



Today, a large cross section of industries depends on Citurgia quality

Besides the traditional usage of citric acid in food, soft drinks, confectionery and drugs, today the uses of citric acid extend to new areas:

* In the textile printing and dyeing industry, it provides 'STABLE pH' conditions for colorants and dyes. As also for acrylic prints, printing and wet processing. Citric acid has substantially replaced imported tartaric acid because of its domestic quality, low costs and easy availability. Also it is a very safe and compatible to other organic and inorganic acid salts.

* Citric acid prevents flavour deterioration, rancidity and discoloration in edible oils.

* It imparts an acidic taste to dry powdered drinks.

* It is also used as a descaling solution.

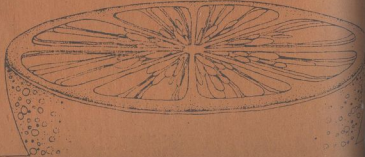
Citurgia Biochemicals Ltd., is the largest producer of high quality citric acid in India. Besides catering to the domestic demand, Citurgia's citric acid is exported to USA, Japan, Germany, Australia, Iran, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and other countries.



Citurgia

CITURGIA BIOCHEMICALS LIMITED

Regd. Off: Nestle House, J. N. Heredia Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400 038
Tel: 208071, Gao: CITURGIA-POMBAY, TLX: 11 2272 BDM IN



Manthan

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

Vol. IX

No. 5

May 1989

निर्मन्थव्यमन्त्रिता: (श्रीमद्भागवत 8-6-23)

Churn on diligently

Chairman

Nanaji Deshmukh :

Editor & Publisher :
K.R. Malkani

Deendayal Research
Institute
7-E, Swami Ramtirath
Nagar, Rani Jhansi Road
NEW DELHI-110 055

Phones : 526735, 526792

CONTENTS

1. The Role of RSS in the Emergency
By: Ved Prakash Bhatia 57
2. RSS is a Revolutionary Organisation
By: Jaya Prakash Narayan 67
3. The 1979 War on RSS 72
4. Let the RSS Broaden itself
By: V. R. Krishna Iyer 76
5. RSS Role Negative
By: M. S. Agrwani 77
6. I have Known the RSS since 1946
By: Khushwant Singh 78
7. RSS should broaden its base
By: K. S. Hegde 78
8. Let the RSS Re-establish Moral Values
By: Dr. Sushila Nayyar 79
9. Let there be a Dialogue with the RSS
By: Iqbal Masud 79
10. RSS and its Role in Indian Society
By: Asghar Ali Engineer 80
11. RSS—Symbol of a Golden India
By: Muzaffar Hussain 81
12. How I Look at the RSS
By: Babubhai J. Patel 83
13. My Vision of a True Hindu
By: Dr. Moazziz Ali Beg 84
14. A Muslim Experience with the RSS
By: Dr. K. S. Durrani 85
15. RSS is Qualitatively Different
By: Rajamata Vijayaraje Scindia 87
16. "India is Hindu". Former Foreign Secretary tells RSS Rally 88
17. Dr. Hedgewar, RSS & the world
By: S. Gurnamurthy 89
18. Salute the RSS and its Founder
By: Cho S. Ramaswamy 95
19. RSS has Shown the Way
By: P. C. Sen 98
20. Making RSS the National Mainstream
By: K. R. Malkani 100

Subscription Rates

Life Member : Rs. 1,000

Annual : Rs. 50

Single Copy : Rs. 5

Foreign (Air) : £ 15

or £ 25

(Sea) : £ 6

or £ 51

Punjab Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals Limited
 Punjab Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals Limited
 Punjab Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals Limited

Manufacturers and Exporters of
OXALIC ACID
 &
DI-ETHYL OXALATE



Regd. & H. Office : S.C.O 371-372, SECTOR 35-B
 HIMALAYA MARG, CHANDIGARH 160036
 Phones : (0172) 24955, 33121, Grams : PUNJXEL,
 Telex 0395 288 PXEL IN
 Works : Milestone 18, Ambala Kalka Road, P O
 BHANKHARPUR-140201,
 Dist : Patiala Punjab, Phones : Derabassi 70, 82, 86.
 New Delhi Office : 107 Ansal Bhayvan, K G Marg
 NEW DELHI-110 01.
 Ph. : 3314867, 3314890
 Telex : 031-62314 PC PL IN
 Bombay Office : EXCEL ESTATE, S.V. ROAD, GOREGAON
 (WEST) BOMBAY 400 062
 Phones : 672-3865, 672-3866 672-3021,
 672-708, 672-5117, 672-5119
 Telex : 11 78223 STS IN



Dear Reader :

Pranam !

In our last issue we carried the comments of independent observers about the RSS from its founding in 1925 to the imposition of Emergency in 1975.

In this issue we carry independent comments from 1975 to 1989.

We start with the RSS resistance to Emergency—and JP's handsome tribute to the RSS. Then follow the contrary political comments of 1977-80.

There was a proposal to have a seminar on the RSS at DRI. But on second thoughts we decided to elicit independent opinion about RSS. We addressed the following note to a number of thoughtful men :

"1989 is the Centenary Year of Dr. Hedgewar, Founder of the RSS. The RSS itself is almost sixty-five. On this occasion we would like to know your perception of the RSS : its role in the past, its position today, its promise for the future; how the RSS could serve the country better; any personal experience(s) you may have had with the RSS; anything else you would like to say in the matter."

The responses to this invitation are compiled under 'what I think of the RSS'.

We also carry in this issue speeches made during the Centenary year by Shri Gurumurthy, Financial Consultant, Shri A.P. Venkatesvaran, former Foreign Secretary, Shri Cho Ramaswamy, editor Tugthaq' and Shri P. C. Sen, former Chief Minister of West Bengal.

We conclude with a paper by the undersigned read at the Pragya Bharati Seminar on RSS held in Delhi. These two issues of Manthan will now be compiled in book form under the title 'How Others Look at the RSS', priced at Rs. 25/- only.

Brotherly yours,
 'M'

With Best Compliments From

Modern Surfaces & Insulation Ltd.

8/1, Chowringhee Lane,
Calcutta-700016

Tel. : 244653-245049
Telex : 021-5481 MSIL-IN

Bombay Office :
9, Wallace Street
Bombay-400001.
Tel : 2049351.

The Role of RSS in the Emergency

By : Ved Prakash Bhatia

SIX MONTHS AFTER the imposition of Emergency and ban on the RSS, Shrimati Gandhi wailed at the Chandigarh session of her Congress on December 27, 1975 :

"Even in places where the RSS was an unknown organisation, it has established a firm foothold. After the ban, there has been no let up in its activities. They are now functioning in an organised underground manner...Even in a region like Kerala, the RSS has established a firm foothold." (vide, *The Hindu*, December 31, 1975.)

The lady's chagrin was understandable, because her sprawling intelligence outfit had told her that while all the opposition parties had been near-paralysed, and even though the RSS had been made the major target of terror tactics, the Sangha had retained its organisational machinery almost in tact and was working as the most potent instrument for carrying out the plans and programmes of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti. And so her chronic RSS phobia expressed itself in more and more shrill notes.

Some 25,000 activists of the RSS were held under MISA and an equal number hauled up under DIR within a few weeks of the Emergency. This was in addition to some 80,000 who courted arrest during the 10-week Satyagraha later. More than seventy Swayamsevaks died in detention—or soon after their belated release. An arbitrary ban was imposed on the organisation on July 4. Param Pujanija Shri Balasaheb Deoras, Sarsanghachalak, was arrested at Nagpur as he arrived from Firozabad, U.P., training camp, on June 30. Almost all the Sanghachalaks at state and local levels were hauled up in early roundups. However, most of the organisers escaped the police dragnet. In all some 50,000 'wanted' RSS workers went underground. They, along with lakhs of Swayamsevaks and sympathisers, were also able to run the underground movement under the directions of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti (LSS).

The first and foremost task before the underground RSS leadership in the post-June 26 reign of terror was to revive the morale of the masses shocked into silence by the sledge-hammer treatment at the hands of the Indira regime, and to mobilise them for the second liberation movement.

'People's power must not be discredited'—that was the thought uppermost in their minds in that darkest hour in the history of free India.

A meeting of some underground LSS and RSS leaders was held within three days of declaration of Emergency in Delhi and it was

decided to go ahead with the one-week satyagraha decided upon by the LSS on June 25 in the presence of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, to persuade Shrimati Gandhi to step down until the Supreme Court upheld her appeal. In fact, the remnants of opposition leadership had frankly admitted that only the RSS could organise effective resistance in that situation. As a result, 90 persons courted arrest on six days in different parts of the capital under conditions of unprecedented repression and press censorship. It was mainly an RSS venture and an incredible feat of non-violent guerilla type satyagraha. Because of ruthless suppression, in the early stages even the spectators had to be provided by the organisers.

Another such feat was the satyagraha in Patel Chowk, New Delhi, by a band of workers led by Lala Hans Raj Gupta, Sanghachalak of Delhi and former Mayor of Delhi, on the opening day of the emergency session of Parliament in July 1975.

Meanwhile, it was clear to the leadership that the struggle ahead was going to be long and bitter. Preparations were made for a non-violent peaceful satyagraha movement on Gandhian lines, to press for lifting of the Emergency, release of arrested persons and end to censorship, so as to establish democratic norms in the country. As the organisation of the opposition parties was shattered by government action, the RSS undertook to set up the requisite machinery for the purpose. It sent emissaries to various states to re-establish contacts at various levels and to mobilise all democratic forces.

Special efforts were made to mobilise the states of Kerala, Tamilnadu and Punjab with their CPM, DMK and Akali movements. Their leadership was specially approached for the purpose, and their response was encouraging.

Thus though the RSS was not a member of the LSS as such, its cadres formed the backbone of the resistance movement. RSS pracharaks gave up their usual *dhoti* and *kurta* and started wearing pant and bush-shirt. Some of them started sporting beard or moustache, used wigs and dyed their hair. RSS offices and houses of known sympathisers continued to be raided all over India. But very few could be apprehended in this way after the early swoop. In one such raid on a flat in Bombay in December 1975, Shri Yadav Rao Joshi, RSS organiser for South India, was arrested on the eve of the meeting of all-India leaders. Some others left their places at 1.30 a.m., just 15 minutes before the police raided those places. However, the meeting was held, as scheduled, in spite of the raid.

A system of regular underground contacts and parleys was evolved. Several places in every state were visited by one of the top RSS organisers once a month for listening to the suggestions of workers, stock-taking and guidance. Meetings of 10 to 15 leaders were held at some important centres once a month or so. Three topmost leaders—Shri Madhav Rao Muley, Shri Moropant Pingle and Shri Bhaurao Deoras—met more frequently to take decisions on important matters arising from time to time. The visiting leaders rarely stayed more than a day in one house, sometimes breakfasting, lunching and dining at different places. No one was ever betrayed by an informer. Meetings in the same city sometimes went on for a whole week.

The all-important task of restoring the channels of communication was achieved in a matter of weeks. While organisers from Delhi went to every state at regular intervals, emissaries from every state came to Delhi once a week to pool their news, and to exchange notes. In addition, cover addresses, code names and telephone numbers were communicated to key persons in every state for exchanging messages and information.

After the one-week satyagraha in early July, breaking the censorship barrier was the main task. In fact, news bulletins had started coming out from Lok Sangharsh Samiti under the stewardship of Nanaji Deshmukh on the very morrow of the declaration of Emergency. But the most organised efforts in this direction were made by the RSS activists.

An All-India weekly news bulletin named '*Lok Sangharsh*', both in English and Hindi, and another local bulletin, '*Janavani*' started coming out from the middle of July 1975. It was duplicated in ten centres in Delhi and distributed in thousands in the adjoining states. A few copies of '*Lok Sangharsh*' were sent to each of a score of state centres. A few months after the Emergency was imposed, RSS Publicity Cell started a weekly news bulletin. Its copies were sent to all the state capitals. It used to be 12 to 16 pages. From there, state bulletins were issued in thousands, incorporating the national news from the all-India bulletin plus the state news. The process was repeated at the district level.

Thus literally hundreds of bulletins in every Indian language started coming out all over the country. Most of these were just single sheets, duplicated from typed or handwritten scripts, but in some places they got them printed. In Kerala alone 55,000 copies of their clandestine bulletin, '*Kurukshetra*', were distributed every week. However, by September 1975 printed material started pouring out on a large scale to satisfy the nation's insatiable hunger for the facts of the situation. The RSS was involved in it

in a big way. Hundreds of printing presses were booked from time to time. Many were seized by the police. But the work went on.

Apart from the publication of news bulletins, pamphlets and booklets on various aspects of the situation were written in the publicity cells and published for distribution at home and abroad. For example, Opposition members' speeches in the emergency session of Parliament in July 1975 were printed in Hindi and English and widely distributed. Reports about the crackdown and large-scale arrests and the reaction of the Western press were also widely circulated. Similarly smearing replies to Mrs. Gandhi's motivated charges against the democratic opposition as a pretext for imposing the Emergency, were issued in a booklet.

In all more than thirty booklets, some of them rebutting Government's wild charges against the RSS, were circulated. Some of these were, L.K. Advani's 'A Tale of Two Emergencies' and 'RSS & Emergency', 'Know the RSS', 'RSS is a Force for Democracy', 'Appeal to the Youth', besides detailed reports like 'Torture of Political Prisoners in India', 'Plight of the Working Class' and 'Truth About the Economic Progress Since the Emergency'. Some of these were written by detenues in jail.

In June 1976 a cyclostyled fortnightly bulletin named '*Satya Samachar*' started coming out from Delhi, with the blessings of JP. It was the official newsletter of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti, edited by V.P. Bhatia under the direction of Shri Digvijaya Narain Singh, MP. Interestingly enough, stencils for the first two issues of '*Satya Samachar*' were cut in Parliament House. Shri Om Mehta wanted the Opposition rooms in Parliament House searched. But Speaker Baliram Bhagat put his foot down.

RSS workers were active in the collection of news for it, and in its distribution all over India. Simultaneously, a printed fortnightly, named '*Satyavani*', started coming out from London under the auspices of the 'Friends of India Society International', which the RSS Swayamsevaks abroad helped float with the cooperation of overseas Indians. '*Satyavani*' had to be smuggled into India—and it created a new headache for the police.

After '*Satya Samachar*' was forced to close down in October 1976 because of police raids, the RSS publicity cell in the Capital started issuing two, instead of one, weekly bulletins. These were 'Delhi Newsletter' containing news from the Capital and 'Delhi News Bulletin' containing a digest of news received from the States. All this literature was mailed to some 20,000 addresses all over India. Copies were regularly posted to the PM, Cabinet members, high officers, editors and

other eminent journalists and police top brass. In addition, the 20 State centres duplicated and distributed this material on their own.

Thus the flow of vital news went on, in spite of total elimination of the opposition point of view and news from the officially controlled press, Radio and TV. By and by even Intelligence Bureau and foreign press came to depend on underground literature for an authentic picture of the situation. The underground bulletins were able to destroy almost completely the credibility of the Indira Government and the kept mass media. There was a great demand for this literature even among Congress MPs. The news of arrests, police atrocities, news from jails, statements of JP and other opposition leaders, extracts from foreign press, goings-on in the Indira Durbar, exploits of the Sanjay Mafia and the plight of the poor under the bulldozer regime thus reached the remotest corners of the country in a matter of days.

Describing the underground movement in India as the "only non-left revolutionary force in the world", the prestigious London 'Economist' in its December 4, 1976 issue said that "it is dominated by tens of thousands of RSS cadres, though more and more young recruits are coming in...its platform at the moment has only one plank : to bring democracy back to India".

'The Economist' further said : "The movement is getting full support from the people. It is being financed by 60,000 to 70,000 small contributors, some 30,000 men on the wanted list are given full protection, and not a single one has been caught because of an informer; clandestine literature is being printed and delivered all over India. Political consciousness thus raised, a spark can set the revolutionary prairie afire."

Some of the news bulletins brought out with active RSS help were 'Janavani', 'Lok Sangharsh', 'Mashal' etc. from the northern states. Then there were 'West Bengal Newsletter', 'Satya Barta' of Assam, 'Asli Samachar' of Maharashtra, 'Vajrayuddham' from Andhra, 'Karnataka Newsletter' and 'Kerala Newsletter'.

The ten-week satyagraha launched on November 14, 1975, in which nearly a lakh of people, comprising not only youngmen but also those mature in age and experience, also participated, had overwhelming number of swayamsevaks in it. Every State contributed its share in this *yagna*. In spite of determined police attempts to scare away prospective satyagrahis through terror and torture in police stations, waves of swayamsevaks came forward. Tales of torture failed to deter them. It was a grand feat

in the history of free India, which surpassed the records of even the freedom struggle during the British days. It was a saga of sacrifices which tired out the police and civil administration so much that they were sick of holding Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency baby. It corroded the Government from within also.

So great was public mobilisation for the satyagraha that in a tehsil in Karnataka, every village contributed satyagrahis. There are examples of every house in a village sending a satyagrahi or two.

Seeing the RSS Swayamsevak's defiance of the Emergency regime in spite of cruel beatings in public, so that some fell unconscious on way to police stations, the late Shri A.K. Gopalan remarked: "There is some lofty ideal which is capable of inspiring such deeds of bravery and stamina for sacrifices."

Daily bulletins carrying satyagraha news were issued during this period. On the eve of the launching of the satyagraha, a leaflet, 'Why Satyagraha?', was distributed widely—in cinema halls, buses, schools and colleges, offices and other public places. Government officers found them in the files, students on their desks and householders in their letter boxes. Thousands of RSS workers went from door to door at night, slipping in underground literature. This aspect of the movement forms a romantic chapter in itself. One of the largely circulated documents was a political forecast about Shrimati Gandhi imposing 'an artificial emergency' and ordering large scale arrests. It had first appeared in the 'Motherland', dated January 26, 1975.

The following report, again from the 'Economist', London, gives an idea of how the ten-week satyagraha went off: "The first sustained protest against India's emergency laws has ended according to plan. This was a two-month-long satyagraha or Gandhi-style passive resistance movement, in which Indians all over the country offered themselves for arrest. The public obliged and about 80,000 people were taken in: 15,000 in Karnataka, 9,000 in Kerala, 8,000 each in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, 5,000 in Delhi. Together they brought the total number of political prisoners now held in India to an estimated 1,40,000. The satyagraha was organised in 300 districts by the leaders of India's underground movement. Its object was not to bring down the government—they were more realistic than that—but to test popular response and their own power of mobilization."

More than 85 percent of the Satyagrahis were Swayamsevak. The next best contribution was that of the Akalis—over 30,000. The Akalis

continued their satyagraha even after the close of the all-India satyagraha till the Lok Sabha elections were announced.

Among the RSS members who offered satyagraha were prominent citizens including eminent doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists, workers, peasants, small industrialists, businessmen, social workers and philanthropists. There was a good number of students and youth.

This is not to belittle the contribution of other parties, but the fact of the predominant contribution of the RSS during the satyagraha was acknowledged by all the constituents of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti at its meeting during and after the satyagraha. In fact, they paid handsome tributes to the RSS for it. Similarly its role in mass awakening, leading to near-total alienation of the Indira regime, is a matter of history.

Now it can be told that after the termination of the 10-week satyagraha on January 26, 1976, the RSS began preparations for an even bigger non-violent struggle. Enrolment of volunteers from every section of society had begun for the purpose and the response from the people was very enthusiastic. The mass awakening drive had been redoubled accordingly. RSS Swayamsevak cooperated fully with the People's Union for Civil Liberties in organising seminars on the 42nd Constitution Amendment—down to the tehsil level in some states like Karnataka. A mighty mass movement for the overthrow of the Emergency regime would have been launched if Mrs. Gandhi had not ordered elections, whatever her motives in doing so.

Earlier, the RSS played its role in bringing home to the democratic countries of the world the fact that the conscience of the people of India was not dead and that they would never tolerate a totalitarian regime for long. In spite of strict police watch, packets of anti-Emergency literature were delivered in the hotel rooms of the delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in New Delhi in October 1975. When the delegates went to Agra to see the Taj, they got an oppositionist pamphlet, innocuously titled 'Better Conditions in India'. When they sat down to lunch, they found more Opposition literature, nicely placed under each napkin.

An anti-Emergency demonstration was staged in the Red Fort on October 1, 1975, on the occasion of the official reception to the visiting delegates. Similarly demonstrations demanding restoration of democracy were held when the delegates visited different states in four groups. Memoranda were presented to them and even Satyagraha staged in their presence in some places. The aim was to dispel the impression that India

had meekly accepted dictatorship or that people were happy with the Emergency measures, as was being made out by the Government's spokesmen abroad.

RSS boys raised anti-Emergency slogans from the broadcasting booth on the occasion of a cricket test match in Jaipur. They shouted slogans and distributed anti-Emergency literature when the late President Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed rose to address a rally of teachers and students on Nov. 19, 1975, Indira's birthday, in the National Stadium, Delhi. The young protesters occupying VIP chairs, passed on LSS pamphlets to hundreds of students and teachers before they raised slogans when the President arrived. Their leader, a school boy named Gopal, mounted the dais and took hold of the mike, before being whisked away by the stumped security men. There was virtual scramble for leaflets, the response of the audience was surprisingly favourable.

Similarly, in London, the Friends of India Society International was set up by RSS men in England to mobilise Indians abroad for the restoration of civil and human rights, denial of which had tarnished the image of the country. Its branches were set up in 40 countries. It did such fine work that the Indian ministers on visit abroad used to go underground to avoid facing the inconvenient questionings of overseas Indians. It completely cancelled out the motivated official propaganda dished out by our embassies abroad, and the foreign press started relying on FISI sources for their write-ups on India.

Seasoned workers like Shri Kidar Nath Sahani, Shri Bhide and Shri Makrand Desai were sent to secure the help and blessings of overseas Indians in this crusade for liberty. The FISI published useful literature and held meetings on the birth-days of Gandhiji and JP and a number of demonstrations before Indian embassies. RSS members actively helped setting up of 'Indians for Democracy' in the USA.

Shri Sahani played a notable role in exposing the motivated praise of the Emergency by a few labour politicians like Sir Michael Foot and Miss Jenny Lee. London 'Times' and 'Guardian' published the text of Shri Sahani's statement and took the two British leaders to task for trying to make the worse appear the better reason.

One of the important tasks allotted to the RSS units was that of looking after the needs of political prisoners and their families. Every district unit was 'allotted' a particular jail. The particular unit was responsible for sending money and materials like clothing, medicines, foodstuffs and latest news to the particular jail. It also arranged for legal

aid and kept in touch with the prisoners' families through regular visits by Swayamsevaks. This kept the morale high, both inside and outside the jails. When elections were declared, RSS men put all their energies into the campaign and joined hands with the masses to restore democracy by pulling down the authoritarian regime.

Thus the RSS proved itself to be an invincible force for democracy and non-violence, giving a lie to the interested parties that it had no faith in democracy or that it believed in violence. It made the maximum contribution and sacrifices at the altar of freedom and human dignity, and was the backbone of the resistance movement.

IN THE LAST WEEK of February 1977, therefore, Mrs. Gandhi established contacts with the RSS. A very senior officer was deputed to meet the top five underground RSS leaders. The offer was that she would lift the ban on the RSS and release the 30,000 RSS people still in jail, if it agreed to withdraw its workers from the Janata election campaign. The RSS rejected the offer.

At that stage she still thought that she would win the election. She only wanted things made less difficult for her by RSS withdrawal.

The RSS leaders pointed out that she had gone too far. Even the letters of the Sar-Sangha-Chalak had not been acknowledged. Swayamsevaks, therefore, were bent upon settling the issue through the elections. And even if she won the election, Sangha would launch an even bigger struggle to dislodge her. The emissary argued that she must get something in return for lifting the ban.

The RSS leaders argued that she didn't deserve any prizes for righting a wrong—and that, too, so belatedly.

"You have ruined thousands of families, snatched the means of livelihood of thousands more, and tortured countless workers. So, now if you lift the ban and release the innocent ones detained, there may still be some hope of removing some of the bitterness thus generated, and assuaging the feelings of the victims."

At this the said official replied: "You people have been rotting in jails for the last 21 months. They may start breaking down soon. How long will you hold out in this situation?"

He was told that there was continuous contact between those outside and those inside jails, that morale inside prisons was very high

and there was no let up in underground movement also, so that another three to four years' fight was not at all difficult.

Moreover, the official was told, the Swayamsevaks in jail would not tolerate any compromise with tyranny which could cancel out their sacrifices and make it difficult for them to hold their heads high and play their due role in national reconstruction after coming out of jail.

It was made clear to him that the agreement had to be honourable to both the sides and that, in the official announcement lifting the ban, there should not be even a single word derogatory to the RSS and that such a thing will create a permanent gulf between the two sides. Moreover, for such a reconciliation, all those dismissed from service had to be taken back and all the properties and institutions seized will have to be restored.

The talks broke down at this stage. The emissary was, however, sporting enough to remark that he expected precisely such an honourable stand on the part of the RSS leadership. He also said that such a stand was natural in view of the fact that the RSS organisation was intact in spite of the ban. "While those inside jails are mostly old, your youthful workers are functioning as if it is normalcy, the families of the MISA detenus are being looked after and your leaders are touring all over the country. As you are none the worse for the emergency. I expected precisely the kind of reply you have given."

The election campaign which started as a breeze, soon became a raging storm that uprooted the emergency regime and dumped it on the dung-heap of history. Although the Sangha was still under a ban, Swayamsevaks formed the vanguard of the Janata electoral revolution.

The general acclaim that followed, would have turned a lesser mortal's head. But Balasaheb showed no pride—and no prejudice. His reaction was: "Forgive and forget". It was reminiscent of Shri Guruji's words in his hour of triumph after the unconditional lifting of the ban in 1949: "We don't break our teeth, just because they happen to bite into our tongue."

RSS is a Revolutionary Organisation

By : Jaya Prakash Narayan

Addressing an RSS Training Camp in Patna on November 3, 1977, Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan said :

I AM VERY GRATEFUL to you for inviting me here and honouring me in this manner. I have nothing new to say on this occasion. Perhaps this is the time to clarify what I have already said, because some of the things have led to certain misunderstandings. As newspapers do not carry things in detail, the general reader is likely to be misled for lack of the publication of the context which precedes or succeeds a particular observation.

I have said it before, and I say it again today, that it appears to me that there is need for the Sangh and, maybe, there is even a need for a modification in its aims and objectives. Though it is not a reality, even then people identify it with Hindu communal and caste interests. But I know that a lot of discussion is going on between your organisation and the cadres about associating the followers of other religions, especially of those religions which were not born in India, such as Islam and Christianity, but are Indians in the same way as we Hindus are. Their forefathers were also Hindus and conversion led to increase in their numbers and also to a feeling of separatism which was exploited by British imperialism. The imperialists were successful in dividing India into two parts. Later on, with the creation of Bangladesh of its own accord, they became three parts. But I believe that including Bangladesh and Pakistan, we are one nation. Our states can be separate but our nation has always been the same—Bharatiya. Iqbal himself, who was a great poet of Urdu and Persian, has said :

"Kuchh baat hai ki hasti mit-ti nahin hamari"

(There is something perennial about us that has not allowed our existence to be wiped out.)

So friends, there is something special about us and we have to hold on to it as something invaluable. In spite of being divided into three states today, the biggest of these parts, Bharat, has to conduct itself in such a way, and has to have such a vision, that we should be able to win the hearts of the two parts separated from us in the east and west. These states may remain separate—as has been the case in the past also, when Bharat was divided into so many states—but even then our Bharatiyata or Indianness should be retained. People in the other two parts should

consider Bharat their own in the same way as we Hindus do. We have to work towards that end.

Apart from this, we Hindus have to look towards, and put an end to, the rank injustice and weaknesses in Hindu society which divide us, create feelings of high and low and of untouchability, and present Hindu Dharma in a perverted form. We should create a feeling of oneness among Harijans, Brahmins and others. We are Hindus, apart from being Bharatiya—this feeling has to be created among those also whom we have treated as separate from us and lower than us. Muslims and Christians are also Bharatiya. Thus there is a definite task before the RSS: to consolidate the nation, so that the feeling of one nationhood is infused in all of us and the nation has the capacity to accommodate all the differences and diversities within itself. We Hindus have no holy centre like Mecca and Medina or Rome outside India. For us India is everything and all our devotion is centred herein. But our brethren who embraced other religions, and thus were separated from us as co-religionists, are Bharatiya still. There were cases of forcible conversion also—so that some embraced death while avoiding such conversions. Those converted to other religions have places of worship outside India and, maybe, some of them have their founts of inspiration outside. For Muslim brethren there is Arabia and cities like Mecca and Medina. Rome is such a holy city for the Christians. Constantinople is another such city. For religious inspiration, they may look outside, but their national inspiration is Bharat. The Germans, the French, the British, the Italians and the Spanish are separate nations, although their religion, Christianity, is the same. Some follow the Pope but others, the Protestants, have different religious centres. In spite of religious differences they have the feeling of being one nation. They consider it their good fortune to get a chance to sacrifice their all for the nation.

The days of religious crusades are over. So many battles have been fought in the name of Islam and Christianity and other religions in India and elsewhere. But now the sentiment of nationalism dominates all over the world, so that there are different nations. But now-a-days there is a move to bring them together even while retaining their diversity. For some reasons, man's intellect tends towards unity. God is one and all men are his creatures. All the philosophies point to unity in diversity. All of them aim at finding out some binding link among the various nations of the world. President Wilson of USA brought the League of Nations into being and we now have the United Nations. This is a forum to bring together all the nations of the world on one platform, though we cannot say that One World Government is in the offing. But there is no doubt that the ultimate aim is that of One World, in spite of religious, racial, linguistic and geographical differences. But that is a far off goal.

In spite of so many diversities among the people of India and existence of so many states in the past, the unity of India has been maintained. But in times of Mauryas and Guptas, this very city of Pataliputra and Kusumpur have been the capital of the whole of India—of Emperor Ashok and Chandragupta. Thus there have been empires in this country. These empires disintegrated for it appears we have been weak in statecraft. But with due deference to those among you who profess different religions, I may say perhaps no other religion can match the catholicity, the nobility, the loftiness and the depth of Hinduism as found in its scriptures and philosophical texts. In other religions, there is some one book or holy word, by repeating which you would be initiated into the particular religion and become its devotee. But among us, those who put faith in Vedas and even those who decry them, are Hindus. In fact the word Hindu is not an ancient one and is, not found in any of the ancient books. It was other people who spoke 's' as 'h' and 'Sind' as 'Hind', who called us Hindu. In fact, it had nothing to do with any religion and had only a geographical connotation.

So friends, there are many tasks before the RSS and some of them are very difficult. Take the caste system, for example. I cannot say what the Sangh is trying to do for breaking this system. I can understand someone being called high or low according to his action, but in actual practice we have made a society in which we have dubbed someone as untouchable and someone as 'Brahmin fit to be worshipped as a god.' The 'Brahmin devta' may be a 'chandal' by action, still he is Brahmin. In the villages, we see people greeting a Brahmin by expressing the desire to touch his feet. "Panditji, paye lagi," they say. But such an honour is never given to an untouchable, howsoever noble he may be.

Thus I have great expectation from this revolutionary organisation which has taken up the challenge of creating a new India. I have welcomed your venture whole-heartedly. Sometimes I have offered you my advice and I have even criticised you, but that was as a friend. This is because I understand my strength and your potentialities. There is no other organisation in the country which can match you. The task of building up the character of the youth is a very urgent task in the country today. We had a big youth movement recently and I had the good fortune of accepting their leadership on their insistence. I agreed with great reluctance as I told them that I was ill and that they should be satisfied with seeking my advice whenever necessary. But when they insisted that I would have to take up their leadership, I agreed. They have achieved something. But now the movement has slackened. Its revolutionary content has been dissipated. It does not have the capacity now to change the society, though there is need for change in society in very sphere—economic, social, political. I have unshakable faith that we can be one nation even

while fulfilling the demands of our different religions and communities. Even while carrying out the necessary rituals, we can be united in our hearts to form one nation. As you call yourself 'Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh' and not 'Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh'—and this name has been decided upon with due deliberation—therefore it is my desire that you should be instrumental in bringing about a revolution in India. The revolution ushered in by you will command greater respect because people of your standing in the higher rungs of the caste hierarchy like the Brahmin and Kshatriya classes, will enjoy greater acceptability. Such an acceptability will not come in the case of Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti and Lok Sangharsh Samiti—at least not in the Hindu Society.

On this occasion I want to point it out that we are passing through revolutionary times today. The traditions handed down to us by our ancestors are great. We should go ahead with the task of changing ourselves first and by discarding all that is wrong, evil or out-dated, even while retaining what is noble in our heritage. One who does not change himself and his life, has no right—and no power—to change others.

Those who cannot change their own lives have no right to ask others to do so. You are committed and devoted people and also disciplined and imbued with many qualities. It is my expectation from you, and as an elder, it is my prayer, that God may bless you with strength enough to give a new shape to India so that you are able to create a new India in which human beings behave as brothers to each other and where there is no distinction of high and low, rich and poor. This is possible and this should be done.

Even though I know that it is difficult to wipe out poverty—and in any case it is not something that can be achieved in a few days—it is a task worth accomplishing. There are so many households today in which children do not get their fill; they go to sleep crying with hunger. Whatever little foodgrains they get are of the lowest quality. It is such a painful situation. How shall we change it? The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh should think over this : how to bring about economic transformation? How to transform the villages? All our leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, have worked for it. You have included Mahatma Gandhi also in your morning prayers and he is indeed worth remembering every morning. This is a very good thing you have done. If he had lived a little longer he would have guided us a little more to remove untouchability and other evils from the Hindu society. But the way is clear now and I think that more than myself you can undertake this mission because you are more competent to do it. You think and deliberate upon the various aspects of our traditions, our culture and Dharma constantly.

Therefore I appeal to you to consider every moment valuable for the purpose. We want to see our country in such a condition wherein Brahmins and Harijans treat each other as brothers and embrace each other without hesitation, where the distinctions between rich and poor are wiped out, and where the people have direct control over the administration. This is not an idle dream; it is really possible. This may not perhaps be possible in other countries, but it is possible in this ancient land where the institution of Gram Panchayats worked for thousand of years and where they are still playing their role in some form or the other. Their condition may not be excellent today, but they are a standing reminder of what they were once. So this society, its glorious history and the heritage of our forefathers, the sacrifices of the builders of this country and their achievements and the freedom that we have won—you are the inheritors of all that and it is for you to make the best use of it. I am saying this not with a view to flattering you but to bring you home the actual situation. Your word has far-reaching effect. There is the force of spiritualism (Brahmanatva) and thousands of years of our ancient culture at our back. You are also in the forefront of the transformation that is taking place before our very eyes. The results of this change are also at your disposal.

Friends, I am overwhelmed when I think about the matters concerning the country. I know that I don't have long to live. I am living on borrowed time, and am at the brink of death. Even then I am determined to serve my country, my society, my people and the poor and the miserable of the land to the last ounce of my energy and the last breath in my body. I commend to you the ideals of service, renunciation and sacrifice. I have no doubt that you are already imbued with these ideals and are of self-sacrificing nature and noble conduct. Here is the arena of a vast country open to you. You can accomplish a lot. May God give you strength and may you live up to such expectations. Thanks a lot.

Although Janata Party came into power basically because of RSS support in 1975-77, it behaved with the RSS even worse than Congress.

RSS was very good as long as it went to jail and helped with the elections. But it became "communal" and "fascist" if it did not help somebody become Prime Minister. When Shri Charan Singh was dropped by Shri Morarjibhai, the first thing he did was to ring up Jhandewala—RSS Karyalaya in Delhi—to find out where Shri Balasaheb was. He wanted to get in touch with the Sar-Sangha-Chalak there and then. He was told that Balasaheb was just then leaving for the airport and would see him on his next visit, which he did.

Just as during the emergency Mr. Charan Singh wanted a merger only with the Congress, so just before the emergency, he wanted a merger only with Jana Sangha. Writes Shri L.K. Advani in his 'The People Betrayed': 'When we did not agree, he motored down from Lucknow to Kanpur to meet RSS Chief Balasaheb Deoras, and requested him to use his influence with the Jana Sangha and make it agree to his proposal. Deoras, as has been his consistent stand in such matters, told Charan Singh that it would be advisable for him to pursue the matter directly with the Jana Sangha.'

But this same Charan Singh went about accusing the RSS of interfering in Janata affairs! Actually it was only a case of these leaders interfering in RSS affairs.

The late Karpoori Thakur, then Chief Minister Bihar, who told the Delhi Press on October 20, 1977, that RSS had given his Government valuable cooperation in the implementation of land reforms and redistribution of land, now discovered that RSS was "reactionary".

Shri Madhu Limaye who wrote to his wife from jail that his friends should not be surprised if he came out of Jail in RSS uniform, now discovered, after his booking by Russia, that "RSS is worse than Mrs. Gandhi". Indeed, on May 1, 1977, the very day that Jana Sangha and other parties were merging themselves in Janata, Limaye was telling his "like-minded" friends that his new strategy would be—"Dissolve the RSS and suffocate the Jana Sangh."

That's what was at the back of his mind when he asked RSS to merge with the "volunteer organisations" of Janata constituents. At the first meeting of the Janata National Executive after Charan Singh's exit, Shri Ramdhan said in the presence of Shri Limaye that the latter had told him: "What are you doing? Throwing out Chaudhury Charan Singh and the BLD? The real enemy, who should be thrown

out, is the RSS!" For once, Shri Limaye was tongue-tied with acute embarrassment.

And the late Raj Narain, who had said before that "RSS is more progressive than even CPI(M)", now began to consort with Sanjay Gandhi. Not content with that, he said the RSS had hatched a conspiracy to murder him. "No attempt had been made on his life so far," he said, "only because RSS conspirators have not yet decided whether to do away with me at Varanasi or in Delhi or Mirzapur."

Shri Banarasi Das, then Speaker, UP Assembly, presided over an RSS camp in Sambhal in June 1978. He said on the occasion: "I consider myself honoured to be given this opportunity of joining patriotic and dedicated people like you today. For the last thirty years, Congressmen in power had contipuously tried to mislead the people about the Sangha work and attempts were made to make the Muslims believe that the RSS was their enemy. But I have always known, and I say today, that the Sangha is the only organisation in the country which tried to take people of all the communities along with it, for the reconstruction of the country."

Continuing his speech, Shri Banarasi Das said: "There was a communal riot in Sambhal only a few months back. It proved how baseless and false is the charge that RSS is anti-Muslim. It also proved that those who have lost power, indulge in political aggrandisement by making Hindus and Muslims fight each other and creating a fear psychosis among the Muslims".

Shri Banarasi Das further said that this could be borne out by Shri Mufisur Rehman, MLA, who was also present on the occasion on the dais along with the local RSS Chief, Shri Amba Dutt.

But this same Banarasi Das, when he became Chief Minister, refused to include any "BJS" men as ministers—on the ground that they were members of the "communal and fascist RSS"!

Shri Rama Shankar Kaushik, minister, and right-hand man of Raj Narain in U.P., visited the RSS camp at Chandausi in June 1978, on his initiative. Here he appealed to Swamysevakas to "spread the Sangha work as quickly as possible and set up a network of the Shakhnas in the rural areas right up to every village". Later this same minister—Revenue and Health—was leading the anti-RSS lobby in the state!

Within the Janata, they raised the controversy of "dual membership". It was argued that RSS was a political party and that, therefore, erstwhile

Jana Sangha people must either break with the RSS or be thrown out of Janata Party. It was like expecting a girl, after her marriage, not to have anything to do with her parents. As Dr. Harekrishna Mahtab put it: "It is like asking about the wife's caste, after the birth of two-three children."

In vain did Morarjibhai, then Prime Minister, explain that RSS is "an independent cultural organisation". Shri Jagjivan Ram also explained: "A political party admits to its fold all those persons who accept its principles and policies and are ready to work for their implementation. There is no need to go into the past of a member who has signed a declaration accepting the party programme. In politics one has to proceed on the assumption that the person who has accepted the membership of a party has done so honestly and is a gentleman. Once a person has accepted all the conditions of membership, it is futile to level the charge of dual loyalty against him. How can the Janata Party close its doors on anyone? Such a question does not arise." Shri Jagjivan Ram further said that he saw no basis in the charge that the Swayamsevak of the Sangha did not believe in the principles of the Janata Party. "I have no such experience."

Shri Sikandar Bakht said that RSS-Jana Sangh people were neither fascist nor communal. "I wonder how RSS is able to kindle patriotism in the heart of every man it touches." He said that they had suffered the most during the emergency.

Even before the Emergency, Moscow's so-called "Radio Peace and Progress" had started attacking RSS as it used to attack Gandhiji and Subhas Chandra Bose before as fascist and imperialist agents. It said: "Mr. Kidarnath Sahani had threatened to use 15,000 RSS goondas to molest women and loot property." As the JP movement grew, Soviet attacks on RSS also grew in frequency and virulence. When the Emergency was imposed, Moscow hailed it. And Information Minister Shukla assured Moscow men in India that "the ban on the RSS will never be lifted."

After the emergency they tried to sabotage Foreign Minister Vajpayee's visit to China. And though our relations improved with both, Bangladesh and Pakistan, the Moscow patriots here kept saying that the "revival of RSS was retarding the process of normalisation with the two Muslim states."

The Moscow play was very simple: it would get one of its agents or mouthpieces to attack the RSS—and then broadcast those attacks as samples of Indian Press and public opinion!

Russian news agency TASS crossed all limits when it used Biju Patnaik as an excuse to attack the RSS as a "para-military, chauvinistic

Hindu organisation." Its February 8, 1979 despatch of the day was captioned "RSS subversive activity". It went on to blame the RSS for the riots in Aligarh, Banaras and Kanpur and said "as a result, hundreds of people were killed or wounded and many homes and offices were burnt down."

The following month, Shri Bhaurao Deoras, RSS leader, took note of the Soviet campaign and said in Ujjain: "The anti-RSS conspiracy to sabotage the building up of a national force of selfless social workers, so far confined within the country, has now assumed international dimensions."

Subsequent events only confirmed his forebodings.

For their respective reasons, both Sanjay and Soviet Russia, had decided that Janata Government had to go—and that it would go only if RSS was attacked right, left and centre. Barun Sengupta in his 'Last Days of the Morarji Raj', makes the situation abundantly clear. Sanjay had told Raj Narain: "If you can scare them on the Jana Sangha-RSS issue, you will get a large number of Socialists and Congress(O) people also." On another occasion he told Raj Narain not to concentrate his attacks only on Morarji but to attack Morarji and Jana Sangh simultaneously. "Otherwise it would be impossible to bring down Morarji."

And the Russian line was the same, Moscow was not prepared for an Indian Prime Minister who was equidistant from USA and USSR. And it was not prepared for an Indian Foreign Minister with a strongly nationalist RSS-BJS background. And so Moscow-man Limaye announced soon after the 1977 elections that RSS had to go or Janata had to break.

"Madhu's argument", writes Sengupta, "was also on Sanjay's line: attack RSS and Jana Sangha, isolate them and then it would be very easy to force Morarji to resign. Convinced, Raj Narain unhesitatingly gave word to Sanjay that he would now concentrate all his attacks against the RSS-Jana-Sangh group." Raj Narain now not only discovered that RSS was communal and fascist but also that it had salted away crores of rupees in Nepal and was getting arms from China. And the Indian Press published these reports, which it knew to be lies, in the name of "freedom of speech", for the amusement of the reading public! What was fun for the Press was death for Janata.

Bhupesh Gupta candidly admitted to Sengupta that the crisis came because of "both, for internal and external reasons."

What I Think of the RSS

Let the RSS Broaden Itself

V. R. Krishna Iyer

Retired Judge, Supreme Court,
'Sargamaya', MG Road, Cochin-682010

I have been impressed with the role of Dr. Hedgewar as a patriot who fought for liberation, courted imprisonment and strove for social revolution. I do understand enlightened pride in our indigenous science, culture and achievement. But I have not been able to understand him fully vis-a-vis Hindu Rashtra. If "Hindu" means *All* Indians, the Republic must cover all Indians, whether they are 'Hindus' or Muslims, Christians or Zoroastrians. Human solidarity, if it is embraced by the R.S.S. ideology, regardless of creed and caste, the discipline of the organization is admirable. Unfortunately, my perceptions—I may be mistaken—are that the R.S.S. has a fundamentalist, chauvinist dimension and exclusivist perspective in the matter of organising the political management of the nation. If the RSS is to fulfil a national trust with destiny, the impression it has given to many, must be changed. Fanaticism, it is suspected of, Communalism colours it, and the Shakha technique insulates it. Even the Hindu sector at the Harijan-Girijan level, is beyond the political universe of the R.S.S. A divisive attitude based upon religion, especially Hindu religion, mars the secular health and integrative width of the people. 'Ekamata mantra', with its practical connotation and political action, may reverse national integration, I apprehend.

The great teachings of Hinduism are universal. The cosmic sweep of Hindu heritage transcends all barriers. The great Projects of men like Vivekananda encompass everyone, particularly the lowliest and the last, the *antyajas* and pariahs of India. The peerless pearls of imperishable value in all fields of human adventure which our ancients have handed down to us from Vedic days downwards, are the boundless blessings of humanity, not the narrow treasury of the Hindu community.

The R.S.S., in my humble view, projects a different image. Please broaden, be culturally all-inclusive, never bigoted, never Hindu-communal. Who am I, a misunderstood Indian, to suggest changes?

Fearlessness is a necessary virtue and the R.S.S. has shown its courage. But rashness, mixed with ideological confusion, may well be a danger to the larger goal. I am afraid the critique and self-criticism, with special reference to fundamentals and larger objectives, may well be a necessary exercise for every organisation, R.S.S. included. I am not for

treating any organization as untouchable, nor altogether beyond association. But I am not for any organization which claims monopoly of chauvinist patriotism. Moreover, aggressive violence is anti-people while retreat from principled positions is cowardice. Some say R.S.S. is violent and dogmatic and befools temple yards as para-military drill ground. I hope this is not true. I know other organs in public life are guilty of menacing postures, bellicose blackmail and fundamentalist cults elevated into politics. But evil should not beget evil.

There are sincere souls, true Indians, large-minded and clear-headed thinkers in the R.S.S. but what matters is not individuals but collective impact in the higher cause of India—humanity moving towards a sarvodaya-style socialism, secular haven of Freedom. I know how the R. S. S. has a service record on occasions of disaster. I do not want Hindus to surrender to Muslim, Christian or other denominational pressures or political communalism. I am against pampering of Muslim separatism; but Hindu humanism must take *all* people as partners of the Indian Republic. We are equal sharers of human happiness, be our religion what it may. I speak with no bias but plead with you, a disciplined force devoted to betterment, to take everyone as equal in your fold and accept a socialist, secular texture. As Holmes put it :

"One flag, one land, one heart, one nation, ever more !"

Hindus today are self-divided into castes and sects and snarling groups. Unify them, *not* to foster Hindu militancy confronting Muslim or Christian belligerency, but to energeise the people into a united nationalism. Not the human fist but the warm handshake, is the recipe. Religious conversion, as a device for the politics of demographic numbers, is wrong when it exploits Hindu poverty, but national transformation, realising our religious pluralism, is a process of peaceful resistance and policy formulation, not angry opposition and godly blood-letting. Hatred never wins.

I do find, on the whole, my present assessment of the R.S.S. is a mixed bag.

RSS Role Negative

M. S. Agwani

Vice Chancellor, JNU
New Delhi-110067

From what I know about the RSS, I believe its role, in the context of national unity, has been negative.

I have Known the RSS since 1946

Khushwaut Singh

49-E, Sujan Singh Park,
New Delhi-110003

I cannot remember exactly when I first heard of the R. S. S. but I recollect reading Guru Golwalkar's book which he had presented to my father, Sir Sobha Singh. There were many things which upset me. Although I fully shared his views that Sikhs formed an integral part of the Hindu social system, I felt that his views on Indian Muslims and Christians virtually amounted to ostracising them and militated against Gandhiji's concept of a secular India based on equal respect for all religions—*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*.

I first saw the R. S. S. in action during the communal strife in 1946. It was the only organised group which put up any resistance against organised gangs of Muslim hooligans which had struck terror in the minds of Hindus and Sikhs. At that time I felt a strong sense of gratitude towards the R. S. S.

The alleged involvement of the RSS in the murder of the Mahatma turned me against the organisation. I also felt that after Independence it should change its attitude towards Indian Muslims and Christians. Although I am against conversion of any sort and look down with contempt on people who change their faith for the sake of money and privileges, I felt India owed a lot to Christian missionary work; the innumerable schools, colleges and hospitals run by them. I also felt that conversions to Islam, though money-motivated, were partly due to the injustices heaped upon Harijans by caste Hindus. I persist in believing that the RSS has been unfair in its attitude to religious communities of non-Indian origin.

I have great admiration for the few members of the RSS, including Balasaheb Deoras, whom I have had the privilege of meeting. They struck me as the most clear-headed, clean and dedicated people. My respect for the organisation went up knowing the part they played in saving lives and properties in the anti-Sikh holocaust following the murder of Mrs. Gandhi. They remain the strong bastion against the Hindu backlash which Khalistani terrorists are trying to provoke. Of their patriotism there can be no doubt. If I could talk the RSS into changing its attitude to our Muslims and Christians, I would join it.

RSS should broaden its base

K. S. Hegde

Former Judge Supreme Court and Speaker, Lok Sabha,
'Meena', P. O. Nitte-574110 (Karnatak)

I always had a high opinion of the RSS. It is a disciplined, dedicated and value-oriented organisation. It is doing a very good job. The continuous and persistent but motivated propaganda of Congress (I) and the Communist parties has created a feeling in certain quarters that it is a communal organisation. We should enlighten the public about its real role. The only drawback in the organisation is that its membership is largely drawn from the so-called upper classes. It should broaden its base.

Let the RSS Re-establish Moral Values

Dr. Sushila Nayar

N-1, Tara Apartments, Kalkaji
New Delhi-110019

I have met some extremely fine RSS men for whom one can not but have the deepest respect. Nana Saheb Deshmukh is an example. I met some fine RSS men in Jhansi and elsewhere and was happy to work with them. I have also met some scoundrels. I have admiration for the way the RSS volunteers work in a selfless manner and I have had the privilege of working with some of them for a brief period before and after Independence.

I feel RSS can be an excellent organisation for the re-establishment of moral and ethical values in Hindu society if they can confine themselves to the cultural sphere. The trouble arises when politics comes in and brings with it opportunities of personal gain so that corruption sets in. I know there are good men and bad men in every section of society. But as a Hindu who loves her religion like her own mother, and has respect for other religions, I feel very bad to see Hindu society moving away from the values which make it great. If RSS can bring us back to the moorings, or if Arya Samaj or any other branch of Hinduism can do it, it will be a great thing for India.

Let there be a Dialogue with the RSS

Iqbal Masud

26, Rakhi Mahal
Dinsha Wacha Road
Bombay-400020

Instead of giving detail of my perception of the RSS or its role, it would be sufficient in my opinion to say the following: I have profound differences of ideology with the RSS and its founders. At the same time I must set this down for the record. I respect the RSS as a disciplined force on the national scene today. It is possible to have differences with it, but it is also possible to have dialogue with it. I say this after my experience of a two-day talk in Delhi, with two of its distinguished inspirers, Sarvashri Nanaji Deshmukh and K.R. Malkani. To put it briefly, I found them good human beings, with a deep concern for a resurrection of Indian polity and culture. I hope the RSS will make a positive contribution to bridge-building among various communities. This is the topmost priority of these dangerous times.

RSS and its Role in Indian Society

Asghar Ali Engineer

Director, Institute of Islamic Studies,
Irene Cottage, Fourth Road
Santa Cruz (East) Bombay-400055

RSS, as far as my knowledge goes, does not support the idea of territorial nationalism. Its concept of nationalism is based on *dharma*. Territorial nationalism would mean all the people living in that territory would enjoy equal rights whereas *dharma*-based nationalism would mean only people following that *dharma* would enjoy all the rights. Others would either be treated as guests in the country or as second-class citizens. This is what Mr. Golwalkar preached. Though Balasaheb Deoras does not refer to this concept very often, these views are yet to be repudiated.

In my view such a concept is not at all conducive to secularism and secular nationalism. Our country is a multi-religious and multi-cultural society. It cannot be ruled on the basis of Hindu *dharma*, or any *dharma* for that matter. All religions and cultures should enjoy equal rights and then, and then alone, we can build up a harmonious, united and strong country. The anchor-sheet of our political policy has to be secularism. Only religion cannot unite the people. This is what I have learned from history. Common ideals and economic and political justice are absolutely essential to keep a country united.

Balasaheb often talks of "appeasement of minorities" at the hands of the ruling Congress. To say the least, such a talk hurts minorities and leads to weakening of our society. Some necessary safeguards and protections should not be construed as "appeasement". All countries, even theocratic societies, guarantee protection to minorities. One should not grudge this. Ensuring minority rights would lead to better relationship between majority and minority and make our country stronger. The present tense climate and frequent outbursts of communal violence has weakened the fabric of our society as never before.

Also, the RSS leaders often maintain that only the Hindus can be truly secular. This, I am afraid, is not true. It is true that Hindu religion by and large is non-doctrinaire, but Hindus in practice are as dogmatic as any other persons could be. The Hindu praxis is far from being non-doctrinaire. I have great respect for Hindu religion and Hindu thinkers and the philosophy of Vedanta. It is part of my heritage. But I am critical of a section of Hindus, small though it is, which has reduced it to their own narrow mental horizon. It is being exploited for narrow political ends too. Hinduism, if restored to its glory it once achieved, it would be far from being jealous of this or that religious group. Hinduism is most tolerant of other religious systems. The RSS, on the other hand, is reducing it to intolerant dogma.

81

The RSS cadre is highly patriotic and wants to see this country built on strong foundations. This can be done only through tolerance and respect for other religions. I feel while the state should keep equal distance from all religions, the citizens should show equal respect for all religions. Unless we rigorously follow this doctrine, we cannot achieve harmonious inter-faith relationship. Self-righteousness would not help in this direction. Unfortunately the RSS indulges in self-righteousness rather too much.

Also, we should look towards the future and not be obsessed with the past, though the past may have a lesson or two for us. We should not keep on raising the issue of places of worship. Mosque or Temple, Gurdwara or Church. God is worshipped in all these places, though the form of worship may differ. Why then make such issues the focus of our agitations? Mahatma Buddha once said that while humanity is suffering, we are quarrelling among ourselves about God. Is it proper? There is so much poverty in our country, it is sickening to see it; and we are quarrelling about Ramjanam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid all the time. So many people have died so that God may be worshipped in a particular form. A creator—and God certainly is one—would never like to see its creatures destroyed. Are we fighting for the creator or for our little egos?

RSS has the greatest number of devoted cadre. I would like it to work for communal harmony and for strengthening secularism. It should rise above majority-minority complex. Let all of us devote ourselves to building the temples of the future wherein humanity would not be insulted. The RSS should learn from true Hinduism and set an example of real non-doctrinaire approach and bring others to that level.

RSS—Symbol of a Golden India

Muzaffar Hussain

C 1/8, Park-sidi Colony
Vikhroli West, Bombay-400070

In India, R.S.S. is the topic here, there, everywhere. So much importance and so much talk about it means that this organisation has contributed a lot to the building of the nation. Sangh is neither a religion, nor a cult, political party or even an association with formal membership. Even then, it is rooted in the Indian soil like the honeycomb to the branch of a tree. The greatest achievement of this organisation is that

when the entire country was struggling for freedom, its founder, Dr. Hedgewar, and his associates, were not only second to none in that fight, but they were also thinking deeply on what would be the future of this country. Even while living under the dark shadows of slavery, it was only Dr. Hedgewar, who had drawn up a "Blueprint" of India's all-round reconstruction. He had prevailed upon Mahatma Gandhi to consider that, free as India one day must be, what would be the guarantee that it might not be subjugated again. Hence, he said, we should start working without any delay to insure against that. He founded the Sangh in 1925 to prepare an ever-ready force of young men of character. He depended upon patriotism to visualise the concept of 'World Brotherhood', so that no religion, party or ideology could be greater than that of our Motherland. That is why there are no double standards in theory or in action in the thinking of R.S.S.

The Sangh thinking, philosophy and ideals are based upon the Good Earth—the Geography, History, Economy and Culture of this land, which system in its entirety is known as 'Hinduism'. As this is backed by the experience of centuries, it is the only path that can lead, through scientific and spiritual progress, to regain our lost position as 'Jagat Guru', World Teacher. The masses cannot be happy until our Rural System, Education Policy, Judiciary, and Administration are attuned to that ancient tradition. Any borrowed technique, thinking or ideology would only throw the country overboard. The vitality of the seed would be manifest, and the seedling would develop, only if there is proper soil and environment. The failure in every field during the past forty years reveals that we have been misled by glitters which are really fetters. This ugly spectacle would not have stared us in the face, had we followed the Sangh path.

After the Nagpur session of the Congress, on the insistence of Shri Jammnalal Bajaj, a constitution of Congress at Pargana level was drafted by Appaji Joshi (a close associate of Dr. Hedgewar), in collaboration with Tryambak Rao Deshpande and others, which was implemented. The spirit of this constitution was rural development. So long as the Congress was oriented to the villages, it remained mass-based in structure and fact. But as soon as this tie was broken, it started growing weak, so much so that it is now on its death-bed. The basic principle in that constitution came from Hinduism. Until our government and people identify themselves with this essential Hindu principle, it is very difficult to find a satisfactory solution to any of our problems. The people in power today also need to be guided by the Sangh. Whosoever may be the centre of power in Delhi, he shall have to salute Hinduism, as did a realistic leader of the stature of Mahatma Gandhi.

How I look at the RSS

Babubhai J. Patel

ex-Chief Minister of Gujarat

Plot 26, Sector 19,

Gandhi Nagar-382019

I am not in agreement with the communal approach of the RSS. I believe Hinduism is generous enough to tolerate all religions. India, according to me, does not belong to Hindus only. It is the homeland of all those who treat it as such. Even Hindus at one stage were outsiders. But they have identified themselves with India.

At the same time I do not believe in the theory of appeasement. I believe in doing justice to the minorities, but do not agree with the approach of pampering minorities or being unfair to the majority.

This approach of mine is not a mere recent development. About 50 years back when I was a Member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, I opposed a resolution of Ali Mohamed Khan Dehlvi, the Muslim League Leader of the Opposition, demanding 20 percent reservation for Muslims in the services. I moved an amendment, suggesting 8.8 per cent, instead of 20 per cent—that being the then percentage of Muslim population in the then State of Bombay.

The RSS and Hindu Mahasabha, when they over-stress Hinduism and exclusiveness, they do not appeal to me. I stand for justice and fair play to all, including minorities. I would not like to imitate Pakistan in religious intolerance or bigotry. Nor would I agree to be excessively, unduly liberal to minorities and unfair to majority.

I have very high regard for the sense of duty, strict discipline, temperament of service and sacrifice of the RSS, that do not appear to be matched by members of other organisations. I think they are unparalleled in this respect. I have personally seen them at work during the unprecedented Morvi calamity. They worked with extraordinary zeal, devotion and hardihood in the most trying circumstances. It was very difficult to handle filthy, decayed corpses, the odour whereof was highly repulsive. These volunteers ungrudgingly discharged the responsibility of the disposal of these human and animal corpses. They did not care for regular meals or comfortable accommodation. I very much admire this approach to selfless service.

I once described the RSS as Rashtriya, that is National, against parochial, Swayamsevak meaning voluntarily coming forth to serve without expectation of any reward except self-satisfaction, Sangh meaning a disciplined well-knit body working in close co-operation in even the most trying conditions.

I hope you will forgive me for my frank expression which may not be palatable. Yet I hope you will tolerate it.

My Vision of a True Hindu

Moazziz Ali Beg

Professor of Psychology AMU (Retd.)

Zulfiqar Manzil

S. S. Nagar, Dodhpur

ALIGARH-202001

To me the RSS men are a group of devoted persons who are dedicated to serve the country in an absolutely selfless manner and are motivated by sentiments that go to bind the souls with a kind of synoptic vision of Bharatiya Sanskriti, whose spirit can possibly emancipate us from the agonies of technocratic life.

Since the RSS has all along been highlighted in the ambit of political propaganda, there has been little or no attempt to understand the RSS personality in a truly human perspective. Consequently, a very dreadful and repelling picture has emerged of the RSS men in the minds of Muslims. There are grave misunderstandings as regards their role, but this picture may be drastically altered if sensible and sincere persons make efforts to do so.

My own understanding as regards their past is rather very superficial, and as regards their present I can safely bank upon my personal experience. I shall state them in a moment. Concerning their future role I happen to have identified—perhaps sub-consciously—RSS men with my vision of a true Hindu.

My experiences with many elderly RSS men, including some dignitaries have quite convinced me through sheer inter-personal relations that their ethical and spiritual orientation is not only accompanied by a deep sense of responsibility but also wide-opens the doors for love and affection which can be so effective that we may be in safe hands if they really get into the position of handling the affairs of this country. By and large, of course, I have had interactions with the youngsters belonging to the RSS while I was the President of the A. M. U. unit of the ABVP, which, of course, is now extinct. I found these boys quite sober (sobriety being rare in the present generation), dignified, humble and disciplined. They were even thoughtful. I loved one of them very much because he seemed to be spiritually enlightened.

Whatever I have said above is not meant to please any Hindu, and if any Hindu should think so he would be sadly mistaken. For God's sake and for the sake of Matra Bhumii, the RSS men and the Hindus at large are requested to get closer to those Muslims who are sincere to the

hilt. They will be doing a disservice to the nation if they fail to do so.

Having been brought up under the patronage of a noble Brahmin family of Agra, and having harboured thoughts and feelings which go to make up my convictions, and have become a part of my faith, and while struggling and fighting against the dreadful cult of hatred, I wish I were just an anonymous person, one who sinks into the dawn of nothing, after traversing this annihilation's waste.

While reading through the remarks of a Jewish thinker about Hindu character, I am prompted to say it with no pretensions on my part, and without the slightest intention to please any of my Hindu brethren, that I have found an average Hindu ethically far more elevated than an average Muslim. This does not mean that I am disparaging the Muslim, nor does it imply that I have not come across Hindus who are sunk deep into *tamas* and the dark aspects of *rajas* and their conduct is, therefore, repelling. However, a Hindu (barring that value-blind generation that we have produced in the past four decades) is definitely more humble and mild, and a Muslim (barring the truly God-loving people) is definitely more arrogant and aggressive.

The mind of an average Muslim is completely under the strongest grip of either the communalist or the Mullah, who can never understand the ways and power of love and tolerance, and about whom the Holy Prophet of Islam says, "THEIR WORDS WILL BE LIKE THE WORDS OF APOSTLES, BUT THEIR HEARTS WILL BE LIKE THE HEARTS OF WOLVES." The fact is simply this that the aggressive Muslim communalist has never cared to think even for one moment that when the entire family of the Prophet of Islam was to be slain at Karbala, the pious Imam Hussain put forth his final proposal that he and his family would quit the territory of Yazid, and migrate to Hindustan. Why not the nearest place, Ethiopia? Alas, if only the aggressive Muslim could know the answer. Alas, if only he could ponder over the saying of the Holy Prophet that "I smell the odour of love from Hindustan". The love for *Matra-Bhumii* is actually 'part of the faith.'

A Muslim Experience with the RSS

Dr. K. S. Durrany

C-5, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies
Hamdard Nagar, New Delhi-110064

IF WE LOOK at the majority-minority syndrome in the religious-cultural perspective, the Hindus constitute about 85% of the total population of the country as against its 15% minority population, wherein almost all the world religions survive in their most effective and organised

manner. Hinduism, by and large, is a scattered natural religion, with its highest philosophical speculations and the lowest degrading social customs and practices such as untouchability and caste-system which have caused insult and humiliation to the Hindu Society in the past. In this background, the RSS intends to eradicate the hostile diversities of sects, castes and creeds in the Hindu society and reminds its co-religionists to realise the greatness of their past in order to foster a spirit of unity, a sense of social service, sacrifice and selfless devotion. It addresses itself in unequivocal terms that "in consonance with the cultural heritage of the Hindu Samaj, the Sangh has abiding faith in the fundamental principle of tolerance towards all faiths."

The RSS does not preach that Hinduism is the only true religion in the world. The concept of finality and paramountcy of a single shade of divine revelation has always been alien to Hinduism and it appears that the RSS wants to retain that religious diversity with a sense of cultural unity throughout the length and breadth of the country. The recent initiative of "Resolving Religio-Cultural Differences in the Service of the Indian people—A great Hindu Muslim Dialogue" (vide 'Manthan', June 1988) suggest that the RSS has a keen desire to keep friendly relations with different religious denominations of the country. Islamic scholars like Maulana Wahiduddin Khan and Asghar Ali Engineer have appreciated these efforts as a good beginning to resolve the Hindu-Muslim differences. Further the report of the "model commune" in Gonda, in U.P., gives us an example of a successful experiment in solving the communal problem by populating Hindus and Muslims side by side. My personal experiences as a Muslim do not find RSS as against the Muslim interest and their Islamic faith. The stalwarts of RSS like Shri Nanaji Deshmukh talk about humanism rather than Hinduism or Hindu culture and civilization. It is not correct to say that the RSS is Hinduising India, but fact remains that the sub-continent is a Hindu India, wherein the Hindu Muslims, the Hindu Christians, the Hindu Sikhs, the Hindu Jains, the Hindu Zoroastrians and the Jewish Hindus live together. In reality the entire religio-cultural universe of God's creation finds its expression in this eternal land of beauty and grace, Bharat Mata.

The RSS could serve the country better if it champions the cause of suffering humanity at the hands of the exploiters—Hindus, Muslims, or modernists. If Muslim couples come to the RSS, instead of Muslim Qazis or Muftis, at the "model commune" in Gonda, it is because the RSS people solve their day-to-day problems of life. The natural ally of the RSS, therefore, cannot be the exploiters or the religious fanatics, but the exploited people who are in search of their existential identity for self-respect.

RSS is Qualitatively Different

Rajamata Vijayaraje Scindia

Scindia Villa, Sarojini Nagar,
New Delhi—110023

I came in contact with Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in 1967 during Shri Guruji's lifetime. The feeling of natural reverence aroused in me by observing his Rishi-like life and personality grew on me as I came closer to Sangh.

I had my first glimpses of Sangh through Jana Sangh itself. As such, first contacts were with only those who worked in the political field under the inspiration of Sangh. I had my experiences with leaders and workers of other political parties too, before coming in contact with these people. I keenly felt the sharp qualitative difference between the two. It appeared to be the basic difference between two cults—one, the cult of Power; the other, the cult of Service—service, pure and selfless. The team of devoted workers I saw, who had dedicated their entire life on the altar of the Motherland, strengthened my belief about the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh that it was the Force that could be depended upon for forging a bright future for our beloved country.

Even today, in the whole country, except probably the BJP, there is not a single party involved in the politics of total dedication. It is easy to guess the strength, capacity and idealism of the organisation, which can inspire such a sublime attitude even amongst workers in a field which is as enticing as politics. Such a strength, earned through the hard *Tapasya* of the Sangh, its founder Dr. Hedgewar and his innumerable followers, can put the fear of God and Man in any wielder of unrestricted power.

Undaunted by impediments, the efforts that are continuously being carried on by the Sangh to awaken national self-respect and resurrect its glorious identity are fitting compliments to Dr. Hedgewar, the founder, his wonderful capacity of organisation, and his keen diagnosis of the malady from which our nation has been suffering for ages.

While offering my humble but most respectful homage to this great Secer, on the occasion of his Birth Centenary, I want to express my ardent wish that the Sangh and its ideology may, in the near future, be successful in not only restructuring the entire Hindu Society in an integrated and harmonious manner but also in fulfilling that historic responsibility of uniting all our countrymen into the ancient glorious Hindu Nation with its Perennial Culture.

"India is Hindu" : Former Foreign Secretary tells RSS Rally

"Whether we like it or not, we are a Hindu India. Secularism is there in India, because Hindus desired that it should be a secular state. I think it is time now for the people in power to understand that secularism does not mean that Hindus have to be somehow made to feel ashamed that they are Hindus", said Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, former Foreign Secretary, Government of India, while presiding over RSS Guru Pooja Function at Madras, on 14th August 1988.

Shri Venkateswaran further said : "In independent India, a false secularism has been spread. Secularism means equal respect for all religions and not irreligiosity. Today, what we find is that a Muslim can say that he is proud of being a Muslim, and we accept him for that; a Christian can say that he is proud of being a Christian and we accept him for that. But, if a Hindu gets up and says that he is a Hindu, somehow he is a communalist. Why ? This is a perversion of secularism."

Shri Venkateswaran narrated an instance of discrimination by Govt. of India against Hindus when he was the Indian Ambassador to China. It was decided to instal a wireless link across Tibetan border for the safety of Hindu pilgrims to Manasarovar and Kailash. The Chinese Government came forward to bear half the cost of the project. But secularists in the Indian Government objected to our Government's spending. For Hindu pilgrimage, whereas crores of rupees are spent on Haj pilgrimage.

While commenting on the reported ill-treatment of people of Indian origin in Fiji, Shri Venkateswaran exploded : "Col. Rebuka, who had conducted a *coup d'etat* there last year, recently said that if Indians want to stay in Fiji, they have to convert to Christianity. Out of a total population of 7,50,000 in Fiji, 3,50,000 are persons of Indian origin. Most of them are Hindus. The statement of Col. Rebuka goes against the Universal Declaration of Human Right, which Fiji has also subscribed to, and which we have also subscribed to. And what do we do ? We behave like cunchs. We said nothing.

"I do not say that we have to do anything on the basis that we are a Hindu state, but as a secular India, we have a duty to point out that we shall not have people of our origin persecuted in this fashion. We should have not only made a statement but should have immediately complained to the Human Rights Commission at Geneva or to the UN General Assembly itself."

Dr. Hedgewar, RSS & the World

By : S. Gurumurthy

RSS has been an enigma. It has attracted the greatest appreciation that an organisation possibly can in this country or elsewhere. It has also attracted the wildest and cheapest criticism an organization can get. But little is known about its founder. The founder's work was merely that of foundation. He never placed himself above the organization; he placed himself behind the organization.

I was told of an incident this morning about Dr. Hedgewar; I was not aware of it in spite of the fact that I have been associated with the organization since 1971. Someone wrote to Dr. Hedgewar a letter saying that he wanted to write the biography of big leaders and he sought permission to include Dr. Hedgewar's name in his list. Dr. Hedgewar wrote back : "What is there in my life ? What you will have to write about, what you will have to speak about, is the RSS."

The man had no illusions about himself. He saw himself only in the organisation. He had no life apart from the mission which he had undertaken.

RSS today is sixty plus in age. But even today we keep introducing the name of Dr. Hedgewar. And this is his centenary year. That is precisely why we undertake efforts to introduce to the people outside RSS the name of Dr. Hedgewar—a name, a life, that has influenced the conduct of millions of people; a life that created millions of lives like his, by the technique that survives in quintessence by quality and quantity. It survives after him till today and it forges ahead towards the future.

RSS has come to acquire a place in the national life in which it cannot be ignored anymore, to put it at the least. There was a time when the tide of political power, governmental power, appeared to overtake the RSS. It appeared to emaciate RSS out of recognition. The vilest allegation of the murder of Mahatma Gandhi was heaped upon the RSS, despite the fact that the judiciary had held in no uncertain terms that RSS had nothing to do with it at all. The charge was kept up. In the basest manner, the organisation was alleged as violent, communal and unacceptable. No other organisation has faced that kind of suppression, persecution and condemnation without the least chance of airing its view. That an organisation survived in this kind of onslaught promoted by none other than the mightiest power in the country, the government itself, is a tribute to the founder's conception ; he had conceived a technique which could withstand all these onslaughts—and still progress.

Today, even the detractors of the RSS agree that it is difficult to ignore its existence. The previous Prime Minister of India, who banned the organisation during emergency and put lakhs of people in jail, on her return to power, said, while answering a question whether she would ban the organisation again, "I won't do that again because they grow with every ban!"

To sum up his early life shortly. Dr. Hedgewar was a very active student. Active not merely in studies, not merely in society, but active politically. He was active, mentally as well as physically. As a small boy, he refused the sweets distributed in his school on the occasion of the sixtieth year of the coronation of Queen Victoria. That shows the potential inherent in him.

He grew up and went to Bengal for taking medical degree. The main purpose of his going to Bengal was not to become a doctor, but to learn the techniques of revolutionaries to fight for the country's freedom. His observations during student days, his association with the revolutionary movement and his involvement in the political movement of the Congress—all enriched him into realising the state of affairs in the country. He found that for every movement of the Congress, the revolutionary was necessary. The Britisher had to go. He himself was a very active participant in the affairs of the Congress. In the non-cooperation movement of 1921, he was jailed for a year and a half.

But all the participation in the social and revolutionary movements created in him a void, which he was beginning to answer slowly. Everyone asked the question: "When will the foreigner leave?" But he asked another question: "Why did the foreigner come?" The foreigners did not come in millions, nor did they come with big armies. The Britisher came not even with an army. He came in ships to sell and buy goods. He found the situation here so chaotic that he realised that he could rule us.

So Dr. Hedgewar set out to find a remedy to the basic ailment. What was the medicine he found out? What was the technique he adopted as cure for the disease? His quest for the cure resulted in the RSS.

When he started the RSS he went in search of those bright students willing and able to do something—those who had extra energy. The doctor who was well past mid-thirties, began to play 'Kabaddi' with students of 12 and 13. Many of his friends were astounded: "What is this man doing?" Three years earlier he was in jail with them, he was a national leader and yet he had his own plans.

His was not limited to a pattern of ten or twenty years. He had a long-term plan like Swami Vivekananda. Swamiji said he had plans for 2000 years to come. Doctorji had a scheme which certainly transcended beyond his life.

In just three years after starting the RSS, he was able to send all these small boys who had completed their school final, to different parts of the country for higher education. For college education these boys went to UP, Bengal, Punjab, etc. Dadarao Parmarth came to Madras. He started the RSS work here. Our Puja Balasaheb Deoras was one of those boys; he went to Bengal to start the Shakhya. His brother, Shri Bhaurao Deoras, went to U.P. to start the Shakhya. No additional expenditure was involved because their families met the expenditure of the boys for education. That is how he conceived the organisation. His ability to impart the fiery quality in them is unique.

One of those who had early come in contact with Dr. Hedgewar, told me that with Dr. Hedgewar, it was only a one-way traffic: you only go to him and you never return! He produced hundreds of such leaders. He was able to transform the individual. He saw in ordinary human beings, extra-ordinary qualities. He had the eye of a great organiser, to unearth the talents of all those he came across. To him, no one was useless. He could even make use of school children. That is how, before his death, in 15 years from 1925 to 1940, he could see in his own life-time, the miniature version of the mighty RSS.

Here is the most outstanding illustration of what a man of humble background can do. He was not only an ordinary man, but much worse. He was completely poverty-ridden. There were days when he went without food. He did not feel it his responsibility to advance his personal life, to make it a little more liveable. One day when he had invited someone, he asked his brother's wife to prepare a cup of tea. He was talking to him for some time. Even after 20-30 minutes the tea did not come; he went inside and found that there were no tea leaves in the house. He himself went out and procured some and tea was served. The person who came could see the condition that the doctor was in. He called Shri Guruji and told him, "This is not the condition in which the doctor should be allowed to function. I shall give you twenty-five rupees every month; you should pass it on to Doctorji." Earlier, the guest had asked Shri Guruji, "Why do you allow Doctorji to live in this condition?" To that Shri Guruji replied, "How can an Ekadashi help a Shivaratri?" It was then that he offered the monthly payment. Shri Guruji suggested to him that he himself could give the amount to Doctorji. The man never did so, knowing he would never accept it.

So, being rich or being poor is not the reason why one participates in public work or not. It is the frame of mind; it is the response of the man to a given situation. It is the training which one is subjected to. The character training given to a man makes him respond to a situation. It is not his material worth or his education.

As a unique organiser, Doctor Hedgewar saw the future, assembled school boys and transformed them into great missionaries. But the other transformation which he brought about in himself as soon as he set about to organise the society, is also remarkable.

He was born in a family known for fiery moods, he fully inherited the tradition. He was very short-tempered, and he continued to be so even when he was engaged in political activity. But once he conceived of a technique of the Shakhya, the intermingling of persons, the idea that one should go out to conquer people's minds to unify society through love, he found that anger and rancour have no place in such a technique. And like a switch put off, he completely transformed himself. Anger was no more evident in him. He was full of wit and humour, full of affection and love, so much so that with Doctorji it was only one way traffic. If one went to the man, his affection completely won him over.

The most effective way of explaining the concept of RSS founded by Dr. Hedgewar is to make a comparative study of the thought system of the West and that of the RSS. This has been done by two research students, an American and an Indian, Walter Anderson and Shridhar Damle; it has come out in book form, 'The Brotherhood In Saffron'. It is not exactly a comparative study of the philosophies of the West and the RSS but it gives an insight into a Westerner's approach to RSS.

The general approach of the West in whatever is involved—Communism or Capitalism—is the importance of the System. If the system is perfect, everything else would respond, including those who operate the system, those who participate in the system and those who are subjects of the system. If the system is perfect, everything else would be all-right. It is the system that controls the man and not vice versa. So far as the materialistic philosophies, namely Capitalism and Communism are concerned, they both agree that man is an economic being.

But now after a hundred years the West has come to review its system of thought. It has launched upon a very serious introspection of finding the truth. Its economic concept of *laissez faire* freedom has led them into a situation where the entire society has run amuck in every

aspect of life. Instead of remaining an aspect of life, the material needs have shrouded the entire life there. Dr. Schumacher, who tried to bring about a synthesis between our system of thinking, our view of man; and the Western view of man and system, was greatly influenced by Hindu thought. He was particularly influenced by Buddha and Gandhiji.

Gandhiji has put it so beautifully; Schumacher quotes him : "Nature has provided for every man's needs; but it has not provided for everyone's greeds."

The East, which has influenced men like Schumacher, is bound to overtake the West by the sheer force of its logic, by its integral thinking. Man's life is not compartmental. Pleasure, money-making, and acquisition of wealth are important factors in life. But to equate them with life is a very narrow and incomplete way of looking at Man's life. Our people viewed human life integrally. In the good old days, people used to call it *Purnashanthas*—Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha. Each of these has a valuable role in the sum total of human life. This was later on elaborated and very well presented by Shri Deendayal, who became Jana Sangha president, in three lectures on 'Integral Humanism.' The substance of it is that human life has to be consistent with Nature. Human life cannot conquer Nature. Once you try to conquer Nature to find substitutes for Nature, you end up with non-recycleable wastes. For example, in America the problem is how to dispose of the synthetic waste, millions of tons of which they are dumping in the sea. Now they find the sea is full of it. Compare it with the plantain leaves in which we take food; we throw them away and they turn into manure for the soil. This is life consistent with Nature. The other life is life derogatory to Nature.

If you live only to satisfy human urges and idiosyncracies, the result will be a situation where you will find that you are at war with Nature. There is the enriched uranium. To make it harmless, it must be kept buried for 5000 years! Collect enriched uranium from different parts of the world and keep it in the Kalpakkam Atomic Power Centre, which is 40 kilometre from one of the most populous cities in India! Chernobyl can be repeated in Madras. We shudder to think what will happen. The human mind which has responded only to the material call, propelled by desire, has resulted in a very destructive system. This, the West realises today.

In the concept of the RSS, in the sum-total plan that the RSS has presented to the society, man is viewed as an integral being. That is the test. The irrelevance of the System as the master of Man, has been demonstrated in the West. But what about another system? Let us take China, for example. Mao Tse-tung was the most powerful ruler and expounder of the communist belief and State. Between 1957 and

1960 nearly three crores of people died of starvation in China. But not one death was revealed till 25 years later! That is how he controlled the country. It was a total grip. But, that man, the Chairman of the Communist Party and Head of the Government, walked up to the Wall of China at 12 o'clock in the night in 1966 and wrote with his own hands: "Bomb the Party Headquarters!" An expression of complete lack of faith in the System and the Man! There the System completely dominated Man and man failed. Today, according to some of my business friends, if you deal with any Chinese official, the kickback has to be paid into Hongkong banks! Once you make desire the basis of life, man responds to it, irrespective of the system.

Man as the central theme of living is the quintessence of Eastern thought. That is the Hindu value by which the entire world can benefit. In page after page, this is the message of Swami Vivekananda. This is the message for which the West is longing. This is the message, failing which, the future of the World will be at stake. And on whom lies the responsibility to deliver this message? And on whom is the responsibility to make the message respectable? Is anybody going to listen to you simply because you speak better words, simply because you give better logic? Or that your thoughts are noble and sacred? No.

History has repeatedly shown that great thoughts that have emanated from societies have suffered by the weakness of such societies. Rabindranath Tagore had to face the humiliating experience of a Japanese audience refusing to listen to him as he was, in their view, representative of a defeated race.

So, noble words have to be backed up by the power which the world regards as imperative for any society. The failure of the Hindu society, this nation, has been in its inability to build up that national will, the vibrant national feeling, and strength that imparts power to the Hindu thought. Hindu thought has suffered humiliation because of the weak and listless Hindu. It is this national disease that the founder of the RSS, Dr. Hedgewar, diagnosed as the root cause for the failure of the nation. And this is precisely the disease which he set about to cure by conceiving the RSS.

In this gigantic task spear-headed by RSS, every one of us has a role, every one of us has a responsibility. There are many activities organised by those trained in RSS. We can choose the activity that suits our taste and talent, and devote ourselves to this great and noble work of national regeneration. Personal participation in activities is the core of one's involvement. If the life of Dr. Hedgewar teaches us anything, it is this. This is the greatest tribute that we can pay to that great man, who conceived, and gave this nation, the RSS.

Salute the RSS and its Founder

Cho S. Ramaswamy

Editor 'Tughlaq', Madras

I do not know much about Dr. Hedgewar. I have started studying his life only now. But I know persons belonging to RSS. I know Shri Balasahab Deoras, Shri H.V. Seshadri, Shri Rama Gopalan, Shri V. Ramaswamy Thevar, Shri R. Annamalai and others of the RSS. And I can say that today RSS is the only organisation inculcating patriotism in a systematic manner in our country, while every political party keeps harping on several brands of 'socialism' with an eye on votes.

Those in the RSS do not simply preach patriotism; they practise it. I am amazed at their complete selflessness. I have met workers of political parties craving for sundry personal gain or at the least, seeking recognition. But not so the RSS workers.

Not only that. Highly qualified youngsters come out as RSS workers, sacrificing their all, braving every kind of risk. There are MAs, Engineering graduates, even Doctorate holders who have brushed aside highly lucrative careers to devote themselves to Sangh work; this phenomenon is unique to RSS. Out of sheer curiosity, I asked some RSS workers: "How is it that you, and you alone, are able to do such a thing? And how is it that workers of other organisations cannot do likewise?" They give the credit for this to the kind of training that they receive in RSS. But every other organisation gives training as well; the difference is the inspiration to sacrifice everything in the service of the country.

The fact simply is this: even today there are millions upon millions in this country ready to offer themselves in the service of the country, prepared to go through fire for the sake of the cause, as is evident in the RSS. And it is a land of such good and noble souls that is sought to be degraded by the tribe of politicians in a planned manner. If only everyone in this country could be imbued with that uncompromising patriotism of the RSS, no country in the world would be a match for us.

Take the case of Japan. So many reasons are adduced for the development of Japan; they say the factory workers there are all well organised and so on. But every analysis about Japan ends up by pointing to their intense patriotism—"I must do my bit to see the motherland progress". The lack of this craving, this passion, is the reason for the fast deterioration of values that we witness in our country. I am frightened at the very thought of the steep decline in store for us at this rate.

Political parties in Tamilnadu thrive on the slogan of 'self-respect'. But their leaders lack self-respect and so indulge in disgraceful acts,

including disrobing—inside the Assembly. One has only to compare and contrast this with the rock-like self-respect and self-confidence of the RSS men. When I ask them : 'When do you hope to achieve your aim? How long will it take for the completion of social transformation as per your vision?', they tell me: 'Even if it takes 50 years from now, we are prepared to work for it'. While political parties are busy in the rat race to capture Municipalities, Assemblies and Parliament in the elections round the corner, here is RSS with its eyes set on its goal, with a fifty-year timeframe, forging ahead with the firm belief: 'We shall see to it that the nation is transformed completely.' I can only admire these Himalayan heights. But personally, I am helpless. I cannot join RSS, as I do not possess the required discipline. The sense of discipline of the RSS men is something tremendous. By comparing the heights reached by RSS men and contrasting these with the prevalent situation, I derive a satisfaction.

Some years ago, I visited an RSS training camp in Salem. There was absolutely no caste distinction there. This is the only organisation without casteism. See what goes on in Tamilnadu. Every now and then posters appear, announcing the gratitude of this caste association or that, for having been favoured with some crumbs of office. This is the handiwork of political parties. People are so much after caste. But, has any one heard of RSS indulging in such things? In the RSS no one asks you your caste. I look upon RSS with great respect because of its large-heartedness in this respect.

Some people think that it is against secularism to support RSS. But do they mean that taking pride in identifying oneself as a Hindu, is against secularism? It is absurd. I am very proud to call myself Hindu.

As I delve deeper and deeper into the message of Bhagavad Gita, I perceive an increasingly lustrous image of our philosophy. Take the 'Shanti Parva' of the Mahabharata. Bhishma goes to astounding lengths in thinking up all possible developments in politics. While expounding the norms for a ruler, he has foreseen the extreme level of a ruler's degradation. If any one dubs Mahabharata as pertaining to a particular religion, then it is the non-Hindus who are the losers. There is no single human affair which does not find a mention in Mahabharata.

Our Upanishads, the Gita, etc. have initiated tremendous amount of debate. An irate Arjuna could question the apparent contradiction in Krishna's precepts. This debate, this Freedom, is an age-old asset of Hinduism. The rigour found in the religious matters of others is, therefore, absent here. Every Hindu is free to choose his mode

of worship, in the temple in his house or within his heart. And, who else gives so much freedom? Only the person with unshakable faith in himself and in his values and insights would give freedom to others. It is only because inferiority complex is absent in Hinduism, that complete religious freedom is given. Several choices are before you; you can choose the path you consider right.

Everyone follows a specific Dharma. Vibheeshana, forsaking his evil brother Ravana, defected to Shri Rama's side. It was Vibheeshana's Dharma. But Karna stayed on with Duryodhana, in spite of his wrongdoings, because he felt that he was indebted to him. That is Karna's Dharma. Hinduism is the only religion which has given latitude to all the approaches. Hinduism appeals to everyone to choose one's own Dharma and stick to it steadfastly. This too comes only as advice and not as stipulation.

The Hindu heart embraces not only the entire humanity; it encompasses all creation. He prays for the well-being of not only humans but also the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the birds, the plant life. That is what our Mantras contain. The Hindu never prays for his own sake. He prays for the welfare of mankind, for the good of all living beings. If a person belonging to such a great religion, has to feel ashamed of calling himself a Hindu, in order to sound secular, then it is not secularism; it is sheer hypocrisy and nothing else. But on the other hand, it is not necessary to think low of the adherents of other faiths. I know RSS subscribes to all these ideas. When such is the case, some people talk ill of RSS as though it is anti-national. They try to tarnish the image of this organisation which inculcates patriotism, which aims at making Bharat the world leader. This is highly objectionable. Then there are some, who openly criticise RSS without rhyme or reason, but are staunch supporters of RSS in private!

I bow in reverence to the great founder of such a great organisation. He was a seer, thinker and able organiser, all in one.

RSS has Shown the Way...

By P. C. Sen
Former Chief Minister,
West Bengal.

I feel myself fortunate to be able to join you all in the birth centenary celebrations of Dr. Hedgewar, Founder of the RSS.

I sincerely believe that though the country is going downhill pretty fast, we see corruption everywhere, anti-social activities have become widespread, communalism is raising its ugly head, provincialism is vitiating the national atmosphere—all these wrongs will be set right only if we learn something from the life, work and ideology of Dr. Hedgewar.

Bharat, our motherland, is a great country. The population of China has crossed 100-crore mark. We are also almost 75 crore—may be before long we will also touch the 100-crore mark. In the present situation, if we do not organise ourselves, get united through the methods shown by Dr. Hedgewar, we will be doomed. This is not only my personal feeling; this is the concern expressed by many thinking people of India.

You must have heard the name of Dr. Arnold Toynbee, the great historian. He has stated, "The present chapter of the human civilization has had a western beginning. But if it has to survive, and not undergo self-destruction, then it will have to have an Indian ending." That is, if civilization is to survive, it will have to accept Bharateeya culture. He has mentioned three names—Bhagavan Buddha, whose teachings changed the life of King Ashoka, Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Ramakrishna. I also feel thrilled to think of the galaxy of great men born in our country. Even Jesus Christ, some historians say, spent fourteen long years in Bharat.

So we must not lose faith. Our country will flourish again. I repeat it in almost all the meetings I address, that we must have faith that our country will become great again, in Dharma, in Karma.

*Balo Balo Balo Sabe, Shata Bina Benu Rabe,
Bharat Aabar Jagat Sabhaye Shreshtha Asana Labe.
Dharme Mahaan Habe, Karma Mahaan Habe,
Naba Dinamani Udibe Aabaar Puratana E Purabe.*

(Say all of you together with the resonance of a hundred Veenas that India will again take the pride of place in the comity of nations; that it will be great in Dharma and great in Karma, that the new sun will rise again in this hoary land of the East.)

The sun of civilization will rise in the East and Bharat will again be in the Guru's seat in the comity of nations. So we must not forget our great traditions, our hoary past, our age-old culture.

When I go through recently published books on Bharat by eminent scholars of the world, I simply wonder how great we were in all spheres of life. Can you find any language as rich as Sanskrit? Do you know that we contributed the concept of "Zero" to the world of mathematics, a concept that revolutionised the entire subject? Many of the modern scientific discoveries owe their origin to India. So there is no doubt that we will flourish again and become a great nation. But we must have the vision and leadership of men like Dr. Hedgewar. Since his childhood, he dreamt, nay, he started work, in this direction. He was really a "Karma Yogi", a great Bharateeya, which is why the country decided to celebrate his centenary on this grand scale. I thank you all because you also decided to participate in these celebrations to pay homage to this great man. I add my personal salutations to Dr. Hedgewar. Namaskar!

David Selbourne or RSS

David Selbourne, Oxford Professor, had an interesting experience with Mrs. Gandhi. He was one of the very few scholars able to meet her during the emergency. He asked her what she meant by dubbing RSS "fascist" and she said they were fascists because they were spreading rumours against her. That, said Selbourne later, was "a very novel definition of fascism".

Making RSS the National Mainstream

By : K.R. Malkani

The country is this year celebrating the Birth Centenary of Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, Founder of the RSS. Perhaps there is no record in history of a man like Dr. Hedgewar—who had no advantage of wealth or ancestry, or political or any other power, and who studiously avoided publicity—of launching a nation-wide movement, and making a roaring success of it. I would attribute the RSS success to two factors. First was the vision and will of its founder. He was one of those heroes who, in Carlyle's words, make history. Second was the truth, the great truth, in his concept of Nationalism, Hindu Rashtra.

Dr. Hedgewar's work was continued by Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, better known as Shri Guruji, in like manner. Today there is hardly a hamlet in this land of four 'lac villages, where the message of RSS has not reached. There was a time when RSS was not mentioned in the Press even once in a whole year. Today a newspaper is perhaps not complete without some reference to RSS. There is something in the message, the mission, the medium and the methodology of RSS, that has struck a responsive note in the national psyche. The RSS is widely perceived as a disciplined and patriotic organisation of men of character and dedication. Even those who don't agree with it, have healthy respect for it.

The RSS has always been free from caste, class or provincial feelings. Its services to Hindi have been next only to those of the cinema. As early as 1934, Mahatma Gandhi was moved by the sight of an RSS camp, having participants from all castes, into saying : "I am tremendously pleased. Nowhere in the country have I ever seen such a spectacle. From all points of view you are doing excellent work. It is not against national interest to organise Hindus without hating others."

Although the RSS work proper is confined to the holding of daily Shakha, over the years it has spawned and inspired a whole range of organisations and activities. The best known of these is Bharatiya Janata Party, the No. 2 political party in the country in terms of popular vote. Even more important, BJP is wedded to value-based politics and it has given the country some of its finest leaders. The Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad is the most important student organisation in the country. It not only wins the most elections, its activists are known for their culture and dedication. The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh would be the biggest labour organisation in the country, but for the State patronage extended to INTUC. Here again BMS is well-known as not purchasable

101

by employers. In Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the country for the first time has a world-wide religious organisation of Hindus. It has had the unique distinction of bringing together the Dharmacharyas of various *Mutts* and sects on a single platform. The Vivekananda Kendra has not only installed the Rock Memorial as a national monument, it is training dedicated young men and women for service in hill and forest areas. The Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram has become the premier Indian organisation serving tribal people. Ever since 1947, when RSS protected the beleaguered, and gave relief to refugees, it has been first and foremost in the service of the needy, whether the occasion was flood or famine, cyclone or war. After the 1965 Indo-Pak war, a grateful General Kulwant Singh said : "Punjab is the sword-arm of India, and RSS is the sword-arm of Punjab." In the words of a prominent Sarvodaya leader, RSS has come to mean, "Ready for Selfless Service."

Doctor Saheb used to say that RSS was a power-house which was producing men of character who would do credit to any organisation or activity. This has proved only too true again and again. When Emergency was imposed, it was the RSS resistance that saved the country from dictatorship perpetuating itself. The 'Economist' of London (4.12.1970) described the underground movement as "the only non-Left revolutionary force in the world" which, it added, "is dominated by tens of thousands of RSS cadres". Even the Marxist leader A. K. Gopalan was moved to say about the RSS resistance : "There is some lofty ideal which is capable of inspiring such deeds of bravery and stamina for sacrifices." It is no exaggeration to say that today, outside of the State apparatus, the RSS and its fraternal organisations constitute the biggest single force in the country. And this force is moral.

The great and growing position of the RSS places on it a tremendous responsibility. In the words of the French savant, Aimeur d'Henricourt, author of 'The Soul of India', "Indian masses will only give their heartfelt allegiance to that party and ideology that appears to be a true emanation, more or less modernised no doubt, of some aspect or other of timeless Hinduism". It was, he said, "Gandhism yesterday" and it can only be "redoubtable RSS" tomorrow.

This is the challenge before the RSS—winning the heartfelt allegiance of the Indian masses; in other words, becoming the mainstream of Indian national life. Even the best thing can be bettered. And as "Alice in Wonderland"—and India is quite a wonderland !—would say, we have to run, even to keep in the same place. We have to run real fast to forge

ahead. And Dr. Hedgewar Centenary is a good occasion to take stock of the situation and even indulge some loud thinking.

Recently a well-known wise old man remarked to me : "All other parties have produced rascals; RSS alone has produced gentlemen." The remark pleased me. But let me tell you it also frightened me a bit. Will we come up to all these expectations ? One can only hope and pray that we do.

Because of the truth in its philosophy and the purity in its working, RSS can only go forward and upward. But we can't rest on our laurels. RSS has come a long way, but it has a still longer way to go. There was a time when Gandhian Congress was the national mainstream. Today Congress is more national gutter than national mainstream. Indeed today the country has no consensus, no mainstream. Confusion reigns supreme. The task before the RSS is to become the National Mainstream. That way alone it can fulfil itself and take the country forward.

Some time back an RSS Pracharak from the Punjab told me that their study had shown that only 28% of that state's population looked upon RSS as their own. Now Punjab has no Muslims and RSS has always looked upon Sikhs as Hindus. How then is it that, by and large, Sikhs and "Backward" castes do not identify themselves with the RSS ?

I know, no Thought can attract all. Even a national mainstream cannot satisfy all sectional or regional particularisms. Even Gandhiji was not universally accepted; the urban and articulate sections were generally critical of him. But his strong appeal to villagers and women swept all before him. The point is : What can RSS do to appeal to the broad masses, including the poor and the Harijans ?

There is another problem. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is for men. For women there is the Rashtra Sevika Samiti. While the Sangha has always done well, the Samiti has not. I wish the Samiti were as strong as Sangh. Indeed if I had to choose between a strong Sangha or a strong Samiti, I would opt for the latter. Because women are more important in influencing and orienting the next generation. It was the Buddhist appeal of non-violence, temperance and moderation to Chinese women, that made Buddhism popular in China. Likewise it was the greater appeal of Christian charity and grace to Roman women that eventually converted Rome to Catholicism. (Islam, on the other hand, had a greater appeal to males.)

Now the question is : How can the Sangha-Samiti ideology be redefined and refined to appeal more to women ? A savant in Brindaban once suggested that "Lathi-Kathi" appeals more to young men, but Sangheet-Kala-Nritya will appeal more to women. 'Bharat Mata ki Jai' is a fine patriotic slogan; but 'Raghupati Raghav Raja Ram' and 'Hari Bol' come from a deeper level of consciousness; and they move us to greater depths. We in the RSS therefore need to consider whether we should have different programmes—and a different idiom—for men and women and for different age groups.

After Independence, Gandhiji was asked who he would like to see installed in the Rashtrapati Bhavan as Head of the State, and he said : "A Harijan lady". He was not playing to any gallery; it came naturally to him as the logical conclusion of his life and work. It is a matter of inner conviction. What is our conviction ?

Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan perceived the nature and role of RSS perfectly when he told an RSS Rally in Patna on Nov. 3, 1977 : "RSS is a revolutionary organisation. No other organisation in the country comes anywhere near it. It alone has the capacity to transform society, end casteism, and wipe the tears from the eyes of the poor. Its very name is 'Rashtriya', that is national. I am not saying this to flatter you, I believe you have a historic role to play." Are we playing our "historic role" to the full ?

And then there is the question of Muslims. RSS is a positive, cultural movement, with goodwill for all and malice towards none. Respected Dr. Zakir Hussain noted soon after Independence-Partition at Idd-e-Milad Mahfil in Monghyr, Bihar, on Nov. 20, 1949 : "The allegations against RSS of violence and hatred against Muslims are wholly false. Muslims should learn the lesson of mutual love, cooperation and organisation from RSS." During the emergency, RSS and Jamat-e-Islami MISA detenus became good friends and their camaraderie came as a rude shock to the government, which threw on ruling by dividing. Shri Mohammed Koya, former Muslim League Chief Minister of Kerala said on March 26, 1980 : "The bogey of RSS can no longer be used to frighten us." However, thanks to history—old and not-so-old—and thanks also to interested propaganda, a certain gulf between Hindus and Muslims remains. This has got to go, if India is to fulfil its destiny. Problems are there to be solved—on the basis of Justice. We must never forget that we are all children of Bharat Mata and products of the Twentieth Century.

After the Indo-Pak war of 1971, resulting in the liberation of Bangladesh, Chaudhury Khaliqzaman, key figure in the Partition movement, said that Pakistan had been sought as a solution of the Muslim

problem, but it had failed; now a new arrangement needed to be worked out. G. M. Syed, former Muslim League President of Sind, thinks that Pakistan should be a confederation of West Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan, and that this confederation should, in turn, have a confederal arrangement with India. More recently, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, President of Pakistan, said that there should be a confederation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is clear that geography and history are pulling the South Asian states in the direction of active cooperation, materialising, hopefully, into a confederation—with Common Defence and a Common Market. USA and Canada, once mortal enemies, are today fraternal states. France and Germany, which have waged two world wars in this century alone, are today good friends, united in commerce and defence. There is, therefore, no reason why India and Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, Sri Lanka and, hopefully, Afghanistan, cannot live in peace and cooperation in another decade or so, by the end of this very century. Such an institutional arrangement will need to have an ideological frame-work and emotional under-pinning. The RSS, as the key organisation of Hindus, could take a lead in thinking these things through to their logical conclusion.

Although the Partition of India roused feelings all round—action and reaction are equal and opposite—it is happy to note that relations are getting less and less bad. There is no hostility at the people's level. When all is said and done, Hindus and Muslims, of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, are "One People". India is one crucible, one cradle of civilization. We look alike, think alike, feel alike, talk alike, act alike, react alike. Our very idiom, gestures and proverbs are the same. Notwithstanding religious differences, our ways and values are alike. No other two people are as alike as Indians and Pakistanis. You have only to see Pakistani TV serials to realise how alike we are. It will bring tears of joy to your eyes.

Pakistan has a woman Prime Minister, just like India had one. In Bangladesh the two leading opposition leaders are both women. Can you imagine a woman leader either in Government or in Opposition, in Egypt or Arabia, Turkey or Iran? This is an expression of the Indian culture of Pakistan and Bangladesh. India and Pakistan are foolish enough to fight, but they are sensible enough to fight only for a few weeks, not and like "Islamic" Iran and Iraq, for years together. Pakistan Punjab feels that its National Day is Vaisakhi. Sindhi Muslims look upon Raja Dahir Sen as hero and Mohammed Bin Qasim as villain. When G.M. Syed was here, you know what he asked for? The Dohas of Kabir and the Bhajans of Mira—in Urdu script. I say we are One People. The unities of Geography, History, Race and Culture are too strong to be effaced by a change

of religious belief. It is immaterial whether, due to circumstances, we are one State or two or more. But we are One People all-right. Pakistan was like 'Delhi ka ladoo'; it looked so good Muslims would have regretted if they had not tasted it. But having tasted it, they regret having gone through it all. Appearances can be very deceptive. Perhaps we all had to have this experience through the process of trial and error, 'neti-neti', 'not this', 'not that' in our search for a mutually acceptable political system and arrangement.

We must neither white-wash history, nor wallow in it. The mediaeval invasions were only a continuation of earlier invasions by Huns, Shakas etc. It was the hungry hordes of Central Asia, invading and looting India and China, Iran and Russia. It is wrong to see Islam in it. Chenghiz Khan was a Buddhist, a bad Buddhist, not a Muslim. Turks waged played havoc with Arabs. Those mediaeval wars were waged for power and loot; religion was only a convenient slogan, a 'flag'. It would be as wrong for Hindus to blame all this violence on 'Islam' as it would be wrong for any sensible Muslim to take pride in it.

After all this loot and murder, India has emerged in reasonably good shape and even Muslim Indians are, socially, culturally and otherwise, 'Hindu'. India has every reason to be proud of its over-all performance through the trauma of the middle ages.

Today Pakistan is a separate state. Because it is Muslim, it can have better rapport with West Asia than India. But because in all other respects it is so very Indian, any Pakistani influence in West Asia actually amounts to so much more Pan-Indian influence in West Asia. Pakistan is basically an Indian bridge to West Asia. And bridges unite.

What we need today is a balanced view of history and a Great National Reconciliation in the 'Hindustan Peninsula'. The RSS can do this better than anybody else.

Hindu society looks upon RSS as the protector of Hindu interests par excellence. It takes a dim view of Congressmen and Communists in this respect. It will view any RSS initiative for a National Reconciliation as something that must be good for Hindus. Any such initiative by the so-called secular parties would be very much suspect in Hindu eyes.

I will give you just one example from contemporary history. In USA, the Democratic Party is considered soft on Communism and Russia. The Republican Party is considered tough in its resistance to

world communism. As a result the Democrats have never been able to have meaningful relations with communist Russia and China. It was Republican President Eisenhower who could sign the Korean peace, without any fear of being dubbed soft on communism. And it was Republican President Nixon who could likewise end the Vietnam war—again without any fear of being considered a softy. Also it was Nixon who dared recognise Communist China. And only Republican President Reagan could have joined hands with Gorbachov and ended the forty-year-old Cold War.

Such is the inwardness of the situation. The Hindu-Muslim problem is a great big problem remaining to be solved; and RSS can solve it better than any other party or movement.

The critical issue before the world today is not religious differences. We are not witnessing any war between Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism. The critical issue is the exploitation—economic, cultural, indeed total—of the weak by the strong. Within a country, the rich are ruling the roost in all sectors and at all levels. Internationally, the rich countries are exploiting the poor. These industrially and militarily strong countries are, by virtue of their power and prestige, able to impose their life style and life values on the rest of the world. The result is a rapid westernisation of India, and of many other countries, in the booming name of “modernisation”. Many in India perceive Pakistan as Enemy—indeed as Enemy No. 1. But not many of us pause to ponder that Pakistan, which is not even one-tenth the size of India, is a menace to us only because of the economic and military aid given to it by USA, for its own commercial and strategic reasons. But we tend to find fault with Pakistan—which is only a client state—and not with USA!

Likewise, it was the British policy of divide and rule after 1857 that set Hindus and Muslims against each other and led to Partition. But today Hindus blame Muslims, and Muslims blame Hindus, and nobody quite blames the “Angrez Bahadur”. We all have got to get our history right. And the RSS could help in the matter.

The objection to the western domination of Indian life and culture is basic. Domination and exploitation are wrong in themselves. Additionally, western technology is eco-destructive and socially-distintegrative. Its Cartesian reductionist philosophy has pitted man against Nature—as if man himself is not part of Nature! It permits ruthless destruction of nature in the service of the ever-growing appetites of man. The result is serious depletion of natural resources, grave disturbance of the eco-system and a level of pollution that is increasingly endangering all life forms.

We have to get back to our philosophy—and view the earth, the air, the water, the flora and the fauna, as sacred. We have to develop a technology with a philosophy that will be nature-protective and not nature-destructive. The whole world is going to need such a philosophy—and a matching technology—in the twenty-first century.

The world is becoming a Global Village. A World Culture is evolving. Today this culture is mostly western, American. But the ancient civilizations of India and China etc. have an infinite wealth of race experience. Let India come into its own and offer its treasures to the making of a balanced, evolving World Culture.

Such a world culture will be the core of the New World Religion. As the French savant Paul Martin Dubost puts it: “After two thousand years, India is no the agenda. India belongs to everybody. The melody of the Indian soul is something which never ceases to move us. India is the Soul on fire.” The “epoch of conflicts” in which, he says, “we are living, is nevertheless hastening to reach a universal consciousness in which all material and spiritual values, all the experiences of the great Saints of all disciplines, all religions and all countries could be accessible to all without distinction.” Indian thought, Indian experience, Indian values, Indian perceptions, Indian insights, Indian institutions will inevitably play a big role in all this. These are the great new perspectives that beckon to us. The RSS has come a long way since 1925; it has come a long way even since 1947. But it has an even longer way to go to fulfil itself not only as a decisive factor in the Hindustan Peninsula but as the fly-wheel of history the world over.

Let the RSS begin to play this historic, global role. That is the greatest tribute society can pay to the sacred memory of Dr. Hedgewar and his great successor, Shri Guruji Golwalkar.



Today, a large cross section of industries depends on Citurgia quality

Besides the traditional usage of citric acid in food, soft drinks, confectionery and drugs, today the uses of citric acid extend to new areas:

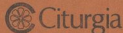
- * In the textile printing and dyeing industry, it provides 'STABLE pH' conditions for polyester and nylon. As also for Acrylic prints curing and cotton-resist printing. Citric acid has successfully replaced imported tartaric acid because of its excellent quality, low costs and easy availability. Also, it is a very safe acid compared to other organic and inorganic acid salts.

- * Citric acid prevents flavour deterioration, rancidity and discoloration in edible oils.

- * It imparts an acidic taste to dry powdered drinks.

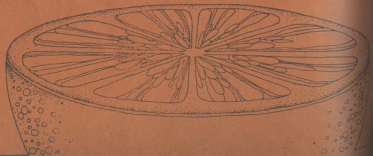
- * It is also used as a descaling solution.

Citurgia Biochemicals Ltd., is the largest producer of high quality citric acid in India. Besides catering to the domestic demand, Citurgia's citric acid is exported to USA, Japan, Germany, Australia, Iran, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and other countries.



CITURGIA BIOCHEMICALS LIMITED

Regd. Off: Nestle House, J. N. Heredia Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400 038
Tel. 266071, Gen. CITURGIA BOMBAY, TLX: 11-2572 BDM IN



Manthan

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

Vol. IX

No. 6

June 1989

निर्मन्थ्यध्वमतन्निता: (श्रीमद्भागवत 8-6-23)

Churn on diligently

Chairman

Nanaji Deshmukh

Editor & Publisher

K.R. Malkani

Deendayal Research
Institute

7-E, Swami Ramtirath
Nagar, Rani Jhansi Road
NEW DELHI-110 055

Phones : 526735, 526792

CONTENTS

1. Gandhians, RSS and Communists :
A Perspective

By : Sailendra Nath Ghosh 5

2. Article 356 Must go—If India
is to Survive as a Federation

By : Justice Guman Mal Lodha 25

3. The Age of the Vedas

By : N. R. Waradpande 33

4. The Cruel Joke of Panchayati Raj 49

5. DRI Discusses Afghan Issue 53

Subscription Rates

Life Member : Rs. 1,000

Single Copy : Rs. 5

Annual : Rs. 50

Foreign (Air) : £ 15

or \$ 25

(Sea) : £ 6

or \$ 10