



GOLWALKAR'S

**WE OR OUR
NATIONHOOD
DEFINED**

**A Critique by SHAMSUL ISLAM
with the full text of the book**

PHAROS MEDIA

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Golwalkar's thinking was much influenced by Veer Savarkar. Both supported caste system, approved of Hitler exterminating millions of Jews in gas chambers, supported Zionism and Jewish State of Israel for no other reason than it was forever waging wars against its neighbours who were Muslims. Islamophobia became an integral part of Hindutva. I had read his *Bunch of Thoughts* earlier and put it out of my mind. I didn't know of his *We or Our Nationhood Defined*. It has been republished with a critique by Shamsul Islam by Pharos. It substantiates all of what I have said.

— Khushwant Singh

How fanatically vicious Golwalkar was in laying down his version of *Mein Kampf* informs this major handbook of Hindu fascism. The long and well-researched introduction by Prof. Islam in itself has become an invaluable asset for serious researchers and committed activists. He deserves kudos for retrieving Golwalkar's poison-spewing book, always revered by RSS and its affiliates, and widely regarded as the Bible of Hindutva fascists.

— I.K. Shukla

We are witnessing a concerted attempt by the RSS to establish MS Golwalkar as the 'prophet of a resurgent India,' 'a saint,' 'the best son of Bharat mata,' and the 'biggest gift to Hindu society in the 20th Century,'... This inspite of the fact that Golwalkar, throughout his life, remained committed to the concept of Hindutva which meant an inherent faith in Casteism, Racism and Imperialism. He stood for the establishment of a Hindu *rashtra*, or nation, where minorities like Muslims and Christians could exist only as second class citizens.

This book attempts to put across actual facts about Golwalkar's life and beliefs in the light of his original writings, publications of the RSS, documents available in its archives and many other RSS documents the writer collected over the last 35 years from different parts of the country, especially the original text of his book *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1939) which is being fully reproduced in this book. It is the most important text in order to understand the RSS' concept of Hindu state, and has not been available to the public after 1947.



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Pharos Media & Publishing Pvt Ltd



D-84 Abul Fazl Enclave - I
Jamia Nagar,
New Delhi 110025 India
Tel. +91-11-26947483, 26952825
books@pharosmedia.com
www.pharosmedia.com

₹ 150 / € 15

ISBN-10: 81-7221-030-2
ISBN-13: 978-81-7221-030-4



9 788172 210304

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PHAROS

First edition: 2006
Reprint: 2011

© Preface and Introduction: Shamsul Islam

Pharos Media & Publishing Pvt Ltd
D-84 Abul Fazl Enclave - I
Jamia Nagar,
New Delhi 110025 India
Tel. +91-11-26947483, 26952825
Email: books@pharosmedia.com
Website: www.pharosmedia.com

ISBN-10: 81-7221-030-2
ISBN-13: 978-81-7221-030-4

Price: Rs 150

PRINTED IN INDIA at
Nice Printing Press, Delhi

To
My teacher
Prof. MANORANJAN MOHANTY
from whom I learnt
never to submit to intolerance

PREFACE

Of late we are witnessing a concerted attempt orchestrated by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (RSS) to establish M. S. Golwalkar, the second *Sarsangbhalak* of the RSS, as 'the prophet of a resurgent India', 'a saint', 'a new Vivekananda', 'the best son of Bharatmata', and the 'biggest gift to Hindu society in the 20th Century'. All this is being touted despite the fact that Golwalkar throughout his life remained committed to the concept of Hindutva which meant inherent faith in Casteism, Racism and Imperialism. He stood for the establishment of a Hindu *raashtra*, or nation, in India where minorities like Muslims and Christians could exist only as second class citizens. Under his leadership the RSS arose as a powerful organization firmly opposed to democratic, secular and egalitarian India. This was the reason that despite all kinds of pressures from the RSS, even the National Democratic Alliance Government (1998-2004) led by two senior RSS cadres, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishan Advani, could not dare to bestow the highest national award, Bharat Ratna, on him.

This book attempts to put across actual facts about life and beliefs of Golwalkar. In doing so, I have solely relied on the original writings of Golwalkar, publications of the RSS, documents available in its archives and many other RSS documents until now inaccessible which I was able to collect in last 35 years from different parts of the country. In order to know the real Golwalkar, the original text of the *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1939) is being reproduced with this book. *We or Our Nationhood Defined* is the most important text in order to understand the RSS concept of Hindu state and has not been available after 1947. Despite raging controversy about the authorship of this work (according to the RSS versions nobody knows who authored it), I believe its reproduction in the present book will greatly help researchers who are working

to unravel mysteries of the RSS and the Hindutva.

This work would not have been possible without the critical evaluation and encouragement of Professor Randhir Singh, Professor Manoranjan Mohanty and Professor Zahoor Mohammed Khan. I am eternally grateful to them.

I am also greatly indebted to Mr. A. G. Noorani, Dr. Badri Raina, Dr. Amar Farooqui, Dr. Anand Teltumbde, Mr. Anil Nauriya, Professor Bipin Chandra, Dr. D. R. Goyal, Professor I. K. Shukla, Professor Imtiaz Ahmed, Dr. Joe Mangalam, Dr. John Dayal, Mr. K. B. Saxena, Ms. Manini Chatterjee, Mr. Nand Lal Gupta, Ms. Neena Vyas, Dr. Pragya, Dr. Prem Singh, Dr. Ra Ravishankar, Dr. Rakesh, Dr. Ram Puniyani, Professor Romila Thapar, Mr. Shiv Kumar Mishra, Mr. Siddharth Varadarajan, Mr. Subhash Gatade, Mr. Sudhir Vidyarthi, Mr. Ted Svensson and Ms. Teesta Setalvad for their writings and suggestions that gave me inspiration and clarity.

My special thanks are due to Dr. Zafarul-Islam Khan, editor of *The Milli Gazette*. It was his constant encouragement combined with the reminders that enabled me to complete this work. He and his team took great pains to scan the 1939 edition of *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, a book which had gone into oblivion.

My wife, Neelima Sharma, daughter, Shirin and son-in-law, Sameer Dossani have been the greatest source of strength to me. I remain profoundly indebted to them.

I must also take this opportunity to extend my heart-felt thanks to the ever helpful staff of the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, Ratan Tata Library, Ajoy Bhawan Library, Qaumi Ekta Kendra Trust Library, Gandhi Memorial Library, Vallabh Bhai Patel Memorial Library, National Archives, Central Secretariat Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library, Satyawati College Libraries (evening and morning); all in Delhi, Khuda Baksh Library (Patna), National Library (Calcutta) and Shibli Academy Library (Azamgarh) for meeting my ever increasing demands.

Last but not the least, the physical production of this thesis is the result of tireless work of the dedicated team at Pharos Media who have spent a lot of time and energy in scanning the book from a frayed copy. I thank them for their contribution.

Delhi, June 2006

Shamsul Islam

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Introduction

The RSS is celebrating the birth centenary (1906-2006) of its second *Sarsangbhalak*, Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, known as Guruji in the RSS fraternity, with great pomp and show. The organization, which ostensibly neither believes in publicity nor in glorification of individuals, has put up big colourful hoardings throughout the country with huge photos of Hedgewar and Golwalkar, of course, Golwalkar dominating the scene. This spectacle of Golwalkar competing for attention with other hoardings put up by advertising firms and political leaders was never witnessed in the past, not even during the birth-centenary celebrations of the founder of the RSS, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar.

The year-long celebrations with the theme of social harmony (*samajik samrasta*) were inaugurated at the RSS headquarters, Resham Bagh in Nagpur on February 24, 2006.¹ The prominent leaders of the RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and BJP, including its Chief Ministers, eulogized Guruji as 'visionary', 'prophet of a resurgent India', 'true worshipper of *dharma* and the nation', and a 'saint'. The reigning *Sarsangbhalak* of the RSS, K. S. Sudarshan, told the audience that if Golwalkar had not joined the RSS and stayed back with the Ramakrishan Mission 'a new Vivekananda would have born'.² Swami Vasudevanand Saraswati, Jyotishpeeth Shankaracharya, said that true homage to Golwalkar would be to strive for Hindutva as propagated by him. He hoped that by 2011 whole world would be under the sway of Hinduism. Another Swami, close to the RSS, Satyamitranand Giri, said that 'birth-centenary of Shri Guruji has provided an opportunity to all of us to see the dream of Hindu *Rashtra* (nation) being materialized in reality'.³ Rama Jois, president of the birth centenary celebrations described Golwalkar 'as the best son of Bharatmata' who removed the darkness blocking the way of nation. The Vice-President of India, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat,

addressing a different birth-centenary programme described Golwalkar as a great statesman of the country. Earlier, a senior ideologue of the RSS, M.G. Vaidya, had described him as 'the biggest gift to Hindu society in the 20th Century'.⁴

Interestingly, Golwalkar was being praised for being a great icon of Hindutva as well as great statesman of a Democratic-Secular India. The same was true when he died on June 5, 1973, at the age of 67 in Nagpur. At his demise the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra, V. P. Naik mourned that a great saint had passed away. P. V. Narsimha Rao, then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, too had declared him as a great leader who led a great cultural organization, the RSS. Incidentally, both of them happened to be leading Congress governments in the two states at the time. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a prominent cadre of the RSS himself, while lauding Golwalkar said: 'Shri Guruji spent every atom of his energy and every moment of his life to make the Hindu Society realize its identity, which it had forgotten, and make it organized and strong'.⁵ L. K. Advani who was President of the Bhartiya Jana Sangh at the time of Golwalkar's demise paid tributes to him in the following words: 'Shri Guruji was the Swami Vivekananda of the modern era, steadfastly dedicated to the building of a glorious Bharat'.⁶ According to Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who called himself a non-paying member of the RSS:

Shri M. S. Golwalkar was a leader with a 'broad national outlook' who always thought on all India basis. Shri Golwalkar had faith in spiritualism and had great regard for other religious faiths. He did not have a narrow view of any religion. In fact, he had love for the Muslims and only wanted them to join the national mainstream.⁷

These claims about Golwalkar need serious investigation as he is being hailed as a great Hindu leader who dedicated his life for the establishment of a Hindu state in India and also as a great statesman of India which happens to have democratic-secular polity. Unless Hindu state and democratic-secular India are held to be synonymous, Golwalkar cannot be adored for two diametrically opposite roles. In order to know the real Guru Golwalkar, we

have to make an in-depth study of his ideological moorings as well as activities. Fortunately, unlike Hedgewar, in the case of Golwalkar, the records in both these respects are abundantly available in the archives of the RSS and outside.

Doubtlessly, RSS rose to be a powerful organisation with the ascendancy of Golwalkar as the second *Sarsanghchalak* of the organisation. He took over the leadership of the RSS in 1940 after the demise of Hedgewar at a time when the Muslim League's Pakistan resolution had provided fertile ground for heightened communal propaganda. The two prominent elements of RSS philosophy, namely, to work for establishing a Hindu nation and anti-minority (especially anti-Muslim) propaganda were crystallised and advanced under his leadership. Golwalkar, a Maharashtrian Brahmin, was born at Ramtek in 1906 near Nagpur and was the only surviving son among the nine children of his parents. After his initial education he went to Banaras Hindu University where he studied zoology and possibly taught until 1933.

Interestingly, he was won over for the cause of Hindu nation by a prominent Congress leader, Madan Mohan Malviya. According to an RSS publication, while studying at Banaras Hindu University,

[The] benign and inspiring influence of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, the founder of the University and a reputed Hindu leader of yester-years, prodded young Madhav Golwalkar to work for the Hindu cause.⁸

Golwalkar enrolled as a member of the RSS in 1933 but after working briefly for the RSS he turned towards spiritualism and suddenly left for the 'Saragachi' Ashram of Ramakrishna Math in the Himalayas, to be a 'Sanyasi'. He was there for a few months, and was subsequently initiated with 'Mantra Deeksha' by Swami Akhandananda, a Gurubhai or close associate of Vivekananda. But later he renounced his 'sanyas' also and by 1937 became active in the RSS again. Eventually, he was named by Hedgewar as his successor (despite his being relatively junior in the organisation) in June 1940. According to the RSS, Golwalkar

steered the organisation for 33 years (1940-1973) as its guide

and philosopher... Guruji electrified the work to grow rapidly even in far-off places in Assam and Kerala. With his great erudition, he cogently propounded the historical and sociological background and the logicity of the concept of Hindu *Rashtra*, which, when he assumed responsibility as helmsman of the movement for Hindu resurgence represented by RSS, was just an empirical thought.⁹

He penned one of the most controversial booklets on principles of Hindu nation and nationalism titled *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, which provided the philosophical basis to the concept of the Hindu nation of RSS. After Golwalkar's demise Madhukar Dattatreya Deoras known as Balasaheb Deoras (who as per the rule prevalent in the RSS was nominated by Golwalkar in his life time) became the third of the RSS. However, Golwalkar in his lifetime had settled much of the ideological direction which the RSS was to take later. Golwalkar's aggressive belief in totalitarianism, Casteism, Hinduisation, Racial Ethics, anti-minorityism and anti-democratic ideas came to be known as Golwalkarism.¹⁰ His vision of 'RSS inspired by one flag, one leader and one ideology is lighting the flame of Hindutva in each and every corner of this great land',¹¹ remained the pivot of the theory and practice of the organisation in future.

Golwalkar who headed the RSS during 1940-1973, produced the official version of its concept of Hindu nation and nationalism in a true Savarkarite tradition. Golwalkar in his postulations of Hindu nation religiously followed Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who laid down the modern theory of Hindu *rashtra* or nation in a booklet titled, *Hindutva*, which appeared in 1929. This theory of Savarkar came to be known as Hindutva which restricted only to Hindus the right to be part of Indian nation which he described as an eternal Hindu nation. According to Savarkar's thesis, a Hindu

is 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 [Saptasindhus meant seven rivers presided by the river Sindhu; heavenly ordained land of the Aryans] 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 Hindusthan 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*].¹²

And these were only Hindus, hailing from the same Aryan race, belonging to a common civilization and by treating *Hindusthan* [land of the Hindus] as their Fatherland and Holy Land, constituted the Indian Nation. On the contrary, Muslims and Christians remained out of this nationhood because they did not assimilate into the Hindu cultural heritage or the Hindu religion. Savarkar argued that they

cannot be recognized as Hindus; as since their adoption of the new cult they had ceased to own Hindu civilisation [*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.¹³

Savarkar knew that Muslims were not a monolithic whole and as a community lived with extreme diversities of culture, customs, beliefs and language. Moreover, they also had different perceptions of Islam as a religion. He admitted that there were 'patriotic' Bohra or Khoja countrymen who loved the land of Hindusthan as their Fatherland and also possessed pure Hindu blood. They had been reasonable and loved

our history and our heroes... as a community, worship as heroes our great ten Avatars, only adding Mohammad as the eleventh. He [Bohra] is actually, along with his community, subject to the Hindu law—the law of his forefathers. He is, so far as the three

essentials of nation [*Rashtra*], race [*Jati*] and civilization [*Sanskriti*] are concerned a Hindu.¹⁴

But could a Muslim Bohra or Khoja still be described as part of the Hindu nation? Savarkar's emphatic reply was a simple 'no'. They, along with Christians, would have certainly been recognized as such but for one single reason they could not be considered as Hindus and subsequently part of Hindu Nation, because

though Hindusthan to them is Fatherland as to any other Hindu yet it is not to them a Holyland [*sic*] too. Their holyland [*sic*] is far off in Arabia or Palestine. Their mythology and Godmen, ideas and heroes are not the children of this soil. Consequently their Dames and their outlook smack of a foreign origin. Their love is divided... 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 Holy land.¹⁵

Golwalkar regarded Savarkar's *Hindutva* as a great scientific book which fulfilled the need of a text book on Hindu nationalism.¹⁶ He followed into Savarkar's footsteps while putting forward his ideas on the Hindu nation in a highly controversial booklet, *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1939), which included a foreword by a prominent Congress leader and member of the Central Legislature, M. S. Aney. This book, indeed, determined the future direction of the concept of Hindu nationalism and nation as advocated by the RSS.

According to Golwalkar, India perennially had been a Hindu nation and for proving it, he, like Savarkar relied on epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. They were not bothered that their reliance on a-historicity led them to claim diametrically different periods about the origin of Hindu nation in India. If in *Hindutva*, Savarkar claimed that 'forty centuries, if not more, had been at work to mould it as it is.'¹⁷ Golwalkar, in his treatise went on to claim that undoubtedly

we—Hindus—have been in undisputed and undisturbed possession of this land for over 8 or even 10 thousand years before the land was invaded by any foreign race.¹⁸

Surprisingly, Savarkar's claim that Hindu race originated 40 centuries ago and Golwalkar's claim of Hindus being in existence for last 80-100 centuries, did not match and were not based on historical facts, but these anomalies were of little consequence to these prophets of Hindu nationalism.

Definition of a Nation

For Golwalkar, a nation was made of five 'incontrovertible' components namely, 'Country, Race, Religion, Culture and Language.'¹⁹ However, like Savarkar, he combined culture with religion and called it *Hinduism*. Thus, these were basically four components required to make a nation. According to him, Hindus were a great and distinct Nation because, first, there were only Hindus, *i.e.*, Aryan Race which inhabited Hindusthan, the land of Hindus.²⁰ Second, Hindus belonged to a race which had

a hereditary [*sic*] Society having common customs, common language, common memories of glory or disaster; in short, it is a population with a common origin under one culture. Such a race is by far the important ingredient of a nation. Even if there be people of a foreign origin, they must have become assimilated into the body of the mother race and inextricably fused into it. They should have become one with the original national race, not only in its economic and political life, but also in its religion, culture and language, for otherwise such foreign races may be considered, under certain circumstances, at best members of a common state for political purpose; but they can never form part and parcel of the national body. If the mother race is destroyed either by destruction of the persons composing it or by loss of the principle of its existence, its religion and culture, the nation itself comes to an end... Race is the body of the nation, and that with its fall, the nation ceases to exist.²¹

Thus Golwalkar, like Savarkar, believed in the purity of race as an

essential instrument in making a Hindu nation. There was no room for mixing or inter-mingling of races.

Third, Hindu religion and culture gave a unique identity to the Hindu nation. According to Golwalkar,

we are what our great Religion has made us. Our Race-spirit is a child of our Religion and so with us culture is but a product of our all-comprehensive Religion, a part of its body and not distinguishable from it...a Nation, does profess and maintain a National Religion and Culture, these being necessary to complete the National idea.²²

As per the Golwalkar formula, the last constituent of Hindu nation was Sanskrit language. It reflected culture, religion, history and traditions of a nation. How central the Sanskrit language was to the whole idea of Hindu nation can be understood from the following words of Golwalkar:

Every Race, living in its own country evolves a language of its own, reflecting its culture, its religion, its history and traditions. Supplanting it with another is dangerous. It is an expression of the Race spirit, a manifestation of the National web of life. Every word, every turn of expression depicts the National life. It is all so intertwined into the very being of the race that the two cannot be severed without fatal results. Take away from a nation its ancient language—its whole literature goes with it—and the nation as such ceases to be.²³

However, Golwalkar knew that India had many languages. 'Language seems to present some difficulties, for in this country every province has its own language. It appears as if the linguistic unity is wanting, and there are [*sic*] not one but many 'Nations' separated from each other by linguistic differences'.²⁴ Golwalkar, instead of accepting this reality, chose to glorify the role of Sanskrit language in the following words which only showed his partisan and non-academic attitude:

But in fact, that is not so. There is but one language, Sanskrit, of which these many 'languages' are mere offshoots, the children of the mother language. Sanskrit, the dialect of the Gods, is common to all from the Himalayas to the ocean in the South,

from East to the West and all the modern sister languages are through it so much [*sic*] inter-related as to be practically one.²⁵

Completely disregarding essential and fundamental facts about the linguistic scenario in India, Golwalkar concluded,

thus applying the modern understanding of 'Nation' to our present conditions, the conclusion is unquestionably forced upon us that in this country, Hindusthan, the Hindu Race with its Hindu Religion, Hindu Culture and Hindu Language (the natural family of Sanskrit and her offsprings) complete the Nation concept...²⁶

Interestingly, Golwalkar, while including Sanskrit as a component of a Hindu nation, declared Sanskrit a 'Hindu' language. Historians have observed that Sanskrit was only used by a very small number of people, mostly Brahmins, and was never a vernacular language.²⁷ Golwalkar was hiding the fact that by making Sanskrit an essential component of Hindu nation he was simply keeping it out of bounds for Dalits and Untouchables, reserving it for high castes. Ambedkar while describing the fate of those lower caste people who dared to speak Sanskrit in 18th century India wrote:

Under the Maratha rule [which Golwalkar and RSS want to replicate] anyone other than a Brahmin uttering a *Vēda Mantra* [hymns of Vedas] was liable to have his tongue cut off and as a matter of fact the tongues of several *Sonars* (goldsmiths) were actually cut off by the order of the Peshwa for their daring to utter the Vedas contrary to laws.²⁸

It was not only Ambedkar, a Dalit leader, who lamented this reality. Bipinchandra Pal, a pioneer of nationalism in Bengal, too accepted the fact that under the Hindu law no non-Brahmin could utter the sacred texts of the Vedas much less study and interpret them to the people. According to him, no non-Brahmin could think of social equality with the Brahmins.²⁹

Golwalkar's claim that Sanskrit was the mother of all Indian languages was also not based on facts. India has languages like Tamil and Malayalam which are older than Sanskrit and have great literary heritage. In fact, by declaring Sanskrit one of the five con-

stituting elements of Hindu nationalism, he was keeping large areas of India and large sections of Hindu population, which did not subscribe to this language, out of Indian nation. In fact, RSS under Golwalkar soon realized that the myth of Sanskrit was not resonating and it had to shift to Hindi as the constituting element of Hindu nation which in turn raised new questions.

Defence of Racism

The most important element of Golwalkar's Hindu nationality happened to be race or race spirit which he went on to describe as 'a child of our Religion'.³⁰ According to his perception,

in Hindusthan exists and must needs [*sic*] exist the ancient Hindu nation and nought else but the Hindu Nation. All those not belonging to the national i.e. Hindu Race, Religion, Culture and Language, naturally fall out of the pale of real 'National' life.

We repeat: in Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, lives and should live the Hindu Nation—satisfying all the five essential requirements of the scientific nation-concept of the modern world. Consequently only those movements are truly 'National' as aim at re-building, re-vitalizing and emancipating from its present stupor the Hindu Nation [*sic*]. Those only are nationalist patriots, who, with the aspiration to glorify the Hindu race and nation next to their heart, are prompted into activity and strive to achieve that goal. All others are either traitors and enemies to the national cause, or, to take a charitable view, idiots.³¹

Doubtlessly, this definition of Golwalkar was truly based on Savarkarite model of the Hindu nation and outrightly dismissed any claim of Muslims, Christians or any non-Hindu minority to be part of the Indian nation. The followers of religions other than Hinduism were not only ousted from the Indian nationhood but were stigmatized as 'traitors', 'enemies' and 'idiots'. It was brazen denigration of non-Hindus living in India but the British rulers took no action against this book. It was despite the fact that Section 295A of the Indian Penal Act (1860) specifically outlawed 'malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class

by insulting its religion or its religious beliefs by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representation or otherwise.³²

In order to make his viewpoint more understandable, he raised the following question:

If indisputably Hindusthan was the land of the Hindus and was the terra firma for the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon, what was to be the fate of all those who happened to live upon the land, though not belonging to the Hindu race, religion and culture?³³

And he himself replied that so far as nation was concerned, all those who fell outside the limits of that idea could have no place in the national life. They could be considered part of the nation only if they abandoned their differences, adopted the religion, culture and language of the nation and completely merge themselves in the national race. As long as they maintained their racial, religious and cultural differences, they could be only foreigners who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation.³⁴

Total assimilation or ethnic cleansing was the mantra prescribed by Golwalkar to deal with the problem of minorities in India. The RSS since its formation in 1925 never lost sight of it. According to him, old nations solved their minorities' problem by not recognising any separate elements in their polity. Muslims and Christians, who were 'emigrants', must get themselves naturally assimilated in the principal mass of population, the national race. They must adopt culture and language of the national race and lose all consciousness of their separate existence, forgetting their foreign origin.

If they do not do so, they live merely as outsiders, bound by all the codes and conventions of the nation, at the sufferance [*sic*] of the nation and deserving of no special protection, far less any privilege or rights. There are only two courses open to the foreign elements, either to merge themselves 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 to quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities' problem. That is the only logical and

correct solution. That alone keeps the national life healthy and undisturbed. That alone keeps the nation safe from the danger of a cancer developing into its body politic of the creation of a state within the state.³⁵

Idolising Fascist Germany and Italy

Golwalkar's concept of Hindu Nation not only rested heavily on racial theories prevalent at that time in Europe but also was unambiguous in eulogising and idolising those countries where racism was practised. Golwalkar presented Nazi Germany led by Hitler and Fascist Italy led by Mussolini as role models for his kind of Hindu *Rashtra*. In order to understand in totality his support to the theories of racial superiority and dominance of the world by 'chosen' races which should prompt Hindu Aryan race to embark on the same path, we need to go through lengthy passages from his book. He began his defence of racism by saying that the aspirations of

[The] Race, are conditioned by its mental frame. As is the mould into which the Racial mind is thrown—of course by its age-long [*sic*] traditions, so are its desires—its aspirations. It is the Race Consciousness awakening to march farther on but it must tread the road into which its past traditional way has led it.... Indeed, it cannot help moving along the path which tradition has opened out for it.³⁶

And it is not difficult to understand what Golwalkar meant by 'age long traditions' and 'traditional way' of fulfilling Race aspirations. According to him these were provided by the Fascist Italy and the Nazi Germany.

Look at Italy, the old Roman Race consciousness of conquering the whole territory round the Mediterranean Sea, so long dormant, has roused itself, and shaped the racial-national aspirations accordingly. The ancient race spirit which prompted the Germanic tribes to over-run the whole of Europe has re-risen in modern Germany, with the result that the nation perforce follows the aspirations predetermined by the traditions left by its depredatory ancestors. Even so with us our race spirit has

once again roused itself as is evidenced, by the race of spiritual giants we have produced, and who today stalk the words in serene majesty.³⁷

His glorification of Germany which, led by racist and imperialistic ambitions, was then over-running one nation after the other in Europe and brought the world on the verge of another World War, continued without any reservations in the following words:

The other nation most in the eye of the world today is Germany. The nation affords a very striking example. Modern Germany strove, and has to a great extent achieved what she strove for, to once again bring under one sway the whole of the territory, hereditarily possessed by the Germans but which, as a result of political disputes, had been portioned off as different countries under different states. Austria for example, was merely a province, on par with Prussia, Bavaria and other principalities, which made the Germanic Empire. Logically Austria should not be an independent kingdom, but be one with the rest of Germany. So also with those portions, inhabited by Germans, which had been included, after the War, in the new State of Czechoslovakia? German pride in their Fatherland for a definite home country, for which the race has certain traditional attachments as a necessary concomitant of the true nation concept, awoke and ran the risk of starting a fresh world-conflagration, in order to establish one, unparalleled, undisputed German Empire over all this 'hereditary territory'. This natural and logical aspiration of Germany has almost been fulfilled and the great importance of the 'country factor' has been once again vindicated even in the living present.³⁸

Golwalkar clearly had these Nazi and Fascist experiments of cleansing of minorities in mind when he unambiguously prescribed the following solution to the minority problem in his kind of Hindu nation.

From this standpoint, sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations, 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. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an old nation; let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races, which have chosen to live in our country.³⁹

Golwalkar and the RSS are known for their support to Zionists against people of Palestine, but here we find him not only rejoicing the cleansing of Jews by Hitler and celebrating the Holocaust but also urging the Hindu nation to adopt the same methodology to get rid of minorities.

German race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races — the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how 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 Hindusthan to learn and profit by.⁴⁰

Golwalkar was not alone in praising Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. His mentor and originator of the concept of Hindutva, Savarkar also had great liking for Hitler and Mussolini. While delivering the Presidential address to the 22nd Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Madura in 1940, he said,

There is no reason to suppose that Hitler must be a human monster because he passes off as a Nazi or Churchill is a demi-God because he calls himself a democrat. Nazism proved undeniably the saviour of Germany under the set of circumstances Germany was placed in...⁴¹

Savarkar did not appreciate criticism of Fascism or Nazism from any quarter in India. When Jawaharlal Nehru came out with stringent criticism of these two totalitarian ideologies, Savarkar retorted:

Who are we to dictate to Germany, Japan or Russia or Italy to

choose a particular form of policy of government simply because we woo it out of academical attraction? Surely Hitler knows better than Pandit Nehru does what suits Germany best. The very fact that Germany or Italy has so wonderfully recovered and grown so powerful as never before at the touch of Nazi or Fascist magical wand is enough to prove that those political 'isms' were the most congenial tonics their health demanded.⁴²

Savarkar, like Golwalkar, went all out to support Hitler's anti-Jewish pogroms. On October 14, 1938 he hinted towards adopting the same solution to the problem of minorities like Muslims in India:

A Nation is formed by the majority living therein. What did the Jews do in Germany? They being in a minority were driven out from Germany.⁴³

Golwalkar's adoration of Hitler and Mussolini was the outcome of his ideological belief that brute force must always be worshipped. It has always been the chief characteristic of the Hindutva politics. Eulogizing the mightiest he wrote:

The world worships only the strong. Before the last war, when England was powerful, our people tried to imitate and eulogise the English. But when, during the war, it appeared for a time that Germany would win, they began to adore Hilter and even Nazism. We know of persons now most vociferous in their condemnation of Hitler and Nazism but who were turning their radios in secret to listen to German news in those days with a sense of admiration. How elated they were to hear of the fall of France within hardly two weeks of German invasion!... That is the way of the world. Nobody cares a whit for the voice of the weak. Long ago our forefathers had declared that the desires of the poor and weak are just castles in the air...⁴⁴

It may also be relevant here to know that Golwalkar as of the RSS did not dream of a democratic free India. Contrary to the principles of democracy, he had been constantly demanding India to be ruled under a totalitarian regime. Golwalkar, while delivering a speech before the 1,350 top-level cadres of the RSS

at its headquarters, Resham Bagh, Nagpur, declared in 1940,

RSS inspired by one flag, one leader and one ideology is lighting the flame of Hindutva in each and every corner of this great land.⁴⁵

This slogan of one flag, one leader and one ideology seemed to have been directly borrowed from the programmes of Nazi and Fascist parties of Europe.

Hindu Nationalist Ideology and Race Theories of Europe

There is close affinity between race-based theories of nationalism which developed in Europe between 18th and early 20th centuries and racial content of Hindu nationalism as propounded by Savarkar and Golwalkar. These were the same race theories on which the whole discourse of Nazism and Fascism rested. A more thorough and in-depth study is necessary to demonstrate direct linkages between the two, but there is no denying the fact that when the race theories were making rounds in Europe, Savarkar, who led in the formation of ideology of Hindu nationalism, happened to be there.

It was German poet and thinker, Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), who contributed greatly to the popularity of ideas about racial superiority, purity of blood, purity of language, and national soul. He advanced the theory that 'races' were differentiated by language and that the older and the purer a language is, the older and purer is the race which speaks it. Thus, Schlegel

became not only a formulator of a traditional cultural nationalism but a founder of a new romantic and pseudo-scientific nationalism which was to flourish abundantly in the nineteenth century. Beside, Schlegel, contributed much to the popular cult of the ground under one's very feet and to the incorporation of it with the larger cult of nationality. He was the chief influence, for example, in making the Rhine a symbol not only for individuals who lived upon its banks but for the whole German nation, and the Rhine as a subject of nationalist literature was popularized by his poems. In fine, Friedrich von Schlegel brought to the fore the historic part of Germany, with its

mythology, its traditions, its old songs and its old virtues.⁴⁶

Another prominent contributor to this kind of construction of the concept of nationalism was, a French writer, Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828-1893). Taine, like Schlegel, amalgamated biological races with linguistic groups, and he surpassed Schlegel in attributing to the 'Aryan Race' and its several branches, superiority over Semitic and Chinese 'races'. He was, in fact, one of the foremost formulators of the Aryan myth. According to Taine, 'race, environment, epoch' are the factors which determine a nation.⁴⁷

Another important contributor to the Race theory was again a Frenchman, Gobineau (1816-1882) who immensely contributed to the theory by advocating 'White Supremacy' and developed the racial theory of the Aryan master race in his book, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*. Gobineau used it in support of the aristocracy against democracy. In the beginning of the 20th century, a Germanised Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and his father-in-law Richard Wagner popularised the Aryan myth in Germany. This literature in defence of racism was anti-liberal, imperialist, and anti-Semitic.⁴⁸

Alfred Rosenberg further developed the Race theory into a philosophy of history in the early 1930s. According to him, world history was nothing but a struggle between Aryan or culture-creating race and all other lower breeds of mankind. Rosenberg claimed that Aryan race had originated from some point in the north and migrated to Egypt, India, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and had become the creator of all the ancient civilisations. He also argued that ancient cultures declined because Aryans interbred with lower races.⁴⁹ In fact, both Savarkar and Golwalkar heavily borrowed from the Nazi theoretician Rosenberg's theory of 'Soul of the Race'. The idea of Hindutva developed by Savarkar and propagated by Golwalkar was directly linked to Rosenberg's philosophy.

The great supporting pillars of Nazi racial theory were the postulations that 'blood' and 'soil' are the most important factors in shaping social evolution.⁵⁰ Hitler himself declared: 'All that is

not race in this world is trash.⁵¹ For Savarkar, the two most important constituents of Hindu nation were Fatherland (*Pitribhu*) and blood of that race whose first discernible source could be traced to the Vedic *Saptasindhus*.⁵² This Fatherland of Hindus was the 'best nation of the Aryas' as distinguished from *Mlechasthan*, the land of the foreigners.⁵³

Likewise, according to Golwalkar, Hindusthan, the land of great Hindu Race happened to be

an ideal piece of land deserving in every respect to be called a country, fulfilling all that the word should imply in the nation idea. Living in this country since pre-historic times, is the ancient race—the Hindus race, united together by common traditions, memories of common glory and disaster, by similar historical, political, social, religious and other experience, living and evolving, under the same influences, a common culture, a common mother language, common customs, common aspirations.⁵⁴

It must have been more than a coincidence that English translation of Hitler's autobiography, *Mein Kampf* as *My Struggle* was available worldwide in 1938 (original edition in German language of *Mein Kampf* in two volumes had appeared in 1924-1926), outlining Nazi thesis of superiority of Aryan/German race. It was in the same year that Mussolini promulgated a 'Charter of Race' declaring that Italians belonged to Aryan race that was ethnically homogenous and superior to others like Jews and Africans of Libya and Ethiopia.⁵⁵ And, in 1939, appeared Golwalkar's *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, which restricted right to nationality in a Hindu state only to Hindus who belonged to the Aryan Race.

If Hitler, as a great protagonist and practitioner of race theory, divided the human race into three categories—founders, maintainers and destroyers of culture, and declared that 'the Aryan stock alone can be considered as representing the first category',⁵⁶ Golwalkar did not lag behind in upholding the superiority of Hindu race in comparison to other races. According to him, Hindus belonged to 'an immortal race with perennial youth' which cannot die.⁵⁷ While comparing Hindus with rest of the world, he declared:

The origin of our people, the date from which we have been living here as a civilised entity, is unknown to the scholars of history. In a way, we are 'anadi', without a beginning... To define such a people is impossible, just as we cannot express or define Reality because words came into existence after the Reality. Similar is the case with the Hindu People. We existed when there was no necessity for any name. We were the good, enlightened people. We were the people who knew about the laws of nature and the laws of the Spirit. We built a great civilisation, a great culture and an [sic] unique social order. We had brought into actual life almost everything that was beneficial to mankind. Then the rest of humanity were [sic] just bipeds and so no distinctive name was given to us. Sometimes, in trying to distinguish our people from others, we are called 'the enlightened'—the Aryas—and the rest Mlechhas.⁵⁸

In fact, with this rhetoric, Golwalkar was also trying to give a new interpretation to the issue that in no Vedic or post-Vedic scripture word Hindu was ever mentioned.

Moreover, this great Hindu race professed an illustrious Hindu religion which was,

the only Religion in the world worthy of being so denominated, which in its variety is still an organic whole, capable of feeding the noble aspirations of all men, of all stages, of all grades, aptitudes and capacities, enriched by the noblest philosophy of life in all its functions, and hallowed by an unbroken, interminable succession of divine spiritual geniuses, a religion of which any sane man may be justly proud. Guided by this Religion in all walks of life, individual, social, political, the race evolved a culture, which despite the degenerating contact with the debased 'civilisations' of the Mussalman and the Europeans, for the last ten centuries, is still the noblest in the world.⁵⁹

If Savarkar and Golwalkar religiously believed that purity of Aryan Hindu Race was to be maintained at every cost to maintain superiority of the Hindu Nation, they were simply echoing the perception of Hitler who came to the conclusion that

Blood-mixture, and lowering of the racial level which accompanies it are the one and only cause why old civilisations disappear. It is not lost wars which ruin mankind, but loss of power of resistance, which belong to purity of blood alone.⁶⁰

There was another important similarity between Hitler and Hindu nationalists. According to Hitler, the most important and decisive cause of the German collapse was the racial problem, and more specially, 'the Jewish menace', and for the two theorists of Hindu nation, Muslims were the cancer who presented the greatest racial challenge to Hindu race. 'Foreign races' or 'minorities' and, to be more specific, Muslims were to be kept out of the 'national race,' *i.e.*, Hindu nation, for the same reasons for which Jews were debarred from Hitler's Germany. Hitler offered the following rationale for their exclusion:

We, as Aryans living under a state, can only picture to ourselves the living organism of a nationality which will not only ensure that nationality shall be maintained, but also by continuing to nurture its intellectual and imaginative capabilities, leads it on to the highest freedom.⁶¹

These very words of Hitler could be substituted for utterances of Savarkar and Golwalkar defending the exclusiveness of Hindu Nation.

This racial content of the Hindu nation as propounded by Savarkar and Golwalkar also brings about a startling affinity with the ideas of Stanley Baldwin, a diehard imperialist who headed the Conservative government in England thrice. Baldwin, while speaking in the House of Commons on November 7, 1929, argued that since English, Rajputs and Brahmins belonged to the same Aryan Race, the British rule should not be treated as any kind of subjugation. According to his interesting racial logic,

[The] two branches of the great Aryan ancestry have again been brought together by the Providence in order that both should work together...By establishing British rule in India, God said to the British 'I have again brought you and the Indians together after a long separation...you must realise that you are both flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood, and that it is your duty to raise them to their own level as quickly as possible, and work together, brothers as you are, for the evolution of humanity.'⁶²

It is also important to note that the claim advanced by Savarkar

in 1929, and later backed up by Golwalkar, that Hindus are a separate race provided an ideological basis to the two-nations theory of Muslim League as well. Muhammad Iqbal, while delivering his presidential address at the Allahabad session of Muslim League (December 1930) in which he made public his scheme of constituting Muslim majority region in west of India, simply followed the race logic of Savarkar when he said:

India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages, and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not determined by a common race-consciousness.⁶³

B. R. Ambedkar, a keen observer and critic of competitive Hindu-Muslim communal politics in pre-independence India, was candid in his belief that

Strange as it may appear, Mr. Savarkar and Mr. Jinnah instead of being opposed to each other on the one nation versus two nations issue are in complete agreement about it. Both agree, not only agree but insist that there are two nations in India—one the Muslim nation and the other Hindu nation. They differ only as regards the terms and conditions on which the two nations must live.⁶⁴

Golwalkar who further developed this race-based nationalism and became a prominent protagonist of Hindutva was, in fact, complimenting the designs of Muslim communalists. They were demanding a separate homeland, advancing the same logic as put forward by Hindu communalists, that they belonged to a separate race. Golwalkar accepted this linkage, when addressing the RSS cadres in Bombay in October 1947, he declared, 'I owe my love for Sangh to Mr. Jinnah'.⁶⁵

Golwalkar's Race theory

meant Superiority of North Indian Brahmins

The RSS has always claimed to represent all Hindus of India. It also claims to be the largest organization of the Hindus in this country. However, it is not difficult to find that for Golwalkar and

RSS India was limited to north India only. When they talked of a 'Hindu Golden age' it meant a north Indian golden age.⁶⁶ It did not exclude Muslims and Christians only but also all Hindus except north Indian Brahmins. This was glaringly visible in Golwalkar's address to the students of the School of Social Science of Gujarat University on December 17, 1960. In this address, while underlying his firm belief in the Race Theory, he touched upon the issue of cross-breeding of human beings in the Indian society in the past. He said:

Today experiments in cross-breeding are made only on animals. But the courage to make such experiments on human beings is not shown even by the so-called modern scientist of today. If some human cross-breeding is seen today it is the result not of scientific experiments but of carnal lust. Now let us see the experiments our ancestors made in this sphere. *In an effort to better the human species through cross-breeding the Namboodri Brahmanas of the North were settled in Kerala and a rule was laid down that the eldest son of a Namboodri family could marry only the daughter of Vaishya, Kashtriya or Shudra communities of Kerala. Another still more courageous rule was that the first off-spring of a married woman of any class must be fathered by a Namboodri Brahmin and then she could beget children by her husband.* Today this experiment will be called adultery but it was not so, as it was limited to the first child.⁶⁷ (*emphasis added*)

The above statement of Golwalkar is highly derogatory in many respects. Firstly, it proves that Golwalkar believed that India had a superior Race or breed of Hindus and also an inferior Race of Hindus which needed to be improved through cross-breeding. Secondly, a more worrying aspect was his belief that only the Brahmins of the North (India), specifically Namboodri Brahmanas, belonged to a superior Race. It was due to this racial superiority that Namboodri Brahmanas were sent from the North to Kerala to improve the breed of inferior Hindus there, including Brahmanas of Kerala. Interestingly, this was being argued by a person who claimed to uphold the unity of Hindus the world over. Thirdly, Golwalkar as a male chauvinist believed that a Namboodri Brahmin male belonging to a superior Race from the North only could improve the inferior human Race

from the South. For him wombs of Kerala's Hindu women enjoyed no sanctity and were simply objects of improving breed through intercourse with Namboodri Brahamanas who in no way were related to them. Thus, Golwalkar was, in fact, confirming the allegation that in the past male dominated high caste society forced newly-wedded women of other castes to pass their first nights by sleeping with 'superior' caste males. The justification offered by Golwalkar for such an obnoxious practice was the same as was offered by the feudal elements for dishonoring women of lower castes in the past. It is a well-known fact that feudal lords in India often forced newly-wed women of lower castes to spend their first nights in their mansions. Astonishingly, Golwalkar expressed these racist, inhuman, anti-woman and anti-egalitarian views not in the presence of some uneducated or lumpenized crowd but before a noble gathering consisting of the faculty and students of a prime university in Gujarat. In fact, according to the report as published in *Organiser*, Golwalkar was welcomed by an 'economist of great repute',⁶⁸ Dr. B. R. Shenoy, Director of the School while he arrived at the auditorium. The press reports make it clear that there was not even a murmur of protest against such fascist and ridiculous ideas. It shows the degree of respectability which high caste oratory enjoyed in Gujarat and explains why Hindutva could make inroads in this region.

These great thoughts of Golwalkar, despite openly denigrating the women and society of Kerala, were published in the RSS organ, *Organiser* under the heading 'Hindu Experiments in Cross-breeding'.⁶⁹ Though RSS recently did try to keep under wrap this thesis of Golwalkar. It simply omitted the above portion of Golwalkar's speech when it published the collected works of Golwalkar in Hindi in 2004 under the title *Sbri Guruji Samagr* in 12 volumes. Volume 5 (item number 10) carries the above speech of Golwalkar (pp. 28-32), minus two paragraphs which contained the above mentioned terribly racist and male chauvinist thesis of Golwalkar. It is their bad luck that they have not been able to remove old copies of *Organiser* from the libraries. It seems that RSS continues to believe that it can fool all the people all the times!

Golwalkar's Divine Love for Casteism

It would be totally wrong to believe that Golwalkar's *We or Our Nationhood Defined* was anti-minority only. It is true that it singled out Muslims and Christians for attacks and kept them out from nationhood but it was no better for lower castes or Untouchables of the Hindu society. Golwalkar, like Savarkar, believed that Casteism was a natural integral part of Hinduism. Golwalkar, throughout his life, continued believing that Casteism was synonymous with Hindu religion and nation. According to him

The Hindu People...is the *Virat Purusha*, the Almighty manifesting Himself. Though they did not use the word 'Hindu', it is clear from the following description of the Almighty in *Purusha Sukta* wherein it is stated that sun and moon are his eyes, the stars and the skies are created from His *nabhi* (navel) and Brahmin is the head, *Kshatriya* the hands, *Vaishya* the thighs and *Shudra* the feet. This means that the people who have this four-fold arrangement, *i.e.*, the Hindu People, is our God. This supreme vision of Godhead is the very core of our concept of 'nation' and has permeated our thinking and given rise to various unique concepts of our cultural heritage.⁷⁰ (*Italics in the original*)

The seeds of this kind of divine faith in Casteism by Golwalkar can be seen in his 1939 treatise too. Golwalkar refused to accept that Casteism was a bane to Hinduism or hindered feeling of unity among Hindus.

Persons interested in calumniating Hindus make much of the caste system, the 'superstitions', the want of literacy, the position of women in the social structure, and all sorts of true or untrue flaws in the Hindu Cultural Organisation, and point out that the weakness of the Hindus lies solely in these.⁷¹

He declared that a Hindu nation is a place where people 'enrich' themselves with 'Varnas and Ashrams—that is, following the Hindu frame-work of society, obeying the Hindu codes, in short subscribing to the Hindu Religion and Culture—that is important'.⁷² Thus, we find Golwalkar declaring Casteism as the basis of Hindu religion and culture.

He drew an interesting analogy to support Casteism by drawing attention towards 'golden' periods of Hindu history like *Mahabharata* and the rule of Harshwardhan. He wrote,

Look at the times of Mahabharat, of Harshwardhan, of Pulakeshi, all the so called evils of caste etc. were there no less marked than today and yet we were a victorious glorious nation then. Were not the bonds of caste, illiteracy etc. at least as stringent as now, when the country witnessed the grand upheaval of the Hindu nation under Shiwaji? No, it is not these that are our bane...⁷³

Golwalkar went to the extent of calling all those who disown their 'cultural heritage' (which of course meant unquestioned belief in Casteism) as anti-national and degenerated lot. He wrote,

It grieves us to see how we fritter our energy in anti-national work and lay the blame upon the social order and such other things which have nothing to do with national revival... We emphasise that it is none of the so called drawbacks of the Hindu social order, which prevents us from regaining our ancient glory, but it is only the want of proper national feeling ...⁷⁴

Casteism was so deeply ingrained in Golwalkar's philosophy of Hindu nation that he arrived at the crucial finding that it was the dismantling of caste structure which facilitated the spread of Muslim rule in India.

We know as a matter of history that our north-western and north-eastern areas, where the influence of Buddhism has disrupted the caste system, fell an easy prey to the onslaughts of Muslims...but the areas of Delhi which were considered to be very orthodox and rigid in caste restrictions, remained predominantly Hindu after remaining as the very citadels of Muslim power and fanaticism for a number of centuries.⁷⁵

Superiority of Hindu Race

Golwalkar, following into the footsteps of Savarkar's imperialistic ambitions, foresaw the world under the supremacy of Hindu

power. Hindus simply had to reawaken their Race-spirit and national consciousness in order to be world rulers. The following words of Golwalkar did not seem to be different from the calls of Hitler and Mussolini to rule over the world.

The Race Spirit has been awakening. The lion was not dead, only sleeping. He is rousing himself up again and the world has to see the might of the regenerated Hindu nation strike down the enemy's hosts with its mighty arm. The star has risen and is steadily climbing up the firmament [*sic*]. At no distant date the world shall see it and tremble with fear or dance with delight.⁷⁶

He called upon the Hindus to 'rally to the Hindu standard, the *Bhagva Dhwaja* [Saffron Flag], set our teeth in grim determination to wipe out the opposing forces'.⁷⁷ According to Golwalkar, to rule over the world was the heavenly task ordained to Hindu race. They had no reason to be afraid of their future and no cause to despond.

All we have to do to remount our throne is to respond to the awakened Race-spirit and re-rouse our national consciousness, and victory is in our grasp. The undying voices of our sages call; let us gird up our lions and follow them. The spirit of the race beckons to us and has lighted for its benighted children the path to their cherished ideal, with beacons of undying spiritual splendour. Let us rouse ourselves to our true nationality, let us follow the lead of our race-spirit, and fill the heavens with the clarion call of the Vedic seers 'from sea to sea over all the land—one nation,' one glorious, splendid Hindu nation benignly shedding peace and plenty over the whole world.⁷⁸

In fact, Golwalkar believed that Hindus ruled major parts of the world in the past and if the 'Race-Spirit' was awakened once again they could be the world rulers. He declared that the RSS was established to fulfil one real practical world mission and that was to bring back the glories of the golden past in which,

our arms stretched as far as America on the one side—that was long before Columbus 'discovered' America!—and on the other side to China, Japan, Cambodia, Malaya, Siam, Indonesia and all

the South-East Asian countries and right up to Magnolia and Siberia in the North. Our powerful political empire too spread over these South-East areas and continued for 1400 years., the Shailendra Empire alone flourishing for over 700 years—standing as a powerful bulwark against Chinese expansion.⁷⁹

Golwalkar Justified Staying Away from the Freedom Movement

Golwalkar in his *We or Our Nationhood Defined* made it amply clear that his concept of the Hindu nation by its very genesis and nature could have no attachment and affinity to the Freedom Struggle developing against the British masters which strived for a polity where both Hindus and Muslims would be equal partners with other communities. Golwalkar naturally refused to be part of such a secular nationalist discourse because it did not accept the superiority of Hindu nation or race. He did not want to be part of Freedom Struggle as it sought freedom for all the Indian people irrespective of religious differences. Since it did not assure the formation of a Hindu *Rashtra*, Golwalkar as a Hindu nationalist provided the following ideological rationale for keeping aloof from the on going struggle against the colonial rule.

We stand for national regeneration and not for that haphazard bundle of political rights—the state. What we want is swaraj; and we must be definite what this 'swa' means. 'Our kingdom'—who are we? It is this question [that is] most pertinent at this stage that we shall attempt to answer. For this purpose, we must analyse and understand the universally acknowledged nation concept and see how far we actually subscribe to it. And if we do not, why, and whether such an aberration is in anyway proper. We must also see what the nation idea should denote to us in our struggle for national regeneration, by applying the universal concept to our case. And we will look at our problem from more points of view than one.⁸⁰

According to his point of view, diametrically opposite to the secular nationalist discourse of Indian nationalism, the basis of

Indian nationalism could only be Hindu religion and race and any other content would only lead to a process of de-nationalisation.

Seeing now that ancient Hindusthan understood its Hindu Nationality, the question naturally forces itself upon us, as to how we have today so far forgotten ourselves as to need being reminded of the scientific concept and roused to our Hindu National consciousness? Why is it that number of our workers have taken a different lead and followed channels of work destructive of such nationality? How do we find that today this traditional and correct understanding fails to appeal to many, and they start with a muddled conception of their real national nature? But it is not difficult to account for this misconception.⁸¹

He went to the extent of calling a united Freedom Struggle of all the communities and sections nothing but de-nationalisation. Rejecting the concept of composite nationalism totally, he wrote that Hindus

are being duped into believing that we, who stand (as we must rationally) for the Hindu National renaissance are not 'national' and that those others, who hold with absurd tenacity to the serai [*sic*] theory and disown their cultural heritage, are the real 'patriots'...our gradual de-nationalisation, our letting our race spirit to fall sleep, has been the root cause of our present unhappy condition and, even now, it is this same apathy towards our real nationality, which makes it difficult for the nation to rise to its full heights and regain its due place in the world.⁸²

Betrayal of the Freedom Struggle

Apart from *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, there are ample writings and speeches of Golwalkar which make it abundantly clear that he, like his mentor Hedgewar, hated the Freedom Movement. Long after the Independence of India, Golwalkar, while addressing the top level cadres of the RSS in Indore, Madhya Pradesh, on March 9, 1960, expressed the attitude towards the Freedom Movement in the following words,

There is another reason for the need of always remaining involved in routine work. There is some unrest in the mind due to the situation developing in the country from time to time.

There was such unrest in 1942. Before that there was the movement in 1930-31. At that time many other people had gone to Doctorji. This delegation requested Doctorji that this movement will give independence and Sangh should not lag behind. At that time, when a gentleman told Doctorji that he was ready to go to jail, Doctorji said: 'Definitely go. But who will take care of your family then?' That gentleman replied: 'I have sufficiently arranged resources not only to run the family expenses for two years but also to pay fines according to the requirements'. Then Doctorji told him: 'If you have fully arranged for the resources then come out to work for the Sangh for two years'. After returning home that gentleman neither went to jail nor came out to work for the Sangh.⁸³

This incident clearly shows that the RSS leadership was bent upon demoralising the honest patriotic persons, making them run away from the cause of Freedom Movement.

Non-Co-operation Movement and Quit India Movement were two great milestones in the history of the Indian Freedom Movement and here is the great thesis of the great Guru (Golwalkar) of the RSS on these two great happenings of the Freedom Movement. Openly denigrating these two great anti-British movements led by the Congress, Golwalkar stated:

Definitely, there are bound to be bad results of struggle. The boys became unruly after the 1920-21 movement [Non-cooperation Movement]. It is not an attempt to throw mud at the leaders. But these are inevitable products after the struggle. The matter is that we could not properly control these results. After 1942, people often started thinking that there was no need to think of the law.⁸⁴

Thus, Golwalkar wanted the Indians to respect the draconian and repressive laws of the inhuman British rulers! Golwalkar admitted, as we will see in the following, that despite universal condemnation of the RSS attitude towards the Quit India Movement of 1942, the then RSS leadership (Golwalkar was the at that time) did not budge from its stand of keeping aloof from the Freedom Struggle.

In 1942 also there was a strong sentiment in the hearts of

many. At that time too the routine work of Sangh continued. Sangh vowed not to do anything directly. However, upheaval (*utbal-puthal*) in the minds of Sangh volunteers continued. Sangh is an organization of inactive persons, their talks are useless, not only outsiders but also many of our volunteers did talk like this. They were greatly disgusted too.⁸⁵

However, there is not a single publication or document of the Sangh which could throw some light on the great work the RSS did indirectly for the Quit India Movement or ongoing Freedom Struggle at that time. Though it is possible, given the mass upsurge of that period, that some members of the RSS might have individually participated in some anti-British movement, these would have been isolated instances. However, the RSS as an organization never launched any struggle or campaign against British colonial rule or for the rights of the oppressed Indian masses. Nor was the top leadership of the RSS ever part of the Freedom Struggle.

Golwalkar, as the of the RSS, was never able to hide his opposition to any movement against the foreign rule. As late as March 1947 when the British rulers had decided, in principle, to go away from India, Golwalkar while addressing the annual day function of the RSS at Delhi declared that leaders with narrow vision were trying to oppose the state power of the British. While elaborating this point further, he said that it was wrong to hold the powerful foreigners responsible for country's ills. He decried the tendency of 'initiating the political movements on the basis of our hatred towards our victors'⁸⁶. He even narrated an incident to make his point of view clear on the issue:

Once a respectable senior gentleman came to our *shakha* (the drill). He had brought a new message for the volunteers of the RSS. When given an opportunity to address the volunteers of the *shakha*, he spoke in a very impressive tone, 'Now do only one work. Catch hold of the British, bash them and throw them out. Whatever happens we will see later on'. He said this much and sat down. Behind this ideology is a feeling of anger and sorrow towards state power and reactionary tendency based on hatred. The evil with today's political sentimentalism is that its basis is reaction, sorrow and anger, and opposition to

the victors forgetting friendliness.⁸⁷

In all fairness to Golwalkar, he did not claim that the RSS had been opposed to the British rule. In the course of his Indore speech on March 5, 1960 he admitted:

Many people worked with the inspiration to free the country by throwing the British out. After formal departure of the British this inspiration slackened. In fact there was no need to have this much inspiration. We should remember that in our pledge we have talked of the freedom of the country through defending religion and culture. There is no mention of departure of the British in that.⁸⁸

The RSS was not even willing to regard colonial domination as an injustice. In a speech of June 8, 1942, at a time when India was reeling under unprecedented British repression, delivered at the conclusion of the all India training programme of the cadres at the Nagpur RSS headquarters, Golwalkar declared:

Sangh does not want to blame anybody else for the present degraded state of the society. When the people start blaming others, then there is basically weakness in them. It is futile to blame the strong for the injustice done to the weak... Sangh does not want to waste its invaluable time in abusing or criticizing others. If we know that large fish eat the smaller ones, it is outright madness to blame the big fish. Law of nature whether good or bad is true all the time. This rule does not change by terming it unjust.⁸⁹

Thus the RSS under Golwalkar's leadership can be seen as having played an extremely treasonous role throughout the Freedom Struggle. All evidence points towards its disruptive activities and the fact that the organization and its leadership were never a part of the Freedom Struggle. The single most important contribution of the RSS was to consistently disrupt the emerging unified struggle of the Indian people against the British imperialism through its extreme exclusivist slogan of the Hindu *Rashtra*.

Denigrating the Revolutionary tradition of Bhagat Singh, Chandershekhar Azad and Ashfaqullah Khan

The RSS under Golwalkar, not only kept aloof from the Freedom Struggle but also had no qualms in rejecting the whole tradition of martyrdom, thus denigrating movements led by revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad, Ashfaqullah Khan and their associates. He wrote, 'except our *Bhartiya* [Indian] culture, all others have adored and idealized martyrdom and have looked upon such martyrs as their heroes.'⁹⁰ He went on to argue that

our objects of worship have always been... successful lives. It is obvious that those who were failures in life must have had some serious drawbacks in them. How can one, who is defeated, give light and lead others to success?⁹¹

This must have been the reason that the RSS, whether under Hedgewar or under Golwalkar, never opposed the 'victor' British rulers. Here are few other original ideas of Golwalkar decrying the whole tradition of martyrs:

There is no doubt that such men who embrace martyrdom are great heroes and their philosophy too is pre-eminently manly. They are far above the average men who meekly submit to fate and remain in fear and inaction. All the same, such persons are not held up as ideals in our society. We have not looked upon their martyrdom as the highest point of greatness to which men should aspire. For, after all, they failed in achieving their ideal, and failure implies some fatal flaw in them.⁹²

Can there be a statement more insulting and denigrating to the martyrs than this?

Golwalkar was not alone in spreading canard against great revolutionaries. It will be shocking for any patriotic Indian who loves and adores the martyrs of the Freedom Movement to know what Hedgewar felt about the revolutionaries fighting against the British. According to Hedgewar's biography published by the RSS, he firmly believed:

Patriotism is not only going to prison. It is not correct to be carried away by such superficial patriotism. He [Hedgewar]

used to urge that while remaining prepared to die for the country when the time came, it is very necessary to have a desire to live while organizing for the freedom of the country.⁹³

It is indeed a pity that revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Ashfaqullah Khan, Chandrashekhar Azad did not come in contact with this 'great patriotic thinker'. If they had the great opportunity to meet him, these martyrs could have been saved from wasting their lives for 'superficial patriotism.' This also must be the reason that RSS produced neither martyrs during the Freedom Movement nor any patriot.

Even the word 'shameful' is not appropriate to describe the attitude of Golwalkar towards those who had sacrificed everything in the struggle against the British rulers. The last Mughal ruler of India, Bahadur Shah Zafar had emerged as the rallying point for the patriotic Indians and a symbol of the Great War of Independence of 1857. Golwalkar, while making fun of him, wrote:

In 1857, the so-called last emperor of India had given the clarion call—*Gazio mein bu rahegi jub talak eeman ki/ takhte London tak chalegi tegh Hindustan ki [sic]* (Till the warriors remain faithful to their commitment /The Indian swords will reach the throne of London.) But ultimately what happened? Everybody knows that.⁹⁴

What Golwalkar thought of the people sacrificing their lot for the country is obvious from the following words of his also. He had the temerity to ask the great revolutionaries who wished to lay down their lives for the freedom of the motherland the following question as if he was representing the British:

But one should think whether complete national interest is accomplished by that? Sacrifice does not lead to increase in the thinking of the society of giving all for the interest of the nation. It is borne by the experience up to now that this fire in the heart is unbearable to the common people.⁹⁵

M. S. Aney's Reservations

Surprisingly, a noted Congress leader, M. S. Aney, also known as *Loknayak* [people's leader], agreed to write a foreword for *We or*

Our Nationhood Defined, a terribly anti-minority and pro-Nazism/Fascism booklet. Golwalkar's choice for him was understandable as, though being a Congress leader, Aney subscribed to the idea of Hindus being a separate nation and subsequently India being essentially a Hindu nation. He stressed on this belief of his in the foreword of the book too.

No sane man can question the proposition that Hindus are a nation. There will also be no difficulty to concede that the Hindus constitute the vast majority of the population. India is therefore pre-eminently a Hindu nation, Hindustan.⁹⁶

However, even for a sympathiser of Hindu nation like Aney, the extreme ideas demanding total subjugation and cleansing of minorities propounded by Golwalkar in the booklet were unpalatable. Aney, rightly realising that for Golwalkar the terms, 'minority' or 'foreign race' meant only Muslims, tried to distance himself from the totalitarian kind of solutions prescribed by Golwalkar.

I find that the author, in dealing with the problems of the Mohmeddans' [*sic*] place, has not always borne in mind the distinction between the Hindu nationality and Hindu sovereign state. Hindu nation as a sovereign state is entirely a different entity from the Hindu nation as a cultural nationality. No modern state has denied the resident minorities of different nationalities rights of citizenship of the state if they are once naturalised either automatically or under the operation of a statute.⁹⁷

He had to admit that no modern jurist or political philosopher or student of constitutional law could subscribe to the proposition which Golwalkar had laid down for 'solving' the minority problem in India.

Conversion of faith can't be a condition for naturalisation of any alien in this twentieth century. Allegiance to the state is and must be possible on naturalisation to an alien if he fulfils certain conditions regarding residence, association and similar other matters. But I have not been able to find anywhere conversion to state-religion, assuming there is anything like that in modern states in its true sense, prescribed as a condition precedent to naturalisation of an alien.⁹⁸

Aney, in his foreword, was also critical about the strong and impassioned language used by Golwalkar towards those who did not subscribe to his theory of nationalism. He wrote that

[The] strong and impassioned language used by the author towards those who do not subscribe to his theory of nationalism is also not in keeping with the dignity with which the scientific study of a complex problem like the Nationalism deserves to be produced.⁹⁹

Despite the above criticism put forward by Aney and more substantive criticism from different quarters,¹⁰⁰ the RSS did not budge from the philosophical frameworks of Hindu nationalism as propounded by Savarkar and Golwalkar. RSS continued publishing Savarkar's booklet both in English and Hindi till 1947.

RSS dilemma in the Post-Independence India

However, immediately after the Independence of India in 1947 (despite Partition of India on communal lines and subsequent blood-bath in northern and eastern parts of the country), RSS and its kind of politics was destined to receive great setbacks due to two significant developments. Firstly, the murder of Gandhi on January 30, 1948 by a Hindu fanatic, Nathu Ram Godse, who had old association both with the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS, and the subsequent banning of the organisation (February 4, 1948)¹⁰¹ immensely eroded public support which it enjoyed in the post-Partition communally heightened situation. Secondly, India, riding on the great legacy of all-inclusive Freedom Struggle, chose to become a secular Democratic Republic under the leadership of Congress. India chose this destiny despite Hindus being in absolute majority and organisations like the RSS demanding establishment of a Hindu state. In a Secular India, the RSS soon realised that it was merely a fringe organisation. The RSS was forced to re-model its theory of Hindu nationalism. It needed new masks to present in new emerging political realities.

In the post-Independence era, it was not possible for the pro-RSS elements to defend such shameless fascist attitudes towards the minorities. The book *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, which was

openly circulated by the RSS during the British rule and had gone into four editions of its English version, and also Hindi edition titled as *Hamari Rashtriyata* (Our Nationality),¹⁰² disappeared mysteriously from the RSS shelves. Stories started appearing disputing its authorship and simultaneously announcing that it had been withdrawn by the RSS. The RSS machinery started spreading different theories about the authorship according to its own conveniences. Surprisingly, even though this book glorified the German dictator Adolf Hitler and Italian dictator Mussolini at a time when the British were engaged in a struggle of life and death against them during the World War II, the British authorities took no action against it. The obvious reason for allowing the book to be freely circulated was that such literature greatly helped the imperialist policy of 'divide and rule'.

Controversy over the authorship of *We or Our Nationhood Defined*

How RSS tried to dissociate itself from the book makes interesting and startling reading. The kind of contradictory statements they made about this book, some of which we will scrutinize in the following pages, makes it clear that RSS is an 'organization that thrives on doublespeak'.¹⁰³ It may prove to be an understatement once we finish examining all the declarations of disassociation from the book offered by the RSS.

The former Prime Minister of India, Chandrashekhar, raised the issue of the fascist ideas contained in this book on March 28, 1998 while participating in the confidence motion debate in the Lok Sabha. He was perturbed by the fact that the BJP government was following the diktat of the RSS whose ideological guru had authored the above book. According to him this book contained fascist ideas and preached hatred for the minorities which was extremely detrimental for the secular-democratic polity of the country. The then Home Minister L. K. Advani intervened to say that the author of the book, Golwalkar, had distanced himself from the book and had declared to have no relation with it. Of course he was unable to present any corroborative document.¹⁰⁴

Subsequently, the mouthpiece of the RSS, *Organiser*, carried a story titled 'The Fascist Identified' by David Frawley. This story gave another interpretation to the issue of the authorship. It said,

Those who call the RSS fascist emphasise one book to prove it, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, by B. S. Savarkar, the elder brother of the great Indian revolutionary Veer Savarkar. The book in places expresses some sympathy with the Germany of the times, the nineteen thirties, which appeared to be making great strides as a nation. Golwalkar, who later became the leader of the RSS in 1940, translated the book in 1938. Leftists like to pretend the book was written by Golwalkar and expresses long-term Sangh policy, though it was only part of the general literature of the times that he was examining.¹⁰⁵

This claim was a mind-blowing lie and made it clear that the RSS was trying to use every method to hide the truth. Frawley's plea also showed that RSS and its supporters were least bothered about facts. It was not Frawley alone who was trying to confuse Golwalkar's *We or Our Nationhood Defined* with the book *Rashtra Meemansa: Arthat Hindustan ka Rashtriya Swaroop* penned by Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, also known as Baba Savarkar. Rakesh Sinha, another RSS theoretician parroted the same story in the following words:

In spite of his open and liberal perspective on the question of nationalism and secularism, he has been treated most unfavourably by Islamic scholars and secularist social scientists. Selective and out of context citation of his views is unparallel in Indian academic. They largely quoted a treatise *We or Our Nationhood Defined* which was published in 1939. A baffled and elusive domestic and international politics certainly influenced the contents of the book. Not much water has flown down the river of Ganges [*sic*] Guruji was introduced in the ideological mission of the RSS. The fact is that the book *We* [*We or Our Nationhood Defined*] neither represents the views of the grown Guruji nor of the RSS. He himself acceded this when he revealed that the book carried not his own views but was an 'abridged version of G. D. Savarkar's work *Rashtra Mimnsa* [*sic*].¹⁰⁶

The RSS, in order to hide the fascist ideas of Golwalkar, was

forced to resort to a pack of lies. It has been forced to breed lies everyday making it clear that it is trying to hide something evil. Its theoreticians believe that nobody has access to either *We or Our Nationhood Defined* or *Rashtra Meemansa: Arthat Hindustan ka Rashtriya Swaroop*.¹⁰⁷ We have already discussed facts about the first book and need to know few aspects of the second book.

Rashtra Meemansa was originally written in Marathi by Ganesh Damodar Savarkar (who was also known as Baba Savarkar), the elder brother of V. D. Savarkar. It is also worth mentioning that Baba Savarkar was a very close associate of Hedgewar. He had formed an organisation called Tarun Hindu Sabha, which was merged with the RSS in 1931. He penned this book in 1944. It consisted of 128 pages in which 20 pages were consumed by an introduction authored by the second of the RSS, M. S. Golwalkar. This introduction was titled as '*Hindu Rashtra Meemansa*' (Analysis of Hindu nation). So, the reality was that this book was a different book and the attempts by the RSS to confuse it with *We or Our Nationhood Defined* were aimed at diverting the issue which revolved round the totalitarian views of the RSS ideologue, Golwalkar.

Importantly, *Rashtra Meemansa* was as totalitarian in its outlook as *We or Our Nationhood Defined*. It was published in 1944 when the British rulers were indulging in worst kind of repression to suppress the rising tide of anti-colonial movements in the country. But this book was absolutely silent on imperialism and the misdeeds of the colonial masters. On the contrary, there seemed to be only one objective behind writing this book, and that was to reject any talk of a composite Indian nationalism. Golwalkar in his introduction of the book lamented the fact that there are people and organizations in the country who believe '[that] every human being found in this country, belonging to any race or interest group, is a national of this country.'¹⁰⁸

Golwalkar was quite forthright in condemning the Indian National Congress brand of nationalism which tried to unite all sections of Indians to 'oppose the Britishers'. He described the concept of composite nationalism as an 'imagination based on confusion' and went to the extent of calling it 'foolish' and 'sui-

cidal'.¹⁰⁹ He insisted that 'this motherland—this ancient country Hindusthan—is a Hindu nation only'.¹¹⁰ Golwalkar also declared in his introduction that it was 'natural and divine' that only Hindus should have the right to be Indian nationals.¹¹¹ He concluded by saying that Muslims were disloyal to the country and 'to include such a race in the national race is impossible. Such people must be treated as aliens—those who are outsiders'.¹¹²

That these were two different books can be known by going through the Preface authored by Golwalkar in *We or Our Nationhood Defined* which read:

In compiling this work, I have received help from numerous quarters, too many to mention. I thank them all heartily; but I cannot help separately naming one and expressing my gratefulness to him—*Deshbhakta* G. D. Savarkar. His work *Rashtra Meemansa* in Marathi has been one of my chief sources of inspiration and help.¹¹³

The fact that *We or Our Nationhood Defined* was authored by Golwalkar was made clear by the title page of the original edition itself as we will see in the scanned text of the book. It contained following details about the author: 'M.S. Golwalkar, M. Sc., LL. B. (Sometime Professor Benaras Hindu University).' Moreover, in the Preface of the book too, Golwalkar acknowledged his authorship in the following words: 'It is a matter of personal gratification to me that this maiden attempt of mine—an author unknown in this line—has been graced by a foreword by Loknayak M. S. Aney.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Golwalkar made it clear in the Preface that this book was published by a publication house close to the RSS. 'But the Bharat Prakashan which has set out to publish treatises inculcating and feeding the truly national point of view, came to my help and undertook to bring it out as its first publication.'¹¹⁵

Another aspect which should not be overlooked is that if the author had not been Golwalkar, it was unlikely that a senior Congress leader and a member of the Central Legislature who was closely acquainted with both Golwalkar and RSS would have written the foreword of the book or that an RSS publication

house would have published it. Today, denying that Golwalkar was the author would imply that he was simply a translator and dishonestly got his name printed as author. If Sinha and Keer are right then simply it will mean that Golwalkar indulged in sheer intellectual dishonesty and stole the writing of Baba Savarkar and got it published in his own name and he kept this fact hidden for more than 24 years.

Such denials were for the consumption of the liberals and the democrats. Such explanations would help the RSS to show a humane face the world over, where Hitler was regarded as the anti-thesis of all that was good in civilisation and was held responsible for the annihilation of Jews and millions of toiling people in Germany and elsewhere. Moreover, there was no denying the fact that whoever was the real author of *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, the views contained in it represented the ideology of the RSS leadership.

Interestingly, despite all these public denials, two topmost officials of the RSS, Bhausahab Deoras (brother of a former chief of the RSS) and Rajender Singh (who became a later), in an affidavit submitted before the Charity Commissioner, Nagpur, admitted that with a view to give a scientific base to propagate the idea—India being historically from time immemorial a Hindu nation—M. S. Golwalkar did write the book titled *We or Our Nationhood Defined* which was an important theoretical text for it to be eagerly followed.¹¹⁶

The fact that this book was indeed written by Golwalkar was also vouched by two American authors also who happened to be high officials of the CIA and very sympathetic and close to the RSS. Jean A. Curran, Jr. (Head of the CIA in Asia and Africa) wrote a monograph titled *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study of the RSS* in 1951 and Craig Baxter (CIA official who worked as a Political Attaché in the US embassy in Delhi) penned *The Jana Sangh: A Biography of an Indian Political Party* in 1969. Both of them authored their works in close association with the RSS leadership and did underline the fact that Golwalkar's *We or Our Nationhood Defined* was a Bible for the RSS cadres.¹¹⁷

Curran, while emphasizing that philosophy of *We or Our*

Nationhood Defined formed the foundation for contemporary RSS plans and activities, wrote in 1951:

The genuine ideology of the Sangh is based upon principles formulated by its founder, Dr. Hedgewar. These principles have been consolidated and amplified by the present leader [Golwalkar] in a small book called *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, written in 1939. *We* can be described as the RSS 'Bible'. It is the basic primer in the indoctrination of Sangh volunteers. Although this book was written twelve years ago, in a national context different from the contemporary one, the principles contained in it are still considered entirely applicable by the Sangh membership.¹¹⁸

Curran's above conclusion was not based on hearsay but was the outcome of his close interaction with the RSS top brass. While acknowledging the 'valuable cooperation' of the Sangh including Golwalkar, he wrote in the preface of the book:

The gratitude the author owes to RSS members for their assistance in his [*sic*] research cannot be exaggerated. In every echelon of this organization, from Mr. Golwalkar, its leader, down to the newest, the story was generally the same. Opportunities were constantly provided to ask numerous questions about plans and activities, as well as to observe Sangh's operation. The bulk of this study is based on a year and a half of frequent association with the RSS.... All facts obtained from RSS circles have been checked closely with information from non-Sangh sources information given by the RSS, or by other individuals and groups, that seemed of dubious validity—material that could not be substantiated—has been omitted from this study.¹¹⁹

Baxter too wrote *The Jan Sangh: A Biography of an Indian Political Party* in close association with the RSS. His preface of the book said:

In writing this autobiography of the Jan Sangh I have been aided by many in India and in the United States. I have received assistance and cooperation from a large number of Jan Sanghis... It is impossible to mention everyone, but three of the Jan Sangh have spent much time to aid me. Lalchand K.

Advani, now the chairman of the Delhi Metropolitan Council, arranged for the use of back files of *Organiser* at my home, a necessity when my duties at the Embassy [US] permitted me only weekends and occasional evenings for research. Balraj Madhok, one of the principal members of the party and now a Member of Parliament, gave many hours, loaned books and related some of the lore of the party. Jagdish Mathur, office secretary, made available documents and files of the central office and tirelessly answered questions. After the dissertation version was completed, Messers Advani, and Mathur and Dindayal Upadhyaya [*sic*], then general secretary and president until his death on February 11, 1968, looked over the text and made several valuable suggestions. Keval R. Malkani, editor of *Organiser*, allowed the use of files for some updating.¹²⁰

Baxter's book had a long chapter titled 'The Ideological and Organizational Ancestor: The RSS'. It dealt with the elaborate linkages, which existed between the RSS and the Jan Sangh. Surely, relying on the documents provided by the RSS and Jan Sangh leaders, while highlighting the fact that Golwalkar authored *We or Our Nationhood Defined* he wrote:

'The non-Hindu peoples 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 glorification of the Hindu race and culture, *i.e.*, they must not only give up their attitudes of intolerance and ungratefulness towards this land and its age-long traditions but must also cultivate the positive attitude of love and devotion instead—in a word they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in this country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privilege, far less any preferential treatment—not even citizen's rights.' These are the words of Madhavrao Sadashiv Golwalkar, who since June 21, 1940, has been the *sarsanghachalaka*, supreme leader, of the RSS. The words were first written in 1939, when Golwalkar was a lieutenant of Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, founder and first *sarsanghachalaka* of the RSS. ...In short, the non-Hindus must become 'near-Hindus' or be non-citizens of a Hindu *Rashtra*. As will be seen, the words of 'Guruji' Golwalkar are law in the RSS, and there is no indication that Golwalkar's views of the place of non-Hindus in Bharat have been changed. Speaking of Muslims,

Christians, Jews and Parsis, in a speech in Bangalore in 1960, Golwalkar referred to the minorities communities as 'guests, but they are not the children of this soil.'¹²¹

Interestingly, Baxter quoted Golwalkar from the 4th edition (which appeared in 1947) of *We or Our Nationhood Defined* published by the same Bharat Publication which had published the original edition in 1939. It goes to prove beyond doubt that this book was in circulation as late as 1947 under the aegis of the RSS.

Another dimension was added to this on-going intellectual fraud on May 6, 2002, when the then Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee, was asked why in almost every office of the Bharatiya Janata Party, and in several ministerial offices at the Centre (including Parliament House), Golwalkar's portraits hang alongside those of Gandhi and Ambedkar despite his having penned a book which openly denigrated minorities and Indian nationalism. Vajpayee declared 'those views were his own (*web unke apne vichar the*)' and added that 'we have nothing to do with that book (*us pustak se hamen kuch lena-dena nahin hai*)' and that his party 'had never given its stamp of approval (*sangathan ne kabhi un vicharon par mohur nahin lagayi*)' to those views. But he did not divulge when and where had the BJP (or the Jan Sangh) distanced itself formally from the views of Golwalkar.¹²²

Madhu Limaye, a renowned socialist thinker was a prominent leader of the Freedom Movement who not only challenged the British rule but also the RSS which was bent upon destroying the united fight against the colonial masters. Despite physical and ideological attacks mounted by the Hindutva camp, he did not surrender to communal politics. As a Socialist thinker he kept track of the activities of the RSS. While describing the role of *We or Our Nationhood Defined* in the day-to-day functioning of the RSS, he wrote:

The importance of this book [for RSS] is underlined by this fact that [prior to Independence] at least four of its editions were published. The fourth edition came out in 1947. The critical Foreword by Mr. Aney was not liked by the RSS. It expressed its displeasure towards M. S. Aney by silently removing Foreword [from the book]. The fourth edition does not have this Foreword.... This book was 'silently taken back' by

the RSS not because Golwalkar had changed his beliefs or RSS decided to oppose these. On January 30, 1948 Gandhiji was murdered and immediately after that a ban was imposed on the RSS.¹²³

Limaye goes on to tell that RSS soon realized that its campaign for removal of ban was not getting support due to the fact that this book contained statements of glorification of Nazism. This glorification was proving very harmful so no new editions of the book were published and the book was removed from public glare. However, 'The RSS has neither disowned authoritatively the ideas of Golwalkar nor it is going to do in future.'

Post-Independence India: Golwalkar continued glorifying Theocracy, Casteism and Totalitarianism

Whatever may have been the shifting stands of the RSS over the issue of the authorship of *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, its attitude towards minorities, especially Muslims and Christians, remained inimical demanding their total submission to Hindu nation. There was no change in its love for Casteism and lust for power. It continued to despise democratic-secular India and any egalitarian outlook. In these respects Golwalkar remained a true guide and philosopher of the RSS. This is clearly visible in 'the bible' for the RSS cadres, *The Bunch of Thoughts*, which is a collection of the writings, speeches and activities of M.S. Golwalkar and was published after Independence.¹²⁴

Golwalkar's writings and the direction which RSS took under his leadership clearly established the fact that it was not the Muslim League alone that believed in the two-nations theory. Long before the Independence of the country, the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha were two other prominent organizations which claimed that India was inhabited by two nations, Hindus and Muslims. On the eve of the Partition of India, RSS, under the direct and sole leadership of Golwalkar, undertook intensive and aggressive communal campaigns to declare India as Hindu *Rashtra*, or nation, as a natural outcome of the Partition of India. This was quite visible when the RSS launched its English mouth-

piece, *Organiser* on the eve of the Independence of India from Delhi. The perusal of its first few issues leaves no confusion about the intentions of RSS. The maiden issue, dated July 3, 1947 carried a banner headline which read 'Glorious Hindu Rashtra'. Evidently borrowing from the Muslim League's defense of the two-nations theory, the editorial condemned those who believed that,

Muslims were equal partners in this land of the Hindus, Hindusthan, and propagated the theory that Hindus and Muslims combined could only make a nation.

The third issue of *Organiser* (July 17), in an editorial titled 'National Flag,' demanded the saffron flag to be the flag of the independent India. The editorial titled 'Hindusthan' (July 31) demanded that India be named after Hindus. Importantly, its issue on the very eve of Independence, August 14, in its editorial titled 'Whither' rejected the whole concept of a composite nation. It argued:

Let us no longer allow ourselves to be influenced by false notions of nationhood. Much of the mental confusion and the present and future troubles can be removed by the ready recognition of the simple fact that in Hindusthan only the Hindus form the nation and the national structure must be built on that safe and sound foundation...the nation itself must be built up of Hindus, on Hindu traditions, culture, ideas and aspirations.

The same issue carried a long piece 'Mystery behind the *Bhagwa Dhawaj*' which, while demanding hoisting of saffron flag at the ramparts of Red Fort in Delhi, openly denigrated the choice of the Tri-colour as the National Flag. It was ruthless in declaring that,

The people who have come to power by the kick of fate may give in our hands the tricolour but it never [*sic*] be respected and owned by Hindus. The word three is in itself an evil, and a flag having three colours will certainly produce a very bad psychological effect and is injurious to a country.

Golwalkar, while addressing a Gurupurnima gathering in

Nagpur on July 14, 1946, stated that it was the saffron flag, which in totality represented their great culture. It was the embodiment of God: 'We firmly believe that in the end the whole nation will bow before this saffron flag.'¹²⁵ Even after Independence, when the Tri-colour became the National Flag, the RSS refused to accept it as the National Flag insisting that only saffron flag could occupy this place. Golwalkar, while discussing the issue of the national flag in an essay entitled 'Drifting and Drifting' in the book *Bunch of Thoughts*, an RSS publication, has the following to say:

Our leaders have set up a new flag for our country. Why did they do so? It just is a case of drifting and imitating. Ours is an ancient and great nation with 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 utter void, this utter vacuum in our minds?¹²⁶

When the Constituent Assembly of India declared (November 1947) that Independent India's polity would be based on adult franchise and would ensure Fundamental Rights to the people, Golwalkar was quick to decry these moves. In a speech in Delhi, he made fun of democracy and described these declarations by the Constituent Assembly 'as nothing more than granting rights to cats and dogs.'¹²⁷

In fact, Golwalkar rejected the democratic-secular Constitution of India as a whole when he declared:

Our Constitution too is just a cumbersome and heterogeneous piecing together of various articles from various Constitutions of the Western countries. It has absolutely nothing which can be called our own. Is there a single word of reference in its guiding principles as to what our national mission is and what our keynote in life is? No!¹²⁸

Golwalkar was never able to hide his anger against the present Constitution of India which also provided for a federal structure. In a public address in Kanpur in 1949, he said:

While framing constitution our 'self' and Hinduness were forgotten. Due to the absence of this unifying spirit, a constitution has been made which will bring about disintegration...we will

have to accept a unitary form of government of one country, one nation and one state...with one legislature and one cabinet for the whole country.¹²⁹

Throughout his life, Golwalkar remained allergic to the concept of a federal India. While addressing a press conference in Bangalore in 1973, he demanded:

Declare a unitary type of government by suitably amending the Constitution. The country may be arranged into various zones from the point of view of administrative convenience. The zones may be a few or many, that does not matter.¹³⁰

In a communication to the first session of the National Integration Council in 1961, Golwalkar declared,

Today's federal, form of government not only gives birth but also nourishes the feelings of separatism, in a way refuses to recognize the fact of one nation and destroys it. It must be completely uprooted, Constitution purified and unitary form of government be established.¹³¹

It was because of this hatred for federalism that the RSS, with all its might, opposed the formation of the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. Golwalkar who always pretended to be a non-political person often presided over anti-Maharashtra and Gujarat formation conferences. While presiding over one such conference at Bombay in 1954, he demanded, 'India should have Central Rule and from the administrative point of view states should be administered territories.'¹³²

These have not been some stray ideas of the RSS ideologue, Golwalkar, on Indian Federalism. The bible of the RSS, *Bunch of Thoughts*, has an exclusive chapter titled, 'Wanted a Unitary State'. While presenting his formula to demolish the federal set-up of India, Golwalkar wrote:

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 scope for playing 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.¹³³

Golwalkar always demanded unwavering loyalty to the Indian Nation from the minorities. It is another thing that he and the RSS did not feel it proper to be loyal to the constitutional set up of this very Nation. The study of *Prarthana* (prayer) and *Pratigya* (oath) as practiced in the *shakhas* (branches) of the RSS will make it clear how Indian nationalism was equated with Hinduism, in the same way as the Muslim League had combined Islam with nationality. Significantly, both the *Prarthana* and *Pratigya* are in direct contravention to the existence of an Indian Secular State where secularism is held as an important 'Basic' feature of the Constitution. It is very important to note here that other groups which decried and opposed the Indian Constitutional set-up always faced the might of the Indian state in the form of bullets or jails. On the contrary, here was RSS led by Golwalkar, which openly rejected the constitutional system of the country, yet it was allowed to have a free run of the country.

Gravity of the situation can be gauged from the fact that the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Home Minister, L.K. Advani of our country during 1998-2004, who took the oath to uphold the integrity of a democratic-secular India, were also committed to the task of creating a Hindu *Rashtra* as per the texts of the *Prarthana* (Prayer) and *Pratigya* (Oath), to which both were committed as the RSS cadres. The texts mainly prepared by Golwalkar were as follows:

Prarthana: Affectionate Motherland, I eternally bow to you/O
Land of Hindus, you have reared me in comfort/O Sacred

Land, the Great Creator of Good, may this body of mine be dedicated to you/I again and again bow before You/O God almighty, we the integral part of the Hindu *Rashtra* salute you in reverence/For Your cause have we girded up our lions/Give us Your Blessings for its accomplishment.¹³⁴

Pratigya: Before the all powerful God and my ancestors, I most solemnly take this oath, that I become a member of the RSS in order to achieve all round greatness of Bharatvarsha by fostering the growth of my sacred Hindu religion, Hindu society, and Hindu culture. I shall perform the work of the Sangh honestly, disinterestedly, with my heart and soul, and I shall adhere to this goal all my life. Bharat Mata Ki Jai.¹³⁵

Thus the RSS cadres under Golwalkar or any other were never faithful to the democratic-secular Indian Nation. Instead, they were ever-committed to subvert it into a theocratic Hindu state.

Golwalkar's Political Designs

The RSS describes Golwalkar as a spiritual figure who spent his life in the cultural regeneration of India. He is claimed to have no political ambitions. We also often hear that the RSS is a cultural-social organization and has nothing to do with politics. It is fond of claiming that,

The RSS is not a political party. It does not take part in elections nor its office bearers are supposed to become office bearers of any political party. The RSS has no election symbol nor its leadership or members have ever endeavoured to seek political office. It is a social-cultural organization trying to inspire all national activity.¹³⁶

We must compare these claims with the following two statements of Golwalkar, who headed the RSS after the death of Hedgewar, and is considered the greatest ideologue of the organization till date. The first statement tells us about the kind of personnel who are sent to manipulate politics and what is expected of them by the RSS. While delivering a speech on March 16, 1954, in Sindi, Wardha, he said,

If we say that we are part of the organization and accept its dis-

cipline then selectiveness [*chunna*] has no place in life. Do what is told. If told to play kabaddi, play kabaddi, told to hold meeting then meeting... For instance some of our friends were asked to go and work in politics that does not mean that they have great interest or inspiration for it. They don't die for politics like fish without water. If they are told to withdraw from politics then also there is no objection. Their discretion [*ivivek*] is just not required.¹³⁷

The second statement is also very significant which was delivered while Golwalkar was addressing the top level cadres of the RSS at Indore on March 5, 1960:

We know this also that some of our Swayamsevaks work in politics. There they have to organize according to the needs of work public meetings, processions etc., have to raise slogans. All these things have no place in our work. However, like the character in a play [*natak ke patr ke saman*] whatever role [*bhoomika*] has been assigned should be portrayed with best of capability. But sometimes Swayamsevaks go beyond the role assigned to a performer (*nat*) as they develop attachment for it in their hearts, to the extent that they become useless for this work. This is not good.¹³⁸

We find here Golwalkar referring to the *Swayamsevaks* loaned to the political offshoots of the RSS as '*nat*' or performers who are meant to dance to the tunes of the RSS. This fact should not be missed here that Golwalkar's above design of controlling the political arm was elaborated in March 1960 almost nine years after the establishment of Jansangh (the forerunner of the BJP) in 1951. This method of manipulating politics popularized by Golwalkar was responsible for creating constant friction and infighting in the political organizations created under the aegis of the RSS. Moreover, it paved the way for entry of undesirable elements in its ranks of political leadership. Balraj Madhok, a senior *Swayamsevak*, who has been a direct witness to this de-generation, has written extensively on this aspect.

Balraj Madhok needs no introduction in Indian politics, especially of the *Hindutva* variety. He has been closely associated with the RSS, most of the times functioning as its prominent *pracharak*

[it literally means preacher but in the RSS terminology it means full-time organiser] since 1942. As RSS *parcharak* he was the in-charge of Jammu & Kashmir State in pre-partition days, the responsibility he continued to hold till 1948. In Delhi, he edited English organ of the RSS, *Organiser*, founded student organization of the RSS, ABVP, in 1948 and teamed up with Shyama Prasad Mukherji in establishing political wing of the RSS, Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS) in 1951. He held the crucial posts of All India Secretary of the BJS (1951-1965), President-ship of Delhi BJS (1954-1963) and all this culminated in taking over as President of All India BJS (1965-1967). It was during his stewardship of All India BJS that the party made significant gains in the general elections of 1968 by reducing Congress to minority in many states. He was elected to the Lower House of the Indian Parliament, Lok Sabha, twice (1961 & 1967) from Delhi. Balraj is also known for his controversial theory of 'Indianization' propounded in 1969.

Madhok has published his autobiography in three parts; *Zindagi Ka Safar-1* and *Zindagi Ka Safar-2*. The first two volumes of his journey of life appeared in 1994. It was in 2003 that third volume in this series, *Zindagi Ka Safar-3: Deendayal Upadhyay Ki Hatya Se Indira Gandhi Ki Hatya Tak* (Journey of Life-3: From the Murder of Deendayal Upadhyay to the Murder of Indira Gandhi) was released. Madhok, in these autobiographical writings, presents facts which show that Golwalkar patronized leaders like Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Balasaheb Deoras and Nana Deshmukh who were responsible for the murder of Deendayal Upadhyaya [his dead body was found at Mughalsarai Railway Station], a prominent ideologue and thinker of the RSS in 1968.

While dealing with the shocking murder of Upadhyay on February 1, 1968, Madhok wrote:

One thing is clear. Behind the murder of Deendayal Upadhyay it was neither the hand of Communists nor of any thief... He was got killed by a hired assassin. But conspirators who sponsored this killing were those self-seekers and leaders with criminal bent of mind of Sangh—Jan Sangh.¹³⁹

The autobiography goes on to describe the details of a concert-

ed attempt by the killers [who belonged to the RSS] to keep facts under wrap,

Those jealous and self-seekers people on whom finger of doubt about conspiring in the murder of Deendayal Upadhyay is pointed, though are getting benefit of his name, but do not want truth of his murder to come out. However, as a student of history I believe that the blood of Deendayal Upadhyay will rise up, history will do justice to him and those who conspired to kill him will be subjected to curse.¹⁴⁰

This autobiography written by a Sawyamsevak is absolutely non-hesitant in pointing fingers towards Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Nana Deshmukh as main conspirators in the murder of Deendayal Upadhyay, the President of BJS. "Information gathered from different sources led the finger of doubt about the murder of Deendayal Upadhyay towards them."¹⁴¹

According to the autobiography, Deendayal Upadhyay was got killed by those who were kept out from the leading positions of the BJS by Deendayal Upadhyay as President. It is to be noted here that Deendayal Upadhyay, after taking over President-ship of BJS from Balraj Madhok in December 1967, had kept out both Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Nana Deshmukh from important posts. According to Madhok's description, Upadhyay was murdered because,

he was constantly trying that ill-reputed people should get no career advancement in BJS, so that reputation of the organization is not tarnished. For this reason some characterless self-seeker people were finding him a stumbling block in their path of self-seeking fulfillment.¹⁴²

Madhok minces no words in disclosing the names of these 'characterless self-seekers'. According to the autobiography, even Madhok was familiar with them as the President of BJS.

Some time back when I was the President of Jana Sangh, Jagadish Prasad Mathur, in-charge of the Central Office, who was staying with Atal Bihari at 30, Rajendra Prasad Road, had complained to me that Atal had turned that house into a den of immoral activities. There everyday new girls were coming. Now

water was flowing above heads. So as a senior leader of Jana Sangh I have dared to bring to your notice this fact. I had some information about character of Atal, but situation had deteriorated that much, I did not know. I called Atal to my residence and in a closed room inquired from him about matters raised by Jagadish Prasad Mathur. The explanation he offered further proved the facts conveyed by Jagadish Prasad Mathur. Then I suggested to him that he should get married, otherwise, he was bound to get bad name, reputation of Jan Sangh was also bound to suffer.¹⁴³

As a senior leader of the Hindutva brand of politics, Madhok was astonished to find that dominant RSS leadership was bent upon making Atal Bihari Vajpayee President of the BJS in the post-Upadhyay period. This was happening despite the fact that Balraj did bring all these facts to the notice of the then of RSS, M. S. Golwalkar. According to the account given in the autobiography, the meeting took place in Delhi in early 1970. Madhok writes,

After listening to my talk he kept quiet for some time and then said —‘I am in know of the weaknesses of the character of these people. But I have to run an organization. I have to take everybody together, so like Shiva I drink poison everyday.’¹⁴⁴

Madhok even alleged that the person who was chosen by Golwalkar to succeed him as *Sarsanghchalak* of the RSS, Balasaheb Deoras, was also involved in the conspiracy of murdering Upadhyay. According to him,

after becoming the president of BJS the stature of Shri Deendayal Upadhyay grew further. Then the possibility that he might become the next of RSS used to be expressed. This possibility was unacceptable to some of the self-seeking Sangh people specially Balasaheb Deoras. They started feeling that due to Deendayal their chances of further advancement might be jeopardized. Possibly, this is the reason that after the murder of Deendayal, he not only took direct interest in making Atal Bihari Vajpayee President of Jana Sangh but also helped in covering up the murder of Deendayal. He wanted me to stop talking about it as a murder and describe it as an accident like him.

But I was not ready to hide fact seen with my own eyes and verified.¹⁴⁵

Madhok's autobiography also discloses how 'Iron Man' of *Hindustva*, L. K. Advani was promoted in the hierarchy of leadership.

The position of Lal Krishan Advani was like a puppet. He was not capable for the post (presidentship of BJS) which was given to him after discarding many senior workers. I knew through my personal experience that he is a boneless wonder. He has neither personal integrity nor opinion. But he is lucky. The office which he had got due to the offerings (*prasad*) of Vajpayee and officials of Sangh, keeping aside its honour, he acted as a bonded labourer, for any work assigned to him.¹⁴⁶

Eternal Belief in Casteism

Even after Independence, Golwalkar and RSS remained deeply concerned about the utility of Casteism in the Hindu society. RSS under Golwalkar's leadership constantly demanded promulgation of *Manusmriti* as the law of Hindusthan, replacing the Constitution of India which aimed at establishing a secular and democratic polity. When the Constituent Assembly of India had finalised the Constitution of India, RSS was not happy. Its English organ complained:

But in our Constitution, there is no mention of the unique constitutional development in ancient Bharat. Manu's Laws were written long before Lycurgus of Sparta or Solon of Persia. To this day, his 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.¹⁴⁷

The RSS continued vigorously its campaign for the enforcement of Manu's Codes in India which denigrated not only lower castes but also women. On the eve of India being declared a sovereign-Democratic-Secular-Republic on January 26, 1950, the *Organiser* published a special feature by Sankar Subba Aiyar, a retired High

Court Judge, in which loyalty towards Manu's Codes was reaffirmed:

Even though Dr Ambedkar is reported to have recently stated in Bombay that the days of Manu have ended it is nevertheless a fact that the daily lives of Hindus are even at the present day affected by the principles and injunctions contained in the Manusmriti and other Smritis. Even an unorthodox Hindu feels himself bound at least in some matters by the rules contained in the Smritis and he feels powerless to give up altogether his adherence to them.¹⁴⁸

It is to be noted here that Ambedkar participated in a function where a copy of the *Manusmriti* was burnt during the Mahad Agitation in 1928. In fact, Golwalkar's mentor, V. D. Savarkar also had great regard for Manu's Codes and wanted their enforcement in the Hindu nation. Philosopher and guide of Hindutva, Savarkar, while praising *Manusmriti*, wrote:

Manusmriti is that scripture which is most worship-able after Vedas for our Hindu nation and which from ancient times has become the basis of our culture-customs, thought and practice. This book for centuries has codified the spiritual and divine march of our nation. Even today the rules which are followed by crores of Hindus in their lives and practice are based on *Manusmriti*. Today *Manusmriti* is Hindu Law. That is fundamental.¹⁴⁹

What kind of society Manu ordered to be built upon can very well be understood by having a glimpse of the laws prescribed by Manu for the Sudras. Some of these de-humanising laws distinguishing Sudras (once-born) from Brahminas (twice-born) and other high castes, which are presented here, are self-explanatory.¹⁵⁰

- (1) For the sake of the prosperity of the worlds [the divine one] caused the Brahmina, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thighs and his feet (I/31).
- (2) One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Sudras, to

- serve meekly even these [other] three castes (I/91).
- (3) Let the first part of Brahmin's name [denote something] auspicious, a Kashatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaisya's with wealth, but a Sudra's [express something] contemptible (II/31).
 - (4) The kingdom of that monarch, who looks on while a Sudra settles the law, will sink [low], like a cow in a morass (VIII/21).
 - (5) That kingdom where Sudras are very numerous, which is infested by atheists and destitutes of twice-born [inhabitants], soon entirely perishes, afflicted by famine and disease (VIII/22).
 - (6) Once-born man [a Sudra], who insults a twice-born man with gross invective, shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin (VIII/270).
 - (7) If he [a Sudra] mentions the names and castes [*jati*] of the [twice-born] with contumely, an iron nail, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth (VIII/271).
 - (8) If he arrogantly teaches Brahminas their duty, the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears (VIII/272).
 - (9) With whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to [a man of the three] highest [castes]; even that limb shall be cut off; that is the teaching of Manu (VIII/279).
 - (10) He who raises his hand or a stick, shall have his hand cut off; he who in anger kicks with his foot, shall have his foot cut off (VIII/280).
 - (11) A low-caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or [the king] shall cause his buttock to be gashed (VIII/281).
 - (12) If out of arrogance he spits [on a superior], the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off; if he urinates [on him], the penis; if he breaks wind [against him], the anus (VIII/282).
 - (13) If he lays hold of the hair [of a superior], let the [king] unhesitatingly cut off his hands, likewise [if he takes him] by the feet, the beard, the neck, or the scrotum (VIII/283).

- (14) A man who is not a Brahmina ought to suffer death for adultery [samgrahana]; for the wives of all the four castes even must always be carefully guarded (VIII/359).
- (15) A [man of] low [caste] who makes love to a maiden [of] the highest [caste] shall suffer corporal punishment; he who addresses a maiden [on] equal [caste] shall pay the nuptial fee, if her father desires it (VIII/366).
- (16) A Sudra who has intercourse with a woman of a twice-born caste [*varna*], guarded or unguarded, [shall be punished in the following manner]: if she was unguarded, he loses the part [offending] and all his property; if she was guarded, everything [even his life] (VIII/374).
- (17) Tonsure [of the head] is ordained for a Brahmina [instead of] capital punishment; but [men of] other castes shall suffer capital punishment (VIII/379).
- (18) Let him never slay a Brahmina, though he has committed all [possible] crimes; let him banish such an [offender], leaving all his property [to him] and [his body] unhurt (VIII/380).
- (19) A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude; since that is innate in him, who can set him free from it? (VIII/414).

Golwalkar and RSS under his leadership never missed an opportunity to declare that they intended to uphold *Manusmriti's* injunctions. When asked once: 'Are the followers of RSS strict vegetarians?' Golwalkar replied: 'No. Our *Sbastras* have not made any rule. Only the higher thing is recommended, that is all. Manu says: *no maamsa bhakshana doshona madye na cha maithune/Pravrittireshaam bhutaanaam nivrittistu gareeyasi* (It is no vice if one takes to non-vegetarian food, wine and sex. They are all natural for a human being. But he should aspire to rise about them.)¹⁵¹

Golwalkar never diluted his faith in the utility of Casteism throughout his life. He refused to decry it. The maximum he would say that 'we are neither for nor against caste' but also quickly add that 'all we know is that it served a great purpose in critical times...'¹⁵² When he was asked 'what is your attitude

towards Untouchability?' he responded by saying 'we have no attitude for it...' This 'no' attitude in reality meant his complete belief in the Casteism as we will find in many of his writings. Whenever, he was asked whether he intended to 'positively work for the abolishment of the *Varna Vyavastha*'. He would not commit but would say cleverly: 'We positively work for building up a homogenous unified Hindu people.'¹⁵³ And for him, Hindu people were those in whom Almighty appears himself and where '*Brahmin is the head, King the hands, Vaishya the thighs and Shudra the feet*. This means that the people who have this fourfold arrangement, *i.e.*, the Hindu People, is our God.' [*Italics as in the original*]¹⁵⁴

When the Founding Fathers of the Constitution of Independent India made provisions for reservations to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, Golwalkar strongly reacted by alleging that the rulers were digging at the roots of Hindu social cohesion and destroying the spirit of identity that kept all the various sects into a harmonious whole in the past.¹⁵⁵

He refused to admit that Hindu social system was at the root of neglecting the lower castes.¹⁵⁶ On the contrary, he held Constitutional safeguards for scheduled castes responsible for creating disharmony. When he was asked: 'What about the protection to Harijans guaranteed in the Constitution and its subsequent extension?' His reply was: 'Dr. Ambedkar had envisaged the special privileges for only 10 years from the day we became a Republic in 1950. But now we are in 1973. It is going on, being extended. We are opposed to continued special privileges on the basis of caste only, as it would create vested interests in them in remaining as a separate entity. That would harm their integration with the rest of the society.'¹⁵⁷ For Golwalkar, the real issue was not how to undo the injustice done to the Dalits in the past but 'take extra care to see that their separateness is not given a fillip.'¹⁵⁸

Golwalkar never accepted the fact that lower castes were being maltreated in India. While reacting to the news of Dalit persecution he wrote (October 14, 1972):

There is a trend these days to give Harijan-non Harijan confrontation colour to even ordinary happenings, probably out of

political motivation—and digging a rift in the oneness and solidarity of the people. For immediate benefits—even these doubtful—to sacrifice the lasting good of the people as a whole that is the unfortunate aspect of the trends obtaining now a days. In our work, we have to steer clear of this poisonous trend and do our best to clarify the atmosphere.¹⁵⁹

Golwalkar argued that it was not Casteism which was creating social tensions but anti-caste tirade was the venom that had poisoned the body politic. In fact, the RSS top brass had never been able to hide the fact that they wanted to recreate the 'golden' past where Casteism would prevail. *Organiser*, while engaged in a debate with the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, over the issue of relevance of the past, commented that Nehru was wrong in assuming that the RSS wanted to take the nation back to 200 years. In fact, 'we want actually to take the nation even further back, a thousand years back.'¹⁶⁰

How deeply the followers of Golwalkar imbibed his love for Casteism was visible in the Introduction of *Bunch of Thoughts*, penned by M.A. Venkata Rao, a close associate of Golwalkar. Since, despite Golwalkar's love for Casteism, it had become a dirty word, so now in the Introduction of the book castes prescribed by Manu were named as 'vocational groups' and practicing Casteism was declared to be *swadharma*—one's own religion. The same terminology was used by Deendayal Upadhyaya also who was groomed as a leader of the RSS under the direct guidance of Golwalkar. Now Casteism was not to be taken as something imposed but had to be followed as one's own faith. According to Rao,

The social order has another aspect, namely the duties and rights of different vocational groups—viz., *swadharma*s. In addition to universal values like truth-speaking, non-stealing, non-injury, etc., Indian ethics recognises particular vocations—thinkers and men of worship i.e., free devotees of Truth and God or Nature or Reality; warriors and administrators, executives, etc.; traders and manufacturers and transporters, agriculturists and cattle tenders and breeders, etc. These classes emerge in the course of social differentiation in any progressive society. If their duties are laid down and social

expectations are crystallized in society so that everyone will know what is expected of him—his rights as well as duties—a harmonious social order will result spontaneously. The present society will throw all careers open to talent on the basis of *swadharma* or duty springing from one's vocation and *karma* and *guna*, character and conduct.¹⁶¹

Muslims and Christians as 'Internal Threats'

The Bunch of Thoughts has a long chapter titled 'Internal Threats' in which the Muslims and Christians were described as 'threats' number one and two, respectively by Golwalkar. This he dares to do in a polity where all citizens irrespective of caste and creed have been accorded equality. The Communists get the honour of being enemy number 3. This chapter opens with the following statement:

It has been the tragic lesson of the history of many a country in the world that the hostile elements within the country pose a far greater menace to national security than aggressors from outside.¹⁶²

While treating the Muslims as hostile element number one he said:

Even to this day, there are so many who say, 'Now there is no Muslim problem at all. All those riotous elements that supported Pakistan have gone away once and for all. The remaining Muslims are devoted to our country. After all, they have no other place to go and they are bound to remain loyal. It would be suicidal to delude ourselves into believing that they have turned patriots overnight after the creation of Pakistan. On the contrary, the Muslim menace has increased a hundredfold by the creation of Pakistan, which has become a springboard for all their future aggressive designs on our country.'¹⁶³

Elaborating further on the Muslim enemy, Golwalkar arrived at the following conclusion:

Within the country, there are so many Muslim pockets, i.e., so many 'miniature Pakistans', where the general law of the land can be enforced only with certain modifications, and the whims of the miscreants have to be given the final say. This accept-

ance, indirect though it may be, implies a very dangerous theory fraught with possibilities of the destruction of our national life altogether. Such 'pockets' have verily become the centres of a widespread network of pro-Pakistani elements in this land... The conclusion is that, in practically every place, there are Muslims who are in constant touch with Pakistan over the transmitter...¹⁶⁴

It should be noted here that while Golwalkar accused Muslims of being violent anti-nationals, he was personally involved in conspiring to conduct ethnic cleansing of Muslims, similar to what was seen in Gujarat in 2002. Rajeshwar Dayal, the first Home Secretary of UP after Independence, recounted in his autobiography an incident which clearly exposed the sinister designs of Golwalkar and the RSS to break the unity of the country just on the eve of Independence.

I must record an episode of a very grave nature when the procrastination and indecision of the UP Cabinet led to dire consequences. When communal tension was still at fever pitch, the Deputy Inspector General of Police of the Western Range, a very seasoned and capable officer, B. B. L. Jaitley, arrived at my house in great secrecy. He was accompanied by two of his officers who brought with them two large steel trunks securely locked. When the trunks were opened, they revealed incontrovertible evidence of a dastardly conspiracy to create a communal holocaust throughout the Western districts of the province. The trunks were crammed with blueprints of great accuracy and professionalism of every town and village in that vast area, prominently marking out the Muslim localities and habitations. There were also detailed instructions regarding access to the various locations, and other matters which amply revealed the sinister purport.

Greatly alarmed by those revelations, I immediately took the police party to the Premier's [chief minister's] house. There, in a closed room, Jaitley gave a full report of his discovery, backed by all the evidence contained in the steel trunks. Timely raids conducted on the premises of the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) had brought the massive conspiracy to light. The whole plot had been concerted under the direction and supervision of the Supremo of the organization himself. Both Jaitley and I pressed for the immediate arrest of the prime

accused, Shri Golwalkar, who was still in the area.

Pantji [G. B. Pant] could not but accept the evidence of his eyes and ears and expressed deep concern. But instead of agreeing to the immediate arrest of the ringleader as we had hoped, and as Kidwai would have done, he asked for the matter to be placed for consideration by the Cabinet at its next meeting. It was no doubt a matter of political delicacy as the roots of the RSS had gone deep into the body politic. There were also other political compulsions, as RSS sympathizers, both covert and overt, were to be found in the Congress Party itself and even in the Cabinet. It was no secret that the presiding officer of the Upper House, Atma Govind Kher, was himself an adherent and his sons were openly members of the RSS.

At the Cabinet meeting there was the usual procrastination and much irrelevant talk. The fact that the police had unearthed a conspiracy which would have set the whole province in flames and that the officers concerned deserved warm commendation hardly seemed to figure in the discussion. What ultimately emerged was that a letter should be issued to Shri Golwalkar pointing out the contents and nature of the evidence which had been gathered and demanding an explanation thereof. At my insistence, such a letter if it were to be sent, should be issued by the Premier himself to carry greater weight. Panditji asked me to prepare a draft, which I did in imitation of his own characteristic style. The letter was to be delivered forthwith and two police officers were assigned for the purpose.

Golwalkar, however, had been tipped off and he was nowhere to be found in the area. He was tracked down southwards but he managed to elude the couriers in pursuit. This infructuous chase continued from place to place and weeks passed.

Came January 30, 1948 when the Mahatma, that supreme apostle of peace, fell to a bullet fired by an RSS fanatic. The tragic episode left me sick at heart.¹⁶⁵

Rajeshwar Dayal's startling narration of Golwalkar's design to cleanse western parts of Uttar Pradesh of all Muslims was also corroborated by another senior RSS *pracharak*, Krishna Gopal Rastogi in his autobiography, *Pracharak Jivan* (Life of Preacher) while describing an incident in which he personally led a mob of

armed Hindus against Muslims in Kaliyar town situated between Roorkee and Hardwar (western part of the Uttar Pradesh) stated without any remorse:

It was an old locality inhabited by the Muslims. They, armed with daggers, spears and guns were fully prepared to meet any situation. When I learnt of their intentions to attack some Hindu areas, I organized 250 people including some known gangsters and raided Kaliyar. Then a strange thing happened. While we had been killing men in one of the houses, we spotted a very beautiful young girl. The assailants led by me were instantly enamoured. They even started fighting among themselves to take possession of the girl. I faced an extremely awkward situation and did not know what to do. I tried my best to get the assailants to focus on real issues. I abused and threatened them but they would not listen to me. And suddenly the solution came. The girl was after all causing this trouble and had to be eliminated. I took my gun and shot her. She died. My associates were shocked and returned to their work. Though it was against our principle to assault a woman, but it was done in an emergency and I still regret it.¹⁶⁶

This autobiography was released with a laudatory preface by K. S. Sudarshan, the current. Incidentally, the same Rastogi was appointed in two committees of the HRD Ministry by Murli Manohar Joshi during the NDA Government (1999-2004) despite protests from more than 50 MPs.

Golwalkar, while treating Christians as the '*Internal Threat*' number two, wrote,

Their activities are not merely irreligious, they are also anti-national... Such is the role of the Christian gentlemen residing in our land today, out to demolish not only the religious and social fabric of our life but also to establish political domination in various pockets and if possible all over the land.¹⁶⁷

Even after Independence, Golwalkar continued arguing that conversion to Islam and Christianity automatically turned the converts into anti-nationals as they are not true to their salt:

They are born in this land, no doubt. But are they true to their salt? Are they grateful to this land which brought them up? Do

they feel they are the children of this land and its traditions, and that to serve it is their great good fortune? Do they feel it a duty to serve her? No! Together with the change in their faiths, gone is the spirit of love and devotion for the nation. Nor does it end there. They have also developed a feeling of identification with the enemies of this land. They look to some foreign lands as their holy places... So we see that it is not merely a case of change of faith, but a change even in national identity. What else is it, if not treason, to join the camp of the enemy leaving their mother-nation in the lurch?¹⁶⁸

It was not sometime in the past, when the British ruled patronizing the policy of 'divide and rule', that Golwalkar expressed the following hatred towards minorities.

The conclusion that we arrive at is that all those communities which are staying in this land and yet are not true to their salt, have not imbibed its culture, do not lead the life which this land has been unfolding for so many centuries, do not believe in its philosophy, in its national heroes and in all that this land has been standing for, are, to put it briefly, foreign to our national life. And the only real, abiding and glorious national life in this holy land of Bharat has been of the Hindu People.¹⁶⁹

He preached hatred against Muslims and Christians in a democratic-secular Republic where denigration of its citizens was punishable by law. But the Republic continued keeping mum on this anti-national preaching of hatred.

Spotlights is a collection of the views of Golwalkar which he expressed in response to questions put to him in different press conferences. It was published by the RSS after his death. There is a section in this book 'On the Muslim Problem' which clearly shows that Golwalkar continued treating Muslims as a 'Problem' throughout his life. When in June 1970, he was asked, 'Even after all these years as an independent nation, communal tension in India has not abated. What is your diagnosis?' His reply was:

The main reason for Hindu-Muslim tension is that the Indian Muslim is yet to identify himself fully with India, the people and his culture. Let the Indian Muslim feel and say that this is his country and these are his people, and the problem will

cease. It is a matter of changing his psychology.¹⁷⁰

Interestingly, this sermon was coming from a prophet of Hindutva who, like Savarkar, did not believe that Muslims along with Christians could be considered as part of the Indian nation!

Golwalkar's obsession with treating Muslim as a 'Problem' could be seen even when he was asked about his opinion regarding the Hindu (Nathuram Godse) who had killed Gandhi. How he twisted the issue by targeting Muslims and presented the RSS as saviour of Gandhi, could be clearly seen in his reply. While admitting that it was a Hindu who killed Gandhi, he went on to declare:

But as you must be knowing, in the autumn of 1947, the Government had reports of certain Muslim groups wanting to kill him. Some Muslims had been threatening the Mahatma in his Bhangi [sweepers] Colony residence at Delhi. The Congress leaders asked us to help and we organized a round-the-clock vigil till the Mahatma moved to Birla House.¹⁷¹

Golwalkar, consciously, brought in the Muslim angle here in order to divert attention from the fact that Godse was closely affiliated to both the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha.

Golwalkar was very fond of targeting Muslims and holding them responsible for any problem faced by the country. For example, when in 1966 he was asked: 'How did cow slaughter begin in our country?' His pet reply was,

It began with the coming of the foreign invaders to our country. In order to reduce the population to slavery, they thought that the best method to be adopted was to stamp out every vestige of self respect in Hindus. They took to various types of barbarism such as conversions, demolishing our temples and mutts. In that line cow slaughter also began.¹⁷²

There cannot be a worst lie than this and Golwalkar's claim that Muslims were responsible for initiating cow slaughter was in total disregard of the historical facts. It was not even in keeping with the Vedic version of history. If he had consulted Vedic sources and read some of Vivekananda's writings, he would have been saved from the ignominy of telling a white lie. But his hatred for

Muslim minority did not let him be honest even with the facts as told by Vivekananda and other Hindu scriptures.

Vivekananda while speaking on the theme of the 'Buddhistic India' at the Shakespeare Club, Pasadena, California on February 2, 1900 said:

You will be astonished if I tell you that, according to the old ceremonials, he is not a good Hindu who does not eat beef. On certain occasions he must sacrifice a bull and eat it.¹⁷³

Other research works sponsored by the Ramakrishna Mission founded by Vivekananda himself corroborate this. C. Kunhan Raja an authority on Vedic India did not miss the fact of widespread beef eating in the ancient India.

The Vedic Aryans, including the Brahminas, ate fish, meat and even beef. A distinguished guest was honoured with beef served at a meal. Although the Vedic Aryans ate beef, milch cows were not killed. One of the words that designated cow was *aghnya* (what shall not be killed). But a guest was a *goghna* (one for whom a cow is killed). It is only bulls, barren cows and calves that were killed.¹⁷⁴

Golwalkar, like Savarkar, was not willing to include Muslims and Christians as part of the Indian nation which according to them was an exclusive Hindu *rashtra* or nation. When he was asked that why the RSS was not agreeing to call the Indian nation as a 'Bharatiya' nation instead of Hindu, his reply was,

No doubt, Bharatiya too is our name, associated with us since hoary times. But today there is misconception regarding that word. It is commonly used as translation of the word 'Indian' which includes all the various communities like the Muslims, Christians etc., residing in this land. So, the word 'Bharatiya' is likely to mislead us when we want to denote our particular society. The word 'Hindu' alone connotes correctly and completely the meaning that we want to convey.¹⁷⁵

Golwalkar's hatred for Muslims and Christians was the result of his firm belief that both Islam and Christianity were inferior religions in comparison to Hinduism. When asked to comment on

the fact that 'no man is born as Hindu or Mussalman [*sic*] or Christian. It is only later on that distinctions are made,' he made a statement which should not surprise anyone. Underlining the superiority of Hinduism he said:

This may be true of others. But for a Hindu, he gets the first samskaar when he is still in the mother's womb, and the last when his body is consumed to the flames. There are sixteen samskaars for the Hindu which make him what he is. In fact, we are Hindus even before we emerge from the womb of our mother. We are born as Hindus. About the others, they are born to this world as simple unnamed human beings and later on, either circumcised or baptized, they become Muslims or Christians.¹⁷⁶

Golwalkar was categorical in holding that adoption of religions like Christianity or Islam only meant having more 'enemies of our motherland'.¹⁷⁷ It is often argued by the RSS sympathizers that Golwalkar was inimical to both Muslims and Christians because they professed religions which came from outside and their Holy places were found in foreign countries. Golwalkar, like Savarkar, refused to take note of the fact that Hindus too had their 'Holylands' in China (Kailash Mansarovar—Abode of Shiva) and Nepal (Pashupati). Likewise, Buddhists of the world have their holy places in India. A keen researcher of Hindutva politics, K.K. Gangadharan, rightly asked:

Does this make them foreigners in their own country? If this absurd fallacy is upheld, then millions of Hindus settled in foreign countries and who have become citizens of those countries, could be driven out on the ground that they have their sacred places and heroes in India. Syeds and Sheikhs are Arabic names and others who take them are traitors, says Golwalkar. If this be so what about people who take Indian names or Sanskrit names?¹⁷⁸

It is wrong to believe that Golwalkar was against Islam and Christianity for their foreign linkages and was amenable to the existence of indigenous religious like Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. He refused to accept them as independent and separate

religions.

We do not divide Hindus into Sikhs, Buddhists and so on. We hold that all the varied approaches to God which have taken birth in our country—the Buddhist, the Jain, the Sikh, the Shaiva, the Veerashaiva, the Vaishnava, etc., are all included in that one comprehensive word 'Hindu.'¹⁷⁹

Golwalkar's hatred for Muslims was inexhaustible and never-ending. His hatred for Muslims as contained in *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1939) was no different from his writings in 1960. In fact, this hatred got wilder. While addressing the leading RSS cadres of south India in Bangalore on November 30, 1960, he declared:

Right from Delhi to Rampur, Muslims are busy hatching a dangerous plot, piling up arms and mobilizing their men, and probably biding their time to strike from within...¹⁸⁰

There was no substantiation or proofs offered for such a serious allegation against the whole Muslim community residing in the western Uttar Pradesh. If all that Golwalkar uttered was true, it should have been brought to the notice of the law and order machinery in the area. It was never done because Golwalkar and RSS were simply interested in poisoning the minds of its cadres. It is not difficult to understand that it was due to such hate preaching against Muslims that the 2002 carnage of Muslims in Gujarat was successfully undertaken.

After going through the writings and activities of Golwalkar as recorded mainly in the RSS documents, the only conclusion which can be drawn is that he, like Savarkar, believed in Casteism, Racism and Imperialism. They called it Hindutva. Golwalkar inherently disliked any outlook which intended to uphold democracy and egalitarianism. He represented a parallel conception of the idea of India which rejected diversity, multiple cultural identities and tolerance¹⁸¹ and actively worked for the establishment of Hindu rule in India. What B. R. Ambedkar, who played a leading role in framing the present secular-democratic Constitution of India, said about the dangers of establishing a Hindu nation in 1946 is relevant even today. While describing it as a menace to

liberty, equality, fraternity and incompatible with democracy he wrote:

If Hindu Raj does become a fact, it will, no doubt, be the greatest calamity for this country... Hindu Raj must be prevented at any cost.¹⁸²

Unfortunately, the Indian State, constitutionally committed to a secular and democratic polity has remained largely a mute spectator providing an aura of legitimacy to the ideas of Hindutva leaders like Golwalkar.

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- 12 V. D. Savarkar, *Hindutva*, Delhi: Bharti Sahitya Sadan, 1989, 6th ed, 115f.
- 13 *Ibid.* p. 100f.
- 14 *Ibid.* p. 101.
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101 The Home Ministry of India, headed by Sardar Patel imposed the first ban on RSS on February 4, 1948. The government communiqué while explaining the reasons for banning the RSS said:

Undesirable and even dangerous activities have been carried on by members of the Sangh [RSS]. It has been found that in several parts of the country individual members of the RSS have indulged in acts of violence involving arson, robbery, dacoity, and murder and have collected illicit arms and ammunition. They have been found circulating leaflets exhorting people to resort to terrorist methods, to collect firearms, to create disaffection against the government and suborn the police and the military. (Cited in M. S. Golwalkar, *Sbri Gururji Samagr Darshan* (Collected works of Golwalkar in Hindi), vol. 2, Nagpur: Bharatiya Vichar Sadhana, nd, pp. 9f).

In a letter written to the RSS *Sarsnagbhalak*, Golwalkar, dated 11 September 1948, Sardar Patel stated:

Organizing the Hindus and helping them is one thing but going in for revenge for its sufferings on innocent and helpless men, women and children is quite another thing... Apart from this, their opposition to the Congress, that too of such virulence, disregarding all considerations of personality, decency or decorum, created a kind of unrest among the people. All their speeches were full of communal poison. It was not necessary to spread poison in order to enthuse the Hindus and organize for their protection. As a final result of the poison, the country had to suffer the sacrifice of the invaluable life of

Gandhiji. Even an iota of the sympathy of the Government, or of the people, no more remained for the RSS. In fact opposition grew. Opposition turned more severe, when the RSS men expressed joy and distributed sweets after Gandhiji's death. Under these conditions it became inevitable for the Government to take action against the RSS... (Cited in D. R. Goyal, *Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh*, Radha Krishna, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 137f).

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- 125 M.S. Golwalkar, *Shri Guruji Samagr Darshan* (collected works of Golwalkar in Hindi), Vol 1, Nagpur: Bharatiya Vichar Sadhana, 1981, p. 98.
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- 134 RSS, *Shakha Darshika* (Hindi), Jaipur: Gyan Ganga, 1997, p. 2.
- 135 *Ibid*, p. 66.
- 136 *Organiser*, February 6, 2000.
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- 138 *Ibid*. Vol.4, pp. 4-5.
139. Balraj Madhok, *Zindagi Ka Safar -3: Deendayal Upadhyay Ki Hatya Se Indira Gandhi Ki Hatya Tak*, Delhi: Dinman Prakashan, 2003, p. 22.
140. *Ibid*, p. 15.
141. *Ibid*, p. 23.
142. *Ibid*, p. 145.
143. *Ibid*, p. 25.
144. *Ibid*, p. 62.
145. *Ibid*, p. 21.
146. *Ibid*, p. 146.
- 147 *Organiser*, Delhi, November 30, 1949, p. 3.
- 148 'Manu Rules Our Hearts' *Organiser*, February 6, 1950, p. 7.
- 149 V. D. Savarkar, 'Women in Manusmriti' in *Savarkar Samagr* (collection of Savarkar's writings in Hindi), Vol 4, Delhi: Prabhat, 2000, p. 416.
- 150 Manu's Laws do not denigrate Sudras only but are also terribly anti-women as we will see in the following. If RSS is committed to enforce Manu's Code, one can imagine what is in store for Hindu women:
- I. By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. (V/147)
- II. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent. (V/148)
- III. Day and night woman must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control. (IX/2)
- IV. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence. (IX/3)
- V. Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear); for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families. (IX/5)
- VI. Considering that the highest duty of all castes, even weak husbands (must) strive

to guard their wives. (IX/6)

VII. He who carefully guards his wife, preserves (the purity of) his offspring, virtuous conduct, his family, himself, and his (means of acquiring) merit. (IX/7)

VIII. As the male is to whom a wife cleaves, even so is the son whom she brings forth; let him therefore carefully guard his wife, in order to keep his offspring pure. (IX/9)

IX. No man can completely guard women by force; but they can be guarded by the employment of the (following) expedients:

X. Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils. (IX/10, 11)

XI. Women, confined in the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded; but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded. (IX/12)

XII. Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age; (thinking), '(It is enough that) he is a man,' they give themselves to the handsome and to the ugly. (IX/14)

XIII. Through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this (world). (IX/15)

XIV. Knowing their disposition, which the Lord of creatures laid in them at the creation, to be such, (every) man should most strenuously exert himself to guard them. (IX/16)

XV. (When creating them) Manu allotted to women (a love of their) bed, (of their) seat and (of) ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct. (IX/17)

XVI. For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule. (IX/18).

This selection of Manu's Codes is from E. Max Muller, *Laws of Manu* (Delhi: LP Publications, 1996; first published in 1886). The German Indologist Max Muller had *Manusmriti* translated as the 'Laws of Manu' which was first published in 1886 under the series, 'The Sacred Books of the East'. There have been other international editions in different languages of Europe. It has been translated into almost all languages of India. The bracket after each code incorporates number of chapter/number of code according to the above edition.]

151 M. S. Golwalkar, *Spotlights*, Bangalore: Sahitya Sindhu, 1974, p. 111.

152 *Ibid.* p. 110.

153 *Ibid.* p. 183.

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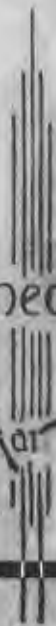
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OR
Our Nationhood defined

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M. Sc., LL. B.
(SOMETIME PROFESSOR BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.)

With a foreword by
Loknayak M. S. Aney,
B. A., E. L., M. L. A. (CENTRAL)



1939

Re. 1-0-0

Publisher :

P. N. Indurkar, B. A.

For Bharat Publications,
Mahal, Nagpur.

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Printed by :—**T. G. KELAPURE,**
at the Gopal Printing Press,
Nagpur.



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B. A., B. L., M. L. A. (CENTRAL)

To the memory of those noble martyrs who,
despite ignominy, calumny and contempt at
the hands of their own undeserving
brethren, have kept the flame
of true Nationality
burning in our
Land.

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PREFACE

It is with a deep sense of relief that I place this little work in the hands of the readers. After all that is written in the pages following, it seems superfluous for me to write anything in particular at length. However, I take the opportunity of this preface, to explain the limits which I had set myself when penning this work. I have throughout the work scrupulously stuck to one idea "Nation" and except where it was unavoidable have given no consideration to the allied concept, the "State." "Nation" being a cultural unit, and "State" a political one, the two concepts are clearly distinguishable, although there is certainly a good deal of mutual overlapping. Considerations about the "Hindu State" or as people now please to call it, the "Indian State," have been reserved. If it is possible, the question may form the subject matter of another book. And yet, in applying the Nation Concept to our present day conditions, there is a discussion of the relations of the various communities to the Hindu Nation—but not from the political point of view—not from the standpoint of the State, though to some of the readers it may appear to be so, but solely from the point of view of the

unit called the "Nation." Hence all passing remarks to the relations between the "Nation" and the "Minority Communities" as appearing in this work are to be understood in this light, without confusing the question of the Minorities' political status with that of their inclusion or otherwise into the body of the "Nation."

Such is the scope of this book. I pray the reader to remember that this work aims only at analysing the "Nation" concept, applying it to our present day problems and establishing the proposition that in this country, our "Nation" means, and independently of the question of majority always must mean the Hindu Nation and nought else.

Incidentally in doing this, I have had to resort to certain strong expressions and to lay bare, once again, the intentions which led to the foundation of the Congress. I hope, however, that I have paid my humble respects to those Nationalist giants, who despite this handicap, have, all down these years, been putting up a gallant fight in the cause of the Motherland. Some of these I have mentioned and it is not out of any want of reverence that numerous other names have not been put down, but for certain reasons of my own. All the same, I sincerely beg to be excused, if inadvertantly

the book seems to countenance any disparagement of those noble souls, who in various ways strove and are striving to keep the national pulse beating unintermittantly in our land.

It is a matter of personal gratification to me that this maiden attempt of mine—an author unknown in this line—has been graced by a foreword by Loknayak M. S. Aney. Himself a great and selfless patriot, an erudite scholar and a deep thinker, his foreword has, as I had expected, materially enhanced the value of the book. He has candidly expressed where he does not agree with the author, but the reader will agree with me that it is such a learned essay that it will substantially add to his knowledge and make him think. And so far as the main proposition of the Hindu Nationhood of Hindusthan goes, he has incontrovertibly substantiated it, in addition to his own views, with those of a number of modern political philosophers. How can I adequately express my thankfulness to him? He agreed to write this foreword and in spite of his being overworked during the last few weeks with the Assembly Session at New Delhi and later with the prospect of the Congress Session at Tripuri, sent the same to me in good time. I have been laid under such a deep debt of gratitude to him! How can I repay

it? I can only pray to him to overlook the want of words and accept my heartfelt thanks bare though their expression may be.

In compiling this work, I have received help from numerous quarters, too many to mention. I thank them all heartily; but I cannot help separately naming one and expressing my gratefulness to him—Deshbhakta G. D. Savarkar. His work *Rashtra Meemansa* in Marathi has been one of my chief sources of inspiration and help. An English translation of this work is due to be shortly out and I take this opportunity of directing the reader to that book for a more exhaustive study of the subject.

The manuscript of this book was ready as early as the first week of November 1938, but its appearance earlier, however desirable, was not possible due to many difficulties. And even now, singlehanded, I would not have undertaken all this trouble and would have let the work lie idle. But the Bharat Prakashan which has set out to publish treatises inculcating and feeding the truly national point of view, came to my help and undertook to bring it out as its first publication. The concern has so promptly executed the work, that within a few days from the time it was entrusted with this work, it has brought out the book in this elegant

form. For its timely service I cannot be too thankful to this institution.

It is hoped that this work fulfils its mission. If it stimulates thought and provokes the public to sift matters for themselves, and come to the right Nationalistic outlook, I shall have become fully paid for the labours.

Whatever its merits or demerits, I offer this work to the public as an humble offering at the holy feet of the Divine Mother—the Hindu Nation—in the hope that She will graciously accept this worship from an undeserving child of Her Own. For the rest, let the public judge.

NAGPUR,
 Varsha Pratipada 1861 }
 22nd March 1939. } M. S. GOLWALKAR

FOREWORD

The present thesis furnishes an interesting and fascinating contribution to the discussion of a subject of great and vital importance. The term Nation, Nationality and Nationalism are being loosely used by writers and speakers. I venture to say that most of them have no clear precise meaning or connotation.

Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes in his wellknown essays on Nationalism has shown how the word Nation is "tantalisingly ambiguous." Mr. Hayes observes, "it is an old word and has gathered much moss with the lapse of centuries. As derived from the Latin 'Natio' it meant birth or race and signified a tribe or social grouping based on real or fancied community of blood and possessed presumably of unity of language. Later it was used in certain mediæval universities to designate a division of students for voting purposes according to their place of birth. "In English literature certain reputed authors have used it only in the sense of collection or class or species; Edmund Spenser in the Faery Queen spoke of a "Nation of birds"; Ben Jonson styled physicians as "a subtile nation" and Samuel Butler referred to lawyers as "too wise a nation to expose their trade to disputation."

Although there has been of late important contributions on the various aspects of nationalism, no scholarly work treating systematically the whole subject in the nature and history of Nationality and Nationalism exists in any language. The subject has attracted serious attention of the western scholars more after the great European War than at any time before. One of the measures which the victorious allies wanted to adopt to permanently cripple the vanquished German nation was by distributing the territories of Central Europe among the various small nationalities. Since then there has been a continuous flow of literature from the pens of renowned Western Scholars dealing with one or more aspects of the problem of Nationality and Nationalism. Works written in English on this subject by G. P. Gooch, J. L. Stocks, Israel Zangwill, Mr. Zimmerin, Muir, S. Herbert and Bernard Joseph have been widely read and rightly regarded as the most valuable contributions to the discussion on this complicated problem of Nationalism. In the classical writings on political philosophy of old authors like Bluntschli, Mazzini, Liten, John Stuart Mill, there are brilliant fragments dealing with and describing the concept of nationalism.

Mazzini is by common consent still regarded as the greatest interpreter of Nationality.

Mr. Gooch rightly says that it was only during the years of catastrophe and reconstruction that historians and publicists, psychists, psychologists and Sociologists all over the world began to devote to it the close attention which for many centuries has been given to the meaning of sovereignty or the nature of the State". Study of Nationalism has now occupied a proper place among the living major problems of practical politics and of political science.

There is a school of thought growing in the West which holds that the cult of nationalism has outlived its usefulness and the evolution and further progress of humanity demands its immediate displacement by the wider and more catholic spirit of Humanity or internationalism. **Mazzini**, that inspired prophet of Nationalism, has very aptly and eloquently described a century ago the relative inter-dependence of the two great conceptions, Nationalism and Humanity. "Humanity is the association of peoples; it is the alliance of peoples in order to work out their missions in peace and love. To forget humanity is to suppress the aim of our labours, to cancel the nation is to suppress the instrument by which to achieve the aim".

Dr. Joseph Bernard in his most valuable and scholarly book on Nationality, its nature and

problems has upheld the claim of Nationality as an abiding necessity in the progress of man and humanity. Nationality is the link between man and humanity. The Nation like the family is one of the pillars of civilisation. Its scraping will hinder the march of progress. Progress consists in the adaptation of the ideas and institutions of the past and not in their wholesale annihilation. Progress is the result of construction, building new structures and beautiful mansions on the foundations of the past. Iconoclastic tendencies have never helped the cause of progress at any time before. If anything, it has more than once given a definite set back to the progress of man in the field of knowledge, material property, morality and spiritualism.

In approaching the problem of Nationality it is necessary to bear in mind that the Modern writers attempt to make a subtle but clear distinction between a State and a Nation. Unless these two concepts are kept apart, an analytic study of the concept of Nationality or nationalism becomes extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible. Which of the two conceptions is first-born is still a point of controversy. Those who hold that the essence of Nationality is the "intensification of civic consciousness in the people of a sovereign State"

obviously cling to the theory that "Nationality is the product of a political State".

The first step which the man must have taken to emerge out of his primitive savage state is to group him and his likes into what is commonly known as a tribe. This is the reflection in man of the flock-instinct in the lower creation. Federation of a number of tribes into larger combinations has helped to make them sufficiently numerous and distinct to be ultimately formed into a Nationality if this view be correct, then the immediate cause of nationality must be traced to the institution of State. But it would not be correct to maintain that the two concepts State and nationality are coeval or coterminous. There are illustrations known to history where Nationality was evolving inspite of not having any independent existence as a sovereign State. The most notable example is that of the United Kingdom itself. The Scotch, the Welsh and the English are three nationalities in one Sovereign State. The movements of the Poles and Bohemians can be cited as another instance of survival of nationality independent of any political unity. "The State is an essentially political unity while the nationality is primarily cultural and incidentally political" says Prof. Hayes. "Nationality is an aspect of cul-

ture. The distinctive marks and qualities of Russians, Greeks, Germans, Japanese and other nationalities are no appanage of race or incident of geography; they are the creation of social circumstances and cultural traditions. In this sense, a nationality may exist without political unity and vice versa. A political state may embrace several nationalities though the tendency has been pronounced in modern times for every self-conscious nationality to aspire to political unity and independence.”

Having so far shown that the conception of nationality must not be confounded with that of the State in any attempt to treat the problem systematically and scientifically, I will like to invite the attention of the readers to what are termed as the psychological and spiritual theories of Nationalism.

“According to this theory nationality is a psychological phenomenon—a state of mind. It has its origin essentially in uniformity of outlook, a common range of ideas, a common way of thinking and common preferences.” In the view of these theorists “Nationality is to the social group what personality is to the individual.” This theory obviously regards environment, culture, language, religion and political institutions as the causes that contribute to the formation

and development of nationality. This psychological theory of Nationality was further developed into a spiritual one by Renan and others. They maintain that Nationality is a soul or a spiritual principle, the one, the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories and the other the desire to live together and continue the heritage received. Renan claimed that material things alone such as race, language or common unity of interests not always suffice to treat such a spiritual principle. The idea that every civilised nation has a mission to fulfil is the corollary to this spiritual conception of nationality. I desire to cite one more passage from the book of Mr. Bernard Joseph on which I have freely drawn in what is written above. The passage is a quotation from S. Levi's work 'Out of Bondage' explaining the importance of spiritual principle to nationality.

"The enemy may ravage the country, but every nation possesses something over which the enemy has no control, viz, the spirit of the people; that innate spirit which expresses itself in thousand ways in all the creations of the people in the way it orders its life, in art, in literature, in customs and in taste." Pages of history bear eloquent testimony to the trials and tribulations, to the sufferings and harassments through which people have gone simply

to preserve their nationality. The indomitable spirit that sustained them and helped them to overcome and triumph over all their difficulties and dangers is one of those phenomena that cannot but fail to strike and appeal to the readers of the history of the world. Side by side with this spiritual view of nationalism may be read, the views of those who regard nationality as a group consciousness. This theory is open to the objection that group consciousness may remain dormant for a long time so far as the majority of the group is concerned without that group ceasing to be a nationality. The Jewish philosopher AHADHA'AM has in the following appealing passage graphically described the position.

“If the man of one people is becoming more and more estranged from its national spirit though unaware of the fact, and if the “jennesse doice” is setting up ‘new Gods’ like the gods of the people round about them, whilst only isolated individuals remain faithful to our nationality in its historical form the self-same isolated individuals are the heirs of our national heritage at the present time; they hold the historic thread in their hands and do not allow it to be severed”. These custodians of the rich heritage may become the centres of imitation and the national spirit lying dormant may suddenly

awaken and quicken in the majority the consciousness of nationality.

There is still a theory of nationality termed as the idea of corporate sentiment. It looks at nationality as "being essentially a sentiment of sympathy for, and attachments to things connected with one's own nationality such as Homeland, its literature, its heroes and geniuses, its language, sentiments, traditions or mode of dress." Notionality is a natural corporate sentiment manifesting diversely in the members of the group in the form of certain preferences and sympathies for things connected with the group. I can not describe it better than in the following words of Professor Zimmerin. "Nationality is a thing which the national can feel rather than define." "It is more than a creed or a doctrine or a code of conduct, it is an instinctive attachment, it recalls an atmosphere of precious memories of vanished parents and friends of old customs, of reverence, of home and a sense of the brief span of human life as a link between immemorial generations spreading backwards and forwards."

The rich heritage that mainly sustains this sentiment of nationality is only a collective name for all the material attributes of nationality such as language, political institu-

tions and customs. It asserts itself in the consciousness of the kind and establishes a bond of fellowship among its members. Thus apart from the sustenance it derives from the material attributes it is transformed into an instinct, that drives man to fight and risk his all for the preservation of his group. Individual is thus turned into a part of the big machine that goes by the name of the group. He becomes a living limb of an organism.

Not a small credit is due to the oppression from outside sources for the building up of this sentiment. If culture and other material attributes be the only basis of nationality it is not enough to explain the urge for the supreme sacrifice which the members of the groups have made for preservation of their nationality. The sentiment has its roots gone down into the emotional structure of man.

Professor Zimmarin says—

“ This sentiment is intense and intimate, for a man's nationality is a matter which is a vital concern to him and which he would not deny or betray without a sense of shame, and it is one of his most intimate possessions being linked up as it is with his past and embodying the momentum of an ancient tradition. If one must seek for the cause of this sentiment of Nationa-

lity it is rather to be found in the belief on the part of certain group that they have certain things in common, which differentiates them from other groups constitutes them a distinct and separate group with certain peculiar groupal possessions or characteristics in common which make it desirable that they live a common group life."

I entirely agree with the view of Mr. Bernard Joseph when he says "the conception of nationality as a corporate sentiment grasps the true essence and fundamental basis of nationality. It is more comprehensive than the theory of group consciousness or psychological unity and also pays more heed to the importance to Nationality of its diverse other elements such as culture, religion and language etc.

The same author, after reviewing all the theories relating to the considerations of the essence, origin and functions of nationality and after having expressed his opinion as regards the superiority of the theory of corporate sentiment, has given his own definition of nationality in the following words.

"Nationality as a quality is the subjective corporate sentiment permanently present in and giving a sense of distinctive unity to the majority of the members of a particular civilised

section of humanity, which at the same time objectively constitutes a distinct group by virtue of possessing certain collective attributes peculiar to it such as Home-land, language, religion, history, culture or traditions. Nationality as a concrete designation denotes a group possessed of the quality of nationality as so defined."

The data rendered available to us through the history going over thousands of years and the careful and dispassionate observation of the present day conditions of the Hindus enable us to maintain without any fear of contradiction that the Hindus are a nation or nationality by themselves. They have a distinctive characteristic culture. They have a common cultural language and a common cultural literature which regulate and govern their life even in minute details. They have developed a common out-look on life which is decidedly different from that of any other people. They have their home-land distinctly marked out on the map from the rest of the world by such natural demarcations as no other country is fortunate to possess. They have developed a corporate sentiment which has enabled them to rise and attain their glorious position more than once during the last thousand years inspite of the invasions and conquests of the barberous conquering hordes from the North and the West. It has to its credit

great achievements in the field of literature service and philosophy. Hindus in the North and South inspite of superficial difference have common basis for their magnificent architecture painting, music, dancing and several other fine arts.

No sane man can question the proposition that Hindus are a nation. There will also be no difficulty to concede that the Hindus constitute the vast majority of the population. India is therefore pre-eminently a Hindu nation, Hindusthan.

The practical bearing of these conclusions on the problems that confront the politicians is immense and deserve to be very carefully and dispassionately considered. I find that the author in dealing with the problems of the Mohmeddans' place has not always borne in mind the distinction between the Hindu nationality and Hindu sovereign State. Hindu Nation as a sovereign State is entirely a different entity from the Hindu nation as a cultural nationality. No modern State has denied the resident minorities of different nationalities rights of citizenship of the State if they are once naturalised either automatically or under the operation of a Statute. The problem of the rights of minorities have figured prominetly in the Post-war settlement as the mere enjoyment

of rights of citizenship was likely to prove ineffective for them to preserve their separate nationality.

Existence of a separate nationality as a minority enjoying all the rights of citizenship with special safe-guards for the preservation of their culture and language and religion is not deemed incompatible with the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the State as a whole. Immediately as the minority members are naturalised, all difference between them and the members of the majority disappear for political and administrative purposes. No modern jurist or political philosopher or student of constitutional law can subscribe to the proposition which the author has laid down in Chapter V.

“ At the outset we must bear in mind that so far as ‘ nation ’ is concerned, all those who fall outside the fivefold limits of that idea can have no place in national life unless they abandon their differences, dopt the religion, culture and language of the National and completely merge themselves in the National race. So long as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they can not but be only foreigners, who may be either friendly or inimical to the nation. ”

I have no doubt in my mind that a dispassionate study of the minority treaties of the

League of Nations will not at all bear out the proposition which the author has so dogmatically laid down. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereign position of a state in giving these culturally different minorities liberty to retain and observe their religious practices and facilities to preserve their culture, subeject to condition of public morals and public policy. No person born in the country, of parents whose ancestors enjoyed rights of citizenship for centuries together can be treated as a foreigner in any modern state on the ground that he follows a religion different from that of the majority population which naturally dominates and controls it. Conversion of faith can't be a condition for naturalisation of any alien in this twentieth century. Allegiance to the State is and must be possible on naturalisation to an alien if he fulfils certain conditions regarding residence, association and similar other matters. But I have not been able to find anywhere conversion to State-religion, assuming there is anything like that in modern states in its true sense, prescribed as a condition precedent to naturalisation of an alien.

“Except perhaps in States following Islam which has one of its articles of faith, the supremacy of the true believer over the infidal and which precludes the possibility of any true

national fellowship between the convert to Mohmeddanism and an infidal follower of another religion, one can not expect recognition of such a fanatic position, in the constitution of a any civilised State.

In its early stages religion was no doubt one of the principal elements of nationality; but its power as a force in national life has, however, dwindled in more recent times, so that it has now ceased to be of consequence. In most States there is no longer a state religion, belief being a matter of individual choice. In the great majority of nationalities there are conflicting religions. The Americans are a notable example of nationality in the making of which religion did not enter. Since the declaration of Independence there has always been complete freedom of religious belief and worship, and the life of American nationality from the beginning has been entirely free from the element of religion. Growth of the doctrine of religious toleration has robbed religion of its former importance in the life of nationalities. It has become a recognised principle that a greater degree of national unity can be attained when complete religious tolerance prevails than under the system of a national religion."

These extracts culled out from the chapter "On religion as an element of nationality" from

the work of Bernard Joseph are enough to demonstrate the difference between the modern Jurists and author of this pamphlet as regards the degree importance which religion should have in the formation of Nationality. Prof. Bernard Joseph summarises his admirable review of the place of religion in the problem of Nationality by the observation that it has frequently had an important function in the creation and continuance of nationality, but that subject to a few exceptions when it forms the basis of national unity, it is no longer a factor of much importance. ”

The school of Indian patriots who have founded the Indian National Congress were the pioneers of the movement of Indian Nationalism. I feel confident that their attempt to develop Indian Nationalism on lines other than those of religious grouping were at any rate not inconsistent with the views of the western jurists. The author has certainly done injustice to those highsouled illustrious Englishmen who helped the foundation of the Congress and its growth in its early stages by attributing to them unworthy motives.

With all my difference of opinion on some of the vital problems of policy such as communal award and others with the leading congress-

men of today, I consider it necessary to emphatically assert that much of the sentiment of Nationalism that exists in India today is the result of the work done by the giants who have led and run the Congress movement in the country during the last fifty years and more.

I also desire to add that the strong and impassioned language used by the author towards those who do not subscribe to his theory of nationalism is also not in keeping with the dignity with which the scientific study of a complex problem like the Nationalism deserves to be pursued. It pains me to make these observations in this foreword. But I feel that I would have been both untrue and unjust to myself in not enforcing my opinion in clear and unambiguous terms on the points above.

Barring these points of difference there is much in this small book with which I am in agreement with the author. He has taken pains to explain in simple but elegant style the abstract notions which form the main ingredients of the concept of Nationalism. He has succeeded in examining the principles deduced from the above study in light of the conditions prevailing in India and applying the same to the solution of the problems with which the Indian Nationalist is confronted.

The book is one which will prove thought-provoking and serve to give an impetus to the scientific study of a problem which has been so far comparatively neglected. The author therefore deserves to be congratulated on having brought about this book at this time and presented to the readers a new and important point of view of looking at Nationalism and studying National movements which unfortunately did not occur to many who have been styling themselves and also working as Nationalists. Let the Nationalist know once and for ever that he is a member of a Hindu Nation which has to be just not merely to those who are Hindus by religion but also to those who are prepared to be loyal citizens of the Hindu State on condition of religious Liberty and cultural freedom being guaranteed to them. The minorities whether they follow the Hindu religion, the christian religion or the Mohammeden religion are all entitled to the enjoyment of their religious and cultural freedom. But this concession must be confined to the preservation of cultural traditions involving the observance of their religious rites and practices and, the study of their language and literature and not permitted to expand into a right of partnership in the affairs of the State on any communal or creedal considerations.

State is an indivisible unit.

No community can claim a right to divide the State. The democratic State shall be under the sovereignty of the Nationality to which majority of the people in the State belongs. Others shall have the privileges of citizenship extended alongwith those of the majority with certain safe-guards for preservation of their culture and religion. This, I think, is the correct and the just and the most practical view to take.

The author's book is in my opinion a natural and perhaps an inevitable and much needed reply to the theory of Blank cheque which is generally attributed to Mahatma Gandhi and those who think like him. Its careful perusal will clear the mind of the readers of many undesirable preconceptions and furnish them with rich food for reflection.

Existence of Hindu Nation in a position of domination in India or Hindustan will not only be a salvation to the Hindus only but it alone can be an unfailing guarantee to all the minorities of different nations living in this country for the preservation of their religious and cultural rights.

Doctrine of religious toleration and freedom of faith for all are the essential tenets of Hindu philosophy. I only hope and trust that the

minorities will realise the truth at an early date and resolve to work shoulder to shoulder with the majority for the restoration of the glory of the Bharatwarsha which is the motherland of all the majority viz. the Hindu Nation, and the minority viz. the Mohammeden and other communities. The political unity of all must be the aim of all sincere Nationalists be they followers of Hinduism including, Sikhism, Budhism, Jainism, or Islam, or Christianity, or Zoroastrianism or any other religion. A little forbearance for small mistakes and a greater regard for cultivation of fellow-feeling on the part of all shall certainly take us nearer the goal within a reasonably short time, much earlier than most people imagine.

13 Ferozshah Road, }
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 4th March 1939. }

M. S. ANEY.

PROLOGUE



We are born in strange times. It may be, we are fortunate to have been born in the present condition; it may even be, we are most unfortunate to have been so born. It all depends upon our angle of vision. Some may deem it a stroke of rare good luck to come into the world, in a nation full of peace and plenty, of power and glory. Some others may think otherwise and thank God that during their sojourn here, they are faced with hardships, with scarcity, adversity and trouble, through which they have to struggle on to prosperity. In affluence, we are born and we die, that is probably all about our life. But in adverse circumstances we get an opportunity to put forth the best in us, to test our manliness, to stand before the world a colossal personality, full of grandure, in triumph as well as in defeat. We are offered the chance

to rise to our full stature, to soar into heights beyond the highest flights of human imagination. But be it as it may, one thing is certain, that we, in Bharatwarsha to-day, live in strange times.

Strange times, indeed, when we do not live but merely exist. Strange and altered. Words which for centuries conveyed to us certain definite ideas have changed meanings. Distortion is rampant. Noble words are profuse, nobility is at a sad discount. Selfishness, greed, injustice, hypocrisy stalk here and there in insolent pride and pass for virtues. Sterling merit is discouraged. In fine, we are rolling down at a terrific speed into the bottomless abyss of degeneration and yet congratulate ourselves upon our "progress". Such is our condition today.

Strange, very strange, that traitors should sit enthroned as national heroes and patriots heaped with ignominy. That is the point. We have learnt to call a class of people patriots, saviours of the nation. We have also learnt to dub all the rest as unnational. Really, have we thought over it well? Do we, in fact, understand what it is to be a national? Or do we merely echo a well-worn slogan without appreciating the essence thereof?

We see being created all about us such a great fuss of national regeneration, independence and what not. Such a cloud of dust, I mean words, is raised that it is ten to one, we move about in a sort of stupor and know not what we do. What do we strive for? Independently of the means, what is it that we are out to attain? Swaraj? Independence? What is swaraj and whose independence is our goal? Do we strive to make our "nation" independent and glorious,

or merely to create a "state" with certain political and economic powers centralised in other hands than those of our present rulers? Do we clearly perceive that the two concepts—the nation and the state—are distinctly different? If we do not, we are merely groping in the dark, and may end by destroying what may be most after our heart. To avoid such a calamity, for it appears from the day's condition that such a disaster is impending, it is necessary that we disillusion ourselves and see clearly our goal and the way to it.

Especially now, when we appear to have become nationally conscious and thrown ourselves in action we must cry halt in our headlong career and ask ourselves the question "whither are we heading? Will it lead us to our proper end or land us in a confounded confusion? And it is with this motive that the following is attempted.

We stand for national regeneration and not for that hap-hazard bundle of political rights—the state. What we want is swaraj; and we must be definite what this "swa" means. "Our kingdom"—who are we? It is this question, most pertinent at this stage, that we shall attempt to answer. For this purpose we must analyse and understand the universally acknowledged nation concept and see how far we actually subscribe to it. And if we do not, why, and whether such an aberration is in any way proper. We must also see what the nation idea should denote to us in our struggle for national regeneration, by applying the universal concept to our case. And we will look at our problem from more points of view than one.

CHAPTER I



To start with: The life of Nations is not to be counted in years. What days are in the life of man, years or even centuries may be in that of Nations. Especially so is the case of the Nation of Hindusthan. Whereas with the exception of China, all the chief Nations of the world today can trace the history of their civilized life (I should say semi-barbaric life) and go back at best a couple of thousand years, we cannot say when, at what particular point of time, we in Hindusthan discarded the state of nature and started an ordered, civilized, national existence. It seems as if we never were uncivilized. The Vedas, the most ancient literature extant today, embodies ideas too noble except for a highly organised and cultured people to express. Indeed for all their vaunted superiority of intellectual investigation, the Western Scholars have not still seen even the hem of the garment of the glorious

Goddess of knowledge, whom our ancient Sages saw in all her splendid totality and assimilated into their own being. And when the Vedas came into existence, we are at liberty only to conjecture in vain. Leaving these times of the dim past, into the mysteries of which History dare not venture, let us come to what is known as the Epic age. Let us ignore even the vast stretch of time that must have elapsed between these two ages. And of the two great Epics, Ramayan and Mahabharat, which give their name to this period, let us consider only the later one, Mahabharat*. What is the time of this Epic? When was the great battle fought? When was the immortal gem in the diadem of this great Epic, the Shrimad Bhagawadgita, set in words? Orientalist Scholars have ascertained that the Geeta must be about 1,500 to 2,000 years prior to Buddha's birth. And Buddha lived about 600 B. C. Evidently the Mahabharat is at least 4,500 to 5,000 years old. If we take into consideration the fact that the Mahabharat depicts a highly organised, elaborate, civilized society, at the zenith of its power and glory, and try to find out how long the race must have taken to attain that stage, we shall certainly have to go back another several thousand years into the

* It is interesting to note the colossal ignorance of Historians of the West, about ancient History. Every child in Hindusthan knows that Ramayan is the work of the father of Sanskrit poetry, Valmiki, and the first piece of literature in Sanskrit. Mahabharat is a much later work. Every child also knows that the story of the Ramayan is about a personality much more ancient than the heroes of the Mahabharat. From internal evidence also it can be shown that whereas the Ramayan is referred to in the Mahabharat, no mention of even the dynasties of Bharat and others of the latter epic is traceable in Valmiki's work. The language of the two works also gives ample proofs of Mahabharat being a much later work. But obsessed with the idea, that Aryans came to Hindusthan from somewhere near the Caspian sea or the Arctic region or some such

unknown past. For such a complex civilisation could not have been the product of a day. When after about 2,000 years of progress, conquest of nature and the humanising influence of Christ, the West, even today, has scarcely washed off the paint of her barbarous forefathers, we must say that we must have lived and progressed many times that period before we could attain that superb social structure, sung in that immortal song. Undoubtedly, therefore, we—Hindus—have been in undisputed and undisturbed possession of this land for over 8 or even 10 thousand years before the land was invaded by any foreign race.

Thus apart from any consideration of the Hindu *i. e.* Aryan race being indigenous or otherwise, of one thing we are certain, that the very first page of history records our existence as a progressive and highly civilized nation—the only nation in the then world, in this land, which, therefore, came to be known as Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus.

And after all what authority is there to prove our immigrant nature? The shady testimony of Western scholars? Well, it must not be ignored that the superiority complex of the "White Man" blurs their vision,

place, and invaded this land in bands of marauders, that later they settled down first in the Punjab and gradually spread eastward along the Gunga, forming kingdoms at various places, at Ayodhya among them, the Historian feels it an anachronism, that the kingdom of Ayodhya in the Ramayan should be older than the more western Pandava Empire at Hastinapur. And he, with pedantic ignorance teaches us that the story of the Mahabharat is the older. Unfortunately such misconceptions are stuffed into the brains of our young ones through text books appointed by various Universities, in the country. It is high time that we studied, understood and wrote our history ourselves and discarded such designed or undesigned distortions.

Can they acknowledge the greater antiquity and superiority of a nation, now held in thrall by one of their peoples? They have neither such generosity nor love of truth. Till yesterday they wandered wild in the wildernesses, their nude bodies wierdly tatoood and painted. They must needs show, therefore, that all peoples of the world were at that time in the same or worse state. And they set about proving, when the superior intellectual and spiritual fruits of Hindu Culture could not be denied, that, in origin, there was but one Aryan race somewhere, which migrated and peopled Europe, Persia and Hindusthan, but that the European stock went on progressing whilst the Hindu branch mixed with the aborigines, lost its purity and became degenerate. Again there is another consideration. By showing that the Hindus are mere upstarts and squatters on the land (as they themselves are in America, Australia and other places!) they can set up their own claim. For then neither the Hindus nor the Europeans are indigenous and as to who should possess this land, becomes merely a matter of superior might, mere priority of tresspass giving no better right to any race to rule undisturbed on any part of the globe. We are merely dreaming and imputing motives, one may say. But, then, how is the strange fact of European tea-planters and merchants, who make a show of having settled in this land (for their own gain and at their own choice of course), being classed on a par with the Hindus and given minority rights in the present constitution (1935) to be explained? If the Europeans really acknowledged the Hindus to be children of the soil and the Europeans in this land mere squatters and despoilers thereof, could they have perpetrated such a palpable absurdity? No, the European, particularly the Englishman, will never cease duping us into believing that we have no more right to this land than he has.

But it may be said Lok. Tilak propounded the Arctic origin of the Aryans. Quite so. We may agree with him that originally the Aryans *i. e.* the Hindus lived in the region of the North Pole. But, he was not aware that, in ancient times, the North Pole and with it the Arctic Zone was not where it is today. We have heard in a lecture on Paleontological Botany, delivered during the convocation of the Benares Hindu University (Feb. 1932), by Dr. Birbal Sahni, Professor of Botany, Lucknow University, the reputed professor give the results arrived at by a certain European Paleontologist and confirmed by Dr. Sahni himself. The result, in a nutshell, is, that the North Pole is not stationary and quite long ago it was in that part of the world, which, we find, is called Bihar and Orissa at the present; that then it moved north-east and then by a sometimes westerly, sometimes northward movement, it came to its present position. If this be so, did we leave the Arctic Zone and come to Hindusthan or were we all along here and the Arctic Zone left us and moved away northwards in its zigzag march? We do not hesitate in affirming that had this fact been discovered during the life-time of Lok. Tilak, he would unhesitatingly have propounded the proposition that 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas' was verily in Hindusthan itself and that it was not the Hindus who migrated to that land but the Arctic Zone which emigrated and left the Hindus in Hindusthan.

Enough of this. Man's knowledge (?) of those times is merely conjectural. He puts forth hypotheses, which are merely of tentative value. Hypothesis is not truth. Out of the heap of hypotheses we reject all and positively maintain that we Hindus came into this land from nowhere, but are indigenous children of the soil always, from times immemorial and are natural masters of the

country. Here we compiled our inimitable Vedas, reasoned out our Philosophy of the Absolute—the last word on the subject, built our sciences and arts and crafts. Here we progressed in cultivation, industries and trade, flourished and prospered—a great nation of a great race—propounded the one religion, which is no make-belief but religion in essence, and built up a culture of such sublime nobility that foreign travellers to the land were dumbfounded to see it, a culture which made every individual a noble specimen of humanity, truth and generosity, under the divine influence of which, not one of the hundreds of millions of the people, ever told a lie or stole or indulged in any moral aberration; and all this long before the west had learnt to eat roast meat instead of raw! And we were one Nation—“Over all the land from sea to sea one kingdom!” is the trumpet-cry of the ancient Vedas!

After the time of the Mahabharat, we have another gap of many centuries, which the accredited history has not been able to fill. But we can surmise that the nation lived its usual life without any serious occurrence. Then came Buddha and the great Emperors of the Gupta Dynasty, Asoka, Harshavardhan, Vikramaditya, Pulakeshi, and others of whose rule of peace, power and plenty, we obtain incontrovertible evidence. The invasion of the “world-conqueror” Alexander was a mere scratch. In fact he cannot be said to have invaded the country at all, so hasty was his retreat. However, with the passage of time, a sense of security spread its benumbing influence over the whole Nation, and the great corruptor, Time, laid his hand heavily on the people. Carelessness waxed and the one Nation fell into small principalities. Consciousness of the one Hindu Nationhood became musty and the race became vulnerable to attacks from out

side. Buddhistic influence—a misunderstanding of the teachings of the Great Master—had the baneful effect of effacing from the minds of the masses their tenacious adherence to their faith. Over-individualization in the field of religion followed and the consequence was that the individual became more prominent than the society, the Nation. For those, whom the spirit of true religion did not touch intensely, this was another name for self-seeking, even at the cost of the welfare of the whole. And yet the race-spirit did not wholly die out. The Race Spirit is too tenacious to be dead so easily. And when the first real invasions of murdering hordes of mussalman free-booters occurred, they indeed found the nation divided against itself and incapable of stemming the tide of devastation they brought in their wake. But not for long. Here and there principalities, of staunch Hindu Spirit, put up a tough fight and carried on an unceasing war with the invaders. The great Empire of Vijayanagar, the illustrious Rana Pratap of Chitor fought the enemy to the last drop of their blood. Then came the glorious period of Hindu revival under the Great Shiwaji and the whole illustrious line of Hindu warriors, who overthrew the Moslem domination right upto the Sindhu river, and shattered the throne of the "Great Moghul", the emblem of Muslim Victory. About the same time, in the Punjab, was being welded that band of unconquerable Hindu heroes, the Sikhs, headed by their immortal Gurus. These two Hindu forces would have come together to be welded into one, but that Guru Govind Singhji came a bit too late into Maharashtra for the purpose and found the province engrossed in a life and death struggle with Aurangzib. Unfortunately for our Nation, Chhatrapati Shiwaji was dead about 25 years ago, his son treacherously

captured and murdered by Aurangzib, and the whole territory in a conflagration. And Guru Govind Singhji could not fulfil his mission of joining the two streams together into an invincible torrent, before he laid down his mortal frame at Nanded (now in the Nizam's Dominions). Yet they had practically achieved their purpose; the power of the invaders was entirely broken and the Hindu Nation was emerging victorious from this 800 years' war. But before the fruits of the great victory were gathered, before the Nation had even breathing space to gather strength, to organize the 'State', a new foe, from an altogether unexpected quarter, stealthily, treacherously entered the land and with the help of the Mussalmans, and such traitorous scions of the pedigree of a Jaichand Rathod, a Summersingh, a Chandrarao Morey, as still existed, manoeuvred and started taking possession of the land. Exhausted as it was with its long war, the Hindu Nation still put up a gallant fight, now victorious, now beaten, till at last its strength was greatly sapped and the whole land usurped by the new invaders. These foreigners began to consolidate their power and have thus far been able to maintain themselves. But the Nation, the Hindu Nation, was not conquered. It did not succumb suppliant at the feet of the enemy. No, on the contrary it raised itself, weak as it was once again, in 1857, to beat off the foe. This so-called mutiny may be said thus far to be the last great nation-wide attempt to end the long war. The attempt failed but even in their defeat a whole galaxy of noble Hindu patriots stands out—glorious objects of the Nation's worship.

Was at least now the conquest of Hindusthan complete? Was the Hindu Nation subjugated? Let History speak.

Here come before our eyes the figures of Wasudeo Balwant, Annasahab Patwardhan, the whole race of martyrs in Bengal, in the Punjab, the U. P., Maharashtra, Madras, throughout the length and breadth of the country, who, since 1906 till today, have been grimly fighting for their Mother—the Hindu Race and Nation, too many and too sacred to name. And with other weapons the staunch fighters Lok. Tilak, Lala Lajapat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and a host of others and the day's notaries—M. Gandhi and others, too recent to be named, all Hindu workers, rightly conceiving the National future or not, but all sincerely and sternly fighting the foe—Surely the Hindu Nation is not conquered. It is fighting on. Ever since that evil day, when Moslems first landed in Hindusthan, right upto the present moment the Hindu Nation has been gallantly fighting on to shake off the despoilers. It is the fortune of war, the tide turns now to this side, now to that, but the war goes on and has not been decided yet. Nor is there any fear of its being decided to our detriment. The Race Spirit has been awakening. The lion was not dead, only sleeping. He is rousing himself up again and the world has to see the might of the regenerated Hindu Nation strike down the enemy's hosts with its mighty arm. The star has risen and is steadily climbing up the firmanent. At no distant date the world shall see it and tremble with fear or dance with delight. It all depends upon the nature of those it shall shine upon.

Thus do we understand the History of Hindusthan. In a nut-shell, we may state that in this land of ours we have lived for God knows how long, a great Nation of the grandest culture, that though, for the last thousand years or less, the land has been infested with murderous bands of despoilers in various parts, the nation has not

been conquered, far less subjugated, that through all these years it has engaged in a terrible struggle to free the land of this pest and the great struggle is still relentlessly raging with varying success to both sides. In short our history is the story of our flourishing Hindu National life for thousands of years and then of a long unflinching war continuing for the last ten centuries, which has not yet come to a decisive close. And when we understand our history, thus rightly, we find ourselves, not the degenerate, down-trodden, uncivilised slaves that we are taught to believe we are today, but a nation, a free nation of illustrious heroes fighting the forces of destruction for the last thousand years and determined to carry on the struggle to the bitter end with ever-increasing zeal and unflagging national ardour. And Race Spirit calls. National consciousness blazes forth and we Hindus rally to the Hindu Standard, the Bhagawa Dhwaja, set our teeth in grim determination to wipe out the opposing forces.

To counteract this conquering spirit, to extinguish the correct Hindu National consciousness, our Histories teach us that we never were a nation, but a medley of warring chieftains, that our real history begins with the Moghul rulers, that the rise of the Hindu power in Maharashtra and the Punjab were mere rebellions of plundering chiefs, that the 1857 conflagration was a mutiny and the sacrifices of the modern martyrs, the deserving punishment meted out to traitors; and that peace reigned in the land for the first time since the consolidation of British power. Not satisfied with this, for it was certain that sooner or later the cat would surely come out of the bag and reveal the utter falsity of such a designedly distorted narrative, another

effort was made to put the race on a wrong track, and unfortunately this attempt seems to have borne the bitter fruit. The idea was spread that for the first time the people were going to live a National life, the Nation in the land naturally was composed of all those who happened to reside therein and that all these people were to unite on a common "National" platform and win back "freedom" by "Constitutional means." Wrong notions of democracy strengthened the view and we began to class ourselves with our old invaders and foes under the outlandish name—Indian and tried to win them over to join hands with us in our struggle. The result of this poison is too well known. We have allowed ourselves to be duped into believing our foes to be our friends and with our own hands are under-mining true Nationality. That is the real danger of the day, our self-forgetfulness, our believing our old and bitter enemies to be our friends. As a matter of fact we have in Hindusthan a triangular fight, we, Hindus, at war at once with the Moslems on the one hand and Britain on the other. The Moslems are not misled. They take themselves to be the conquering invaders and grasp for power. In our self-deception, we go on seceding more and more, in hopes of "Nationalising" the foreigners and succeed merely in increasing their all-devouring appetite. The consequence, for us, is that we go more and more astray and lose sight of our cherished goal of National regeneration. Indeed we begin to fear that calling ourselves Hindus even, is denationalizing. Thanks to Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Hume and others of the type, we have almost completely lost sight of our true Hindu Nationhood, in our wild goose chase after the phantasm of founding a "really" democratic "State" in the country. Their aims are being realised. The Congress, they founded as

a safety valve to seething nationalism, as a toy which would lull the awakening giant into slumber, an instrument to destroy National consciousness, has been, as far as they are concerned, a success. Our own "denationalization" under the name of Nationality is nearing its consummation. We have almost forgotten our Nationhood.

CHAPTER II



What is the notion of Democratic states about "Nation"? Is it the same haphazard bundle of friend and foe, master and thief, as we in Hindusthan understand it to mean? Or do the political thinkers of the democratic West think otherwise?

We believe that our notions today about the Nation concept are erroneous. They are not in conformity with those of the Western Political Scientists, we think we are imitating. It is but proper, therefore, at this stage, to understand what the Western Scholars state as the Universal Nation idea and correct ourselves. With this end in view, we shall now proceed with stating and analysing the World's accepted Nation concept.

The word "Nation" denotes a compound idea. It consists of certain distinct notions fused indissolubly

into a whole, which stands so long as its components exist in unison. The various political philosophers have expressed in different words but always conveying the same sense. Modern dictionaries, too, give the same meaning. Fowler defines the word "Nation" to mean "A people or Race distinguished by community of descent, language, history or political institutions." The definitions given by the various Political Scientists are more comprehensive and more to the point. We will quote a few, though a large number of authors can easily be cited, and examine them to find out what, in essence, they in common subscribe to.

According to Prof. Hole-Combe "It (Nationality) is a corporate sentiment, a kind of fellow-feeling or mutual sympathy relating to a definite home country. It springs from a common heritage of memories, whether of great achievements and glory, or of disaster and suffering." With Burgess Nation means "a population having a common language and literature, common customs and common consciousness of rights and wrongs, inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity." Bluntsley, the famous German writer on politics, defines Nation thus—"It is a union of masses of men of different occupations and social states, in a hereditary society of common spirit; feeling and race bound together especially by a language and customs in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners, quite apart from the bond of the state." Getel is very clear in his expression of the concept when in his "Introduction to Political Science" he says that "Nationality is to denote a population having common bonds of race, language, religion, tradition and history. These influences create the consciousness

of unity that binds individuals into a nationality." Gumplovic is brief but most significant in defining "Nation" as a "community of civilization." Our own writer on politics Mr. Kale says in his "Indian Administration" "A nation is a community, members of which are bound to one another by racial, ethnological, religious and linguistic ties."

It is needless to multiply quotations. Let us see what we obtain as the gist of the idea. That "a definite home country"—"a territory of a geographical unity" is essential for a nation is evident, though everyone may not have explicitly expressed its absolute necessity, in so many words. The next point which comes up as of the essence of the concept is "Race"—"a hereditary Society." "Religious ties," "Common civilization" expressed also as "Common heritage of memories" "Common bond of tradition and history" and lastly "linguistic unity" are the three other factors most prominently present in the Nation concept, as understood by the learned political thinkers of the world. In fine, the idea contained in the word Nation is a compound of five distinct factors fused into one indissoluble whole the famous five "Unities"—Geographical (country), Racial (Race), Religious (Religion), cultural (Culture) and linguistic (language). We will take each severally and examine its place in the concept.

COUNTRY:—That for any race to live the life of a Nation it is essential that it should have a territory of its own, delimited as possible by natural geographical boundaries, is an unquestionable truth. Indeed such a piece of land is the physical basis of any National life. A Nation without its country is unthinkable. It is only when a race inhabits a definite territory as its own possession and develops therein, that

growing forth into its peculiar culture and the resultant nationhood. History records abundant proofs of races, acquiring a country, shaping themselves, into Nations in course of time. It may be said that even the U. S. A., in which a number of European peoples settled and amalgamated themselves into a homogeneous whole, have achieved independent nationhood as a result merely of a separate country; otherwise, there is nothing to distinguish the parent stocks from their American offspring. At the same time it is an illustration in point to show how an independent life in a separate country produces varying interests and in time, stamps the mother race with a distinct new culture, giving rise to a new Nation. History also records notable examples of ancient nations being deprived of nationality as a consequence of their losing their motherland. Take for example the Jews. The Jews were a prosperous nation. But times changed. The nation was conquered and subjected to a tyrannous rule under the Romans. A number of Jews, finding it difficult to live in those conditions maintaining their old religion and culture, left their country Palestine, and came to Hindusthan—the purest stock of the children of Israel—and to this day they are inhabiting the country of the Hindus (the Bene-Israel of Bombay Presidency). Later, the engines of destruction loose under the name of Islam, completely destroyed their power and the Jews, in order to save what was most dear to them,—their religion and culture, fled from the country and scattered, all the world over naturalising themselves in various parts of the globe. Thus scattered they still live and with them live their religion, culture and language. They are still the same old Jews. With them nothing has changed except that they are exiles from their country and have no place to call their own; and they are all

without exception, a rich and advanced people. But they are a people in name and are not a nation, as the whole world knows. The recent attempt at rehabilitating Palestine with its ancient population of the Jews is nothing more than an effort to reconstruct the broken edifice and revitalize the practically dead Hebrew National life. Another example is of the Parsis. The same old tale of Islamic invasion, with its attendant massacres, devastation, destruction, loot and arson, violation of all sacred places, desecration of religion and culture, and forced conversion to the faith of the ready executioner, and everything else that ever went hand in hand with the spread of Islam, was repeated in all its hideousness in Iran. A number of staunch Parsis decided to trust the harsh elements of Nature rather than the unparalleled cruelty of Islam, took with them their sacred fire and set sail for anywhere away from Iran and from the murderers, who enthroned themselves in that fair land. They happened to land in Hindusthan—the land of the generous Hindus, who extended to them a hand of fraternal love and gave them succour and protection. And in this new country they have lived and prospered and are today a wealthy class with their religion and culture intact. But the Parsis are not a Nation. No one can say that the Iranian Nation of the Parsis is extant today. Why? Because they lost their own country, because they have no geographical unit of a territory to call their own, wherein to live in undisputed possession and develop, according to their own natural tendencies, their culture and their Nationhood. But let these two notable examples suffice, for no one can seriously dispute the fact that for a people to be and to live as a Nation, a hereditary territory, a definite home country, relating to which it has certain indissoluble bonds of community, is essential.

RACE:—It is superfluous to emphasis the importance of Racial Unity in the Nation idea. A Race is a "hereditary Society having common customs, common language, common memories of glory or disaster; in short, it is a population with a common origin under one culture. Such a race is by far the important ingredient of a Nation. Even if there be people of a foreign origin, they must have become assimilated into the body of the mother race and inextricably fused into it. They should have become one with the original national race, not only in its economic and political life, but also in its religion, culture and language, for otherwise such foreign races may be considered, under certain circumstances, at best members of a common state for political purposes; but they can never form part and parcel of the National body. If the mother race is destroyed either by destruction of the persons composing it or by loss of the principle of its existence, its religion and culture, the nation itself comes to an end. We will not seek to prove this axiomatic truth, that the Race is the body of the Nation, and that with its fall, the Nation ceases to exist.

RELIGION AND CULTURE:—Where religion forms the very life-breath of a people, where it governs every action of the individual as well as of the Society as a whole, where in short, it forms the only incentive to all action, worldly and spiritual, it is difficult to distinguish these two factors clearly. They become one, as it were. Culture being the cumulative effect of age-long customs, traditions, historical and other conditions and most particularly of religious beliefs and their attendant philosophy, (where there is such a philosophy) on the Social mind, creating the peculiar Race spirit (which it is difficult to explain,) it is plainly a result mainly of that religion and philosophy, which controls the social life and shapes

it, generation after generation, planting on the Race consciousness, its own particular stamp. But ordinarily, where religion is a mere matter of form, or worse still, a toy for luxury to play with, it is culture which is the important factor, and can be easily distinguished from Religion. For example in Europe, except Turkey and modern Russia, the whole continent professes Christianity, but this religion, not having permeated into the life of the people, remains practically an ornament, without moulding the minds of the people. As such, each Nation, while being Christian in common with the others, has developed its own peculiar culture, an evolution of the Race spirit of its pre-Christian ancestors. And every Nation is proud of this distinctive feature and guards it most zealously. For, where religion does not form a distinguishing factor, culture together with the other necessary constituents of the Nation idea, becomes the important point in the making up of individual Nationality. On the other hand in Hindusthan, Religion is an all-absorbing entity. Based as it is on the unshakeable foundations of a sound philosophy of life, (as indeed Religion ought to be), it has become eternally woven into the life of the Race, and forms, as it were, its very Soul. With us, every action in life, individual, social or political, is a command of Religion. We make war or peace, engage in arts and crafts, amass wealth and give it away, indeed we are born and we die—all in accord with religious injunctions. Naturally, therefore, we are what our great Religion has made us. Our Race-spirit is a child of our Religion and so with us Culture is but a product of our all-comprehensive Religion, a part of its body and not distinguishable from it.

But whether the two, Religion and Culture, can be shown in distinction or not, whether the one forms an

appendage of the other or vice versa, every unit which we call a Nation, does profess and maintain a National Religion and Culture, these being necessary to complete the Nation idea.

At the present, however, there is a general tendency to affirm that Religion is an individual question and should have no place in public and political life. This tendency is based upon a misconception of Religion, and has its origin in those, who have, as a people, no religion worth the name. And yet it will not be unprofitable to consider this problem at this stage. If Religion concerns itself merely with matters other-worldly if there be another world, so the sceptic will say-, then surely it should have no place in affairs of this world. Then only will it surely be a question to be solved by each in his own individual way, in the privacy of his life. In Europe, in practically the whole of the world except Hindusthan, Religion means no more than a few opinions, dogmatically forced down the throats of one and all, without any consideration for individual aptitudes or the fact that the teachings therein do not accord with modern knowledge. It is just the only way for all—a square hole for balls of all shapes and sizes to fit in. And at its best it is an attempt to establish a relationship between the individual and God, for the spiritual benefit of the former. With this view of Religion, even at its best, it is natural to affirm that it should have no place in Politics. But then, this is but a fractional part of Religion. Religion, in its essence is that which by regulating society in all its functions, makes room for all individual idiosyncracies, and provides suitable ways and means for all sorts of mental frames to adopt, and evolve, and which at the same time raises the whole society as such, from the material, through the moral to the spiritual plane. As

many minds, so many ways that is the spiritual rule of true Religion. On the worldly or material plane, too, it affords opportunities for the development of each to the fullest stature of his manhood, not for a moment, however, desisting from pointing out and leading on the way to the attainment of the highest spiritual life and Bliss Infinite. Such Religion—and nothing else deserves that name—cannot be ignored in individual or public life. It must have a place in proportion to its vast importance in politics as well. To give it a go-bye or even to assign it an insignificant place, would mean degeneration on all hands. Indeed politics itself becomes, in the case of such a Religion, a small factor, to be considered and followed solely as one of the commands of Religion and in accord with such commands. We in Hindusthan have been living such a Religion. For us individual, social and political prosperity is the first stage to be attained towards achievement of real life in its fullness. We cannot give up religion in our National life, as it would mean our stopping short on the lowest rung of the ladder, when we have the whole way clear before us, as it would mean that we have turned faithless to our Race-Spirit, to the ideal and mission for which we have lived for ages, inspite of greater calamities than what sufficed to annihilate Babylon and Misar and Iran and a number of the ancient civilizations.

Apart from this, and taking that Europe has a religion, (those who have raised this cry of no-religion being all Europeans) it is small wonder that they should have said so. Europe has been the scene of much bloodshed in the name of Religion. Although they are all Christian Nations, from an ill-placed pride in a particular form of worship in the minds of the ruling classes, they shed

much innocent blood and acquired such notoriety, that for the general peace it was considered profitable to assume a more tolerant attitude towards the various sects and religious persuasions, and leave the individual to choose whichever he liked, provided only, he did not, in following his beliefs, become a nuisance to his neighbours. To ban religion altogether from all public and political life is but one step forward and a natural one.

There is yet another and much more important consideration. Sects, forms of worship, are only parts of a religion, followed by a group of persons or by individuals; they are not so many Religions. Europe, therefore, has but one Religion all over. Naturally, Religion does not form there a distinguishing of Nationality. And so in the conflict of Nations religious zeal does not form an incentive to any act of war or peace. Under such conditions National differences arise solely out of the country, race, culture and possibly the language being different. Such is the state of affairs obtaining in Europe since long. And most of the modern thinkers on Political Science being Europeans and having before them the problem of the Christian countries only, they found the religion factor superfluous in their political life. Hence the proposition that religion has no place in politics.

And yet, as we shall soon see, religion, though thus cried down, has been still zealously maintained as an essential ingredient, expressly or implicitly in the Nationhood of most of the European Nations themselves.

So also with Culture. If there be but one culture throughout and one religion, country and race, with the difference of language, if such difference exists will be sufficient to constitute distinct Nationalities. Not that

under such conditions the two shall not be factors in the nation idea, only they will not be manifest, for then they shall have no need to be so. This fact should be borne in mind, as it will have to be referred to again, when we will study our own old conception of "Rashtra."

There is one more question. The modern Socialistic doctrine denies religion altogether. We reserve this question for a later page. In passing we shall only state that Socialism, in whatever form, is the "theory of the State" and takes no account of Nationality and at present is beyond our scope. We will, therefore, for the time being let it be.

LANGUAGE:—Every Race, living in its own country evolves a language of its own, reflecting its culture, its religion, its history and traditions. Supplanting it with another is dangerous. It is an expression of the Race spirit, a manifestation of the National web of life. Every word, every turn of expression depicts the Nation's life. It is all so intertwined into the very being of the race that the two cannot be severed without fatal results. Take away from a nation its ancient language—its whole literature goes with it—and the Nation as such ceases to be. It is not for nothing that the English long tried, even by the force of arms, to force down their language on the Irish and to suppress their mother tongue. It is also not for nothing that not only the Irish fought hard and preserved their sacred language but the little Welshmen also in these modern times of glorious political life as a part of Great Britain, are striving hard to stem the tide supplanting their tongue with the 'foreign' language, not without success. For these all know that loss of their ancient language would for ever

kill out their dear national sentiment, and with it wipe out any possibility of their building up independent healthy national life. One of the best evidences of an enslaved people is their adoption of the language and customs of their conquerors. Language, therefore, being inextricably woven in the all round life of a race is an ingredient of great importance in its nationality. Without it the nation concept is incomplete.

Ordinarily in every nation, these three, religion, culture and language form a compound factor. In the modern nations it is only latterly that they can be seen in their separateness. We shall, therefore, illustrate the importance of these factors in unison. Take the example of Afganistan. It was once Gandhar, a province of the Hindu Nation. It changed its form of faith by embracing Buddhism and gradually had the hold of religion upon it progressively weakened, till at last, with the advent of the Muslims, it fell an easy prey to the invaders and was deprived of its religion and with it, its Hindu culture and language. The country is there, the ancient race, too, is there, but it no longer is the same old nation that it used to be. Gandhar is no more. Similarly with Baluchistan. Palestine became Arab, a large number of Hebrews changed faith and culture and language and the Hebrew nation in Palestine died a natural death. Where is the Parsi Nation today? Their land is there, still inhabited by the descendants of the old Parsis, but is there the Parsi Nation in their home country, Iran? It has ceased to be with the destruction in its country, of the three essentials., Religion, Culture and to a less extent, language. But Let us not multiply examples. These few, though merely indicative, suffice for our present purpose.

CHAPTER III

Thus far we have examined the views of the chief pre-war political writers and drawn upon old history to support the conclusion arrived at, that the Nation Concept comprises the five constituent ideas—country, race, religion, culture and language—as the necessary and indispensable ingredients, in the existence of which five in a homogeneous whole, the Nation exists and in the destruction of any one of which the Nation itself experiences extinction. Now we have to look into the post war period and see if the same old rule still holds good or has been given up and substituted by some new one, or has been even modified.

The war left most of the principal European Nations unaffected so far as their constitutions went. Germany changed from a monarchist state to a Republican one, but its national life did not alter with the change

in the form of Government. So also with Russia. But a number of small states were created out of the remains of the old nations of Roumania and the other contiguous nations, together with the territories despoiled from the vanquished nations. These new states were thus composed of the original national race with an incorporation in its body politic of a people racially, culturally and linguistically different. It was, therefore, necessary to frame certain standard rules in order to establish peaceful government in these states. The League of Nations supervised over all these changes and reorganizations and formulated the now famous "Minority Treaties" whereby the rights of the national and foreign races could be equitably adjusted and due protection granted to the minorities in such states. If indeed, the world were of opinion that Nationality was only another name for political unity and Race, Religion, Culture and Language had nothing to do with politics, there would have been no trouble, for then there could be no class of people to demand special privileges and protection. But the League of Nations, composed of the best political brains of practically all the Nations of the world, thinks otherwise and does not seem to countenance the view endorsed by raw political agitators. The very definition of the word 'Minority' as a "class of people incorporated in the body of a Nation," "citizens who differ from the majority of the population in Race, Religion and Language are called minorities" is clear on the point that every Nation has necessarily its own National Race, Religion and Language (culture needs no special mention for with the mention of the three Race, Religion and Language, culture also is implicitly there.) To discuss the problem of minorities is, though very useful for a proper

understanding of our problem today, not within the scope of this booklet. We will only state in one small sentence that for such a foreign race to claim preferential treatment at the hands of the Nation, it should not be an upstart, a new, voluntary settlement, and it should not be below 20% of the total population of the state.

To return to our subject, the post-war states-men, though not speaking of Religion, Culture and Language as essential constituents of the Nation concept, have tacitly acknowledged that they are so, and have even gone the length of emphasising the necessary nature of the Race factor. As for the Geographical unity, since every state with which they had to deal, did not live in the air, but inhabited a properly delimited territory possessed by the National Race, from the very beginning of its national life, there arose no reason to express country as an essential for National life. This, however, was made express, when in order to confer their lost Nationality upon the exiled Jews, the British with the help of the League of Nations, began to rehabilitate the old Hebrew country, Palestine, with its long lost children. The Jews had maintained their race, religion, culture and language: all they wanted was their natural territory to complete their Nationality. The reconstruction of the Hebrew Nation in Palestine is just an affirmation of the fact that Country, Race, Religion, Culture and Language must exist unavoidably together to form a full Nation idea. Thus it is evident that the war and its resultant adjustments have not affected the old conception and that as of yore, the world, the western world especially, still holds firm to the statement that for the Nation idea to manifest itself and live, it must be comprised of the five constituent

"Unities," Geographical, Racial, Religious, Cultural and Linguistic, and of all these five, without exception.

Latterly some thinkers, thinking it wise to drop the words, Religion, Culture and language altogether from the Nation idea, have defined "Nation" to mean "a race living in a hereditary territory and possessed of common traditions and common aspirations." It is considered that this definition satisfies those, who are impatient of the maintenance of Religion in politics. It is thought that by adopting this new outlook on Nationality, all problems, arising out of religious, cultural and linguistic differences, shall cease and the world be blessed with smooth running states. That the states should run without the least friction among those who live under their way, we also heartily wish, but we fail to see how this change of words in expressing the Nation idea can bring about this desirable state of affairs. Indeed has the understanding of the Nation concept undergone a change by this change in its expression? At least we do not see that this new definition alters the old conception in the least, far less supersedes it. For, to any person, with average intelligence, it will be evident that this "New" definition acknowledges the two first constituents Country and Race in so many words, but substitutes the other thereby "possessing common traditions and common aspirations." What are "Common Traditions"? Is not the tradition of a race the sum-total of its religious, cultural and political life? And is not the distinctive language of every race the result of its own peculiar traditions? In fact the one word "Traditions" is expressive of all the three factors, Religion, Culture and language, as it embraces the whole past life of the Race in all its aspects. Thus far we have nothing more than a play of

words, calculated to blind-fold the unwary tramp on the road to an understanding of the Nation idea. Thus far this "New" definition has merely stated in another garb what the old thinkers right up to the League of Nations, have emphasised as the essence of the Nation concept. The only "change" which now remains to be considered is in the additional words "Common Aspirations." The aspirations of the individual, as also of the Race, are conditioned by its mental frame. As is the mould into which the Racial mind is thrown—of course by its age-long traditions, so are its desires—its aspirations. It is the Race Consciousness awakening to march farther on, but it must tread the road into which its past traditional way has led it. It cannot abandon its fixed groove without seriously upsetting the whole fabric of its existence and endangering its life. Indeed it cannot help moving along the path which tradition has opened out for it. Look at Italy, the old Roman Race consciousness of conquering the whole territory round the Mediterranean Sea, so long dormant, has roused itself, and shaped the Racial-National aspirations accordingly. The ancient Race spirit, which prompted the Germanic tribes to over-run the whole of Europe, has re-risen in modern Germany, with the result that the Nation perforce follows aspirations, predetermined by the traditions left by its depredatory ancestors. Even so with us: our Race spirit has once again roused itself as is evidenced by the race of spiritual giants we have produced, and who today stalk the world in serene majesty. Thus the words "common aspirations" add nothing material to our old tested definition; they only seem to confer on every Race the indisputable right of excommunicating from its Nationality all those who, having been of the Nation, for ends of their own,

turned traitors and entertained aspirations contravening or differing from those of the National Race as a whole.

Accordingly, we state that our proposition stands unchallenged. Indeed it is based on such scientific understanding of the question, that it could not be otherwise. Thus the conclusion at which after so much discussion we arrive, is that for the Nation concept to exist and be manifest, it must have as its indissoluble component parts the famous five unities "Geographical, (Country) Racial (Race), Religious (Religion), Cultural (Culture) and Linguistic (Language)," that the loss or destruction of any one of these means the end of the Nation as a Nation. This is the unassailable position on the view of Nationality, subscribed to by the world's Political notaries, ancient and modern.

Having thus far studied what in essence the word "Nation" ought to mean, we shall go into the present conditions of some important modern states and see how far the "Ought" accords with what "Is". Theory and practice are not always in agreement and the theory which can find no place in practical life, deserves to be discarded. Whether our theoretical conception of the Nation arrived at above is one of these dead theories, or stands the test of practical life, has now to be seen.

The Nation, with which today we are most in contact, is England and we will take it first in our study. So far as country and Race are concerned they are so patent facts that no one questions their importance in the Nation concept. Culture, too, belongs to the same category, it being notorious how each nation jealously guards it and keeps it at its best. The knotty point is Religion and to a certain extent language. Especially

today when democratic states boast of having washed their hands clean of it, Religion deserves careful scrutiny. Does England believe in a state Religion? The answer is plainly in the affirmative, for, otherwise, why should it be an essential condition that the king of England must be of the Protestant persuasion? Why should the whole galaxy of priests of the Church of England be paid out of the state treasury? More notably, why should there be a Bishop of that Church appointed at Calcutta, at State expense? Does not the English nation, openly or clandestinely, help the missionary activities in Hindusthan and other places? If it is but Religious toleration, why are not the Hindu priests of the most important holy places paid by the British Government? And why is not the Bishop of Calcutta left to his own resources to live upon the charity of his flock? There is but one answer. England has a state religion, the Protestant form of the Christian faith, and believes in maintaining and strengthening it, as in its strength that of the Nation is preserved. As for language, the English attempts at killing out the indigenous languages and forcing upon the conquered races the "National" English tongue are notorious. Wherever the English went, Ireland, Wales, Hindusthan—in all such places they have tried to supplant the original language by English. Indeed, such is the Englishman's pride in his "National" language that he tries his best to make it the world's *Lingua franca*. With England, then, theory fully accords with practice regarding the Nation Idea.

The other Nation most in the eye of the world today is Germany. This Nation affords a very striking example. Modern Germany strove, and has to a great extent achieved what she strove for, to once again bring under one sway the whole of the territory, hereditarily

possessed by the Germans but which, as a result of political disputes, had been portioned off as different countries under different states. Austria for example, was merely a province, on par with Prussia, Bavaria and other principalities, which made the Germanic Empire. Logically Austria should not be an independant kingdom, but be one with the rest of Germany. So also with those portions, inhabited by Germans, which had been included, after the War, in the new State of Czechoslovakia. German pride in their Fatherland for a definite home country, for which the race has certain traditional attachments as a necessary concomitant of the true Nation concept, awoke and ran the risk of starting a fresh world-conflagration, in order to establish one, unparalleled, undisputed German Empire over all this "hereditary territory". This natural and logical aspiration of Germany has almost been fulfilled and the great importance of the "country factor" has been once again vindicated even in the living present. Come we next to the next ingredient of the Nation idea—Race, with which Culture and language are inseparably connected, where Religion is not the all absorbing force that it should be. German race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how wellnigh 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 Hindusthan to learn and profit by. Then the state language is German, and the foreign races living in the Country as minorities, though they have freedom to use their respective languages

among themselves, must deal in the nation's language in their public life. The factor of religion, too, is not to be ignored. The president, if any, of the Republic has to take an oath, which in its nature is purely religious. The state holidays are mostly the Christian holidays, according to the Roman Catholic sect. To be brief, all the five constituents of the Nation Idea have been boldly vindicated in modern Germany and that too, to-day in the actual present, when we can for ourselves see and study them, as they manifest themselves in their relative importance.

Another notable example is that of Russia. We had reserved the case of this 'Nation' as it professes no particular religious creed. And yet, howsoever it may have changed since the war, it still conforms fully to the complete Nation Concept. In the beginning, when the new doctrine of Socialism, in its Communistic form was in full swing in Russia, the slogan was "Workers and Peasants of the world, unite." It seemed as if the people had burst the bounds of nationality and set out for Internationalism, with the whole of humanity as its field of work. But the rest of the world and even most of the people in Russia itself, were not ready to grasp such a broad ideal. Human mind is what it is and unless it takes up a high philosophical attitude, it cannot even conceive of the oneness of the world. As a natural consequence Russian Internationalism is no more and today we find that Russia is a more orthodox Nation probably, than any other in the world. It is now not the old kind of Nation, that is all. But that it is a Nation all the same is evident. There is as of old the Country and its old Race with its Russian language. So far nothing has altered. The only change is that the Nation has given up its

old Religion and Culture and built up new ones in their place. In Russia now we have the new religion known as Socialism—and the new culture, that of the workers, evolved out of their materialistic religion. Readers, we think, will not disagree with us regarding the culture—the materialistic culture of Russia; they may, however, feel surprised at our statement that Socialism is modern Russia's religion. But there is nothing to be surprised at. To most, religion means a set of opinions to be dogmatically followed, for the good of the individual and of the society and for the attainment of God. Here we have a religion which does not believe in God. It is a Godless religion but a religion none the less. For the Russians, their prophet is Karl Marx and his opinions are their Testament. Even in other parts of the world there have been Godless religions in the past. The Russian religion is the modern form of those ancient ones. The socialists are veritably the descendants of Virochana and Charwak. But it does not profit us to discuss the beliefs to which the Russian Nation adheres with religious fervour. These beliefs are sacred to them and they are intolerant of all who differ from them or hold other or contradictory views. Theirs is but another example of Semitic religious intolerance, which has, in this form, once again bathed the world in blood. We rest satisfied with pointing out that Russia has its country, race, its materialistic godless religion, with its resultant culture and its language and stands out before the world a Nation in its complete Nationhood, shorn of its borrowed feathers of Internationalism.

We shall take only one more example, that of Czechoslovakia, as it is very instructive to us. This was a state formed after the Great War, of portions of

Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland, joined to the Czech territory under the Czech rule, to serve as a buffer state against Germany. The League of Nations adjusted and balanced the rights of the Nation--the Czech with those of the minorities, among them the Sudeten Germans. Under the direct supervision of the League, was made this distinction within the state, of the Nation supreme in the state and minorities living under the protection of the Nation and owing a number of duties to it, in return for the right of state citizenship. Czech language, Czech religion were the state language and all without exception had to deal in that language (Articles 128 and 129) and denationalisation (which could result only by giving up one's religion and culture and consequently race, situated as Czechoslovakia is, or by political opposition to the established Government) was declared an offence and the offenders liable to be penalized (Article 132). Here was implicitly an avowal by the League of Nations, that ' Nation ' and ' State ' are not synonymous, that in the ' State ', the ' Nation ' should be supreme and its components Country, Race, Religion, Culture and language should be respected and where possible followed by all the foreign races living in the state as minorities. And yet inspite of the most scrupulous care taken, to bring about harmony, inspite of the vigilance of the League, all un-national elements in the Czech State have fallen out and justified the fears of many political scholars, regarding the wisdom of heaping together in one State, elements conflicting with the National life. But of this later.

No need multiplying examples. Those interested may first purge their minds of any preconceived notions and look into the constitution of the various nations of the world and convince themselves, how everywhere

National existence is entirely dependant upon the coordinated existence of the five elements constituting the Nation idea—Country, Race, Religion, Culture and Language. That is the final incontrovertible verdict of theoretical discussions and their practical application to the world conditions past and present.

CHAPTER IV



Now we shall proceed to understand our Nationhood in the light of this Scientific concept. Here is our vast country, Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, their home country, hereditary territory, a definite geographical unity, delimited naturally by the sublime Himalayas on the North and the limitless ocean on the other three sides, an ideal piece of land, deserving in every respect to be called a Country, fulfilling all that the word should imply in the Nation idea. Living in this Country since pre-historic times, is the ancient Race—the Hindu Race, united together by common traditions, by memories of common glory and disaster, by similar historical, political, social, religious and other experiences, living and evolving, under the same influences, a common culture, a common mother language, common customs, common aspirations. This great Hindu Race professes

its illustrious Hindu Religion, the only Religion in the world worthy of being so denominated, which in its variety is still an organic whole, capable of feeding the noble aspirations of all men, of all stages, of all grades, aptitudes and capacities, enriched by the noblest philosophy of life in all its functions, and hallowed by an unbroken, interminable succession of divine spiritual geniuses, a religion of which any sane man may be justly proud. Guided by this Religion in all walks of life, individual, social, political, the Race evolved a culture, which despite the degenerating contact with the debased "civilizations" of the Mussalmans and the Europeans, for the last ten centuries, is still the noblest in the world. The fruit proves the worth of the tree and the common mind of a people the value of its culture. The spirit of broad Catholicism, generosity, toleration, truth, sacrifice and love for all life, which characterises the average Hindu mind, not wholly vitiated by Western influence, bears eloquent testimony to the greatness of Hindu culture. And even those, spoiled by contamination with foreign influences, do not but compare favourably with the best in the rest of the world. Not only has this Culture been most markedly effective in moulding man after the picture of God, but in the field of learning (we distinguish learning and knowledge) also, it has produced, to the immortal glory of the Race, intellectual giants, outstanding the greatest savants of the modern Scientific world. Great mathematicians like Bhaskaracharya, great chemists and physicians like the authors of the Charak Samhita, Bhavaprakash and Sushruta, great artists and sculptors, whose works like the Taj, the Ajanta paintings, the Werool (Ellora) Caves, and numerous others well known to the world still delight and charm the people of the world,

great politicians and diplomats like Arya Chanakya, Amatya Rakshasa, Amatya Madhava, great economists like Koutilya, great warriors and Emperors like the Hero of the Ramayana, Chandragupta, Harsha, Pulakeshi, Pratap, Shiwaji, Chhatrasal, the godly Sikh Gurus—all these and many more—succeeded in our times by their worthy offspring, Ramanujam, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Dr. B. Sahnii, Dr. Bhattacharya, Kaviraj N. N. Sen, Raja Ravi Verma, the painters—Tagore and others; Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lok. Tilak, C. R. Das, Shastri, V. G. Kale, the heroes of 1857, Tatya Tope, Kunwar Singh, the warrior queen Laxmibai of Jhansi, great poets and dramatists of old—Kalidas, Bhavabhuti, Magh and countless others represented today through the medieval Ramprasad, Tulsidas, Surdas, Jnaneshwar, Ramdas, by Rabinbra Nath Tagore, Sharatchandra Chakrawarti, Romeshchandra Dutt, Babu Premchand, N. C. Kelkar, V. D. Savarkar and many more—the whole line of luminaries in every branch of learning, all these and many more, un-named for want of space, are the glorious fruit of this ancient culture and bear unimpeachable testimony to its greatness. More glorious still is the succession of Religious, spiritual philosophers, from the Vedic sages down to the seers of our own day—Swami Vivekanand, Swami Rantirth, Maharshi Dayanand, Maharshi Ramanna, too numerous to name. Europe may boast of a few (She is, however, ashamed of them today!) St. Francis, St. Theresa, St. Paul, Luther, Max Muller, Paul Duessen, Romain Rolland, but here are countless such even today, who, in their divinity, vie with the “Master” of the European saints. No race is endowed with a nobler and more fruitful culture surely. No race is more fortunate in being given a Religion, which could produce such a culture.

In a nutshell such are the religious and cultural complements of this Nation. The last, Language, seems to present some difficulties, for in this country every province has its own language. It appears as if the Linguistic unity is wanting, and there are not one but many 'Nations', separated from each other by linguistic differences. But in fact that is not so. There is but one language, Sanskrit, of which these many 'languages' are mere offshoots, the children of the mother language—Sanskrit, the dialect of the Gods, is common to all from the Himalayas to the ocean in the South, from East to West and all the modern sister languages are through it so much inter-related as to be practically one. It needs but little labour to acquire a going acquaintance with any tongue. And even among the modern languages Hindi is the most commonly understood and used as a medium of expression between persons of different provinces. We have no hesitation in saying that though the vastness of our country has had the necessary consequence of giving birth to different dialects in the various localities, still all these local tongues, are naturally united in their great parent, the Sanskrit and are essentially one. There is thus no doubt regarding the existence in us of the fifth component of the Nation idea—language. Thus applying the modern understanding of 'Nation' to our present conditions, the conclusion is unquestionably forced upon us that in this country, Hindusthan, the Hindu Race with its Hindu Religion, Hindu Culture and Hindu Language, (the natural family of Sanskrit and her offsprings) complete the Nation concept; that, in fine, in Hindusthan exists and must needs exist the ancient Hindu nation and nought else but the Hindu Nation. All those not belonging to the national *i. e.* Hindu Race, Religion,

Culture and Language, naturally fall out of the pale of real 'National' life.

We repeat; in Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, lives and should live the Hindu Nation—satisfying all the five essential requirements of the scientific nation concept of the modern world. Consequently only those movements are truly 'National' as aim at re-building, re-vitalizing and emancipating from its present stupor, the Hindu Nation. Those only are nationalist patriots, who, with the aspiration to glorify the Hindu race and Nation next to their heart, are prompted into activity and strive to achieve that goal. All others are either traitors and enemies to the National cause, or, to take a charitable view, idiots.

CHAPTER V



If, as is indisputably proved, Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus and is the *terra firma* for the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon, what is to be the fate of all those, who, today, happen to live upon the land, though not belonging to the Hindu Race, Religion and culture? This question is too very common and has its genesis in the generous impulse of so many Hindus themselves, that it deserves at least a brief answer.

At the outset we must bear in mind that so far as 'nation' is concerned, all those, who fall outside the five-fold limits of that idea, can have no place in the national life, unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture and language of the Nation and completely merge themselves in the National Race. So long, however, as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners,

who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation. In all ancient Nations i. e. all those who had a well developed National life even before the Great War, this view is adopted. Though these Nations practise religious toleration, the strangers have to acknowledge the National religion as the state Religion and in every other respect, inseparably merge in the National community. Culturally, linguistically they must become one with the National race; they must adopt the past and entertain the aspirations for the future, of the National Race; in short, they must be "Naturalized" in the country by being assimilated in the Nation wholly. Naturally, there are no foreigners in these old Nations, and no one to tax the generosity of the Nation by demanding privileges, as 'Minority communities' in the State. It is this sentiment which prompted the united States of America, England, France and other old Nations to refuse to apply the solution of the Minorities problem arrived at by the league of Nations, to their States. The avowed reason for their declaration, that the decision of the League was not binding upon them, was that its application might shatter the unity of their empire and create uncalled-for difficulties, by rousing the demon of separateness and variegated interests of the distinct minorities, which had been so long laid at rest. The same sentiment has been expressed in the speech of the American Representative to the League, on the occasion of discussing the advisability of applying the "Minorities" decision to all the countries in the world. He said, "There are no distinctive characteristics in respect of Race, Language and Religion between the elements forming each of the peoples of that continent (America). Uniformity of language throughout the territory of each American State, complete religious tolerance combined with a **completely natural assimilation** of emigrants by the principal

mass of population of each of the States, have produced in them natural organisations, of which the collective unity is complete. This means that the existence of minorities, in the sense of persons with a right to the protection of the League of Nations, is impossible". It is worth bearing well in mind how these old Nations solve their minorities problem. They do not undertake to recognise any separate elements in their polity. Emigrants have to get themselves naturally assimilated in the principal mass of population, the National Race, by adopting its culture and language and sharing in its aspirations, by losing all consciousness of their separate existence, forgetting their foreign origin. If they do not do so, they live merely as outsiders, bound by all the codes and conventions of the Nation, at the sufferance of the Nation and deserving of no special protection, far less any privilege or rights. There are only two courses open to the foreign elements, either to merge themselves 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 to quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities problem. That is the only logical and correct solution. That alone keeps the national life healthy and undisturbed. That alone keeps the Nation safe from the danger of a cancer developing into its body politic of the creation of a state within the state. From this standpoint, sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations, 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. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an old nation; let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races, who have chosen to live in our country.

In the new states created after the war, however, such an assimilation had not been achieved, nor was there any prospect of its being achieved in the near future. All the same, this tried solution of the problem of the foreign races, should have been as a rule applied everywhere. But the League of Nations struck another note and formulated the now famous minority treaties and laid down certain general propositions, which have been acclaimed as "the public law of the world." (Arther Henderson's speech-page 24, monthly summary of the League of Nations, Jan. 1931) But not without many an apprehension and misgiving. The authors of the solution knew how beset it was with grave dangers, and yet they hoped that these treaties would serve as a first step, their declared object being "to secure for the minorities that measure of protection and justice, which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged." (Sir Austin Chamberlain's speech at the League Council on 9th Dec. 1925. quoted by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji.) This risk, which the League ran certain states into, has been vividly expressed by Paul Fauchille in his speech at the League Council on 9-12-25. He said, "this is a solution (the minority rights solution) which perhaps is not without certain dangers; for, if equality of treatment of all the inhabitants of a country, is an element of political and social peace, the recognition of rights

belonging to minorities as separate entities, by increasing their coherence and developing in them a sense of their own strength, may provoke them to separate themselves from the state of which they form a part; and in view of the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, the recognition of the rights of these minorities runs a risk of leading to the disruption of states". Prophetic words! How true they sound today after the recent developments in Europe, under the very nose of the League of Nations! The disastrous fate of the unfortunate Czechoslovakia (to which as promised, we now refer) proves beyond the faintest shadow of a doubt, how hollow were the League's hopes and how justified the fears of Paul Fauchille. And yet the decision of the League on the minorities rights was the most equitable and just, that could be conceived of. But even this just and equitable arrangement, instead of fostering the assimilation of the minorities into the National community, only served to increase their coherence and create in them such a sense of their own strength, that it led to a total disruption of the state, the Sudeten German minority merging in Germany, the Hungarians in Hungary, in the end leaving the National Czechs to shift for themselves in the little territory left unto them.

Let us be forewarned, lest the same story repeat itself in our Country. Our modern solution of the minorities problem is far more dangerous. It confers untold rights not only on those who by their number and years of residence (we doubt it) may be considered according to the League as minorities, but also on all else, howsoever few or recent in their settlement—rights and privileges far in excess of the minimum advocated by the League. The natural consequences are

even now felt and Hindu National life runs the risk of being shattered. Let us take heed and be prepared. We will not dilate upon this danger here, as it is outside the ambit of our work; we leave it to the reader to think for himself and read it in the developing events. We only remind him that it was not for nothing that all experienced Nations refused to adopt this decision of the League; that it is not for nothing that they refuse to recognise any elements entitled to separate treatment, that they insist on subordinating all to the general National life-religious, cultural, linguistic, political, that they lay so much stress, on the foreigners, either cutting their old associations and merging in the body of their National race in every way, or deserving no right what-so-ever, no claim to any obligations from the National race. And having thus reminded him, we leave the reader to ponder over the Czech affair and find out for himself how our National life is in even a much greater danger.

But enough of this. We refer, on the problem of minorities, our reader to "India and the League of Nations Minority Treaties" by Dr. Radhamukund Mukerji, M. A. Ph. D. and return to our subject. Indeed these questions arise in discussions about a "State;" we are out to understand the Nationhood of Hindusthan, which done, all questions regarding the form of "State" shall be worth entrusting to the "Nation" as we find it to exist.

CHAPTER VI



Thus then we conclude that in Hindusthan we have the ancient Hindu Nation. But it may be asked, whether or not we are trying to force modern Nation concepts on the Hindus of old, whether the ancient Hindus had any idea of Nationality or the National sentiment was a wholly modern development borrowed out of the West. We will, in brief, answer this question.

The word *Rashtra*, which expresses the whole of the idea contained in the English word "Nation," is as old as the Vedas and in the ancient works is described in a general way, as being so (*Rashtra* in truth,) when it included "Swaraj" — independence, the power of the National Race, over the whole land from

sea to sea पृथिव्यैसमुद्रपर्यन्ताया एकराद् and was endowed with wealth of every description. पशुधान्यहिरण्यसंपदा राजते शोभते इति राष्ट्रम् ॥ For the Rashtra concept to be complete it should be composed of देश country, and जाति Race or जनपद people. No mention is found of the three components Religion, Culture and Language, but the concept of जनपद explicitly includes these, as we shall soon see. देश to be really so should be capable of conferring on the Ruling Race wealth and power भर्तुर्दण्डकोषवृद्धिं दिशति ददार्ताति देशः ॥ i. e. it should have a scientific frontier and should be richly productive. The love for country is an essential factor in the national life of a Race. Indeed to be Nationally minded is also expressed as being "patriotic" i. e. having pride in one's fatherland. If a Race possesses such love and pride in its country, it is right-minded, its Nation consciousness is manifestly awake. Such a Nation consciousness manifesting itself in love for the "Motherland"—, has always been a living one in the Hindu Race, and has found its most beautiful and touching expression in the epic Ramayana, when, on being suggested that it would be better to reign in the newly conquered territory of Lanka, rather than risk an encounter with his brother, Bharat, who may have, during the period of Rama's exile, become a changed man, avaricious of the parental crown, the divine Hero of the Epic, Shri Ramchandra—the ideal Hindu Man and king—replied,

अपि स्वर्णमयी लंका न मे लक्ष्मण रोचते ।

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी ॥

Oh Lakshmana! This golden land of Lanka, with all its riches, has no appeal for me. To me my mother

and my motherland are greater by far than Heaven itself! * In addition to this factor of power and glory in the country, ' some other factors, descriptive of a good country for the Nation, show that it should have all four classes of society as conceived by Hindu Religion and should be free from free-booting hunters and mlechhh as this latter word meaning all those who do not subscribe to the social laws dictated by the Hindu Religion and Culture. Evidently the ancient masters had in mind the Religious and cultural unity of the people living as a Rashtra in the country.

We come to the next concept जाति which may be translated as Race. It has been defined by Goutama in his Nyaya-sutras thus, समानप्रसवात्मिका जातिः । Race means those people, who have a common origin and common fellow feeling, *i. e.* are related together by common traditions and naturally by common aspirations. This word too, by emphasising common origin, and at the same time laying special stress on the feeling of 'one-ness'—cohesion—points out the existence of common bonds of fellowship among the people. It is well known, that "of all the forces that have

* This same love is manifest today in all right-minded Hindus. The great patriot, the late Vithal Bhai Patel, expressed his dying wish that his remains be brought to Hindusthan, his beloved motherland. There is another picture of a so-called "Patriot" Maulana Mohammad Ali, (who also died abroad,) who directed his remains to be taken, not to the land which had fostered him and his forefathers before him, but to the foreign land of Mecca. These two personalities may be taken to represent the Hindu and the Moslem mentality in our country. Love for the country being the first essential of Nationality, it scarcely need be told who is a nationalist and who a foreigner to the National life in Hindusthan. This example strongly substantiates our proposition that in this country the Hindus alone are the Nation and the Moslems and others, if not actually antinational are at least outside the body of the Nation.

worked and are still working to mould the destinies of the human race, none, certainly, is more potent than that, the manifestation of which we call religion. All social organisations have as a back ground, somewhere the workings of that peculiar force, and the greatest cohesive impulse, ever brought into play amongst human units, has been derived from this power." (Swami Vivekananda.) It is plain that the great savant Goutama had in mind a complete picture of a people of a common origin, common religion, common culture, common language, common traditions and aspirations, when he put down his brief but pregnant aphorism, defining the word जाति. In our ancient literature sutras or aphorisms abound and the learned in the lore know how a little syllable by its relations with other ideas, is a complete expression of a whole range of concepts. Similar is the case with this sutra. In two syllables प्रसव and अतिमका are contained in their fullness all ideas of common origin, Religion, Culture, Language etc. which make of a people, a race strictly so called. Here again in pointing out the second essential of the Nation idea, the ancient Hindu Scholars have clearly indicated not only Racial Unity, but Religious, Cultural and Linguistic Unities as well.

The third word जनपद, which means 'people,' and may be taken to be a near synonym of the word जाति is more explicit. जनपद is a complex idea. It includes country and Race chiefly indeed, but by definitely stating the nature of the Race, it has given a prominent place to Religion and Culture also. जनपद means जनस्य वर्णाश्रम-लक्षणस्य द्रव्योत्पत्तेःस्थानमिति ॥ —The place where a people "Characterized by Varnas and Ashrams" enriches itself. Characterised by Varnas and Ashrams—that is, following the Hindu frame-work of society, obeying the Hindu

codes, in short subscribing to the Hindu Religion and Culture—that is important. The people in the country must be Hindus by Religion and Culture and consequently by Language, to be really included in the concept जनपद, a component of the Rashtra idea of the ancient Hindus.

Taking these three together, we find that the political scholars of old Hindusthan centuries ago, recognised the essential value of the five unities Country, Race, Religion, Culture and Language towards making a complete Nation concept. It is nothing to be wondered at, that they did not actually express Religion etc. in their definitions. As we have said once before, in the case of Races professing common Religion and Culture, the difference of Nationality depends solely on difference of Country and Race, and these two concepts alone need emphasis. In the days of old, when the Hindu definition was framed, there is reason to hold that in the whole of the then known world—at least as far as the old authors were concerned (we do not enter into discussions whether the Hindu Religion and Culture were actually followed by all the Races in the whole of the world as we know it today. There seems to be much evidence to show that Hindu culture had penetrated to the whole of the Southern archipelago, to Asia and probably to America as well. But whether it was so or not is not material to us. Either it was so or the ancient Hindus knew only that part of the globe where Hindu Religion and Culture reigned) all peoples followed Hindu Religion and evolved Hindu culture and where any of these peoples had any doubt they came to Hindusthan, the cradle of Religion and Culture, to take their instructions. It is this fact which made the first and greatest law giver of the world—Manu, to lay down in

his code, directing all the peoples of the world to come to Hindusthan to learn their duties at the holy feet of the "Eldest-born" Brahmans of this land—

एतद्देशप्रसूतस्यसकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वे मानवाः ॥

Thus there being no differences on the score of Religion, Culture or Language, the old masters did not find it necessary to mention these constituents as being essential in forming the Rashtra concept. They emphasised only the other two, Country and Race, on which alone depended, in their time, difference of Nationality. At the same time, they were not ignorant of the remaining three essentials and have made implicit reference to them, as the unavoidable ingredients of their Nation idea.

From this we can safely conclude, that even in the remotest past, full understanding of Nationality and its resultant National consciousness were constantly awake in the ancient Hindus and is not an imported sentiment of present-day origin.

CHAPTER VII



Seeing now that ancient Hindusthan understood its Hindu Nationality, the question naturally forces itself upon us, as to how we have today so far forgotten ourselves as to need being reminded of the scientific concept and roused to our Hindu National consciousness? Why is it that a number of our workers have taken a different lead and followed channels of work destructive of such Nationality? How do we find that today this traditional and correct understanding fails to appeal to many, and they start with a muddled conception of their real National Nature? But it is not difficult to account for this misconception. We have already (in Chap. II) traced briefly the causes of our progressive denationalization. We shall here repeat the whole of it a bit more extensively. In the long peace which succeeded the great battle of the Mahabharat, the whole nation

was lulled by a sense of security into a sort of stupor, and the cohesive impulse, resulting from a knowledge of impending common danger, having ceased to function for centuries, for want of such danger, a gradual though imperceptible, falling away from a living consciousness of the one Hindu Nation, resulted in creating little independant principalities and weakened the Nation. Kingships became the objects of the peoples' reverence and supplanted the Nation idea. When the moslem invaders came, the little kingships fell and a large part of the country passed into the hands of the enemy. But the dormant National consciousness roused itself under Shiwaji and the Sikh Gurus and rejuvenated the Hindu Nation. Shiwaji's epistle to Raja Jayasingh, Aurangzib's general, clearly expresses the meaning of the great upheaval in Maharashtra. He writes—"The enemy rules us with our help. Why do you serve him? You are a great warrior, a shrewd statesman, a wise general. You have a good following. Rise for the cause of the Hindu Nation in the North, and I, too, with my brave spearsmen, shall rush down from my mountain throne, like a torrent, sweeping out the enemy from the land and join you in the plains, where we shall amalgamate our forces and create such a blaze of power, that we shall wholly destroy and root out the least vestige of the foe, and re-establish the Hindu Empire in Hindusthan". (summarized *) But before the ideal could be fully realised, the Nation had to face a strange enemy and though the struggle has not yet ceased the laurels today are wholly with the invader.

* This epistle which, even in the present, resounds our war-cry, is reproduced in extenso in appendix A.

This new force—the British—is well aware of the strength of Hindusthan, and knows that it lies in the Hindu National consciousness. Systematic attempts were, therefore, made to weed it out. Invidiously the Hindu Religion and Culture are calumniated, Hindus taught to discard as old-fashioned and out of date their noble heritage, and what is worst, their history is distorted and thus they are educated to believe that they never were a Nation, they were no children of the soil, but mere upstarts, having no better right than the Moslems or the British to live in the country, they never were masters of the country but were always, either of the Moghuls or of the British—meek drawers of water and hewers of wood. The crown of such and many other denationalizing activities was the foundation of the so-called “Indian National Congress”. A couple of shrewd Englishmen professing to have the good of this country at heart laid the first stone. Englishmen with all their interests centred in their “Home country” striving to benefit Hindusthan! Impossible, — unless, like sister Nivedita, they adopt the Hindu culture and philosophy of life, live among the Hindus and immolate themselves for their betterment. The express aim of founding this body was to suppress all National outbursts, likely to dethrone the British power. The reader is referred for an authority on the point of this motive, to the life of Mr. A. O. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress by Sir William Wedderburn.* And to effect it, the amazing theory was propounded that the Nation is composed of all those who, for one reason or the other happen to live at the time in the country. The absurd result of such a view is that European adventurers, who for their private, selfish ends came to the land

* The relevant extract from the life is reproduced in full in Appendix B.

but yesterday, have earned a place in the National polity and under our present constitution have their representatives in the 'National' Legislatures of the country. Indeed they have made our country a veritable serai! The natural evil, which flowed from the working of this body, was and is that many a sincere worker, taking the serai theory to be true, rushed into action, followed the false scent and was lost in the quagmire of antinational and denationalizing work, unwittingly, unwillingly.

Why did not the Hindu think for himself? Why did he allow himself and still allows himself to be misled by scheming Englishmen into absurdities and political blunders? The reason is simple and lies in the common human weakness of associating good qualities and wisdom with wealth and power. A famous saying in Sanskrit, यस्यास्ति वित्तं स नरः कुलीनः । संपंडितः सश्रुतिमान् गुणज्ञः । describes how the human mind naturally attributes all wisdom and greatness to the possessor of riches and power. When the tide of war turned in favour of the English, and for a time it deemed as though the Hindus were finally overthrown, there came a period of lull and diffidence, resulting in the fostering of the idea, that the victors, superior in their military prowess and scheming skill, in wealth, and possessed of a brave show of physical prosperity, must also need be superior in all kinds of knowledge, be endowed with the very highest wisdom regarding every subject of study. That was why Hindus in the beginning of the British rule started aping the manners and customs of the English and voicing opinions borrowed from the west, with an air of conviction. Every European idea, however absurd, was gospel truth; everything Hindu by contrast was naturally false and foolish. Though in course of time

the advancing tide of Hindu cultural degeneration received a powerful set-back, it still had sufficient time to work upon the minds of the people, especially those learned in the Western lore, and vitiate their thought. This "Educated" class of Hindus became in truth आंग्लशुद्ध slaves of the English, as the late Dr. S. V. Ketkar has aptly described them. They had cut their traces, lost their footing in the National past, and become deculturised, denationalised people. But they also formed the bulk of the "Congress" and found no difficulty in eagerly gulping down the extra-ordinary absurdity, that their country was not theirs, but belonged to the strangers and enemies of their Race equally with them. These creatures took upon themselves the burden of "leading" the people, to what they considered, following the false start, as the National regeneration. And today the same old tale of the blind leading the blind is going on, necessitating trumpet calls of correction from right minded Patriots, following whose resounding footsteps we have compiled this little work, towards the same end of arousing proper National Consciousness among the Hindus in the country.

To our mind, that is the genesis of the present day ignorance of true Nationality. The same ignorance, the same lack of the National sentiment of the right sort, is the root of our troubles. All through the centuries, since the moslems first tread upon this land, it is this want of National Consciousness, which has been the cause of our ills. Persons interested in calumniating Hindus, make much of the caste system, the "superstitions", the want of literacy, the position of women in the social structure, and all sorts of true or untrue flaws in the Hindu Cultural Organisation, and point out that the weakness of the Hindus lies solely

in these. No society is entirely free from defects. The European Society, we maintain, is exceptionally defective and consequently in a constant state of unrest. And yet, Europeans, as Nations, are free and strong and progressive. In spite of their ugly social order, they are so, for the simple reason that they have cherished and do still foster correct national consciousness, while we in Hindusthan ignore this *causa causans* of our troubles and grope about in the dark, chasing phantoms of our imagination, created by mis-conceptions set afoot by interested hostile parties. Look at the times of the Mahabharat, of Harshwardhan, of Pulakeshi, all the so called evils of caste etc. were there no less marked than today and yet we were a victorious glorious nation then. Were not the bonds of caste, illiteracy etc. at least as stringent as now, when the country witnessed the grand upheaval of the Hindu Nation under Shiwaji? No, it is not these that are our bane, but the dormancy of National feeling, which alone by fostering petty ambitions, created internal dissensions and facilitated foreign invasions; produced mean selfishness, suppressing noble patriotism and gave birth to the whole race of Jaychand Rathod, Mansingh, Chandrarao Morey, Sumersingh and their worthy progeny of the day, best unnamed. Do we not today witness this same apathy towards true Nationality in our so-called workers? Is not there the same pettiness, selfishness working our ruin? Do we not find even in the present, people playing false to the Nation merely to maintain themselves in the public eye?

Except this meanness, we do not see any other reason why we do not still rise, as a Nation, to our full height. This meanness and ignorance of the general mass of the people about their real National nature,

created and maintained by this meanness, stand in our way. Many of us are working our ruin by purposely calumniating all those who have Hindu Nationhood at heart and dubbing them as communal and anti-national. Does it not seem plain that they believe that we are a Nation in the making and had never enjoyed National life before? But as we have seen we Hindus have been living, thousands of years, a full National life in Hindusthan. How can we be 'communal' having, as we do, no other interests but those relating our Country, our Nation? And yet the masses are being duped into believing that we, who stand (as we must rationally) for the Hindu National renaissance are not 'National' and that those others, who hold with absurd tenacity to the serai theory and disown their cultural heritage, are the real 'patriots.' Such is the degeneration of those self-styled "regenerators of the Nation," who happen to have become the custodians of the fate of this unhappy Nation.

The heart bleeds at the thought of this unreasonable, unjustifiable attitude. It grieves us to see how we fritter our energy in anti-national work and lay the blame upon the Social order and such other things which have nothing to do with National revival. We conclude this painful chapter by once again pointing out that our gradual denationalisation, our letting our race spirit to fall asleep, has been the root cause of our present unhappy condition and, even now, it is this same apathy towards our real nationality, which makes it difficult for the nation to rise to its full height and regain its due place in the world. We emphasise that it is none of the so called drawbacks of the Hindu social order, which prevents us from regaining our ancient glory, but it is only the want

of proper national feeling and its ugly progeny of the day's queer "National" work, of hugging to our bosom our most inveterate enemies and thus endangering our very existence.

EPILOGUE



We, however, do not despair of the future. We warn our feeling reader that he may have walked too near the brink of the 'Slough of Despond' and pray him not to stalk into it blindly. For there is hope. Wait and work and the race spirit which all along has been protecting us from certain destruction, shall do so once again. Our mission in the world is unfulfilled and is eternal. All past civilizations "had their day, abode a day or two and passed away", because they had nothing to fulfil. We, however, live on, despite far greater calamities, and ever emerge triumphant masters of the world. We have no reason to loose hope. "Act first.....a stage so gloamed with woe, We all but sicken at the shifting scenes. And yet be patient, our Play-Wright 'will' show, in some fifth Act what this wild drama means." Let us be patient.

This is but the darker darkness before the dawn—the inevitable sunrise. Do we not already see the heralding streaks of the great luminary, brightening up the whole horizon on the East?

Every time our race has been down-trodden, Beings of a super-human order, veritable divinities, have been born in our land and revitalized our Nation. Every event of national regeneration has been preceded by a glorious outburst of spirituality, our indomitable race-spirit, which has always heralded a period of all-round glory. Our race is in truth the phoenix which rises in new youthful vigour from its very ashes. We cannot die. What seems to be our death merely confers upon us a fresh lease of life. We are an immortal race with perennial youth. Take any instance of national greatness and the truth of this statement shall be revealed. The great Empire of Ashoka had its birth in the spiritual awakening under Lord Buddha. Shree Shankaracharya was in time followed by the illustrious Vijayanagar Empire. The great Hindu renaissance under Chhatrapati Shiwaji was the outcome of the years of spiritual life, blossoming forth in a Jnaneshwar, a Tukaram, a Ramdas. The great religious masters, Guru Nanak and his successors, laid the foundation of the Hindu upheaval exhibiting itself in the warlike Sikhs. And the same story is repeating itself today. The spiritual Sun has broken forth in all its glory in Bengal as the Shree Ramkrishna-Vivekananda order, in the Punjab, in the persons of Swami Dayanand and Swami Ramtirth, in the South it manifests itself through Maharashi Ramanna and the great patriot Sage Arobindo Ghose sits in Pondicherri brooding deep over the spiritual awakening of the National race spirit. Here is an all absorbing flood of spiritual light, dispelling

all darkness, all doubt, and pregnant with the promise of rejuvenation in store for the Hindu Nation.

We have no reason to be afraid of our future. We have no cause to despond. All we have to do to remount our throne is to respond to the awakened Race-spirit and re-rouse our national consciousness, and victory is in our grasp. The undying voices of our sages call; let us gird up our loins and follow them. The spirit of the race beckons to us and has lighted for its benighted children the path to their cherished ideal, with beacons of undying spiritual splendour. Let us rouse ourselves to our true nationality, let us follow the lead of our race-spirit, and fill the heavens with the clarion call of the Vedic seers "from sea to sea over all the land - One Nation," one glorious, splendid Hindu Nation benignly shedding peace and plenty over the whole world.

Appendix A

Shivaji's Letter to Jaysingh



O Sardar of Sardars, King of Kings, Manager of the Mango-trees of the garden of Bharat, O piece of the heart and consciousness of Ramchandra, the Rajputs hold up their heads owing to thee. The grandeur of the Empire of Babar's dynasty is rendered all the more powerful owing to thee and it is its good fortune to receive thy help. O Jayshah, whose fortune is ever young and whose intellect ever old, be pleased to accept the salutations and blessings of Shiva. May the creator of the world protect thee. May he show thee the path of Religion which is Justice.

I have heard that thou hast come to make battle upon me and to subjugate the Deccan. Thou desirest in this world to make thy face glow with blood drawn from the hearts and eyes of the Hindus. But thou knowest not that thy face is painted in black, because owing to it, this country and religion are in danger. If thou considerest for a moment or givest thought to thy hands and thy strength, then thou wilt discover whose blood lends the glow and what will be the colour of the glow in this world and the next.

Further if thou hadst come of thy own accord to conquer the Deccan, my eyes and my head could have been laid on earth for thee to tread upon. I would have marched with my whole force at the stirrup of thy horse and would have yielded up to thee the country from one end to the other. But thou hast in fact come to conquer at the instance of Aurangzib and under the instigation of those who desire to destroy the Hindus.

I do not know how I shall deal with thee. If I join thee there is no manliness in it. For brave men are not time-servers. The lion pursues not the policy of the fox. Or if I lift up the sword and the axe, then the Hindus on both sides will suffer. The greater sorrow is that my sword, which thirsts for the blood of the Mussalamans, should be drawn from the scabbard for some other purpose. If the Turks had come to fight this battle, then indeed the prey would have come to the lion in its lair. For they are Rakshasas in the guise of men devoid of justice and religion, and are sinful.

When supremacy could not be secured by Afzalkhan, and Shastakhan proved no better, you are engaged to fight against me because he himself (Aurangzib) is not fit to bear battle with me. He desires that no strong persons should be left surviving among the Hindus in this world, that lions may fight among themselves and get disabled, so that the fox may rule the forest. How is it that his secret policy is not transparent to thy brain? It is clear that thou art under the influence of his magic spell. Thou hast seen much good and evil in this world. Thou hast reaped both flowers and thorns in the garden of life. It is not meet that thou shouldst fight us people and bring the heads of Hindus to death. After having

attained ripe wisdom in action, do not thou exhibit (the folly of) youth, but remember the saying of Saadi. "The horse cannot be ridden on all the roads; sometimes discretion is the better part of valour." (Lit: Sometimes it is more fitting to throw down the shield and fly.) Tigers attack the deer and other animals. They do not indulge in a fratricidal war with lions.

Or if thy cutting sword has true water, if thy prancing horse has true spirit, then do thou attack those who are the enemies of religion and abolish Islam root and branch. Had Darashikoh been the King of the country, he would have treated his people with kindness and favour. But thou deceivedst Jaswantsing! thou didst not first consider the high and the low in thy heart. Thou art not satisfied with having played the fox and hast come to fight the battle with the lions. What dost thou get from this running about and labouring under the sun? Thy desires lead thee to a mirage. Thou art even as a mean creature who exerts his utmost and captures a beautiful damsel; but instead of tasting the fruit of that garden of beauty himself delivers it into the hands of the rival. How canst thou feel proud at the mercy of that mean man! Dost thou know how the services of Joharsing were rewarded? Dost thou know by what means he desired to bring calamities to Prince Chhatrasal? Dost thou know what calamities that man has inflicted on other Hindus also? I believe that thou hast attached thyself to him and hast laid down for him the self-respect of thy family. But what is the value of this net in which thou art caught for the sake of the Rakshasa? This bond that binds thee is not stronger than the cord that girds thy loins. In order to attain his ends, he hesitates not to shed the blood of his brother, or

take the life of his father. Or if thou appealest to loyalty, remember thou also thy conduct in reference to Shah Jahan. If fate has endowed thee any intellect or if thou seekest to pride thyself on thy manhood, or manliness, then do thou heat thy sword at the fire of distress of the land thou wast born in, and wipe off the tears of the unhappy ones who suffer from tyranny.

This is not the time for fighting between ourselves since a grave danger faces the Hindus. Our children, our country, our wealth, our God, our temples and our holy worshippers, are all in danger of existence owing to his machinations and the utmost limit of pain that can be borne, has been reached. If the work goes on like this for some time, there will not remain a vestige of ourselves on the earth. It is a matter of supreme wonder that a handful of Mussalamans should establish supremacy over this vast country. This supremacy is not due to any valour on their part. See if thou has eyes to see. See what policy of Duplicity he plays with us; how differently he colours his face from time to time. He claps our own chains to our feet; he cuts our heads with our own swords.

The most strenuous efforts should be made at this time to protect Hindus, Hindusthan and the Hindu religion. I desire to make an effort and bring about stability and strive my utmost for the sake of the country. Polish thy sword and thy intellect and prove thyself a Turk to the Turks. If thou joinest hands with Jaswantsing and divestest thy heart of the layers of trickery, and if thou bringest about unity with the Rana (of Mewar), then indeed there is hope for great things. Do you all rush and fight from all sides; tramp down that serpent under the rock; so that he

may for some time occupy himself with ruminating on the consequences of his own actions; and may not further entangle the Deccan in his meshes. And I may in the meantime with the aid of these and other lance-bearing heroes, make away with the other two emperors (Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda); so that I may rain the shower of swords from the thundering clouds of army on the Musalmans; so that from one end of the Deccan to the other, I may wash out the name and very vestige of mahommadanism. Thereafter with the assistance of wise statesmen and the army, like the river swirling and foaming as it emerges from the mountains of the Deccan, I may come out of the plains. And forthwith present myself for your service and hear you render your accounts; and we may inaugurate a grim war on all sides and devote the battle-field to it; and tide of our army may submerge the crumbling walls of Delhi, so that nothing may be left of the Aurang (the throne) of the Zeb (grandeur); so that nothing may remain of the sword of his tyranny or the net of his policy; so that we may flow a river of pure blood and satisfy the souls of our ancestors; and with the grace of god, the just and the Giver of Life, we shall entomb him below the bottom of the earth.

If two hearts combine, they can burst a mountain! They can dispel and scatter the whole armies. I have much to tell thee in regard to this matter which cannot in sooth be put on paper. I am desirous of having a talk with thee, so that no unnecessary pain or labour may be involved. If such is thy desire, I shall come to thee and hear what thou hast to say. Thy maiden of speech may open her mouth in privacy and I may take guard against the words being divulged, so that we put our hands to the plough of effort and practise some incan-

tations on that mad Rakshasa. I swear my sword, by my horse, by my country and by my religion, that no harm shall befall thee in this. Or we may find out some other way to attain our object and make our names in this world and the next. Be not suspicious owing to the incident of Afzalkhan; the report spoke not truly. He had secretly kept, twelve hundred warlike Hubsee cavalry to accomplish my death. Had I not raised my arm against him first, who would have written this letter to you? But I do not believe any such thing of you; there is no inherent enmity between us. Or if I receive the desired reply from thee, I shall present myself before thee alone at night. And I will show thee the secret letter which I cleverly extracted from Shastakhan, so that I may remove all doubts from thy mind and rouse thee from thy sweet sleep.

Or if this letter does not appeal to thee, then indeed I am ready with my sword to deal with thy army. Tomorrow the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the crescent moon of my sword shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee.*

* From " Shivaji Souvenir "

Appendix B

Origin of the Indian National Congress

Mr. Hume admitted that there was a certain risk in the Congress agitation, that the experiment was quite new in India, and that circumstances were not wholly favourable. Also he explained that had it been possible, he personally would have gladly postponed the Propaganda some years. "But" he wrote, "no choice was left.... I have always admitted that in certain provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, *but from the most vital point of view, the future maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire*, the real question when the Congress started was, not, is it premature, but is it too late, will the country now accept it? ... *A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised.*" "knowing the country and the people as I do, having been through something of the same kind though on a small scale in the Mutiny, and having convinced myself that the evidence of the then existing state of the proletariat was real and trustworthy, I could not then and do not now enter-

N. B.—Italics Ours.

tain a shadow of a doubt that we were then truly in extreme danger of a most terrible revolution." What the nature of this evidence was cannot be better told than in his own words: "The evidence that convinced me, at the time that we were in imminent danger of a terrible outbreak was this. I was shown seven large volumes, corresponding to a certain mode of dividing the country, containing a vast number of entries: English abstracts or translations, longer or shorter, of vernacular reports or communications of one kind or another, all arranged according to districts, not identical with ours, subdistricts, subdivisions and the cities, towns, and villages, included in these. The number of these entries was enormous. These were said at the time, to be communications from over thirty thousand different reporters. I did not count them, they seemed countless but in regard to the towns and villages of one district of the North West Provinces, with which I possess a peculiarly intimate acquaintance, a troublesome part of the country no doubt, there were nearly three hundred entries, a good number of which I could partially verify as to the names of the people etc." He mentions that he had the volumes in his possession only for about a week; into six of them he only dipped; but he closely examined one covering the greater portion of the North West Provinces, Oudh, Behar, parts of Bundelkhand and parts of the Punjab; and as far as possible, verified the entries referring to those districts with which he had special personal acquaintance. Many of the entries reported conversations between men of the lowest classes "all going to show that these poor men were pervaded with a sense of the hopelessness of the existing state of affairs;... that they wanted to do something; they were going to do something and

stand by each other and that something meant violence," "for innumerable entries referred to the secretion of old swords, spears and matchlocks, which would be ready when required. It was not supposed that the immediate result in its initial stage, would be a revolt against our Government, or a revolt at all in the proper sense of the word. What was predicted was a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crimes....." In the existing state of the lowest half-starving classes, it was considered that the first few crimes would be the signal for hundreds of similar ones and a general development of lawlessness, paralysing the authorities and the respectable classes. It was considered certain also that everywhere the small bands would begin to coalesce into larger ones, like drops of water on a leaf; that all the bad characters in the country would join and that very soon after bands attained formidable proportions, a certain small number of the educated classes, at the time desperately, perhaps unreasonably, bitter against Government would join the movement, assume here and there the lead, give the outbreak cohesion and direct it as a national revolt."

Such were the specific warnings addressed to Mr. Hume. The forecast of trouble throughout India was in exact accordance with what actually occurred, under my own observation, in the Bombay Presidency, in connection with the Agrarian rising known as the Deccan Riots. These began with sporadic gang robberies and attacks on the moneylenders, until the bands of dacoits, combining together, became too strong for the police; and the whole military force at Poona, horse, foot, and artillery, had to take the field against them. Roaming through the jungle tracts of the Western

Ghats, these bands dispersed in the presence of military force, only to reunite immediately at some convenient point, and from the hill stations of Mahabaleshwara and Matheran we could at night see the light of their camp fires in all directions. A leader from the more instructed class was found, calling himself Sivaji the second, who addressed challenges to the Government, offered a reward of Rs. 500 for the head of H. E. Sir Richard Temple (then Governor of Bombay) and claimed to lead a national revolt upon the lines on which the Mahratta power had originally been founded.

(Life of A. O. Hume By Sir Willium Wedderburn PP. 77-82)

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