



The RSS Goal of Hindu Rashtra
--*Savera*

RSS and the National Movement
--*Nalini Taneja*

RSS Fraudulent Claims of Nationalism
--*Teesta Setalvad*

The *Sangh's* bloody trail
--*Teesta Setalvad*

Terror in the name of Hindutva
--*A Compilation*

"RSS was Family": Gopal Godse,
younger brother of Nathuram Godse
--*Extracts from an interview*

On the Ban on RSS

Introduction

The CPI(M) is bringing out a series of six booklets entitled RSS Against India.

The booklets contain essays written by eminent intellectuals, political leaders and activists which have been grouped together to bring out different aspects of the retrograde and divisive role the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has played throughout its history and continues to do at present.

They include (1) The RSS role in India's freedom movement and its communal role in independent India (2) the RSS concept of Hindu Rashtra and its approach to caste, gender and adivasis (3) The "beef" politics of the RSS (4) the RSS understanding of neo-liberal economic policies and of the working classes (5) the RSS distortion of Science and History (6) speeches of General Secretary Sitaram Yechury and Polit Bureau member Md. Salim in the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha respectively during the debate in Parliament in November 2015, on "Constitution Day" and on "Growing Intolerance."

Several of the essays in these booklets quote from the published writings of RSS founders particularly from the writings of M.S.Golwalkar, the second Sarsanghchhalak of the RSS. It may be asked what relevance do these writings have to an analysis of contemporary activities of the RSS. These are texts which remain the fountainhead of RSS ideology, and continue to determine its world view and practice. Three quarters of a century may have passed since Golwalkar's *We—or our*

Nationhood Defined and a *Bunch of Thoughts* were written, but their toxic concepts have been articulated by RSS Chiefs throughout this period including the present RSS Chief, Mohan Bhagwat's statement that Hindustan is for Hindus. In all these years not in a single statement, writing or text in any of the publications of the RSS or its political wing the BJP has there been even a semblance of a distancing, leave alone a rejection, of any of the formulations made by RSS founders. On the contrary, the present Prime Minister has written a biographical profile of Golwalkar in his book "Jyotipunj" describing Golwalkar as one of his inspirations. Therefore the quotations used in the booklets to illustrate RSS ideology, some repeated, are relevant to an understanding of the "core" of this organization, which has been inspired by videshi fascists--Hitler's Nazis and Mussolini's Blackshirts.

The question may also be raised that are these exposures of the RSS at all necessary and do they not inadvertently enhance its importance? The RSS, as many of the essays in these booklets show, appeals to the lowest denominator in human behavior in inciting violence against "the other." In doing so it seeks to exploit religious feelings and utilises traditions and beliefs based on social and gender inequalities that still influence a substantial section of our people. Hindutva as preached by the RSS is a political concept coined by V.D.Savarkar, far from the world of ordinary Hindu believers. Those fighting against the utilization of religion for political ends need to be conscious of the dimensions of the battle.

Religion as a political tool is used by fundamentalist forces of various hues and in the name of various religious faiths. The role of Muslim fundamentalist forces who are increasing their reach among sections of Muslim youth are a matter of deep concern and they need to be isolated and fought back.

These forces are encouraged by majoritarian Hindu fundamentalists who falsely claim to represent the nation. These apparently opposing forces strengthen each other and divert attention from the basic problems of the people.

With the advent of the BJP Government led by Narendra Modi at the centre, the RSS not only has free access to the levers of power, which

it also in large measure enjoyed during Atal Behari Vajpayee's time, but it actually is in a position of control in this Government. When a roll call of Ministers is taken for the presentation of a report card to RSS leaders, it is clear who is calling the shots. It is therefore necessary to expose the RSS, its links to the Government and the extra constitutional power it wields today.

Further, Narendra Modi was a pracharak, a full time worker of the RSS owing total allegiance to its ideology, its theories and practice. For a pracharak to become the Prime Minister of India is a big step forward in the RSS project. Gujarat 2002 was a result as well as an experiment of the Hindu rashtra project under his leadership in which he was fully backed by the RSS. In 2013-2014, when differences arose in the BJP as to who should lead the party's bid for power in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, it was the RSS which not only backed Modi's candidature but directly intervened to silence the opposition of L.K.Advani and other senior leaders. The Prime Minister's refusal to take any action against those who are his colleagues in the RSS and are now in positions of power in the BJP in spite of their repeated communally provocative actions and statements is a reflection of his loyalty to the RSS. For India's Prime Minister it is RSS first.

It is thus necessary to provide the facts, the deeds and the analysis of what the RSS actually represents. We hope this series will be useful in the struggle to safeguard and strengthen the principles of secularism, democracy and equality.

On behalf of the central publications team we express our gratitude to the authors of these essays, and to the comrades and friends of the Party who helped bring out this series. We also thank the cartoonists for permission to use their work.

Brinda Karat

Polit Bureau Member

The RSS Goal of Hindu Rashtra

Savera

In the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, little did Indians voting for Modi led BJP know that they actually voted for the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Modi himself was a fulltime worker (pracharak) of this organization for over three decades. Most of the ministers are its long standing members as are a large number of the BJP's MPs. It is the ideology and thinking of RSS that imbues all these people, from the Prime Minister Modi downwards. It is their holding the reins of power that has emboldened dozens of shady outfits, all over the country to put into violent practice what the RSS has been propagating for the past 90 years. And, it is this that has created an atmosphere of strife and mistrust in India's social fabric, threatening to tear apart people's unity and drag the country into medieval darkness.

But what do the RSS and its cohorts want? What kind of India do they plan to build? What kind of society do they have in mind? And why is it so dangerous, so incendiary? Let us try to understand this.

The 'Hindu' Nation

The ultimate objective of the RSS is to build a Hindu Rashtra (Hindu Nation). M.S.Golwalkar the longest serving RSS supremo and source of most of its ideology wrote a book "We – Or Our Nationhood Defined" laying out in detail the RSS vision of the 'Hindu' Rashtra. Modi has

written a book painting him as a spiritual giant and visionary.

This 'nation' has lived in this land for "lakhs of years" as Golwalkar puts it, defying all known scientific evidence. It was a land of munificence, of spiritual geniuses, of divinity. Then the Hindus became complacent and numb, and the great land became "infested with murderous bands of despoilers" for the "last thousand years or less". This led to a decline of the Hindu people. Clearly, Golwalkar is blaming the Muslims for the so called decline. Now, the task is to rebuild and re-establish the great Hindu Nation.

The first defining characteristic of the Hindu Rashtra is that only Hindus can be part of it:

(I)n this country, Hindusthan, the Hindu Race with its Hindu Religion, Hindu Culture and Hindu Language, (the natural family of Sanskrit and her off-springs) complete the Nation concept: that, in fine, in Hindusthan exists and must needs exist the ancient Hindu nation and nought else but the Hindu Nation. All those not belonging to the national i.e. Hindu Race, Religion, Culture and Language, naturally fall out of the pale of real 'National' life. (p.99)

In this gem of Golwalkar, you can begin to see not only the supremacist colouring, the barely hidden violent hostility towards other faiths, but also the Sanskritised and Brahminical outlook. The Hindu Rashtra consists of people speaking languages of the Sanskrit family – that leaves out the Dravidian language family and most of the tribal languages. This would later translate into continuous hankering by the Sangh Parivar outfits including the BJP and its precursor, the Jan Sangh, for imposition of Hindi.

But what stands out is that all those who are not Hindu will fall outside the pale of national life. Later Golwalkar puts it even more directly:

At the outset we must bear in mind that so far as 'nation' is concerned, all those, who fall outside the five-fold limits of that idea, can have no place in the national life, unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture

and language of the Nation and completely merge themselves in the National Race. So long, however, as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners, who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation. (p. 101)

In other words, the non-Hindus – Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and many tribal communities – must either accept Hinduism or face life as a second-class citizen or worse. Lest there be any confusion, Golwalkar spells it out clearly, calling them ‘foreign races’:

....the foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment -not even citizen's rights. (p. 104-5)

Golwalkar was writing this book in the late 1930's when the Nazi party led by Adolf Hitler was on the cusp of seizing power in Germany. Naturally, Golwalkar was very impressed by what the Nazis were doing to the Jews, and he spells out his approval:

Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by. (p.88)

Now we can fully understand the RSS view of Muslims – either they should embrace Hinduism (“gharwapasi”) or face extermination. That is why repeatedly BJP leaders call for people protesting against their communal views to leave India and go to Pakistan. That is why they leave no stone unturned to incite violence against minorities in India,

actively instigating and participating in communal violence, like the Gujarat killings in 2002 when Modi was the chief minister.

In the RSS view, ‘nationalism’ and ‘patriotism’ are narrowly and erroneously defined as valid only so long as their objective is the glorification of Hinduism. Any other activity is anti-national and such people traitors. This is what Golwalkar says on this:

..only those movements are truly ‘National’ as aim at re-building, re-vitalizing and emancipating from its present stupor, the Hindu Nation. Those only are nationalist patriots, who, with the aspiration to glorify the Hindu race and Nation next to their heart, are prompted into activity and strive to achieve that goal. All others are either traitors, and enemies to the National cause, or, to take a charitable view, idiots. (p. 99-100)

The Theocratic State

What these thoughts of Golwalkar spell out, is a vision of a theocratic state, with its official guiding principle, the Sanatan Dharm (the mainstream ritualistic interpretation of Hindu scriptures and mythology). What would this theocratic state be like?

There are some very contemporary examples of countries ruled by religious fanatics. Afghanistan during the Taliban rule (1992-2001) was one, and more recently the ISIS held area in Syria and Iraq is another. The Islamic law was the guiding principle for governance and policy making in these countries. Very similar are the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (where women can't go out alone and got the right to vote just recently), or Iran, although the latter has embraced some modern elements in its polity. Even Pakistan officially has Islam as its guiding principle since Gen. Zia-ul Haque's reign (1978-88). Another mutant of the theocratic state is Israel, forcibly created and functioning on the basis of strict Hebrew principles. All these states practice extreme forms of violence, not only against a targeted religious or ethnic minority, but they also violently suppress followers of the state religion too.

The experience of these theocratic states also shows that they are unable

to control divisions and strife within the people who are of the same religion. Muslim majority East Pakistan suffered at the hands of the West Pakistani rulers till they gained independence to form Bangladesh in 1971. Nepal, the only declared Hindu state in the world was governed by a ruthless monarchy that tyrannized its own people, leading to a 10-year long armed uprising which threw out the monarchy and established a republic. Worldwide experience shows that religion cannot become the basis of making a modern country with diverse people.

Perhaps, it might be said that we are going too far in thinking that the RSS is wanting such a Hindu state in India. But make no mistake: this is what they want. This is what Golwalkar's thoughts, the guiding principles of the RSS-BJP, show. This is why, just after Independence, Organiser the mouthpiece of RSS demanded that instead of the Constitution, the Manusmriti be enacted as the law of the land (*see issues dated 30th November, 1949 and 25th January 1950*). Manusmriti is a treatise said to be written by the sage Manu laying down the Hindu principles of individual and collective life. It includes shocking prescriptions against women and dalits, so much so that Dr.Ambedkar publicly burnt a copy of the Manusmriti as an act of protest.

Golwalkar says that democracy is a Western construct which is not suitable for India. The Hindu Rashtra, he writes (Shri Guruji Samagra Vol.5 pp.89-90), should be justly governed by a group of people who are selfless and self-sacrificing. Not only does this apparently naïve view hide a fascistic vision but it also invokes the age-old varnashram (four caste) system wherein the rulers were Brahmins, mythically thought to be poor but all knowing, and they ruled over the warriors and the traders, and of course the whole laboring classes.

Interestingly, the RSS is itself organized in this fascistic manner. There are no elections in the RSS. The supremo – sarsanghchhalak – is appointed by the predecessor. All sarsanghchhalaks till date have been Brahmins. Below him are state or region level supremos, and so on down to the shakhapramukh. There are military drills, parades and march-pasts, a special salute, a uniform, singing of 'patriotic' songs – all like the Nazis, down to the khaki shorts and black cap.

What about the people?

So, in this vision of the Hindu Rashtra, where do the people fit in? What do they do, how do they live, what is the aim of life? According to the RSS, as spelt out by Golwalkar, the purpose of life is to lead a religious existence and ultimately attain moksha (eternal bliss, free of the cycle of existence). He roundly and extensively condemns the pursuit of physical pleasures and things. He calls them necessary evils that one should not obsess about. This takes care of any demand or aspiration of the common people to break the bonds of extreme poverty, unemployment, disease, ignorance and all manner of oppression.

Details of economic policy to be followed by the Hindu Rashtra are sketchy and childish. Golwalkar rails against heavy industrialization (Vol.9 p.59) and wants the villages to become self-sufficient (Vol.5 pp 13-14). He stresses use of cow dung for boosting production (Vol.5 pp 65-68). He sheds the usual tears over poverty and criticizes those who merely raise slogans for eradicating it. Then, in an incredible display of either naiveté or deviousness, he recommends that for eliminating poverty, every Hindu should keep aside a fistful of grain every day for the poor and hungry (Vol.5 p.92)!

But what is the solution? He writes (Vol.5 pp 263-265) that the only way of eradicating poverty is for people to stop being selfish and start working harder, with greater honesty, adding to national resources. This is the foundation on which the great Hindu Rashtra will be built and become a beacon of hope for the whole world! What this means is that the vast laboring classes should blindly work for the 'nation' without getting upset about more wages or facilities, just receiving enough for their immediate survival needs. The rest of the wealth they create can be spread around.

What about capitalists and landlords who monopolise vast means of production like land and machinery, and capital? Golwalkar suggests that 'a change of heart' is what is expected from them so that they stop collecting wealth and start sharing it (vol.2 p. 100-101)! This is the Gandhian type solution, a favorite of all apologists of capitalism and exploitation. Golwalkar calls it an 'Indian' solution – in fact it is neither

Indian nor a solution to the relentless class exploitation that is the hallmark of all human societies.

This glossing over the nuts and bolts of the economic realities, the intense exploitation under which millions in India labour, just to fill the coffers of landlords and industrialist, looks naïve but seen in the context of RSS's other pronouncements about the greatness of Hinduism reveals the true nature of the Hindu Rashtra. It is merely an instrument to fool the people, drive them into the blind alley of religious fanaticism. All the while, a fascistic control will be exercised so that the economic and social elite, those who own land and industry, the upper castes and their camp followers can make merry and reap the profits of this pious population.

Can the RSS succeed?

This terrifying vision of a theocracy rooted in unscientific and medieval ideas if presented to the people of India in its true form will be rejected lock, stock and barrel. The world, and India, have gone far beyond what a group of well-heeled upper caste men thought decades ago in Nagpur. The people of India have successfully fought against and thrown out one of the most powerful colonial empires ever seen. In this they forged a unity that cut across religions, castes and ethnic or linguistic divides. It is true that the dreams of an equitable society based on reason and fraternity have not yet been realized because the ruling classes of Independent India have continued to sow division among people. But the people know, through their daily life and experience that religion cannot be the path of collective emancipation. If that was the case no Hindu worker would suffer brutal exploitation and humiliation at the hands of his Hindu employer, no dalit would be raped or killed by Hindu landlords.

But we have to fight and defeat the spread of RSS and its cohorts because in their drive to attain their goal, the RSS and its fronts like the BJP will continue to bleed India, spread divisive hatred and poison and try to break the unity of people. This drive has gained momentum because of the BJP coming to power. They see this as a mandate to penetrate deeply into the society, subvert all its democratic institutions and create conditions for extending their rule by hook or by crook.

RSS and the National Movement

Nalini Taneja

In the aftermath of Mahatma Gandhi's murder, under pressure from widespread popular anger and the Central Government ban, the RSS in order to get the ban lifted and perhaps retrieve some loss of image and credibility, was forced to declare that it was not a political organization : that it was, in fact, a social-cultural organization. It is primarily a social-cultural organization, with numerous political affiliates. Its everyday cultural activism has been the basis, the foundational element, in its fascistic agenda of the Hindu Rashtra.

For the RSS the freedom movement stands incomplete until a Hindu Rashtra is established, the efforts for which were given a firm organizational base with the formation of the RSS in 1925. The core of this Rashtra is hegemony of the Brahmanical social order, in all its aspects.

The blueprint for a homogenous, militarised notion of the nation, completely elite, hegemonised by the upper caste, was ready before Independence. A transformation, *as fundamental* as we see today, of religion itself and of festivals and rituals, and the hate-filled campaigns on cow, population, conversions, temples, diet, on a secular understanding of history, were part of the mobilisational strategy of the forces of Hindu communalism during the entire course of the nationalist upsurge.

I

The RSS (Rashtriya Swyamsevak Sangh) came into being in the era of the aggressive nationalisms of the twentieth century in Europe and a triumphant socialism in the Soviet Union – a fertile soil for revolutionary anti-colonial movements as well as for the authoritarian, fascist movements.

The historic impact of the Russian revolution of 1917 was quite visible. Bhagat Singh and his comrades and all other progressive, socialist and communist groups in the country, and sections of the Congress, were inspired by this heritage. Revolutionary nationalism and the creation of communist groups, culminating in the formation of the Communist Party of India, was a part of this process.

The RSS represented the opposite pole: it took its inspiration from the fascist powers in Italy and Germany, along with their authoritarianism, racism, ideas of a ‘golden past’ to justify their reactionary social and political agenda, and the much celebrated preoccupation with an Aryan identity. This was combined by it with selected elements from the revivalist thought of the nineteenth century in India and from colonial perceptions of Indian history and society. The RSS promoted a vision of the nation diametrically opposed to that reflected in the aspirations of the left groups, and of Phule, Periyar, and Ambedkar. Its vision of the nation contained nothing for the majority – the working people or the oppressed. The RSS was formed with the express purpose of confronting the rise of the anti-caste movements and left ideology and groups in order to defend the existing social order (Varnashram dharma, caste system).

The 1920s and the 30s were decades of mass anti-colonial movements, with the non-cooperation movement being its first nation-wide manifestation. It is instructive to note the contrasting campaigns of the Hindustan Republican Association (formed in 1924) and its manifesto ‘The Revolutionary’ which declared its commitment to secularism and revolution in 1925, and the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha.

In contrast to a secular republic, in which every one was envisaged as an equal citizen, the RSS and its political affiliates stood for *Hindusthan*

or an exclusionary Hindu *Rashtra*, which would retain the ideals of the oppressive caste system reflected in the *Manusmriti*:

...the foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen’s rights. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt. We are an old nation: let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races who have chosen to live in our country. (*We-or Our Nationhood Defined*)

It actively promoted contentious and sectarian issues in social, everyday life. There was a proliferation of *gauraksha* samitis, and militant assertions of its sacredness. These aggressive campaigns against cow slaughter were turned into hate propaganda against the Muslims. Campaigns over conversions, based on British census that recorded religious affiliations, were used for aggressive *shuddhi* campaigns and creation of paranoia over Hindus becoming a ‘minority’ in ‘their own land’, much like today’s *gharwapsi*. Religious processions became occasions for aggressive playing of music in front of mosques to coincide with *namaz* timings, and of course the familiar placing carcasses of cows in temples and pigs in mosques is a ‘strategy’ that dates to pre-Independence days.

The Hindu ‘golden age’ and the ‘Muslim atrocities’ of the Mughals, forced conversions, destruction of temples by Muslims, the *veergatha* of ‘thousands’ of years-old struggle of ‘Hindu martyrs’ against ‘foreign’ rule (with no respect even for chronology), identification of history, nation and self-hood, and all of it encapsulated within a Hinduism that was already being given the modern shape of *Hindutva*, were themes regularly and routinely featured in their publications: Gita Press had been established in the 1920s, *Hindu Panch* was a vitriolic magazine, and leaflets and public meetings were in abundance. By the 1940s there were a lot more magazines, and by late 1940s a number of newspapers

with a committed readership beyond their cadres. Hindi-Hindu-Hindusthan was created as a corollary to Urdu-Muslim-Pakistan.

They formed their Rashtriya Sevika Samiti, for women and their various fronts for students and youth to promote their own exclusionary vision of the nation. They were extremely aggressive in defense of the caste system, even as they saw the gains to be made in creating 'Hindu unity': they saw Congress as incapable of defending it in the form propounded by the Vedas. "India first" in everything, from science to culture, was proclaimed by them even as they remained subservient in their attitudes to the British: in fact they completely accepted and carried forward the colonial views on Indian history, as they do even today.

The Muslims were an enemy to them, as they are today, despite the fact of their having fought for freedom in large numbers, quite unlike the cadres of the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha. Historiography is replete with reference to the lakhs of Muslims who participated in the mass movements of 1857, non-co-operation, civil disobedience and Quit India, and were imprisoned and martyred. In the Singapore Mutiny of 1915, Muslim Sepoys of 15th Light infantry, inspired by the Ghadar movement, carried out the biggest mutiny after 1857, with 49 of them summarily executed by being shot dead. Names like, Muzaffar Ahmed, Ashfaqullah Khan, Hasrat Mohani, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Asaf Ali, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Badruddin Tyabji, Abul Kalam Azad are only some of the household names.

Communists, also characterized as anti-national by the RSS were not only exemplary freedom fighters, but also organized the workers, peasants and youth to fight not just the British, but also the Indian ruling classes who oppressed them. There are thousands of them. In fact, two communists -Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Swami Kumarananda - first moved a resolution for complete independence at the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress (1921). It was the communists who led the Tebhaga and Telengana struggles and the Adivasi revolts in Worli.

The fledgling Communist Party was under severe attack by the British. In the decade of the 1920s a series of cases were foisted on communist leaders who were jailed and sentenced such as the Peshawar

Conspiracy cases, the Meerut conspiracy case, in which Muzaffar Ahmad got "transportation for life", and the Kanpur Conspiracy case.

And what were the leaders and cadres of the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha doing? Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, popularized in Vidya Bharti texts and in RSS folklore as "Veer" Savarkar, even apologized to the British and collaborated with them. In 1907 (in his book on 1857) he was referring to 1857 as the *first* manifestation of Hindu-Muslim coming together, for a pragmatic reason, in an otherwise 'centuries long conflict' and the 'continuing struggle of Hindus against the foreigners (Muslims)'. By 1913 he clearly and unambiguously broke away from India's freedom movement and adopted a public position expressing this break. He assured freedom for himself from the Andaman Jail promising good behaviour in the future: text of this, second, petition is printed in RC Majumdar's *Penal Settlement in the Andamans*, and its facsimile also in *Frontline* (April 7, 1995, p. 94). By 1924 he had elaborated on Hindutva (his book *Hindutva*), which treated the vast Muslim minority as enemies (with a call to *Hinduise all politics and militarise Hindudom*). He collaborated with the British, and routinely took positions opposed to the mass movements against the British and Congress when it organized anti-British movements; he proudly subscribed to the two-nation theory in his presidential speeches to the Hindu Mahasabha; and after independence his role in Gandhi murder, of which he was absolved only for lack of corroborating evidence. Incidentally, there is an instance also of Vajpayee doing the collaboration with the British during the Quit India movement; by becoming 'approver' leading to arrest of some freedom fighters (Manini Chatterjee, VK Ramachandran, *Frontline*, Vol.15, No. 3, Feb. 7-20, 1998).

The RSS' chief mode of intervention in the nationalist upsurge was to instigate and engineer riots, bring 'communal conflicts' on par with nationalist slogans, to express agreement on the two nation theory on grounds of the 'enemy within'. The propaganda and agitational methods of its affiliates were focused on using violence to divide the Indian people, and are well documented.

The dual membership of Congress-Hindu Mahasabha – Moonje, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, NB

Khare, to name only the most well known – ensured the influence of the Hindu communalist perspectives within the Congress right wing and its pressure on Nehru and the socialists within the Congress in the years preceding Independence.

The RSS and Hindu Mahasabha were instrumental in the formation of the Bhonsala Military School in Nasik-Nagpur region in Maharashtra (1937), with the express aim of training Hindu cadres, also encouraging Hindus to join the British army: so that they may receive training, establish good relations with the princely states with possible takeover/penetration into their armies. They organized their cadres along the lines of the Nazi/fascist organisations; Golwalkar's *We or Our Nationhood Defined* and *Bunch of Thoughts*, read like an inspiration from the ideas of Hitler and Mussolini. They established actual links with these organisations in Germany and Italy. Some of the worst Muslim massacres took place in the princely states, the role of the RSS-Mahasabha cadres being recorded in many scholarly researches (Hyderabad, Jammu, Alwar-Bharatpur-Mewat, Patiala to name a few). In Delhi, these organisations had a strong base even before Partition and the influx of refugees in 1947 and their cadres were instrumental in killing and hounding out thousands of Muslims not necessarily keen on going to Pakistan. The forceful eviction of Muslims, the 'rioting', the connivance of police and administrative officials in and around Delhi, is described in detail in many books, as is their role in Bengal and Punjab. The Communist Party documents of the time, including *Bleeding Punjab Warns* (Dhanwantri and PC Joshi report), describe the activities of the RSS in Punjab. The upsurge of popular movements and the cries of *inquilab zindabad* – from Tebhaga, Telengana, Worli, RIN mutiny, sailors' protests in Karachi, Punnapra-Vayalar, the protests against INA trials – were followed by the 'partition riots'. The Muslim League too was by then a force to reckon with, a factor in the politics of the years immediately preceding independence, leading its demand for Pakistan.

For RSS, the years 1946-51 were years of hate campaigns against Muslims, the blame game for partition, virulent propaganda against Gandhi and Ambedkar and Nehru, and against the communists.

With the formation of the Jan Sangh in 1951, the RSS had already formed its political party, disturbed not just by the massive public support for Congress after the Gandhi murder, but also that communists emerged as the second largest majority in the first elections in independent India.

South Asia has seen various kinds of fundamentalisms during the course of the twentieth century, but nothing to compare, in size and reach, with the campaigns for the Hindu Rashtra. Their Akhand Bharat meant in practice essentially a divided India: the experience of Independence and the new India would certainly have been happier without the force that the ideas of the RSS and its affiliates have carried in our social milieu.

The role of the RSS throughout its history has been one of communal divisiveness. While India was fighting for its freedom, the RSS and its organisations worked to destroy peoples unity, in the name of religion.

In other words the RSS stood against India.



RSS Fraudulent Claims of Nationalism

Teesta Setalvad

Article 14 of the Indian Constitution says: “The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.”

But, here is what M.S. Golwalkar, ideologue in chief of the RSS writes in his book *We-Or Our Nationhood Defined* (1938): “The non-Hindu in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu religion.... or may stay in the country wholly subordinate to the Hindu nation claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less an preferential treatment, not even citizen’s right.” This book is the ideological fountainhead for RSS members and followers.

This perversion of the concept of India as a secular democratic republic defined in our Constitution to a theocratic and supremacist one is what is straining to tear apart India today. To counter this grave threat, we need to understand what the RSS is and what its history has been.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is only the political wing of the RSS. Most of its leaders, who are now occupying Constitutional posts as Prime Minister or other Ministers, pledge their allegiance to the RSS. Although it poses as a cultural organisation, the RSS is actually the core political outfit from where the notion of a ‘Hindu Nation’ flows, directing its various arms like the BJP etc. to act for this goal.

The Nation according to RSS

While giving a distorted definition of the ‘nation’, the RSS seeks to build an all-Hindu label on a social and economic order legitimised by scripture that excludes a section of its own people (the *sudras and atisudra castes*) from fundamental rights.¹ And, while doing so, it usurps for itself, an exclusive claim to nation-building and patriotism. India is to become a Hindu nation, governed by laws laid down in ancient Hindu scriptures – and the RSS (along with its parivar) will lead this change.

The germ and essence of this perspective as summed up in Golwalkar’s book is terrifyingly straight for ward. Aspiring to create a Hindu nation on the lines of the supremacy of the German race and nation as visualised by Adolf Hitler, he has underlined the superior and inferior races within India,

“The foreign races in Hindustan (read all Muslims and Christians) must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges far less any preferential treatment - not even citizen’s rights. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt.”

Golwalkar heaps fulsome praise for the way Nazis led by Hitler are successfully implementing a similar program in Germany. Here is what he writes:

“German race and pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races - the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by.”

An Italian researcher Marzia Casolari has shown how, in the 1930s, Hindu ultra-nationalism learnt from European fascism the policy of transforming ‘different’ people into enemies. Leaders of militant Hinduism repeatedly expressed their admiration for authoritarian leaders such as Mussolini and Hitler and for the fascist model of society.²

RSS and the Struggle for India’s Freedom

Going by the loud claims made by the RSS about its nationalism and patriotic fervour, you may think that it must have played a big role in India’s struggle for freedom. But, that is not the case. Although RSS was founded in 1925, it has no heroes from the national movement because they were not in any way involved in fighting the British colonial powers.

One of their icons is VD Savarkar, founder of Hindu Mahasabha from which RSS split off. In 2002, two months after the genocidal carnage in Gujarat, the first NDA government named the Andaman airport after him. Unlike other patriots like Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Ashfaqullah, who refused to ask the British Raj for mercy even at the cost of their lives, Savarkar, the father of the BJP’s Hindutva ideology, had actually sought clemency while lodged in Andamans’ Cellular Jail.

In his letter asking for forgiveness dated November 14, 1913, Savarkar described himself as a “prodigal son” longing to return to the “parental doors of the government”³ While referring to his earlier letter of clemency in 1911, Savarkar wrote:

“...if the government in their manifold beneficence and mercy release me, I for one cannot but be the staunchest advocate of constitutional progress and loyalty to the English government which is the foremost condition of that progress. if we are released, the people will raise a shout of joy and gratitude to the government, who knows how to forgive and correct, more than how to chastise and avenge.”

Savarkar went on to add:

“Moreover, my conversion to the constitutional line would bring back all those misled young men in India and abroad

who were once looking up to me as their guide. I am ready to serve the government in any capacity they like, for as my conversion is conscientious so I hope my future conduct would be. By keeping me in jail, nothing can be got in comparison to what would be otherwise. The Mighty alone can afford to be merciful and, therefore, where else can the prodigal son return but to the parental doors of the government.”

The RSS and its role in India’s struggle for freedom is as shameful. The RSS kept totally aloof from the many anti-British movements of the 1930-40s, like the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-31, the Quit India struggle of 1942, the Azad Hind Fauj, the 1945-46 upsurge around the INA trials and the revolt of the Navy at Bombay. This is described in detail in the book *Khakhi Shorts and Saffron Flags* (Orient Longman) written by historians after thorough research.

Like all communal organizations, including Jinnah’s Muslim league, RSS grew after the communal holocaust of 1946-47 ignited by Jinnah’s call for direct action. The Calcutta killings of August 1946, that drove Gandhiji to despair, was described as its ‘finest hour’ by the RSS.

RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha opposed the Quit India Movement

Shyama Prasad Mookherjee (the founder of Jan Sangh, the precursor to BJP) was the finance minister in the Bengal government headed by a member of the Muslim League, Fazal Haque. When Mahatma Gandhi raised the slogan of “Quit India”, Mookherjee did not think fit to resign on August 9, 1942.⁴ On the contrary, he opposed the Quit India Movement in Bengal and made the following proposal:

“The question is how to combat this movement (Quit India) in Bengal? The administration of the province should be carried on in such a manner that in spite of the best efforts of the Congress, this movement will fail to take root in the province. It should be possible for us, especially responsible ministers, to be able to tell the public that the freedom for which the Congress has started the movement, already belongs to the representatives of the people. In some spheres, it might be

limited during the emergency. Indians have to trust the British, not for the sake of Britain, not for any advantage that the British might gain, but for the maintenance of the defence and freedom of the province itself. You, as governor, will function as the constitutional head of the province and will be guided entirely on the advice of your ministers.”

The Hindu Mahasabha was in a coalition government with the Muslim League in Sind and the Sind Assembly passed a resolution endorsing the demand for the creation of Pakistan. Mookherjee and other Mahasabha leaders did not think fit to resign from the government. Mahasabha president Savarkar, mentor of LK Advani, issued a directive that they should stick to the government position and continue to perform their regular duties and not resign. In fact, they even passed a resolution on August 31, 1942 asking all Mahasabha members to remain at their jobs and oppose the Quit India Movement.⁵

RSS and Godse, the killer of Mahatma Gandhi

Within months of NDA II coming to power in May 2014, this time headed by a man who began his political life as a *pracharak*, the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha began to clamour for the valorisation of Nathuram Godse, the killer of Mahatma Gandhi. The Global Hindu Foundation had urged the Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD) to ensure that Nathuram Godse is treated as a ‘national hero’ who must be represented as such in Indian school text books.⁶ The letter, completely distorting history states that Godse “fought for independence from the British.” The letter was posted on the home page of savetemples.org, the website of the “Mission to Save Hinduism and Hindu Temples”. Touted as a ‘Project of Global Hindu Heritage Foundation, (GHHF) USA’, the mission operates out of the ‘Save Temple Office’ opened in Hyderabad city in June 2012.

Soon after this NRI-driven advocacy, on December 11, 2014, BJP Member of Parliament Sakshi Maharaj called Nathuram Godse a patriot⁷. Following an uproar in the Rajya Sabha where the ruling party remains in a minority, he was forced to apologise. The same Sakshi Maharaj had days before spewed venom against madrasas⁸ and by extension, Indian Muslims, and even more recently, exhorted Hindu

women to produce at least four children in the service of the faith and nation⁹.

The RSS driven hatred for Mahatma Gandhi and their involvement in the killing is what explains their brazen worship of Nathuram Godse. On January 19, 1998, in an interview published in *Outlook*, RSS Sarsanghchalak, Rajju Bhairya justified Godse’s action thus: “Godse was motivated by (the philosophy of) Akhanda Bharat. *Uske mantavya achhe the par usne achhe uddeshya ke liye galat method istemal kiya* (His intention was good but he used the wrong method for the right goal).”

India’s Home Minister Sardar Patel’s letter to the then RSS chief, Golwalkar, following the assassination is telling. He says clearly that “RSS men distributed sweets after Gandhi’s assassination”. The letter dated September 11, 1948, is quoted in full in Desraj Goel’s *Rahstriya Swayamsevak Sangh*. The entire text:

“.....You are very well aware of my views on the RSS. I have expressed these thoughts at Jaipur in December last year and at Lucknow in January. The people had welcomed those views. I had hoped that your people also would accept them. But they appear to have no effect on the RSS persons, nor was there any change in their programmes. There can be no doubt that the RSS did service to the Hindu Society. In the areas where there was the need for help and organisation, the young men of the RSS protected women and children and strove much for their sake. No person of understanding could have a word of objection regarding that. But the objectionable part arose when they, burning with revenge, began attacking Mussalmans. Organising Hindus and helping them is one thing but going in for revenge for its sufferings on innocent and helpless men, women and children is quite another thing.

Apart from this, their opposition to the Congress, that too of such virulence, disregarding all considerations of personal-ity, decency or decorum, created a kind of unrest among the people. All their speeches were full communal poison. It was not necessary to spread poison and enthuse the Hindus and organise for their protection. As a final result of the poison,

the country had to suffer the sacrifice of the valuable life of Gandhiji. Even an iota of sympathy of the Government or of the people no more remained for the RSS. In fact the opposition grew. Opposition turned more severe, when the RSS men expressed joy and distributed sweets after Gandhiji's death. Under these conditions it became inevitable for the Government to take action against the RSS.

Since then, over six months have elapsed. We have hoped that after this lapse of time, with full and proper consideration the RSS persons would come to the right path. But from the reports that come to me, it is evident that attempts to put fresh life into their same old activities are afoot....”

RSS attitude towards India's birth as a new nation and its Flag

Organiser, the RSS, English organ in its third issue (July 17, 1947) was highly disturbed by the Constituent Assembly's decision to select the Tricolour as the National Flag. It carried an editorial titled 'National Flag', demanding that the saffron flag be chosen instead. The same demand continued to be raised in editorials on the eve of Independence of India (July 31 editorial titled 'Hindusthan' and August 14, 1947 editorial titled 'Whither') simultaneously rejecting the whole concept of a composite nation. The August 14 issue also carried 'Mystery behind the Bhagwa Dhvaj' (saffron flag) which while demanding hoisting of saffron flag at the ramparts of Red Fort in Delhi, openly denigrated the choice of the Tri-colour as the National Flag in the following words:

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

RSS was always opposed to any recognition of India's vast and rich diversity, be it diversity of language, faith or culture. Golwalkar, while addressing a gathering in Nagpur on July 14, 1946, stated that it was the saffron flag which in totality represented their great culture. It was the embodiment of God: “We firmly believe that in the end the whole nation

will bow before this saffron flag,” he declared.

Even after Independence when the Tricolour became the National Flag, the RSS refused to accept it. The first time that the National Tricolour was unfurled at the RSS Headquarters was in 2000 after NDA came to power.

The RSS has only used the Tricolour to whip up frenzy against Muslims. In 1991 (Ekta Yatra) it was Murli Manohar Joshi, another favourite in the RSS hierarchy, who went to unfurl the Tricolour at Lal Chowk of Srinagar, Kashmir. Uma Bharti carried a Tricolour because it was an Idgah which was being targeted by Hindutva. On the other hand, it is important to note that the Hindutva cadres who went to demolish Babri mosque in 1992 did not carry the Tricolour. They carried only saffron flags which were subsequently hoisted there. The RSS is faced with a peculiar dilemma. For Hindus it has saffron flag and for Muslims Tricolour.

The history of the RSS and its pride in that history is what permeates and informs its actions in India today posing a challenge to the fundamental pillars of India's constitution.

-
- 1 The sudra castes are the toiling castes, agrarian and artisan while the atisudras are the ones called untouchable (Dalit) made exclusively to perform menial and manual tasks.
 - 2 'Hindutva's Foreign Tie-up in the 1930s - Archival Evidence', Economic and Political Weekly, January 22, 2000.
 - 3 The Letter is reprinted in a book, *Penal Settlement In Andamans*, published by the Gazetteers Unit of Union ministry of education
 - 4 *The Genesis of the RSS*, Govind Sahai
 - 5 *Ibid*
 - 6 <http://www.sabrang.com/news/2014/ccxclupart1Nov15.htm>, 'Godse is a National Hero who must be Taught about in Schools' — Global Hindu Foundation to Government of India, Teesta Setalvad
 - 7 www.ndtv.com
 - 8 <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/bjp-unnao-mp-sakshi-maharaj-claims-madrasas-offering-cash-rewards-for-love-jihad/>
 - 9 <http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/hindu-women-must-have-at-least-4-children-says-bjp-s-sakshi-maharaj-645239>

The Sangh's bloody trail

Teesta Setalvad

Hindutva communal organisations have maintained that it is always the Muslims who start riots, forcing “justifiable retaliatory acts by Hindus in self-defence”. But virtually every single officially appointed judicial commission to probe into the cause of riots in different parts of the country has found the RSS and other majoritarian communal outfits guilty. We reproduce some excerpts below:

Report of the Justice Jagmohan Reddy Commission of Inquiry investigating the Ahmedabad riots of 1969:

“There was not only a failure of intelligence and culpable failure to suppress the outbreak of violence but (also) deliberate attempts to suppress the truth from the Commission, especially the active participation in the riots of some RSS and Jana Sangh leaders.”

Report of the Justice DP Madon Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Disturbances at Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad of 1970:

“.....In his report to his superiors, the SP, Thane district has stated, “I found that a section of Hindu elements, particularly the RSS and some PSP men, were bent upon creating mischief. Their idea in accompanying the procession was not so much to pay respects to the Great Shivaji but to establish their right and, if possible, to provoke and humiliate Muslims.”

"It was in 1970 that for the first time propaganda was carried on in

villages exhorting villagers to participate in the Shiv Jayanti procession in Bhiwandi and this was the first year when villagers were mobilised to participate by the Rashtriya Utsav Mandal, an offshoot of the Jana Sangh, and the SS and the object of these organisations in bringing villagers to participate was ‘to intimidate the Muslims’, the participants carried *lathis* to which *bhagwa* (saffron) flags were tied, banners of the three organisations, the Jana Sangh, the RUM and the SS, were displayed by processionists.

The villagers shouted provocative, anti-Muslim slogans, behaved aggressively, threw *gulal* on the Moti Masjid at Bangad Galli and Hyderi mosque situated at the junction of Dargah Road and Sutar Galli aided by a passive police.”

Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Tellicherry Disturbance, 1971, Justice Joseph Vithyathil:

"In Tellicherry the Hindus and Muslims were living as brothers for centuries. The ‘Mopla riots’ did not affect the cordial relationship that existed between the two communities in Tellicherry. It was only after the RSS and the Jana Sangh set up their units and began activities in Tellicherry that there came a change in the situation. Their anti-Muslim propaganda, its reaction on the Muslims who rallied round their communal organisation, the Muslim League, which championed their cause, and the communal tension that followed prepared the background for their disturbances."

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Disturbances at Jamshedpur, April 1979:

“The evidence of government officials shows that after the communal riots of 1964, the Ram Navmi Festival, like other festivals, became the occasion for greater vigilance and alertness for the law and order authorities; simultaneously, the number of Ram Navmi processions kept on increasing till it had risen to 79 in the year 1979. In the run up to the communal build up before the elections prepared by the Intelligence Branch, Jamshedpur (dated March 23, 1979) there was special mention made to the Divisional Conference of the RSS scheduled to be held on March 31 and April 1 in which, among others, the RSS *sarsanghchalak* was to participate.

The dispute on the route of the procession (the administration after consideration had denied permission for the route to pass through Muslim areas) became sharp and agitated reactions from a group of persons calling themselves the “Sanyukt Bajrang Bali Akhara Samiti” who systematically distributed pamphlets to heighten communal feelings and had organisational links with the RSS. A call for the defiance of the authority and the administration when it refused permission for one of the routes led to a violent mob protesting and raising anti-Muslim slogans and thereafter an incendiary leaflet doing the rounds of Jamshedpur (issued on behalf of the “Sri Ramnavmi Kendriya Akhara Samiti”) that is nothing short of an attempt to rouse the sentiments of Hindus to a high pitch and to distort events and show some actions as attacks on Hindus that appear to be part of a design.

A survey had already established that all policemen, *hawaladars*, home guards etc. were at heart ready to give support to them (Hindu communalist organisations). This not only shows the extent of the planning that had been going on, but also how the people in general were being assured of protection from punitive action by the police due to the alleged attitude of its subordinate formations.”

Justice Venugopal Commission of Inquiry into the Kanyakumari riots of 1982 (prolonged confrontation between Hindus and Christians):

“The RSS adopts a militant and aggressive attitude and sets itself up as the champion of what it considers to be the rights of Hindus against minorities. It has taken upon itself to teach the minorities their place and if they are not willing to learn their place to teach them a lesson. The RSS methodology for provoking communal violence is:

- a) Rousing communal feelings in the majority community by the propaganda that Christians are not loyal citizens of this country;
- b) Deepening the fear in the majority community by clever propaganda that the population of the minorities is increasing and that of the Hindus is decreasing;
- c) Infiltrating into the administration and inducing the members of the civil and police services by adopting and developing communal attitudes;

- d) Training young people of the majority community in the use of weapons like daggers, swords and spears;
- e) spreading rumours to widen the communal cleavage and deepen communal feelings by giving a communal colour to any trivial incident.”

The Srikrishna report on the communal violence in Bombay in 1993 indicted BJP and Shiv Sena leaders as well as policemen. However no action was taken by the Congress Government to implement the recommendations of action against those responsible.

Liberhan Commission

After thousands of RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal workers, led by a galaxy of their leaders, forcibly demolished the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on 6 December 1992, the central government set up a commission of enquiry headed by Justice M.S.Liberhan to investigate the matter. The commission submitted its report 16 years later in 2009, declaring that the demolition was “neither spontaneous nor unplanned” as claimed by the Sangh Parivar. Various BJP leaders like LK Advani, Rajnath Singh, Kalyan Singh etc were found guilty of the conspiracy by the Commission. Another 6 years have passed, the cases have been diluted, the courts have taken their own time and in all these years not a single leader responsible for the crime of the demolition of the masjid, has been punished.

As can be seen from the above list, in most cases none of the guilty have ever been brought to book, despite clear and undeniable evidence of their complicity in communal violence.

The role of the RSS and cadres of the ruling BJP in the pogrom of 2002 in Gujarat has been well documented, 126 powerful perpetrators have been so far punished and the ongoing proceedings in the Zakia Jafri case seeks to establish criminal culpability at the highest political and administrative levels.

Terror in the name of Hindutva

--A Compilation

Terrorists and their activities pose a grave threat to India and every citizen of India must be mobilized against them and their backers. Terrorist groups involved in such attacks must be identified and punished regardless of the group they represent or the religion they claim to defend. Although terror knows no religion it is true that terrorist groups often act in the name of religion. It is also true that Muslim fundamentalist groups in different countries have supported and backed terrorist activities against innocent people. These terrorist groups and their leaders have long had the support of the CIA and other US State agencies and played a crucial role in the US fight against what it then saw as pro-Soviet regimes in different countries. The Islamic State is the latest and most deadly of these groups.

Democratic and secular minded citizens across the world, including in Islamic countries have strongly condemned such terrorist groups.

After September 11, 2001 the United States of America led a global campaign to defame Islam and to identify all Muslims as terrorists. In India the BJP echoed this perverted understanding. The Pakistan planned attack in Mumbai on November 26, 2008 only strengthened this campaign. But the utter hypocrisy of the BJP stand against terror has been exemplified by its approach to the groups led by pracharaks who swear by Hindutva.

The RSS hate agendas against Muslims in India taken to its extreme forms by its front organizations like the VHP, Bajrang Dal, DurgaVahini

etc. has also spawned terrorist groups swearing by Hindutva.

There were bomb blasts in the Samjhauta Express (Feb 18, 2007) Mecca Masjid, Hyderabad (May 18, 2007) Ajmer Dargah Sharif (Oct. 2007) Malegaon (Sept. 29, 2008) in which scores of innocent people were killed or injured.

Investigations revealed that terror groups owing allegiance to the Hindutva ideology had reportedly planned and executed the blasts targeting areas populated by Muslims. The then Home Secretary R.K.Singh, who subsequently after retirement joined the BJP, stated before Parliament that at least ten of the accused had direct links or held positions in the RSS.

At the time of the arrests the top BJP leadership had visited the accused in jails attacking the then UPA Government of unfairly targeting “ saints.” In fact the criminal activities of these groups thoroughly exposed the so- called patriotic claims of the BJP and the RSS.

(Among the accused was one Aseemananda. He gave a series of interviews to the magazine Caravan (February 2014).

Aseemanand is implicated in three terrorist attacks in which 82 persons were killed and is under investigation in other terrorist cases too. As is known he was working in the tribal areas of Gujarat with the RSS organization the Vanvasi Kalyan Sangham. It was here in Gujarat that according to the interviews, after an RSS meeting in Surat in July 2005, Mohan Bhagwat the current RSS Chief along with Indresh Kumar, RSS Pracharak and now, ironically in charge of its so-called Muslim front, went to a temple in the Dangs, Gujarat where Aseemanand was living and discussed the plan to bomb several Muslim targets around India.

According to the interview Bhagwat told him “We will not be involved but if you are doing this, you can consider us to be with you.....if you do this we will be at ease with it.....it will be connected to the ideology. It is very important for Hindus. Please do this. You have our blessings.”

Although the interview has been denied by a legal representative of Aseemanad, the publication has stated that the interview has been taped

and all tapes are available.

The explosive material revealed in the interview given by Aseemanand to a magazine (The Caravan, February 2014) of the links between the top leadership of the RSS with the series of terrorist bomb blasts on civilian targets in which Aseemanand is a prime accused, raise very serious questions which require further investigation.

Innocent Muslims jailed

The double standards regarding the fight against terrorists is also reflected in the arrest and victimization of Muslim youth because they are Muslims. Whether in the Malegaon case or in the Mecca Masjid case where Hindutva terrorist groups were involved in the bomb attacks, or in other cases of terrorist attacks, in the first instance it is Muslim youth who are arrested and jailed for, in some cases between ten to fifteen years as undertrials and then finally acquitted by the courts.

In fact scores of such cases where Muslim youth were wrongly arrested have come to light. While both the BJP and the Congress has remained silent on this grave miscarriage of justice and the profiling and the victimization of young people only because they are Muslim, the CPI(M) has waged a campaign both inside and outside Parliament for justice to these young victims, even taking their case up to the President of India. Yet justice has not been done.

Thus innocent people suffer and their lives are destroyed.

Kalburgi murder: Police release sketches



"RSS was Family": Gopal Godse, younger brother of Nathuram Godse

--Extracts from an interview

◆ *Were you a part of the RSS?*

All the brothers were in the RSS. Nathuram, Dattatreya, myself and Govind. You can say we grew up in the RSS rather than in our home. It was like a family to us.

◆ *Nathuram stayed in the RSS? He did not leave it?*

Nathuram had become a *baudhikkaryavah* (intellectual worker) in the RSS. He has said in his statement that he left the RSS. He said it because Golwalkar and the RSS were in a lot of trouble after the murder of Gandhi. But he did not leave the RSS.

◆ *Advani has recently said that Nathuram had nothing to do with the RSS.?*

I have countered him, saying it is cowardice to say that. You can say that RSS did not pass a resolution, saying that, 'go and assassinate Gandhi.' But you do not disown him (Nathuram). The Hindu Mahasabha did not disown him. In 1944 Nathuram started doing Hindu Mahasabha work when he had been a *baudhikkaryavah* in the RSS.

◆ *When was the plan to kill Gandhi made?*

Nathuram had a teleprinter, as editor of the *Hindu Rashtra*, a daily. On the teleprinter, he saw that Gandhi has decided to undertake a fast on the next day. (The fast was to demand that the amount of Rs. 55

crore not be withheld from Pakistan, against the Government's decision to withhold payment until Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir had been resolved. The Rs. 55 crore was part of the settling of post-Partition accounts between India and Pakistan). Immediately it must have struck Nathuram – now put a fullstop. So that was the turning point.

But there were many occasions on which people may have thought of killing Gandhi. In the refugee camps. That he is the person who brought us disaster, so why not kill him? It many times happens... that the clouds gather in the skies and we assume that in the next 15 minutes it will be a rainfall – and a heavy one. But the things are otherwise. Winds blow, don't know from which side, and take away all the clouds... So what is required for that rainfall? That particular atmosphere, the particular degree of temperature to be connected with the particles of water in the cloud. And then they take the shape of water to drop on the earth... So there might have been conspiracies and conspiracies, and the wind might have come and blown them away. But when everything was just in order, this conspiracy proved to be fruitful. So far as the conspirators were concerned. Fruitful in the sense, materialised. Their aim was achieved.

◆ ***What was your involvement with (VD) Savarkar?***

No question – we were all taking him to be our guru – a political guru. We read all his writings. So if we say we have understood Savarkar to the fullest, it will be a folly on our part to ask him whether we should do it. A guru's blessings are required for a weak-hearted person. Supposing the guru ties your hands (saying) – 'You fools don't do any such thing,' and some third person of his own does it, can we say, 'Oh, we would also have done the same thing, but the guru tied our hands?' That would be shielding our own fear and defaming the guru.

◆ ***What was Savarkar's response to the murder?***

The same as that of the general leaders. "I was aghast at the news of the communication which reached me here" and so on. That was his public response.

◆ ***Many writers have argued that Gandhi was responsible for bringing Hindu culture into the national movement and thereby giving the movement a broader, more popular base. What do you think?***

Had it really been the case, Gandhi should have helped our

government to declare this a Hindu state. But he did not want it. And this story that Gandhi died saying *Hey Ram* is a fabrication of the Congress. He said no such thing. The story that Gandhi died saying *He Ram* is the first use of Ram by the Congress for political purposes.

◆ ***One criticism some people have made of Gandhi is that his interpretation of Hinduism was "effeminate" and that he did not emphasise the "more manly, virile" aspect of Hinduism. What do you think about this criticism?***

You see, this is very much an ambiguity. For instance, he sent telegrams to Roosevelt, Churchill, Hitler, all the warlords – to stop war. And when Pandit Nehru asked him, "Shall I send the army to defend the place?" he said yes, Why didn't he send troops with *charkhas*? What is the sense then? You only teach others – you don't adhere to your principles.

◆ ***When Uma Bharati or Sadhvi Ritambara says that "we must be more aggressive," that Hindus have been cowards for too long, that ahimsa is actually weakening the Hindus...?***

I disagree. In my country I am never said to be aggressive. Let us take the case – I have been attacked by malaria. The doctor gives me some injections. The foreign attack of malaria has been diminished or wiped out. Should I say that I should be aggressive against malaria, that imposition of malaria is itself an aggression? So wiping it out can be a retaliation. In my country if I want to remove every germ of malaria from my body, I cannot be called aggressive.

◆ ***In what ways do you find a continuity between the Hindu Mahasabha and the BJP?***

All of them have to come to the way of a Hindu Rashtra. All of them. There is no alternative. There is going to be polarisation as Hindus and Muslims mingle. And the stage will come like Bosnia.

◆ ***There will be a civil war?***

It is bound to be. And these people only will bring it. Because of the appeasement and infiltration of the Muslims – for the sake of the votes. The BJP is not bold enough to play the Hindu card straightforwardly. They are not. Whatever you do, you cannot count on Muslim votes. One time you are doing this Ayodhya Ram Mandir. And then you are begging votes from the Muslims. These things will not do.

◆ *What do you think of the cultural background of the people involved in the social reform and nationalist movements? Many of them seem to have come from the Chitpavan Brahmin community?*

This Brahminical class – Peshwas – right from the top, you will find the revolutionaries – the link is all Brahminical. Mangal Pandey, for instance, the first hero of the War of Independence, was a Brahmin. Then you go to Maharashtra, Vasudev Balwant Phadke, who led a revolt, and died after transportation to Aden in 1883. Then came the Chapekar brothers, who killed (Walter Charles) Rand (authoritarian chairman of the Plague Committee in Poona in 1897). Then Lokamanya Tilak was a Brahmin. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, Ranade...

◆ *How do you explain that?*

They were the thinkers and with a feeling of sacrifice to do something for the nation. So one who has integrity does it. Maharashtra was not directly affected by Partition and yet it was Maharashtra which had sympathy for the provinces that were cut and the atrocities that were going on... Why should a Maharashtrian go to a place 2,000 miles away? It is called national integrity. This tradition has moved with that spirit, that idea behind it. These papers – you can call it yellow journalism – they use the name Peshwai to defame, to put them in the class of Brahmins and Brahminism. That is the tradition because they want to appease the so-called weaker sections, or Bahujan Samaj as they call it.

◆ *You do not see any validity in those distinctions?*

As I explained, at the time of Partition, no person was spared. All were slaughtered. Whoever comes as a target of the Muslim dagger is the proved definition of Hindu. So we come together in the graveyard. But while alive, we say, 'No, I'm not a Hindu.' The Muslim determines who is a Hindu. It so happens – to give a simile, one who gets some ancestral property without any trouble for himself just becomes spendthrift, goes in for some vices – because he does not know the value of it. Hindudom has come to these people like that.

◆ *Which people?*

All these people who criticise Hindutva. And, therefore, they do not know the value of it.

(Frontline, January 28, 1994).

On the Ban on RSS-

Government Communique Issued by
Home Ministry Under Sardar Patel

In their resolution of February 4, 1948, the Government of India declared their determination to root out the forces of hatred and violence that are at work in our country and imperil the freedom of the Nation and darken her fair name. In pursuance of this policy the Government of India have decided to declare unlawful the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in the Chief Commissioner's provinces. Similar action is also being taken in the Governor's provinces.

As democratic governments, the Government of India and the provincial governments have always been anxious to allow reasonable scope for genuine political, social and economic activities to all parties and organisations including those whose policies and purposes differ from, or even run counter to their own, subject to the consideration that such activities should not transgress certain commonly recognised limits of propriety and law. The professed aims and objects of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh are to promote the physical, intellectual and moral well-being of the Hindus and also to foster feelings of brotherhood, love and service amongst them. Government themselves are most anxious to improve the general material and intellectual well-being of all sections of the people and have got schemes on hand which are designed to carry out these objects, particularly the provision of physical training and education in military matters to the youth of the country. Government have, however, noticed with regret that in practice members of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh have not adhered to their professed ideals.

Undesirable and even dangerous activities have been carried out by members of the Sangh. It has been found that in several parts of the country individual members of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh have indulged in acts of violence involving arson, robbery, dacoity, and murder and have collected illicit arms and ammunitions. They have been found circulating leaflets exhorting people to resort to terrorist methods, to collect firearms, to create disaffection against the government and suborn the police and military. These activities have been carried out under the cloak of secrecy, and the government have considered from time to time how far these activities rendered it incumbent upon them to deal with the Sangh in its corporate capacity. The last occasion when the government defined this attitude was when the Premiers and Home Ministers of provinces met in Delhi towards the end of November. (NB: See AICC resolution on Private Armies, dtd November 15, 1947).

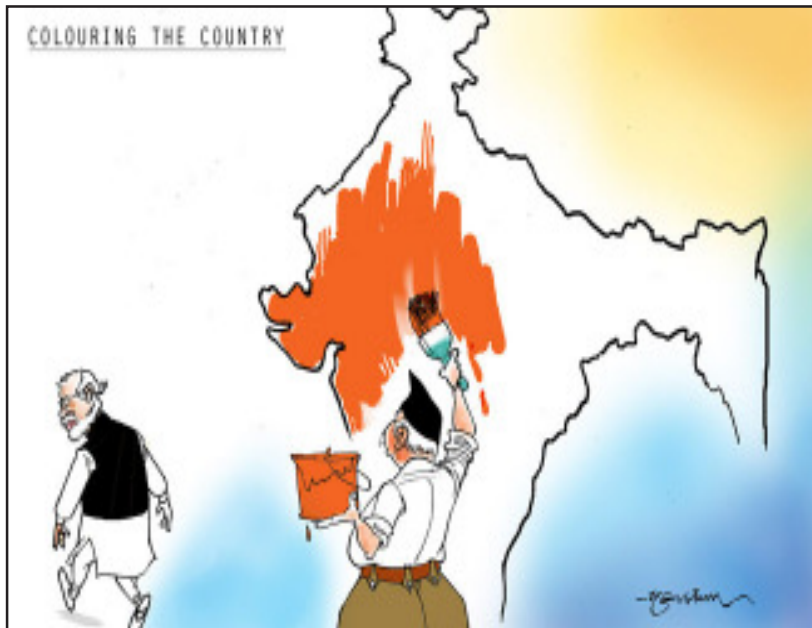
It was then unanimously agreed that the stage when the Sangh should be dealt with as an association had not yet arrived and that individuals should continue to be dealt with sternly as hitherto. The objectionable and harmful activities of the Sangh have, however, continued unabated and the cult of violence sponsored and inspired by the activities of the Sangh has claimed many victims. The latest and most precious to fall was Gandhiji himself.

In these circumstances it is the bounden duty of the government to take effective measures to curb this re-appearance of violence in a virulent form and as a first step to this end, they have decided to declare the Sangh as an unlawful association. Government have no doubt that in taking this measure they have the support of all law-abiding citizens, of all those who have the welfare of the country at heart.

Hindu Mahasabha leader announces construction of Godse temple



RSS vs India



December 2015

Price : 10/-

Published by Hari Singh Kang from AKG Bhawan, 27-29 Bhai Vir Singh Marg, New Delhi-110001 on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Printed at Progressive Printers, A-21, Jhilmil Industrial Area. G.T. Road Shahdara, Delhi-110095 (Phone : 22119770)

RSS Versus India

1



RSS, the National Movement and its Continuing Communal Agenda

CPI(M) PUBLICATION