

HINDU RASHTRAVAD

BEING AN
Exposition of the ideology & immediate programme
of
HINDU RASHTRA

As Outlined by
(SWATANTRAYAVEER) V. D. SAVARKAR

Collected & edited by
SATYA PARKASH B. A.



"With integrity and absolute political independence of Hindusthan as the fundamentals of its creed; with responsive co-operation which includes the whole gamut from coalitions to armed rebellion as its principle of policy; with Hinduising politics and militarising Hindudom as its present programme, let the Hindu Mahasabha grow from strength to strength."

Veer Savarkar.

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—: PLEASE CALL ON :—

HINDU BHANDAR

Narayan Peth, Poona,
for Hindu Sanghathanist Literature.

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I am presenting to the Hindu Sanghathanists in particular and Hindus in general this book "Hindu Rashtravad". As is apparent from the name the book deals with the ideology and immediate programme of Hindu Rashtra as outlined by Swatantrayaveer Savarkar himself. I have only collected and arranged according to plan his own discourses delivered by him to enunciate and explain the fundamentals and details of Hindu Sanghathan. I hope the readers will like the collection and find enough light to lead them to their cherished goal.

15TH MARCH, 1945.

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PART I

The Principles.

Chapter I.

HINDU.

Its meaning, origin, and derivatives.

आसिंधु सिन्धुपयन्ता यस्य भारतभूमिका ।

पितृभूः पुण्यभूश्चैव स वै हिंदुरिति स्मृतः ॥

“ Every person is a Hindu who regards and owns this Bharat Bhoomi, this land from the Indus to the Seas, as his Fatherland, as well as his Holyland, i. e. the land of the origin of his religion the cradle of his faith. ”

So, the firstmost important essential qualification of a Hindu is that to him the land that extends from Sindhu to Sindhu is the Fatherland (पितृभू), the Motherland (मातृभू), the land of his patriarchs and forefathers.

The second most essential qualification of Hindutva is that a Hindu is a descendant of Hindu parents, claims to have the blood of the ancient Sindhus and the race that sprang from them in his veins.

The third most essential qualification of Hindutva is that he has inherited and claims as his own the culture of that race, as expressed chiefly in their common classic language the Sanskrit and represented by a common history, a common literature, art and architecture, law and jurisprudence, rites, rituals, ceremonies and sacraments, fairs and festivals and above all addresses this land Sindhusthan as his holyland (पुण्यभू) the land of his prophets and seers, of his godmen and gurus, the land of piety and pilgrimage.

Thus the three essentials of Hindutva are a common country, common race and a common culture. The first two essentials of a country and a race are clearly denoted by and connoted by the word पितृभू (Fatherland) while the third essential of culture (संस्कृति) is pre-eminently implied by the word पुण्यभू as it is precisely संस्कृति including संस्कारः i. e. rites and rituals, ceremonies and sacraments, that makes a land a holyland.

The followers therefore of Vaidicism, Sanatanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Lingaitism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj,

the Dev Samaj, the Prarthna Samaj and such other religions of Hindusthani origin are Hindus and constitute Hindudom i. e. the Hindu people as a whole.

Consequently the so called aboriginal or hill tribes also are Hindus, because Hindusthan is their Fatherland as well as their holyland of whatever form of religion or worship they follow.

Hindudom is bound and marked out as a people and a nation by themselves not by the only ties of a common holyland in which their religion took birth but by the ties of a common culture, common language, a common history and a common Fatherland (Vide Chapter II). It is these two constituents taken together that constitute our Hindutva and distinguish us from any other people in the world. That is why the Japanese and the Chinese do not and cannot regard themselves as fully identified with the Hindus. Both of them regard our Hindusthan as their holyland; the land which was the cradle of their religion but they do not and cannot look upon Hindusthan as their fatherland, too. They are our co-religionists, but are not and cannot be our countrymen. The Japan-

ese and Chinese have a different ancestry, language, culture, history and country of their own, which are not so integrally bound up with us as to constitute a common national life.

Just as by the first constituent of Hindutva the possession of a common holyland, Hindusthani Muslims, Jews, Christians, Parsees etc. are excluded from claiming themselves as Hindus which in reality also they do not, in spite of their recognising Hindusthan as their Fatherland, so also on the other hand the second constituent of definition that of possessing a common fatherland excludes the Japanese, the Chinese and others from the Hindutva in spite of the fact of their having a holyland in common with us.

Origin.

Although it would be hazardous at the present stage of oriental research to state definitely the period when the foremost band of the intrepid Aryans made it their home and lighted their first sacrificial fire on the banks of the Sindhu, the Indus, yet certain it is that long before the ancient Egyptians, the Babylonians had built their magnificent civilization, the

Not only had these people been known to themselves as "Sindhus" but we have definite records to show that they were known to their surrounding nations—at any rate to one of them— by that very name— "Sapat—Sindhu". The syllable स (s) in Sanskrit is at times changed into ह (h) in some of the Prakrit languages, both Indian and non-Indian. For Example the word सप्त has become हप्त not only in Indian Prakrits but also in the European languages too; we have हप्ता i. e. a week, in India and 'Heptarchy' in Europe. केसरी in Sanskrit becomes केहरी in old Hindi. सरस्वती becomes हरहवती in Persian and अमुर becomes अहर . And then we actually find that the Vedic name of our nation सप्तसिंधु had been mentioned as हप्तहिंदु in the Avesta by the ancient Persian people. Thus in the very dawn of history we find ourselves belonging to the nation of the सिंधुऽ or Hindus and this fact was well known to our learned men even in the Puranic period. In expounding the doctrine that many of the स्लेच्छ (foreign) tongues had been but the mere offshoots of the Sanskrit language the Bhavishya Puran (भविष्यपुराण) clearly cites this fact and says—

संस्कृतस्यैव वाणी तु भारतवर्षं मुह्यताम् ।

अन्येस्वदे गतासैव स्लेच्छाह्वानंदि नोऽभवन् ।

पितृ पैतर भ्राताच बादरः पतिरेव च ।

सेति सा यावन्ती भाषा ह्यश्व आस्यस्तथा पुनः ।

जानुस्थाने जैनशब्दः सप्तसिंधुस्तथैव च ।

हप्त हिंदुर्यावन्ती च पुनर्ज्ञेया गुरुहिंका ॥ प्रतिसर्गः अ० ५)

Thus knowing for certain that the Persians used to designate the Vedic Aryans as Hindus and knowing also the fact that we generally call a foreign and unknown people by the term by which they are known to those through whom we come to know them, we can safely conclude that most of the remoter nations that flourished then must have applied the same epithet Hindu to our land and people as the ancient Persians did. Not only that, but even in the very region of the सप्तसिंधुऽ the thinly scattered native tribes too, must have been knowing the Aryans as हिंदुऽ in the local dialects in accordance with the same linguistic law. Further on, as the Vedic Sanskrit began to give birth to Indian Prakrits which became the spoken tongues of the majority of the descendants of these very सिंधुऽ as well as the assimilated and the cross-born castes, these too might have called themselves as

Hindus without any influence from the foreign people. For, the Sanskrit स changes into ह as often in Indian Prakrits as in the non-Indian ones. Therefore so far as definite records are concerned it is indisputably clear that the first and almost the cradle name chosen by the Patriarches of our race to designate our nation and our people is सप्तसिंधु or हप्तहिंदु and that almost all nations of the then known world seemed to have known us by this very epithet सिंधु or हिंदु.

Now we come to the baseless suspicion which has crept into the minds of some of our well-meaning but hasty country-men that, the origin of the words Hindu and Hindusthan is to be traced to the malice of the Mohamedans. This suspicion seems so singularly stupid that to mention it is to refute it. Long before Mohamad was born, nay, long before the Arabians were heard of as a people, this ancient nation was known to ourselves as well as to the foreign world by the proud epithet Sindhu or Hindu and Arabians could not have invented this term any more than they could have invented the Indus itself. They simply learnt it from the ancient Iranians, Jews and other peoples. But apart from all serious historical refutation, is

not clear that had it been really contemptuous expression of our foes as it is said to be, could it have ever recommended itself to the bravest and best of our race? Surely our people were not quite such strangers either to the Arabic or Persian tongues? The Mohamedans were apt to refer to us as काफिर (Kafir) also, but had our people adopted that name and stuck it up as a distinguishing mark? Why did they submit voluntarily to the national insult only in the case of the other epithets हिन्दुस्थान (Hindusthan) or हिंदु (Hindu)? Simply because, they knew more of our national traditions and were less cut off from our national life than some of us had been. That is why some of us keep constantly harping on the fact that this word Hindu is not found in Sanskrit. What of this word alone? —The Sanskrit literature makes no mention of कृष्ण - बनारस - मराठा - शिख - गुजरात - पाटना - सिया - जमना and thousand other words that we use daily. But are they to be traced to some foreign source? The word बनारस though not found in Sanskrit is still ours because it is the प्राकृत form of वागएमी which is found in Sanskrit. In fact it is ridiculous to expect a प्राकृत word in a classical Sanskrit. Nay more, although Hindu being a प्राकृत

form of a Sanskrit word should not be expected to be found in Sanskrit, yet as it is, it cannot be but a weighty proof of its importance even in its प्राकृत form, that, that form should be, at times met with in Sanskrit literature; for example the Bherutantra uses this word Hindu. Great Sanskrit lexicographers like Apte in Maharashtra and Tara Nath Tark Vachaspati in Bengal have also mentioned it. While the line शिवशिव न हिंदु न यवनः is too well known to be quoted.

It may be that in the modern Mohamedanised Persian some contemptuous meaning has come to be associated with the term Hindu but how does that show that the original signification of Hindu was contemptuous and meant "black"? The word Hindi or Hind are used in Persian but they do not mean black and yet we know that they along with Hindu have originated from the same Sanskrit word Sindhu or Sindh.

If the word Hindu is applied to us because it means 'black' then is it that Hind and Hindi are also applied to us though they do not mean "a black man"? The fact is that the word Hindu dates its origin not from the Mohameda-

nised Persian but from the ancient language of Iran, the Zend, and then the Saptasindhus meant sapt-sindhus alone. It could not have been applied to us because we were black like rally, for the simple reason that the ancient saptasindhus i. e. Hindus in Avestic period were as fair as the Iranians and lived practically side by side and even at times together with them. Even so late as at the dawn of the Christian era the Parthians used to call our frontier provinces as श्वेतभारत or white India. Thus originally Hindu simply could not have literally meant a black man.

In fact, after it has been made so amply clear in the foregoing actions that the epithets Hindu and Hindusthan had been the proud and patriotic designations signifying our land and our nation long before the Mohamedans or Mohamedanised Persians were heard of, it becomes almost immaterial, so far as the greatness of epithet Hindu and its claim to our love are concerned, what meaning, complimentary or contemptuous, is attached to it by some swollen headed fanatic here and there. There was a time when the term "England" had fallen so low in England itself in the estimation of her Norman conquerors that it became a formula of swearing

against each other! 'May I become an English man' was the strongest form of self denunciation and calling a Norman "an Englishman" an unpardonable insult. But did the English care to change the name of their land or their nation and call it Normandy instead of England? Or would their disowning their name as 'the English' have made them great? No; on the contrary, precisely because they did not disown their ancient blood or name, today we find that while the word Norman has become an historical fossil and Normandy has no place on the map of the world, the contemptuous English and their English language have come to own the largest empire the world has as yet seen! And yet great as the glories of the English world are, what on the whole, has it to show to match the glories of the Hindu world?

In times of conflict nations do lose their balance of mind and if the Persians or others once understood by the word Hindu a thief or a black man alone, then let them remember that the word Mohamedan too was not always mentioned to denote any enviable type of mankind by the Hindus either. To call a man Mos-alman or better still a 'Musunda' was worse

than calling him a brute. Such bitter fulminations and mutual recriminations, though they might have the excuse of inevitability in times of life and death struggles while the fume and flame of the angry brutal passions last, should be forgotten as soon as men recover from their fits and claim to be recognised as gentlemen. Nor should we forget that the ancient Jews used the term Hindu to denote strength or vigour, for, these were the qualities associated with our land and nation. In an Arab epic named 'So hab Mo Allakk' it is said that the oppressions of kith and kin are bitterer or more fatal than the stroke of a Hindu sword; while, "Returning a Hindu answer" is a proverbial way with the Persian themselves, by which they are said to mean 'to strike bravely and deeply with an Indian sword'. The ancient Babylonians had been in the habit of denoting the finest quality of cloth as 'sindhu' because it generally came from the 'sapat-sindhus' -- a custom which always shows that they also knew our country by its ancient name 'sindhu' nor have we as yet heard of any other meaning being attributed to this word in the ancient Babylonian language than its national one.

No Hindu can help feeling proud of himself at the curious interpretation put upon this epithet by the illustrious traveller Yuan Chwang himself belonging to our highly civilized and ancient neighbours the Chinese, when he identifies our national name 'हिंदु' with the Sanskrit 'इन्दु' and says in justification that the world had rightly called this nation 'इन्दु' for they and their civilization had, like the moon, ever been a constant source of delight and refreshment to the languid and weary soul of man. Does not all this clearly show that the way of inspiring respect for our name in the minds of men is not either to change or deny it but to compel recognition of and homage to it by the valour of our arms, purity of our aims and the sublimity of our souls.

DERIVATIVES

Hinduism, Hindutva and Hindudom.

From the word 'Hindu' has been coined the word 'Hinduism' in English. It means the schools or systems of religion the Hindus follow.

The word "Hindutva" is far more comprehensive and refers not only to the religious aspect of the Hindu people, as the word Hindu-

ism does not but comprehends even their cultural, linguistic, social and political aspects as well. It is more akin to Hindu polity and its nearly exact translation would be Hinduness.

Hindudom means the Hindu people spoken of collectively. It is a collective name for the Hindu world.

Those who want to know more about it should kindly read Swatantraya Veer Savarkar's 'Hindutva' wherein the history, meaning, origin, essentials and other details connected with this subject are fully dealt with and which fall out of the scope of our work.



Chapter II

The Hindus are a nation by themselves.

"A people is marked out as a nation by themselves not so much by the absence of any heterogeneous differences amongst themselves as by the fact of their differing from other peoples more markedly than they differ amongst themselves." Even those who deny the fact that the Hindus could be called a nation by themselves, do recognise Great Britain, the United States, Russia, Germany and other peoples as nations. What is the test by which those peoples are called nations by themselves? Take Great Britain as an example. There are at any rate three languages there; they have fought amongst themselves dreadfully in the past. There are to be found the traces of different seeds and bloods and races. If you say that in spite of it all they are a nation because they possess a common country, a common language, a common culture and a common holyland, then the Hindus too possess a common country so well marked out as Hindusthan, a common

language the Sanskrit from which all their current languages are derived or are nourished and which forms even to-day the common language of their scriptures and literature and which is held in esteem as the sacred reservoir of ancient scriptures and the tongue of their forefathers. By Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages their seed and blood continued to get mingled even since the day of Manu. Their social festivals and cultural forms are no less common than those we find in England. They possess a common Holyland. The Vedic Rishis are their common pride, their grammarians Panini and Patanjali, their poets Bhavabhooti and Kalidas their heroes Shree Ram, Shree Krishna, Shivaji and Partap, Guru Gobind and Banda are a common source of inspiration. Their prophets Buddha and Mahaveer, Nanak and Shahkar are held in common esteem. Like their ancient and sacred language the Sanskrit, their scripts also are fashioned on the same basis and the Nagri script has been the common vehicle of their sacred writings since centuries in the past. Their ancient and modern History is common. They have friends and enemies in common. They have faced common dangers and won victories in common. One in national despairs and one in na-

tional hope, the Hindus are welded together during aeons of a common life and a common habitat.

Above all the Hindus are bound together by the dearest, most sacred and most enduring bonds of a common fatherland and a common holyland, and these two being identified with one and the same country our Bharat Bhoomi, the national oneness and homogeneity of the Hindus have been doubly sure. If the United States with the warring crowds of negroes, Germans and Anglo-saxons with a common past not exceeding four or five centuries put together can be called a nation, the Hindus must then be entitled to be recognised as a nation par excellence, "Verily the Hindus as a people differ most markedly from any other people in the world than they differ amongst themselves." All tests whatsoever of a common country, race, religion, language, that go to entitle a people to form a nation, entitle the Hindus with greater emphasis to that claim. And whatever differences divide the Hindus amongst themselves are rapidly disappearing owing to the re-awakening of the national consciousness and the Sanghatana and the social reform movements of to-day.

A peep into History.

It is at least some 5000 years ago to the Vedic Age that the beginning of our Hindu Nation can be historically and undeniably traced. Our national ancestors lived and flourished then on the banks of the seven Sindhus and laid the foundations of a nation that destined to grow later on into a mighty Hindu Nation. Racially and culturally they were called Aryans; territorially they bore the name of the Sapta-Sindhus or Sindhus.

॥ आ ऋचादहंसोमुचदयो वार्या सप्तसिन्धुः ॥

॥ वर्धदासस्य तुविन्दस्य नीनमः ॥ १ ॥ Rig. 6-8-24

One of our Provinces and its people on the banks of the Sindhu River bear the very same name down to this day and are called Sindh and Sindhus respectively. They crossed the Ganges, the Vindhya, the Godavri in their vigorous and valorous course of colonization and conquest till they reached the Southern and the Eastern and Western limits of India. By an admirable process of assimilation, elimination, and consolidation political, racial, and cultural they welded all other non-Aryan peoples whom they came in contact with or conflict with thr-

ough this process of their expansion in this land from the Indus to the Eastern Sea and from the Himalayas to the Southern sea, into a national unit. Politics and religion vied with each other, with a conscious policy of ultimately uniting them all into a national being bound together by the ties of a common religion, common culture, a common fatherland, and a common holyland. Witness for example the four Dhames, the religious holy outposts roughly marking the four limits of our holyland Badrikedar, Dwarka, Rameshwar and Jaggan Nath, identifying them as demarkatingly as it was then possible with the limits of our fatherland as well.

Leaving mythological period alone, even in the period of our definite history the mighty centralised empires of Chandra Gupta Mourya, Chandra Gupta the second, Vikramaditya, Yashovardhan, Pulkeshi, Shree Harsha, and such other great Samrats and Chakravartis added to this consolidation of our people and made them vibrate with the stirrings of a common political and national being. Powerful invasions of the Greeks, Shakas, Huns and such other foreign races which threatened our people with a common danger and the mighty conflicts they had

to wage to overcome that danger by presenting a common front to it lasting sometimes for centuries vested all the more their consciousness of cultural, political, racial and religious oneness making them out as a national unit by themselves inspite of their internal differences in relation to other non-Indian national units.

Under the pressure of the Moslem invasions and their consolidation into a powerful Moslem Empire at Dehli political unity of the Hindus from Kashmere to Rameshwar and Sindh to Bengal intensified still more and thus the name Hindu derived from the Vedic Sapt Sindhus which had already become the honoured and beloved common appellation of our race centuries before the days of Prithviraj gathered enhanced strength and glamour. Thousands of our martyrs embraced death as 'Hindus' to vindicate the honour of Hindu-Dharam, Hindu Rashtra and Hindu-Desh. Thousands upon thousands, princes and peasants alike revolted and rose as Hindus under Hindu Flag and fought and fell in fighting against their non-Hindu forces. Till at last Shivaji was born, the hour of Hindu triumph was struck, the day of Moslem supremacy set. Under one common

name, "The Hindus", under one common banner, 'The Hindu Dhawaj', under one common Hindu Leadership, with one common ideal of the establishment of "Hindu-Pad-Padshahi" (The Hindu Empire), and with one common aim the political liberation of Hindusthan, the emancipation of their common motherland and holyland the Hindus rose from Province to Province till at last the Mahratta Confederacy succeeded in beating to a chip the Moslem Nawabs and Nizams, Badshahas and Padshahas in a hundred battle fields.

The Mahrattas advanced victorious East, West, North, and South dropping their secondary capitals at Tanjavar, at Gumti, at Kolhapur, at Baroda, at Dhar, at Gwalior, at Indore, at Jhansi, till they reached the Attock. They ruled at Delhi and held the Mughal Emperors as prisoners, pensioners and paupers in their camp. The Sikh Hindus ruled in the Punjab, the Gurkha Hindus in Nepal, the Rajput Hindus in Rajpntana, the Mahratta Hindus from Delhi to Tanjavar and Dwarka to Jaggannath. Thus at last the Vedic Sindhus had grown into a mighty Hindu people, a Hindu nation, a Hindu-Pad-Padshahi which is a word used by Baji Rao

the I himself. If you wish to realise fully how the mighty movement was surcharged with the intense consciousness of Hindutva, how our martyrs, heroes, victors, from Prithviraj, Parthap, Shivaji, Guru Govind, Banda down to the days of Nana Fadnavis and Mahadaji Shinde owned and gloried in their national and religious oneness as Hindus, and were proud of their national appellation as Hindus, you should kindly read Hindu-Pad-Padshahi written by Swatantraya Veer Savarkar.

**Hindu Nation is an organic growth and
no paper-make shift.**

It will be clear from this hurried peep into our History that ever since the Vedic Ages, for some five thousands years at least in the past our forefathers had been shaping the formation of our people into a religious, racial, cultural and political unit. As a consequence of it all, growing organically the sindhus of the Vedic time have grown to-day into a Hindu-nation, extending over Hindusthan and holding Hindusthan in common as their father land and holyland. No other nation in the world ex-

cepting perhaps the Chinese can claim a continuity of life and growth so unbroken as our Hindu-Rashtra does. Thus it is clear as broad day-light that the Hindu-Rashtra is not a mush-room growth, is not a treaty-nation, is not a paper-made toy, was not cut to order, is not an outlandish make-shift but has grown out of this soil and has its root struck deep and wide. It is not a fiction invented to spite the Moslems, English or anybody in the world. But the Hindu-Rashtra is a fact as stupendous and solid as the Himalayas that border North.

It matters not that it had and it has sects and sections, dissimilarities and differences within its fold—what nation is free from these? A nation is not marked out as a separate unit because its people have no sub-divisions and diversities amongst themselves but because they as a whole present a more homogeneous unity amongst themselves than they have in common with all other alien national units; because they differed definitely and immensely more from all other people in the world than they differ amongst themselves from each other. This is the only test that marks out nations in the world. The Hindus having a common

fatherland and a holyland and both identified with each other have made their nationality doubly sure and stand this test doubly well. What is to be specially noted here is the fact that down to the fall of Mahratta Empire our people—princes, patriots, preachers and statesmen all and altogether strove consciously and continuously to develop and intensify the conception of Hindu nationality and exerted their might to its best to establish a Hindu Empire in India which they called Hindusthan the land of Hindus.

**Territorial unity is not the only constituent of
a common nationality.**

It is not only the territorial unity that counts in the formation of a national unit. England has not grown into such a homogeneous national unit only because it is a clear cut territorial unit. Their territorial patriotism is not the cause but a consequence of their other social and political affinities. England, for example, was as clear cut a territorial unit in days gone by. But when their religious susceptibilities were highly irritable the English Catholics and protestants felt themselves drawn more to their respective coreligionists outside England

than their own country men inside it. The English Catholics cared more for the Pope in Rome than their Protestant English Sovereigns in England. The English Protestants invited William from Holland to rule over them instead of an English King of Roman Catholic persuasion. Take again the case of Holland. The Hollanders inspite of their territorial unity, during the religious phase of their history could not be united into a homogeneous nation. The Catholic Hollanders joined Spain against their own Protestant Prince William of Orange. Take the case of Austria-Hungary. There was nothing notable to divide them territorially. They were welded together into an imperial unit and continued to be a political unit under a common State for centuries. But here there were no racial, cultural, linguistic or historical affinities to draw them towards each other as to be a nation in heart. So they separated as national and political units as soon as a favourable opportunity arose.

Nor could it be said "Oh! this your racial and religious bosh is already a thing of the past. The world is grown wiser since. No upto-date man cares a fig for them to-day." To this

common place exclamation we rejoin. Are the Germans or the Irish of to-day not upto-date? Are not the latter amongst the most advanced, educated and upto-date nations of the world? But do you find that territorial unity counts with the Germans or the Irish more even to-day than the affinities of a common race, language, culture or history? The Sudeten Germans and say the Prussian Germans knew no common political nationality for a long period. They were not a common people as a state. When the enemies of Germany hit her hard they cut her into pieces and created a patch work of a nation, and compassed it into a territorial unit called Czechoslovakia, making mess of the Sudeten Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Czecks, Slovaks etc. Did they form a nation? Sudeten Germans longed to be one with the Prussian Germans inspite of their being mapped out of it as a territorial unit and revolted against the Czechs who were their next door neighbours inspite of their being mapped together into a territorial and political unit and went over to the Prussians even at the risk of their life. Why? Not because the Sudeten Germans had a more definite territorial affinity with the Prussian Germans than they had with the Czecks or Slovaks but because

they had linguistic, cultural, racial and historical affinities with the Germans in Germany and gloried in being a part and parcel of the German people. It is to be noted on the other hand that the German Jews had been not only inhabiting the German land for centuries together with Germans, bound together with the Germans by the Common bond of a territorial unit, but had been actually incorporated into a common state, were actually Germans in political parlance, exercised equal rights as citizens of Germany—nay dominated the German state as members of the national German legislature and executive.

Take again the Irish case. Ireland and England were a political unit and continued to have a common State and a common parliament for centuries together. The English lived in Ireland for generations intermarrying, interdining, speaking the same tongue 'English'. The Ulsterite English and the Irish have the common bond of territorial unity and a distinctly marked out Ireland as a common country. Their religion too is common. Nor is Ireland a very big continental territorial unit. It is hardly as big as a presidency in India. But did all these common

factors, a common and so close a habitat as Ireland the English and the Irish mould into a common nation? No! the Irish revolted, despised the imperial advantages they had in common with England, revived their own Irish tongue which was well right dead and organised a separate Irish national state. The Ulsterites English on the contrary refuse to have any national relation with her next door Irish with whom he has lived for centuries and pines for his union with his English Brethren whose face he might have never seen and who reside Seas apart from him. Why? Because between the Irish and the English the want of common racial, cultural and historical affinities repulses each other more than a mere territorial unity can attract.

It is crystal clear from the above facts that all nations carved out to order on the territorial design without any other common bond to mould each other of them into a national being have gone to rack and ruin, tumbled down like a house of cards. Poland and Czecho-Slovakia will ever serve as a stern warning against any such efforts to frame heterogeneous peoples into such hotch potch nations, based only on the shifting sands of the conception of territorial

nationality, not cemented by any cultural, racial, or historical affinities, and consequently having no common will to incorporate themselves into a nation. These treaty nations broke up at first opportunity they got, the German part of them went over to Germany, the Russian to Russia, Czechs to Czechs and Poles to Poles. In all of them the cultural, linguistic, historical and such other organic affinities proved stronger than the territorial one. Only those nations have persisted in maintaining their national unity and identity during the last three to four centuries in Europe which had developed racial, linguistic, cultural and such other organic affinities in addition to their territorial unity or even at times in spite of it and consequently willed to be homogeneous national units....such as England, France, Germany, Italy etc.

These few illustrations of upto-date nations will show that in almost all cases a common territorial unit, a common habitat cannot by itself weld peoples differing in religious, racial, cultural and such other affinities into a national unit. It is not only a political fact but a human one that religious, racial, cultural, linguistic or historical affinities make men feel more akin to

each other than the only fact of their residing in a common habitat unless that is an addition to these common ties. This tendency of people having these affinities to form themselves into a group or into a nation and not by the mere fact of being mapped together, has its roots deep down in human or even animal nature. But we are not called upon here to go into any psychology of it. Sufficient to say that the efficient factor that constitutes people into an organic nation is their will to be one homogeneous national unit. And this is only induced by such of these affinities as we have indicated above for more eminently and intensely than by the mere fact of their residing in a common country.

Hence, judged by any and all of these tests which go severally and collectively to form such a homogeneous and organic nation, in Hindusthan, the Hindus are marked out as an abiding nation by themselves. Not only they own a common fatherland, a territorial unity, but what is scarcely found anywhere else in the world, they have a common holyland which is identified with the common fatherland. This Bharat Bhoomi, this Hindusthan, is both their Holyland and Fatherland, their patriotism is thus doubly

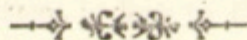
sure. Then they have common affinities-cultural, religious, historical, linguistic and racial which through the process of countless centuries of association and assimilation moulded them into a homogeneous and organic nation and above all induced a will to lead a corporate and a common national life. The Hindus are no treaty nation but an organic nation.

The homogeneity that welds a people into a national being does not imply the total absence of all internal differences, religious, racial, or linguistic, of sects and section amongst themselves. It only means that they differ more from other people as a national unit than they differ amongst themselves. Even the most unitarian nations of today—say the British or the French can not be free from any religious, linguistic, cultural, racial or other differences, sects or sections or even some antipathies existing amongst themselves. National homogeneity connotes oneness of a people in relation to the contrast they present to any other people as a whole.

The Hindus, inspite of thousand and one differences within their fold are bound by such religious, historical, racial, linguistic and other

affinities as common as to stand them out as a definitely homogeneous people as soon as they are placed in contrast with any other non-Hindu people—say the English or Japanese or even the Hindusthani Moslems. This is the reason why to-day the Hindus from Kashmere to Madras and Sindh to Assam will to be nation by themselves and are already a full fledged nation.

We, therefore, come out to assert boldly and uncompromisingly on behalf of Hindudom that just as in America, Germany, China and every other country not excluding Russia so also in Hindusthan the Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority and being knit together by the common ties of history, race, culture, language and country are the nation by themselves; and just as Germans are a nation in Germany and Jews a community, the Turks are the nation in Turkey and the Arab or the armenion a minority or community so the Hindus are the nation in Hindusthan and Parsee, Jews, Moslems etc. minorities or communities.



Chapter III.

SWARAJYA.

In common parlance Swarajya is understood as the political freedom of our country, of our land, the independence of the Geographical unit called Hindusthan. But we must fully analyse and understand these expressions. As shown previously a country or a geographical unit does not in itself constitute a nation. This country is endeared to the Hindus because it has been the abode of their race, people and their dearest and nearest relations and as such is only metaphorically referred to, to express their national being. The independence of Hindusthan means therefore the independence of their people, race, and their nation. Therefore Indian Swarajya or Swatantrya means the political independence of the Hindus, the freedom which would enable them to grow to their full height.

Only geographically speaking India as a land

and a state was absolutely independent of any other non-Indian powers when an Allaudin Khilzee, Tipu or an Aurangzeb ruled over hev. They were hereditary Indians, nay, were the sons of converted Hindu mothers. Did that mean that the rule of Tipu or Aurangzeb was a Swarajya to the Hindus? Even some Englishmen are and may continue territorially born to be Indians, can, therefore, the over lordship of these Anglo-Indians be a "Swarajya" to the Hindus? No. The Hindus know that that kind of independence of India proved a veritable death warrant to the Hindu Nation. That is why Sanga and Partap, Guru Govind Singh and Bir Banda, Shivaji and Baji Rao fought and fell and won in the end and established a Hindu Empire under the Mahrattas, The Rajputs, The Sikhs, the Gorkhas throughout our motherland and saved our Hindudom from the clutches of the non-Hindu aggression. Does it not prove to a hilt that merely the geographical independence or swarajya of Hindusthan does not mean the Independence of Hindu Nation—nay, may at times prove a positive curse to their race.

Hindusthan is dear to the Hindus because it has been and is the home of their race, the land which has been the cradle of their prophets


and heroes and Gods and Godmen. Otherwise land for land there may be many a country as rich in Gold and Silver on the face of the earth. River for river the Missicpi is nearly as good as the Ganges and its waters are not altogether bitter. The stones and trees and greens in Hindusthan are just as good or bad stones and trees and greens of the respective species elsewhere. Hindusthan is a Fatherland and a Holyland to them not because it is a land entirely unlike any other land in the world but because it is associated with their history, has been the home of their fore-fathers, wherein their mothers gave them the first suckle at their breast and their fathers cradled them on their knees from generation to generation.

The cottage wherein our beloved dwells, grows dearer to our eyes than a palace elsewhere. But let the dear faces disappear from it and go to dwell elsewhere and the cottage shrinks suddenly to the wretched hut that it was. We discard it and follow our beloved to her new abode. So, with the nations also. Look at the Jews or Parsees, when the Arabians invaded them and only a choice was left to them between their land and their racial and cultural identity

they left the land rather than their religious and racial identity and with their book and culture went away in search of a more congenial abode. They refused to barter away their racial soul for a mere mess of pottage, a mere bit of lifeless earth.

The real meaning of swarajya, therefore, is not merely the geographical independence of the bit of earth called Hindusthan. To the Hindus independence of Hindusthan can only be worth having if that ensures their Hindutva, their religious, racial and cultural identity. The Hindus are not out to fight and die for a "Swarajya" which could only be had at the cost of their selfhood, i. e. Hindutva itself.

The Hindus do not want a change of masters, are not going to struggle and fight and die only to replace an Edward by an Aurangzeb, simply because the latter happens to be born within Indian borders, but they want henceforth to be masters themselves in their own house, in their own land.



Chapter IV.

HINDUSTHAN.

The name "Hindusthan" must continue to be the appellation of our country. Such other names as India, Hind etc. being derived from the same original word Sindhu may be used but only to signify the same sense....the land of Hindus, a country which is the abode of the Hindu Nation. Aryavarta, Bharat-Bhoomi and such other names are of course the ancient and the most cherished epithets of our Motherland and will continue to appeal to the cultured elite. In this insistence that the mother land of the Hindus must be called but "Hindusthan", no encroachment or humiliation is implied in connection with any our non-Hindu countrymen. Our Parsee and Christian countrymen are already too akin to us culturally and are too patriotic and the Anglo-Indians too sensible to refuse to fall in line with us Hindus on so legitimate a ground. So far as our Moslem countrymen are

concerned it is useless to conceal the fact that some of them are already inclined to look upon this molehill also as an insuperable mountain in their way to Hindu-Moslem unity. But they should remember that the Moslems do not dwell only in India nor are the Indian Moslems the only heroic remnants of the faithful Islam. China has crores of Moslems. Greece, Palestine and even Hungary and Poland have thousands of Moslems amongst their nationals. But being there a minority, only a community, their existence in these countries has never been advanced as a ground to change the ancient names of these countries which indicate the abodes of those races whose overwhelming majority own the land. The country of the Poles continues to be Poland and of the Grecians as Greece. The Moslems there did not or dared not to distort them but are quite content to distinguish themselves as Polish-Moslems or Grecian-Moslems or Chinese-Moslems when occasion arises. So also our Moslem countrymen may distinguish themselves nationally or territorially whenever they want, as "Hindusthanee-Moslems" without comprising in the least their separateness as a religious or cultural entity. Nay, the Moslems have been calling themselves as "Hindusthanis"

ever since their advent in India, of their own accord.

But if inspite of it all some irracible Moslem sections amongst our countrymen object even to this name of our country, that is no reason why we should play cowards to our own conscience. We Hindus must not betray or break up the continuity of our Nation from the Sindhus in Rigvedic days to the Hindus of our own generation which is implied in 'Hindusthan' the accepted appellation of our Motherland. Just as the land of the Germans is Germany, of the English England, of the Turks Turkasthan, of the Afghans Afghanisthan—even so we must have it indelibly impressed on the map of the earth for all times to come as "Hindusthan"—the land of Hindus.

Hindusthan to us does not only mean the so-called British India but comprises even those parts which are under the French and the Portuguese possession. Gomantak and Pondechery are as integral parts of our Motherland as Maharashtra or Bengal. From the Indus to the Himalayas, from the Himalayas to Tibet, from Tibet to Burma and from Burma to the Southern and

Western Seas run the lines of the boundaries of our Land. The whole territory including Kashmere and Nepal, Gomantak, Pondechery and other French possessions constitutes our national and territorial unit. And this whole constitutes our country-Hindusthan and must remain one, indivisible and integral.



Chapter V.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG.

The Kundlini Kripanankit (कुण्डलिनीकृपाणकित) Gerna Flag is the Flag of the Hindu Nation with its OM (ओम्) the Swastika and the Sword, it appeals to sentiments cherished by our race ever since the Vedic days. It gives us a message of unity, spirituality, good behaviour, enjoyment, liberation, sacrifice, realisation and resistance to evils. The mere sight of it brings forth in our hearts our cultural, religious and historical ambitions and our traditions and the ideal of our integral and indivisible country. This Flag does not belong to any particular individual or sect. It contains the internal and secret meanings of all the component parts of Hindu Nation. The colour of the Flag is Bhagwa that is ochre and it signifies sacrifice. The life should be one of sacrifice and renunciation and this ochre colour is the essence of sacrifice and renunciation.

Service is our motto. The attainment of knowledge is our aim and the progress of the world lies in it. The scientists have even admitted it. Knowledge, liberation and service are represented by Kundlini on this Flag. The sword is necessary for the progress of mankind and self-defence and to kill and harass the wicked and to protect the good. It is essential and if the wicked and wrong-doers obstruct us in our aim of emancipation then to protect ourselves and to punish them is justice and this will of ours is depicted by the sword on the Flag. In brief this Flag of ours depicts all our spiritual and material ambitions.

It must be emphasized in this connection that all those Hindu Flags other than this which are current amongst the Hindus as the colours of the different constituents which go to form our Pan-Hindu brotherhood such as the Sanatanists, The Sikhs, the Jains, the Aryas etc will be respected by every Hindu as his own, in as much as they are but different manifestations of the common Pan-Hindu Spirit.

Nor should it be supposed that the Hindu Flag implies any inherent antagonism to the

several colours of our non-Hindu countrymen. The Moslems are welcome to have their own religious colours to represent their own community. In short we shall respect any Flag which any section of our countrymen adopt whether religious or political, whether it is the Moslem League flag or the Congress Tricolours or the Red one, -so long as it continues to respect in return the Pan-Hindu Flag and does not antagonise it but continues as allied colours. But Hinduism as a whole will be represented by the Pan-Hindu Flag alone.



Chapter VI.

Our National Language and Script.

The Sanskrit shall be our “देवभाषा” our sacred language and the “Sanskrit Nishtha” Hindi the Hindi which is derived from Sanskrit and draws its nourishment from the latter, is our “मातृभाषा” mother tongue, our current national language. Besides being the richest and the most cultured of the ancient languages of the world, to us Hindus the Sanskrit is the holiest tongue of tongues. Our scriptures, history, philosophy and culture have their roots so deeply embedded in the Sanskrit literature that it forms veritably the brain of our Race. Mother of the majority of our mother tongues, she has suckled the rest of them at her breast. All Hindu languages current today whether derived from Sanskrit or grafted on to it can only grow and flourish on the sap of life they imbibe from the Sanskrit. The Sanskrit language therefore, must ever be an indispensable constituent of the classical

course for Hindu youths.

In adopting the Hindi as the national tongue of Hindudom no humiliation or any invidious distinction is implied as regards other provincial tongues. We are all as attached to our Provincial tongues as to Hindi and they will all grow and flourish in their respective spheres. In fact some of them are today more progressive and richer in literature. But nevertheless, taken all in all the Hindi can serve the purpose of a National Pan-Hindu Language best. It must also be remembered that the Hindi is not made a national language to order. The fact is that long before either the English or even the Moslems stepped in India the Hindi in its general form had already come to occupy the position of a national tongue throughout Hindusthan. The Hindu pilgrim, the tradesmen, tourist, the soldier, the Pandit travelled up and down from Bengal to Sindh and Kashmere to Rameshwar by making himself understood from locality to locality through Hindi just as the Sanskrit was the national language of the Hindu intellectual world even so Hindi has been for at least a thousand years in the past the National Indian Tongue of the Hindu community. Added to that

and as a consequence of that we find even today that it is understood and even spoken as a mother tongue by a far larger number of people than is the case with any other Hindu language. Consequently it must be made compulsory for every Hindu student through secondary schools at any rate to learn Hindi as his Pan-Hindu National Language without neglecting in the least his training in his provincial mother tongue.

By Hindi we of course mean the pure 'Sanskrit Nistha' Hindi, as we find it for example in the "Satyarath Parkash" written by Mahrishi Dayanand Saraswati. How simple and untainted with a single unnecessary foreign word is that Hindi and how expressive withal. It may be mentioned in passing that Swami Dayanand ji was about the first Hindu leader who gave conscious and definite expression to the view that Hindi should be the Pan-Hindu National language of India. 'This Sanskrit Nistha' Hindi has nothing to do with that hybrid, the so-called Hindusthani which is being hatched up by the Wardha Scheme. It is nothing short of a linguistic monstrosity and must be ruthlessly suppressed. Not only that but it is our bounden duty to oust out as ruthlessly all unnecessary

alien words whether Arabian or English, from every Hindu tongue-whether provincial or dialectal. We are not against the English or any other language: nay, we insist on the study of the English as an indispensable necessity and a profitable passport to world literature. But we must not allow the influx of alien words into our language without checking their pass and testing their necessity. Our Hindu brethren in Bengal are especially to be congratulated upon in this connection because the Bengali literature is admirably free from any such unclean admixture of unnecessary alien words which cannot be said regarding our other provincial tongues and literature.

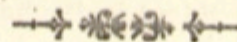
The Nagri shall be the National Script of Hindudom. Our Sanskrit alphabetical order is phonetically about the most perfect which the world has yet devised and almost all our current Indian scripts already follow it. Like the Hindi language the Nagri Script too has already been current for centuries all over India amongst the Hindu literary circles for some two thousand years at any rate in the past and was even popularly nick-named as the "Sastra Lipi" the script of our Hindu scriptures. With a little

touch here and there it could be reformed so as to render it as suitable to modern mechanical printing as the Roman script. Such a Reform movement was set on foot in Maharashtra about some forty years ago by Mr. Vaidya and others. An organised movement later on under Veer Savarkar's lead met with an amount of practical success and has already popularised it. We strongly recommend that as an immediate step to popularise Nagri as our national script, all our Hindu Papers in different provinces should begin to publish at least a couple of columns of their provincial languages in Nagri script. It is a matter of common knowledge that if Bengali or Gujrati is printed in Nagri it is more or less understood by readers in several other provinces. To have only one common language throughout Hindusthan at a stroke is impracticable and unwise. But to have the Nagri script as the only common script throughout Hindusthan is much more feasible. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the different Hindu scripts current in our different provinces have a future of their own and may flourish side by side with the Nagri. All that is immediately indispensable in the common interest of Hindudom as a whole is that the Nagri script must be made a compul-

sory subject along with the Hindi language in every school in the case of Hindu students.

It is interesting to remind you here how two prominent congress Presidents proposed to solve this problem of a National tongue and a National Script. Pandit Nehru thinks, leaving even Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad far behind who only proposes Hindusthani which he assures us is tantamount to Urdu—that the highly Arabianised Urdu of the Aligarh School or the Usmania University School is best fitted to be the National Language of India including of course some twenty-eight crores of Hindus. While Desha Gaurav Subhash Babu improving upon the situation beat even Panditji's ingenuity hollow by proposing from the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress that Roman Script would suit India as the best National Script. That is how the Congress ideology approaches things National! Roman Script to be the National Script of India! How eminently practicable, to say the least! Our Basu-mati, Ananda Bazar Patrika and all Bengali, Mahratti and other papers to appear every day in Roman Script! The Bande Matram Song to be printed in this new National style as

"Tomari Pratima ghadibe Mandire Mandire" and the Gita to begin with in this following attractive setting as:- "Dharma Khsetre Kuru-shetre Shama-vetah Yuyutsavah" and so on and so on." It is true as Subhas Babu says that Kemal Pasha abolished the Arabian Script as unsuited to print and took to Roman Script. But this fact has lesson for our Mohammedan zealots who want the Urdu Script, that is this very Arabian style, to thrust even on the Hindus as an upto-date National Script and has no connection with the Hindus. Kemal Pasha took to the Roman Script because the Turks had nothing better of their own to fall back upon. The Andamanees pick up Kauris and make a necklace of them, —but is that the reason why the Kuber also should do the same.? We Hindus, should rather call upon Arabia and Europe to adopt the Nagri Script, and Hindi language, such a proposal should not sound very impracticable to such inveterate 'optimist at any rate who seriously advances it as a very practical proposal to make Urdu the National Language of the Maharathas and to expect all our Arya Samaj Gurukuls to study the Vedas in Roman Script.



Chapter VII.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

The Hindu Mahasabha is the national representative body of Hindudom. It aims at the all round regeneration of the Hindu people. The Mahasabha takes its stand on no dogma, no book or school of philosophy whether pantheist, monotheist or atheist. All that it is concerned with, so far as "ism" is concerned, is the common characteristic, which a Hindu by the very fact of professing allegiance to a religion or faith of Indian origin necessarily possesses, of regarding India as his Holyland—the cradle and temple of his faith.

Mahasabha is not a Hindu Dharama-Sabha
but Hindu-Rashtra-Sabha.

Thus, while only indirectly concerned with Hinduism which is only one of the many aspects of Hindutva, it is mainly concerned with other aspects of Hindutva resulting from the second

constituent of possessing a common fatherland. The Mahasabha is not therefore in the main a Hindu-Dharam-Sabha but is pre-eminently a Hindu-Rashtra-Sabha and is a Pan-Hindu organisation shaping the destinies of the Hindu nation in all its social, political and cultural aspects. It leaves religious questions regarding theism, monotheism and pantheism or even atheism to be discussed and determined by the different Hindu schools of religious persuasions.

As a national Hindu body it will of course propagate and defend the National Hindu church comprising each and all religions of Hindusthani origin against any non-Hindu attack or encroachment. Its sphere of activity is far more comprehensive than that of an exclusively religious body. The Hindu Mahasabha identifies itself with the national life of Hindudom in all its entirety, in all its social, economical, cultural and above all political aspects and is pledged to protect and promote all that contributes to the freedom, strength and glory of the Hindu nation and as an indispensable means to that end to attain Purna Swarajya—absolute political Independence of Hindusthan by all legitimate and proper means.

Mahasabha not a communal, and anti-Indian organisation.

Some of our well meaning but unthinking sections of Indian patriots, who look down upon the Mahasabha as a communal, narrow and anti-Indian body only because it represents Hindudom and tries to protect its just rights, forget the fact that communal and parochial are only relative terms and do not by themselves imply a condemnation or curse. Are not they themselves who swear by the name of Indian Nationalism in season and out season liable to the same charge of parochialness? If the Mahasabha represents the Hindu Nation only, they claim to represent the Indian Nation alone. But is not the concept of an Indian Nation itself a parochial conception in relation to Human State? In fact the Earth is our Motherland and Humanity our Nation. Nay, the Vedantist goes further and claims this Universe for his country and all manifestations from the stars to the stone his own self, "द्रामुचा स्वदेश । भुवनत्रयामध्येवास ।" says Tukaram! Why then take the Himalayas to cut us off from the rest of Mankind, deem ourselves as a separate nation as Indians and fight with every other country and the English in particular who after all are

our brothers in-Humanity! Why not sacrifice Indian interests to those of the British Empire which is a larger political synthesis? The fact is that all patriotism is more or less parochial and communal and is responsible for dreadful wars throughout human history. Thus the Indian patriots who instead of starting and joining some movement of an universal state, stop short of it, join an Indian Movement and yet continue to mock at the Hindu Sanghatan, as narrow and communal and parochial, succeed only in mocking at themselves

But if it is said in justification of Indian Patriotism that the people who populate India are more akin to each other bound by the ties of a common ancestry, language, culture, history etc. than they are to any other people outside India and therefore we Indians feel it our first duty to protect our nation from the political domination and aggression of other non-Indian nations, then, the same reason could be adduced to justify the Hindu Sanghatan Movement as well.

No movement is condemnable simply because it is sectional, so long as it tries to defend

the just and fundamental rights of a particular nation or people or community against the unjust and overbearing aggression of other human aggregates and does not infringe on equal and just rights and liberties of others, it cannot be condemned or looked down simply because the nation or community is a smaller aggregate in itself. But when a nation or community treads upon the rights of sister nations or communities and aggressively stands in the way of forming larger associations and aggregates of mankind, its nationalism or communalism becomes condemnable from a human point of view. This is the acid test of distinguishing a justifiable nationalism or communalism from an unjust and harmful one. The Hindu Sanghatan movement, call it national, communal or parochial as you like, stands as much justified by this real test as our Indian Patriotism can be.

Hindu Mahasabha is perfectly National in its outlook.

For, what does the Hindu Mahasabha aim at? As the national representative body of Hindudom it aims at all round regeneration of the Hindu people. But the absolute political independence of Hindusthan is a *Sine qua non* for that all round regeneration of Hindudom.

The fortunes of the Hindus are more inextricably and more closely bound up with India than that of any other Non-Hindu sections of our country-men. After all the Hindus are the bedrock on which an Indian independent state could be built.

To a Hindu, India is all in all of his National Being. That is the reason why the Hindus predominate in the struggle that is going on for the overthrow of the political domination of England over this country. It is the Hindus who went to the gallows, faced transportation to the Anadamins by hundreds and got imprisoned by thousands in the fight for the liberation of Hindusthan. Even the Indian National Congress owes its growth to Hindu brain and to Hindu sacrifice and its present position to Hindu labours in the main. A Hindu patriot worth the name cannot but be an Indian patriot as well. In this sense the consolidation and the independence of Hindu Nation is but another name for the independence of the Indian Nation as a whole. For, the Hindu Sanghatanists know full well that no regeneration of Hindudom could be brought about and no honour and equal place could be secured for the Hindu

Nation amongst the Nations of the world unless Swarajya and Swatantrya are won for Hindusthan, their Fatherland and Holyland.

Mahasabha not the outcome of a reaction to Muslim League but of Fundamental necessity of national life.

Many a superficial critic seems to fancy that the Mahasabha was only contrived to serve as a make weight, as a reaction check-mating the Moslem League or the anti-Hindu policy of the present leaders of the Congress and will be out of court or cease automatically to function as soon as it is shorn of this spurious excuse to exist. But it is clear that it was not the outcome of any frothy effusion, any fussy agitation to remove a grievance here or oppose a seasonal Party there. The fact is that every organism whether individual or social which is living and deserves to survive throws out offensive and defensive organs as soon as it is brought to face adversely changing environments. The Hindu Nation too as soon as it recovered and freed itself from the suffocating grip of the Pseudo-Nationalistic ideology of the Congress brand developed a new organ to battle in the struggle for existence under the changed conditions of

modern age. This was the Hindu Mahasabha. It grew up of a fundamental necessity of national life and not of any ephemeral incident. The constructive side of its aims and objects make it amply clear that its mission is as abiding as the life of the Nation itself. But leaving that apart, even the day to day necessity of adapting its policy to the ever changing political currents make it incumbent on Hindudom to have an exclusively Hindu organisation independent of any moral or intellectual servility or subservience to any non-Hindu or jointly representative institution, to guard Hindu interest and save them from being jeopardised.

Mahasabha will continue its mission even after Hindusthan is politically free.

It is not so only under the present political subjection of Hindusthan but it will be all the more necessary to have such an exclusively Hindu organisation to serve as a watch-tower at the gates of Hindudom for at least a couple of centuries to come, even after Hindusthan is partially or wholly free and a National Parliament controls its political destiny.

Because, unless something altogether cata-

clysmic in nature upsets the whole political order of things in the world which practical politics cannot envisage today, all that can be reasonably expected in immediate future is that we Hindus may prevail over England and compel her to recognise India as a self-governing unit with the status contemplated in the West Minister Statute. Now a National Parliament in such a self-governing India can only reflect the electorate as it is, the Hindus and the Moslems as we find them their relations a bit bettered, perhaps a bit worsened. No realist can be blind to the probability that the extra-territorial designs and the secret urge goading on the Moslems to transform India into a Moslem state may at any time confront the Hindusthani State even under self-government either with a Civil War or treacherous overtures to alien invaders by the Moslems. Then again there is very likelihood that there will ever continue at least for a century to come a danger of fanatical riots, the scramble for services, legislative seats, weightages out of proportion to their population on the part of the Moslem minority and consequently a constant danger threatening internal peace. To checkmate this probability which if we are wise we must always keep in view even

after Hindusthan attains the status of a self-governing country, a powerful and exclusive organisation of Hindudom like the Hindu Mahasabha will always prove a sure and devoted source of strength, a reserve force for the Hindus to fall back upon to voice their grievances more effectively than the joint Parliament can do, to scent danger ahead, to warn the Hindus in time against it and to fight out if needs be any treacherous design to which the joint state itself may unwittingly fall a victim.

The history of Canada, of Palestine, of the movement of the young Turks will show you that in every state where two or more such conflicting elements as the Hindus and Moslems in India happen to exist as constituents, the wiser of them has to keep its exclusive organisation in tact, strong and watchful to defeat any attempt at the betrayal or the capture of the National State by the opposite party; especially so if that party has extraterritorial affinities religious or cultural, with alien bordering states. This tussle between such constituents of such a state must continue till slowly if ever they all learn to get themselves merged by developing a spirit of corporate patriotism into

a consolidated nation. If the Hindus take this realistic truth to heart they will try their utmost to consolidate and strengthen the Pan-Hindu organisation which is already gathering force and has struck its roots deep in the Hindu soil. The nearer you are to Swarajya the more indispensable grows the necessity of a strong and consolidated Pan-Hindu organisation or rather the stronger grows the Pan-Hindu organisation the nearer it takes you to real "Swa" —Rajya.



Part II.

The Policy.

Chapter I

"The National Constitution of Hindusthan"

The Hindu Sanghatanists aim to base the future constitution of Hindusthan on the following broad principles:—

- A. Hindusthan from the Indus to the Seas will and must remain as an organic nation and integral centralised state.
- B. The residuary powers shall be vested in the Central Government.
- C. All citizens shall have equal rights and obligations irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion- provided they avow and owe an exclusive and devoted allegiance to the Hindusthani State.
- D. The fundamental rights of liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, of worship, of association etc. will be enjoyed by all citizens alike whatever restrictions will be imposed on them in the interest of the public peace and order or national emergency will not be based

on any religious or racial considerations alone but on common national ground.

- E, "One man one vote" will be the general rule irrespective of creed, caste, race or religion
- F. Representation in the Legislature etc shall be in proportion to the population of the majority and minorities.
- G. Services shall go by merit alone.
- H All minorities shall be given effective safeguards to protect their language, religion, culture etc. but none of them shall be allowed to create 'a state within a state' or to encroach upon the legitimate rights of the majority.
- I. Every minority may have separate schools to train up their children in their own tongue, their own religious institutions or cultural and can receive government help also for these, but always in proportion to the taxes they pay into the common exchequer.
- J. In case the constitution is not based on joint electorates and on the unalloyed national principle of one man one vote, but is based on the communal basis then those minorities who wish to have separate electorates or reserve seats will be allowed to have them, - but always in proportion to their population

and provided that it does not deprive the majority also of an equal right in proportion to its population too.

We believe that our Christian, Parsee, the Jews and other minorities -except the Moslems, will be perfectly satisfied with the constitution based on these principles as broadly outlined above. Because the Christians, the Jews and most eminently the Parsees are too allied to us in culture and too patriotic, while the Anglo-Indians too sensible, to fail to see that no constitution if it has to keep the integrity, sovereignty and strength of the National State safe can go any further and that it is all that is really required to safeguard any genuine special interests of the minorities as distinguished from those of the majority. Only that minority will insist to have still more and yet more to the last pound of flesh which in fact cherishes secret design to disintegrate the State, to create a state within a state or altogether to subvert the National State and hold all others under its subjection. Fortunately no section of our country-men belonging to the non-Moslem minorities mentioned above harbours this treasonable design. It is only with regards to the



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lity of the Indian moslims who still live and move and have their being in religiousity.

Consequently their political and cultural mentality also is essentially anti-Hindu and is bound to be so as long as they continue to be Moslems and "the faithfuls." They are vividly conscious of the fact that they entered India as conquerors and subjected the Hindus to their rule. They are also gifted with a curious memory that is supremely oblivious of all events which remind them of their defects and discomfitures. They will never remember that the Hindus beat them like a chip in a hundred battlefields in India and had in the long run freed all India from the Moslem yoke and re-established Hindu-Pad-Padshahi. They know, they form a powerful minority in India. Their population is growing in every successive census report. What is to be especially noted by our Hindu Sanghatanists is the fact that some of our Hindu superstitions and suicidal social customs like the untouchability, the ban on Shuddi, on widow re-marriages etc. etc. offer them a fertile field for Moslem proselytisation and conversion. So under the present circumstances they rightly hope to increase their population and decrease the Hin-

dus with equal rapidity. They know that the British are sure, for a long time to come, to offer them every facility and help to strengthen the Moslem position against the Hindus whose rise and political ambitions the British wholeheartedly dread. They are also sure that the Congressite Hindus in their pursuit of the silly fad of bringing about a Hindu Moslem unity in India based on the impossible common bond of a territorial unity only, are certain to yield to Moslem demands with an amount of Moslem brow beating as regards weightages, special and larger representation etc. and especially in suppressing the Hindu Sanghatan movement that is at present the only thorn in their sides.

Their Anti-Hindu designs.

They want the unalloyed Urdu to be raised to the position of the national tongue of Indian State although it is not spoken as mother tongue by more than a couple of crores of Moslems themselves, and is not understood by some twenty crores of people in India—Moslems, included; in spite of the fact that it can claim no more literary merit than Hindi which is the mother tongue of some seven crores of people and is easily understood by some ten crores

more! While the Arabian language itself on which Urdu is fed is deemed outlandish by Kemal and the Turks in the land of the Khalifas itself, the Moslems expect some twenty five crores of Hindus to learn it and to adopt it as their national tongue!

As to the national script, the Moslems insist on adopting the Urdu script and would have nothing to do, at any rate so far as they are concerned, with the Nagri! Why? Kemal may have discarded the Arabian script itself as unsuited to the present day needs, the Nagri may be more scientific, more amenable to printing, more easy to learn, may already be current amongst or known to twenty crores of people in Hindusthan, yet the Urdu script must be the state script and the Urdu the state language for the only merit that attaches to them of being recognised by the Mohammedans as their cultural asset and therefore to make room for it, the culture of the Hindus and other non-Moslem sections in Hindusthan must go to dogs!

They will not tolerate the 'Vande Matram' song. The poor unity hankers amongst the Hindus hastened to cut it short. But the Moslem

would not tolerate even the piece of it cut to order. Drop the whole song, and you will find that the Moslems would demand that the very words 'Vande Matram' are a standing insult to them! Get a new song composed even by an over-generous Ravindra, Moslems would have nothing to do with it because Ravindra being a Hindu could not but commit the heinous offence of using some Sanskrit words as 'Jati' instead of 'Kaum', 'Bharat' or 'Hindusthan' instead of 'Pakisthan'!

They want Hindusthan to be cut into two pieces (i) Hindusthan, (ii) Pakisthan and thus spoil the very integrity of country; or demand right of provincial self-determination with powers to secede from the Central Government thus making it impossible for a strong Government to work.

To let our readers know their mind it shall not be out of place to quote here Ali Musaliar the leader of the Mopla rebellion who had given out their mind in the most intelligible terms possible. In justification of his atrocious campaign of forcibly converting thousands of Hindus or putting them to sword-men, women and child-

ren at a stroke, he proclaimed that India must be united into a nation and the only way to bring about lasting Hindu-Moslem unity could not be other than all Hindus should become Moslems and those Hindus who refused to do so were traitors to the cause of Unity and deserved death.

Having explained the Moslem outlook and their design now we pass over to some of the schools of thought concerning the Hindu-Moslem unity and the easy solution put forward by them.

The Gandhist school of thought thinks that the Hindu-Moslem conflict is the creation of third party i.e. the British and as soon as this party is off, Hindu-Moslem unity will dawn automatically. This school fancies that the Moslems left to themselves would never indulge in any anti-national, ulterior and anti-Hindu designs and they had no aggressive political aims of their own against the Hindus. Nay, even the Frontier tribes, the 'brave brothers Moplas,' the Moslem populations in Bengal or Sindh who indulged in horrible outrages against Hindus have no taste for it all, no urge within them-

selves but were almost compelled to rise and revolt against the Hindus by the third party 'the Britishers.' This school further argues that when the British did not step in Hindus and Moslems lived together in perfect amity and brotherly concord and Hindu Moslem riots was a thing simply unheard of.

To this school of thought we ask, were all the Moslem invaders Mohd. Kasims, Gazanis, Ghoris, Allaudins and Aurangzebs instigated by the British, the third party, to lay waste Hindusthan with a mad fanatical fury? Is the history of the last ten centuries of perpetual war between the Hindus and Moslems an interpolation and a myth. They say "Before the British came, Hindu moslem riots were a thing unheard of; " Yes, but because instead of riots Hindu moslem wars were the order of the day. And our reply to them is that this conflict is not the creation of the third party but a historical and cultural conflict and a legacy handed down to us by centuries of a cultural, religious and national antagonism between the Hindus and Moslems. The British policy at times when it suits British interests does of course act as a match but the explosive magazine is genuinely Moslem. No

doubt, it can be held in check but woe to him who overlooks its existence and dupes himself into the belief that the match itself is the magazine. If not the British make, any other match may serve the same purpose. Nay, spontaneous combustion is also its peculiar characteristic. Secondly the Moslems are a practical politicians to a fault. So, they in general, yield to and ally instinctively with the stronger, even if he be their worse opponent and continue to bully the weaker. Has not England reduced them to the subject race in India and elsewhere? But today England is the stronger of the two. So, they will fawn on England and continue to aggrandise against the Hindus. If to-morrow the Hindus grow stronger, they will be yielding to Hindus, too, and behave as brothers as they did in Maharashtra and Punjab in the days of Peshwas or Ranjit Singh.

Then there is another school of thought which amuses itself with the thought and hopes against hopes that in as much as the majority of Indian Moslems also are in fact allied to us by race and language, in case had gone over to the Moslem fold in living memory of this very generation, they could easily be persuaded to

acknowledge this homogeneity and even blood relation with the Hindus and to merge themselves into a common National Being if but we only remind them of these affinities and appeal to them in their name. This school of thought is really to be pitied. As if the Moslems do not know of it at all! The fact is that the Moslems know of these affinities all but too well, the only difference to be taken into account being that while the Hindus love these affinities which bind a Hindu to a Hindu and to dwell on them with pride—the Moslems hate the very mention of them and are trying to eradicate the very memory of it all. Some of them fabricate histories and genealogies to connect their origin with Arabians or Turks; they are trying to carve out a separate language for themselves and graft it as best as they can on the Arabian stock; they are carrying on a campaign against the Hindu family names such as "Tambe" and "Modak" which in parts like the Kokan convert-Moslems still bear and replace them by Arabian ones and are bent on widening the cleavage deeper and broader by removing every trace which may remind them of having once something in common with the Hindu stock. Their religious and theocratic traditions join hands in

impressing upon their mind that Hindusthan is not and cannot be a Dar-ul-Islam, their country which they may love until and unless the Hindus-the Kafars are either converted to a man to Islam or are reduced to helotage paying the Zazia to some would-be Moslem Sovereignty over this land. The very word "Hindusthan" stinks in their nostrils. We are not referring to this here in any spirit of either condemnation or justification, but telling the simple fact which no Moslem can honestly contest that Islam as a whole wants, on a deliberate design, to assert itself in India as a Nation altogether heterogeneous with the Hindus and having nothing in common with them.

Another school of thought thinks that the difference between the two is but the creation of mistrust and to remove it the demands of the Moslems should be met to the greatest extent possible. They have gone even to the extent of accepting the grant of provincial self-determination with power to secede and breaking of Hindusthan which is discussed in detail in a separate Chapter.

The last of all these schools is the school of

thought that bases all History or human relations on economics and suggests a solution on the same basis. This school maintains that economics is the main stay of man and therefore the economical community of interest provides the only and the best solvent of all religious, racial and other antipathies that divide Hindus and Moslems in India in particular and mankind in the world in general.

To this we say, that man is not altogether an economical being. It has been well said by Christ that man does not live by bread alone. As it is spiritually true it is also true in the racial, cultural, national and several other aspects that go to constitute the human nature. Therefore the attempt to interpret all human history and human activities in economical terms alone is altogether onesided and amounts to maintaining that man has no other urge in him to live but hunger. Besides hunger, the problem of bread, man has other appetites as fundamental as that, sensual, intellectual, sentimental, some natural, some acquired, some personal, some social and his Being is a complex one; so also is his history. Man has a stomach but the stomach is not man. Therefore the solution suggested to the effect

Sukkur District, that their economical interests are one with the Hindus and thus convert them into human brotherhood is bosh? Well, let them try it who like? But how many centuries will it take? And what are the Hindus to do in the meanwhile? It is just to match the monomaniac remedy of Gandhist's school the spinning wheel by which it wants to convert the whole world into Ahinsa and make it resort to eternal disarmament! Yet, let the wise mouse himself be asked to put into practice his excellent suggestion to bell the cat and let all others in the meanwhile take to other practical contrivances and steps to save themselves!

The Real Solution.

Having gone through into this subject we now come to the conclusion that the Hindu Moslem conflict is neither a simple thing and nor the creation of the third party but a strife of different cultures and races and nations and a legacy handed down to us by centuries of cultural, religious and national antagonism between the Hindus and Moslems. And the day we gave the Moslems to understand that Swarajya could not be won unless and until they obliged us by making a common cause with us that day

we rendered an honourable unity impossible. This our hankering after willow-the wisp of a Hindu-Moslem unity without first ascertaining its real origin and continuance enhanced this conflict all the more. It is no wonder that when an overwhelming majority in a country goes on its knees before an antagonistic minority such as the Moslems imploring it to lend its helping hand and assuring it that otherwise the majority community is doomed to death then the minor community does not sell its assistance at the highest bid possible and thus hasten the doom of the major community and aim to establish its own political sovereignty in the land.

Therefore the foremost thing essential for unity is to declare that the Hindus wanted and do want only that kind of unity which will go to create an Indian State in which all citizens irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion are treated all alike on the principle of one man one vote. The Hindus, though they form the overwhelming majority in the land, do not want any special privileges for our Hindudom; nay more, we are even willing to guarantee special protection for the language, culture, and religion of the Mohammedans as a minority if they also

promise not to infringe on the equal liberty of other communities in India to follow their own ways within their own respective houses and not to try to dominate and humiliate the Hindus. But knowing full well the anti-Indian designs of the Pan-Islamic movement, with a link of Moslem nations from Arabia to Afghanistan bound by their recent offensive alliances and the ferocious tendencies of the frontier tribes to oppress the Hindus out of religious and racial hatred, we Hindus are not going to trust the Moslems any longer with any more blank cheques. We are out to win Swarajya in which our selfhood along with the selfhood of all other constituents will be safe. We are not out to fight with England only to find a change of masters but we Hindus aim to be masters in our own house. A Swarajya that could only be had at the humiliation and cost of Hindutva itself is for us Hindus as good as suicide. If India is not freed from foreign domination the Indian Moslems cannot but be slaves themselves. If they feel it to be true, if and when they feel they cannot do without the assistance and the good will of the Hindus let them come then to ask for unity and that also not to oblige the Hindus but to oblige themselves. A Hindu

Moslem unity which is effected thus is worth having. The Hindus have realized to their cost that in this case seeking unity is losing it. Henceforth the Hindu formula for Hindu-Moslem unity is only this— "If you come, with you; if you don't, without you; and if you oppose, inspite of you; -the Hindus will continue to fight for their Freedom as best as they can".



Chapter III.

Hindu Nationalists Vs Pakistan or Provincial Self-determination.

Till a couple of years ago it were only the Moslems, who were fighting for Pakisthan and all our arguments, we had to address to them; but since the Cripps Mission and Congressites yielding to the Pakisthani demand in its worst form, conceding to the Pakistanees of the Provincial self-determination with powers to secede and the residuary powers to be vested in the provincial governments instead of the central government, a preposterous position has arisen. There has sprung up, politically speaking a hybrid of pro-Pakisthani Hindus and they have been infecting the Hindu mind as rapidly as a contagion and loathsome disease would do. Some of these Congressites are good Hindus, but they have been duped into believing that it is in the interest of the Hindus also to allow the Moslem provinces to secede and bring about

a final and ever lasting unity. Then there are very statesmanly Hindu personalities, who recognise no affiliation to any party or body as it behoves statesmanship but whose commitments, views and votes are nevertheless bound to be counted as Hindu ones. It is regrettable that many of these esteemed persons should have been ready to admit the principle of provincial secession and thus 'statesmanly' enough betray not only the Hindu cause but what they worship like a fetish, the nationalism as well. How these pro-Pakisthani Hindus are working to persuade the Hindus and even to persuade the Government to compel the Hindus to get persuaded can best be illustrated by the untiring effort of Mr. Rajgopalachari. This 'Acharya' has really been exerting himself with more sincerity and perverse fanaticism than any mad-Mullah known to history. Consequently the real danger to the integrity of India rises now more eminently from the mentality of the Pakisthani Hindus than from the efforts of the Pakisthani Moslems. We deliberately choose some of these points to argue, which we know from personal knowledge to weigh heavily on the minds, especially on that section of our Hindu brethren who still belong to the Congress persuasion but

who nevertheless have a Hindu heart.

(a) It must be noted first of all very carefully that there is fundamental difference between a provincial re-distribution and provincial self-determination to secede. The latter forms the essence of Pakistan whatever its other aspects or extents be. There is no fundamental objection from Hindu point of view to any re-distribution of provinces, whether on linguistic, military, financial, or any other reasonable ground, provided it does not weaken the national strength or cohesion and does not involve any underlying anti-National and anti-Hindu designs. But the question of provincial secession from the central State must be altogether ruled out in as much as it means nothing short of breaking up Hindusthan into pieces before a century passes away.

(b) Again the granting of the right to provinces to secede from the Central Government at their own sweet will and allow them to set up as separate states entirely independent of the Central Indian Government is far more dangerous than the demand for Pakistan meaning thereby freedom to cut off definite number

of provinces because they contain Moslem majority. The latter case of a Pakistan demand intolerable as it is and which also we must oppose with all our might does still come to the loss of a definite number of provinces. But the principle of self-determination cannot but form a veritable sword of Democles kept hanging on the head of the central State. It will be practically an invitation and instigation to any province to secede and blow up at a stroke the whole ground on which the Indian State has to stand. The majority of the Moslems is the only ground in Pakisthani demand for secession; but in admitting the principle of provincial secession, we shall have to face the demand on the part of any province at any time on any economical and any other conceivable ground to secede from the Central Government. Remember that the political centralisation in India is still passing through a phase of formation. The Indian Central State and the political integrity and cohesion are still standing on fissure rock. We cannot be cocksure that some time or other even some of those provinces, where there is not a Moslem majority may be caught up by disintegrating forces and rise against the Central Government and carried away by the provincial

or even sub-provincial egoistic fever, may demand secession and set themselves into separate States. America, Russia and several other nations can serve as danger signals to us in this connection. In fact, even those nations, which today are strongly unitary, had to pass through this phase and it was only a powerful centrifugal Force which kept the centri-petal tendencies on the part of their components, effectively suppressed, till they got slowly eliminated altogether.

(c) Those, who think it matters not much to allow the Moslems to form their independent Federation on the North West Frontier Provinces, in which there is already an overwhelming majority of the Moslems, should take into consideration the Military aspect, which makes such a surrender simply suicidal on our part. Can you ever find such a nation on the surface of the earth which would willingly hand over their strongest possible frontiers into the hands of those very people, who seceded from them and had been cherishing hereditary desire to dominate over it? Then again remember that on the heels of Pakisthan, there comes treading the demand for Pathanisthan: Those Frontier Pro-

vinces, if they get entirely free from the control of the Central Government are sure within measurable time to join hands with the tribals and form a contiguous Pathani state from Hindu-kush to the very banks of Jhelum. There can be no real unity unless and until this their design which for the very existence of 'Hindusthan' we can never willingly allow to fructify, is not cowardly allowed by letting go our hold on those mountain ranges, which form our national frontiers and frontier guards at once, throughout historical time. But why should we do it all? To avoid rupture with our Moslem friends? But what guarantee have you to believe that this rupture instead of getting lessened by our handing over our frontier to them as a free gift will not only get intensified? For, is it not more likely that those, who are now relatively weak and yet are talking of civil war, once they get an independent footing as a State, sufficient time and liberty to organise themselves and entrenched on the powerful frontier ranges, grown stronger precisely in the proportion, your position grows weaker by the withdrawal of your frontier? Unity, when it lays our nation exposed to more dangerous position is worse than open hostility.

(d) Some of our learned Hindu leaders after most complicated calculations maintain that there is no harm in allowing the Moslems to secede and form Pakisthani independent states in the North Western parts and North eastern parts, i. e. even in Bengal because they are bound to be crippled financially and economically and that they will soon themselves be compelled to repent for secession and go down on their knees, as our learned Hindu economists expect. So long as we continue to be so cowardly as to yield to any* preposterous demand on the part of the Moslems to keep up the show of unity and so terribly afraid of Moslem discontent as to allow even the integrity of our Motherland to get broken up into pieces—is it not more likely that this very financial and economical starvation of these would-be Moslem states may goad them on to encroach once more on our Hindu provinces and instigated by the religious fanaticism, which is so inflammable in the frontier tribes even now, and urged on by the ideal of a Pathanistan under the lead of the organised forces of the Ameer, may threaten to invade you if you do not hand over to them the remaining parts of the Punjab right up to Delhi to make them financially and eco-

nomically self-supporting? The example of the Tribes is before your eyes already. They carry out incursions almost every year into the Indian Provinces and loot, kidnap, murder, hold to ransom only the Hindus in particular as a rule. Although they are goaded on by Moslem fanaticism in the main, yet several Congressite Hindus were not found wanting in disgracefully condoning these nefarious activities of the tribal pathans on the ground of 'financial and even sexual starvation' from which those 'Poor souls' had to undergo inordinate sufferings. We are referring to facts howsoever disgraceful they maybe, and not to fictions. What guarantee there could ever be that given this cowardly and ever yielding inferiority complex on the part of the Hindus and this monomania for Hindu Moslem unity 'at all cost'—that in case these financially starved Pakisthani provinces invade the Hindu Provinces on their borders with far greater strength than they can now—ever—command—a troop of Hindus of such a mentality would not similarly condone their encroachments, sympathise with their demands and to vote for handing over even Delhi to those invading Moslems before a shot is fired in order just to make a show before the world of genuine

Hindu-Muslem unity or alliance? The "poor" Moslems in the Eastern Bengal are even now making their poverty a sufficient excuse and their fanaticism a merit, to loot and harass the Hindus whenever they find an opportunity to do so. When once you allow them to get organised into governmental strength as a separate Moslem Raj—do you think that this very financial starvation which you admit will cripple their would-be state, would provide them with a compelling cause to invade or harass the Hindus in Western Bengal and unless you are cured of this unity-mania, would you not be faced again with the same bogey—an alternative of handing over some rich slices of Bengal to save the Moslem state from perpetual starvation or be prepared to resist their perpetually growing demand?

(e) But some of our Pakisthani Hindu friends whisper in our ears "We know all these things, but our yielding for the time being is a craftiest stroke of policy. When we once get rid of these troublesome Moslem Provinces and are left free to organise unhindered by them, the unalloyed part of Hindusthan then we shall consolidate our Hindus and raise them into such a mighty

Military power so rapidly, that the Pakisthani provinces of the Moslems would be simply brow-beaten into submission." The only question that should be put to them by themselves is, "Have you not counted without the host—the British? Have you got any definite guarantee from the British that as soon as you yield to the Pakisthani demand they would clear out and leave you to organise your Hindusthan as you choose?

Secondly, even if that is done where is the magic wand that shall raise the Hindus into such a military power, while congress mentality continues to dominate a thousands of them? We thank you for your inner intention of raising the Hindus into an independent and strong power and for feeling as a Hindu of Hindus, but do you not think that the Moslems too would utilise that interval with a vengeance to strengthen their position and amalgamating themselves with their kith and kin across the frontier grow quick into a powerful Pathanisthan here or a Pakisthan there? Mind you, they have not a single Congressite among them and on the other hand, the Moslem minority in every province of your would-be Hindusthan would be dominating even Congressite Hindus here as they are

doing today creating the same troubles over again and demanding that you must come to terms with the Pakisthani states by sacrificing some more Hindu Provinces on the altar of the fetish of Hindu-Moslem unity as our 'Patriotic', 'Azads' and 'Alis' have been purposively doing today. And if you as a staunch Hindu realise that, in that case somewhere or the other, we shall have to resist the Moslems, then would it not be better to resist them today by flatly refusing even to listen to their insulting and intolerable demand, when they are relatively weaker and when we can prove relatively stronger by simply changing our yielding mentality and replacing it by the Hindu Sangathanist Ideology, pointing out to the aggressive tendency of the Moslems their right place and command them "thus far and not further".

(f) Some of our wise men also are labouring under the misconception that the question of Pakistan is just like the Ulster phase in Ireland. But the fact is that they are committing a grievous error in comparing the two and suggesting that just as the Irish accepted an Ulster we Hindus should accept the Pakistan. In Ireland there was a question of only a small

corner to be set aside as Ulster. But the Pakisthani demand seeks to break up India into a number of separate Moslem states and insists that there should be no Central Government of India at all; worst than that the principle of provincial secession at the sweet will of provinces was never raised in the Irish negotiations. Had this principle been not accepted or tolerated by the Irish there would have been no integral Ireland to-day. This principle of provincial secession if accepted by the Hindus, would sound the death-knell of our national cohesion, integrity and unity.

(g) The chain of reasoning which has succeeded over these Pakisthani Hindus comes to this—We want Swaraj, England is not going to bestow Swaraj unless and until there is a United demand and univocal constitution framed by Hindus and Moslems together. Moslems have made it clear that they will not join the Hindus in producing a united demand unless and until they are not allowed to break up integrity of India and Pakisthani states are allowed to be set up with no connection with any Central Government. Therefore we must satisfy the Moslems, yield to their Pakisthani demands

and get Swaraj.

How almost every word in this chain of reasoning is fallacious and the whole chain of reasoning is based on a foolish hope. Although we want Swarajya, yet that Swaraj must mean the Hindusthani Swarajya in which Hindu, Moslem and all other citizens all have equal responsibilities, equal duties and equal rights. Such a Swaraj would not even tolerate a particular community on religious grounds to get itself cut off from the Central Government, demand portions of our country which is the inalienable basis on which this our national Swarajya stands and any such aggressive claim on the part of a community would be immediately put down as an act of treachery by the united strength of the Central Government. Secondly, it is silly to believe that England is only waiting for a united demand and would walk out of India as that rag signed by the Hindus and Moslems is handed over to them. We emphatically assert that even if the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the League produce a United demand signed by all the Crores of Indian citizens and ask univocally for Independence, Britain will never give it for the mere asking. The supersti-

tion that if but the Congress and the League demanded with one voice anything in the world the demand would immediately prove irresistible, is responsible for making the real assets of the League inflated beyond all proportions. As soon as the League does join the Congress and even whole of India goes to England with a common demand England will say "Well boys, you have behaved wonderfully. Hindus Moslems all united in common demand for Independence. But as, all of you united, are still unitedly helpless, disarmed and unable to protect yourself, Great Britain must continue to rule over you even for the moral obligation to save you from the foreign aggression and your own internal anarchy." So, on the whole all that you do in this bargain is to pay the price knowing perfectly or rather foregoing with open eyes that the substantial thing for which you paid the price can never be delivered over to you. And after all what is the price? Vivisection of your Motherland and of your Holyland—the liquidating altogether of the spiritual, racial and above all the political unity and of the certain chances of its rapid consolidation.

And above all, if we grant for the sake of

argument that paying such a tremendous price of our racial honour and future, we are handed over a Swaraj by the British on conditions laid down by the Moslems—What kind of Swaraj and whose Swaraj it can possibly be? It can in no way be a Swaraj in which 'Swatva' of the Hindus is safeguarded for reasons which we have already shown above at some length. Any independence which is achieved at price of admission of and the brittle basis of the principle of provincial secession or Pakisthan is bound to be like a house raised on a crater of a living volcano.

Thus we are caught in vicious circle. The self destructive solution that, to save the integrity of India as a nation let us kill it outright in order to satisfy the Moslems, is like that of some clans who, to save their daughters from dishonour when they grew, used to kill them as soon as they were born.

(h) Consequently taking all these above reasons into consideration it will be crystal clear to the Hindus who have still kept an open mind on this question that even yielding the principle of provincial secession or Pakisthan in cer-

tain provinces could never bring about the Hindu-Moslem Unity but such a move will throw Hindus alone into a hopeless predicament. There is no chance what-soever for the cowardly hope even though they feel that it is crafty one, to be realised that this or that concession to the Moslems is bound to prove final and ushering in a permanent and amicable alliance between the two people, so long as it is you, who yield, so long the Moslems would be fools to give up their aggrandisement on Hindusthan and Mohammedans are certainly no fools in so far this ambition is concerned. Invasions against the Kafirsthans is in their grain. They are fed on real or boosted up stories of their past conquests; and the only way to hold them in check is to make them realize that any such mad-dreams would cost them much more than it would, to their opponents.

Therefore the Hindu Sanghatanists declare that they do not want the co-operation of the Moslem minority at all on the conditions of Pakisthan or the principle of provincial self-determination and our terms of co-operation have been clearly stated in the foregoing Chapters. We again proclaim our formula for

unity, " If you come with you, if you do not, without you and if you oppose, inspite of you, the Hindus shall fight as best as they can to secure Independence and defend the integrity of Hindusthan ! Hindusthan shall and must remain an integral and powerful a Nation and a Central State from the Indus to the Seas, treating any movement on the part of any one to vivisect it, as treacherous and srongly supress it just as any movement of Negrosthan would be promptly punished by the American Nation ".



Chapter IV.

Indian Nationalism Vs Hindu Nationalism.

Before the Hindus could recover from the struggle of centuries with Moslems, the English faced them and won on all points. The fall of the Mahratta Empire in 1818 and that of Sikh Hindu Kingdom enabled them to establish an unchallenged supremacy throughout our country. The British had found that all the bloody wars they had to fight in the course of their Indian conquest were with Hindu powers. Moslem as a political factor was no where to be faced, Moslem as a political power was already smashed by the Mahrattas and the Sikhs. The only battle the British had to face single handed with the Moslems was at Palassy. But it was such an easy affair that they say that British Commander won it while he was asleep. Consequently the first anxiety of the British was to see that the Hindu Nation must be undermined and its solidarity as a religious and political

unit must be broken. The Moslems came in the picture as a mere handy tool in the hands of the British to compass their design. The British, therefore, tried the obvious means of converting the Hindus to Christianity by lending political support of the State to the Christian Mission in India. But the national rising of 1857 led mostly by the Hindu Leaders opened the eyes of the British to the dangers involved in any open attack against the religion of Hindus and Moslems alike and British State ceased to lend any open support to the Christian Church.

Then they initiated a policy to undermine the very concept of Hindu Nation amongst the rising generation of Hindu youths by introducing a denationalising scheme of Western Education in India. We have the word of Macaulay himself for that. He points out in one of his private letters to his son-in-law that if his scheme of Western Education is put into force, Hindu youths would of themselves love to get converted to Christianity, to get westernised and consequently affiliated and attached to the British people. Unfortunately for the Hindus his expectations did not altogether mis-carry and the first generations of the Hindu youths

who took to western education with avidity were on the whole cut off from their old moorings of Hinduness, of Hindutva. They knew next to nothing of Hindu history, Hindu culture and Hindu religion and all they knew of Hindutva was only its weak points which were deliberately represented to them as its essence in such wise as to make them ashamed of being Hindus at all. The Moslems on the contrary kept at a hand's distance from this education and consequently it could not undermine their solidarity at all.

The rise of the concept of Indian Nation and consequent atrophy of Hindu Nation.

The immediate effect of the Western Education was that the two first generations of Hindus who were influenced by it were totally carried off their feet, they fell in love with every thing western. They looked upon British as God send. They prayed for their permanence. Fed on western literature and history and cut off from any contact with Hindu thought and Hindu politics they naturally came to the easy conclusion that if but they imitated the west and especially England in every detail of individual and collective life they and their country

would be benefited and saved.

The British encouraged these first batches of English educated Hindus by allowing them to rise very high in the social and the official scale and they were deliberately taken by them to be spokes-men of the natives. They were provided every facility to wield tremendous influence over their own people so that they might impart their admiration about the British people and their loyalty to the British Rule to their native community. It cannot be denied that they were not public spirited or intellectual men and in fact they wanted to do good to their people but their idea of doing good and even of what was their nation were entirely outlandish and having no relation with the realities obtaining in India.

That was the reason why they naturally thought that their nation meant their country. Like all other ideas and sentiments, their notion of patriotism also was borrowed ready-made from England. They found that in Europe of their days a national unit meant a territorial unit. So they thought that the bond of territorial unity, the only fact of residing in a common

geographical unit was by itself the most efficient, nay the only efficient factor to mark out a people into a nation by themselves. Therefore, the corollary, "India because it was a territorial unit and called a country must be a national unit as well" was drawn. And it was argued that all people in India-Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Parsees and others had been inhabiting the territorial unit called India for centuries together, therefore all those people constituted the nation by themselves. So, the leaders of these first generations of English educated people being almost all Hindus tried their best to cease themselves to be Hindus and thought it below their dignity to take any cognizance of the divisions and transformed themselves overnight into Indian patriots.

It was very easy for them to cease to be Hindus. The western education had taught them and they had no other education, that Hindutva meant nothing else but Hinduism which to them meant a veritable bundle of superstitions. They had no occasion to stop and think of the other and the most fundamental contents of Hindutva, of Hinduness, in all its racial, cultural and historical bearing. As they

found it so easy for them to renounce their Hinduness and merge themselves at a thought into being Indians and Indians alone they expected from other constituents too, to merge themselves entirely and totally into the Indian people, the Indian Nation which to those Indian patriots seemed already a fact as tangible as the territorial unit India.

As the western education went on spreading rapidly amongst the Hindus the idea of an Indian nationality also continued to find a larger and a larger following; inversely the solidarity of the Hindu people as a political unit as a nation by themselves grew feebler and feebler and at last grew unconscious itself through sheer starvation.

The British rejoiced at the turn events had taken. They knew that under those circumstances the only danger to their political supremacy in Hindusthan could come from the revival of the political consciousness of the Hindu Nation and the re-emergence of the ideal of a Hindu Sovereignty. It is a fact that even after 1857 a Hindu politically proud of his being a Hindu was a suspect. For he brooded over the loss of his Hindu Kingdom and was watched as an in-

cipient revolutionist. The armed rising of Ram Singh Kuka in the Punjab, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke in Maharashtra even after the defeat of the revolutionary war in 1857, with a view to drive out the British out and recover the lost Hindu Kingdom, only confirmed the British in their suspicions.

It was just after the suppression of the rising of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke of Poona who aspired to revive an independent Hindu Kingdom as Shivaji did that the Indian National Congress was sponsored by a British Viceroy. Many a prominent British civilians like Mr. Hume, Wedderburn and others led it for a long time. Great Hindu leaders from the most public spirited motives nursed it and it became the organised and authoritative spokesman of the new cult of Indian Patriotism and Nationalism.

British double edged policy. The British too, while they favoured this Indian movement as an antidote to any possible revival of Hindu Nationalism, took good care to see that the Moslem solidarity as Moslems did not suffer in any way by catching the contagion of this new Indian Nationalist cult. For, the Bri-

tish knew that if the Moslems also joined that cult as whole-heartedly as the Hindus did, then there would really be an united Indian nation—a contingency likely to prove perhaps more dangerous to British supremacy in India than a Hindu revival could single-handedly prove to be. The British dreaded and hated any real, genuine and fruitful rise of Indian Nationalism as much— if not more— as they did any revival of Hindu Nationalism. So they on the one hand encouraged and helped surreptitiously the fanatical hatred, enmity and distrust, which the Moslems ever bore to the Hindu Nation, thus rendering any efficient Indian national unity as delusive as a mirage and on the other hand encouraged the Hindus, at least in the beginning to pursue that mirage of an Indian Nationalism with avidity so that the rise of a Homogenous Hindu Nation might be ruled out of practical politics. To rule out any possibility of the renaissance and consolidation of Hindu Nation they deliberately deprived the Hindus of the political predominance which was their due as the overwhelming majority in Hindustan by denying them representation in proportion to their population on the one hand and on the other loaded the Moslems, Christians and Europeans

with weightages, preferences, securities and what not so as to invest them with political power immeasurably more than what was their due share. They broke up the Hindu electorate into water-tight compartments with a view to prevent the growth of their political solidarity amongst themselves; while the very recognition of the Hindus as an electoral unit by themselves is altogether and deliberately denied in the electoral scheme of our country. With a set purpose to starve out martial qualities in Hindus they took to curtailment of their recruitment in the army and the police.

Co-operation of Hindus.

The Hindus found nothing objectionable in the ideal of uniting all India into a consolidated political unit and very naturally so far it suited well with the Hindu mentality with its synthetic trend, always prone to philosophies with an universal urge. It is also true that the ideal of politics itself ought to be a Human State all mankind for its citizens, the earth for its motherland. If all India with one-fifth of the human race could be united irrespective of religious, racial and cultural diversities, merging them all into a homogeneous whole, it would be but a

gigantic stride taken by mankind towards the realization of that human political ideal. So far as the ideal language and picture of this conception went, it could not but be attractive to a people like the Hindus with a religious and cultural ideology preaching "सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म" all this is but one and indivisible Brahma. But Brahma, even in its political aspect, like its philosophical one, has for its counter part a माया the principle of division, and this fact those Hindu patriots overlooked in their enthusiasm for the ideal— If India was united!—Yes, but the "If" was what mattered most. The new concept of an Indian Nationality was founded on the only common bond of a territorial unity of India, the Hindus for one, found nothing revolting even in that assumption to their deepest religious or cultural or racial sentiments. Because their national being had already been identified with that territorial unit India which to them was not only a land of sojourn but a home, their Fatherland, their, Motherland, their Holyland and all in one! Indian patriotism to them was but a synonym of Hindu patriotism. Even the territorial unit was as intimately identified with their racial, religious and cultural unit that an Indian Nation was but a territorial

appellation of the Hindu Nation. If Hindusthan was called India but continued to be Hindusthan, it made no difference in essentials and for practical purposes might be overlooked.

That is the reason why, later on, even those Hindu leaders who in spite of their being highly educated in the western lore but were also deeply imbued with Hinduness, were proud of being Hindus by religion, by race, by culture joined the Indian National movement for political purposes and worked whole-heartedly with the Indian National movement i. e. Congress and even led it so long as it continued to be a purely political body, striving assiduously to wrest political power out of the hands of the British Government with a view to establish a real Indian Commonwealth, to be held in common with other non-Hindu minorities in India on equitable footing and in honourable company.

Co-operation of Moslems.

But although the Hindus on the whole rallied round the Indian National Congress with unsuspecting enthusiasm and lent their honest devotion to the principle of a territorial nationality that underlay it, that principle seemed to fail

miserably in appealing to the Moslems in India. As a community they held back from the very beginning and by and by began to resent it altogether. The more insistent the Congress demand grew in calling upon all Indians to merge their racial and religious individuality into an Indian Nation at any rate for forming themselves into a political unit, the more distrustful and enraged the Moslems grew. For they instinctively felt that Indian patriotism as defined by the Congress was sure to deal a death blow to Moslem patriotism which was to be—all and end—all of their racial, religious and cultural ambitions. The British Government for their own end encouraged them in this their anti-Congress attitude. The higher the Congress rose in political importance through the strenuous efforts of our Hindu patriots and the more insisting grew its demands and stronger its power to back them up, the more outspoken and determined became the Moslem opposition to it, and the more assiduous grew the encouragement and surreptitious assistance to it on the part of the British Government who came to realize to their discomfiture that their policy of bringing into being the Indian National Congress movement had in the long end mis-carried their ex-

pectations in a large measure.

We do not ignore the benefits that even we Hindus reaped from the Indian National Congress movement even from the Hindu point of view. It had though only consequentially and without that special end in view, contributed immensely to the consolidation of Hindudom as a whole by rubbing off their provincial, linguistic and sectional angularities, division and diversities, provided them with a common political platform and animated them with the consciousness of a common National Being with a definite common goal of an united and central state. Errors that crept in, may be rectified but the good that came out need not be disowned. Nor do we decry the introduction of western education in India. In spite of the questionable intentions of the British in its inception we Hindus have succeeded in turning the tables in the long run and are now in a position to give a good and profitable account of our contact with the West.

But the point to be specially emphasised here is the fact that just as the benefit we Hindus reaped out of our contact with the west of

receiving English education through the Government universities, was inspite of the evil intentions of the British Government, even so the good that accrued to us Hindus contributing to the further consolidation of our Hindu Nation was not in virtue of the new cult of Indian nationality or the proclaimed intentions of the Indian National Congress but inspite of its efforts direct or implied to suppress our racial and religious consciousness as Hindus—The territorial patriots wanted the Hindus to cease to be Hindus at least as a national and political unit. Some of them actually gloried in disowning themselves as Hindus at all! They were merely Indians, thinking that they had set a very patriotic example in that which they fancied would persuade the Moslems too to renounce their communal being and also merge themselves in that territorial Indian nation beyond recognition!

But the Moslems remained Moslems first, Moslems last and Indians never! They sat on the fence as long as the deluded Hindus kept struggling with the British to wrest political rights for all Indians alike, going to the prisons in lacs, to the Andamans in thousands, to the gallows in hundreds. And as soon as the unarm-

ed agitation carried on by the Congressite Hindus on the one hand and the more dreadful and more effective life and death struggle carried on by the armed Hindu revolutionists outside the Congress on the other, brought sufficient pressure on the British Government and compelled them to hand over some substantial political power to the Indians, the Moslems jumped down the fence and claimed "They also were Indians they must have their pound of flesh!" Till at last things came to such a pass that the proposal to divide India itself into two parts, the Moslem India and Hindu India was blatantly put forward, and their readiness to ally themselves with non-Indian Moslem Nations against the Hindus was avowed by no less a representative Moslem body than the Moslem League and right of provincial self-determination with the powers to secede was demanded by the so-called Moslem nationalists This was the sorry fate which the hopes of these Hindu patriots who from the best of motives but with a thoughtless belief and the blindest of policies persisted in their efforts of consolidating all Indians in to one undivided and indivisible Indian Nation, irrespective of religions, races and cultures, based only on the common bond of a territorial unity!

The error. The real cause of the failure of the Congress in the matter was the supposition that India was already a harmonious nation and its non realisation of the truth that it is not only the territorial unity but religious, racial and historical and cultural unity that counts most in the formation of a national unit. It committed the serious mistake at its very start of overlooking this fundamental social and political principle that the real and efficient fact that constitutes people into an organic nation is their will to be one homogeneous national unit and this "will" in return is induced by such of those affinities as we have indicated in a previous Chapter than by the mere fact of their residing in a common country, which the Hindusthani Moslems lacked altogether.

The other causes include the hankering of the Congressite Hindus after the Willow—the Wisp of a Hindu Moslem unity. The day the Hindus gave Mohammedans to understand that Swarajya could not be won unless and untill they obliged the Hindus by making a common cause with them the day the Hindus rendered an honourable unity i. e. Indian National consolidation impossible.

Hindu Sanghatanist's ideal.

Knowing it then for certain that Indian Moslems, for reasons some of which are referred to in a separate chapter are about the last people to join the Hindus in forming any common political Nation on equal footing in India based on the only common bond of our territorial unity, out of a merely territorial Indian patriotism, the Hindu Sanghatanist's first task is to correct the original mistake, the original political sin which our Hindu Congressites most unwittingly committed at the beginning of the Indian National Congress movement and are persistently committing still of running after the mirage of a territorial Indian Nation and of seeking to kill as an impediment in that fruitless pursuit the life-growth of an organic Hindu Nation. We pledge to resume the thread of our national life where, our grand-fathers left it at the fall of our Mahratta and Sikh Hindu Empires. The live and organic growth of the self-conscious Hindu Nation that was suddenly struck with an atrophy of self-forgetfulness we will revive and resurrect and we therefore boldly re-proclaim even in the words of Govindrao Kale who wrote them so early as in 1793 in his letter to Nana that the land which extends from the

Indus to the Southern Seas is Hindusthan—the land of the Hindus and we Hindus are the Nation that owns it. If you call it an Indian Nation it is merely an English synonym for the Hindu Nation. To us Hindus Hindusthan and India mean one and the same thing. We are Indians because we are Hindus and vice versa.

Our attitude towards Indian Nationalism.

The Hindu Sanghathanists declare that they in their own interest of Hindu Nation do not shut the door to any possibilities of an united Indian Nation even in its territorial aspect provided it is based on an equitable and equal footing. The Hindu nationalists proclaim that although they are in overwhelming majority they will still waive their right of claiming any preferential treatment and special prerogatives which in fact in every other nation are due to the major community, but will never tolerate the absurd and the unheard claim of the minorities to have any preferential treatment, weightages or special favours, over and above what the major community obtains. The Hindu Nation will go so far as to accept the equitable national principle of "one man one vote" irrespective of religion or race or culture in the for-

mation of a common Indian State; but it shall knock on the head any political demand that claims "One Moslem three votes" and three Hindus one vote" or any cultural demand that antagonises or insults or suppresses Hindu culture in its historical, linguistic, religious or racial aspect. The minorities will be free to follow their religion, speak their language, develop their culture amongst themselves provided it does not infringe on the equal rights of others or is not opposed to public peace and morality. If the Moslems join us on these equitable conditions and bear undivided loyalty to the Indian Nation and the Indian State alone well and good, otherwise, we Hindus will fight out the good battle of achieving the independence of India and herald the rebirth of a free and mighty Hindu Nation in near future!"

As the absolute political independence of Hindusthan is a sine qua non for the all round regeneration of Hindudom so the fortune of the Hindus is more inextricably and more closely bound up with Hindusthan than that of any other non-Hindu sections of our countrymen. After all the Hindus are the bedrock on which an Indian Nation and Indian independent state

can be built. Moreover a Hindu patriot worth the name can not but be an Indian patriot as well. Consequently the consolidation and independence of Hindu Nation is but another name for Indian consolidation and Independence of an Indian Nation as a whole. The Hindu nationalists know full well that no regeneration of Hindudom can be brought about and no honour and equal place could be secured for the Hindu Nation amongst the Nations of the world unless Swarajya and Swatantrya are won for Hindusthan their Fatherland and Holyland.



Chapter V.

Our Policy towards different minorities.

Our attitude towards the minorities under the present circumstances must be differential. The Hindus will assure them all that they hate none, neither the Moslems nor the Christians nor the Indian Europeans but henceforth we shall take good care to see that none of them dares to hate or belittle the Hindus also.

Parsee.

The Parsees are by race, religion, language, culture most akin to the Hindus. They have gratefully been loyal to India and have made her their only home. They have produced some of the best Indian patriots and revolutionists like Dada Bhai and Madam Cama. They are neither fanatics and nor displayed any but good will towards the Hindu Nation which to them has proved a veritable saviour of their race. Therefore our attitude towards them would be

one of trust, friendship and of equal rights.

Christians.

The Christian minority is civil, has no extra-territorial political designs against India, is not linguistically and culturally averse to the Hindus and therefore can be politically assimilated with us. Only in religion they differ from us and are a proselytising church. So in that matter alone the Hindus will be on their guard and give the missionaries no blind latitude to carry on their activities beyond voluntary and legitimate conversion. The Hindus also will continue to reconvert the Christians and carry on the Shuddhi movement on the same voluntary and legitimate bases. It is only in our Travancore State that the Christians seem to cherish some political design against the Hindu State and it is only there that we shall have to treat them with some political distrust by not allowing them too much latitude in the state affairs and offices, till they too cease to be political suspects to the Hindus as the Christians in other parts of India have ceased to be.

Jews.

As to the Jews in India, they are too few, have given us no political or cultural troubles

and are not in the main a proselytising people, they will be friendly towards the Hindus who have sheltered them when homeless and can be easily assimilated in a common Indian State. But this fact must not land us again into the suicidal generosity our forefathers had been guilty in other cases of inviting colonies of non-Hindus to India. With every sympathy with Jews outside India, the Hindus will therefore oppose the present congressite proposal of inviting or allowing any new Jewish colony to settle in India. India must be a Hindu land reserved for the Hindus. While our own Hindu overpopulation in some parts of India is hard pressed to find land for extension how absurd it is to invite non-Hindu colonies to settle our thinly populated parts! How ridiculous it is to find some Congressites preaching birth-control to restrict our own population in order to avoid over-crowding and start straight away to invite Jewish colonies to settle in India. We must exhort our esteemed Divan of Kochin in particular to take a leaf out of the history of Travancore and set his face sternly against any proposal or outside pressure to allow the alien Jews to colonize the Lands in Kochin.

Anglo-Indians.

So far as the Anglo-Indians are concerned, their present arrogance and the lion's share they got in the franchise under the present Reforms Act would vanish in a minute as soon as England goes out. Their sound political instinct will soon bring them in a line with other Indian citizens; otherwise they could easily be brought to their senses.

Moslems.

So far as the Moslem minority is concerned, our attitude towards it will be one of distrust and watchfulness in view of its anti-Hindu, anti-Indian and extra-territorial designs. Granting them on the one hand every equitable treatment which an Indian citizen can claim on an equality of footing with other, we will sternly refuse them any the least preferential treatment in any sphere of life, religious, cultural, or political. Not only while we are engaged in our struggle for liberating India but even after India is free we will look upon them as suspicious friends and take great care to see that the northern frontiers of India are well guarded by staunch and powerful Hindu forces to avoid the possible danger of the Indian Moslems going over to the alien Moslem Nations across the Indus and betraying our Hindusthan to our non-Hindu foes.

Chapter VI

"Nepal and other Hindu States."

Nepal is the only part of our land where our countrymen even in the darkest hour of our history, have been successful in holding out as a Hindu power and in keeping a flag of Hindu Independence flying unsullied on the summits of the Himalayas and which continues down to this day as a Dharam Kshettra unsullied by the humiliating shadow of an alien non-Hindu Flag. The kingdom of Nepal stands out today as the only Hindu kingdom in the world whose independence is recognized by England, France, Italy and other great powers. Amongst some thirty-five crores of our Hindus in this generation His Majesty the King of Nepal is the first and foremost and the only Hindu today who can enter in the assemblage of Kings and Emperors and presidents of all the independent nations in the world with head erect and unbent as an equal amongst equals. In spite of the pass-

ing political aspect of the question, Nepal is bound to Hindudom as a whole by the dearest ties of a common race, language and culture, inheriting with us this our common motherland and our common holyland. Our life is one. Whatever contributes to the strength of Hindudom as a whole must strengthen Nepal and whatever progress the latter records is bound to elevate the first.

Hence, the independence of Hindu Kingdom of Nepal, the home of a heroic Hindu race constitutes at once the pride and centre of Hindu hope. Thus, every atom of strength added to Nepal elevates and strengthens the prestige and the position of Hindudom all round. On the other hand any thing that weakness and humiliates Hindudom in any other part of Hindusthan must weaken the strength of Nepal in the long run. Therefore, Hindu Sanghatanists long to see that the only Independent Hindu Kingdom is rapidly brought to an upto-date efficiency, political, social and above all military and aerial so as to enable Her to hold out Her own in the national struggle for existence that is going on all around us and march and fulfil the great and glorious destiny that awaits Her ahead.

The danger of the Moslem upheaval on the North Western Frontier for example, cannot but be a standing menace to the Independence of the Hindu Kingdom in Nepal too. If Hindu history has not endowed us even with this much foresight then it must be said that all the lessons which the invasions of the Gaznis and Ghoris were meant by destiny to teach us are lost on us.

Nevertheless, it will be foolish on our part to do anything to drag Nepal into the muddled and slogan ridden politics which disfigures the British Indian Territory. The politics of a subject race can be no guide to the exigencies of an Independent Kingdom situated as Nepal. We therefore feel no hesitation whatsoever in justifying the present policy of the Nepal Government to maintain friendly relations with the British Government with a view to guard against any other non-Hindu aggression on India. Consequently it is also a very wise policy on the part of Nepal to supply as many Nepalee recruits to the Indian Forces as it is possible to do in conformity with its own security and strength. The political complications in Europe and the far East are almost sure to persuade the British Government too, to depend more and more on Nepal's

friendship and military help to secure Indian defence.

In this connection it must be emphasised that the British Government should also restore some of those territories on the borders of Nepal which the British had wrested from her in the past back to the Maharaja. Such a step will cement the friendship between the two Nations as nothing else can do.

Nepal has doubtless a great future before her if but she takes time by the forelock and has the prophetic vision which a rising nation must necessarily possess. She must bring up her military strength to an upto-date European efficiency and must be able to defend herself not only on land but against any aerial force. Her strength being the strength of an ally the British Government too is not likely, under the present circumstances, to hamper her in this attempt with any feeling of uneasiness but would rather wish her to hasten on this project. The influence which Nepal is likely to exercise on Indian politics in near future will be better pointed out in the words of Mr. Perceval Langdon the well known author of the voluminous work on Nepal.

Says, Mr. Langdon, "It invests Nepal with an importance which it would be foolish to overlook. Englishmen should attempt to understand a little more thoroughly the high position which Nepal holds in the General Southern Asiatic balance and the great and growing importance that she will possess in future in the solution of the problems which beset the present state of India. Nepal stands today on the threshold of a new light. Her future calls her in one direction and one only. In all the varied theatres of Indian politics there is nothing which surpasses in interest the ultimate destiny of Nepal. Inevitably she will become of greater and greater importance if we persist in our present policy of lessening British influence in India. It is not impossible that Nepal may even be called upon to control the destiny of India itself".

Other Hindu States.

The policy of the Hindu Sanghatanists towards the other Hindu States has even been of good will for their well-being and patriotic progress and of non-intervention so far as their internal affairs are concerned except when the interests of Hindudom as a whole are affected by some perverse anti-Hindu activity.

The Hindu Sanghathanists earnestly wish that the Hindu States which on the whole are incomparably more considerate than the Moslem States with regards to the Civil and religious liberties of their subjects and in some cases like Mysore, Travancore, Oundh and above all Baroda have introduced more progressive reforms, educational, social, economic and political than British presidencies could do in cases even under the Congress Ministeries, will stand firm and well organised, will remove on their own initiation the just grievances of their subjects, will introduce well meaning and constitutional representative institutions, take the loyal subjects into their confidence, bringing them up to an upto-date military and administrative efficiency in so far as it is possible and thus increase the prestige and consolidated power of the Hindu Flag that still flies on their capitals.



Chapter VII

Our economical policy.

"National co-ordination of class interest".

Under the special circumstances obtaining in India and the stage of social progress the only school of economics which will suit our requirements in immediate future is the school of Nationalistic Economy. To express all the leading aspects of our economical policy in a suitable formula we would like to style it as the policy of "National co-ordination of class interests".

I. ... We shall first of all welcome the machine. This is a Machine Age. The handicrafts will of course have their due place and encouragement. But national production will be on the biggest possible machine scale.

II. The peasantry and the working class form literally the chief source of national wealth, health and strength as well; for, a stalwart army also has for its recruiting depot to depend

chiefly on these very classes which supply the Nation with the first two requisites.

Therefore every effort will be made to revigourate them and the villages which are their cradle. Peasants and labourers must be enabled to have their share in the distribution of wealth to such an extent as to enable them not only with a bare margin of existence but the average scale of a comfortable life. Nevertheless it must be remembered that they too being a part and parcel of the Nation as a whole must share obligations and responsibilities and therefore can only receive their share in such a way as is consistent with the general development and security of the national industry, manufacture and wealth in general.

III. As the National Capital is under the present circumstances mainly individual and indispensable for the development of National Industry and Manufacture, it also will receive due encouragement and recompense.

IV. But the interests of both the capital and labour will be sub-ordinated to the requirements of the Nation as a whole.

V. If an industry is flourishing, the profits will be shared in a large portion by the labour-

ers. But on the contrary if it is a loosing concern, not only the capitalist but to a certain extent even the labourer will have to be satisfied with diminishing returns so that the National industry as such may not altogether be undermined by the over-bearing attitude of the selfish class interests of either the capitalists or labourites.

In short the claims of the capital and labour will be so co-ordinated from time to time as to enable the Nation as a whole to develop its National industry and manufacture and make itself self-sufficient.

VI. In cases some of the key industries or manufactures and such other items may be altogether nationalised if the National Government can afford to do so and can conduct them more efficiently than private enterprise can do.

VII. The same principle applies to cultivation of land. We should so co-ordinate the interest of the Land-Lord and the peasant that the National agricultural production may on the whole be developed and does not suffer owing to any selfish tussle between the class interests of the land-owner or the tenants or the tiller.

VIII. In some cases the Government may take over the land and introduce state cultiva-

tion if it can serve to train up the peasant class as a whole with the use of big machines and agriculture on a large and scientific scale.

IX. All strikes or lockouts which are obviously meant or inevitably tend to undermine and cripple National Industry or production in general or are calculated to weaken the economic strength of the Nation as a whole must be referred to state arbitration and get settled or in serious cases quelled.

X Private property must in general be held inviolate.

XI. In no case there should be on the part of the State any expropriation of such property without reasonable recompense.

XII. Every step must be taken by the state to protect National industries against foreign competition.

We have lined out above items to serve as illustrations only. The national economical strength must grow and the Nation must be made economically self sufficient; these two form the pivot of the policy.

A special feature of no less importance of the Hindu Sanghatanist economics will of course

be to safe-guard the economical interests of the Hindus wherever and whenever they may be threatened by the economical aggression of the non-Hindus as happens today of a set policy in the Nizam State, in Punjab, in Bhopal, in Assam and in several other parts of India. Hindu Sanghatanists in all localities, will make it a point to see that the Hindu peasants, the Hindu traders, the Hindu labourers do not suffer at the hands of non-Hindu aggression while the conflicting class interests amongst the Hindus themselves should be solved in the light of the above general principle.



Chapter VIII.

our foreign policy.

Our foreign policy must not depend on isms but on the principle of serving, safeguarding and promoting our national self-interest (आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत्); the safest policy therefore for us which practical politics demands is to befriend only those nations who are likely to serve our country's interest in spite of any ism they follow for themselves and to befriend only so long as it serves our purpose. Under such circumstances India cannot be taken in by any of the nations by their slogans and labels on their principles. Keeping in view this principle India will neither love nor hate Nazis, Bolsheviks, Fascists or Democrats simply on the ground of theoretical or bookish reasons. Each nation has every right to resort to any ism which suits its own peculiar circumstances. Therefore, Germany has every right to resort to Nazism and Italy to Fascism and Russia to communism and Britain

to Democracy.

The sound principle in politics lays down that no form of government or political ism is absolutely good or bad under all circumstances to all people alike, then who are we to dictate to Germany, Japan, Italy, Russia, America or Britain to choose a particular form of policy of Government simply because we woo it out of academical attractions? Surely each nation knows better than we do what suits it best. Therefore we make it clear to all nations of the world including Japanese, German, Italian, Russian etc. that the Hindu nationalists cherish no ill will towards them simply because they had chosen a form of government or constitutional policy they thought suited best and contributes most to their national solidarity and strength.

So, the Hindu Sanghathanists assure that they will maintain a policy of neutrality towards all nations in the world in respect of their internal affairs or mutual relations with each other. Any nation who helps Hindusthan or is friendly towards her struggle for freedom will be considered as our friend and any nation which opposes us or pursues a policy enmical to us

will be considered as our foe. Towards those who do neither, we will maintain an attitude of perfect neutrality refusing to poke our nose unnecessarily into their internal or external policy. The same rule holds good with our attitude towards England in so far as our free activity is concerned. It is for England to choose.

In a net shell our foreign policy will be guided from an outspoken and unalloyed Hindu point of view. All those nations who are friendly or likely to be helpful to Hindu nation will be our friends and allies. All those who oppose the Hindu Nation or are likely to endanger Hindu interests will be opposed by us. All those who do neither we will observe a policy of neutrality towards them irrespective of any politicalism they choose to follow for themselves. No academic and empty slogans of democracy or Nazism or communism can be the guiding principle of our foreign policy. Hindu interest alone will be our test. No more "Khilaphats" or "Palestine afats" can dupe us into suicidal sympathies and complications. Our relation with England also will be guided by the same Hindu policy having the absolute political independence of our Hindu Nation and our country Hindusthan in view.

**Our policy towards our neighbouring States,
(Burma and Tibet.)**

Towards Burma and Tibet on the eastern and north-eastern frontiers our policy will always be—, so far as possible of whole-hearted friendship, and if they choose even of a political alliance. They are our co-religionists and our political interests too are not inherently antagonistic. Nay, we will only find, in general our mutual political strength augmented if we continue to be political allies.

North Western Frontier tribes and States.

Towards those Moslem States and tribes which border our North Western frontier our policy cannot but be a guarded one. Their tendency for centuries in the past had been fanatically enmity towards the Hindus and is likely to continue to be so for at least a century to come. The Hindu-nationalist's party will always see that this frontier is garrisoned with overwhelming Hindu troops and is never entrusted to Moslem ones. We will always be ready to establish friendly contact with those bordering states and shall give no cause for unnecessary friction but keep our forces there always in a state of war and vigilant to resist any sudden aggressive eruption on the part of those Moslem tribes or any threatened invasion through the pass by any anti-Hindu alien army.

Chapter IX

The Indian National Congress Vs Hindu Nationalists.

The Hindu Sanghathanists have no inclination to frame a charge sheet against the Congress, enumerating the grievous errors it has been committing under the dictatorship of Gandhiji and the leaders of his persuasion ever since the Khilafat agitation; setting at naught even the protests of such eminent Hindu patriots as Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddha Nand and others, which errors have weakened and humiliated Hindudom at every step. We have no inclination to do so or condemn them even in such harsh terms as the gravity of the errors in fact demand. Because we know that some of them meant well. Although the Congress as a body has been ungrateful to a degree in failing to appreciate the patriotic sacrifice and service the Hindu Sanghathanists have rendered equally with and in cases even far more intensely than the congressites in the fight for the

freedom of Hindusthan yet let every Hindu Sanghathanist be just and generous in brotherly appreciation of the patriotic motives of those of the Congressites who had been highly selfless and sacrificing. It is not their motive but their judgement and in a couple of cases a monomaniac incompetence which were responsible for the erroneous policy they persisted in which have done incalculable harm to the Hindu cause and which if not check-mated is likely to jeopardise not only the legitimate interests of Hindudom far more dangerously than in the past but even vital interests of the 'Indian Nation' too as the Congress itself understands it and loves so well.

It is not therefore to rake up fruitlessly the sad memories of the most grievous errors which the congressites committed in their identification with the Khilaphat agitation but to warn against the eminent dangers of a similar type that we must refer to a few facts regarding the attitude of the Gandhist politicians in that ill-fated movement. In spite of the warnings of the Great Tilak, Gandhi ji committed the Congress to the purely communal, religious and extra-territorial Khilaphat agitation to placate the Moslems and himself went to the length of insis-

ting on the point that the question of Swaraj should itself be subordinated to the Khilaphat issue— nay he said it was the religious duty of the Hindus to help the Khilapha. Not only that but true to their words these congressite Hindu-leaders did not subordinate Swarajya to the Khilaphat question only in its figurative aspect but were hands in glove with the Moslem leaders who instigated Amir Amanulla Khan to invade India as he actually did. We have the word of Swami Shraddha Nand ji for it. The Swami ji publicly wrote to that effect in protest in his 'liberator' and produced some documentary evidence and a draft telegram in Gandhi ji's hand writing to the Amir which Moulana Mohammad Ali had shown to Swamiji. In his own Young India Gandhi ji admitted that the Afghans if successful were sure to establish their kingdom in India (Vide Young India 1 6 21) and yet these Congressite Hindu leaders did not associate themselves from the Moslem leaders in their open and secret activities to egg on the Afghan invasion, but on the contrary promised support to their treacherous move. Gandhi ji writes in his Young India (4—5—21).

"I would in a sense certainly assist the Amir

of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government— by openly telling my countrymen that it would be crime to help the Government etc. "

If you like to see the length these gentlemen had gone in this affair you may read a useful tract recently published by Mr. Karandikar of Poona which is full of original extracts from the speeches and writings of the then Congress leaders and Gandhi ji's Young India. What is more surprising to note is the fact that these Hindu leaders outbid even the Ali Brothers, the national Maulana Azad and other Moslem leaders in maintaining that if the Amir succeeded in capturing Delhi they would have won Swaraj! For, they definitely stated that the rule of the Afghans was in itself a Swaraj. After all the Khilaphat was guillotined by the Turks themselves and the Amir Amanullah instead of being an Emperor at Dehli was dethroned by a Bachha Sakka in Kabul itself; and all that India reaped from the Khilaphat agitation was the intensified Pan-Islamic fanaticism roused by the movement amongst the Indian Moslems all over India, aided and abetted by the Hindus themselves who paid dearly for this folly there and then in Malabar, Kohat, Punjab, Bengal and

will have yet to pay unless they learn to react.

And yet the same Congress leaders forbade the Congress even to touch the Nizam Civil resistance movement as a thing unclean and denounced it as communal because it demanded the religious and cultural rights of Hindus, and even went to the length of opposing it. Why did the Congress oppose it? The Congress wanted to reform the States. Well, was not Hyderabad the biggest and yet the worst ruled autocratic State in India? It was at least worth while to introduce constitutional reforms and restore civil liberties in the Nizam States as in the tiny Taluka State of Rajkot. Did not Gandhiji want us to believe that the reform movement of that petty Rajkot had assumed the magnitude of an All India question that the whole Indian ocean was set on fire in the tiny tea cup of Mr. Veerawala? And yet the question of demanding constitutional reforms for nearly a crore of people in the Nizam State which the Hindu Sanghathanists had undertaken and were fighting for, seemed to him so remote and unconnected with the Indian question that he could not spare even as much sympathy or interest as he would for the Abyssinians in Africa, for the Spanish or Czechs in Europe. Not only

Gandhi ji but no Congressite, neither the backward nor the forward nor the inward blocks or their heads stepped out to condemn the Nizam Govt. even after the inhuman lathi charges on the Hindu civil resisters at Aurangabad jail or the bloody riots at Hyderabad. Then, again, did not the Congress patronise civil liberties? Was it not a fact that under Nizam Government even the life and property of millions of Hindus was held in daily danger, no freedom either of speech or worship or association worth the name existed? Then why did not the Congress join hands with the Hindu Sanghathanists who were engaged in a life and death struggle to secure these civil liberties in the state or at least pass a resolution to support the justice of their demands? Was it because the Hindu Sanghathanists went to the field as Hindus instead of as Indians? Well it may be a sin for a Hindu to do even a good thing as a Hindu except on the election day when he had to vote for a Congressite who has to state himself as a Hindu, as a unit in the Hindu electorate. But when the Moslems in Kashmere rose with the help of outside Moslems in an armed revolt against the Hindu King demanding representation for the Moslems as Moslems,—did not Gandhi ji write

as a born democrat, that if the Hindu king of Kashmere could not satisfy and allay the discontent of the Moslems who formed 85% of his subjects he had no moral right to rule but should forthwith abdicate and retire to Kashi? Well more than 85% of the subjects of the Nizam are Hindus, they had only resorted to unarmed civil resistance to the intolerable religious, cultural and political persecutions, with the help of their co-religionists outside the state but did Gandhi ji, the born democrat, advice the Nizam, too, to abdicate and retire to Macca? No, on the contrary he wrote in so many words that he was overwhelmingly concerned throughout the civil resistance movement 'not to embarrass His Exalted Highness the Nizam'.

After the Khilaphat came the Blank Cheques; then the Communal Award or Decision—'lapses of memory' make the Congress leaders call it sometimes this way some times that, but which always remains definitely unrejected and is in fact accepted and worked out by them. Then rushed in the flood of circulars issued by Congress Ministers in all provinces: Mr. Pant, for example, assuring the Moslems, amongst other things, we quote his words, "At Barabanki Congress Government stopped Hindus from

doing Arti in their own temples and blowing conch-shells during the whole period of Moharrum and at several places during the Holi, the Hindus were prevented from sprinkling coloured water even on Hindus amongst themselves. At Jaunpur the District Magistrate was attacked by Moslems but the accused were released on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Moslem League! The Congress Government has given representation to the Moslems out of all proportion to their numerical strength which came up to only 14%. But out of four Collectors appointed by the Congress Government three were Moslems and out of 13 Deputy collectors eight were Moslems". So on and so on. Every Hindu should read this whole circular issued by the U. P. Congress Government. It is a master-piece of self condemnation. It was secretly circulated only amongst the Moslems, but the Hindu Sanghathanists those cursed "communalist" traitors got hold of some copies of this our 'National' confession and broadcasted its reprints. Space forbids us from quoting other circulars issued by Provincial Congress Governments in C. P., Madras etc. all fashioned after the same pattern. Then came the acceptance of the right of provinces to self-deter-

mination and to secede from the Centre at their sweet will and last of all the Pakistan formula as presented to Mr. Jinnah by Rajagopalachari with the consent of Mr. Ghandhi and by Mr. Gandhi himself.

The moral is plain and must be plainly told. So long as the Congress continues to hug to the 'Pseudo-national' ideology as it does to-day, its policy is bound to be anti-Hindu, is bound to betray Hindu interests howsoever just and legitimate they be. It is essential to emphasize this point that whenever the Hindus are oppressed as Hindus and especially at the hands of the Moslems the Congress simply will not raise a finger in their defence.

Hence the Hindu Sanghathanists are out to chastise the anti-Hindu policy of the Congress and to cure it of the intolerable hypocrisy which is all the more harmful for its strutting about under the mask of Truth, Truth absolute and nothing but Truth and are neither out to spite the Congress as an institution itself nor the leaders and followers thereof. So under the present circumstances the Congress has compelled us to disown it and divest it of all power to represent the Hindus in any aspect or capacity

whatsoever. They have foolishly challenged the Hindu Sanghathanists, and we must take up the challenge.

Just think, Oh Hindu Sanghathanists, on what meat does this Congress feed that it has grown so great? Only remember that the Congress draws all its supplies, men, money, and votes, from the Hindus. Then we should cut off those supplies and the position which the Congress has taken against the Hindus and which seems to be so impregnable will be untenable in no time.

All the national importance and political power that the Congress has come to wield to-day in India and the ministries and majorities it holds in legislatures are but derived from the Hindu electorate. The Congressite Hindu cannot get a single Mohammedan vote, for the constitution itself is communal. The Mohammedans can vote only for a Mohammedan, the Christians for a Christian and so on. Congressites—and they are mostly Hindus can but get themselves elected to the legislatures, boards and municipalities, on the strength of the Hindu votes. If the Hindus make it a point not to vote for a Congress ticket then? Not a single

threatened by Moslems they have leaned towards the Moslems just to parade that they were Indian patriots. Witness the Congress attitude with regard to the Shahid Ganj affair, the Delhi temple struggle, the Nizam and Bhopal questions. But is not such an anti national pro-Moslem attitude also an act of communalism? It is worse on the part of a Congressite who got himself elected on Hindu votes, it is downright treacherous!

Form a solid Hindu Nationalist Front.

The only way to chastise this anti-Hindu and anti-national policy of the congress, the best and the easiest remedy under the circumstances lies in the fact of forming a Hindu Nationalist Front! All our Sadhus, Sanatanists, Arya-samajists, and Sanghatanists organisations all over India should make it a point never to vote for a Congress candidate but vote for a Hindu Nationalist candidate alone. Even today the strength of all these faithful Hindu parties put together cannot but be counted in millions. We shall and must succeed in forming majorities in almost all provinces where Hindus are in majority. Even if we fail in some cases through the folly of a number of Hindu renegades it is still quite possible to begin with,

to return a sufficiently strong minority of Hindu Nationalists to the councils in provinces and centre to make it impossible for any Government to function without gaining the support of our Hindu Nationalist Party. If we do this we will have real Hindu ministeries, Hindu National Ministeries openly avowed to safeguard Hindu interests in seven provinces at a stroke. That will raise the Hindu cause and the Hindu Nation immediately to be the greatest political power in the land. We will find as if by a transfer scene that Hindudom has come home, the Hindu Mahasabha suddenly lifted out of its present state of being a persecuted and neglected body and raised to the position of dictatorship in shaping the political destiny of India. Every Hindu will raise his head high and erect, conscious of his importance and assured of the Government backing, he is sure to get in the defence and assertions of all his legitimate rights religious, racial, cultural. If a Hindu girl is molested in any part of the land by a Moslem gunda such a condign punishment will promptly be inflicted on him as to render all Moslem gundas tremble to touch any other Hindu girl as fearfully as they do in molesting an English girl. If any riot on the

tainted by a Congress ticket under the Congress discipline and for the selfish fear that he would otherwise lose his job. When once the Congressites know that the Congress cap or ticket is at a serious discount in the Hindu market, is no royal road to the councils or local bodies you will find that the Hindu caps will sell like hot cakes and Hindu Sabha tickets will rise in an unsuppliable demand!

In a net-shell the position is this—there is a Moslem electorate to protect the Moslem interests. There is a Hindu electorate in fact, though it is named to spite the Hindus as 'General' which we can use to protect Hindu interests. The Moslems being in majority in some three provinces they took good care to see that only those Moslems were elected on their votes who pledged openly to save Moslem interests alone. We Hindus are in majority in some seven provinces; we willingly handed over our votes to those some of whom blatantly proclaimed they were not Hindus at all and all of whom promised that they were not going to safe-guard the special interests of Hindus, not even the just and equitable interests of Hindus, as Hindus. The result is that even in those seven

provinces where we are in majority and of course in those three provinces where Moslems dominate—we Hindus are reduced to be veritable helots throughout our land. In some cases as in Bengal and the Frontier our very life and property stands in hourly danger, the honour of womanhood insecure. Thus we Hindus have thrown away to the winds whatever and not an unsubstantial political power was won by hard struggle carried on and sacrifices undergone by our Hindu patriots and by ourselves amongst them, for the last fifty years and more; While the Moslem ministers are openly members of the Moslem League, they lead it, they avow to be the advocates of Moslem interests, even threaten to "satav" the Hindus, frame themselves and get passed Government bills, to reserve 60% services for Moslems in Bengal, what do the Congressite Ministers and members whom Hindu electorate sent to the Councils to represent Hindu interests do? In Bengal the Congress M. L. As practically supported this atrocious Moslem reservation, they have acquiesced all over India in the pro-Moslem communal awards—and denounce the Hindu Mahasabha also for carrying on an agitation against it! In every case when Hindu interests are

part of the Moslem fanatics seeks to force the Hindus to forego their civil rights, the armed police and the military forces will be so promptly and vigorously made to function against the aggressive party that Moslem riots will be a thing of the past and they will learn to tolerate Hindu music by the public thoroughfare as kindly as they do now the Government and English bands and processions. The peasants and the labourers will get what is due to them as the very drop of our national life and our industry and commerce. Hindu Language will be safe. Hindu script will be safe. Hindu religion will be safe, no illegitimate or forceful conversion of a Hindu to non-Hindu faiths will be tolerated for a minute. No Hindu advances will be made begging on knees before the Moslems for unity for confident in our own Hindu strength to achieve Indian Independence through our own sacrifice and struggle even as we did in the past our Hindu nationalists will be prepared to fight any non-Hindu power that stands in the way of our onward march towards the achievement of independence of Hindustan and its maintenance against all non-Hindu invasions. The very concept and ideal and sight of a powerful Hindu Nation will bring

out all that is best and bravest in the Hindu spirit to the forefront as nothing else can do. If the Moslems pass an act, say in Bengal, to reserve 60% services for Moslems, our Hindu National ministries will at once get an act passed in Hindu majority provinces to reserve 90% services for Hindus even where we are only 80% in population, as a retributory measure without making any the least apology for it. When we will be in a position to retaliate thus in this wise and do retaliate, the Moslems will come to their senses in a day, we shall not only save Hindu rights and honour in the Hindu provinces but even in provinces where we Hindus are in minority. Knowing that every attempt to tyrannize the Hindus is sure to recoil on themselves and react for the worse on Moslem interests in all India—the Moslems will learn to behave as good boys and it is then they who will be anxious to open unity talks and knowing they are in a hopeless minority in India and no more dreams of mass conversions of Hindus by force and fraud in sight—the Moslems will inevitably and soon be in a frame of mind to acquiesce in equitable Hindu Moslem Unity pacts.

Anti-British Front.

Nor need there be any fear of breaking up the so called united front against British Imperialism. The present Congress united front is a feigned show, a house of cards. The Hindu National united front will be realistic, homogeneous, the living front. We shall not only be able to advance the just interests of the Hindu Nation—but side by side will be in a position with our equitable and truly Indian National policy as we have outlined before—even to advance the interest of the Indian Nation in its territorial sense also, far more rapidly and solidly and vigorously than this present Quixotic Congress policy with its proposals of doing away with armed military and guarding the frontiers with girl—volunteers with Charkhas in their hands can ever do! Down with all that non sense for ever and up with the matter of fact Indian politics and the consequent Hindu Nationalist Front.

Remember, Oh Hindus ! that in raising the standard of this Hindu Nationalist Front; we are exercising but our legitimate constitutional rights and can give unjustifiable affront to none. Every Hindu is required by the consti-

tution to vote for whomsoever he likes. So long as bayonets do not extort your votes against your own will for an anti-Hindu candidate, so long it is the easiest and the most legitimate thing for you to vote for a Hindu Nationalist. If but every Hindu does that easy duty for his race, Hindudom is saved. And if we Hindus do not do even that much and determine to commit a cultural and political and racial suicide by voting for an anti-National organisation as the Congress has grown today into one—not even Brahmadeva can save you.

Then we Hindu Sanghatanists who are determined to see that Hindudom asserts itself, should begin at once at the beginning, form a united Hindu National front, under unalloyed power that even today obtains by voting only for Hindu Nationalists and we will see that the larger part of our present local and detailed grievances dissipate like a mist at the very sight of Hindu Nationalist ministries formed in seven provinces in India and at the Centre. When we have this much, more shall be added unto us—and one of these days we shall have heralded an Independent and strong and mighty Hindu Nation which is but tantamount

with a mighty Indian Nation based on perfect equality of citizenship for all loyal and faithful Indian citizens irrespective of race and religion from Indus to Seas. Remember "those who have, more will be added unto them but those who have not even that will be taken away from them which they have." This is the inexorable law in this matter of fact world! We should capture and have then first the political power that exists! We should raise the standard of a Hindu Nation and see to it that India must remain a Hindusthan for ever; never a Pakisthan!—an Anglisthan never, never!!.



Chapter. X

Responsive Co-operation.

The Hindu Sanghatanists hold that leading principle of all practical politics is the policy of Responsive Co-operation. And in virtue of it, it believes that all those Hindu Sanghatanists who are working as councillors, ministers, legislatures and conducting municipal or any public bodies with a view to promote the legitimate interests of the Hindus without, of course encroaching on the legitimate interests of others are rendering a highly patriotic service to our Nation. Knowing the limitations under which they work, the Hindu Sanghatanists only expect them to do whatever good they can under the circumstances and if they do not fail to do that much it would thank them for having acquitted themselves well. The limitations are bound to get themselves limited step by step till they get altogether eliminated.

The policy of responsive co-operation covers the whole gamut of patriotic activities from unconditional co-operation right upto active and even armed resistance and will keep adapting itself to the exigencies of the time, resources at our disposal and dictates of our national interest.



Chapter XI

Relative Non-violence Vs Absolute Non-violence.

No policy based on the monomaniacal principle of absolute non-violence is worth a moment's consideration. This extreme remedy of absolute non-violence for winning our objectives and condemning all armed resistance even to an incorrigible aggression must be ruled out not only on practical grounds alone but even on moral grounds.

Criterion of morality.

Without going into deep waters for want of space to ascertain what constitutes the criterion of a moral action, whether morality derives its sanction from Intuition or Revelation or Exigency, the most practical factor and one which ought to be common to all of these schools of moral thought and which alone can practically serve to distinguish a moral act from an immoral one, a virtue from a vice, the good from the bad is the utilitarian principle

that everything that contributes under a given set of circumstances to human good is moral, a virtue and the opposite is immoral, a vice under those given circumstances; that all morality is essentially human. Judged from this most practical and yet fundamental test, the principle of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to incorrigible aggression cannot but be ruled out as absolutely impracticable, anti-human and therefore positively immoral. A serpent finds its way slyly into a pack of children sleeping soundly or a mad dog rushes all of a sudden foaming with insane exasperation into a crowded fair and you do not kill it there and then even if you can, on principle of absolute non-violence you abet the murderous violence which the serpent or the mad dog commits by biting innocent human beings to death, you are criminally doubly guilty in refusing to save the life of human beings to spare the life of a serpent or a dog and leave it free to take more human lives at leisure as occasion arises. On the contrary if you kill the serpent and the dog there and then you are still guilty of violence from the point of your own principle of absolute non-violence killing no living being. Even this one illustration

is enough to prove that the principle of absolute non-violence is not only absolutely impracticable but anti-human and therefore absolutely immoral. What holds good in these individual cases does also hold good in matters affecting nations. It must be noted in this connection that even those religions which put the virtue of non-violence, Ahimsa, above all virtues had to admit exceptions and did not or could not assert that absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance whatsoever even to incorrigible aggression constituted a virtue.

Relative Non-violence is a Virtue;
But Absolute Non-Violence a Crime !

Of course relative non-violence on the whole is doubtless a virtue so pre-eminently contributing to human good as to form one of the fundamentals on which human life whether individual or social can take its stand and evolve all social amenities. But absolute non-violence that is non-violence under all circumstances and even when instead of helping human life whether individual or national it causes an incalculable harm to humanity as a whole ought to be condemned as a moral perversity

and is on the whole condemned likewise by those very religious and moral schools which lauded relative non-violence as the first and foremost human virtue.

The Ahimsa of the Jains and Buddhists is opposed to this Gandhist Doctrine of Ahimsa.

It should be noted in particular that the Ahimsa preached by the Buddhist or the Jain Religion is directly opposed to the absolute Ahimsa or the absolute non-violence as Gandhiji interpretes it condemning all armed resistance under all circumstances. The very fact that the Jains reared up kingdoms, produced heroes and heroines who fought armed battles and Jain Commanders-in-chief leading Jain armies without being ostracised by the Jain Acharyas prove this point to the hilt that the Ahimsa of the Jainas cannot be the rabid Ahimsa of the Gandhist school. Nay, the Jain scriptures openly assert that armed resistance to incorrigible aggression is not only justifiable but imperative. To save a saint from being murdered outright by a violent and armed sinner, Ahimsa itself requires that the sinner should be killed there and then if that act alone could save the life of the saint. Such an

Himsa is in itself an act of Ahimsa and the Jain scriptures defend it, almost in the words used by Manu himself to defend it, that the sin of killing in such a case recoils on the murderer himself whose act was responsible for the reaction, "अयुक्तमयुक्तं हि !" Bhagwan Buddha also gave the same ruling when questioned by the leaders of a clan as to whether they should take to armed resistance as soldiers against the armed aggression, of another clan. "Soldiers may fight against armed aggression" said Bhagwan Buddha, "without committing a sin if but they fight with arms in defence a righteous cause."

The Defensive Sword was the first Savior of Man

Call it a law of nature or the will of God as you like, the iron fact remains that there is no room for absolute non-violence in nature. Man could not have saved himself from utter extinction nor could have but led the precarious and wretched life of a coward and a worm had he not succeeded in adding the strength of artificial Arms to his natural arm. In those Geological periods when he evolved to manhood he was surrounded by such ferocious, brute and serpentine order that he found himself, indivi-

dual to individual, the weakest being; physically the most unfit to survive in contest during the struggle for existence that was raging round in the formidable primitive jungles which was his first home. He had neither poisonous fangs nor tusks nor horns nor blood-thirsty claws. We call the cow as physically and by nature the most harmless and the most incapable of self-defence. But even a cow could have cowed down a man in a naked physical combat and even killed him by piercing her pointed horns in his stomach as none of his natural organs were a match for them. It was only his capacity to invent artificial weapons to add to the strength of his natural limbs, which the beasts and the brutes failed to develop that man could cope with tigers and lions and wolves and serpents and crocodiles and could snatch the mastery of the earth and water from his wild enemies. Throughout the paleolithic and neolithic periods, the bronze age and the iron age man could maintain himself, multiply and master this earth chiefly through this his armed strength. Verily the Defensive Sword was the first Savior of man!

The Belief in Absolute Non-violence condemning all armed Resistance even to Aggression evinces no Mahatmic Saintliness but a Monomaniacal Senselessness!

What held good in man's struggle with the brute world continued to be true throughout his social struggle, the struggle of clan against clan, race against race, nation against nation. The lesson is branded on every page of human history down to the latest page that nations which, other things equal, are superior in military strength are bound to survive, flourish and dominate while those which are militarily weak shall be politically subjected or cease to exist at all. It is idle to say, we shall add a new chapter to history with a new lesson. You may perhaps add something new to history but you cannot add to or take away a syllable from the iron law of Nature itself. Even today if man handover a blank cheque to the wolf and the tiger to be filled in with a human pledge of absolute non-violence, no killing of a living being, no armed force to be used, then the wolves and the tigers will lay waste all your mandirs and mosques, culture and cultivation, Aramas and Ashrams—finish man, Saint and

sinner alike before a dozen years pass by; In face of such an iron law of nature can anything be more immoral and sinful than to preach a principle so anti-human as that of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to aggression?

And yet it is curious to find that even those who condemn this doctrine of absolute non-violence as impracticable seem still to believe that though impracticable for us worldly men, this doctrine is nevertheless highly moral and evinces some Mahatmaic excellence, some superhuman sanctity. This apologetic tone must be forthwith changed. It raises these prophets of this eccentric doctrine in their own estimation and makes them feel they had really invented some moral law raising human politics to some divine level. Seeing that even their opponents on practical grounds attribute to them a superhuman saintliness owing to the very eccentricity of their doctrine, they grow, perhaps unconsciously all the more eccentric and have the insane temerity to preach in all seriousness to the Indian public that "even the taking up of lathi is sinful." The best means of freeing India from the foreign yoke is the spinning-

wheel. Not only that but even after India becomes independent there would not be any necessity of maintaining a single armed soldier or a single warship to protect her frontiers. If but India believes and acts in the spirit of such absolute non-violence maintaining no army, no navy or no air force, no nation in the world shall invade her and even if some armed nations did invade her they could be easily persuaded to fall back as soon as they are confronted by the unarmed army of our Desha-Sevikas singing to the tune of the spinning-wheel musical appeals to the conscience of the invading forces". When things have come to such a pass that such quixotic souls are sent as accredited spokesmen by the credulous crowd to the round table conferences and even in foreign lands such senseless proposals are seriously advanced by them in the name of the India Nation itself in so many words to the great merriment of the foreign statesmen and the general public in Europe and America—the time has surely come to take this doctrinal plague quite seriously and to counteract it as quickly as possible. We must tell them in no apologetic language but in firm accents that your doctrine of absolute non-violence is not only absolutely impractic-

able but absolutely immoral. It is not an outcome of any saintliness but of insanity. It requires no ingenuity on your part to tell us that if but all men observe absolute non-violence there will be no war in the world and no necessity of any armed forces; Just as it requires no extraordinary insight to maintain that if but men learn to live forever mankind will be free from death. We denounce your doctrine of absolute non-violence not because we are less saintly but because we are more sensible than you are. Relative non-violence is our creed and therefore, we worship the defensive sword as the first saviour of man. It was in this faith that Hindus worshipped the arms as the Symbols of the Shakti, the Kali, and Guru Govind Singh sang his hymn to the Sword, सुखसंताकरणम् दुर्मति हरणम् खलदल दलनमजयतेगम् and we also join with the great Guru in the refrain and sing with him, "Hail Thee, Sword."

It is in this spirit that we want all Hindus to get themselves re-animated and reborn into a martial race. Manu and Shri Krishna are our law givers and Shri Ram the Commander of our forces. Let us re-learn the manly lessons they taught us and our Hindu Nation shall

prove again as unconquerable and conquering a race as we proved once when they led us: conquering those who dare to be aggressive against us and refraining ourselves, not out of weakness but out of magnanimity, from any unjustifiable designs of aggression against the unoffending.



Chapter XII.

The Present World War and the Hindu Nationalists.

Before we discuss our policy with regard to the present world war we wish to draw the attention of our readers to some of the leading considerations which seem to us best calculated to clear our vision and help us in chalking out our line of policy and action in this respect.

We are in no way morally bound to help any of the belligerents in this world-wide war whether it be England or Germany or Japan or Russia or China or any other country involved in the war, from only altruistic point of view as has been demanded from us by Great Britain and America. None of the belligerent powers in Europe whether England, Germany, Poland, France or Russia etc. had been actuated by any moral, democratic or altruistic considerations apart from its own self-interest and self-aggrandisement. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India have more than once wanted

us to believe in their various speeches that the only objective which had actuated Britain to continue the war had been "to resist aggression whether against England or others, to defend great democratic ideals and without seeking any material advantage, to lay the foundation of a better international system and to secure a real and lasting peace". No better proof can be adduced to disprove these declarations as to the altruistic objectives of Great Britain in going to the war than the fact that they provided an occasion for Hitler to retort when he was asked by Chamberlain to free Poland that he would do so as soon as Great Britain freed India. Verily does the adage say, "Thieves alone can trace the footsteps of thieves best". Consequently the demand of the Congressite leaders like Pandit Nehru calling upon Great Britain to tell their general objectives in going to the war seemed to be altogether ideal. Firstly, because Britain has been repeating those general objectives in the above strain ad nauseam and secondly, because the declaration of any general pious objectives cannot be worth a brass farthing unless they were immediately translated into actions wherever it was possible to do so, as England could have done it in the

case of India by granting her a democratic and free constitution. But she did nothing of the sort.

It is crystal clear that the general objectives of every one of those countries engaged in the war or in fact every nation in the world today cannot be any other than to serve, safeguard and promote its own interests and extend its domination on as large a part of the world as it is able to do. If Hitler or Mussolini is out to win a new Empire because he wants more room on the globe for his people and power to expand, Churchill and Stalin and Roosevelt want to secure and maintain their mastery over the Empires they already possess. The Label masking that mastery may be different. They may call it an Empire or a democratic republic or a Soviet republic but they all are out to thrust the will and the domination of their nation by force upon other people and their territories against their own wills. Is not France a democratic republic? But it has robbed the freedom of so many countries in the world including our Pondicherry and Chandra-Nagar as to stand only second to England in the extent of colonial possessions. Russia also is a republic and Soviet republic to boot but extends its

mastery almost over a continent conquered by force and has swallowed Poland and other small nations as greedily as Germany did.

The same thing could be said about the "Isms" each of them follow. Under whatever label their principles are trotted out whether as Bolshevism or Nazism or Fascism or Republicanism or Parliamentarism their armed domination over other peoples they have conquered or wish to conquer does not and cannot savour of anything else but autocratic tyranny. Under such circumstances it would be but a suicidal folly for India to be taken in by the slogans or by the labels on their principles and policies which all of them use with the only purpose to camouflage their real intentions. We should neither hate nor love Nazis or Bolsheviks or Democrats simply on the ground of any theoretical or bookish reasons. There is no reason to suppose that Hitler must be a human monster because he passes off as a Nazy or Churchill is a demi-God because he calls himself a Democrat. Nazism proved undeniably the saviour of Germany under the set of circumstances Germany was placed in, Bolshevism might have suited Russia very well

and we know what the English Democracy has cost us.

Political science and history both carry out the fact that no constitution or social system can be beneficial under all circumstances and for all alike. No people are so attached to democracy and to individual liberty as the British so far as their own Nation is concerned. But under war condition did they not throw the democratical conception and constitution overboard in a day and vote for almost an undiluted dictatorship? Is not Mr. Churchill today to England what Herr Hitler is to Germany, whose word is nearly the only law of the land? Only the last mail from England brought a leading paper in which a British poet sang the dirge of liberty in the following wailing notes, asking

"We know the war court is in tact

"But what of the Habeas Corpus Act

"The Freedom's isle they could not save

"Till it was Magna Charta's grave".

Consequently, there is no meaning in calling upon Indians that it is their duty to fight

Germany simply because they are Totalitarians and Nazis or to love the French or the English or the Americans simply because they are Democrats or Republicans.

The sanest policy for us which practical politics demands is to befriend those who are likely to serve our country's interests inspite of any ism they follow for themselves and to befriend only so long as it serves our purpose. The Nazis and the Bolsheviks were the most deadly enemies to each other on theoretical ground but when on the given question of Poland and the general interests in this war they thought an alliance would serve the purpose of their nations better, they joined hands overnight in mutual friendship. Had England herself gone to war say with Russia and had Hitler taken the English side, can anyone doubt that England would have landed this very Nazy Germany as enthusiastically as they did the Imperialistic Germany in the days of Bismark when he invaded and crushed these very French people with whom England happened then to be enimical ever since the rise of the Republican Revolution in France to the fall of Napoleon III? Were not these very

Americans although her own kith and kin, held up by England before the world as the most faithless and treacherous type of humanity in spite of the fact they were republicans when they revolted against England and secured their Independence? And now there is a close alliance of England with America which is the last refuge guaranteeing any certainty of saving England from a disastrous defeat, what desperate love has locked John Bull and Uncle Sam into an unseparable embrace! Nay, did not England cast a wishful eye to woe the very Bolshevik Russia whom she cursed all along and now when the latter accepted her hands, and broke off with Germany, did not the very England come out to bless the Bolshevik Government as "Our Noble Ally"!

Nor should the bogey of the German's conquering India with which the English try and tried to frighten us out of our wits should be taken too seriously into consideration in framing our immediate policy in response to the war situation. As things stand it is not very likely, nay, it is altogether improbable that in this war England will be defeated so disastrously as to get compelled to hand over

her Indian Empire lock, stock and barrel into German's hands. When Columbus, they say, was on the point of effecting his first landing in America the natives showed fight. There upon Columbus who knew that an eclipse of the Sun was imminent posed as a deputy sent by God and informed the natives that if they did not welcome him and help him in landing he would remove the Sun from the skies and an eternal darkness would set in. Very soon the unsubmitting natives found to their utter consternation that the sun was really getting removed from the skies and darkness setting in. So they hurried on with fruits, flowers and gifts to the shore and welcomed and helped him to land. The threat which England holds before the Indian eyes "Help us or Hitler will set in" sounds as unreal, ridiculous and crafty as the ultimatum which Columbus delivered to the natives "Help me or eternal darkness will set in". On the one hand the English are assuring the whole world that they are sure to crush Hitler in the long run while in the same breath tell us "Help us or the Germans are sure to conquer India"! The fact is that if ever the English really come to feel so helpless that without our

help they were sure to lose India they would offer us of themselves not only the Dominion Status but some of their colonies and possessions as they are doing today in the case of America.

Again even if we take for granted for the sake of argument that the war takes such a turn as to enable the Germans to invade India there is no reason why we should take that probability as certainty that the withdrawal of the British from India must only mean the occupation of her by Germany. In such world earthquakes when Empires totter to pieces, history abounds with examples showing that subject nations often find their effective opportunity of achieving independence by playing one mighty enemy against the other to the annihilation of the aggressive might of both of them. Secondly, if the war causes the sudden withdrawal of the British from India without enabling the Germans or any other great power to occupy India at a stroke and brings us Hindus face to face with only an internal anarchy and a consequent civil war with the Moslems which argument some people try to use as an alternate threat to frighten us into un-

conditional submission, there would be every chance that the Hindus will prove victorious in such a civil war and remain the undisputed masters in their own house.

In short none of these pseudo-moral hypothetical or problematical reasons trotted out mainly to dupe or frighten us with a view to exact unconditional and willing co-operation with the British war efforts should be allowed to form the only ground on which our war policy can be based. We shall of course take these reasons also into consideration but only in so far as they are likely to really affect our own national interests in a matter of fact way. In framing our policy so far as it lies in our power our only consideration should be how best can we take advantage of the war situation to promote our own interests, how best can we help ourselves in safe-guarding and if possible even in promoting our cause.

Leading courses of action likely to present to us.

First course:—The first and the foremost effective course that would have presented itself to any subjected people as best calculated to assert its independence while its adversary

was entangled into a serious war with some of its powerful neighbours, would have naturally been to rise in arms to assert its own freedom. But disarmed, disorganised and disunited as we are at present an armed revolt against England on a National scale is entirely ruled out under our present circumstances. Therefore on grounds of practical politics we are compelled not to concern our-selves with any programme involving any armed resistance, under the present circumstances.

Second course :—The Gandhist "Satyagraha" based on absolute non-violence. It is a course of jail seeking programmes actuated or professing to be actuated by the queer belief in self tortures and self-immolation as the best remedy to melt the hearts of our opponent and adversaries and even of stocks and stones to win one's objectives. This belief has been baptised by its own adherents themselves as something like "Non-violent, non-cooperating, non-resistance". The Hindu Nationalists believe that resistance to aggression in all possible and practicable way is not only justifiable but imperative. In the words of Herbert Spencer absolute non-resistance or absolute non-violence

hurts both altruism and egoism. We consider absolute non-resistance in so far as it is calculated to prove beneficial to mankind in general as positive virtue but condemn absolute non-violence or absolute nonresistance even to aggression as absolutely immoral in as much as it is bound to spell the destruction of all human progress by sacrificing the innocent to spare the guilty. The Hindu Sanghatanists do not believe in such a queer and immoral creed and consequently any campaign of such a jail seeking programme based on such a creed. This type of Satyagraha can only serve as a stunt for the elections.

Therefore the Hindu Sanghatanists actuated by such a faith can never associate with this sort of programme. They have had enough experience of such a course of melting the hearts of their opponents at the cost of self-abnegation.

Third Course:— Militarisation and Industrialisation. Thus, after, taking stock of all other courses and factors for and against us the best policy for us under the present circumstances and which is likely to prove most beneficial and likely to serve, safe-guard and promote our

national interest without meaning any humiliation to our national self-interest is to get the maximum use and benefit by militarising our people and industrialisation of our country which the British Government has come forward itself to do for serving its own self-interest.

It is specially to be observed that the facilities which are thrown open to us in these directions in consequence of war could not be secured by us in the past and we could not hope to secure in ordinary course by empty protests and demands for the next fifty years to come. You have already noted that the objective of all the nations who are engaged in this war is but to serve, safe-guard and promote their own national interests. Therefore the sanest policy for us which the practical politics demands is to see that we employ the war to serve and promote our own self-interest to the greatest extent possible.

Militarisation of our people and Industrialisation of our country are the crying needs of our people and country and we have got immense opportunities for both due to war. The British would never have come forward to help

us in this respect of their own accord because they know the dangers inherent in this policy, and had always been obstructing the militarisation and industrialisation of our country with one or the other excuse. Even prior to war the Indian Government used to trot out the excuse that it would take at least fifty years to train up the Indians in the art of war and to form an efficient army officers by their own men as they had no military instinct. But now they are raising the military forces and encouraging industrial development to help themselves in this world war with no altruistic motive of helping us but of helping themselves so also we with no intention of helping them but helping ourselves should participate in their war efforts so far as it helps us to militarise ourselves and industrialise our country. In this we are only guided by the exigency of practical politics and our alliance with the British in this respect is based on common points of militarisation and industrialisation although with differing objectives.

If we do not utilise this opportunity in this respect and show our cleverness and common sense in so doing and remain slumbering and dosing we shall be guilty of an unpardonable

sin and shall be accused of not acting up to the moment by our coming generations. This war has not only provided opportunities to illiterate and literate people but also to men of brains and commonsense. Hence it should be the foremost duty of your youngmen to learn the technique of war and military education and specialise in the manufacture of different machines.

Judging the results of our policy of participating in war efforts so far as the militarisation of the Hindus is concerned we are glad to note that Hindu youngmen are showing keen interest in this respect and have already raised the proportion of Hindus in the armed forces to 66% and they are evincing a special interest and ability in the aircraft and are getting themselves enlisted in large numbers in the air-forces.

The manufacture of war materials on an enormous scale has also been introduced in India which has already afforded and sure to afford as days pass by an opportunity for thousands of our artisans and craftsmen, workers, and technicians to get specialised in turning out upto date rifles, tanks, amunition and even machines required in connection with them.

The Government has even been compelled to permit Seth Wal Chand Hira Chand to open a Shipyard at Bezwada financed by Indian capital worked by Indian labour under Indian management. Permission for opening a factory to manufacture aeroplanes on a large scale has also been granted to him and he has already a sight at Banglore. This war has given a philip to many a chemical industry, the paper industry etc. etc. Within a couple of years if but the war pressure is continued we are sure to record an industrial progress which other-wise even a dozen years would not have enabled us to do as the Government always stood in our way to economical self-sufficiency.

A serious question?

Now we ask you all whether you could have ever been able to bring about such rapid militarisation and industrialization of the country within a year but of your own sources? Could have the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress or any such public organization ever been able to recruit, train, equip half a million of our men and send them to learn real fighting on the field on the strength of its own resources? And even if you had aimed to do so, would the

British Government had ever allowed you to do so? We could not have conducted even lathi clubs on such a large scale? Even last year were we not as alive as to urgency of militarisation of our Hindu people? But were we not unable even last year to run half a dozen institutions to impart military education even to a few hundred Hindu youths? And now that the war has opened out an opportunity for us to send hundreds of thousands of Hindus to the army, the navy, the air services and to get them fully trained, equipped and armed as up-to-date soldiers and commanding officers and for building shipyard, aeroplane factories, gun factories, ammunition factories and get thousands of our mechanics trained into war technical experts;— shall we turn our back on all these facilities, refuse to join the army or decline to participate in the manufacture of war materials simply because some fools will call it a cooperation with the Government or some body will curse it as an act of violence? If we do so we shall but deserve even ourselves to be bracketed with the fool and the booby.



Part III.

The Programme.

Chapter I

Our Immediate Programme.

"Hinduise all Politics and militarise Hindudom"

The Hindu Sanghathanists should remember that as is very probable they will be called upon to fight out any attempt on the part of the Moslems to thrust the Pakistan on us, whether by resorting to the "revolt" whatever the Leaguers may mean thereby, then the entire burden, responsibility and consequently the merit also will be theirs in facing the struggle single handed. The Congress minded Hindus, the worshippers of pseudo nationality would not only be of no use to us, but would actually try to combat us and try to put us into a false position by their willing surrender to the Moslem demands as Hindus as has recently been shown by Mr. Gandhi and his associates. We should, therefore, try to mobilise our forces and reserve whatever strength

we can command for this defence of the integrity of India, which no one else but we alone may defend. We are the salt of Hindudom; but if the salt loses its flavour, then with what shall it be salted? Independence of Hindusthan has no meaning at the cost of its fundamental integrity as a state and a nation. It may be thrust on us even as the British rule is thrust on us but just as that does not deprive us of the right of struggling for our freedom with England, even so if we but do not betray our own conscience and sign willingly any or all schemes, proposing percentages, plebiscites, which are growing in abundance like mush-rooms either out of panic or pusillanimity we will find ourselves soon in a position to press on both the demands regarding independence and integrity and together get them realised through our own strength.

So far as the most determining factor of all secondary movements the world-war is concerned, neither parties either the Axis or the Allies has as yet secured any result so decisive as to invest it with an unquestionable superiority. Consequently, the best policy for all nations situated as we Hindus are, is to

continue to sit on the fence and watch the results, keeping ourselves all the while as well organised, as well informed and as tactfully ready to take as much advantage of the last results, when the war ends.

In view of this indecisive aspect of the war and the necessity for the Hindu Sanghatanists to keep mobilised our forces for the resistance which we are very likely to be called on to offer and continue fighting the anti-Pakistani struggle single handedly and owing to our inability howsoever regrettable but which must be recognised as an actuality, to enter the world combat on our own account to win back our independence, the most far-sighted and practicable programme which, if carried on faithfully and handicapped though we are, while the war continues without arriving at any decisions, is as follows—

Militarising Hindudom

Call it a law of nature or the will of God as you like, the iron fact, remains that there is no room for absolute non-violence in nature. Man could not have saved himself from utter extinction nor could have but led the preca-

rious and wretched life of a coward and a worm had he not succeeded in adding the strength of artificial arms to his natural arm. It is only due to his capacity to invent artificial weapons to add to the strength of his natural limbs that he has been able to snatch the mastery of the earth and water from his wild enemies. Verily the sword has proved to be the saviour of man.

Hence we worship the defensive sword. We worship it as the symbol of Shakti (power) and so in this spirit we want Hindudom to be reanimated and reborn into a martial race. Only by the strength of arms we can win Swarajya and keep the integrity of Hindusthan intact. Therefore, the first item of our programme is to militarise the Hindus. In view of the opportunities provided to us by the world war to do the same we shall continue a hundred times more intensely the Hindu Militarisation Movement and try to get recruited and enlisted as many Hindus as possible in the Army, Navy, the Air Forces, Ammunition Factories, War Technics etc. The results of this movement are already so encouraging as to make it quite superfluous now on our part to marshal

out all the arguments we had been doing so often. When the war began, the percentage of the Moslems had so dangerously gone high in the Army as 62 percent. This was the result of the Gandhist policy of denouncing the soldier as a sinner and the spinner as the greatest spiritual warrior, who alone was the real liberator of the land and was sure with the music of his spinning wheel to win over the hearts of all Hitlers, Stalins, Churchills and Tojos. But ever since the Hindu Sanghatanists found that the war had made it incumbent on the Government to throw the doors of the Army, Navy and the Air Forces open to the Hindus, they whipped up military enthusiasm amongst the Hindus and conducted an organised campaign to send thousands on thousands of Hindus to all branches of the military forces of the land. The result as has recently been declared is that the percentage of the Moslems in the Army has gone from 62 to 32 percent. This must also be reduced to some 25 percent in just accordance with the population proportion of Hindus and Moslems. The Hindu Sanghatani sts all over India must start Militarisation Boards to send to the forces of the land the best and the bravest of the Hindus.

If any province or a district wants to study an organization board which has proved most competent in this respect it should do well to study personally the working and the results achieved by the Militarisation Mandal at Poona under the able lead of our esteemed Hindu-sabhait leader Sjt. L. B. Bhopatkar. Hundreds of promising Hindu youths have already secured King's Commissions, Viceroy's Commissions and are leading the forces with efficiency and merit and getting an upto-date knowledge and practice of warfare in different battle-fields. The same can be said of the Air Forces. Believe us that nothing can stand the Hindus in better stead even after the war, as this Hindu militarisation will do. We assure every Hindu soldier and officer, who are now serving in the Indian Army, Navy or the Air Forces etc. that they are doing as patriotic a service to their Nation as those who went to jail at Bhagalpur, if not more. The immediate defence of our hearths and homes does also make it incumbent to make a common cause with the British forces, till they are in the field.

Hinduising Politics.

The second item of our programme is to capture the centres of political power from the

Central Executive Council, Legislatures, Defence Committee and Councils, municipalities, Ministries in the civic part of the Government to Hinduise politics. Therefore we should continue to capture all centres of political power from the Central Executive Council, Legislatures, Defence Committee and Councils, Municipalities, Ministries in the Civic part of Government just as on military side. The men who come to occupy these centres of power must be either elected by the Hindu Mahasabha or supported by it as Independent Hindu Sanghatanists. But in no case should a Hindu be trusted with any such centre of power who by persuasion belongs to the pseudo-Nationalistic Congress school and glorifies more in betraying Hindu rights to the Moslems than in defending them against Moslem encroachment.

Removal of Untouchability.

3. We should remember also that the removal of untouchability is a task as easy to be tackled as it is bound to strengthen Hindu consolidation. It will be nothing short of a Victory won in the battle-field if we within five years time, can sweep out untouchability from the face of our country by killing the very idea of not

touching our co-religionists on ground of birth in a particular caste alone, and removing automatically the special disabilities, some economical and some social, from which those of our religious brothers are suffering most unjustly at this hour: It is only a change of mentality and nothing more than that that can achieve this seemingly insuperable task. If every one of the Hindu Sanghatan-ists simply says and begins to act on it "I would not look upon anyone of my co-religionists as untouchable simply on account of birth in a particular caste"—the question will be solved without a farthing's cost or the least measure of suffering and we shall have a veritable army of some three crores of our co-religionists fighting shoulder to shoulder with us under Pan-Hindu Flag on behalf of Hindudom.

4. We should not fritter away our energies or keep our Sanghatan-ists forces shackled down in any untimely and tactless movement, which pursuing high sounding slogans loses more than gains in the long run. Remember it is not the slogan but the strength that counts. Under the war fever only arms speak and can dictate, not slogans howsoever high sounding.

5. But we must fight because we can give fight on detailed questions, in defence of the civic rights of the Hindus when they are locally attacked or humiliations deliberately offered to the Hindu honour or any just grievance or to face any anti-Hindu riots, as we have already been doing year in and year out. Only those issues which are beyond our power to tackle and are to be fought out on an all India scale against armed forces overwhelmingly more powerful than those we can rally, disorganised and disarmed as we relatively are, should not be taken up just now. Time and strategy demand that we should leave them till we are in a better position.

6. In the meanwhile in order to mobilise our forces and keep them prepared for any emergency such as the Pakisthani struggle we should continue—the constructive activities to make our Hindu Mahasabha organisation as strong as possible. The general and suicidal error which makes us under-value constructive programme, which we could easily carry out even during the war-time, must be immediately corrected. Even the war-time must be utilised all the more intensely by enlisting as many members, starting branches at as many places

down to Talukas and villages, and keeping them well organised and working, is a duty which the Hindu Mahasabha must continue to do and can do even now with a hundred-fold speed and activity.

7. So long as the war continues without reaching any decision this is the most profitable and the most tactical programme which the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sanghatanists can work out and must work out before the war introduces any revolutionary factor, concerning our own country so as to demand our first attention, and compels us to adapt ourselves to it forthwith.

All our present programmes, it need not be mentioned are based on the assumption that Britain comes out at any rate so successful of this world war, as to continue to be the Sovereign power in India. Nothing has happened so far, so cataclysmic as to undermine the probability of this assumption. But then the forces of Japan are hanging on so persistently on our eastern borders undisturbed to any appreciable measure and on the other hand the Axis powers have been surrounded at any rate

for the moment by a veritable hornets of irritated nations, that no one, even among the most optimistic statesmen or commanders or dictators is in a position to predict with any certainty or definiteness the results of the war. Till that, along with those nations who can not but helplessly watch their destinies tied up with the fortunes either of the powerful combatants on both sides, India too disarmed as it is, must bide the time and tide.

The dice of Destiny are loaded already, and recklessly thrown on a world battlefield! All nations are thrown in the crucible! The very Seas are on flames, and the skies are garrisoned with and showering thunder bolts day and night. No nation after this world war can emerge just as it was. Many of those who were at the pinnacle of their power will be reduced to the dust. Many who were trampled down in the dust may all of a sudden find themselves in a position to rise and come to their own. The face of the earth is bound to get revolutionised in any case, and in that revolutionary upheaval which at present lies in the lap of the War Gods, one thing only could be said with some certainty so far as India is concerned she also that can not but be one of the

Chapter II

"Our Glorious Future"

Now in the end we assure our Hindu brethren that if but we do not lose confidence in ourselves and are up and doing in time all that is lost may yet be regained.

The detailed observation of the history of Hindus through centuries on centuries points incontrovertibly to the fact that the Hindu Nation is imbued inherently with such an amazing capacity of resurrection, of renaissance, of re-juvenation that the moment, which finds them completely overwhelmed by anti-Hindu forces is precisely the moment which usher in the day of deliverance to quote the Puranic Style—of the birth of an Avatar. It was in the darkest hour of the night that Shree Krishna was born. It is this indomitable Spirit of the inherent vitality that enabled our national being to prove—almost immortal in relation to other races or nations—ancient or

modern and invested it with that strength which ultimately demolished and swept away all anti-Hindu forces, which raised their heads from time to time against us. This sort of vitality and staying power inherent in our race finds a few parallels in the Annals of the world.

Leaving alone the Daityas and Asuras we vanquished in our mythological and the prehistoric period of our annals—our very history dates from some two thousand years B. C. Amidst the terrible struggle for existence which is incessantly going on in creation, survival of the fittest is the rule. The nations of the mighty Inkas and Pharaohs and Nabuchadnezzars were swept away and no trace left behind. But we survived those national cataclysms because we were found the fittest to survive. There are ups and downs in the life of every nation. This very England which rules today over an Empire had often fallen an easy prey to the Roman and the Danes, the Dutch and the Normans as well. We too had to face great national disasters. But each time we rose and tided them over. The Greeks under Alexander the Great came conquering the world but they could not conquer Hindusthan. Chandra Gupta rose and we drove the

even today in heart of the heart he shudders to think of his fate as soon as he feels the probability of the consolidated strength of the over-whelming Hindu majority in the land.

In the meanwhile before we could recover from the struggle of centuries with Moslems, the English faced us and won on all points. We do not grudge them their victory. Because though we have been vanquished in the field yesterday, yet enough fight is still left in us today, we have not given up the struggle for lost, nay, have already returned to the charge. According to the historical calculations of time the English domination in India is but an event of today and before it dawns we shall see that the English, too, will meet the same fate!



Hindu Dharma Ki Jaya! Hindu Rashtra Ki Jaia!
VANDE MATRAM.

