

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF

RASHTRIYA

SWAYAMSEVAK

SANGH

"a childish person"

by
"GOVIND SAHAI"
ex-Chief Parliamentary Secy. (U. P.)
a foolish writer

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ABOUT THE BOOK

EVEN before Gandhiji's assassination I used to write about R.S.S. and refer to its activities in the course of my speeches. Soon after Gandhiji's assassination I wrote a pamphlet in Hindi entitled 'Nazi Technique and R.S.S.' It attracted considerable notice. The pro-Sangh press and R.S.S. leaders raised a hue and cry against it and in their consternation, some of them even suggested to burn copies of the pamphlet in demonstration. Some Sanghites told me that they purchased copies only to put them on fire. All this naturally strengthened my convictions about R.S.S. and its mentality. My friends, however, encouraged me to write more about the Sangh and the present book is my third attempt in this direction.

Today in almost every country, in general, and in newly-freed countries in particular, the forces of Reaction and Progress are coming into conflict against each other and each is trying to consolidate its position. Especially in India, reactionary forces have assumed threatening proportions in recent times and many times since 1947 they have endeavoured to stage 'Come-backs' under one or the other garb.

Let us not forget that though the British had quit-
ted, the reactionary forces remained intact to thrive on
misconceived religious and cultural notions. By diverting

the attention of the people from the main political, social and economic issues, these messengers and harbingers of evil have kicked up lot of dust in our public life.

But the consideration of our basic problems cannot be postponed for long and, as one knows, when such issues come to the forefront, reactionary ideologies are inevitably exposed. The Nazis in Germany and Muslim Leaguers in India played, for all practical purposes, identical and parallel roles in disrupting and thwarting the forces of progress and, it may be noted, Sanghites, today, are trying to be true to the same traditions. We have to guard against this political philosophy and its peculiar strategy otherwise our hard-won freedom will largely be in danger. For establishing true democracy, it will be necessary to instil its principles in our everyday life. As will be observed by all, Democracy today is being assailed from the 'Right' in the name of culture and from the 'Left' in the name of the proletariat. We can face these attacks, which ultimately aim at establishing dictatorship, only if we keep ourselves fully posted with plans and workings of these forces and their respective potentialities for creating evil. In India personally I see more danger from the 'right' because the perpetual communal tension caused by the establishment of Pakistan and subsequent happenings (like Nekoval incidents, etc.) have given greater opportunities to reactionary forces to raise their heads and to consolidate their position. Religiosity and orthodoxy only lend a helping hand to them.

History, as we all know, has its own cycles. Present conditions in India are very similar to what were in Germany before the advent of Hitler. Germany of 'thirties stood dismembered and disillusioned after the First World War resulting in social insecurity and economic chaos. Political parties miserably failed to hold the country together due to mutual rivalry for power, and a loose, shaky and hesitant state machinery could hardly put forth an efficient government and a popular democracy. It were in these conditions that the 'Cult of a strong man' with hypnotising slogans of cultural revivalism and glorious future spelled the people. Hitler was at last installed into power, and was hailed by the German masses as 'the Saviour'. The tragedy that, later on, befell Germany due to the ascent of Fascism is well-known to need any mention.

India today stands at the cross-roads. Political freedom, in its wake, brought many complex problems to the fore and people are aroused to the dreams of 'New Life', though disintegrated from the past and not properly integrated into any future pattern. The leadership and the people, thus, are assailed by difficulties and problems from all sides. Social reaction is naturally trying to play its traditional mischievous role and is being nourished and fed by its counter-part's successes in Pakistan politics. It is, thus, a period of vacuum which makes people susceptible to any sweep from the right or the left. Social insecurity and economic restlessness are inherent in the situation and each, in association

with the other, aggravates the malady.

The Sangh leaders today are trying their best to profit by the situation. They are building a halo round the 'past' and hypnotising their younger adherents with colourful pictures of the 'morrow'. Their teachings, thus cut at the very roots of the law of inter-dependence which modern industrialism has brought for us. They want to take us to the past by distracting our attention from real progress and socio-economic problems of life. They lead us to a parochial way of life and rigid way of thinking, and, thus, drag us to the path of Escapism.

What a misfortune? Even those who understand the laws and logic of Social Dynamism better are sometimes persuaded by their habit of mind to take a complacent view of things. Instead of facing the problem four square, they repeatedly lapse into a pathetic belief that reaction, especially R.S.S. and Jan Sangh, perhaps has a nuisance value and does not present any positive danger to the society or the government. It would not be out of place to recall that the Social-Democrats in Germany, before the rise of Nazism, took the same view of the then prevailing political situation. The tragic consequences of adopting such a passive attitude can be easily visualised in the Indian context though one need not be very pessimistic. Ideas travel fast in the modern age and those who proceed with regimented press and cadres, set to a purpose and well-defined objectives, sometimes produce quicker and startling results than political parties functioning openly and democratically.

It is painful to know that the prevailing political, social and economic situation in the country is more favourable to the success of reactionary forces than constructive efforts, as has been amply demonstrated by the post-SRC incidents in different parts of the country. The inherent contradiction in the situation is that the country today is in the grip of a reactionary ideology although it is wedded to a socialist programme. It is a dangerous state of affairs which breeds fascist tendencies in our body-politic. I strongly feel that if immediate steps are not taken to combat this menace of fascist ideology, which is fast infecting our younger generation, it may be too late to recover. It is a battle of ideas and hence must be fought out effectively in the realm of thought.

Fascism is a negation of all that the Indian National Movement has, hitherto, stood for. It clouds the vision and poisons the mind with a narrow bigoted outlook and, thus, cuts at the very root of a socio-economic attitude and approach to the country's problems. It feeds the youth with hatred and violence and stultifies its mental growth. It exploits Democracy to defeat Democracy. It is something alien to our culture, traditions and social make-up. It must be resisted as the future of Democracy and Socialism is to be made secure in our land.

The present pamphlet was first published in December 1948, in the year of Bapu's assassination. It naturally owed its birth to various controversies raging at that moment in the country. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

was also quite prominent amongst them. The object of this brochure was, therefore, to analyse and judge R.S.S. in the light of its ideology, organisation and propaganda-technique in order to unravel the mystery shrouding this organisation and to forewarn the country of its sinister designs. Recent Punjabi Suba and Maha Punjab agitations in the country have vividly recalled India of 1948 with R.S.S. again appearing on the scene with new techniques. Hence the necessity of focussing the attention of our countrymen on the subject was felt paramount and the utility of a new edition of the pamphlet can hardly be exaggerated. The analysis, as unfolded in the following pages, still holds good and the background, save for minor changes here and there, also remains unaltered. I am sure this revised edition will help our readers to understand the true nature of these parochial movements of the day as well as the forces behind the screen.

G-82, Sujan Singh Park,
New Delhi.
August 15, 1956.

Govind Sahai

OBJECTIVE BACKGROUND

FOR some time past the R.S.S. leaders have been demanding that since the organisation has been exonerated of any charge of complicity in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi the ban imposed on it should be lifted. The release of Guruji coming at such a time brought joy to his followers and assured them of an early removal of the ban. They have, however, been disillusioned in this respect. Consequently, after the failure of the Delhi talks between Guruji and the Central Government there was talk and threat of Satyagraha and a sort of challenge has been thrown to the Government to put the organisation on trial before a court of law, if the Government was really in possession of facts to substantiate and prove its charges against the R.S.S. or to remove the ban. To give weight to their demand for the removal of the ban, the R.S.S. workers also campaigned for obtaining signatures on a mass-scale in support of their appeal and requested eminent persons to lend support to their 'just' and 'innocent' cause.

It is, however, not correct to think that the ban was imposed on the R.S.S. because it was directly connected or associated with Gandhiji's murder and the ensuing trial. If this had been the case the Hindu Maha-Sabha would have been the first to face such punitive action for the names of its leaders have been frequently

mentioned in the proceedings of the Gandhi Murder Trial. Since this has not been done it clearly shows that the Gandhi murder trial are a strictly judicial proceedings and that the Presiding Judge does not sit in judgment on the working and ideologies of the different political organisations directly or indirectly involved in the murder. Political organisations, therefore, have to be judged on their own merits, irrespective of the proceedings of the trial. Following a different course would amount to confusing the main issues and sidetracking the real question. The R.S.S. has been banned for very definite reasons of State. And if those reasons which contributed to the imposition of the ban did not really exist there was certainly no point in continuing the ban at all.

Personally I believe that a ban is no solution of a political problem and in a Secular democratic state as far as possible we should refrain from killing an organisation outright which seeks to preach an evil idea. We should, on the other hand, only endeavour to replace that evil idea by a healthy one and, thus, all organisations should be given an opportunity to function and flourish in an atmosphere of freedom. But the approach is bound to be different in the case of a private army.

To assess the worth of the R.S.S. it will be necessary to have an idea of its objectives, technique, approach, means, organisation, extent of influence, etc. and in order to have a fair idea of all this a close and dispassionate study and analysis of the whole situation is necessary.

R.S.S. traces its origin to the growth of an idea born in the year 1923 at Nagpur. Till the year 1946, however, it did not catch public imagination or get any mentionable popular support. [Ideas like institutions have their own periods of growth. And only when the objective conditions favour an idea that it develops, gains momentum and inspires people to action. Thus it was only in 1947 when the objective conditions happened to favour the growth of the R.S.S.—idea and organisation]

[While the leadership and headquarters of the organisation remained confined to Nagpur, R.S.S. movement did not gain so much popularity there as it did in the Punjab and the western districts of U.P., where communal animosity and the hymn of hate preached by communal-minded persons had created a peculiar psychological tension. Specially, after June 1947, communal insanity was leading the province of Punjab towards a civil war. The partition of the province having been accepted, both Hindus and Muslims tried their best to consolidate their respective defences against each other. Both the R.S.S. and the Muslim National Guards tried to convince their respective followers and supporters that for their safety and protection they could no more depend upon the resources of the Government and assistance from communal private armies in a state of emergency was necessary. The Muslims supported the National Guards and the Hindus and the Sikhs strengthened hands of the R.S.S. and the Sikh Shabidi Jatha] Here was an opportunity for the enemies of the country and its freedom of taking revenge on us. The Indian States,

the British officers and others supplied both the parties with arms and ammunition. Punjab in a way was sitting at that time on the top of a volcano.

☞ The idea of private armies gained momentum also in other parts of the country and, thus, both Muslims and Hindus, as a measure of self-defence, were showing increasing eagerness for creating armies of their own. The Sangh leadership, composed as it was of astute Maharashtrians, deriving inspiration from Shivaji, lost no time in utilizing this opportunity to their own advantage. Just as the Leaguers first created a *fear complex* among the Muslims of Hindu domination in order to rally the former round their flag, the Sangh leadership caused terror in the Hindu minds of possible Muslim aggression and, then, assured them of protection on condition that they joined the R.S.S.]

Division of India was fully exploited and the blame for the subsequent holocaust in the Punjab was laid at the door of the Congress leadership. The colossal tragedy of arson, loot, murder and rape were explained as logical consequences of the division, and division itself was attributed to the weak-kneed policy of the Congress of appeasing the Muslims at any cost. The "Khandan" of "Bharat Mata" was turned into a convenient tool to malign the Congress leadership and hold it up to public ridicule. Qaid-e-Azam's political machinations were reported and advertised as having beaten and defeated the Congress leadership completely. Consequently, an impression was gradually created that the Congress creed and policy of truth, non-violence and appeasement had

led the Hindus first to surrender and finally to complete ruin. And the conclusion which was drawn was that it was imperative that an alternative leadership should be found which could beat the League leadership in its own game of intrigues and manoeuvrings.

[The magnificent achievement of getting freedom for the country was belittled and its importance minimised. In fact, that unprecedented victory was converted into a defeat and efforts made to convert the universally celebrated 15th of August, 1947 into a day of mourning for the Hindus.] Why Not? *

[Thus, a well-planned effort was made to excel the League and defeat the Qaid-e-Azam in his own game. An atmosphere of *militant communalism* was deliberately created under which training and practice was given to people to defeat violence by violence and counter evil by evil.] Naturally Congress governments faced dangers of internal disruption caused by the ensuing psychological communal tension.

At this stage Gandhiji's advice was sought and a secret session of the A.I.C.C. was called at Delhi to discuss, among other things, the question of the private armies. In the most unequivocal and clear terms Mahatmaji advised us not to encourage the formation of private armies which course, in his judgment, was fraught with tremendous dangers. Consequently a resolution was passed recommending the imposition of a legal ban on all such organisations that stood for or maintained armies of their own. It was in accordance with that resolu-

tion that certain organisations which believed in maintaining private armies, such as R.S.S., Muslim National Guards, Khaksars and others, were to be banned subsequently.

Mahatma Gandhi's murder shook the people from their complacency and awakened them from their indifference. A wave of indignation swept the country. The people rose *en masse* to demand complete annihilation of the organisations, whose ideologies of hatred and violence had made the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi in certain ways inevitable. [It therefore, became necessary for the Government of India to take action against an organisation like the R.S.S. But when the ban was actually imposed it proved a boon in disguise for the Sangh and its leaders. Now it is commonly admitted that, but for the ban and the arrests of the R.S.S. leaders and workers, the uncontrollable popular frenzy and indignation of the people following the assassination of the Mahatma would have greatly endangered the lives of the Sanghites]

[It would be foolish to say that Gandhiji's murder was the act of an individual. On the contrary, it was in fact the logical result of a system of thought and an attitude of mind which the hot-headed gospel of communal hatred and continuous preaching of violence and retaliation had created in the country. The Sangh leadership contributed a lot to the intensification of this violent attitude of mind. Public memory is no doubt short but at the same time not so short as to forget how in those

days it was a common talk among the R.S.S. people to Aungsanise the Congress leaders. All sorts of malicious motives were imputed to Mahatma Gandhi and he was painted as the greatest enemy of the Hindus and the most incorrigible friend of the Muslims.]

The Sangh leadership is not inclined to attach much importance to the evidence which the Government claim to possess against it. It is for this reason that they insist that the Government should publish a specific charge-sheet against them. But even if one is published how can we be sure that verdict on it would be decisive or that the Sanghites would be prepared to accept the judgment of a Court of law in case the latter happens to decide against them. Most probably in that case the law court itself would be accused of being a willing, obedient instrument of the 'partial' and 'prejudiced' government. As a matter of fact, framing a charge-sheet is not so important as giving out a full and complete examination of the aims, methods, organisation and propaganda of the R.S.S. And, it may be noted, the present pamphlet is just an attempt to judge and examine the R.S.S. as an organisation both in the light of what it believes and what it professes.

The present efforts on the part of Jan Sangh to exploit the Zonal formula for Punjab for its parochial ends by creating a wedge between Hindus and Sikhs tentamount simply to stage "1947" there. It is being propogated, by and large, that the Congress has surrendered to Sikhs by conceding to their demands and the Jan Sangh alone can safeguard Hindu interests.

CHAPTER II

THE GENESIS OF R.S.S.

R. S. S. today is in the nature of a mystery. And it seems to be in the interest of the Sangh, leadership to deliberately magnify and intensify this mystery. Perhaps they think they can exploit the ignorance of the people to their best advantage by telling people and making them believe whatever suits their purpose and the exigencies of the situation. Therefore, different sects and communities are given different versions to believe, i.e., whatever is likely to appear most appealing to them. For example, if one enquires from a Sanghite the purpose of the Sangh, one invariably receives a set reply, doled out in a most awe-inspiring tone: "What can we tell you today what the Sangh stands for? Everybody will know it when the time for it comes. But, still, if you are keen, you can know it if you come to the *Shakha*, with faith in *Guruji* and are able to stand the severe test and discipline which are needed to deserve our confidence." To make this puzzle even more mysterious and romantic it is also secretly hinted and whispered that the Sangh has no office, no records, no accounts and still the network of the Sangh is spread all over the country, its strength is incomparable and, in *Guruji's* own words, the Sangh is now an "*unconquerable, invincible fortress*".

[These are ways of the Sangh which irresistibly remind

us of two parallels in recent history. One would recall, the Nazis in Germany and Muslim Leaguers in India, adopted similar ways and methods to produce mystifying and stupefying effects. For example, Hitler had suggested to his followers that the critics of the Nazi creed should never be allowed to know what exactly was their ideal. In fact, he said that if an inquisitive inquirer insisted on knowing things, then his ignorance was to be ridiculed and he was only to be informed that the Nazi ideal was known to all, though the reality of the matter was that it was not known to anybody. But such were the orders of the Fuehrer himself to his followers.

Qaid-e-Azam was another believer in the efficacy and success of this technique. [He too did not encourage anybody to know what he exactly stood for, but always admonished his critics or opponents for their ignorance or what was meant by the demand and ideal of Pakistan, though all that was known about Pakistan was that it was going to be made up of the provinces of Punjab, Bengal, N.W.F.P., Sind and Assam, and sometimes, to make the concept of Pakistan more extensive and colourful, its boundary was said to extend to the banks of the Ganga and the Yamuna with a corridor envisaged to connect the eastern with the western zone. One, however, knows today as to how much of it was reality and how much pure fiction. The same tactics with different details and emphasis are employed by the R.S.S. leadership to bolster and sustain the strength of its organisation.]

[Sangh is a centre which attracts different interests in different ways. For the innocent children the Sangh is

simply a much-cherished 'Vyayam Shala'; for college boys it is an Officers' Training College or Leadership Forging Institute and a laboratory for character-building experiments under the high-sounding name of 'Akhila Bhartiya Vidyarathi Samiti'; for the educated and simple-minded Hindu it is a romantic movement aimed at the revival of the 'Ancient Hindu Culture and Glory'; for the frustrated patriots and communal chauvinists Sangh is the only hope for the Re-union of Partitioned India; for the discontented and aggrieved Hindu middle-classes Sangh is the centre of attack against the 'base, demoralised' Congress; and for an adventurous politician Sangh is a springboard which would land him into the promised land. How fascinating, indeed, is the whole political picture presented by the astute Sanghites ?

[Sangh leadership hardly takes the trouble of making anything clear about the Sangh and its ideology and if an honest attempt is made by an outsider to throw light on this dark mystery evil motives are imputed to him and his effort is viewed in a hostile spirit. He is made the target of obscene, malicious and scandalous propaganda and even threats of violence are made against him with a view to intimidate and frighten him. Every attempt is made to silence him, for such a person, in their eyes, is a source of danger to the great cause of 'Sangathan' and Cultural revival. The Sangh rank and file is not allowed to read such 'blasphemous' literature.]

For example, for some time past the present writer also had to bear the brunt of such propaganda technique

of the R.S.S. It would be difficult for others to believe or imagine what I had to hear by way of criticism and condemnation, what pressure was brought to bear on me, what coercion was exercised to silence and intimidate me to 'rectify' my error of judgment and wrong evaluation. The worst stunt in this direction was that the writer of "The Nazi Technique and R.S.S." should be prosecuted in a Court of law, which a person in my position would naturally welcome. He would be failing in his duty who would avoid such an occasion of putting the facts of the case before the Jury and having the unique pleasure of facing the verdict. Such a judgment and verdict would surely help all those to come to an independent judgment who want to know about the mystery of the R.S.S. The Sangh, however, I knew was too shrewd to commit any such foolish blunder. The talk of legal action, therefore, was a piece of their policy of creating stunts and causing a camouflage to cover their real intentions and designs. To say the least, the threat of legal action, if carried to its logical consequences, would have proved too dangerous a device for the R.S.S. Its leadership knew it so well.

No government on principle can countenance the formation of private armies as distinct from the armed forces of the state, which are maintained for the security of the people from internal disorder and external attack. The past experience of some countries is a right pointer in this direction and by following them one can easily realise the danger inherent in a policy of allowing private

armies. The Social-Democrats in Germany, for instance, committed the great mistake of allowing a military organisation to grow in their country. That mistake proved fatal for them. Having secured a foothold, the Nazis found no difficulty in consolidating their position and they quickly raised a private army of their own which at the earliest opportunity overpowered all its opponents and ultimately established one-party military rule in Germany. The Black Shirts in Italy and the Brown Shirts in Spain, both marked by the same militant spirit, made history in a similar fashion. In consequence, Fascism came to triumph also in these countries. And, therefore, one can say that the Fascist cult, supported by its private armies, was in the last analysis mostly responsible for throwing the world into the flames of the World War II.

In recent years similar attempts at raising private armies have been made by many political parties in India too. For example, both the Khaksars and the Muslim National Guards put up a show of military organisation which mainly flourished on the sentiments of communal hatred and violence. Conditions of mutual distrust and suspicion were deliberately created by these in the name of religion and culture. Similarly, the armed and militarily organised Razakars in Hyderabad flourished in the name of old religious and cultural glories of Islam. The facts about them, however, are too fresh and obvious to demand any comments or recounting here. We may, therefore, proceed after underlining the statement and its

underlying truth that all such movements which regard military regimentation as a means for capturing power are generally started in the name of religion and culture, and the results of the propagation and popularity of such an ideology invariably prove disastrous for the nation.

Now the question is whether or not the Sangh comes under the definition and description of a private army. For arriving at any judgment on this question we have to depend upon the broad concept of an army. Any organisation, other than the state forces, which believes in centralised direction, regimentation of thought, formation of columns, uniformity of dress and some sort of regular drill and parade and a separate flag, comes under the category of an army. Whether or not all these ingredients of a private army exist in the R.S.S. organisation, will hardly be a fit subject to be discussed here. Those who have the least knowledge of the working of the R.S.S. can draw their own conclusions.

The main field of R.S.S. work lies in the ranks of young men who are classified according to their respective age-groups and are known as 'Bals' (children) and 'Tarunas' (adolescents). Apart from these, there are also the 'Praudhas' (the middle-aged). These groups function in different towns and districts under the patronage of some local respectable person and are placed under a district organiser. Several districts are grouped and formed into divisional units and the persons responsible for the units are called Assistant Provincial Organiser and the provincial head is known as the Chief Provincial

Organiser. All these provincial organisers are directly responsible to 'Guruji', the R.S.S. Fuehrer. In the towns the offices held by the Swayamsewaks are known as "Ghatnayaks", "Upghatnayaks", "Shikshaks", "Mukhya shikshaks" and others.

It would appear that the very form of organisation of the R.S.S. is an evidence of the fact that it stands in defiance to all democratic principles, for its offices are held not by common consent but by nomination from a superior authority. The individual is deprived of all freedom of thought or opinion on matters of vital importance; he is no more than a mere cog in the party wheel. The directives are always issued from the top, only to be carried out faithfully by the followers. In the face of such rigid regimentation of opinion and organisation, loud professions of the Sanghites for democracy and civil liberties are a mockery only intended to serve their opportunistic strategy and designs.

Different ideologies appeal to different sections of people. People placed in more or less identical circumstances with similar mental make-up and aspiring for like objectives are sometimes drawn by a common ideology. As the Indian National Congress stood for the weak and the oppressed it appealed to the teeming millions, who shared misery in common and suffered at the hands of Imperialism in equal measure. Thus, the Congress organisation grew to be their representative which symbolised their hopes and aspirations. In the same manner the *cult of militant communalism* inspired

the ambitious Musalmans, who gathered under the League flag, and encouraged frustrated Hindus to take the path recommended by the R.S.S.]

Furthermore, blood-shed and devastation caused by communal orgy had left bitter memories which created indelible marks on the minds of the young. Most susceptible to the creeping influence of the cruel past, the youth of the present generation reacted sharply to all that they had seen and heard. Innocent children could not resist or fight this reaction which assailed and overwhelmed them from all sides. In fact, communal hatred and the thought of vengeance had a thrilling appeal for them. The shrewd and unscrupulous Sangh leadership was wise enough to read this and exploit it to their best advantage. Thus an innocent child, an energetic and ambitious college student, the middle-class shopkeeper and worn-out clerk with pent-up feelings, all offered themselves as fruitful material for recruitment to the Sangh rank and file.

A child who has love for home and for play is like a tender branch that can be twisted in any direction. The Nazis in Germany taught and trained these children in accordance to their own particular requirements to be used later as *cannon fodder* in the German war of expansion and aggrandisement. German youth was made to feel and believe that Germany was unconquerable and that it was the old, bankrupt German leadership which had been responsible for the defeat and devastation of the Fatherland. The League leadership in India had

also proceeded according to this well-known plan of organisation and action. As is commonly known, young Muslim boys were turned into fanatics and for perverting their outlook, Nationalist Muslims were painted as the agents of the Hindu Capitalism and the Congress struggle for freedom was depicted as an evil design of the wicked Hindus seeking to dominate and exploit the Muslims of India.

[The Sangh leadership adopted similar tactics to catch the excited imagination of the innocent children and, after turning them into fanatics, made them feel that the indivisible 'Bharat Mata' had been divided and cut up mainly as a result of the follies, foolishness and cowardice of the Congress leadership, which was held responsible for the establishment of Pakistan. Thus, by organising interesting and invigorating exercises and games, picnics and *Chandans*, the boys were attracted towards the Sangh and their love for the home was replaced by an exclusive love for the Sangh Brotherhood. The highly impressionable mind of the child was made to swallow the sugar-coated pills of communal poison which largely arrested his mental growth and turned him into an unreasoning fanatic and bigoted maniac.]

Recruitment is also made by the Sanghites from the ranks of grown-up school and college students, who have enough energies and enthusiasm to aspire to become officers and leaders. These selected boys are first sent to different Officers' Training Centres and are then deputed to different districts to train the Swayamsewaks. Their

personal sense of discipline and obedience is repeatedly put to test and thus they are made to tear themselves away from the family completely. [They are led to enjoy the romance and thrill of this new life which enables them to act as highly elated and glorified officers.]

[Among other sections of the people, the middle-class shopkeepers and office-going clerks prove particularly fertile field for recruitment. The Sangh life and activities provide good outlet for their pent-up feelings where their individual frustrations are canalised in particular directions to suit the special party requirements of the Sangh. As these classes suffer from a suppressed desire and yearning to be 'shaktishali', any organisation which offers them such a diversion can draw them into its orbit. Present-day rising prices and distressing scarcities, domestic unhappiness and other suppressed impulses, usually leave an emotional vacuum in the lives of such people which they seek to fill by the gusto, bravado, enthusiasm and heroics provided by Sangh politics.]

[The thought of the revival of Hindu culture, the desire to create discipline in an otherwise thoroughly undisciplined life, the thrill and romance of exciting games and exercises and, above all, the awe-inspiring spiritual or mystic mystery of the great Sangh prove an irresistible fascination for this class. For reasons like these, Sangh's point of view is more popular in this class of people than any other organisation's.]

Self-interest in a man's life being the greatest motive-force, under its pressure frustrated clerks, who often

believe that Independence has not brought them any good, begin to speculate that perhaps they would have profited more if the Muslims had been driven out of the country after its partition. Similarly, shopkeepers are inclined to believe that if Muslims had been thrown out of their business they would have enjoyed better business prospects.

Moreover, a class of people who are in the habit of calling each other dishonest and corrupt sometimes derive great satisfaction from such political criticism as holds big national leaders and high functionaries of the state to ridicule. Frustrated and starved people find it soothing to hold others responsible for their sad plight. All such fanciful ideas and fantastic notions of political or semi-political nature turn these people into good recruiting material for the Sangh leadership.

The last, but not the least, are those politically discontented and disappointed people whom Congress has not been able to offer any scope for their highly expansive ambitions. Their critical approach towards the Congress is soon transformed into hostility and their reactionary social and economic ideology is changed into a blind and unreasoning love for the Hindu community, which in their judgment happens to be co-terminous with the Indian nation. These trends ultimately lead them on to a frank adoption of a communal viewpoint. At this stage, when the ground is fully prepared for implanting the R.S.S. plant, the Sanghites launch their well-planned concerted attack and sweep such elements com-

pletely off their feet and, finally, win them over to the Sangh ideology.

Then, there are also capitalists, zamindars and other vested interests who have had their own fears of the Congress ideal of 'Kisan-Mazdoor-Raj'. Driven by the remorseless logic of their own narrow class-interests they also come to look to the Sangh as the only organisation which could oust the Congress Government from power and thus save them from the anger and wrath of Democracy. No wonder, therefore, if they tend to rally round the Sangh to further their own interests.

[The Sangh leadership have no respect for the National Flag. In the past they have always treated it with utter contempt. But, of late, the Tri-colour flag has been accepted by them as the state flag, and the 'Bhagwa' (flag) has been explained to us as a party flag. Thanks to the unalterable circumstances of history and pressure of political events the Sangh leadership at last has declared itself as a party, which hitherto perhaps was supposed to be an organised mystical expression of the Nation.] Let us hope this attitude shall logically lead them, sooner or later, to make their implied political objectives also clear and explicit, for a party must necessarily have its political, social and economic programme.

[To explore the myth of the Bhagwa Jhanda as the Rashtriya Dhwaja we can only depend upon the authentic exposition of it by Dr. Hedgware who styled it as a 'speechless Guru, embodying all our aspirations and affection.' To give a lively appearance to this 'speechless

symbol' we are told that only a Hedgware or Golwalkar is needed to act and speak for the Bhagwa.

It is further told that the Bhagwa has been our national flag since eternity and has all along represented the Hindu Rashtra and, therefore, the adherents of the Sangh could never respect any other flag. When so serious really was the historical position, respect for the 'Bhagwa' could only be possible when contempt for the Tri-colour was instilled into the hearts of the people. From several personal diaries and other literature confiscated from various Shakhnas in the western districts of the Uttar Pradesh it has become abundantly clear now that the Sangh leadership regards showing respect for the National flag nothing short of worshipping a prostitute instead of the mother.]

Now, the next question is: *When was the Bhagwa our Rashtra Dhwaja?* So far as the Sanghites are concerned they are so blind to the facts and evidence of history as to believe that the present concept of nationalism is the same what it was in the remote past. [But, as one knows, the concept of a nation at that time centred round a king and, therefore, to fight for the king was a fight in the cause of the nation. Then, every king had his own flag, and so there were different flags with varying national concepts. One should naturally wonder at the reasons which Sanghites have for believing that the Bhagwa was always the flag of the Hindu Rashtra. The little that the present writer has been able to know about the history of this Bhagwa

is that when Shivaji approached Guru Ram Das for a 'dhwaja', Guruji is said to have given his bhagwa-coloured 'phagua' (loincloth) to Shivaji which since then became the dhwaja of Shivaji and his followers. As the R.S.S. regard Shivaji as their ideal, they have adopted the Bhagwa as their flag. But to call it the flag of the Hindu Rashtra is nothing but malicious distortion of Indian history.]

SANGH—ITS FINANCES & TECHNIQUES

THE finances of the Sangh are the strongest as compared to the finances of other political parties. The Sangh claims to have no funds and no accounts and yet it has millions to spend on its multifarious activities. Practically in all the districts and even in the tehsils the Sangh instructors are paid agents. Jeeps, motor-cars, motor bicycles are available to the Sangh. Moreover, it has the most efficiently organised offices. Lot of money is spent on 'chandans and picnics' It is a fact beyond controversy now that in the western districts of the Uttar Pradesh a good deal of money was spent for purchasing arms and ammunitions.]

It still remains to be explained, however, as to what were the sources from which such large amounts could be collected. There are a number of R.S.S. and pro-R.S.S. papers which literally submerge the reading public with their blatant communal propaganda. All these entail heavy expenditure. But, as one knows, Sangh has a simple way of attracting large funds. [Like the Muslim 'Pirs' of old, the Guru accepts 'Dakshina' from his disciples. One must, however, remember that such a concept of 'Gurudom' is foreign to Hindu traditions.

The Hindu 'rishis' and 'acharyas' despised property. It was, in fact, during Aurangzeb's time that the 'pirs' with their 'mureeds' came into prominence who produced inspired fanatics. The same institution was adopted by Shivaji and his followers which is being revived by the R.S.S. *what nonsense -*

True to their traditions the Sanghites observe a grand annual 'Guruparva' and each one of them offers dakshina to his Guru. Similarly other Hindu 'parvas' are also celebrated. On 'Sharad-Purnima', 'Dassehra', 'Holi', 'Dewali' and other occasions Sanghites contribute their mite for the central and local funds of the Sangh. The contribution varies from a pice to thousands of rupees, varying according to the paying capacity of the persons concerned. The Sanghites claim to be 55 to 60 lakhs strong. Therefore, if their claim is taken to be true, it stands to reason to believe that on 'Guruparva Day' over 55 to 60 lakhs of rupees can be easily collected. In the western districts of the U.P. and especially in my own district of Bijaor, Hindus have contributed to the Sangh, from 1944 to this day, much more than what they contributed to the Congress during the last thirty years. Even small towns have contributed to the Sangh funds up to four to five thousand rupees, and there has been a sort of competition among the Swayamsewaks for paying greater and greater contributions.

The Sangh leaders have spread lots of lies questioning the integrity of other political parties. Hindus,

however, would be staggered if they come to know how recklessly lakhs of rupees contributed by them have been wasted in purchasing arms and ammunition and other luxurious paraphernalia. [The entire group of Sangh 'Sanchalaks' and 'Pracharaks' even in the smaller towns are paid large sums with which they lead a much better and luxurious life than many people can dream of in this country. In the name of discipline, followers are prevented from putting any uncomfortable questions on this matter and to divert any conceivable attack being made on this score the Sanghites keep their people busy in attacking the *bonafides* of others. But the Hindus have certainly a right to demand an account of the funds subscribed by them. The Sanghites have their own accounts which they dare not publish for that would expose the unscrupulousness of the leadership.]

One cannot understand the Sangh unless one understands its technique of propaganda. Following in the footsteps of the Nazis, they have done their best to adopt the Goebble's ways in organising and shaping their propaganda technique. These people believe that there is nothing like truth or falsehood in life. [Even a lie, if repeated many times with a high objective in view, can be made to appear as *truth* in the judgment of ignorant people. Furthermore, by a skilful application of the methods of propaganda in public life people can be made to accept hell as heaven or reject the heaven. The pincer of Sangh propaganda has four prongs :

गांधी जी के अग्रगण्य हे हृदयों के
रूपान बन्द हो गये क्या ?
[पंचजन्य: के. ११, २००४]

कौले कानून के विरुद्ध आंदोलन
कर के बंगाल ने युक्त प्रान्त के मुंह पर
कस कर तमाचा जड़ दिया है।
[पंचजन्य: सै. शु. ११, २००४]

भारत का नन्दनवन
आसुरी आग मे धूध कर जल रहा है।
काश्मीर का मामला संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में नहीं
लड़ाई के मैदानों में निपटेगा !!
क्या देश फिर धोरवा स्वायेगा ?
[पंचजन्य: सै. शु. ३, १४.१.४८]

कौला पाकिस्तान के सामने हथियार डाल रहे हैं।
सम्मान खोकर शान्ति को पाने का
लज्जानक प्रयास। क्या देश चुपचाप देवता होगा ?
[पंचजन्य: माघ
कृ. ४, २००४]

हम काश्मीर खोने चाहते हैं या हैदराबाद ?
जनता को निजाम का तख्त चाहिए, केवल
उत्तरदायी शासन नहीं।
[पंचजन्य माघ
शु. ८, २००४]

यह
मुस्लिम राज्य है।
५०,००० हिन्दू स्त्रियां
मुसलमानों के
चंगुल
में

संघ नेताओं की राजनीतिक भ्रूव
का शिकार बन गया।
इस संकट के समय में घर में फूट
फैलाना आत्मघात।
[पंचजन्य: भाद्रपद शु. ७, २००४]

यह कांग्रेस
राज्य है।
देश भर में जनता पर
गोलों और लाठियों
की
बौछार ॥

हैदराबाद के कौले
का छिपे हुए निजाम है क्या भारत
का छिपे हुए गंडा पर ही छोड़ दी ?
संस्कारों के धोक घातक मन्त्रे ॥

काली छाया में जन्म
और काश्मीर के हजारों हिन्दू
जीवन को अंतिम चड़ियां गिन रहे
हैं।
क्या भारतीय सेना उन के लिये
कुष न कर सकेगी ?
[पंचजन्य: माघ कृ. ४,
२००४]

राजनीतिक विरोधियों को पुचलने की
गुड्डा एक्ट की आड़ में
चल।
कोणसी सत्कारों तानाशाही के पक्ष पर
[पंचजन्य: माघ कृ. १२, २००४]

अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद का स्थान कांग्रेसी
तानाशाही ने ले लिया है, जनता के राज्य ने नहीं।
संघकाचार सूत्र बोलबाला
अशामयस्यारिक जनतंत्र के नाम पर अहर्निधु
[पंचजन्य: भाद्रपद कृ. ३, २००४]

राजनीतिक विरोधकार बंदर युग को याद दिला रहे हैं। क्या
देश के दुर्भाग का इतिहास फिर से दुहराया जायेगा ॥
[पंचजन्य: माघ कृ. ३, २००४]

इस स्वार्थ युक्ति के लिये पवित्र संस्कृति
को ध्वंस किया जा रहा है
[पंचजन्य: भाद्रपद शु. १०, २००४]

एक कविता
का शीर्षक :-
कोर्टि कोर्टि हिन्दू हृदयों में सुलग उठी है
चिनमारी अमर आग है।
आग आग है !!

गोली बरों
की छाया में
उत्सव। आगरे
प्रयोग का दंगे की आग भड़काई ॥
[पंचजन्य भाद्रपद कृ. ६, २००४]

और रक्तपात
स्वतंत्रता-दिवस का
में पंचमंगी गुंडों ने बल-
[पंचजन्य: भाद्रपद कृ. ६, २००४]

✓ (1) To attribute all blame for the division of the country and the harrowing consequences that followed from it to the so-called weak-kneed and pro-Muslim policy of appeasement followed by the Congress leadership;

(2) To demonstrate division of the country as the greatest sin, for undoing which, to create in the youth a yearning for reconquering the lost territory and to create simultaneously an imaginary fear of Pakistani aggression, and thus to continue to thrive in an atmosphere of communal tension;

(3) To exploit to the best advantage the prevalent distress of the people and to use economic discontent for political aggrandisement and by spreading defeatism and frustration to prove Congress leaders as a set of corrupt and ambitious people fighting among themselves for the loaves and fishes of office.

⌈ (4) To create a hallow in the mass mind for the Sangh Fuehrer and to present him as the embodiment of unknowable mystic forces after hypnotising its own adherents

To achieve the above objectives, vast volume of literature has been published in recent years and a chain of newspapers has been started which work under a centralized direction and are used for regimented propaganda by flashing set head-lines at different psychological moments.

Moreover, all the old Hindu scriptures and religious books are being re-written to suit the creed and require-

ments of the Sangh. Only such events from Indian history are narrated as go to strengthen the Sangh ideology. Only such articles, stories, cartoons and pictures are published as can feed the communal passion of the people in general and strengthen the romantic, revivalist imagination of the youth in particular. Particular steps are undertaken to cater to the different obsessions and inhibitions of the adherents through the circulation of interesting stories and legendary tales. Cells are created in different newspapers and the services of 'Sahayak' papers are utilised in the best manner possible. As Sanghi 'Darshan' has no place for any scruples, every conceivable medium is utilized to propagate its ideology and create a particular psychological effect or situation at a particular moment. Thus, armed with such means of propaganda, the Sangh leadership, for all practical purposes, is likely to provide a new experience to those brought up and trained in the old traditions of public life.

[The R.S.S. thesis, in the main, is plain and simple. It constantly seeks to remind us that the country was indivisible, the Congress leadership was browbeaten into submission by the Qaid-e-Azam's superior intrigues and manœuvrings and, therefore, such weak leaders as can be out-manœuvred and beaten so easily are not dependable, that the Congressmen acted like 'Deshdrohis' and *Hindu-rashtra-virodhis* and hence an alternative leadership is the need of the hour. To achieve their objective of over-throwing the present leadership the

Sanghites approach the youth of the country for they know that almost anything can be imprinted upon their young minds. Thus, the youth of this country is at present being brought up in an atmosphere of communal bitterness and taught the dangerous lessons of Civil war. He being susceptible to any propaganda that promotes in him hatred and vengeance, the consequences can be well imagined by any intelligent person.]

[Here it would be appropriate to recall that the Nazis in Germany adopted the same technique of propaganda. After the defeat of Germany in the First World War they proceeded to inform the German people, in general, and the young ones of tender age, in particular, that Germany was invincible and that the old German leadership had left the German people in the lurch in a moment of supreme national crisis, which had brought defeat and suffering to the Fatherland. To substantiate their thesis maps of old and post-war Germany were shown to those young boys and they were told that the great Fatherland had been dismembered because German leadership had chosen to play a treacherous game. It would be worthwhile to note that here in India too a map of *Divided India* is exhibited and the Pakistan area is marked out by nails and the unsophisticated youth is led to think that these nails were driven into the living flesh of Mother India by our own leaders. One can well imagine what intense and bitter feelings of hatred have been generated and spread against the present political leadership in the country.]

Then to keep the youth in a state of perpetual tension and to exploit it fruitfully all sorts of concocted stories and fabricated plans of Pakistani preparations for aggression against India are circulated and an impression is sought to be created that war preparations on a mighty scale are being made in Pakistan while nothing of the sort is being done in India. Like this Congress leadership is depicted as anti-India, anti-Hindu and anti-national.

Thus, while the Muslim League in Pakistan was inciting the people there to prepare for a conquest of India, the Sangh here started the campaign for creating an expansionist urge among the Hindus. As an illustration it may be mentioned that only recently the *Organiser* published on its title page the picture of a rajput lady tying a 'Rakhi' round the wrist of a rajput. Beneath the picture were written the following sentences:

"Rama fought against Ravan for Sita; Mahabharat was staged for Draupadi; Rajputs battled for Iija Bai. How many thousands of our women wait for vengeance?"

Such incitements apparently mean nothing but that we should start preparing for a war against Pakistan.

We are presently faced with a shattered economy. The last war caused grave economic consequences, which were further aggravated by the partition of the country and the ensuing Refugee problem. Consequently, acute shortage of supplies, rising prices and all-round economic distress are becoming ever more serious in proportions. To magnify the tragedy and to intensify

its effects the R.S.S. leadership exploits the situation in its own characteristic way. People are constantly told that the Congress governments being corrupt and weak they made no attempt to meet the crisis with a view to overcome it. Similar other charges are levelled against the Congress leaders and Congress governments. Then, in the same breath, praise is showered on their own institutions such as the 'Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Samiti' and others. The members of these Sangh bodies are harangued to make good the deficiency of moral strength in national leadership. Thus it is intended to prove that only through the R.S.S. and Guruji's help the country can successfully get over the present crisis and rise equal to its past glory.

There are many interesting legends as well, related in a more or less convincing manner about the Sangh's invincible '*shakti*' in the course of which Guruji is demonstrated as an embodiment of great mystic power. All this is part of a well-thought out plan to hypnotize weak and feeble minds.

Searching queries are made in an innocent but subtle manner: "Have you ever seen Guruji?" And the answer is provided by the same agency—"He is the living symbol of "*Shakti*". "Do you remember the words he uttered while taking charge of the Organization?" And pat comes the reply from the same pen or mouth—"Ours is an invincible and impregnable fort. All those who dash against it shall break their own heads." One can imagine the mischief which these simple questions and

answers are calculated to cause in less reasoning minds.

Months after months, before Gandhiji's assassination, the country had seen the R.S.S. private army making its appearance in the streets and public places, exactly in the Hitlerite fashion and marked by the same pomp and show, gusto and bravado. The R.S.S. rallies, reminiscent of the Nuremburg goose-stepping and band-playing, were witnessed all over the country. The average Hindu was thus convinced of the mighty strength of the organisation which encouraged the people at large to support it. *We were reminded by Guruji in Delhi in December, 1947 that the Sangh had risen to such a gigantic stature and developed such colossal strength that even the Almighty could not challenge its might.* Guruji is reported to have said once that he had power enough to silence critics and opponents for all time. [All such verbal gymnastics succeeded in creating a large volume of anti-Gandhi and anti-Congress sentiment among the people, who were led to believe that the Sangh alone could redeem the Past and save the country in future from Pakistan's aggression]

[There was no end to such bombastic nonsense. It is said that when the D.I.G. of Police went to arrest Guruji, he was warned that he would be reduced to ashes if he dared touch Guruji's saintly body. Not only this, but the whole country would be set ablaze if any such attempt was made. This was how fantastic and funny tales about the Guruji and his so-called mysterious and supernatural powers were told and

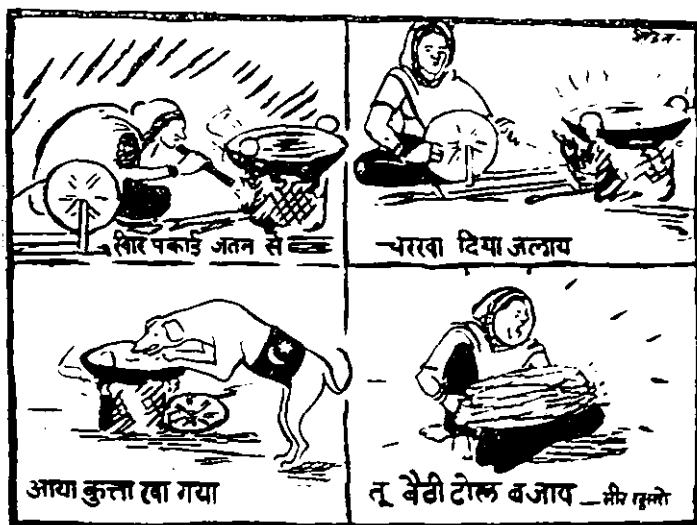
carried far and wide from mouth to mouth.

With an arrogant, and almost insolent, air the Sanghites disown any newspaper or literature, the origin and authorship of which is attributed to them. But all the same there is a mushroom growth of such newspapers and journals in every province, all of which are released from a highly centralized authority, issuing extremely regimented stuff for publication and wide circulation. Voluminous literature has been published in different languages and all these newspapers, pamphlets, stories, dramas, cartoons, etc., bear such remarkable similarity in their approach and treatment that on looking on them even a layman can say that they are all of a piece and brought out by some common central agency and organisation. It is needless to mention that they put forth a common policy and advocate a common course of action.

The Sangh's approach to issues—political and other—is so regimented that at any particular psychological moment one finds in all its papers, pamphlets, stories and cartoons the same specific idea prominently featured and repeatedly flashed in a most organised manner. When, however, a shift in thought or policy is found to be expedient the entire propaganda machinery is at once switched over to a different line, howsoever different or contradictory the latter may be to the former. For instance, how amusing really it looked when the greatest anti-Hindu Gandhi almost overnight after his death was turned into a Great Rishi.

In the entire Sangh literature, however, one will find a significant but wilful omission—the complete absence of the British period from Indian history, as it were.

And if ever mention of the Congress struggle is made it is done with a view to invite ridicule of the youth. For example, the struggle for independence has been depicted in the following cartoon with the help of Amir Khusro's famous couplet.



This omission has a deeper significance than would commonly appear to people. As the Sangh

leaders know that if any mention were to be made of the British rule in India the magnificent record of the Congress achievements would irresistibly draw the attention of the youth, they completely blackout the whole British episode in Indian history. With a view to guard against any such contingency, the entire nationalist struggle is represented to the youth as a great betrayal.

It is meant to impress that the Congress was stupid enough to deprive the teeming millions of the fruit of their labour on account of the wile intrigues of the shrewd and tricky leaders of the Muslim League.

This omission of the role of the Congress leadership in the National War of Independence is amply demonstrated by Guruji's own book. 'Hamari Rashtriyata', written in 1939, wherein he has deliberately avoided mentioning the name of Pandit Nehru in the list of national leaders. Even Gandhiji's name is very reluctantly referred to. This shows adequately that the Congress leaders were never recognised by the Sangh as leaders of the country.

While summing up the *modus operandi* and results of the Sangh propaganda and publicity one must inevitably come to the following conclusions. That the Sangh leadership endeavours by all conceivable means to change the minds of its adherents in any direction that they like. It aims at turning them into absolutely irreconcilable fanatics who should refuse to have an open mind on any issue. In order to achieve success in this objective any other literature, except Sangh

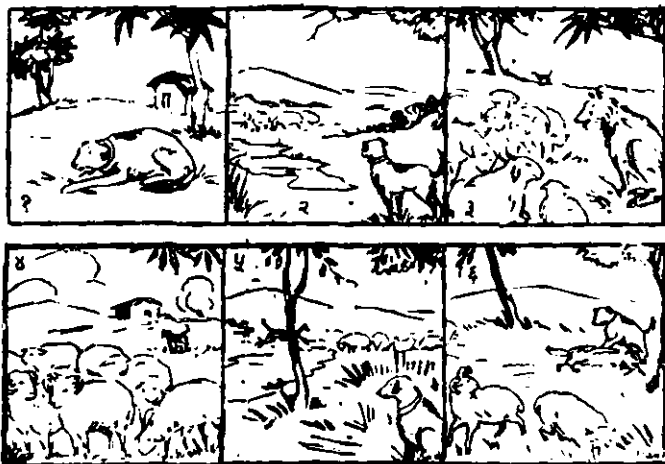
literature, is forbidden to them. It endeavours to reduce a man into a *psychological automaton* and charge his mental battery with peculiar but familiar dynamo of the R.S.S. make. The following specimen cartoons will give a good picture of the regimented propaganda which is being carried on by the Pro-Sangh press.



अनशन से—

“क्या हृदयों के तफान वन्द हो गये ?”

—“साप्ताहिक पांचजन्य”



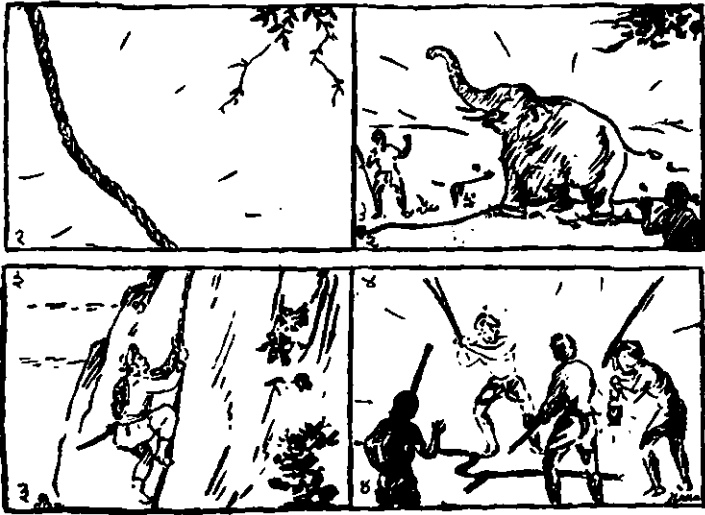
१—एक स्वामि-भक्त कुत्ता था । (२) भेड़ों की रक्षा करना उसका काम था । (३) एक दिन भेड़िये ने आकर भेड़ों को यह आदेश दिया कि तुम उस कुत्ते की परतन्त्रता में क्यों रहती हो ? मैं तुमको स्वतन्त्र कर सकता हूँ । (४) भेड़िये की बात में आकर भेड़ें इधर-उधर घूमने लगीं । स्वामि-भक्त कुत्ता दूर से ही यह देखता रहा । (५) अरक्षित भेड़ों पर भेड़िये द्वारा आक्रमण होता देखकर कुत्ता चिन्तित हो उठा । (६) अन्त में भेड़िये को मार कर कुत्ते ने मूल्य भेड़ों की रक्षा कर अपना कर्त्तव्य पालन किया ।

—'उत्थान'



१—राम-सेवक हनुमान जी वीरों में सर्व श्रेष्ठ हैं। (२) जब वे सागर पार कर रहे थे, भयानक सुरसा ने उनका मार्ग रोका। (३) हनुमान जी ने उससे भी बड़ा रूप धारण किया। (४) किन्तु जब सुरसा ने भी बैसा ही किया, तो उन्होंने अत्यन्त लघु रूप में उसके मुख में प्रवेश किया। अब लोग समझे कि हनुमान जी समाप्त हो गये। (५) उनकी बुद्धिमत्ता और ध्येयनिष्ठा से पराजित होकर उसी सुरसा ने उन्हें विजय का वरदान दिया। (६) रामभक्त हनुमान अपने ध्येय-मय पर प्रागे बढ़े।

—'उत्थान'



(१) संगठन एक मजबूत रस्से के समान है। (२) इसी से मस्त हाथी को वक्ष में किया जा सकता है। (३) ऊँचे से ऊँचा किला चढ़ने में वह सहायक होती है। (४) परन्तु मूखों ने कभी-कभी इसी को सांप समझ कर पीटा है और अपने ही हाथों अपने हंडे तोड़ लिये हैं।

—‘उत्थान’

CHAPTER IV

R.S.S. AND POLITICS

OF late Guruji and the R.S.S. papers have begun to talk of loyalty to the State. They refute and deny any connection whatsoever with the Fascist ideology and its political dictatorship. Recently they also made a promise to respect the National Flag. But a glance at the speeches delivered by Guruji and a perusal of the literature published before the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi will prove that the R.S.S. has always stood against the basic principles of Democracy and has never subscribed to the ideal of political or economic equality. In fact, they branded and ridiculed Democracy as an import from the West and, therefore, it was declared as foreign to the Indian genius and alien to the Oriental system of thought. Election which is an integral part of the democratic system of government was styled as a clever ruse intended to hoodwink the innocent and ignorant masses. Guruji himself has, on occasions more than one, confessed his contempt for Democracy. The Sangh literature stigmatises it as a wasteful luxury, and a spirit of contempt for elections and a positive attitude of hostility towards them is created. Often their policy of boycott of elections, which we have now learnt to associate with Fascist parties, is advertised to prove their innocence of any political ambition. But the real import of this professed

attitude would become clear only when we remember that Guruji is known to have called adult franchise as nothing more than granting rights to cats and dogs. This speaks so eloquently of his contempt for the common man and his rights. He has, however, now very reluctantly reconciled himself to the existence of minorities and chosen to tolerate them just short of slaves. What is all this if not Fascism, naked and unabashed?

Mere lip service to Democracy is hardly of much worth or consequence unless democratic principles are incorporated in the body-politic and day-to-day working of political institutions. But the R.S.S. ideology and practice do not conform to any such view. Therefore we can say that in reality the Sangh is different from what it professes to be.

[In actual practice it is like a military organisation wherein obedience to authority is the essence of discipline and conduct. The R.S.S., for all practical purposes, seeks to build a ruthless fascist discipline, in utter disregard of all democratic principles. The R.S.S. in fact, is a negation of Democracy.]

Only if one could bring oneself to believe that the Sangh leadership is as plain and simple in its outlook as it professes to be, things would have been different. For example, time and again we are reminded of its aloofness from politics and its exclusive interest in the revival of culture. But the facts of the case are contrary to their profession and protestations. And it is this aspect of the matter which compelled the Government to

impose a ban on this organisation, otherwise there was hardly any point in taking action against a so-called non-political, cultural organisation. After all the Government did not think of banning any other organization even when it happened to possess a most radical and decisive political programme. The Socialists, the Communists, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Akali Dal are freely functioning even today. So our conclusion is that in the present set-up even a political party can function without necessarily inviting any administrative or legal restraint. .

The fact that R.S.S. was singled out for such exclusive attention and treatment goes to show that it is not only a party with a political objective, but that objective creates the impression of being of the most dangerous and subversive type. [In reality it is essentially a militant organisation, maintaining a private army of its own the object of which can only be action of an extremely dangerous nature. The R.S.S. apparently with its extremely centralised direction seeks to achieve its ends by organising and carrying through some programme of a highly subversive nature. Its frankly communal character, among other things, is fundamentally opposed to the concept of a Secular democratic state.] The fact that it endeavours to thrive in an atmosphere of communal tension and bitterness can in no case be tolerated by a democratic state. [Although the Sangh press, platform and its entire training are directed to deal with political problems yet, significantly enough, persistent protesta-

tions of innocence of all political activity and life are constantly made, which naturally make one feel that they have something up their sleeves which is not being revealed for the time being. Taking part in politics is after all no sin. But while intending to do so if efforts are made to camouflage the real intentions and designs surely it must cause unhealthy reactions in the minds of the public as well as of the Government.]

[In view of all this one will be fully justified in believing that under the cloak of religion and culture the Sangh has some ulterior motives and hidden designs. The entire Sangh press and propaganda literature clearly show that it has a set political purpose, and that it is essentially for political hegemony that underhand and underground preparations are being made. If the Sangh had really any genuine desire to resuscitate and revive cultural values, there would have been absolutely no need for taking resort to militant organization.]

There is a very wide field for social reform and cultural uplift in this country. We have many social ills and caste evils, including the stigma of untouchability, to be removed from our social organisation. Millions of people suffer from so many, more or less, unmentionable disabilities. Illiteracy is still there as a big blot on the face of modern Indian civilization. The Sangh rank and file could very well take in hand this gigantic task and spread themselves in the far-off villages as messengers of a new hope. As there are so many social and cultural organizations, like the Arya Samaj, Mahavir Dal, Harijan ✓

Ashram, Ram Tirtha Mission, etc., which stand for social reform and cultural revival, the R.S.S. could also choose to be one of them. And if the Sangh were to function in this fashion who could possibly prevent it from doing so.

But from a careful study and analysis of the Sangh leadership and its day-to-day practice it has become abundantly clear that it is the last hope and organised expression of reactionary influences. In the garb of the Sangh and under its aegis all manner of political adventurers and opportunists have succeeded in forging a workable political unity in the name and under the cover of Cultural revivalism. There is not an iota of doubt that the Sangh is essentially a political party, seeking to replace the present national leadership by the establishment of a narrow political dictatorship of its own. The Sanghite 'junta' is composed of that group of Maharashtrians who have for a long time suffered from a sense of political frustration which coupled with a feeling of inferiority complex finds expression in brave and bold dreams of political adventure. This clique believes that they have a right to rule over others and it is this peculiar belief in the minds of these misguided people which is responsible for their supplying almost all the prominent Sangh leaders.

Although the Sangh in its ideology, mentality and policy stands out as a violent and fierce reaction to the **Muslim League**, yet there is great similarity and commonness between the outlook, technique and strategy of the

two. Sometimes a person learns most from his own enemy. For example, this was largely true in the case of Hitler. Students of history now agree that the German leader learnt most of his methods from his greatest adversary in world politics, Joseph Stalin. Similarly the examples of state-craft and political and military stratagem set by Hitler considerably influenced the later policies and strategy of the Russian Dictator.

These conclusions hold equally true, though on a smaller scale, in the case of the League and the Sangh policies. Although the two parties belong to two different communities in certain respects opposed to each other, yet, strangely enough, they seem to take inspiration from each other and influence and imitate each other in shaping policies and effecting their execution. For example, while the acceptance of the 'two-nation theory' by the League proved India's undoing, the Sangh, which parades itself as the greatest and most faithful servant of the *rashtra*, tries to take the same theory to its most extreme limit by insisting on the total expulsion of the Muslims from the Indian Union. In the same way in respect of other important ingredients of policy and practice, the same similarity or reciprocity between the two rival parties would be easily detected by a keen student of political affairs. This will become even clearer in the later stages of our analysis and survey.

[In Indian politics the League, making use of the Muslims' religious fanaticism and bigotry, incited communal hatred and by creating a *fear complex* in the

Muslim population by raising the slogan of 'Islam in danger' successfully gathered their compatriots under its Green Flag. By introducing in politics the 'two-nation' theory, the League polluted and poisoned the political atmosphere of the country. Then by spreading communal hatred and taking advantage of the struggle between the Congress and the British made a successful bid to consolidate its own position. The Congress leadership, in general, and Mahatma Gandhi, in particular, by popularising the message of peace, love, non-violence and communal reconciliation and harmony tried to stem the rising tide of the communal movement with the aid of which League was trying to take the country by storm. But sometimes it is not possible to check the course of history even when it happens to be a wrong, harmful or misdirected course. So all the noble efforts of the great Mahatma failed to create much impression on the minds of the misguided Muslims.

Then came the partition of the country; attended with unparalleled disasters in Indian history, as a result of which the situation went completely out of control. No body now could prevent the onrush of the communal current and the following orgies of mass massacre and bloodshed had their unchecked course. This provided the much sought of opportunity for the Sangh which opposed its satanic reaction to the brutal Fascism of the League and thus set in operation a terrific tornado of Hindu violence. This is why the Sangh ideology and policy not only resemble the Lea-

gue ideology and policy but, in fact, they appear to be each other's prototype. For example, just as the Muslim League had drawn the Muslim masses towards itself by raising in them a fear complex of the Hindus, the Sangh attempted to attract the Hindus by developing in them a fear complex of the Muslims by raising the slogan of '*Hinduism in danger*'. Unmindful of the apparent contradiction the Sanghites, while they had disowned the 'two-nation theory', indirectly accepted it as the basis of their political ideology when they began to brand the Muslims as fifth columnists. simply for the reason that the latter happened to be Muslims. The Congress was blamed for giving shelter to the Muslims in the Indian Union while the proper course in their view would have been to turn them out of the country. For this reason the Congress was condemned as a pro-Muslim body and its programme of Hindu-Muslim unity was held to public ridicule.

The Muslim Leaguers, it may be recalled, had evolved a new concept of *nationalism*, just as the Nazis had done in Germany. To the Nazis a true German was one who was a member of the Nazi party and a true Nazi was one who hated the Jews. Similarly, in the judgment of the Muslim Leaguers a true Muslim was one who was a member of the Muslim League and a true Muslim Leaguer was only he who hated the Hindus. [On the same lines the Sangh dictum appeared to be that a true Hindu was one who was in the Sangh and a true Sanghite was one who hated the Muslims. Moreover,

just as the Muslim League was in the habit of under-rating Democracy the Sanghites held Democracy and the concept of 'government by the people' in contempt

It was a characteristic feature of the policy of the Muslim Leaguers that, while making a bugbear of Hinduism, they incited the Muslims to generate a feeling of hatred for the Hindus. Further, while they always had a word of praise for the Hindu Mahasabha leaders, they seldom spared the Congress leadership from most trenchant criticism. Following up this technique the Sanghites, while inciting Hindus against Muslims, scrupulously desist from decrying the League leaders whose examples, in fact, are held up as worthy of emulation. There are, however, obvious reasons why the Sangh policies generally should resemble those of the League. After all they have the same common political genealogy, i.e., both happen to be the followers of the Nazi philosophy.

The Muslim League tried to follow the Nazi method and technique in India in the minutest details. For instance, it was observed that the volunteers of the Muslim National Guards would sometimes themselves do such things as blow the conch, play music before the mosque and kill and throw pigs in the mosques with the set purpose of causing religious indignation and uproar.

On many an occasion, in the familiar style of the Muslim National Guards, the volunteers of the Sangh were found throwing brick-bats and crackers on Hindu processionists in the predominantly Muslim areas. And when the Congress Government tried to bring the situa-

tion under control Congress ministers were labelled as pro-Muslim and thus the loyalty of the Hindu masses towards the Administration was sought to be undermined.

The Sangh, which had no sympathy with the liberation movement, started creating troubles for the Congress Governments, especially after the 15th of August, 1947. In post-1947, India's greatest problems turned out to be Kashmir and Hyderabad. The Sangh devised a clever device of exploiting the situation to its best advantage. For example, since Kashmir had a Hindu ruler it was contended that the state must join the Indian Union and since the population of Hyderabad was predominantly Hindu, it was argued that it must accede to India. The Sangh had neither any sympathy with the suffering humanity of Kashmir nor felt any compassion for the raped and uprooted humanity of Hyderabad. But as the Muslim League in Pakistan was demanding the accession of both Kashmir and Hyderabad to Pakistan, for while the majority population of the former and the ruler of the latter were Muslim, it was necessary for the Sangh also to take some such stand.

Thus nerve-racking problems and abnormal situations were created and if they had not been handled with strong hands and by wise men, the newly-found Freedom of the country would have perhaps died a premature death. That we have been able to weather all these storms, emerge triumphant after the great ordeal and are gradually developing into a strong and

powerful nation are positive proofs of the ability and spirit of self-sacrifice, courage and fortitude shown by the national leadership in a moment of supreme crisis.

[In the course of a letter published recently the Sar Sangh Sanchalak of the R.S.S., Guruji, offered the services of the Sangh to the Prime Minister of India to help him to suppress the rising tide of Communism in India.] From this one would find the glaring similarity between the Nazi and Sangh techniques. Allama Mushriqi, if one remembers, had similarly offered the services of the Khaksars to the Indian Government on many an occasion without, however, creating any impression on anybody. Kasim Razvi also offered the services of his Razakars to suppress the Peoples' movement in Hyderabad. These examples would help the readers to draw their own conclusions.

Like the League, the Sangh also, in order to gain its set political objectives, believes in and follows the technique of infiltrating into the Services with a desire to undermine their loyalty to the State. And when the service personnel is won over, it is used to make the smooth working of the Government machinery impossible. Furthermore, just as the League leaders played the game of roping in all manner of vested interests—nawabs, taluqadars, business magnates, ambitious industrialists and others—who were offered the lure of political leadership only to be used as an effective brake on the wheels of social and political progress, the Sangh has been gathering under its banner all such feudal and

reactionary elements. For the objective before the Sangh leadership is only one—Fascist conspiracy hatched for the final seizure of power. And in their enthusiasm to succeed at almost any cost and under any condition they disdain the employment of no means and tactics, howsoever low or mean. For instance, it will perhaps be an amusing revelation for many that while the Sangh's leadership dissuaded the Hindus, throughout the length and breadth of the country, from purchasing property from Muslims migrating to Pakistan, Sanghites themselves purchased the assets and effects of the Latifi Press, from where the *Dawn* of the Muslim League used to be published before the partition of the country, which is now being used for printing and publishing the Sangh's weekly, the *Organiser*. This amply illustrates the difference between the Sangh's theory and practice.

However, while summarising the points of similarity between the League and the Sangh technique, strategy, policy and outlook, let us again emphasise that infiltration in the Service cadres, roping in of the vested interests and harnessing and exploiting effectively the energies and faculties of ambitious and adventurous people happen to be some of the common devices of these parties. Apart from these, just as the League leadership in Pakistan thrives by dwelling on the familiar themes of painting in lurid colours the medieval glories of the unsurpassed and unrivalled might of Islam, conjuring up dismal pictures of its present-day downfall, predicting impending danger to Pakistan and imminent annihilation of the Muslims in India at the hands of the Hindus if the politico-religious

thesis of the League is not accepted, applied and taken to the farthest logical consequences, [the Sanghite's here try to flourish by describing in the most lofty tones the ancient greatness and glory of *Bharatvarsha* (Parachin Vaibhava), depicting in mournful tones its present decay, which in their opinion is bound to result in the final conquest of India by Pakistan and total obliteration of the Hindus from both the countries, if the virile and dynamic viewpoint of the Sangh leadership was not accepted and carried through till the goal of 'Akhand Bharat' with its old, revived cultural greatness is achieved.]

Thus, it would appear that the two rival but parallel leaderships of the League and the Sangh, in Pakistan and India, while imitating each other directly or indirectly, strengthen each other's hands and seek to perpetrate themselves and make headway in their respective national spheres of politics and power by raising false alarms, drawing pictures of imaginary dangers and causing fearful hallucinations of communal ghosts and political phantoms in the public mind. Like the League, the Sangh also has no scruples about things. None of them believe in straight or above board dealings; for both of them *the ends justify the means*, however sordid or ignoble the latter may be.

One can now form one's own opinion about the worth and utility of a political party like the R.S.S. and come to one's own independent judgment about the propriety or impropriety of allowing the existence and continuance of such a dangerous organisation, whether it chooses to function under political, communal, social or cultural label.

It should, however, be made clear at this stage that I, for one, was never convinced that the Sangh is a purely non-political organisation, as its leaders professed day in and day out. The birth of Jan Sangh, as a political beaver of the R.S.S., has borne out my prophecy in this regard and has exposed ever-present political hinges of the Sangh. It is, therefore, well evident that the Jan Sangh is simply devised as a cover for the execution of its long-cherished political designs and ambitions.

THE MYTH OF CULTURAL REVIVALISM

THE myth of racial superiority and cultural revivalism has been sweeping the Hindu mind for some time past.

The Sangh ideology, as we know, was mainly responsible for raising these unreal issues. But since the challenge has been thrown it becomes necessary for us to accept it and give our considered answer by examining whether Hindu culture, as we commonly understand it, is the same thing as a Sanghite represents it. In other words, we have to find out whether what they mean by Hindu culture is exactly what we know of it or that they have a culture of their own imagination, definition and interpretation, with which they seek to baffle and hypnotise the Hindu intelligentsia. A dispassionate and analytical examination of the *cultural thesis* of the Sangh, therefore, becomes here a prime necessity.

From what little I have been able to know of the Sangh's view of culture I can make bold to assert that it is, for all practical purposes, nothing but an antithesis of the Hindu culture, as we have seen it changing and evolving through ages. For the cardinal principles of Hindu culture are tolerance, reverence, humbleness and an incessant pursuit of Truth. Its concept of society is broad-based, and this is why our land and its people

have always in the past presented a happily blended picture of unity in diversity, expressing itself in a characteristic social vitality)

Innumerable invaders, from time to time, tried to conquer our land and subjugate its people, but in the long run each such proud visitor was assimilated in the indigenous pattern of our life and philosophy. Thus, different religions, faiths and creeds were merged into a unity which was charged with tremendous *social dynamism*. The Buddhists, the Jains, the Shaivites and Vaishnavites, with their divergent modes of thoughts and philosophies, found in this country a typical harmonious expression into a composite whole of all that was best in our total national outlook. Consequently, the Theists and the Atheists, the Murti-pujaks and the Anti-murti-pujaks enjoyed equal rights in this land to live a life of peace and mutual cordiality, which no doubt is a great tribute to our Spirit of Tolerance. Such were the powers of our social growth and cultural assimilation, which as an historical process went on for thousands of years in this country.

With the coming of the Mughals, however, a measure of *cultural conflict* became inevitable, and their assertion of distinct racial and cultural qualities intensified the conflict. Their dress, diet, technique of warfare, totality of faith and beliefs were all different and distinct from ours. Thus, when the elements of social and cultural disharmony were joined with those of political conflict, the ensuing tension could hardly be regarded a fortu-

nate development for the future of the country. But, thanks to the great assimilative vitality of Hinduism, even the new elements soon began to find local conditions smooth for them. Therefore, instead of pursuing a course of ruthless political suppression, the visitors began to show greater understanding and appreciation of our outlook. Their searching enquiries about us soon led them to discard their former fanaticism and bigotry.

For example, it was a noteworthy event in Indian history that when the Rani of Chittaur secretly sent the rakhi to Humayun which, according to Hindu custom and belief, meant appeal for help in distress, it produced almost a magical effect on the Muslim King who was immediately found making anxious enquiries about the significance of the present which he had received. He was then informed that when a Hindu lady took resort to such a ceremonial or formal proceeding it became a sacred duty for the recipient of the gift to tender her help as he would have helped his own sister in adversity. Consequently communal solidarity gave way to tender feelings in the heart of the Muslim King who had to go to fight against Bahadur Shah for the safety of Chittaur. *Is mat ? or shradh hum*

In the time of Akbar this process of understanding and reconciliation was further pushed ahead and in his regime there were distinct signs of Islamic culture and traditions becoming completely submerged in the variety and richness of receptive and highly assimilative Hindu-

ism. Akbar reacted and responded to this gesture in a most remarkable fashion and proceeded to bridge the wide gulf existing between Hindu and Muslim culture and religion. In response to this a good number of Hindu kings and princes reciprocated the spirit of co-operation and accommodation shown by Akbar.

But while a section, and a large section at that, made up with Akbar, another section expressed hostility towards him and his regime. They were very much apprehensive of losing their Hindu cultural entity in case they accepted the hand of co-operation offered by Akbar. During Akbar's reign this spirit of hostility produced no mentionable results. But in Aurangzeb's reign conscious *Hindu non-co-operation* produced terrific consequences, for he proceeded with a set purpose of subjugating the Hindu militancy completely. In fact, he proved such a confirmed fanatic that he planned to change the very complexion of Hinduism by superimposing upon it the dominance of Muslim religion and culture. This radical reorientation of state policy by Aurangzeb caused opposite and equal reaction. Hindus were now compelled to redefine their attitude towards the Sultanate of Delhi and with the passing of time Hindu reaction against militant Islam became more and more aggressive. Aurangzeb could be the last person to tolerate such insubordination and, therefore, with growing hostility towards his regime, he turned to be more and more a fanatic and bigoted ruler. His cultural thesis, it may be noted, was nothing but a crude mixture of political and religious ideas of

self-aggrandisement and governmental tyranny.

As the socio-political order established by Aurangzeb proved to be an anathema to the age-old Hindu concept of life, reaction against it became even more organised and widespread. And, hence, Shivaji in the South and Sikhs in the North became the two prongs of the reaction against Aurangzeb's absolutism in the sphere of politics, religion and culture. Naturally, the two tried to excel Aurangzeb in almost every respect. Like Aurangzeb Shivaji also sought to combine religion with politics, and so did the Sikhs. Aurangzeb's militancy created a sort of vicious circle. The more he took to the path of fanaticism and tyranny the more the Marathas and the Sikhs reacted sharply to his evil doings. The latter, however, had been so much influenced by the technique adopted by Aurangzeb that in order to beat the enemy at his own game they tried to imitate him in a number of ways so much so that Shivaji grew beard and moustache in the typical Moghul style. Not only this, but in his physical appearance also, he took great care to look as fearsome and fearful as Aurangzeb himself. Sikhs went a step further. They not only came to have whiskers and moustaches, but they also decided to grow long hair, perhaps with a view to look even more ferocious than Aurangzeb could ever appear.

It would be significant to note that the R.S.S. leadership mainly takes its inspiration from the great Shivaji and, in fact, in organising their entire show and giving shape to their discipline and training, they borrow ideas

and customs prevalent among the armed bands fighting under the leadership of Shivaji. But if it had only been a case of imitating the military discipline and routine, conceived and practised by Shivaji and his followers, one would not have minded it. [The problem, however, really assumes importance and significance because of the efforts of the Sanghites to quote Shivaji as the best, highest, noblest and mightiest exponent of Hindu culture and discipline. It is, indeed, extraordinary that, to the complete exclusion of every other ancient or medieval character in Indian history, Shivaji should be held up to the Hindu public to be such a monumental figure and unrivalled hero. And apart from Shivaji, if there is any other hero also who is now and then mentioned in this connection, it is Maharana Pratap.]

[It would be blasphemous, indeed, for anybody to minimise the importance and greatness of Shivaji or Rana Pratap as national heroes. But it would be sacrilege of the greatest magnitude to make people believe that Shivaji and Rana Pratap represented in their persons the highest, noblest and bravest traditions of Hindu life and history. And it would appear to be perversion of the worst type for anybody to base the political and cultural programme of an organisation on the system of thought and practice expounded by these heroes.] Is it, for example, meant to suggest, directly or indirectly, that this ancient land of ours has to present to the world none other than these two figures? In case incorrigible perverts cannot give fitting answer to this question then let the

spirit and soul of world history speak out the truth. It must also be remembered that what we say in this matter can by no means be the final answer. The verdict of world opinion and judgment would any day be more important and decisive than the opinions of prejudiced, inflamed and poisoned minds of narrow communalists. It is true that the names of some other great men are also now and then reluctantly mentioned. But that is intended to be just a sop for the Hindu mind and sentiments. [The reality of the matter is that Rama, Krishna, Buddha and other great characters of Indian history have hardly any use for the Sangh ideology and beliefs.]

In fact, it is this diseased mentality which is responsible for persuading and encouraging the people to repudiate the message of the greatest soul that India produced after about twenty-five centuries. The Great Mahatma was criticised, abused, maligned and misrepresented for he believed in the qualities of goodness, truth, humility, sweet reasonableness, non-violence and straightforwardness.

And while repudiating the greatest spirit of the age it is alleged that the qualities which he practised and popularised were alien to Hindu thought and outlook. But what these misguided and insane adventurers forget is that if the principles of personal and social life popularised by Gandhiji are alien to Hindu cultural heritage then Rama, Krishna and Buddha would also have to be regarded as not belonging to that heritage.

Mahatma Gandhi is criticised and run down for his

indefatigable faith and unalterable belief in the principle of compromise and reconciliation. But, then, did not Gandhiji only give a practical demonstration of what Rama and Krishna had preached to the world? Is it not a fact that Angad was sent to Ravana to bring him round to the path of reason and peace and send back Sita? Similarly, did not Krishna repeatedly press the Kaurvas to eschew the militant path of aggression and accept what was right and just? Was it all appeasement (to use the phrase popularised by the R.S.S. leadership and repeated in a parrot-like fashion by its rank and file) Mahatma Gandhi is alleged to have insulted the best traditions of Hinduism by going to meet Mr. Jinnah with a view to solve the communal problem. In the judgment of the Sanghites Gandhiji might have committed a great blunder. But, then, it must be remembered that by going out of his way to find the *Path of Peace* he was only underlining the best traditions of Indian history.

^{Para 23}
[The faith in Non-violence preached by Gandhiji is described as the creed of cowardice. But those who are thoughtless enough to say so do not realise that if such be the case the greatest cowards in the history of the world were Buddha, Christ, St. Francis of Assisi and Tolstoy.] Similarly Gandhiji is painted black for believing in straight and above-board dealings. If this view is correct then the gallant and chivalrous rajputs should not be allowed any part or lot in writing some of the most glorious chapters of the Indian history, for the rajput was nothing if he was not straight and his actions

not above board. But, irrespective of what Sanghites may say or believe, Gandhian outlook on life and philosophy represented the best, noblest and highest in Indian culture. Gandhiji possessed Rama's spirit of Democracy and his respect for the individual's point of view. He held out to the down-trodden Indian humanity Krishna's philosophy of Action as preached to Arjun. Gandhi showed the way how to apply Buddha's non-violence in the social sphere. And while Gandhi was all this he had in him Rana Pratap's tenacity of purpose and Shivaji's organising faculty. In brief, Gandhi was nothing if he was not a living embodiment of the best, highest and noblest in Indian history and Hindu culture. And, may it be observed, that those who seek to malign or under-rate him neither have a clean conscience nor honest intentions. Therefore when today they pretend to uphold him as a 'Great Rishi' their changed outlook does not enjoy our trust or confidence.

¶ To believe in the cultural revival of India while preaching violence and militancy is a contradiction in terms. To believe in Progress, Peace and Culture, while imposing most rigorous regimentation of thought and ruthless physical discipline accompanied with military training is a preposterous fraud. To believe in a Democracy of the secular variety, while espousing racial exclusionism and religious arrogance and isolationism, is a mean and cunning deceit. To advertise beliefs in religious and cultural revival by imposing most rigorous secrecy on orga-

nisational activity is in our view a treacherous conspiracy. Thus; in our judgment, Sangh's concept of culture is just an antithesis of the Hindu culture. Bigotry, fanaticism, arrogance and urge for *Shakti*, instead of the urge for Truth, are the chief characteristics of the Sangh *Sanskriti*, though alien to the Hindu concept.

EPILOGUE

THIS is what we know of the Sangh policy and objectives, their idea of the revival of Hindu glory and culture, their military organisation, propaganda, technique and literature and, last but not the least, the logical consequences of their blind creed of nationalism. The sources of information from which I have drawn for writing this pamphlet are to be found in Dr. Hedgwar's *Biography*, Guru Golwalkar's '*Hamari Rashtriyata*', Sanghite papers like the *Panchjanya*, the *Organiser*, the *Rashtra Dharma* and several others. I have also had occasion to consult notes and diaries of some of the Sanghites seized by the police in the course of their searches carried out in several places in the U.P. I also received very valuable information from those who were at one time active workers of the R.S.S. but were later on wise enough to quit its ranks. All that I have seen and read strengthens my conviction that the Sangh is not only a challenge to our Freedom but an unconscious effort to distort the whole picture of our cultural traditions and religious heritage.

The world has had to pass through the unparalleled agony of two world wars fought, as it was professed by some of the participants in the great human tragedy, to

end all wars. Yet the *Fear of War* has not disappeared from the minds and hearts of the world society. Intense war preparations, as one knows, go on unabated in the West. But what should particularly fill us with fear and dismay is the possibility of Asia playing this time an even more active role in such a world conflagration than it did in the past. Few would deny that the Sangh ideology provides the best material for kindling the fire of war and strife.

It is significant that any mention of economic or social programme of uplift is conspicuous by its absence in the Sangh literature.

[Economic problems of vast magnitude and of immediate importance to the people do not interest the Sangh leadership. Similarly the Sangh has no love for building the Nation, increasing production or for devising more and better basis of distribution of wealth between the respective agents of production. It is at the same time silent on social questions of any importance whatsoever.] It does not worry itself about the kisan-zamindar problems or the labour-capital conflict.

[There is not the slightest desire to solve the socio-economic problems which confront the nation today. Disease, illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and squalor do not invite the attention of the Sanghites. The ancient greatness and glory of the country is only mentioned to rouse passions and encourage the growth of *chauvinistic* notions and ideas. War and devastations being their chief passions, all their plans lead to the *inevitability of War*.]

As is so well known, in the Past two types of people have dominated the world scene. Rama, Gautam, Christ and Gandhi proceeded to win the hearts of people by propagating the *ideals of peace, amity, truth and non-violence* which raised hopes in the suffering and fallen humanity. Such messages of hope and cheer brought the realisation and experience of a new life to them. Chingehz Khan, Hitler, Mussolini, the Qaid-e-Azam and others, on the other hand, tried to leave their mark in history by leading misguided humanity on the *path of violence, hatred, bloodshed and racial or communal arrogance.*

In our own days Guruji and Rezvi in India and Malan in South Africa are more or less carbon copies of the latter type. Their present stature may not impress or over-awe one, but their approach and outlook should surely warn us all.