharatyaJanta Party (BJP).BharatyaJanta Party was founded in 1980 and Atal Bihari Wajpai was its first president. The third phenomenon to happen in India during period of Deoras as sarsanghchalak of RSS was the movement for demolition of Babri Masjid known among sangh ranks as Ram janambhoomi movement. Both the phenomenon i.e. BharatiyaJanta Party and Ram janambhoomi Movement prospered together. The catalyst for the success of the two phenomenon was the third organization of RSS i.e. Vishva Hindu Prishadalongwith its offspring Bajrang Dal .The overall strategy for success of BJP in Ram Jnambhoomi Movement through VHP was conceived and implemented vide RSS Headquartes at Nagpur under nod of Deoras. In simplest possible words Deoras achieved the climax for RSS Hindutva ideology by using Ramjanambhoomi Movement as platform with the help of VHP. Rise of BJP and consolidation of stature of RSS itself were the immediate dividends.

The Babri Masjid was a historical mosque in Ayodhya, India. Situated in Faizabad district and was one of the biggest mosques in the Uttar Pradesh state. As indicated by the mosque's engravings, it was worked in 1528– 29 CE (935 AH) by Mir Baqi, on requests of the Mughal ruler Zaheerudeen Babur. According to Hindutva ideologues, Baqi destroyed a temple dedicated to Rama at the site. The political, authentic and socio-religious open deliberation over the historical backdrop of the site and whether a past sanctuary was destroyed or altered to make the mosque, is known as the Ayodhya question which remains unanswered in reports of Indian Archeological Survey and also final verdict of Supreme Court of India in 2019.

In 1936, the United Provinces government sanctioned U.P. Muslim Waqf Act for the better organization of waqf properties in the state. As per this demonstration, the Babri

Masjid and its nearby memorial park (Ganj-e-Saheedan Qabristan) were enlisted as Waqf no. 26 Faizabad with the UP Sunni Central Board of Waqfs. The Shias questioned the Sunni responsibility for mosque, guaranteeing that the site had a place with them on the grounds that Mir Baqi was a Shia. The Commissioner of Waqfs started an investigation into the question. The request presumed that the mosque had a place with the Sunnis, since it was authorized by Babur, who was a Sunni. The finishing up report was distributed in an official journal dated 26 February 1944. In 1945, the Shia Central Board moved to court against this choice. On 23 March 1946, Judge S. A. Ahsan decided for the Sunni Central Board of Waqfs.

In December 1949, the Hindu association Akhil Bharatiya Ramayana Mahasabha, an affiliate of Hindu Mahasabha composed a constant 9-day recitation of the Ramacharitamanas simply outside the mosque. At conclusion of the event, the evening of 22– 23 December 1949, a gathering of 50– 60 individuals entered the mosque and set idols of Rama and Sita there. On the morning of 23 December, the event coordinators declared over loudspeakers that the idols had showed up paranormally, and invited Hindu enthusiasts to go to the mosque for a darshan. As a large number of Hindus began going by the place, the Government proclaimed the mosque a questioned zone and blocked its entryways.

Home Minister Vallabhbhai Patel and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru coordinated with the UP Chief Minister GovindBallabh Pant and Uttar Pradesh Home Minister LalBahadurShastri to have the idols expelled from the mosque premises. Gasp issued requests to evacuate the symbols, however Faizabad's appointee chief K. K. Nayar under excuse of hostile response from the Hindu community dared to defy the orders.

On 16 January 1950, Gopal Singh Visharad documented a common suit in the Faizabad Court, asking that Hindus be permitted to revere Rama and Sita at the place. In 1959, the NirmohiAkhara filed another claim requesting ownership of the mosque. On 18 December 1961, the Sunni Central Waqf Board additionally recorded a claim, requesting ownership of the site and expulsion of idols from the mosque premises.

In the 1980s, the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) , an organ of RSS started a battle for the development of a temple dedicated to Rama at the site, with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as its political voice. A few revives and walks were held as a piece of this development, including the Ram RathYatra drove by L. K. Advani. On 6 December 1992 the VHP and the BJP sorted out a rally at the site including 150,000 volunteers, known as karsevaks. The rally turned vicious, and the group overpowered security apparatus and tore down the mosque. A resulting investigation into the occurrence discovered 68 individuals in charge of the annihilation, including a few pioneers of the BJP and the VHP. The grinding additionally brought about a while of communal tensions between India's Hindu and Muslim populations, causing the demise of not

less than 2,000 individuals.

In 1859, not long after the principal recorded episodes of religious viciousness at the site, the British pioneer organization set up a railing to isolate the external patio of the mosque to stay away from question. The norm stayed set up until 1949, when symbols of Rama were secretly set inside the mosque, supposedly by volunteers of the Hindu Mahasabha. This prompted a uproar, with the two gatherings documenting common suits making a case for the land. The putting of the icon was viewed as a tainting by the clients of the Masjid. The site was proclaimed to be in debate, and the entryways to the Masjid were blocked.

In the 1980s, under umbrella of Rashteriya Sawaemsevak Sangh, the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) purposefully increased its activities for the construction of a temple devoted to Rama at the site, with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as its political voice. The development was institutionally supported by the decision of a locale judge, who in 1986 allowed opening of the mosque doors for worship by Hindus of idols placed inside. In September 1990, BJP pioneer L. K. Advani started a 10,000 kilometers long Ram RathYatra to Ayodhya starting from Somnath and passing through all major population centres of North India to gather support for construction of temple at site of Baburi Mosque. Advani was arrested by the administration of Bihar before he could reach Ayodhya. Regardless of this, an expansive assemblage of karsevaks or SanghParivar activists reached Ayodhya and endeavored to assault the mosque. This brought about a pitched fight with the paramilitary forces that ended up with the demise of a few karsevaks. The removal of the VP Singh government and the formation of the BJP government in UP following Ayodhya Theater after 1990 Ram RathYatra was the first political bonus for the RSS under Deoras.

The scratching down of the mosque and the celebration of the crowds made a perpetual crack in India's social texture and ingrained dread among India's Muslim minority. It made ready for the union of Hindu majoritarianism and the inevitable ascent of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) – the gathering behind the Ram temple development. As it were, with the grinding of the Babri Masjid, everything broke; there started a standardization of the disrespect between the groups. What it truly did was, in white collar class drawing rooms, regarded working class families began discussing Muslim as the 'other' and that 'Muslims merited it'. Hindu supremacist organizations, for example, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) - the ideological parent of the BJP - and Vishva Hindu Parishad need to fabricate a temple on the site of the mosque. Numerous Hindus trust the mosque remained on the origin of the Ram.

Left-adjusted gatherings in the nation are denoting the commemoration as "Dark Day." Protesters in New Delhi said the annihilation of the mosque "remains the

severest of assaults on the mainstream, fair establishments of the cutting edge republic".

Justice. M. S. Liberhan had presented his discoveries to the administration on June 30 this year after a request traversing about 17 years. The report suggests a law accommodating commendable discipline for abusing religion to gain political power. It took 17 years and 48 expansions for the Liberhan Commission testing the 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya to present its answer to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. One of the nation's longest running request commissions, which has fetched the administration about Rs 7 crore, the Liberhan Commission was set up to test the chronology of events prompting the demolishment of the Babri mosque on December 6, 1992.

During the whole residency, the one-judge test remained persistent with procedural postponements, non-collaboration from key witnesses and even steady exchanges amid the beginning of the commission's functioning. The legal counselor, Anupam Gupta, separated himself from the commission following eight years in view of differences with Justice Liberhan. Mr. Gupta's relations with the judge had supposedly gone under strain halfway amid the examination of L.K. Advani when the BJP pioneer was Home Minister. Mr. Advani lost his cool and held up a dissent with Justice Liberhan who thusly asked Mr. Gupta to tone down his cross-examination. The commission recorded statements of scores of government officials from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), including senior pioneers Mr. Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi, at that point Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh Kalyan Singh and Bharatiya Jan Shakti party boss Uma Bharati. A few individuals from the Congress and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) were likewise questioned. Besides distinguishing the individuals who assumed a part in the annihilation of the sixteenth century mosque, the commission is relied upon to state why and how the destruction happened. The devastation of the Babri Masjid was arranged, efficient, and was the planned result of an atmosphere of collective prejudice intentionally made by the SanghParivar and its sister associates, including the Bharatiya Janata Party. This is the key finding of the about 1000-page-long report of the one-man Liberhan Commission on the calamitous occasions of December 6, 1992. The report places singular culpability for the pulverization on a sum of 68 people, the main part of them drawn from the expanded Parivar tribe involving the Rashtriya SwayamSevak Sangh, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Bajrang Dal and the BJP. The findings incorporate not simply Hindutva ideologues Lal Krishna Advani and MurliManohar Joshi, but, shockingly, likewise the gatherings commended direct face, Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

It was one of those disastrous days which made devastation in the nation as well as inside two enormous groups in India. sixth of December, 1992 at 10.30 a.m., when the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, which had remained there for a considerable length of time

and was a holy place for many admirers was broken to the ground. Passing by the certainties the primary case returned path in 1885 requesting the development of the sanctuary encompassing a Chabutra in the external yard. The request was in the long run dismissed alongside the refusal of any type of responsibility for Chabutra. A genuine of uproars at that point occurred in 1934 in which the masjid was assaulted and its fates crushed. From that point forward, the mosque turned into the bone of dispute and the noteworthy Babri Masjid debate began. The question from that point took another measurement the evening of 22nd-23rd December, 1949 when the Ram Lalla symbols were subtly introduced in the Masjid. It was the Congress Party that was then administering, both at the union and in addition the state. Nehru's direction to expel the icon benefited not do at all. With the disallowance arrange that came in the end, u/s 144/145 Cr. P.C., the Muslims lost their entitlement to venerate in the structure. The case was anyway left unsolved which prompted the further irritation of the issue. In 1985, the VHP (Vishwa Hindu Parishad) requested the reclamation of the sanctuary and furthermore the foundation of the 'Slam Janam Bhoomi Mukti Yojna Samiti'. The following advancement occurred in 1986 when the place was opened after quite a while in the long stretch of February. Two days after this, some Muslim pioneer, who were not from Ayodhya, came in, to shape the 'Babri Masjid Action Committee' with MaulanaMuzaffar Hussain Kichhochhavi as its President. To counter this, the VHP propelled a gigantic crusade for development of the sanctuary. It was after the development of this advisory group that the Hindu-Muslim cleavage expanded significantly more. In 1987, dissents began occurring in Ayodhya requesting the privilege of the Muslims to implore there. On the opposite side, the VHP began sorting out the 'RathYatra' to prepare the development further and to increase open help. All cases identified with the Babri Masjid were then sent to the Lucknow Bench of the High Court. Adding to the effectively existing strain, the 'Sangh Parivar' propelled a 'Shila Pujan' program everywhere throughout the nation to increase open help. The case was then sent forward to the three seat judges. It was then in 1989 that hearing began occurring in the Supreme Court, following the suit recorded by the Waqf Board. The BJP in 1991 picked up vigorously and framed its Government in U.P. what's more, Congress took to decision at the inside. With two adversary parties on either sides, pushing and pulling began occurring from both the sides making the entire circumstance all the more basic. Strain and political amusement expanded so much that the Sangh Parivar and the BJP government in UP wound up choosing the annihilation of the masjid. Puri Sankaracharya was likewise for the obliteration, among others. There were rehashed endeavors by the then Chief Minister of UP, Kalyan Singh, to influence the Muslims to move the mosque outside the limits set by the VHP. Political mottos began pouring in from the two sides and trademarks of devastation were being heard so anyone might hear. The destiny of the Babri Masjid was fixed.

The annihilation occurred in a much arranged and precise way. Not just the mosque,

the Ram Chabootra (where the Hindus venerated) and the Sita Rasoi, were altogether devastated. It was then taken after with the establishment of a stage for the Ram Lalla symbols. Collective uproars occurred in Ayodhya, as well as everywhere throughout the nation, executing and slaughter occurred. In Ayodhya anyway the circumstance left control and President's lead was forced on eighth of December. The postponement in doing as such was another far from being obviously true issue. This issue has and has dependably been naturally laced with control legislative issues. From its earliest reference point each gathering needed and has misused this issue to suit their own motivation and political thought processes. There were misleading statement and conspicuous untruths skimming noticeable all around and regardless of knowing everything none of the gatherings wanted to illuminate, beguiling people in general and its feeling on the loose. This is as yet an unsolved issue. No choice was ever landed at, yet what happened to the mainstream status of the nation was unrecoverable, vacuum that it made with Indian families losing their friends and family, can never be filled and the ones capable will never be gotten. This case in a couple of more years will bite the dust a characteristic passing with documents covered somewhere inside.

What ought to have been a day of reflection was pick to end up a day to systematize disorder more than ever. December 6, the demise commemoration of Babasaheb BhimraoAmbedkar, the drafter-in-head of our Constitution, in 1992, turned into the day when they pulled Babri Masjid down, block by communalised block. Different records of what occurred on that day, reflections on how law was endangered at each level, as several karsevaks, equipped with press poles, different weapons, cut down a sixteenth century mosque named after the Mughal ruler Babar, have been distributed. Each and everybody of them, aside from those composed by illuminating presences in the saffron camp advocating the archeological murder, in a manner of speaking, regrets how India lost its spirit, its popularity based uniqueness, its claim to multicultural, common exceptionalism established on the Constitution, as we drew an internal line of control inside ourselves, Othering everlastingly the Muslims among us. In the corridor of mirrors that Indian analysis and predominant press has now moved toward becoming, quite a bit of verifiable exactness is lost in the commotion of political point scoring. Along these lines, here's a recap of the significant names and their infamous commitments to the making of the day that sullied India's sacred secularism until the end of time.

Post-Emergency, since the arrangement of the BJP in 1980, Advani - the "Iron Man" of India, and in addition his brethren in MM Joshi and Uma Bharti, were straightforwardly mindful in driving the crowds to Babri mosque's annihilation. Advani's 1990 rathyatra crosswise over a lot of north India was one of impelling and steady communalisation, raking up the Ayodhya issue. Advani, Joshi and Bharti gave joyful talks that specifically brought about encouraging the karsevaks, and a religious rage was released on December 6, 1992.

In the Ayodhya theatre, Advani by and by remains as a blamed, as the primary guilty party of the Babri annihilation scene. In spite of the fact that he has as far as anyone knows "atoned" and has freely said that December 6, 1992 was the

"saddest day" of his life, in fact he is a culprit, alongside his partners. RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal .RSS Chief Deoras certainly was main planner of the proceedings and was the happiest man for the outcome of all proceedings.

The seed of the Ram Janmabhoomi emergency was sowed when in 1949, the evening of December 22-23, likenesses of Ram lalla and Sita were "found" in the Babri masjid and given celestial hugeness. Noted writer and recorder of the Geeta Press, the ideological portion of the SanghParivar, has composed how records of RSS insiders currently honestly concede that the icon was pirated in by individuals from the Sangh, especially Baba Raghubar Das and Hanuman Prasad Poddar, a critical trustee of Hindutva-gushing Geeta Press.

The 1.5 lakh karsevaks, or volunteers, composed by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad - VHPdrove the decimation of Babri masjid on December 6, 1992, immeasurably dwarfing the 2,500 police faculty positioned to keep the debacle. Uproars took after, and Bajrang Dal had urgent impact in weaponising the Hindus, mentally conditioning the until now directs or/and objective people. In Bombay, Shiv Sena, under the aegis of BalThackeray, drove crazy swarms that brought about fire related crime of Muslim-overwhelming ghettos, passings and demolition, and that's only the tip of the iceberg.

MadhukarDattareyaDeoras retired on medical grounds in 1994 leaving legacy as the most lethal executioner of Hindutva ideology in the history of India. He inherited premiership of RSS in 1973 when India was pluralistic society with communal hatred present but not order of the day. Deoras left highly polarized and communally disturbed India. Along with RSS itself, Deoras inherited well organized Vishva Hindu Parishad and BJS to be converted into BJP in 1980 which formulated perfect recipe for advancement of Hindutva and additionally Deoras created Ramjanambhoomi issue to further the agenda. Common Indian suffered, Muslims suffered but RSS prospered so did its affiliated organizations.

Rajendra Singh Tomer, the only non Brahmin Sarsanghchhalak of Rashtriya Swwyemsevak SanghsucceededMadhukarDattareyaDeoras after his retirement in 1994 and commanded the organization till 2000 when he retired on medical grounds. He died in 2003. Rajendra Singh Tomer, from Bulandshehr of UP, India was a professor in Physics and at mid of his career he abandoned his job and dedicated himself of RSS. Among RSS followers he is famous as Raju Bhaya. Rajendar Singh era as RSS sarsngchhalak witnessed both vertical and horizontal growth of the organization.

Shortly after the demolition of the Babri mosque and the riots of 1992, the BJP lost votes during different state elections. Despite the facts that the BJP leadership was officially whitewashed and the Indians made the Indian government primarily responsible for the deadly results of the Ayodhya incident, the BJP had to “pay the bill” for the riots. Even after the success of the Ayodhya campaign, it became clear that a strong Hindu nationalistic rhetoric in combination with violent action deterred voters from the center. The voter base for such a politic was limited to just a few states of the Hindu heartland. The vote bank for the BJP identity was still a religious one. A data from 1993 show that “Fifty-nine per cent of BJP activists were likely to pray, go to temple or attend religious meetings on a more or less regular basis, but only 20 per cent of the Congress and other party activists were similarly inclined.”

This religious party basis, in combination with the influence of RSS and VHP agents led to a reassessment about the right course for the BJP between 1992 and 1998. Especially after elections with minor success for the BJP, debates about the course of the BJP came up again. “The median point of Indian politics has shifted closer to the Sangh ideology, but the old dilemma of whether or not the BJP, to expand, should move towards the centre still persists.”.And this discussion was not just a discussion inside the BJP but inside the Hindu nationalistic network as well. Especially, the RSS and the VHP with their strong ideological foundation tried to prevent a drift of the BJP towards the centre. The dispute inside the Hindu nationalistic network led to the point that in 1992, Professor Rajender Singh, the general secretary of the RSS, had declared that all parties, including the Congress (I), were equal for them. The reason for this was not only the moderate course of the BJP, but the course of the Congress towards support of Hindu issues as well.

These discussions did not lead to a fundamental change in party direction, but mostly to a change in party rhetoric. The BJP was still a Hindu nationalistic party and both the party program as well as the election manifest was still based on the idea of Hindutva. Even the position towards the state of Jammu and Kashmir was left unchanged. The idea was still to full integration of Kashmir with the Union. The reason for the change in party rhetoric and the slight adaptation of party direction was neither a fundamental change of party direction, nor just the party's defeat in some states. This change occurred partly because the party leaders feared that the Vishva Hindu Parishad would overshadow their organization and that they would lose control of the Hindu nationalist political agenda to these more extremist forces .In addition to this, neither the RSS/VHP nor the hardliners of the BJP, during the election campaign of 1996, were able to mobilize masses in processions as they did in 1992. At least, the moderate wing of the BJP under its leader Vajpayee triumphed over the hardliners and set a more moderate course for the BJP. Therefore, the BJP was able to build up new alliances with other regional parties. The slight change of party direction contained two aspects. First, a rejection of participation in violent actions against Muslims. After

1992, Hindu nationalists did not have to support the idea of Mandir by organizing more processions or violent actions because the idea was already part of the public, political discourse, and the BJP had already created with the Ayodhya campaign "... something of an issue cleavage at the national level." The Ayodhya case was still part of the party program, but dealing with Ayodhya showed the shift in party rhetoric. The party's double-speak was most apparent in 1997. At a BJP-sponsored Muslim youth conference, Advani assured the Muslims that they had nothing to fear, but he made a point of mentioning all the issues that had alienated the party from the Muslim community, thus emphasizing that the party was not diluting its core concerns."

Second, an opening of the party towards a better representation of backward castes. According to the ideology of Hindutva and the unity of all Hindus, the opening of the party was necessity. "Such unity is not possible without mobilizing backward castes, Dalits and tribals. But, more important, the opening was a means to gain voters from all castes and classes. "The upper-caste character of Hindu nationalism had become a greater handicap for the BJP in the 1990s because of the growing political consciousness of the low castes in the wake of the 'Mandal affair.' The party could not ignore the OBC's which account for 52 per cent of the population and which were especially mobilized in its strongholds of north India. Thus, it is not a wonder that one major plank for the BJP campaign of the 1996 elections was, to highlight its support for the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations.

The BJP tried to solve this problem especially by addressing as candidates for the BJP those OBC's who had strong ties to the Hindu nationalistic network and the idea of Hindutva. They were fewer agents of their caste / class but of the Hindu nationalist ideology. Therefore, the nomination of candidates from lower castes and classes was not necessarily an indicator of the opening of the BJP. While the BJP remained mainly a party of the upper castes and Hindu nationalists of other castes, it joined coalitions with other parties which represented lower castes. The cleavage created by the Ayodhya / Mandir campaign was during this phase transported and exploited by the BJP in different ways in the various states. The trend of fragmentation led to an increasing importance of the state level for India's party politics. The BJP reacted to this by addressing voters in the Hindu heartland in ways other than as potential voters in states outside of the Hindu heartland. Due to this fact the BJP could change to a more moderate rhetoric without losing its own profile as a distinction to the Congress and without losing its strength in the Hindu heartland. The BJP portrayed itself as a modern and progressive party with a strong support for a new definition of the Indian nation state, with its specific understanding of secularity and a self confident dealing with minorities in Hindu India. The result was a new BJP image of self confidence, modernity and progress. Therefore, the BJP was able to obtain voters from the Congress and from the Hindu nationalist spectrum as well.

The success of the BJP on the regional and state level, the BJP had to face another set of problems besides the discussion about the right course for a Hindu nationalistic party. One major factor for the success of the BJP was the party's discipline and the integrity of the Hindu nationalist workers on the grass roots level. One base of this discipline was the homogeneous voter base of the BJP. With opening of the BJP to other castes and classes, the voter base lost its unity and diverse interests had to be reconciled. Yet, after gaining power in some states, party discipline eroded to a degree and some party officials were accused of corruption after obtaining official government posts. In addition to this, the BJP had to face the problem that voters remember election promises and present the ruling party the bill when these promises are not fulfilled. With its success, the BJP had to take part in the reality of India's political system.

However, besides these factors of change of the BJP party image, the long lasting effects for the BJP were tremendous. The BJP became established as one of the two leading parties of the country. It was not any longer a minor figure in the Indian party system, but an opponent of the Congress that had to be taken seriously.

As a result of its more moderate rhetoric, the BJP gained 120 seats in the Lok Sabha election of 1996 and became the strongest party in parliament. For the first time in 1996, the BJP increased its share of representatives in the Lok Sabha through a rather moderate campaign and limited alliances with regional parties. Vajpayee received the mandate to form a government. But, after thirteen days, he resigned as Prime Minister because he could not find enough support for his government. The main reason for this was the lack of credibility on the part of the party to live up to its agreement. Due to the fact of the positive result of the Lok Sabha election in 1996, the BJP did not change course and rhetoric until the Lok Sabha election in 1998. The BJP manifesto for the elections in 1998 was more moderate than its statements of the previous elections. "The BJP campaigned on a law and order ticket, promising stable and honest government after years of Congress and UF misrule.

The BJP had tried in the years before the 1984 election, to be a better Congress, but this had made the party into a duplicate of the Congress. The voters wanted a BJP with its own profile, even if this were an ideological one. The change of the BJP after the 1984 election involved several organizational, training and programmatically aspects. While the BJP had acted in the past as one block, after the 1984 change the party built up different sub-organizations in order to reach every single group of the population by using specific channels. In addition to this, the BJP intensified ideological training of cadres to form a foundation and an instrument for spreading its ideas. The task for these cadres was to intensify the cooperation with other Hindu nationalistic organizations like the RSS and the VHP. Programs and campaigns to promote agitation built the third column of the new BJP to strengthen the profile of the party.

Under the new leadership of LalKrishan Advani, the BJP went back to the old RSS and VHP rhetoric. With this new combination of Hindu religious and nationalistic agitation they were able to expand their power base and won 89 seats in the 1989 Lok Sabha election and became the third strongest party in the Lok Sabha. They supported the minority government of the National Front under Prime Minister V.P. Singh. But, in 1990, when Singh decided to arrest Advani because of his participation in the Ayodhya campaign, the BJP withdrew its support for the National Front. Likewise, in 1990, the BJP started a campaign against plans for realization of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission report by the government of Prime Minister V.P. Singh. This report recommended measures to improve the representation of lower and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in public administration. On the one hand, the BJP was against the recommendation of the Mandal Commission because it was seen as highly divisive of the Hindu community because it pitted lower castes against upper, and because caste identity is more strongly felt than religious identity. On the other hand the Hindutva political mobilization is a concrete demonstration of as to how the masses can be kept under the traditional caste-dominance. The primary reason for refusing the recommendations of the Mandal Commission was the voter base of the BJP. The BJP was mainly supported by the upper castes which had no interest in strengthening the position of the other castes.

In the cities, the historical outbursts against the Mandal Commission again reflect the same fear of a possible disequilibrium that might have been brought about by the trespassing of the OBCs on the sacred territory of government jobs monopolized hitherto by the upper caste Hindus. In order to cover this negative attitude towards an improvement of the position of other castes that formed the majority of the population, the BJP intensified the campaign for there construction of a Ram temple in Ayodhya. But this was not the only reason for the Ayodhya campaign. The legend of Ram and the story of the temple of Ram in Ayodhya were very popular and widespread in India. For the Hindu nationalists, both the fight against the use of the Babri mosque as a mosque, and for construction of a Hindu temple at the birthplace of Ram was a logical continuation of a centuries old fight of Hindus against Muslims. Because of this, Ram was the ideal figure for Hindu identification. The religious diversity of Hinduism was reduced by making Ram a symbol of Hinduism and national unity. With this religious campaign, Hindu nationalists were able to cover up the negative consequences of their refusal of accepting Mandal Commission recommendations with a high moral campaign. These domestic reasons for the Ayodhya campaign were combined with BJP pressure on the national government for continuation of the politics towards Jammu and Kashmir. The dispute about Kashmir is one example of tensions between Pakistan and India. This critical relationship was one reason for the BJP to demand an increase of defense expenditures, to modernize the armed forces and improve the links between armed forces and government. Likewise, with regards to Pakistan and the nuclear threat, the BJP demanded nuclear weapons for India's armed forces. For the

BJP, it was unacceptable to put India under the nuclear umbrella of any super power because then India would be dependent on this protection and could not act as independently as Hindu nationalists wished India should. But, at the same time, the BJP in 1984/1985, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) started their campaign against the Babri mosque in Ayodhya. The Babri mosque was built probably in the 16th century by order of the first Mughal emperor of India, Barbur. The Hindutva supporters believe that the Babri mosque was built on the ruins of a Hindu temple which had been destroyed by a Muslim commander in chief. They believe that the temple was built to commemorate the birthplace of Rama the king of Ayodhya and avatar of the Hindu god Vishnu. On December 06, 1992, a group of approximately 150,000 Hindutva supporters destroyed the Babri mosque in Ayodhya. In the aftermath of the demolition of the Babri mosque, riots between Muslims and Hindus occurred all over India. As a result, more than 2,000 people were killed. The riots resulting from the events in Ayodhya were the beginning of a phase of increasing tensions between Hindus and Muslims in India. BJP criticized Pakistani support for “anti national” elements in Jammu and Kashmir and terrorists in Punjab. Normalization of foreign policy means, in the sense of the BJP, developing a unique Indian position of strength and representing this position with self confidence in the political arena. In general, this position is similar to the position of the Congress. But the degree of call for “absolute” independence is higher in the BJP in comparison to the Congress.

Also, in 1991, the BJP introduced an important change to the party profile to be more attractive for non-Hindu nationalistic voters. For the 1991 elections, economic issues came into the focus of party politics. Until 1991, the BJP supported the Congress course of interventionism and a closed economy, but in 1991 they changed course towards a liberal market. With this shift in party politics, the BJP became more attractive for middle class voters who had suffered from the fiscal and political crises of the 1980s. Herewith, the BJP followed the shift that the Congress carried out. The shift in the economic orientation of the party led to discussions within the Hindu nationalistic network but was not seen as a contradiction to the Hindu nationalistic orientation of the party and was compatible with BJP's party identity. Even more the BJP leadership argued that India's economic problems were caused by the Congress

because its plan for economic development was borrowed from abroad, and so had no cultural relevance to the country. Despite the more liberal economic course, this statement shows the borders for the BJP politics and its ambivalence. In the latter half of the 1980s, BJP's resolutions on economic policies and criticism of the policies of Congress became organized around three main themes: firstly, those official policies were irresponsible and careless as they both allowed the foreign debt to grow and handed out tax exemptions and tax cuts to various groups. Secondly, that agriculture and the small-scale industry were neglected. The BJP had already from the mid-1980s

taken over the demand for 'remunerative prices' which peasant movements effectively had propagated in various parts of the country markets meant primarily to liberalize the domestic market, but did not mean to integrate India fully into the globalized world economy. The BJP ideology of self-determination and self-reliance even in economics prevented a further development of the BJP about economic issues.

In the 1991 elections, the BJP won 120 seats and became the strongest opposition party. The BJP formed governments in four states in northern India and was able to gain ground in some states of the south. This expansion was furthered by a shift in the political system of India by which the state became more important for policy making. On the one hand, Yadav argues that this meant that "... there is now greater space and incentive for state-level political formations to emerge." In principle, this meant an increasing number of parties on the state level and a decline of the Congress which lost the ability to be the unifying power for all groups of society. On the other hand, this development at the state level established the BJP as the second nationwide political power besides the Congress. The BJP was catapulted to the centre stage by the events of 1989–91. This marked the end of the one-party dominance in India. The Ayodhya campaign gave the BJP a distinguished image, brought it into the national limelight and made it competitive. The BJP was now able to change the emphasis of its election campaign to be dependent on the composition of the voters in the single states. In states of the Hindu heartland, the BJP could focus on Hindu nationalistic topics, in other states the focus might change to economic themes. BJP has been so positioned as to be the most likely beneficiary of the decline not just of the Congress but of the politics of old centrism.

Besides an incompetent leadership of the Congress, one major reason for the success of the BJP during this time was its ability to mobilize the Hindu electorate by focusing on a common Hindu spirit. The BJP used the Ayodhya campaign to show its own strength and the weakness of its political opponents. Although 35% of all Hindus (and 24% of all Muslims) blamed the BJP for the demolition of the mosque, most Hindus (47%) and the majority of Muslims (73%) were of the opinion that the Congress-ruled national government was responsible for the destruction of the mosque. And, even the violence at Ayodhya was used by BJP leaders for their own purposes. Officially, they denounced the riots and claimed no responsibility for them and their deadly results. At the same time, however, the BJP justified violence by blaming the old government for being responsible for the comprehensible rage of the suppressed Hindus. Although the president of the BJP, Lal Krishna Advani, was at the site of the Babri mosque on that date and was accused of causing the demolition of the mosque, he never was convicted. In a narrowly partisan sense, the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi Ayodhya campaign did for the Sangh and the BJP what the Dandi Salt March did for the Congress-led national movement. The negative consequence of the Ayodhya campaign was that it limited the BJP's opportunities to get a majority of the

voters. Although the BJP was able to appeal to a high percentage of the Hindu voters with the Ayodhya campaign.

Rajendara Singh Tomer, the sole Non Brahmin Rajput Sarsanghchhalak of RSS got retirement from chieftdom of the organization in 2000 as his deteriorating health did not support demands of his job. He died of his ailments in 2003. He inherited RSS when it had proved its existence and vitality by executing Babri Mosque annihilation plan systematically and forcefully. RSS affiliated BJP was on track to grab more and more political power in kind of increasing legislative seats both in union and state legislatures. Street muscle had already been displayed through Ram RathYatra and annihilation of Babri Mosque. The nuclear tests carried by BJP government in 1998 certainly had a push from BJP mentor RSS.

It is to be noticed that the theoretical and conceptual work of Hindutva had almost been completed till 1973 when M S Golwalkar died. Being more precise, the conceptual diagram of Hindutva had been accomplished with the death of V D Svarkar in 1966. M S Golwalkar just added ferocity and venom in the concept of Hindutva settled organizational support for the ideology by commencing the organizations like BJS and VHP. Post 1973, It was unfolding stage of the Hindutva for common masses of India for both Hindus and Muslims. Very few conceptual additions were made but organizational strength, structure and activities got additions with every passing day. RSS passed the organizational strength test during 1975-77 emergency period. Hindutva implementation activities got momentum immediately afterwards. It started with cow protection agitation which could not fetch massed at large into Hindutva fold. Ramjanambhoomi movement started to draw attention and human resource to RSS which reached its culmination in 1992 after demolition of Babri Mosque. Post Babri Mosque demolition RSS was banned. Its affiliate BJP got more cautious at least apparently till the death of Rajendra Singh Tomer. Things started to reverse after Tomers demise.

Rajendar Singh Tomer was replaced by Kuppahalli Sitaramayya Sudarshan as sarsanghchhalak of BJP in 2000 who continued to occupy the premiership of the organization till 2009. He died 2012. He was the hardliner RSS Chief who left the legacy as non-compromising on various issues despite the needs of the hour. K S Sudarshan bitterly criticized attempts for moderation in BJP policies and even issued advisory to Vajpai to refrain from any such attempt. He was not enthusiast of any politically expedient decision at the cost of Hindutva. He was the one who paved the way for disappearance of Vabpai from BJP center stage. He was a staunch advocate of revocation of Article 270, CAA and unionionization of Jammu and Kashmir. Sudarshan was keenly interested in expansion of RSS organization and activities in North Eastern states of Mizoram, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh to counter influence of Christian missionaries there. Sudarshan further was keenly interested in economic

policies of the countries and interfered whenever he felt that economic policies in the name of liberalization were basically against the interest of the country. He was a staunch supporter of production and adhered to Sawadeshi and Aatamabhar.

He is remembered for thwarting BJP leadership bids for de-tracking from ideology of Hindutva.

In 1998, after the BJP won a record 178 seats – a performance repeated in 1999 (182 seats) – party president Advani embarked on a moderate phase in the career of the BJP, as a learning experience from the debacle in 1996, when Prime Minister Vajpayee could not form a coalition government bar potential allies: “Though we were the largest party, we failed to form a government. It was felt that on an ideological basis we couldn't go further. So we embarked on the course of alliance-based coalitions...” said L. K. Advani in October 1999. Advani explicitly established a relation between the way the BJP had diluted its Hindu nationalism and the making of alliances under its aegis. Both phenomena culminated in 1998 in the formation of the National Democratic Alliance. The BJP and its alliance partners evolved a “National Agenda for Government” in March 1998 and Vajpayee formed his government on this basis. Mainstays of the SanghParivar's program – the Ram temple to be built in Ayodhya, the abolition of Article 370 of the Constitution granting some autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir, and the establishment of a uniform civil code aiming to deprive the religious minorities of one feature of their particular juridical identity were not included in this agenda because most BJP allies did not appreciate their Hindu nationalist connotations. Not only did they not share the Hindutva ideology, but they were also keen not to alienate their Muslim voters. At that time, Advani started to evoke the need for a new BJP that would be a party of governance, not based on any precise ideology: ... a large area of governance has little to do with ideology any ideology – except the overriding principle of national interests. Indeed, good governance in most spheres of national life becomes possible only when it is de-ideologized and de-politicized. Thus, if any issue, in spite of its inherent validity, acquires a strongly ideological character – in fact, so strong an ideological character as to make coalition governance, and hence stable governance, difficult – it is only proper to leave it out. This is precisely what we have done in the National Agenda, Advani said on another occasion. In 1999; the BJP even gave up the very idea of having its own separate election manifesto. And the election manifesto of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) promised “a moratorium on contentious issues”, a phrase which obviously referred to the construction of the Ram temple in Ayodhya, the abolition of Article 370 of the Constitution and the imposition of a uniform civil code. The NDA also committed itself to “genuine [as opposed to 'positive'] secularism.” Certainly, the compulsions of coalition politics prevented the BJP from organizing agitations and forced the party to moderate its discourse. But its leaders tacitly approved the anti-Muslim pogrom which took place in the BJP-governed state of Gujarat in 2002. The

violence, in which 2,000 people died, was of a magnitude India had not experimented since Partition. Not only does the course of these operations show carefully planned organization, but it also indicates at least indirect official state support. It would have been impossible to transport that many men (and gas cylinders) with that many trucks without the benefit of state logistic support or at least the state's neutrality. Above all, the protected nature of the clashes over days, weeks, and even months can only be explained by the government's attitude. The administration was paralyzed. The standard response policemen gave to Muslims who called them to their rescue was: "We have no order to save you" (Human Rights Watch 2003). No member of the NDA, including, non-BJP coalition leaders, did anything to support the Muslim victims who relied only on the support of local NGOs. More importantly, no partner of the BJP, including former socialists like Defense Minister George Fernandes, criticized the way Gujarat's Chief Minister Narendra Modi (BJP) dealt with the situation. The BJP was not forced to behave in a moderate manner in the states it governed alone.

Elections were not scheduled until 2003, but Modi – a staunch RSS member – tried to capitalize on the highly communalized atmosphere his government had helped to create. In order to provoke by-elections, he resigned from his post as Chief Minister and recommended that the governor should dissolve the Gujarat assembly, which the latter – an RSS leader – did on 19 July. The Chief Election Commissioner, who visited more than half of the state's districts between 31 July and 4 August, was reluctant to organize any poll, especially since thousands of voters, a vast majority of them Muslims, were still living far from their homes in refugee camps. Then the Modi government argued that in accordance with article 174 of the Constitution, the time between dissolving the assembly and holding new elections could not exceed six months. National BJP leaders, including Home Minister L. K. Advani, joined in the call for early elections. Given the objections of the Election Commission, the BJP brought the case before the Supreme Court. The Court refused to express an opinion, referring to the decision of the Election Commission. In early November, the Commission set a date for the Gujarat elections to begin on December 12. The outcome was in Modi's favor: the BJP garnered a majority of seats for the third time in a row with a record score of 126 seats out of 182. Only the pogroms made this landslide possible: the BJP won all the seats in the three districts most heavily affected by this extreme form of violence which polarized the voters along religious lines.

The RSS reconciled itself with the moderation of the BJP's discourse at the national level insofar as it allowed the party to run the government. Such a position of power enabled the RSS to have many of its articles of faith implemented. Few weeks after taking over, the Vajpayee government organized the first nuclear test since 1974; RSS members and/or sympathizers were appointed at the helm of many institutions including the Indian Council for Social Science Research and the Indian Council for

Historical Research; the rewriting of the history textbooks was initiated by the Minister of Human Resources Development, M. M. Joshi, a staunch RSS man; the BJP government of Gujarat was not held accountable for the 2002 anti-Muslim pogrom. As long as the RSS found compensations to the moderation of the BJP, this strategy could continue: coalition politics at the center, extremism in the states the BJP ruled alone.

With the retirement of K S Sudarshan in 2009, the leadership of RSS returned to Maharashtra once again. With this unfolding of events, a Chitpavan Brahmin once again took the reins of the monstrous Hindutva. Mohan Bhagwat, the son of a Parcharak of RSS was appointed as sarsanghchhalak of RSS after nomination by K S Sudarshan. Since 2000, Mohan Bhagwat was working as General Secretary of RSS. Mohan Madhukar Bhagwat was born to Madhukar Rao Bhagwat who was the Karyavah (secretary) for the Chandrapur zone and later a PrantPracharak (provincial promoter) for Gujarat and Malati was a member of the RSS Women's Wing in 1950 in Chandrapur, Bombay state. After his early education, he graduated in Veterinary Sciences from Nagpur, Maharashtra. Founder of Hindutva ideology V D Savarkar and murderer of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Nathuram Godse also belonged to the same sub caste of Brahmans of Maharashtra. As a Chipawan Brahmin was heading RSS, circumstances for Muslims of India were bound to be worst in India. Mohan Bhagwat is called the most political figure head of RSS. Through his career with RSS, Mohan Bhagwat had realized that objective of Hindutva can not be achieved by volunteer service only. Volunteer service could provide a disciplined force in streets but to materialize the dream of Hindutva and Hindu Rashtra, a political force to reckon with was essential. Mohan Bhagwat therefore was keen to achieve political power in India to work for Hindu Rashtra. With this bent of mind, Mohan Bhagwat assumed the premiership of RSS. Mohan Bhagwat was further convinced that the goal of Hindutva could be achieved only through making it a loud and clear objective of a political. None other than BJP was suitable for this job.

Accordingly, immediately after being sarsanghchhalak of RSS, Mohan Bhagwat Started to interfere more in BJP organization and politics. General elections were about to be held two months after he became the RSS sarsanghchhalak. Very little room was available that time for RSS to turn the tide in favor of BJP. Bhagwat anyhow made victory of BJP in 2014 elections as his objective. For this purpose Mohan placed RSS with all its affiliated organizations at back of BJP. Mohan worked to change BJP leadership and built a BJP team capable of winning general elections. The equation was very clear in his mind, powerful BJP will ensure powerful Hindutva. So the wisdom of Mohan Bhagwat selected Narindra Modi as future of BJP and Hindutva. Mohan Bhagwat was well aware of the talent of Narindra Modi and personally knew his life and career.

Narendra Damodardas belongs to the Ghanchi caste, which produces and sells cooking oil, a caste that has been classified as part of the OBCs since the late 1990s. His father traded oil and ran a tea shop, where Narendra, served customers as a child. He joined the local branch of the RSS at the age of eight. Narendra Modi afterwards went to the Belur Math monastery before going off to explore the Himalayas. Modi became a permanent member of the RSS in the late 1960s and went to live in the HedgewarBhawan (regional RSS headquarters) in Maninagar, an area of Ahmedabad. He worked there as assistant to the prantpracharak Lakshmanrao Inamdar, who was in charge of the Gujarat and Maharashtra branches. This former lawyer considered Modi his manasputra (mind-born son), and Modi viewed him as his mentor, a rather typical relationship within the RSS in line with the guru-shishya (disciple) tradition. Modi was made a pracharak in 1972. The following year, he became involved in the Navnirman protest movement, a movement against corruption started by students in Gujarat. He in 1975, went underground to escape the Emergency declared by Indira Gandhi. His task, in addition to distributing antigovernment tracts under cover, involved looking after the families of RSS prisoners and soliciting aid from Gujaratis who had emigrated abroad. But it was in Gujarat that he pursued his career. In 1978, he was made vibhagpracharak (head of an RSS branch in a division [vibhag], made up of several districts) and subsequently became a sambhagpracharak (head of a branch of the RSS in a territory made up of more than one division) in charge of the RSS of Surat and Baroda—today's Vadodara—divisions. In 1981, he was made prantpracharak, with the mission of coordinating the various SanghParivar components present in Gujarat, from the farmer's organization (BharatiyaKisanSangh) to the ABVP and including the VHP. As chief RSS organizer in Gujarat, Modi was the architect of a whole series of events known as for instance, he organized the NyayYatra (justice pilgrimage), designed to demand justice for the Hindu victims of the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1985.

By the mid-1980s, Modi's talents as an organizer were widely recognized, and when L.K. Advani became president of the BJP in 1986, he decided to enlist Modi's services for the party. Modi was thus deputed to the BJP in 1987, taking up the key post of sangathanmantri (organization secretary) at the head of the party's Gujarat branch.

Modi was then responsible for the Gujarati segment of Advani's famous RathYatra in 1990 that left from Somnath temple. The following yatra, the EktaYatra (unity pilgrimage), led by the new BJP president Murli Manohar Joshi, in 1991 signaled Modi's promotion to national organizer, in charge of a procession that departed from Kanyakumari to Srinagar in the north to demonstrate the unity of the Indian nation. He was seen as projecting himself and seeking the limelight. During the EktaYatra, Modi not only accompanied the Joshi but also delivered his speeches bringing him to further limelight.

Modi tried to combine the RSS's traditional sense of organization and the populist style, even though he was not a politician yet. As the organizing secretary of the BJP in Gujarat, he strengthened the party's electoral base across the state. The BJP conquered municipal corporations and village councils, which Modi saw as the route to power, in a state that Congress had practically never lost since 1947. The BJP won the municipal elections in Rajkot in 1983 and then four years later in Ahmedabad, following an election campaign for which Modi assumed full responsibility. In 1995, the BJP won the six municipalities in the state, a sign of its increasing appeal among Gujarat's urban middle class, the party's traditional electorate. But it also made inroads in rural areas, winning eighteen of the nineteen zillaparishad (district councils). That same year, for the first time in its history, the BJP won the majority of seats in the Gujarat assembly. After BJP came to power Modi took part in ministerial council meetings and even in meetings involving the chief minister and senior civil servants.

Following a political fiasco where Congress formed government in coalition with split faction of BJP, the senior command expelled Modi from Gujarat. He was posted to Delhi in November 1995, as national BJP secretary in charge of Himachal Pradesh. In 1998, owing to a change in BJP president, Modi was promoted to secretary-general of the party. The states of Punjab, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, and Chandigarh were added to his portfolio, and he was also put in charge of the BJP youth wing, the Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha.

Following drop in popularity of Keshubhai Patel in Gujarat the party decided to send him back to Gujarat. Modi knew that the BJP was in a bad position in Gujarat when he returned to his home state. The party had lost the 2000 municipal elections and was dreading the regional elections scheduled for February 2003. He organized the party and left his indelible marks in Gujarat.

Since Narendra Modi was declared its prime ministerial candidate the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has managed to widen its geographical reach and strengthen its electoral and political supremacy across the country. Today, the BJP is the richest, largest, and most dominant political party in India. Its expansion was made possible by the foundations that were laid following the party's first electoral defeat in the 1984 general polls. The party then decided to abandon the ideals of positive secularism and Gandhian socialism that it had adopted in its inception in 1980, under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee who would later serve as prime minister. In the late 1980s and the 1990s, the BJP went back to the Hindutva ideology of its

precursor, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS). In the 1984 elections, the BJP won only two Lok Sabha seats, provoking serious introspection within the party and its ideological parent, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Understanding the Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party. To Sangh (RSS) BJP electoral failure was seen as proof that the

moderate policy of Vajpayee would not work. Vajpayee was replaced as BJP president by Lal Krishna Advani, who promptly revived the BJP's hard-line Hindutva as the core ideology of the party. Advani used the Hindutva rhetoric of pseudo secularism and Muslim appeasement to great degree in winning popular support among the Hindus, aided by the soft-Hindutva politics the Indian

6 National Congress played then. The next logical step was to join the RSS backed Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) which was leading the Ramjanmabhoomi movement. Soon, Advani became the face of a countrywide campaign to build a Ramjanmabhoomi temple in Ayodhya where the Babri Masjid once stood. The hardline Hindutva politics paid rich electoral dividends in the next general elections in 1989 when the BJP won 85 Lok Sabha seats. In the 1991 general elections, it increased its strength to 120 and its vote share went up to 20.1 percent from 11.4 percent in 1989 and 7.4 percent in 1984. In the 1996 general elections, the BJP's seats in Lok Sabha went up to 161 and it staked claim to form the government as the single largest party, which was accepted. Thus, the first ever BJP-led government was formed under the leadership of Vajpayee but it lasted for only 13 days as it failed to garner the support of other non-Congress, non-Left political parties to muster a majority. Vajpayee resigned, rather than face a vote of censure in Parliament. In the next general polls in 1998, the BJP obtained 182 seats in the Lok Sabha and formed a coalition government called the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), which lasted 13 months from 19 March 1998 to 17

April 1999 when it lost a no-confidence motion by a single vote. Thereafter, in September-October 1999, the BJP-led NDA won 270 seats in the general elections, with the BJP once again getting 182 seats. Vajpayee became prime minister for the third time and his government lasted the full term until the next general polls in 2004.

BJP's rise to power can be attributed partly to Advani's organisational skills, as well as the party's return to the Hindutva agenda while keeping the liberal image of Vajpayee alive in popular memory. What further helped the party was the fact that the electorate wanted a change from the long years of Congress rule. Slogans like Party with a direction and an appeal to the electorate to give the BJP a chance captured the confidence of the electorate. A little over six years of the Vajpayee government, between 1998 and 2004, established the party as a credible alternative to the Congress. However, the BJP-led NDA lost the next two general elections due to various factors, making way for a Congress-led coalition, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), to run the government until a series of scams, high inflation and unemployment and policy paralysis grounded it in the 2014 elections. In time, the BJP was led by Modi, a four-time chief minister of Gujarat and the party's prime ministerial candidate. He managed to capitalize on the popular discontent against the UPA government and won the party a majority, on its own, in Lok Sabha. The last time a

party had won a majority on its own was when the Congress won 404 seats in the 1984 elections that followed the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

Ever since Modi became prime minister on 26 May 2014, the BJP has been working like a well-oiled electoral machine. It has won one state election after another and is dominating the national discourse like no other party has done in recent memory.

Rise of Modi has also marked the rise of Amit Shah as BJP president. Rajnath Singh, who headed the party in the run-up to the 2014 electoral victory, reportedly wanted to continue in the post and stay out of the government. But this was not acceptable to Modi as that could have meant a dual power centre. Rajnath Singh had an excellent rapport with the RSS and that is why Modi did not want him to continue.

The name of party General Secretary J P Nadda, politician from Himachal Pradesh, was brought into contention and the RSS was agreeable to him. The move was made to juxtapose Shah against Nadda. Modi resolved it by inducting Singh and Nadda into his cabinet and appointing Shah, his old and trusted colleague from Gujarat, as party president. Shah has galvanised the party, bringing in a certain ruthlessness and unprecedented administrative acumen in the way the organisation is run. It is said that his party colleagues are more in awe of him than

admiring. Upon taking charge, Shah introduced many changes in the party's administrative style and structure. He modernised the party set-up and developed a system that rewards individuals who deliver. He ushered in a corporate-style system of vertical heads for programmes, in contrast to the horizontal nature of the party under the previous presidents. For Shah and the party, elections are nothing less than war. His advice to party colleagues after taking charge was: Elections are to be fought with clarity of mind and with the single objective of victory. He enjoys the total support of Modi, stands firm in his decisions and brooks no interference from any leader. By most accounts, he has a no-nonsense style of leadership, and keeps a tight schedule and long hours of work, inspiring his team to follow suit. Shah has also developed closer working relations with the RSS, as a result of which the RSS leadership and functionaries are playing a bigger role in running the organization.

In 2013, the BJP was in power in five states Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and Goa and was sharing power with ally JD(U) in Bihar and Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) in Punjab. Its political fortunes have changed dramatically since then.

By May 2018, the BJP, either on its own strength or with its alliance partners, was ruling in 21 of the 31 states and union territories, expanding to the regions and states where it was never in power before. In 15 states, it has its own chief ministers and in the other six, it shares power with its allies including Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir,

Andhra Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Sikkim.) In five out of the 15 states where it has its own chief ministers, it does not have a majority of its own including Maharashtra, Assam, Jharkhand, Manipur and Goa.

In 2013, the BJP wrested power in Rajasthan, while retaining power in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. In Rajasthan, it won convincingly with 161 seats with a vote share of 45.2 percent. In Madhya Pradesh, it won 165 seats with 44.88 percent votes. In Chhattisgarh, it repeated its victory by winning 49 seats out of 90 with a vote share of 41.04 percent. In Mizoram, which also went to vote at the same time, it did not win a single seat despite fielding 17 candidates and got 0.37 percent votes.

Assembly elections for Arunachal Pradesh, Odisha and Sikkim were held along with the general elections in 2014. In Arunachal Pradesh's 60-member assembly, the BJP won 11 seats with 30.97 percent votes. It joined the government two years later in October 2016 after the President's rule was imposed and the Congress, which had won a clear majority of 42 seats in 2014, was split. In Sikkim, it did not win a seat and polled only 0.7 percent of the votes but became a part of the government since the ruling Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) is a coalition partner at the center. In Odisha, it won 10 seats in a 147 member assembly with 18 percent of popular votes.

After the 2014 general elections, assembly elections were held in Maharashtra, Haryana, J&K and Jharkhand in the same year. In Maharashtra, the BJP won 122 seats in a 288- member assembly with 27.8 percent votes while its ally Shiv Sena won 63 seats and together they formed the government. In Haryana, it won 47 of 90 seats with a 33.2 percent vote share and formed its first government in the state where it had been a junior alliance partner in two previous governments. In J&K, it won 25 of 87 seats. It joined hands with the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which had won 28 seats, to form a coalition government. In June 2018, the BJP pulled out of the coalition and the Governor's rule was imposed. In Jharkhand, the BJP won 37 of 81 seats, falling a few seats short of the majority. A coalition government was formed with the All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU) and Raghubar Das, a party leader, became the first from a non-tribal community to head a government in the state.

In 2015, the BJP tasted defeat in the assembly elections of Delhi and Bihar. In Delhi, it could win only three of 70 seats, though polled 32.19 percent of votes. In Bihar, it faced the united opposition from the RJD, JD (U) and Congress, winning only 53 of 243 seats with 32.23.42 percent votes. In 2016, the BJP won the Assam elections and formed its own government for the first time in the state, while failing to make much headway in Kerala, Puducherry, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. In Assam, it won 60 of 126 seats with 29.8 percent votes. In Kerala, it won one seat, though it improved its vote share by 34 winning 10.6 percent votes. In the Union Territory of Puducherry, it failed to win any the seat while polling 2.4 percent votes. e West Bengal elections were

disappointing too. It could win only three seats while polling 10.28 percent votes.

In 2017, the assembly elections were held in Goa, Manipur, Punjab, and Uttarakhand, Uttar Understanding the Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party Pradesh, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh. The BJP formed the government in Goa and Manipur despite not being the single largest party and came to power in Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh convincingly. In Goa, the BJP won 13 seats in a house of 40 while registering the highest percentage of votes at 32.5. In Manipur, it won 21 of 60 seats with 36.3 percent votes. It wrested power from the Congress in Himachal Pradesh by winning 44 seats, out of 39 68, with a vote share of 48.8 percent. In Uttarakhand, it won 57 of 70 seats with a 46.5 percent vote share. In Uttar Pradesh, it registered an unprecedented victory by winning 312 of 403 seats and registered 39.67 percent of vote's polled. In Punjab, where it was a junior partner of the SAD led government; it could win only three of 117 seats while polling 5.39 percent votes. The party retained Gujarat but its tally was the lowest in the last two decades. It won 99 seats out of 182 though it polled 49.59 percent of votes. In 2018, the BJP registered a landmark victory in Tripura, ending 25 years of CPI(M) rule by winning 35 seats in a 60-member assembly and polling 43.0 percent votes. In Meghalaya and Nagaland, however, its electoral performance was below expectations. It won two seats in a 60-member assembly in 45 Meghalaya with 9.63 percent votes and 12 of 60 seats in Nagaland with 15.3 percent votes. In Karnataka, it emerged as the single largest party with 104 seats in a 224-member assembly while polling 36.2 percent votes. However, it failed to form the government as the Congress and JD(S) joined hands to claim a majority.

The BJP has been able to expand its political base in the country because of various factors including superior electoral strategies, planning, hard work, and a voter outreach programme that was far better than those of its rivals. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and BJP president Amit Shah, the party devised electoral strategies taking into account micro details of caste, sub-castes, religious compositions and other species the constituencies while selecting party candidates. Under them, electoral victory at any cost became the driving force of the BJP. Part of the strategy was to carefully identify ambitious or dissident leaders from rival parties. Those were then wooed and inducted into the party. This had begun in the run-up to the 2014 general elections when a host of Congress leaders like former UP Chief Minister Jagdamibka Pal, Satpal Maharaj and Purandeswari were admitted into the BJP.

Many others like Chaudhary Birendra Singh joined the ruling party later. A Congress leader and prominent minister in the former Chief Minister TarunGogoi's cabinet in Assam, HimantaBiswaSarma, was admitted a year before the assembly elections and proved critical in the BJP's win. In Uttarakhand, many Congress leaders, including ministers, were admitted to the party before the respective assembly elections.

Another strategy was to identify castes and sub-castes which have not been part of the power structure and give tickets to their members. The party also reached out to the economically weaker and socially backward groups. In UP, the party roped in the non-Yadav castes from other backward castes and non Jatav Dalits among the Dalits; it would reap rich electoral dividends. Similarly, it formed an alliance with tribal groups that have been demanding separate statehood in Tripura and won a landslide victory in 2018. There were many other important factors that helped the BJP achieve its electoral dominance and geographical spread. Some of these are to be discussed in turn. Understanding the Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party considerably in the years since Modi came to power at the centre.

The income of the BJP between 2013-14 and 2014-15, within one year of its coming to power at the centre, skyrocketed from INR 673.81 crore in 2013-14 to INR 970.43 crore in 2014-15 a rise of 44.02 percent or by INR 296.62 crore, the highest for any political party. It topped the list of income, with the Congress coming a distant second, with an income of INR 598.06 crore in 2013-14, which went down to INR 593.31 crore in 2014-15. The gap between the incomes of the first two parties was INR 377.12 crore. In fact, the BJP's income of INR 970.43 crore was 51.92 percent of the combined incomes of the six national parties (BJP, Congress, BSP, NCP, CPI(M), CPI).

Similarly, when it came to expenditure, in 2014-15, the BJP spent the most with INR 913.01 crore, followed by the Congress with INR 765.02 crore a gap of INR 148 crore. The BJP spent most on advertisement and publicity (INR 471.89 crore or 51.9 percent), followed by travelling (INR 209.57 crore or 22.95 percent). In 2016-17, the BJP spent INR 606.04 crore for election/general propaganda.

The income of the BJP increased by 81.18 percent from INR 570.86 crore in 2015-16 to INR 1034.27 crore in 2016-17. The BJP's income of INR 1034.27 crore was 66.33 percent of the total income of all seven national parties (BJP, Congress, BSP, NCP, CPI(M), CPI and Trinamool Congress) put together. During the same period, the income of the Congress decreased by 14 percent from INR 261.56 crore in 2015-16 to INR 225.36 crore in 2016-17. As for expenditure, the BJP declared the maximum expenditure of INR 710.057 crore during 2016-17, while its nearest rival, the Congress, declared an expenditure of INR 321.66 crore less than half of the BJP's. If donations (above INR 20,000) received by all the national political parties for 2016-17 are considered, the BJP received INR 532.27 crore coming from 1194 donations which was more than nine times the aggregate declared by the other national parties for the same period.

A substantially higher income, and bigger expenditure on publicity and electoral propaganda than its rivals, has helped the BJP in its outreach programmes. These

financial resources have helped in the party's extensive outreach to the electorate.

The story of upsurge and expansion of BJP continued even afterwards and BJP emerged even mightier in 2019 elections and also the Mohan – Modi duo. Lately, Mohan Bhagwat has publically said that RSS is going to achieve Hindu Rashtra within 30 to forty years.

On the August 5, 2020, the bhoomipujan for the Ram temple to be built on the ruins of the Babri Masjid was conducted and that this event was actually laying the foundation of the Hindu Rashtra itself was very apparent. On this occasion, Mohan Bhagwat, Sarsanghchalak of the RSS, recited the following shloka:

॥139॥ {2.20}

From a first-born (i.e. a Brahmana), born in that country

Let all men on earth learn their respective duties.

For the foreseeable future at least, RSS, BJP and Hindutva seem to be flourishing in India with clear Indication that the time of Manusmriti as constitution of India is nearing if circumstances don't take reverse turn. Manusmriti simply means the return of Brahminism in India, the same Brahminism which existed before advent of Islam in India. The same Brahminism which wiped out Budhism and Jainism from the Indian soil, the same Brahminism which caused demolition of Babri Mosque and deaths of hundreds and thousands of Non Brahmins.

On November 30, 1949, four days after the ratification of the Indian constitution, the Organiser, the mouthpiece publication of RSS had opined:

“The worst thing about the new constitution of Bharat is that there is nothing Bhartiya about it ,there is no mention of the unique constitutional development in ancient Bharat. To this day his (Manu's) laws as enunciated in the Manusmriti excite the admiration of the world and elicit spontaneous obedience and conformity. But to our constitutional pundits that means nothing.”