

# *Future* **BHARAT**



*An* **RSS** *perspective*

**Future**  
**BHARAT**

**An RSS perspective**

(Compilation of lectures held at  
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# PREFACE

In his seminal work – “Who are we?”, Samuel Huntington states that “unless we decide who we are (as a people) we cannot decide what our priorities can be (as a nation).” Bharat is in the grips of a similar conundrum where the people of Bharat do not have one unifying idea of what Bharat is as a nation. Hence it is imperative that for a bright future “we, the people of Bharat” arrive at one idea of Bharat. This can be achieved by discussion and dialogue between the people of Bharat at large. Such discussions and dialogue are the soul of a democracy and are an intrinsic aspect of our culture.

There seem to be two major streams of an “idea of Bharat” prevailing in Bharat. One looks for its inspiration from outside Bharat and the other believes it’s roots are entrenched in the age old integral and holistic view of life based on spirituality which is the soul or chief characteristic of Bharat. The former displays a reluctance for dialogue and wants to compel or thrust a particular narrative without permitting any space for an alternative narrative. The latter believes and has facilitated dialogue and discussions with different view points on numerous occasions through the years, with the sincere belief that by coming together and discussing each other’s views, it is possible to achieve a point of confluence and a common understanding of the “idea of Bharat.”

It is a uniquely Bharatiya world view which has stated through the ages that, “Truth is one, sages describe it in various ways”. This view has facilitated and opened the door to a valuable tradition of discussion and acceptance of different views of life.

Hence 125 years ago Swami Vivekananda proudly proclaimed that we go beyond tolerance and accept all ways to reach the Truth to be true. This age old tradition in Bharat has stemmed from the Hindu view of life, one that is based on spirituality and is practiced by the people of Bharat since millenia. The history of Bharat is replete with examples of this exchange of ideas and assimilation.

RSS believes in the philosophy of Hindutva (Hinduness), the manifestation of a spirituality based integral and holistic view of life, that is known as the “**Hindu view of life**”, the world over. It has been a tradition in RSS to invite people of different points of views on one stage for discussions and better understanding.

RSS has conducted many mass contact campaigns “jana sampark abhiyan” to share the philosophy, views, activities and achievements of RSS with the public. The first of such countrywide campaigns was undertaken in 1985 on the completion of 60 years of RSS. The next followed in 1989-90 during the celebrations of Dr. Hedgewar’s birth centenary, the great visionary and founder of RSS. At the turn of the century, in the year 2000, to mark the completion of 75 years of relentless work, expansion and achievements of RSS, swayamsevaks went to several thousand villages and cities to narrate the story, the philosophy and the work of RSS. During the commemoration of the birth centenary of the second Sarsanghachalak of RSS Shri Guruji (2006-07), yet again a mass contact campaign was undertaken that reached out to all sections of society including people from different political parties.

As a result of these efforts the trust and support that the RSS receives has been enhanced and grows consistently.

Correspondingly there is a growing curiosity and eagerness to know about RSS and it's views on different issues among diplomats from various countries, bureaucrats, technocrats, industrialists, security personnel, educationists, academicians, intellectuals, religious leaders, political leaders, journalists, legal experts, management

consultants and many others leading personalities from different walks of life.

Today we live in the era of “new media”, there are many more platforms for mass communication and it has become easier to reach out to a multitude of people with the click of a button. However, these same platforms are equally available to the detractors of RSS and some anti national forces that run a sustained campaign to malign the image of the RSS and spread motivated and false propaganda. Nonetheless the expansion, strength and positive influence of RSS and it’s all encompassing and Bharatiya philosophy is finding increasing resonance amidst the people of Bharat, especially amongst the youth. RSS, in keeping with the demands of the times and the internet age, has opened itself to innovative ideas and programs to reach the masses through different platforms of media for mass communication.

To further this initiative a lecture series by Dr. Mohanji Bhagwat was organised on the 17th,18th and 19th of September 2018 in New Delhi. In this unique outreach, Dr. Bhagwat delivered lectures on a wide ranging issues that articulated the RSS viewpoint on subjects of national and social significance.

Influential and eminent people from all walks of life attended the three day program. Their presence on all days despite their busy schedules reflected their interest in contemplating and building Bharat’s future. Furthermore it encouraged our trust in the wide ranging appeal and impact of this endeavour.

The program was live streamed on digital and electronic platforms and the official RSS Facebook page carried the program live as well. The viewership due to this multi-pronged dissemination was in the lakhs and people from around the world tuned in.

This book is a compilation of the two lectures and answers given on third day by the Sarsanghchalak in response to the queries raised by the attendees. Another welcome outcome was the healthy debate and dialogue that the lecture series ushered into the public

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discourse. We welcome these exchanges and trust they will lead to greater clarity about the common identity of 'we the people of Bharat', RSS and its work.

**- Dr. Manmohan Vaidya**  
Sah Sarkaryavah  
Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh

**Day -1**

# **Future Bharat - An RSS Perspective**

**- Dr. Mohanrao Bhagwat**

Mananiya Sanghachalaks on the dais, and respected gentlemen, mothers and sisters who are present here,

This programme has been planned to help people to get acquainted with the Sangh, especially because the whole world has now come to feel the presence of the Sangh as a mighty force in this nation. The contemporary discussions and debates about the Sangh are not only quite natural but inevitable also. However, all such discussions and debates should be based on facts. Of course, to take a decision as to how to conduct the discussions and debates is the prerogative of those who conduct it. But one thing, only discussions based on facts will lead to meaningful conclusions.

The work of the Sangh is unique. And there is no other work anywhere else comparable to it. Hence, efforts to understand the Sangh by using the process of moving from the known to the unknown will be a futile exercise. The possibility of such attempts leading to misconceptions cannot be ruled out. As the method of the Sangh work is distinctive, the Sangh workers do their work without hankering after name, fame or credit. Commensurate with the growth in the Sangh's strength, naturally its fame will also grow of its own, and it will attract media attention. As a natural corollary, people will start discussing about it out of their curiosity to understand it and make efforts to know about it. Any work, when it grows, evolves itself into a force. As a result, some people may develop fear of this force and will be indulging in anti-propaganda, which is quite natural.



Recently, the workers of our Delhi Prant felt it necessary to present factual information about the Sangh before the influential and enlightened sections of the people of Delhi, along with a question-answer session to clear the doubts, if any. And this programme is its outcome. At the very outset, I would like to make it amply clear that I am not here to convince you but to introduce the Sangh to you as it is. Then it is up to you to decide whether to agree or disagree with whatever I am saying. I will also reply to your questions according to the information I have at my disposal. You are also free to analyse and evaluate whatever I say here. One thing, we would certainly hope that whenever you discuss the Sangh henceforth, it would be based on the authentic facts, presently being laid out before you.

### **Dr. Hedgewar the founder of RSS**

To understand what the Sangh is, it is necessary to first know Dr. Hedgewar, its founder. In the Sangh, we say Dr. Hedgewar sowed himself as a seed in the soil and nurtured it into a sturdy tree. Hence, in everything concerning the Sangh one would find the reflection of Dr. Hedgewar's mind. It is not only difficult to understand the Sangh without knowing Dr. Hedgewar, it is well-nigh impossible. Today, when looking at the Sangh, one is sure to get a glimpse of Dr. Hedgewar's mind. So any attempt to know the Sangh, should start from there. Dr. Hedgewar was born into a middle-class family of Vedic scholars who eaked out their livelihood practicing priest-craft. His family was not rich. He was the youngest of the three brothers. During those days, the thought of Independence used to engage the minds of the people. Prior to the advent of British rule, Bhosles were the rulers of Nagpur. So, how the British captured the power from the Bhosale, in one way or the other, used to become the theme of performing folklore artistes and those who gave religious discourses in temples. Such an atmosphere in which Dr. Hedgewar grew up from his childhood, naturally created an irresistible yearning for independence in him.

## **Dr. Hedgewar's Student Life**

Even while studying in the primary school, the sense of patriotism was conspicuous in Dr. Hedgewar and, hence, we are used to calling him a born-patriot. The jubilee of Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne was celebrated in Bharat also. As our country was under the British yoke, the celebration was made compulsory in all schools. So, in his school also the event was celebrated. At that time, he was studying in the third standard. As part of the celebration, sweets were distributed to all students. However, instead of eating the sweet given to him, he threw it into the gutter. "How can the sweets distributed to mark the ascension to power of those who made us their slaves by forcibly becoming our rulers, taste delectable to us? This is the day of mourning!" was his reply when his teacher enquired of him whether he had thrown away the sweet because of his distaste for it. If such was his way of thinking even as a primary school student, you can very well imagine his mental -make up right from his birth. Anyhow, he had to continue his further studies in trying circumstances. When he was eleven years old, Nagpur was devastated by plague. His parents, who were engaged in serving the afflicted by the disease, fell victims to the disease and died on the same day. As there was no means of livelihood, he had to continue his studies in abject poverty. Even in such an extremely difficult condition, Keshav Hedgewar, who later on came to be known as Dr. Hedgewar, never gave up two things in life: one, he was always one among the first ten students of his school; two, he was very particular about plunging heart and soul into any sort of activity in the national interest. He had made public activity a mission of his life from a very young age.

Later on, when the Vande Mataram agitation was launched, he was in the prominent group of students, who took the lead in organising the agitation in the schools of Nagpur. And, when the school inspector came to the school for inspection, he was greeted with cries of Vande Mataram in each classroom. This naturally

provoked the government and all the schools were shut down and a hunt to identify those who were behind the protest was ordered. However, Keshav Hedgewar had given shape to a wonderful organisation, so much so that, even after four months, they could identify not even one person. Finally, parents of the students, the government officials, etc. reached a compromise formula to reopen the schools. According to the formula, each student would nod his head in apology before the headmaster, standing at the entrance of the school, before entering the school. However, two students of an school in Nagpur refused even to tender this nominal apology. And Keshav Hedgewar was one of them. As a result, he was rusticated from the school. Our national leaders had started National Schools for the benefit of students, who faced expulsion from schools for participating in such agitations, so as to enable them to continue their studies. Keshav, who joined and studied at the National School, appeared for the Matriculation Examination and emerged victorious, securing First Class.

Keshav Hedgewar's dynamism and the glitter of his heart could not skip the attention of the contemporary leaders. So they raised some funds and sent him to The National Medical College, Kolkata, to pursue medical education. However, it was a mere alibi and the real purpose was to facilitate establishing contact with the Anusheelan Samiti in Kolkata, the Coordination Committee of revolutionaries active all over India, to gather information about the revolutionary movement so as to establish its units in the Central Province and Berar, when he returned to Nagpur during vacation. And Doctor ji accomplished both the tasks perfectly well. Moreover, he passed the final examination at the Medical College, securing First Class. Along with it, emerging triumphant in the toughest tests in four years, he could get entry into the core committee of the body of revolutionaries, where he was known among his fellow-revolutionaries by the code name, 'cocaine.' As an organiser, he used to settle revolutionaries, arrange for their livelihood and provide them with weapons, etc., at different places in an area from Rajasthan to Andhra. However, in course of time, the

revolutionary movement failed. The ship carrying weapons intended for the revolutionaries was intercepted on the shores of Bharat. The internal link was also busted. And Dr. Hedgewar himself had to take up the responsibility of reorganising the whole thing.

It was around this time he made a vow to dedicate his whole life for the sake of the nation, and not to involve himself in any other activity. When he passed the final examination at the Medical College, his principal offered him a job in Brahmadesh (Myanmar) that would have fetched him a salary of Rs. 3000/- per annum. However, he politely refused the offer saying, "I have decided not to take up any job." Then he returned to Nagpur. During those days, in that whole region there were not more than 75 or 100 medical practitioners and if at all he had set up his practice, he could have made a fortune. But he had already made up his mind not to accept any job and to fully engage himself in the national activities. Being a doctor, naturally marriage proposals started pouring in. As his parents were no more, he wrote to his paternal uncle, who was his well-wisher, informing him that he had taken the vow to remain a celibate throughout his life and dedicate his life for the service of the nation. Once his decision to remain a bachelor was made known, the proposals for marriage also died out.

### **Public Life of Dr. Hedgewar**

During those days, agitation was the only means to highlight people's grievances. So, the people of our country founded the Indian National Congress, and Dr. Hedgewar was its worker in Vidarbha. He was one of its topmost workers. The Non-cooperation Movement had begun. At that time, means of conveyance, unlike now, was meagre, and for campaigning the workers had to move from village to village either on foot or in bullock-carts. And through strenuous efforts Dr. Hedgewar tried to awaken the people. The speeches he made led to his arrest. He was booked on charges of sedition and was proceeded against at a court in Nagpur. Doctorji

himself pleaded his case and presented his defence. During that time, as a matter of policy, people who participated in agitations used to passively accept the punishment meted out to them, without contesting the cases. However Dr. Hedgewar was not prepared to submit himself to punishment in such a way, and wanted to defend his case in the court. As the press people used to be present in the courts during the proceedings, he decided to put forth the arguments in his defence. He commenced his argument by passing the question, under which law the British got the right to rule over Bharat? Then he continued: "If at all any such law exists anywhere, I would like to see it! I neither accept your authority, nor your laws, nor your justice! I have never told my people anything wrong. I have only tried to create awareness in my people. Freedom is the birthright of every people. I have told them about how to gain freedom and how to live with freedom, keeping it secure. If you consider it a seditious act and conspire to send me and others like me to jail, then the time for the British government is fast approaching to leave this country with bag and baggage." While awarding him one year imprisonment, the judge remarked that his defence was more seditious than his speeches. And he went to jail for one year. In the brief speech he made at the short farewell gathering, before he was taken to the prison, we get a glimpse of the thought currents of his mind at that time. After his release from the prison also a meeting was held in his honour, of which Pandit Motilal Nehru was the president. Here also, in his speech, Dr. Hedgewar said: "Going to jail is not the only sign of patriotism. No doubt, if it is inevitable, we will go to jail. But creating awareness in the minds of the people about the meaning of the word freedom and the need to toil for gaining freedom, remaining outside, is also patriotism." Then he said, "Excepting that I have put on weight, one year prison life has never created any adverse effect in my life. I presume, even during the absence of people like us, the work has continued unhindered." Then, once again he engaged himself in the work of awakening the people.

Now, I would like to take you a little bit back into the past.

Even while busy with these activities, he was perpetually in touch with the developments in the public life of our nation. His character was such that he never entertained any bad feelings towards people who were honest and working for the welfare of the nation, even if their thinking was different or inimical. He had good friends belonging to different schools of thought. During those days, Ruikar, a leading barrister and a rich man, had acquired fame as a trade union leader. Doctor Hedgewar, who was poor, had very close friendship with him. And in a lighter note, he used to tell Ruikar: “I am a poor capitalist and you are a rich labourer.” Once Doctor Hedgewar asked barrister Ruikar, “If tomorrow morning I come and tell you that the British rule has ended and the rule of Shivaji Maharaj has been established, what you would do?” “What sort of a question is this? I will simply arrange someone to mount an elephant and distribute sweets.” Then Doctor Hedgewar told him: “In that case, your destination and that of ours is the same. So, where is the scope for any quarrel? Why not we move together?” His mindset was such that he was able to talk to or deliberate with all sorts of people. From the studies, though little, I have made on the subject, I feel, these people belong to four categories.

### **Four streams of social awakening**

In 1857, a massive attempt was made to emancipate our nation from the British yoke. It, however, failed. The failure of that uprising made the prominent people to think why, in spite of having a huge population, military power, kings and great potentates, we lost and a handful of British, who came from outside, and had to face a hostile situation, won? How could this happen? And the efforts that were initiated, after much contemplation, to arouse the people out of their stupor, broadly speaking, could be divided into four streams.

The first school of thought was of the opinion: it is true, we have failed once. That does not mean that we have to eschew the path of armed rebellion we have been following until now. This led to

the birth of revolutionary activities and the acts of revolt and mutiny started. The small bands of revolutionaries were formed and they carried out certain operations. This stream was active till Subhash Chandra Bose's mysterious disappearance in 1945, following the crash of the aircraft he was travelling in. This movement gave us many a leader who had sacrificed everything for the sake of our motherland, and we still remember and draw inspiration from them. Now that we have attained freedom, such activities are of no use for us anymore.

According to people belonging to the second stream, our people lack in political awareness. People are less aware of its importance. Hence, to create political awareness in the people, a big agitation was launched throughout the nation in the name of Congress to create political awareness in the people. Many of its leaders were great men, who had sacrificed all what they had for the national cause and they still continue to be the source of inspiration to us. The very life mission of that stream was to bring the masses to the path of freedom struggle. The contribution made by this group for gaining our independence is really great. To take the nation forward, politics is essential and it continues to play its role even today. However, our entire political activity is not centred in one political ideology and, hence, we have so many parties. I don't intend to say anything about the political sphere now. You are quite aware of what is going on there and are quite capable of drawing your own inferences in the matter.

The third stream entertained the opinion that our society itself was in need of a reformation. "We have so much of selfishness; so much of differences. The character of everyone is deficient. There are so much of differences in the name of language, province, caste, sub-caste, etc. Illiteracy and poverty are rampant. Without solving these problems, we will be incapable of mustering enough strength to stand up to the British and confront them." This was the line of their thinking. Among the protagonists of social reformation also, there were great men, whom we still remember and adore. This

stream is still active in a small way. However, its condition is similar to that of an island covered on all sides by a mighty ocean. Of course, they could bring about changes in a small measure. However, their activities ceased to move ahead. As a result, they could not realise their dream of reforming the character and behaviour of all, and it remained an unfulfilled dream.

The fourth stream wants us to go back to the roots. The message of great spiritual personalities like Swami Dayanand ji, founder of the Arya Samaj, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda tell us that alleviation of poverty is possible only through sustained social service, holding steadfast to our roots. And, to some extent, we continue to tread the path shown by them. But, in the situation currently prevalent in our nation, we are unable to get a picture of our society imbued with the great qualities expected of us. This state of affairs was not confined merely to the pre-independence era. Even after attaining freedom, if we take a look at our nation, we will have an inevitable feeling that we are still lacking in these qualities. We find this sentiment expressed, either orally or in writing, not only by those who had worked in the past, but also by those who are still engaged in the work or have left the field.

In his elaborate essay, 'Swadeshi Samaj,' Rabindranath Tagore says, "There is need for unity and let there be no quarrels. We can very well overcome our quarrels, as, by tradition, we have in our possession the thoughts and culture that will be helpful in taking along with us all forms of diversity. However, this transformation cannot be achieved by effecting changes in the political sphere. The change should first take place in society. Once the transformation is achieved in the social life, it will automatically reflect in every walk of our national life. We cannot start with the political field and move to the social sphere. It should be vice versa." He further says: "For this, a leader with spotless character, who treats everyone in society with utmost affection and enjoys its confidence, is necessary. It is essential to create such a leader." At one place he says, "As our



nation has so much of diversity, in my opinion, we should have such a leader at every place, capable of changing the character of the society and the very social atmosphere through his personal example.”

Sir Manavendra Nath Roy, founder of the Communist Party of India, who later became a radical humanist and wrote the book, *Radical Humanism* as his life document, in its final chapters has drawn an inference, in which he says: “Any attempt to bring about changes in the national life through superficial or cosmetic changes, without effecting changes in the society, is well nigh impossible. We have to reach out to the masses and, through our efforts, reform their character and their way of thinking. This may be a very long path. But, being the only path, it is the shortest one. Here, we have to remember the dictum, ‘shortcuts will cut you short’.” This was what he said. If you haven’t read this book, you should read it.

Our former President, A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, in his address at Arunachal Pradesh, had spelt out three things: “In our nation, we have to instil confidence in ourselves, in our nation and in our society. We can achieve anything and for it, we have to ignite our people’s power and revive our ancient cultural ethos.” The speech he made is available and you can very well avail it. And we can find such views here and there in all his works.

Verghese Kurien, the progenitor of the Amul, who passed away recently, says in his autobiography, *I Too Had a Dream*, by merely depending upon the government schemes and projects, neglecting people’s power, it is impossible to achieve something big. We have to educate the people and uplift them. And based on their strength every effort will succeed.

### **Doctorji’s all-embracing contacts and relationships**

Dr. Hedgewar, who was fully immersed and active in the public life of our nation, had, through these activities, come into close contact with the topmost thinkers of our nation. He had also worked with the revolutionaries. At that time, he was involved in the freedom movement

also. He used to take active part in social reform endeavours as well. So as to awaken the nation, he used to engage in temple activities, religious discourses and narratives. He did all this with the singular purpose of awakening the nation. Once, fed up with his persistent discourse on nation, his friends decided to give him a subject to talk on, in which there would be absolutely no need to mention anything about the nation. So, in a small study-circle, they asked him to talk on sleep, a subject not at all related to the nation. He said: "You are all, being doctors, aware that sleep has great importance in our lives. Sleeplessness will adversely affect our health. And it is necessary for us to sleep well, because our nation is presently in need of healthy youths." Then he started speaking on the situation in our nation and also on the duty of the youths towards the nation, which clearly indicates that he was always preoccupied with the thoughts about the nation and its problems. He was in the habit of holding discussions with all on the subject, and getting their views. He also used to accord due consideration to their opinions.

It was, probably, on March 18, 1922, Gandhiji was arrested at Yerwada, prompting the Nagpur Congress Committee to organise protest meetings on 18 of every month, focussing on Gandhi and his thoughts. The first such meeting was organised on October 18 that year, and they invited Dr. Hedgewar to address the gathering. In his speech he said: "Nothing can be achieved by symbolically harping on Gandhiji's name. We have to emulate the great sacrifices made by him and also the work he has been doing for the sake of our nation and society." He had met Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Savarkar. Also, he was in touch with the revolutionaries.

When Rajaguru had gone underground, it was Dr. Hedgewar who made arrangements for his stay in Nagpur and Vidarbha. And he also used to have discussions with all such people. From these talks, he could realise that all of them were under the belief that one day or the other the present activities would bear fruit, and, in the normal course, there should be no need to do same work again and again; it

should happen on its own. If at all a society was healthy, all its needs would be fulfilled automatically and there would be no need for anyone to bother about it. It was because of some inherent weaknesses in our society that necessitated doing the same work again and again. So, unless and until these weaknesses were remedied, all that we did would either remain unfulfilled or would be only of temporary help. The possibility of total failure also was there. He realised, such thoughts were gnawing everyone.

### **Preparations and founding of the Sangh**

Trilokyanath Chakraborti, who later on shifted to Delhi, was a well-known revolutionary of Kolkata. When, in 1989, we celebrated Dr. Hedgewar's birth centenary, our workers had approached him with the request to join the celebration committee as a member, to which he readily agreed. At that time, he said: "In 1911, once I had visited Dr. Hedgewar's home. During our talks, he told me, 'Dada, I feel our society is badly in need of some training, and everyone is busy with their own chosen work. So, I think, I myself have to take up that work.'" Even during those days, it was his considered opinion that our nation did not possess the necessary qualities to claim itself a democratic nation, and it was necessary to do something to acquire such merit. So, he started his own experiments and persistently continued with them for seven or eight years. He also continued to make studies about the programmes to be adopted as part of imparting the training. He keenly observed the activities of different organisations and experimented with such activities, apart from thinking about the programmes on his own. Thinking that there should be some centres to impart the training, he started the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Mandal at Wardha. Thus he had used two words that, later on, formed part the name of the Sangh. Through all these experiments he shaped a technique to rebuild our society. And on Friday September 27, 1925, on the auspicious Vijayadasami day, he made a declaration at Nagpur: "We are inaugurating the Sangh today." He had gathered as much of his co-workers as possible on the occasion of starting the work.

However, excepting saying that “We are inaugurating the work today,” he did not say anything else. The rest of the details of the work were evolved from the experiments he conducted later on. How it happened? I will come to that issue later.

## **What is Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh?**

What is Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh? It is nothing but a methodology. What is the organisation with the name Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh doing? It is engaged in the work of Man-making, as, it feel, it is inevitable to bring about many a change in the character of our society. We would like to fashion our society in such a fashion where there is no form of discrimination; a society which ensures equality and is free of exploitation; a society that is not given to selfishness. But this cannot be achieved merely by talking. Social changes can be achieved only through presenting living examples. We have our own ideals. Also, there is no dearth of great men. From the hoary past to the present times, there have been many who have sacrificed everything for the sake of the nation. But, what is the state of our common people? They celebrate the birthdays and days of passing of great men; they also worship them. But even by mistake, they will never attempt to model their lives after these great men! There is need for another Chatrapathi Shivaji Maharaj to take birth; but he should inevitably be from another family, not mine! Years back, the Reader’s Digest had published an axiom. It reads: “The ideals are like stars, which we never reach.” Ideals remain at a distance. They are worth worshipping, but never to be practiced! The next sentence says: “But we can plot our chart according to them.” However, plotting the chart will never take place. Under whose influence should it happen? We are influenced by the character and conduct of who are nearer to us. If we want our people in every village, every street, every alley, to turn into exemplary citizens of independent Bharat, that can happen only when we have people of exemplary character steadfastly holding on to our higher values of life under every circumstance with uncompromising dedication, and

who remain in constant touch with the people with utmost love and affection.

Shaping good swayamsevak in every village and every alley is the mission of the Sangh. By a good swayamsevak we mean one who has credibility and is pure of character; one who views no one with discrimination or enmity and, in turn, wins the love and confidence of the society. It is necessary to create such a set of people in every village and every street. And this work the Sangh has been doing ever since its birth in 1925. This is the Sangh, and nothing more.

“What is it that you propose to do?” people asked Dr. Hedgewar. When, in 1928, a route march of the Sangh was taken out for the first time, the number of those who took part in it was 21 or 22. However, during those times, to find even 21 or 22 Hindus moving in the same direction in unison in itself was a great wonder, and the people were highly impressed by it. Knowing very well that Dr. Hedgewar was a person with a revolutionary bent of mind and had dedicated his whole life for the cause of the nation, they developed a feeling that he was in possession of the blueprint of a long time action- plan or something of the sort. Hence they asked him: “Doctor Sahab, now that your number has reached fifty, what is your future plan?” “Now we will target 500; after attaining that target, we will make it 5, 000,” answered Doctorji. “Once you achieve the target of 5, 000, what will you do?” “We haven’t reached that target yet! So what can I say?” said Doctorji. “Take for granted that you have touched the 5,000 mark. Then what will you do?” they again asked. “Then we will make it 50,000,” pat came the reply. Increasing the number thus, the figure reached 5 crore. Now, fed up with this arithmetic, they asked: “What are you going to do with so much of people?” “Our aim is to organise the entire Hindu society. We do not propose to form a separate organisation; our purpose is to organise all. And, other than this, we have no other work to do. Because, once the society gets organised, the rest will take care of itself, and then there will be nothing left for us to do.”

## **Why Hindu?**

The Sangh was formed to organise the entire Hindu society. Why Hindus? We find this specific question being raised often, and it continues to be asked even now. To answer this question, we have to go into three facets of the basic thought that paved the way for the founding of the Sangh. The first, I have already mentioned. Once the society is reformed, the whole system will succeed. If the system is perfect and the person is deficient, the system will fail. If the person is good and the system is defective, that will spoil the person. So both the system and the person should be good. However, as those who manage the system being part of it, will never be instrumental in changing the system, the process of reformation should start at the social level. As the pressure from society only brings about changes in any system, as is borne out by the experience all over the world, we find social resurgence in one form or other inevitably preceding changes in the system. And, social habits can be changed only through Man-making.

Now, there is a major difficulty in organising Hindu society. This is not a society speaking a common language. It has so many different languages. In some cases the situation is such that the language of one, the other cannot understand. Even the Hindi language has many dialects. When I was sent to Bihar for the first time, I had made a tour of all the blocks there. Once, I reached Muzaffarpur via Purnia, after a long journey. During those days, if one starts from a place early morning by bus or any other motor vehicle, owing to bad road condition, will reach the destination only in the evening! I was damn tired. My clothes were dusty. Then the Pracharak at the Karyalaya asked me: “Aap ka pajama khinch lun kya?” (Shall I pull your pajama down?). I was shocked! It was my first ever visit to that place. I had not even introduced myself properly. And he was talking in that fashion! What mistake had I committed? Then something struck me: The word they used for washing was “finchna,” which, in course of time, mutated into “khinchna.” The interesting

point is, we both knew Hindi!

If there is so much of diversity in the matter of languages, then what to speak of gods and goddesses! There are already 33 crore gods! Also, new ones are getting added to the list. Formerly, Sri Sai Baba was not there. Moreover, atheism also forms part of Hindu tradition. How much of diversity! In philosophy also, there are contradictory views. Differences are galore in eating habits, customs and traditions. In certain places they eat only chapati. There are places where people eat only rice. The same curry will be spicy in some places, whereas it will be sweet in other places. One can never find uniformity anywhere in Bharat! Unfortunately, we have already created divisions in the name of diversity, and alienated one from the other. We have also created the feeling of high and low, of which, later on, our foreign rulers made good use and further widened the rift! How to bring them together? Is there any technique, any philosophy that accepts all modes of worship, religious services, gods and goddesses? Acknowledges that every one of them is true? Do not insist on any particular language, but accepts all languages? Welcomes diversity in food habits and the ways of living?

### **Similarity in Different Thoughts**

Fortunately for us, this is our traditional thought. When I speak about the thought, I mean the values it represents. Every thought will have its own values from which it originates. And there will be some formulation based on it. Apparently, they may appear different; at times, even contradictory. However, as far as their starting point, and the final outcome, which they impart as ‘practical instruction,’ is concerned, there will not be any difference whatsoever. If the starting point is the same, inevitably the roots also will be the same. One thing, the wise men, who view it from different angles describe it in different ways. That is, the same object is described in different ways: ‘एकम् सत् विप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति’।

There is no reason to fear diversity. It is for us to accept

diversity. Every form of diversity is true. So, we have to celebrate diversity. Hold steadfastly to your own form of diversity. Remain strongly embedded in your own distinctiveness. At the same time, have respect for all forms of diversity and remain united. This is the second value that brings about coordination and fusion. This is precisely our tradition.

And, if we have to carry all along with us, it is necessary for us to observe some restraints. If I am alone, I can have all the food that is available. If there are ten others with me, I have to take care of their requirements also. So, here, we have the third value that helps us exercise restraint. To lead such a life, we have to learn to forgo. Claiming everything for oneself won't work. There is no end to desires. Even if we cease to exist, desires will go on. Hence, we have to lead a life of sacrifice. We have to restrict our needs. A life free of wants is the best. It is the life of an ascetic. We are part of the total Existence. We have come into existence because of the benediction of that total Existence. That is our experience. I got this body because of my parents. I got my culture because of my family; because of my society; because of my school; because of my teacher. I am able to wear cloths, because of the cloth mill that has manufactured it, because of the tailor who has stitched it, and because of the farmer who has produced the cotton. I am getting my food also, because of the toil of someone else. If I am all alone, I cannot live. A human being cannot live alone and he lives because of the contributions made by others. We are an inseparable limb of Mother Nature and it is for us to make contributions for her upkeep. We must be grateful to Mother Nature. This sense of gratitude forms the fifth value. And these five values pervade all Bharatiya thoughts.

Now let us examine, what is that 'ONE'? Among those who have seen it, some call it matter; some others call it Consciousness; there are some who call it God; and some describe it in some other way. Here we can find even contradictions. Polemical arguments are also there. However, in the name of such apparent differences or contradictions, nobody has ever taken recourse to killing others. But,



the debates continued. And finally, after much thinking and cogitation, the advice received by all is the same: “Live and let live.” Tathagata (Gautama Buddha) says: ‘कुसलस्य उपसंपदा’ (Earn your livelihood efficiently). What is meant by efficiency? Not to spoil the livelihood of others. ‘सब्व पापस्य अकरणं कुसलस्य उपसंपदा। सचित्त परियोदपनं एते बुद्धानुसासनं’। This advice you will find everywhere. Do not sin! What is sin? “There is no greater Dharma than altruism; and there is no greater Adharma than tormenting others. And managing one’s own affairs without sinning is efficiency, सचित्त परियोदपनं। While doing all this, what is the most important work? Keeping the mind pure; ridding mental perversions; learning to do it slowly. Be of pure mind. Have goodwill for all and protect all. So everywhere we find truth सत्य (truth), अहिंसा (non-violence), अस्तेय (abstinence), अपरिग्रह (non-possessiveness), ब्रह्मचर्य (celibacy). Also, everywhere संतोष (happiness), स्वाध्याय (self-education), तपस्या (austerity), ईश्वरप्रणिधान (submission to God). We find All these form part of the practical lessons on the ethics that bind us together, which we have been imparting in our households for generations, and the manners that have enriched our culture. And I would like to say, in every home, including of those Bharatiyas, who are practicing religions like Islam, Christianity, etc. that have come from abroad, the same cultural practices will be in use.

## **Our culture unites**

It is our culture, based on values, that unites us. If we study our history, we will come to know, whenever we have ignored these values that has resulted in our fall, as a corollary of which justice had become obscure and injustice attained prominence. As a consequence of it we became weak and had to face slavery. So, Dr. Hedgewar often used to ask, “How long can we blame the English and the Islamic invasion for our miseries? How a handful of aggressors, who came from a distant land, could conquer Bharat, renowned as the ‘golden bird,’ so easily? It must be the result of some deficiency in us, which we have to correct.” At times, he used to ask: “What, in

your opinion, is the greatest problem the nation is facing?” And, I will repeat the answer he himself gave to this question: “Here, the greatest problem is Hindu!” When we started living ignoring our values, simultaneously our downfall also started. I don’t want to go into the details of this matter, as it will take too much of time and I will not be able to complete it in even two days. If you make a study of it, you will certainly come to realise that the fall of our nation had started with our downfall. And to address this problem, it is imperative that we have to go back to those time-tested values.

If you speak of these values now, the whole world will say, these are part of Hindu thoughts. We have never said that. But it is the world that is telling us so. This value-based manners form our culture, and our Hinduness is the outcome of that culture. As it is Hindutva that unites us, Doctorji said, “We will organise the entire Hindu society, as we have people in our society who claim, “We are not Hindus,” and they should have their own reasons for saying so. However, to explain the reasons for their claim, they also have no option but to use the same word! So, he unequivocally declared, “Hindustan is Hindu Rashtra, and, hence, we will organise the Hindu society.” However, while making this announcement, he never had the intention of confronting anybody. Nor was it a reaction to some instantaneous developments, as he had reached this conclusion based on his own experiences. First, put the society in order; unite the society. Nothing but a selfless society free of discrimination can guarantee the pinnacle of glory, once we get independence and become a free Rashtra. Philosophy, policies, government and politics have their own place. However, they can fulfill their purpose and become helpful only when they function in such a society.

After we attained independence, there was no dearth of schemes and projects. In politics, our political parties are engaged in accusing each other of wrong-doing and dishonesty. Of course, certain steps have been taken with honesty, but the results thereof are not forthcoming. Why? The simple answer is, we should deserve it. We

have to be a deserving society. Is there discipline in our society? Only a disciplined society can attain to glory. Do we, as the citizens of an independent nation, have any civic sense? Practicing civic sense in day-to-day life is the sign of patriotism. There is no need for one to die for the nation every day. However, one has to live for it every day. Only a society that knows how to live for the nation can prepare a large number of people to give up their lives for the sake of the nation, if and when the need arises. It is for this reason we have taken up the work of Man-making. We will discuss about Hindu and the subject of Man-making after a little while. Now the question arises, how to go about this work? And as I have already told you, that methodology is the RSS.

### **The Sangh methodology**

I will deal with the second part first, as you find in the Sangh programme, etc. one person giving the command, “Sangh uthishtha,” (Sangh, stand up), and all others standing up. When he gives the command, “Sangh upavisha,” (Sangh, sit down), and all others sitting down. Seeing this, people conclude that the Sangh is a dictatorial organisation. Now, we have our Sarsanghchalak in the Sangh. Now-a-days others wrongly refer to him as the chief, and they feel that all others will act according to his bidding, and everything is being run according to his whims. However, if you join the Sangh and see for yourself what is going on, then you will understand what I am going to tell you now. But never accept it for the reason that I am saying it. If you join the Sangh, you will be convinced of what I am saying.

Dr. Hedgewar had already experimented with the method of organising the entire Hindu society and he was very clear about the answers to the questions, how and what, of the outcome, when the work progresses. However, other than announcing the formation of the Sangh, he said nothing further about it. “This day, we are starting the Sangh to organise the entire Hindu society.” Saying only this much, he ended the meeting. Then his co-workers came and asked

him: “What have we to do?”

“Sit together and decide for yourself what to do next,” he said. At that time, our shakha work had not started. Shakha was started only later on.

In the beginning, the Sangh was in the form of Baithaks (sitting together). The decision was to hold the baithak once in a month. Four or five times the workers attended the baithak on their own and, later on, they had to be intimated. Then a situation developed, in which they failed to attend the baithak even after getting the intimation. Then suggestions were made that, instead of monthly baithaks, weekly baithaks should be held, so that attending the baithaks would become a habit. Then the baithak was made daily. The daily baithaks and discussions were used to be held in a room. However, those who came to the Sangh daily were mainly children, adolescents and youths. The number of who were earning was very less. At that time, Dr. Hedgewar was 35 years old. And so he was among the elders. He was one of the six or seven elders. “What is the fun in conducting discussions sitting in a room? Why not we go for some physical activities and exercises and such other programmes outdoors?

Why not we play kabaddi? There are so many activities we can do outdoors. We can very well play kabaddi and other games,” thought the youths. Then it occurred to them, “Why not we learn martial arts? Now it is a season of wars and we have our gymnasiums. Why not we go to gyms?” It was only after three or three-and-a-half-months of the formation of the Sangh, and when the youths chose to come outdoors, the shakha was started. Dr. Hedgewar had never asked the youths to start the shakha. It was based on the consensus that emerged among the team members in the baithak, the shakha was started. Although Dr. Hedgewar wanted them to come together every day, he never told them so. He entrusted them with the work and asked them to carry out it the way they could. This was how the whole activity was developed. Then they thought, we have our lathis (baton), etc.

Who are our rulers? They are the English? They conduct parades. We also have to conduct parade. There was one Marthand Jog, a friend of Dr. Hedgewar, who had retired from the military service after the First World War. He started giving lessons in conducting parade, every Sunday. Next they felt the need for a uniform to wear during the parade. The uniform approved, resembled the uniforms of the military and the police. Then route marches were taken out for which, they felt, a band set was essential. And somehow, they created their own band set, although poor in quality, similar to the military band set. And all these happened on the basis of the collective discussions and collective decisions of the workers.

Dr. Hedgewar had never said that he was starting the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, but had only mentioned about the formation of the Sangh. When those who were attending the Shakra started bringing others, the new comers started asking about the Sangh's name. So, when the workers put this question to Doctorji, he said: "It has not yet been decided. You sit together and decide." Sixteen workers attended the baithak. Three names were suggested. There were also differences of opinion. But, finally, through a majority decision, the name Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was approved. Just two years before the formation of the Sangh, Dr. Hedgewar had run an organisation by the name Rashtriya Swayamsevak Mandal, but had not mentioned about the name to anyone. And the name Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh had come up during the discussion in the baithak.

Dr. Hedgewar was always in the habit of taking collective decisions, which also became the habit in the Sangh. In our Sangh, once a consensus is achieved, then nobody will say anything in the matter. Even if they express any opinion, it will be in unison. The style of everyone will be different. So, now the responsibility of talking has been given to me, and I am talking to you. Bajranglalji, who is present here, is quite capable of putting across the same ideas and he also has a mike in front of him. But he is restraining himself from saying anything, so as to let you hear it from me. Because of our

discipline and the consensus of opinion, it appears that decisions are taken by one person and all others are simply following it. But it is a wrong notion. The work is progressing because of the discretion (*Vivek*) exercised by every swayamsevak.

We say, it is necessary to attend shakha every day, and we also go to shakha daily. Even a child swayamsevak can notice whether we are attending the shakha or not, and, in case we fail, we can also be pointed out. For instance, my name is in the list of the swayamsevaks of the Mohite Wada shakha. Being the Sarsanghchalak, I have to tour and have been unable to attend my shakha daily. A new swayamsevak of that, a small boy studying in the 4th standard, once, when I attended that shakha, as I was in Nagpur that day, after the closing up of the shakha, came to me. "What is the matter?" I asked him. "My ganasikshak (instructor) tells me that it is necessary to attend the shakha daily," he responded. "That is right," I told him. "I understand, you are a swayamsevak of this shakha," he said again. "Yes, that is right," I responded. "But you are not attending the shakha daily, he complained. "Look, whenever I am on tour, I attend the shakha at the place of my visit," I said. "This time, for how many days you have been in Nagpur?" he asked. "For the last four or five days," I said. "But this is for the first time you are coming to this shakha," he said. "My programme was fixed in some other shakhas and I had gone to those shakhas," I said. Since then, whenever I attend that shakha, he makes enquiries about my itinerary and the details of the shakhas I had visited in the course of my tour.

The Sangh is a very open organisation. In the Sangh, every swayamsevak can ask questions; every swayamsevak has the opportunity for free thinking. We have our own mechanism for discussing the suggestions or ideas put forth by our swayamsevaks. As we have lakhs of swayamsevaks now, it is practically impossible for me to listen to every one of them. However, we have an arrangement in place for it from the shakha level onwards. After passing through different layers, the suggestion or idea comes up before the Prathinidhi Sabha (General Assembly), and it gets

unanimous approval, then all others will fuse their own ideas into it. So, you will find Sangh as the biggest democratic organisation.

In the Sangh, no swayamsevak is goaded in any manner, and he conducts himself according to the values and discretion (*Vivek*) he has imbibed from the Sangh. Remaining within these limits, he is free to do whatever he likes. And we impose no restrictions on him in any manner. This is a science developed by Dr. Hedgewar, based on his own experience and thoughts. We are engaged in improving the physical, intellectual and mental efficiency of our swayamsevaks, and once they acquire efficiency in sufficient degree, they have the freedom to join any work that suits their taste. We never enjoin them to go for any specific activity. They can work in any field of their choice. However, whichever the field, they should treat the society as their own and must work keeping the interests of the nation paramount in their minds. Also, wherever they go, they must maintain the discipline and decorum expected of them in that field and should never compromise on it. Excepting this, the Sangh has no other expectation from them. This, in sum, is the Sangh methodology.

Through small, simple and easy every-day programmes, we impart values to our swayamsevaks. At the time the Sangh was started, the programmes in vogue during those days were adopted. And now whenever a new programme is available, we accept it. But, of course, we have certain restrictions in accepting such programmes. The Sangh is active among all sections of people and it is not an organisation of any particular class. This is an organisation that is active among people belonging to all economic groups, languages, castes and sub-castes. And we accept whatever all people are able to do, as our all-Bharat programme.

### **Self-reliant organisation**

However, it is necessary to spend money to conduct certain programmes. The Sangh is a self-reliant organisation, and whatever expenses we incur, we ourselves provide for it. We never accept

even single paisa for the Sangh work from outside. If at all someone gives us money, we just return it. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh meets all its expenses from the Gurudakshina offered by the swayamsevaks. Once in a year, the swayamsevaks, considering the Bhagawa Dhawaja (Saffron Flag) as Guru, do worship it by offering the Gurudakshina before it in total submission.

Why the Bhagawa Dhawaja is considered the Guru? Because that is the symbol of our heritage from time immemorial to this day. Whenever we take a look at our history, inevitably, we will find the Bhagawa Dhawaja in one context or the other. What should be the flag of independent Bharat? The Flag Committee constituted to go into this question, in its report had recommended the Bhagawa Dhawaja, well-known and distinguished all over. However, later, it was changed and the tricolour flag was accepted. Now that is our national flag and we fully honour it.

Questions are raised about the tricolour not being hoisted in our shakhas. From its very inception, our swayamsevaks have been holding the tricolour in high esteem. I will recall an incident. When the tricolour was accepted as the national flag, it had the spinning wheel and not the Chakra (24-spoke wheel) at the centre. It was first hoisted at the Faizpur Session of Congress on an 80 feet high flag mast. Nehru was the president of the Session. While hoisting the flag, it got stuck halfway through. But nobody there had the courage to scale the flag mast and untie the knot. However, a youth from among the crowd ran and climbed up the post in a flash, untangled the string and hoisted the flag, and climbed down. The joyful crowd carried him on their shoulders to Nehru, who patted him on the back and assured him that he would be suitably felicitated at the open-session.

But, some leaders advised Nehru not to honour the youth as he was a Sangh swayamsevak. The swayamsevak, who performed this most risky and dangerous feat was Sri. Kishan Singh Rajput of Faizpur, Jalgoan, who passed away five or six years back. When



Doctorji, who was on tour, came to know about this, later reached there and presented the youth with a small silver pot and greeted him. So, the first to hoist the tricolour was a swayamsevak, and the swayamsevaks have ever been honouring it.

When, in 1929, for the first time, the Congress Session held at Lahore passed a resolution demanding Poorna Swaraj (Total independence), Dr. Hedgewar issued a circular to all shakhas, directing to organise meetings and pass resolutions congratulating the Congress and send the copies of the resolutions to the Congress Committee. The only mission in Dr. Hedgewar's life was achieving the glory and independence of the nation. So, how can the Sangh have a different goal? And, naturally, the swayamsevaks have utmost reverence and dedication towards all the symbols of our independence. Sangh can not think of anything else.

We offer Gurudakshina in front of our Guru, the Bhagawa Dhawaja, and manage our expenses with that amount and the practice continues even now. Presently, the Sangh has grown into a large and popular organisation. Also, we have so many well to do people in the Sangh with high income. In spite of all this, I know, from the month of March to July every year we find it difficult to meet our expenses because of financial crunch. Our swayamsevaks have been taking up a lot of social service activities and they get help from society. The Trusts formed by them for these purposes, collect money in a legally approved manner and are also maintaining their accounts properly. They do everything in accordance with the legal procedure. However, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh never collects money from outside sources, even if it is given voluntarily. It is the responsibility of the swayamsevaks to run the Sangh. Ours is a self-reliant organisation engaged in cultural activities.

### **No hankering after fame**

So, there is no scope for much publicity in our work. One can listen to a lot of speeches, and can read any number of books.

However, to put what one has read, wrote or understood into practice, there is no way other than making these one's own habit. And the work of habit formation is accomplished in the shakha. It helps to inculcate the habit of attending the shakha daily; it helps to form the habit of discipline; it helps to form the habit of doing everything treating the society as one's own. And the habit formation begins from day one. Hence, in the event of any disaster, as happened in Kerala recently, the first to reach the spot will be our swayamsevaks. Why is it so? They are not given any training in disaster management in the sakha. Neither do they get such training in our workers training camps. Presently, we are thinking of introducing some such training. But so far as, they have not received any training of the sort. So, how do they reach first? In the shakha, we develop a feeling and the sense of discipline in them. Everyone in our nation should receive this training. And our intention of doing this is to turn the entire society into the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, in this matter. "What will you gain from this? What benefit you are going to derive from it?" people ask. We are least interested in any benefit. For us, it is the part of our sadhana, and nothing else!

Many people see vested interests behind this, which is absolutely wrong. We never intend domination of the Sangh. The Sangh philosophy is contrary to any form of domination. If at all our history, at any time, happens to record that something good happened as a result of the domination of the Sangh that will be a real sign of the failure of the Sangh, because we earnestly want our history to be written, based on the current achievements of our nation and its people. Great men, noble thoughts, and lofty philosophy – all these, of course, may be of great help. However, the pinnacle of glory of the nation should be achieved through the efficiency and efforts of the common man. By saying 'विजेत्री च नः संहता कार्यशक्तिः' in our prarthana (prayer) we are only asserting this point. That is, based on our social strength – when we say our, we don't mean the strength of the Sangh, but the combined strength of our society. Supposing, it so happens that the redemption of the nation is achieved because of one who belongs to the Sangh, that proposition is not acceptable

to the Sangh! So, although a lot of swayamsevaks do a lot of good work, they never make a publicity of it.

Now the pressure has increased tremendously. The Sangh has grown large and if we turn our face against publicity totally, others will use the opportunity to spread misinformation about us. So, since the last two decades or so, we have been documenting our activities and achievements, but never take any pride in what we are doing. Even if the Sangh swayamsevaks are doing great things now, what is special about it? Are they, in fact, doing any charity? They are only serving the society, which is their own. For those who are willing to die for the sake of the nation and society as and when the need arises, what is laudable about doing something when they are alive? All of us have to join together and serve the nation selflessly. So, in the Sangh you find social consciousness. The Sangh has so many swayamsevaks and also they are doing so many things. But, all do not become well-known! In practical life, it is natural to take up responsibility in some organisation. And once you become big, the media will start chasing you. Then it becomes necessary to deal with the media. And the photo of Sarsanghchalak Mohan Bhagawat starts appearing in the media daily, which becomes a big problem for him, as it is not in conforming to the practice in the Sangh.

At times, people say, “You are rendering all good people faceless!” That is a fact. To get rid the ego of doer-ship, we choose to remain faceless. However, it has its own attendant difficulties. But, we have started the work with the aim of creating a unique type of persons in our society. We want nothing else. Who will be in power? What sort of policies the nation will follow? Let the people in our society decide it. Those who are the instruments of the state are looking after it. If those people are patriotic, honest, selfless and disciplined, they will manage it in a better way. In direct proportion to the increase in the number of such people, the governance will also improve. However, there is no need for us to bother about it. Our only concern is about improving the attitude of our society to great heights, and nothing else.

People ask us, why we are running away from name and fame? We are never running away from it. Neither we are chasing it. Even during the initial days of the Sangh, the Sangh used to organise public programmes. Dr. Hedgewar who had formerly worked as the editor of a publication and also as the manager of a newspaper himself used to prepare the reports of such programmes and send it to newspapers. I have got an archival documentary dating back to 1936 that deals with the departments needed by the Sangh, of which Prasiddhi Vibhag (publicity department) is one. However, the Sangh that is totally committed to imparting culture has no use for it. So, when we could achieve sufficient progress in our work, and were capable of displaying some of our achievements, in the 1990s, we formed our Prachar Vibhag (publicity department), which is active now. What we mean by turning face against name and fame, is not seeking name and fame personally. At the same time, we are interested in our activities getting name and fame in required measure. And beyond that we are in need of no other fame. Whatever work we have done, in the form of information, we do publicise it. It may also set an example for others. In other words, such information may become a source of inspiration for others. Many people join us. Many more others independently start working on similar fashion.

This is a matter of joy for us, as we have never taken the position, “It dawned only because of the crowing of our rooster.” We are only concerned about the sunrise for which a society with a unique form is required and all our efforts are aimed at creating such a society.

### **Different Organizations : Independent, Autonomous and Self Reliant**

Now, there are two more things that are left to be discussed in this methodology. One is control. The word used is remote-control. A Sangh swayamsevak, after all, is a Sangh swayamsevak! What has he to do during the rest of his life? What sort of public activity

can he take up? It is for him to think and act accordingly. We never instruct him to go to such-and-such place. It is for him to select his field of activity. Presently, swayamsevaks are active in many fields. All the organisations in which our swayamsevaks have a say, from the point of view of management and decision-making, framing the policies, etc. are free, autonomous and self-reliant. Those who run them are swayamsevaks who follow the Sangh philosophy. So, the Sangh takes care to ensure that they don't commit any mistakes. However, what to do and what not to do in their respective fields of activity, they take their own decisions. Being old swayamsevaks, they are experienced and there is no need for others to advise them. All these organisations are functioning in an independent, autonomous and self-reliant manner. Being swayamsevaks, they often come together, meet each other, exchange notes and share their happiness and sorrow, and mutually help each other in their work. When somebody is doing a good work, anyone can extend a helping hand, and there is no restriction that the work should be done exclusively by the respective organisations. Whoever does some good work we will support and help him to the possible extent. Ideology will never come in the way. We will not be bothered even about the opinion, whatever it may be, he has about the Sangh. If the work he is doing is good and if he is doing it honestly, a seasoned swayamsevak will surely extend him help.

Samanvaya Baithak (coordination meeting) is not convened to decide on any common policy. The Samanvaya Baithak is held from time to time to facilitate those who are active in different fields and facing adverse influences in their respective fields, to recollect their culture and spend some time in the Sangh atmosphere. There they talk, discuss and exchange ideas. However, there is no compulsion for them to follow those ideas. That is their problem.

### **Status of women in the Sangh**

The second question is, when we talk of organising the entire

Hindu society, what about women? This question was put to Dr. Hedgewar by a lady in 1931. “You are talking about organising Hindu society. But you have left women out, who constitute fifty percent of the population!” She told him. In reply, he said: “Whatever you have said is right. But the situation is not congenial now for men to work among women, as that may create a lot of misunderstanding. If some woman comes forward to take up this work, we will certainly extend every help.” And that lady started an organisation by the name Rashtra Sevika Samiti, similar to the Sangh. Now that organisation also has grown and has its work throughout Bharat. When the Sangh methodology of imparting culture to men has been carried out by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Rashtra Sevika Samiti has been doing the same work among women. And both will work collaterally. Although both will not enter the field of each other, they will mutually help each other. This was the decision taken at that time, and any change in this arrangement is possible only when both sides feel it is necessary. Or else, it won't happen and the present system will continue. But the swayamsevaks, who are active in different fields, are also conducting social service activities. Presently, they are running around 1.7 lakh small and big projects. These are five years old figures. And the numerical data of the projects started during the last five years are being compiled, and we will be getting the figures this year. Both men and women are working in these projects. The Sangh is not the organisation of Sanyasins (hermits). Majority of the swayamsevaks are householders. They visit households. Our mothers and sisters are rendering a lot of direct help to the Sangh in their own way. Women are currently engaged in diverse activities and they will be participating in such activities in future also.

This is the Sangh methodology and the Sangh wants to organise the entire society, and for the Sangh no one is an outsider. Those who are presently against us are certainly our own people. However, we will take care to ensure that their hostility does not cause any harm to us. We believe in an all-inclusive Bharat. We do not want to get rid on anybody. Our aim is to unite everyone in the name of the

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. And we have always attempted to invite all into our fold. If one has to oppose someone, let it be based on facts. That is all. The primary question here is, why it is limited only to Hindu? We will take up that matter tomorrow. Thereafter, we will discuss the Sangh view of future Bharat. Thank you very much.

## Day -2

# Talk on the Second Day

Yesterday we had taken a look at the circumstances that led to the founding of the Sangh, as well as the Sangh's motive and methodology. Our work is Man-making. And the person, who gets moulded thus, is expected to bring about the required changes through his personal life- example by creating a distinctive atmosphere in society. This is a self-reliant work based on collective efforts. This is a voluntary work, and anyone is free to join it without paying any fee. Also, there is no compulsion in it, as we have nothing in our hands to force anyone in any way other than offering our friendship. Swayamsevaks have the understanding that the Sangh will confine itself to Man-making and it is for them to do everything else required in the interest of society. Even as the work progresses, naturally the organisation will also gain in strength. The swayamsevaks, other than those who are required by the Sangh for its work, won't sit idle. According to their understanding, they will take up some work. And if they find someone else doing the same work, they will join them and help in their endeavour. Or else, they will start a new work on their own.

The swayamsevaks have entered and started working in almost all walks of our social life. They have also given shape to different organisations and institutions. All these organisations and institutions are independent, autonomous and self-reliant. None of these organisations or institutions is run according to the decisions taken at Sangh baithaks. These have been started by our swayamsevaks on their own accord and they also run them without depending on others. Based on mutual cooperation this work naturally progresses



in a systematic way.

The vision and culture the swayamsevaks imbibe from the Sangh, itself constitute their identity. They keep in touch with the Sangh and also get suggestions and cooperation. The swayamsevaks also develop the sense to extend cooperation to anybody, who is doing some good work, irrespective of whether he is our protagonist or antagonist, if whatever he is doing is with honesty and for the sake of society. So, such ventures also get the backing of our swayamsevaks. As I said yesterday, Samanvaya baithak is not convened to chalk out any plan or common policy, but to provide the swayamsevaks active in myriad activities outside with the atmosphere of swayamsevak-hood.

### **Sangh and politics**

I will briefly deal with this subject, as questions concerning the relationship between the Sangh and politics are being raised time and again. Is the Sangh nurturing any political ambition? Presently, the common trend is that when a person acquires capabilities and once he creates his own identity in the field that helped him achieve his capabilities, next he will be inclined to join politics. However, the work of the Sangh is to organise the entire society and politics deals with many aspects of our social life. To have differences of opinion on these subjects is quite natural. As there are many political ideologies that naturally lead to party politics and the formation of many political parties, and enmity also develops among them. Politics, political parties and the work of organising the entire society can go together only to a limited extent. So, the Sangh has, from the very beginning, made a strong resolve to keep itself away from politics. The Sangh will never involve in competitive politics, will never fight elections, and the office-bearer of the Sangh will never take up any official responsibilities or positions in any political party. The Sangh will always keep itself aloof from politics.

Dr. Hedgewar himself was an accomplished political worker. As a student in Kolkata, once, he had even thwarted a plan of the British government, conducting an agitation merely in newspapers. The British

government had planned to bring in legislation to declare invalid the degrees conferred on students of the National Colleges, who had played some role in the freedom movement or agitations. However, it was not at all practical to organise an agitation on this issue. So, Dr. Hedgewar visited every nook and cranny of Kolkata and talked to prominent people, took them into confidence, and readied them to say yes, if some government officials came and enquired of them whether any meeting was held at that place against the proposed legislation, and also to respond in the affirmative, if they were asked whether they had taken part in the meeting. He also gave them the names of different people to narrate, in case they were asked to give the names of the people who had addressed the meeting. He also fixed it with them to inform the officials that the meeting was attended by a large number of people and a resolution was passed unanimously, calling for the restitution of the degrees. Then he got news reports about these 'meetings' published in newspapers saying meetings held at so-an-so-places were attended by so many people and resolutions were passed against the government.

When the reports of the meetings started appearing in newspapers day after day, the British government became panicky and sent its own people to verify the veracity of the reports. And those people, who got enough proof of the meetings having taken place and also that there was large scale resentment against the government on the issue, reported back that any attempt to go ahead with the proposed legislation would be tantamount to taking the attitude, "come bull, do hit me." And, as a result, the government withdrew the proposal. Dr. Hedgewar was so adept a political leader that he, himself a youth, was highly popular among the youths in Vidarbha.

As the mission of the Sangh is to organise the entire society, from its very inception, the Sangh has made a strong resolve not to indulge in day-to-day politics. And the swayamsevaks are committed to policies based on the Sangh philosophy. At the same time, it is for the people to decide who should rule them. However, the Sangh has

always held steadfast to its opinion that national policies we adopt should invariably be in consonance with national interests, and we have been making our stance in this regard public from the very beginning. So, with whatever strength we have in our possession we have been pressing for the acceptance of such policies, in a democratic way. When we speak about abstaining from politics that does not mean that we will remain silent on the question of infiltration. These are all national issues. Politics has to play its own prominent role in the matter. However, the consequences of tackling or not tackling the matter properly will be felt all over the nation. Hence, the Sangh has been making its stance unequivocally clear in such matters.

Why is it that there are so many swayamsevak in a particular political party? Also, that political party has so many swayamsevak as its office-bearers. The incumbent Prime Minister and the Indian President are swayamsevak. So, many people start speculating that everything is fixed from Nagpur through telephone. This is a totally wrong perception. Here, let us remember that the swayamsevak who are active in politics are either of my own age or are senior to me. And their political experience is far greater than my Sangh experience. So, they are not in need of somebody's advice to manage their political affairs. Also, we know nothing about politics and are quite incapable of giving any advice in the matter. However, being known to each other, both make enquiries about the wellbeing of each other. If at all they are in need of any guidance, they can ask us, and, if possible, we will give it. However, it cannot be construed as our exerting influence over their politics or the government policies. They are swayamsevak and share our vision and are quite capable of giving practical shape to this vision in their own respective fields. And they are doing this in an independent, autonomous and self-reliant manner. It is also our desire that they should work in their own way. What is being called 'power' in the nation and in its system is clearly defined by our Constitution and it will remain so. And, as we feel it is wrong to have another power centre outside, we never want to act as a power centre.

So, what is the relationship of the Sangh with politics? Why there are so many swayamsevaks in a particular political party? This is not at all our problem. Why swayamsevaks are not inclined to join other political parties, it is for them to think. We never ask our swayamsevaks to work for any particular political party. We only tell them to fall in line with those who keep the nation and the national interests foremost in their minds and adopt a policy in accordance with it. Any political party can do so and that is happening also. Our swayamsevaks, on their part, as citizens, are doing whatever is possible in the national interest. Those who hold responsible positions in the sangh, are not expected to indulge in politics. However, other swayamsevaks have the freedom to join or not to join politics. Swayamsevaks lead their day-to-day life with utmost discretion. And as they are working in this manner, our work progresses and, as a result, its influence is reflected in every field, including politics. We never intend to create this influence but it happens on its own. What can we do? So, this is the way how the Sangh is related to politics.

We speak on our national policies and also use our strength to get implemented what we feel is correct. However, we never do it covertly and also do it with confidence. Our main work is Man-making and we are engaged only in that work. However, the person moulded by us will never sit quiet. He, being a citizen of this nation, like all other citizens, is expected to be active in all fields of our national life and he has been doing it also. He has no vested interest either in any political philosophy or in any political party. His only concern is national interest. He will not have enmity for anyone and will neither be over friendly with anyone. This is the nature of the Sangh. Yesterday also I have mentioned about freedom, autonomy and self-reliance.

### **Thoughts on women**

When we think of women, our perception is the same. From ancient times our nation has bestowed the highest position on women.

From the philosophical point of view also we have been viewing women as the personification of strength (Sakthiswarupa) and the Universal Mother (Jagadamba). However, in practice it is not so. Also, now there is no need to install them in temples in the form of God and offering worship to them; nor is it necessary to keep them tied to the chains of slavery. Being part of society, they are equal partners in all social activities and also share equal responsibilities. Hence, they must be treated as equals. But it should not be with the idea “we are here to ensure your deliverance or salvation” It is our common experience that in certain matters women are more competent than men and, compared to men, they can do the very same work more efficiently. So, the need of the hour is to provide them more strength, giving them freedom, opportunity and help them to be enlightened.

It is the desire of the Sangh that, right from our homes to every walk of our social life, the work of awakening of the collective strength of women (Matrusakti) should be carried out. Even now, women from the households of our swayamsevak and the families related to us are active as partners in so many organisations run by our swayamsevak. Man and woman are complimentary to each other and for the life to be meaningful both have to work together as equal partners. Right from decision making to sharing the responsibilities, they should be equal partners. Also, they have to play their own role in the national reconstruction. This is the considered opinion of the Sangh about women.

## **Hindutva**

Yesterday, I have told you that we will discuss about our philosophical base. The thought of the Sangh is synonymous with Hindutva thought. That does not mean that Hindutva is the find of the Sangh. This has been the traditional thought of our nation for aeons. However, so many delusions have been created about it. If at all we can think freely, without falling prey to these delusions, we will come to realise that this is a fact acknowledged by all alike.

The biggest role in creating this delusion about Hindutva, is played by the Hindu society itself. Hindutva is the name of the value-system comprising unity in diversity, harmony, sacrifice, temperance and gratefulness, of which truth is the foundation. And we are the people who went in search of it. When the entire world was searching for happiness in the world outside, our ancestors, who were quite fed up with searching for it in the world outside, had turned their attention inside. In the Bharatiya system, along with conducting scientific experiments to study the transient material world, we have also made studies about the eternal spiritual world. And, based on this study, rooted in logic and their practical experience, our ancestors realised the one Truth that permeated all Existence. And the tradition of great realised souls has continued unbroken from our hoary past to this day. We are never satisfied by holding discussions on logic and philosophy merely at the intellectual level. Hence Swami Vivekananda asked Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa whether he had seen God!

Although Vivekananda had put the same question to many others, no one was able to give him a satisfactory reply. Of course, with the help of logic, so many people can explain it. However, such explanations are of no use. Vivekananda had asked the same question to Rabindranath Tagore's father, Debendranath Tagore, but could not get a straight reply. "You have the eyes of a yogi," this was what he said. "No sir, I want a straight answer to the question whether you have seen God?" Vivekananda persisted, but he could not give a correct answer. Once, when Vivekananda's college professor was explaining the meaning of the word 'trance' in the philosophy class, the professor said: "If you want to know the real meaning of the word then go to Dakshineswar." And Vivekananda visited Sri Ramakrishna. After one or two visits, he put the same question to him: "Sir, have you seen God?"

To this Sri Ramakrishna, who had not even passed the fourth standard, replied: "Yes, I have seen God, more intensely so, than I see you. I have talked to God, more intensely than I am talking to

you. If you follow the path I show you, you can also do it.” And we can find in our nation even today people who can repeat the same words with self-confidence. Truth can be explained in different ways and, at times, the description can even be contradictory. But truth is one, and that is the truth of the unity of Existence. Accept the diversity in the world based on that Truth, have respect for it, and celebrate it. Be dedicated to your own diversity, have respect for the diversity of all, and live together. It is Hindu, or say Hindutva, that is giving the message of this value-system.

### **Why the word Hindu?**

The word Hindu cannot be found in any of our ancient scriptures. It is a fact that we got the name from outside. There are many scholars and saints even today who do not use the word Hindu and, instead, use the word Sanatani. Even for Dharma, they say Sanatana Dharma. Religions like Buddhism use the word Dhamma. It was due to some unique circumstance, later on, we came to be known as Hindus. In his article written in 1929, Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi has written that when Zoroaster reached Persia (presently Iran), the people there made him their Guru and requested for his introduction. “We are a people who believe in human unity and so how can I give you my introduction? However, if you want to know the land from where I am coming, I must tell you that my ancestors had come from the banks, on the other side of the River Sindhu.” In the Persian language, the letter S is pronounced as H, and for this reason, they made their Guru, Hindu Guru. During those days Iran had bilateral trade with Israel, and through the traders this name came to Israel. Our traders, who were doing maritime trade, came to know about it and gradually the name reached our intellectual sphere as well. And we find mention of the word in our scriptures of the ninth century CE or so. However, this word was still not available in our dialects. When invaders started rapping our traditions and norms one after the other to establish the dominance of their way of life that set our people thinking: “How is this happening? In spite of our belief

in impersonal and formless God, as they do, they are attacking us! Why?” Then they got the reply: “You are all Hindus and we are out to convert you to our faith.” And it was from here onwards the word Hindu became part of our dialects.

As, by tradition, saints and great men of God will be the first to use the words in our dialects, and this word first appeared in their sayings. Afterwards, Guru Nanak Dev ji said : ‘खुरासान खसमाना किया, हिंदुस्थान डराया, काया कप्पड़ टुक-टुक होसि हिंदुस्थान समालसी बोला’। “Lord, Thou takest Khurasan under Thy wings, but yielded Hindustan to the wrath of invaders. The body-fabric will be torn apart into shreds, and then Hindustan will remember these words.” Then this word gained popularity among our people and, what to do, now it is clinging to us. Although we have not been given our respective names with our permission, our names cling to us. And if we are called by some other names, we won’t even respond! Unity of Existence, mutual cooperation and collective efforts: An offshoot of it is, social interest does not entail antagonism to any individual, and there is no need to suppress any individual in the name of socialism. Also, because of the advancement of the individual, there is no need for any exploitation in society. Individual and society will move forward in unison to achieve mutual progress. There will be no disharmony among humanity, development and environment and they can go together hand in hand. As there is no fight between nature and society progress can be achieved without harming the environment. As the whole world exists on the same truth, all can move together, and, moving together, all can achieve progress and also spiritual enlightenment and emancipation. When we put this thought forward, people will say this is Hindu thought.

## **Hindu & Bharatiya are synonymous**

I have, although not from any direct source, heard that Muslims from Bharat going for Haj pilgrimage are being registered there as Hindvi Muslims. Also, in the discussions held in the intellectual circles



such thoughts are termed 'Indic thoughts.' The word Indic also means the same.

When we say Bharatiya, it is not merely a geographical expression. Because, the geographical boundaries of Bharat undergo variations, when it either expands or contracts. The word Bharat represents a tendency, a nature. In short, all these words are synonymous. And Hindu is the word that clearly reflects the sum and substance of all these words.

Hence, the Sangh is very particular about the word Hindu. However, that does not mean that we have any quarrel or enmity with those who use the word Bharat, India or Arya. We know they prefer to use those names. For us, the word Hindu is very dear. But if others prefer some other name that is also fine and there need not be any quarrel about it, because what is most essential is to accept the unity in diversity. The very concept of Dharma is built upon the value-system I have already mentioned, which shapes the nature and direction of our lives.

## **Dharma & Religion**

As the word Dharma is available only in Bharatiya languages, there is so much of confusion about it. Dharma and Dhamma are the gifts of Bharat. You cannot find these words anywhere in the world. As the word Dharma has connection also with rituals, it is close to the word 'religion' which is concerned with certain types of rites, modes of worship, certain types of scriptures and prophets. So, while talking in a foreign language, we use the word religion and when we translate the word religion into our language, we use the word Dharma to denote the word religion, and hence the confusion. Dharma is not the legacy of any particular country or society. Dharma is universal, belonging to the entire humanity. What is presently known as Hindu Dharma is not the Dharma of Hindus only. Hindu religious scriptures are not known as Hindu, but as Human Code of Social Conduct (Manava Dharma Sashtra). Those were written even before the word Hindu was coined. They are not

intended for any particular section of people, but for the whole humanity.

Religious sects born in Bharat, like the Sanatani, Bauddha, Jain, Sikh and Arya samaj like spiritual streams, speak about universal welfare, because we have never treated ourselves as different from the rest of mankind. 'माता च पार्वती देवी पिता देवो महेश्वरः बांधवा शिवाभक्ताश्च स्वदेशो भुवनत्रयम्' (Goddess Parvati is our mother; Lord Maheswara is our father; the devotees of Shiva are our relatives; for us, all the three worlds are our homeland). The whole world is our family (वसुधैव कुटुंबकम्). This is our nature, because Bharat is born with the mission of realising the unity of Existence. And Bharat exists to proclaim the message of this unity to the whole world. And, as a result, from that time, we remain as a single social unit, as a Rashtra, carrying along all forms of diversity.

Our Rashtra is very ancient. If we try to define Rashtra with the Western concept, Rashtra can exist only where there is State. In the absence of State, Rashtra also will cease to exist. But our nation has at no time accepted this concept. Here state can ever change. Our Rashtra is a cultural entity. In this Dharma, the part of Dharma that deals with the eternal values, constitutes the eternal Dharma (Shashwat Dharma). Dharma related to conduct and customs (Aachara Dharma) has to change, because Achara Dharma depends on place, time, circumstance and the person practicing it. And only these factors should be taken into account to decide what constitutes Achara Dharma. During discussions on the Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament, Dr. Ambedkar asked those who were opposing the Bill: "What do you mean by Dharma, values or 'code'?"

You are taking 'code' for Dharma. 'Code' changes and it should change. And I am changing it." Values remain the same. To the extent the existing code is in conformity with these values, it is acceptable to us. Whatever is against these values should change.

In our Hindu tradition, we have changed our gods and goddesses. The gods of Vedic age are not there now. In the middle-age the form of gods has undergone changes. New sects are coming up.

The concept of Hindutva never ties down one to any particular

food-habit. The concept of Hindutva never supports any specific mode of worship. The concept of Hindutva does not accept any particular language, province or region. The concept of Hindutva combines social and individual happiness with that of the entire creation. So, in our culture money and material desires (Arth and Kama) are recognised. Everyone will have desires, which, if fulfilled, leads to happiness. To fulfil desires resources are necessary. So economics became part of our four-fold goal (Purushartha) of life.

However, both these have to be taken together. Also, one should not merely aim for one's own progress. Along with one's own development, one should think about the development of all others. To have this feeling in mind is what is called discipline. That discipline is Dharma. Yesterday I quoted Tathagata : 'सर्व पापस्य अकरणम्' which means one should not sin as it will hurt others. You cannot say, if it hurts others, I don't care, because they are not different but our own self. So, we have to find our own welfare in the welfare of others and others' welfare in our own welfare. To lead a life of discipline striking a balance and achieving harmony between the welfare of all is, in fact, Hindutva. However, being very ancient, there are so many creeds among us, who claim that "This is our Dharma." And we accept their claim. We accept all forms of diversity, and this has become Bharat's identity. This is the universal Dharma, which is not confined only to Bharat. It is Bharat that developed it through a comprehensive and thorough study, and who is engaged in imparting the knowledge of it from time to time, merely as a trustee.

During the period of our Vaidik Rishis, the message of spirituality was carried all over the world. During the period of Tathagata, inspired by him, the same Dhamma was propagated all over the world. Even today, we find our saints and sanyanins continuing the same tradition. But they have never been converting the people. When Paul Brunton approached Sri Ramana Maharshi with the request to convert him into a Hindu, Sri Ramana said: "You are a good Christian and should

remain a Christian. That will make your life meaningful. There is no need for you to become a Hindu, as we treat all diversity, divine knowledge and philosophies as true.” Realised souls, like Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa used to say: “As many faiths, so many paths.” He practiced every religion and, after achieving the ultimate experience, said that it is nothing but Hindutva.

All diversity will remain, differences will remain; they will all be welcomed and honoured. And, being the progeny of Bharat, who has imparted us the lessons against discordance, they will never create dissonance or fissiparous tendencies among us.

Patriotism is another feature of the value-system and the culture born of it, which we call Hindutva, and it is the identity of Bharat. The very existence of Bharat is for it and that is why we have been practicing it without any break. We have been practicing it in every circumstance. Even while foreign invaders trampled upon our freedom, we had taken care to practice it to the possible extent. When some of our own people, out of their selfishness, corrupted it by acting against the values, then rose a host of saints and sanyasins, who took up the task of putting it back on the tracks, as a result of which so many creeds were born. However, the starting point as well as the practical guidance remain the same for all.

All interpreted the philosophy, method and Achara Dharma differently, in keeping with the place, time and circumstance. So, here, it is the habit of living in harmony, bearing in mind the basic unity, what is called Hindutva. Nobody is insignificant and the interest of all should be taken care of. Going beyond the motto, “maximum good of the maximum people,” our ancestors said : ‘सर्वेऽपि सुखिनः संतु’। ‘हवई सब्ब मंगलम्’ or ‘सरबत्त का भला’, which means “wellbeing of all.” When you take Bharatiya religions and sects, you will only see the thought, “of all.”

So much so that we have only thought about the welfare of even the vile and wicked persons. Sant Jnaneswar Maharaj prays in his Pasayadaan : ‘खलाचि व्यंकटी सांडो’, (May the evil-minded give up

their wickedness). In the Sanatani tradition we come across the proclamation, “Let Dharma win.” But we have never sought ruination of the wicked. Let Dharma win, let Adharma perish, let there be harmony among all beings.”

The world is now badly in need of this thought. We have to build up a society that puts this thought into practice, which unites us all. Not any language can unite us. Not any goddess or god can unite us. Our food-habits, customs and conventions, and style are not uniform. We have our provinces, our languages, our castes, and our sub-castes. But in spite of all these diversities, we are all the offspring of Bharatmata and are the followers of the Universal culture of humanity.

Wherever we have gone in the world, we have neither quarrelled with anybody nor conquered anyone nor usurped the wealth of anyone. Wherever we went, we only shared our knowledge and civility with them. Generally, in the world, when people of some country go to some other country, become dominant, and return after some time, the memories about them will not be pleasant. Outsiders came, they ruled, and then left; people of another country came, established their dominance, and then left. People will never speak well of it. And the only exception to this rule is Bharat. Wherever we have gone and made it our residence, the people there recall the memory of it with joy and gratitude. Even now the vestiges of that bygone era are available at some places in the form of idols, at other places as some relics, and in the form of stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata at yet other places, and as Ramlila: and they still continue with these traditions with much joy and ardour. Their modes of worship have changed. Now they are neither Shaivites nor Buddhists. They are now Muslims, but they say, “We have not changed our ancestors!” Why such sweet and wondrous memories are recalled about Bharat only? It is because Bharat has carried its sense of equity and discipline everywhere, with its concern born out of its sense of oneness with all others, for the universal wellbeing. We have to re-create this picture here once again. Our motherland, with plenty of water, an abundance

of agricultural crops, and the cool, soothing breeze of the Malaya Mountains, has from ancient times never ever entertained the thought of invading others. We were protected on all sides. In the distant past, unlike now, modes of conveyance were extremely sparse. So, we were safe and prosperous. We never learnt the art of warfare. We also settled here all those who came from outside. As we were already having so many languages, goddesses and gods, we never sensed any danger from the newcomers. We expected all to live according to the tenets of the Manava Dharma.

“I have not borrowed the ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity from the French Revolution. I have taken it from the teachings of Tathagata Buddha, rooted in this very soil,” said Dr. Ambedkar. Because, when freedom comes, equality is at stake, and if you try to bring equality, freedom has to be compromised. And to take both equality and freedom together, fraternity is necessary, and that fraternity is what is called Hindutva. What is the basis of this fraternity? The feeling that our ancestors are the same, our cultural heritage is common and our motherland is one.

When I sincerely express my feeling that we treat all who are in Bharatvarsha as Hindus, at times, some people object to it. Everyone has the freedom to consider himself as a Hindu or not, and even if some people want to be known in some other name, not only that we have no objection, but that will also in no way affect our affinity for them. The identity of us all is the same. From the point of view of our Rashtra, we call this identity Hindu.

Some people feel proud of saying that they are Hindus. But there are others who may not be so enthusiastic about claiming that they are Hindus. That doesn't matter. Some people, out of some material considerations or 'political correctness,' will be unwilling to openly say that they are Hindus, but will acknowledge it in private.

There are yet others who have forgotten all about it. But they all are our own people and belong to Bharat. In our point of view, organising the entire society is synonymous with organising Hindus.

While appearing for an examination we get the question paper, we answer the easy questions first and then deal with the tough questions. Likewise, we are first organising those who consider them as Hindus. We are not organising those who claim to be Hindus against others, but for their own sake. Our endeavour is to create an ideal life in which all these people also will be equal partners. We do not have enemies anywhere in the world or in our own nation. There may be people who have enmity towards us. Other than protecting ourselves from them, we can never even think of finishing them off, but taking them along with us, we will gradually make them part of our fraternity. This is Hindutva in reality.

All that have become customary now in the name of Hindu is not Dharma. Because, the gradual decline of the real concept has started from the period of the Mahabharata itself. That is why I said that the main role in constricting it is played by the Hindu society itself, because we entangled values with rituals. As a result, several sins like profanity, wicked practices and untouchability entered the social fabric of Hindus.

It is our desire to rectify the defects. We are for insurrection of the Eternal Human Dharma in a new form, suited to place, time and circumstance. We are aware, in every sect and creed in Bharat the same value-based practices have been prescribed. The very practices that never call anyone bad; never call anybody alien; and making our own whom we take into our fold, and making him good.

We are speaking about the same Dharma, based on which we develop individuals by infusing in them the essential good qualities, सर्वेषाम् अविरोधेन। - without antagonising anyone. We can't even think of wishing bad for anyone. On the contrary, we tell, "Once you learn this, whatever you do, you will be able to do it efficiently, and whatever you do will be beneficial to humanity. It is believed, Hindutva is founded on three bedrocks: Patriotism, respect for ancestor, and culture. There is no reason for any controversy over this. It belongs to everyone. Knowingly or unknowingly we all practice it. And a bit of introspection will help everyone realise it."

The Sangh thinking is based on this very Hindutva. Thinking takes place on 'issues,' and the languages can be different in 'issues.'

Supposing there are four children in the same house. They have to be explained the same thing in different ways that suits everyone's nature. And let us not be carried away by such extraneous matters. We are working according to the concept given us by authentic and selfless people of our own, who have been concerned about our nation. And our concept of Hindutva is the same and there is no need for us to think about anything new.

### **Our concept of development**

The Western view of development is different from ours. So we have to develop our own concept helpful to our development. Why should at all we trap ourselves in the very problems of those, who have entrapped themselves by imitating others blindly? Presently, the world, even while speaking about the development of all, is also talking about integrated and balanced development, and also about sustainable development. We are already having all these. We have also proved it by providing examples of our past life-experiences.

We have the efficiency to create the 'model' that suits the ultramodern world. Only thing, we have to think on those lines. If we give more importance to Artha (wealth), that will lead to a lot of problems. We keep Artha (material desires) within the confines of discipline. We have nothing against somebody earning, but earning should not become the beginning and end of all things. Earn as you wish, but also distribute it with an open heart. This is very important. We have to learn how to put our earning to use, more than learning how to earn. A successful life should also be a meaningful life.

It is because of this basic concept regarding all aspects of our life, we could develop our own outlook, and we find all our people trying to practice it in all sorts of their activities.

### **Constitution**

We, who have opted for a democratic polity for our nation, have adopted a Constitution. This Constitution is created by our own



people, which reflect our national consensus. Hence, it is incumbent on everyone to maintain the discipline of the Constitution. From the very beginning, the Sangh has accepted it. I have said nothing against the Constitution so far, but only tried to communicate in my own words whatever is there in the Constitution. We have ever honoured the spirit behind all the symbols and the Constitution of independent Bharat. Our constitution is also such a symbol. It was after so many centuries we got an opportunity to adopt our own system, and the topmost thinkers of our nation sat together and created the Constitution. It did not come into being just like that! Those thinkers instrumental in creating it had discussed each and every word of it threadbare and spared no stone unturned to achieve unanimity of opinion. And then only it was adopted.

The Preamble of our Constitution contains the Fundamental Rights of Citizens, Directive Principles of State Policy, and the Fundamental Duties of Citizens. The laws enacted under the Constitution are liable to change. The Constitution has provision to change the laws. And the forum for it is the Parliament. The laws are interpreted by the court. The Constitution has some other provisions also. And all these are functioning based on our consensus, and we have been conducting ourselves accordingly. Now let me quote the Preamble :

“WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST, SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (We all know, the words Socialist and Secular have been interpolated later on. And, as they still remain part of it, I have read these words also) and secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic, political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; (Hereafter, there is an important matter told by Dr. Ambedkar Sahab in his addressing the Constituent Assembly) and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the

unity and integrity of the Nation;”

Dr. Ambedkar had said in the Constituent Assembly that it was because of our internecine fighting, the foreigners won and made us their slaves. I am only giving the gist of what he had said. You can very well read the details of it in his words. He said : “We are sitting in warring camps as mutual enemies. And the limitation of our system should be blamed for it. If we fail to create such a fraternal feeling, I can’t say, what sort of fate awaits us.”

The Sangh is engaged in creating this fraternity, and only unity in diversity can be the basis of this fraternity. This thought process that has come down to us by tradition is called Hindutva. Hence, we say that ours is Hindu Rashtra. This does not mean that there should be no Muslims here. The day we say Muslims are not required here, Hindutva will be lost.

Hindutva speaks about viewing the entire world as a family. So, the moment we say only the Vedas are acceptable and the Buddhists, who do not recognise the Vedas, are not acceptable, Hindutva will be lost. Because, in our nation, we have incessantly been in the pursuit of truth and all these spiritual systems have arisen out of this process. So, all these are respectable and deserve to be respected. This is the conviction of all of us and it should be so. As Hindutva is the only source that provides the feeling of fraternity with an ideological foundation, we have been following it.

The thought सर्वेषाम् अविरोधेन। (With antagonism to none) can never be used in a negative sense. In fact, we must have the merit to practice it. In between, we lost this feeling, and so many things happened. Even while conducting a public awareness campaign in 1881, common people here were aware of it. When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan returned to Lahore after becoming a barrister, the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Lahore accorded him a reception. When introducing him, the introducer said: “Among Hindus, there are plenty of barristers, but he is the first Muslim to become a barrister. Hence, we are felicitating him.” In his speech, responding to

the manner in which he was introduced, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan said: “I am very much pained that you have not counted us among you. Are we not the sons of Bharatmata? Due to historical reasons, although our mode of worship has changed, what else has changed?”

We were all aware of this fact till 1881, and then gradually erased it from our minds. And it is necessary for us to revive this feeling once again. If you don't want to call him a Hindu, don't call him so, there is no problem; but you call him Bharatiya. We will respect what you say! We feel, Hindu is the only word useful in creating the culture of our imagination and, hence, we are sticking to that word. Even if it proves a losing proposition we are ready to bear it. Because, we believe that till this word continues to exist, this nature of Bharat will never become moribund. And the people of Bharat will move forward, taking all along with them. This is what the Sangh feels. The very question of respecting or disrespecting the Constitution does not at all arise. We are all bound by the discipline of the Constitution. Let me say, our universal Dharma, Bharat's Dharma, and the present customary Dharma, all have been mentioned in our Constitution, and we are all bound by it. The Constitution is so liberal that it contains provision that facilitates discussions on it. And discussions are also taking place, as there are arrangements in place for it. The Sangh has the highest regard for the Constitution and law. There is not even one instance to show that the Sangh has acted against the Constitution or law.

We are not egotistical to claim that the Sangh will singlehandedly achieve the redemption of Bharat! And no one should entertain such sort of egotism, because, no individual, no institution, no organisation and no government can take the nation forward all alone. The fortune of the nation changes only when the whole society becomes meritorious, organised and, forgetting the differences and selfishness, get ready to live and die for the nation. History will tell you, all those nations that acquired greatness in modern times have reached the top of the world from the abyss only because of a minimum hundred years of relentless efforts in that direction. Whether it is England, America, France, Cuba, Japan or China, the history of all these nations

has been written. I have myself read them and whatever I am telling you is based on the conclusions I have reached after reading those history books.

I will give just one example. “The Incredible Japan” is a book written on Japan. When the book was written, Japan was the king in world trade. And the book was written by two sociologists and two economists after studying the Japanese markets. The book is worth reading. In the last page of the book they have drawn nine conclusions, of which the first five are not at all concerned with economics. They write: Firstly, the Japanese people are disciplined and, hence, could progress. Secondly, when the Japanese think of their welfare, rather than thinking only about their individual welfare, they think about the welfare of their own village and plan accordingly. Thirdly, the Japanese are ever ready to display dauntless courage for the sake of their nation. Fourthly, the Japanese are prepared to undergo any sort of sacrifice for the sake of their country, and fifthly, they take special care to do every work in their nation in an excellent way.

We also have to infuse our society with the same culture. We need to do this work only. Hence, we believe, the entire society should be organised and, everyone, remaining in one’s own place, should make one’s own contribution, big or small, to the possible extent with authenticity and selflessly in the interest of the nation. Only when the whole society gets imbued with this spirit the fortune of the nation will change. Otherwise, for a few days everything will be hunky dory and then the decline will start. We have experienced it during the pre-independence period and also during the post-independence period. After we got our freedom, a situation came in which, all of a sudden, expectations flourished and everyone became excited, and, then, the whole thing regressed to a condition, where it was still darker! Those who hyped the expectations are not to be blamed for it; but the standard of our common people, their qualities and dedication were the real reasons. It is necessary to create such a society that, if someone endeavours to work in the national interest authentically, his efforts should become fruitful. “We have come to

fulfil, not to destroy!” We have to organise our society in such a way so as to ensure that whatever noble efforts undertaken by all well-meaning people bear fruit. And the Sangh is working with this goal in mind.

So, when we conceptualise future Bharat, there is no need for us to think much. If all Bharatiyas visualise an ideal state, their vision will be the same. What kind of a nation do we require? We want a nation that is highly competent. However, the competence will not be used to suppress others. But it is a fact that the world never listens to those without competence, even if what they are saying is something good. Truth prevails only if it has the backing of might. People listen to what great people say. There is a proverb : ‘समर्थ को नहीं दोष गुसाई’ - which means, mighty men have no faults.

Recently, I had been to Chicago for the World Hindu Congress. Also, I had the opportunity of addressing the people there. When Swami Vivekananda started his address with the words, “Sisters and brothers of America,” the whole place reverberated with the applause of the audience for full three minutes! But if I say the same words, nobody will clap!

Why? Because, behind the words, it is necessary to have the backing of the austerity (Tapasya) and the strength of the person concerned behind it. So, to achieve world welfare, it is necessary for Bharat to acquire competence economically, morally and socially. We will be doing this work by making friends with all. And for it, we have to be a nation with morality, character and knowledge. ‘एतत् देश प्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्र जन्मनः, स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः।’ (Let all men learn their respective Dharma from a learned, born in this country [Bharat]). The nation should once again acquire the competence, morality and knowledge, along with getting organised, so that once again we can regain that exalted position. And, stringing the flowers of diversity into a beautiful garland, we have to bedeck the nation with it. All of us have to come together, which is not at all

impossible. If everyone has in mind the interest of Bharat, respect for our ancestors, and admiration for our culture, we will be able to solve all disputes, however big, by sitting together. And, the factor that will be uniting us here is what is called Hindutva. Provided we deal with our problems with devotion to Hindutva, all the problems can be solved. And once we are organised, we can also stand united.

If we intend to advice the world, from tip to toe, our national life should be beautiful. So, if we can create a vision document that envisages parity, non-exploitation, and goodwill for the world, it will never tend to become political imperialism and economic imperialism. It will be a vision document ensuring parity for backward nations and backward societies. Our vision document will be one that will lead all on the path of prosperity, and at the same time, without harming anybody. This is precisely the nation of our dream. Bharat, providing a new Sanjivani (panacea) to the terrified humanity, maintaining the balance required for coordination, and achieving universal coordination, will lead humanity on the path of discipline. This will never be done with the force of baton, but by creating respect for us in their minds. Our aim is to build up such a nation. Although I, who am talking to you, these ideas are not mine; these are the eternal thoughts of our nation. And whenever and whoever has spoken on the life of this nation, has said the same thing.

‘चित्त जेथा शून्य, उन्नत जेथा शिर’ is a famous poem of Rabindranath Tagore. It has been translated in other languages also. However, I feel, the English translation is nearly accurate. In the poem Gitanjali, there is a portion titled Naivedya. At the end of the poem Rabindranath ji says: “Oh Supreme Father, deliver a blow on our nation with Thy harsh hand and wake up it to this very world!” But, the ‘blow’ part is not available in the English translation. However, if we don’t straight away obey, and as our destiny can never be different, God will, by thrashing us or holding us by our ears, will take us to the right path. If we voluntarily move on that path, well and good! Or else, God will thrash us! The English translation of the poem is thus:

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;  
Where knowledge is free;  
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments  
by narrow domestic walls;  
Where words come out from the depth of truth;  
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;  
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the  
dreary desert sand of dead habit;  
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening  
thought and action  
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

Rabindranath Tagore was in Bengal. But in Maharashtra, Swatantrya Veer Savarkar has said the same thing in his poem, 'स्वतंत्रता देवी की आरती' "Goddess of Freedom (Swatantrata Bhagavati), what ever is best, sublime, great and powerful, let they all incarnate with you, in this very country, Bharat." The picture of independent Bharat in our minds is also the same.

Even when I speak on the type of society that is required for building up such a Bharat, I don't want to express any ideas of my own. Speaking on dealing with the defects in our society, Mahatma Gandhi ji has mentioned about the seven sins we have to eradicate earnestly, for which reformation is necessary. What we mean by Man-making is the same. Here are the seven sins mentioned by Gandhiji:

1. Wealth without work,
2. Pleasure without Conscience,
3. Knowledge without Character,
4. Commerce without Morality,
5. Science without Humanity,
6. Religion without Sacrifice,
7. Politics without Principles.

## **The Sangh's call**

If we take a look at our social life today, we will be able to see many good things that have happened after we attained independence. However, unless and until we are able to eradicate these sins, it will be difficult for us to derive the full benefits of our independence. So, the entire society has to make concerted efforts to eradicate them. These sins do not exist outside, but are residing in our minds. And, right from our minds to the sky of the whole nation, we have to make efforts for eradicating them, and that itself is the Sangh's message. So as to rewrite the history of our sacred motherland, we will have to earn the requisite merit and also should make others meritorious, and then all have to collectively decide the things to be done and act accordingly, and the result will be proportionate to our strength. In the beginning, people find it difficult to understand this intent.

In the present-day world, if somebody starts doing something, people will first ask: "Why are you doing this?" This sort of scepticism in the minds of the people also makes the understanding difficult. There are also people who deliberately create desolation and confusion. We have no ill- feeling for them and also wish them well, and pray in the words of Jnaneshwar Maharaj, so as to rid them of their crookedness.

So, this is how we thought of inviting important people, and openly putting before them what the Sangh proposes to do. Why is it doing so? Why the Sangh is talking about Hindutva? The vision of the Sangh about Bharat: I have presented all these four subjects before you. Thank you very much.





## **DAY - 3**

# **Questions & Answers**

### **On Hindutva :**

**Q. - Can Hindutva be called Hinduism?**

**Is amity possible between Hindutva and other religions and denominations?**

**Is the tribal community also Hindu?**

**Ans. -** Hindutva means Hinduness. Hinduism is a wrong word. Isms are considered a closed book. And Hindutva is not an ism but a continuing process. In Mahatma Gandhiji's words, Hindutva is a relentless pursuit for truth. There is a beautiful quote from S. Radhakrishnan: "Hinduism is a movement, not a position; a process, not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation. Its past history encourages us to believe that it will be found equal to any emergency that the future may throw up, whether in the field of thought or of history" (The Hindu View of Life, p. 95). Hindutva is a continuing process and it is most dynamic as well. All the thoughts that originated in Bharat have made their own contributions to enrich it. So, in my view, Hindutva can never be called Hinduism.

Only Bhatatiya thought can ensure amity with other various religions and denominations; and that is Hindu thought. Fundamental unity is the basis of amity. There are various diverse types, and it should essentially be so, because diversity is the rule of nature, the finery and cosmetics of nature: ours is the only nation that gives this message, not based merely on theory, but on the basis of realisation and practical experience!

The tribal society is also Hindu. According to the description I have given yesterday on our concept of Rashtriyata, the tribal society is essentially Hindu. All those who are domiciled in Bharat, from the point of view of identity and on the basis of Rashtriyata, are inevitably Hindus. Some people know it and feel proud of it; some other people know it but do not feel proud about it, and just say, 'OK, yes.' There are others who know it but feel diffident to say it; there are yet others, who are not aware of it and, hence, do not say it.

I would say, the ancient philosophy and thoughts of Bharat continue to exist even now and are discernible in different forms everywhere; the forms in which they appear are so different, so much so that, at times, they even appear to contradict each other. However, this philosophy and thoughts are based on the same value-system. And this value-system has started with the lives of our tribal ancestors and farmers. So, in that sense, they are our ancestors. And treating them as such, we have to think about their present conditions and problems. Here, nobody is an outlander. The sense of alienation has been created by us. This is not our tradition. Actually it teaches us unity.

### **Caste-system and Social Harmony**

**Q. - To achieve harmony in the entire society, inter-dinning and inter-marriages have to take place. What is the Sangh doing to achieve this goal?**

**What is the Sangh's opinion about inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages?**

**Can we at all ensure that castes do not create divisions in Hindu society?**

**Ans. -** We are fully in favour of inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages. But when we try to achieve this, inter-dinning is easy and can be accomplished easily and, presently, we also find many people practicing it out of compulsion. However, the need is to perform it with sincerity. For it we have to correct the attitude. Inter-caste marriages are a bit difficult, as it is not merely confined to social

harmony, but also has to do with the relationship between two families. It also involves matching between the prospective bride and bridegroom. Only after going into all these details, we support it. The first inter-caste marriage was solemnised in Maharashtra in 1942. Such marriages had taken place even before that. However, this marriage was among the educated class and, hence, it became famous. On that occasion, Dr. Baba Sahab Ambedkar had sent the couple his greetings. Shri Guruji also had sent them a message, in which he said: "You are getting married not for the sake of physical attraction only, but also to convey the message that we are all one to the society. I congratulate you on this account and also send you my good wishes for a happy and prosperous married life."

There should be no discrimination between man and man. All will certainly have their own likes and dislikes. However, they should be together, the whole life. And the only matter of concern is whether it can happen or not. We are fully in favour of inter-caste marriages. As I often say, if you take the statistics of inter-caste marriages in Bharat, most probably you will find the percentage of the swayamsevak very high compared to others, among them. However, Roti-Beti-Vyahaar is not all about inter-caste marriages.

Only if in routine life, every activity in the society becomes non-discriminative, and the feeling of difference is totally erased from our minds, then only can it be said with certainty that the Hindu society will not be divided on caste-lines, because, I know, the soul of every Hindu believes in unity, and the human body, mind and intellect cannot move too far detached from the soul. The soul, in keeping with the need, place, time and circumstance, will take a new body, of which I am sure. So, we are trying to unite all Hindus. Also, we are doing it with the same belief. Otherwise, at the time when the Sangh was started, nobody would believe this could ever happen. Many people had told Dr. Hedgewar, "Other than for carrying a dead body on shoulders, four people of this society will never move in the one direction. And how are you going to unite such a society?" Now

you are very well able to see what we have done. So, it will surely happen. We have already demonstrated it. This has to be continued and we will surely do it.

## **The Sangh and the Caste-system**

**Q. - How does the Sangh view the caste-system in Hindu society?**

**What about the representation and position of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes in the Sangh?**

**What initiatives the Sangh has taken for the nomads and the de-notified tribal people?**

**Ans. -** The very term caste-system is a misnomer. Is there any system today? The caste-system might have been in vogue sometime in the past, and also it might or might not have served any purpose. But now there is no use of thinking about it. It is on the way out and, hence, there is no need to think about it. Any attempt to hasten the process of its phasing out, will only lead to its consolidation. So, rather than trying to drive it off, if we act on what has to be brought in, that will be more beneficial. We can't ward off darkness by wielding a baton against it. Instead, by lighting a lamp, we can dispel it. Once a bigger line is drawn, all differences will fade away. The Sangh is precisely doing this, and, we feel, whatever promotes social disparity should go lock, stock and barrel. We don't believe in disparity. Till such time it comes into actual practice, the journey will be difficult and long. However, it is inevitable and we have started proceeding in that direction. In proportion to the growth of the Sangh work, that will reach everywhere.

It is just now I have made clear that we repudiate castes, and when you ask for the numbers of the scheduled caste people in the Sangh, to give an answer is difficult. If we go by today's notions, you may find many belonging to scheduled castes and the scheduled tribe. But in the Sangh, we never ask or care for it.

When I was elected as the Sarkaryavah for the first time, the media propagated that the Bhagwat faction had won, and to give representation to the OBC, Suresh Soni was accommodated. Then, I asked Soni ji whether he belonged to the OBC? He just smiled and said nothing. I still am unaware of the caste to which Soniji belongs. This is the atmosphere in the Sangh. If we proceed in the same way, the desired change will take place.

During my student days in Nagpur, almost all the Sangh workers in Nagpur were Brahmins. But, in the 1980s, when I returned as the Pracharak of Nagpur, wherever there were colonies, the working teams comprised residents of those colonies. This happened because, when our shakhas increased and we could reach those colonies, the residents of the colonies came forward and became our workers. If we take to the quota system, the caste awareness will continue. If we are able to absorb all through the natural process, the castes will cease to exist. The natural tendency is to bring in people who are like us. While following the natural process, those who take the initiative should have the mindfulness to take all along, and not only people like them. If we work keeping this in our minds, this will happen.

In the 1950s, only Brahmins were visible in the Sangh. But now, when I think about in the context of your question, I must say, at the provincial and the zonal level, people belonging to all castes are there as our workers. Even at the all Bharat level, the workers do not belong to any single caste. This will go on increasing and when the entire society gets organised, you will be able to find working groups comprising people belonging to all castes and classes. I have already said that the journey is long. But the important thing is we are moving forward in that direction

We have worked for the nomadic tribe also. I feel, after the independence, we were the first to enter the field and take up the activities for their welfare. The work was started in Maharashtra and, as a part of it many activities were conducted so as to ensure settled life for them. Steps were also taken for the education of their

children, and ensuring higher education to them so as to help them move forward in society. Also measures were taken to mentally prepare them to eschew vices and evil practices. And as a result of these activities, first the Maharashtra government, and then, the Central government were prompted to create separate Commissions for them. Our pilot project is at a place called Yamgarwadi. There you will get required information about them and also the sample of the activities being carried out there. Anybody having interest can visit there. You travel and even go abroad for entertainment. And if you once visit the place you will get to know, about the hardships our workers have gone through and the efforts our workers have been making to bring them on par with the rest of society. From last year we have started projects for the upliftment of all de-notified nomadic tribes throughout Bharat and we will continue with these projects.

## **Bharatiya Values in Education**

**Q. - How will it be possible to coordinate tradition with modernity?**

**What is the opinion of the Sangh about inclusion of the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, etc. in the curriculum?**

**What is the Sangh's view on coeducation?**

**The standard in higher education is declining. How to build up future Bharat?**

**Ans. -** Look, if you read Dharampalji's book, you will come to know that after coming here, the British conducted a survey. They came to realise that by tradition, our education system was very effective, capable of achieving high literacy rate, Man-making, and capable of equipping people to lead their lives effectively. They took our system to their country and brought their system here, that never allowed all these things to happen together. This is history. We have to design a new education policy by taking whatever is essential from the modern educational system and also from our tradition. I hope, the education policy in the offing will

include all these.

It should also make available our treasure of thoughts. 'चतुर्वेदाः पुराणानि सर्वोपनिषदस्तथा। रामायणं भारतं च गीता सद्दर्शनानि च॥ जैनागमास्त्रिपिटकाः गुरुग्रन्थः सतां गिरः। एषः ज्ञाननिधिः श्रेष्ठः श्रद्धेयो हृदि सर्वदा॥' ("The four Vedas, Puranas, Upanishads, Ramayana, The Mahabharata, Srimad Bhagavatgita, Jain Agamas, Tripitakas of Buddhism, Guru Granth Sahib of the Sikhs, great Darshanas and the teachings of great saints) - People of Bharat everywhere should get this teaching. Not only that, values from even those creeds that have come from outside, which have followers in great numbers, also should be taught. Even if we don't give religious education, from the point of view of these values and the culture evolving from it, it is inevitable to teach all these, as a part of our country's education- Rashtriya education system.

We are saying the standard of education is on the decline. However, it is not the standard of education, but the standard of those who are imparting education and of those who are learning, that is declining. Is it not that our students are coming to learn to earn some degree with an eye on income? How we are grooming them in our homes? I recently met a gentleman in Pune. He is a self-made successful person. As he was not much interested in studies, his father, discontinuing his studies, sent him from Satara to Pune to take up a job in a printing press. While doing the job, he thought of starting an advertising agency and, even as he was running the agency, he completed his post-graduation also. Presently, apart from being the owner of a number one advertising agency, he also provides authentic data about villages, whenever the Maharashtra government seeks his services in the matter. His name is Pradeep Lokhande. He told me: "Bhagwat ji, while addressing people, you please convey my message to them!" "What is that message?" I asked him. "Everyone wants his son to become an architect, an engineer, or a doctor, but every boy cannot become one. Everyone has his own ability and taste. So, let him do whatever he feels is good, but do it with excellence."



When Tilakji's son informed him that he wanted to study such-and-such thing, Tilak ji wrote him back saying: "It is for you to think about what you must study in life. Even if you say you want to start a shoe making business, I won't object to it. However, bear in mind, the shoes made by you should be so excellent so as to compel everyone in Pune to say, 'If you want to buy a pair of shoes, you should buy it from Tilakji's son'."

“Whatever I learn, I will learn it excellently, in the best way. My prestige depends upon its excellence.” - Do we send our wards to school endowed with such feelings? However, if we send them with the spirit, "Earn more, in whatever way you like, but earn," however efficient the education may be, they will never feel it is worthy, as what he has heard from the parents is something different.

Do our teachers have the awareness, "I am shaping the future of the children of my nation, and I will mould every one of them perfectly well?" We find many great men of our country recalling the names of their primary school, secondary school, and college teachers. Why they are doing so? It is because of the contributions the teachers have made in their lives. Do our teachers think "We have also to make such contributions in the lives of our students?" And are the teachers proficient in the subjects they are teaching? Along with the question of standard of the teachers, the question of content of syllabus is also there. Many a time it happens that students who pass out from higher education institutions securing degrees, are unable to earn their livelihood or are unemployable? There so many degrees and also good educational institutions. But here, research is becoming rarer. Professors and teachers who master their subjects are getting fewer.

With the view of creating a model at every level of education, we have to think holistically. Also, it is for us to do a review in totality, of our education policy and bring about necessary changes. The Sangh has been saying this for the last several years. And the reports of all the committees appointed to go into this matter, have

expressed similar views. Let us hope, all these factors will be included in the new education policy.

There is one thing more. Majority of our educational institutions are in private hands and not with the government. And in the private sector very good new experiments are being carried out. Last year, in Delhi, a meeting of institutions conducting such experiments was held, in which over 350 people from different places and states in Bharat, who had played miracles, had participated. So, let the finalisation and implementation of policy come on its own, and there is no need to waste time for that to happen. Those who are working in educational institutions, staying within their powers and limitations, can very well improve the standard of education through experiments. Once this happens, a situation will develop in which the government will have to formulate its policy in accordance with it. So, instead of putting everything in the court of the government, we ourselves have to make the necessary efforts in our respective fields.

## **On Language**

**Q.- In our policy making bodies dominance of English is seen. What is the view of Sangh on Bharatiya languages and Hindi?**

**The number of Sanskrit schools is decreasing and no importance is given to it. How does the Sangh view the situation?**

**When will Hindi become a all- Bharat language?**

**Ans.** - As far as the dominance of the English language is concerned, is it present in the policy making bodies? Or, is it in our own minds? It is a common experience today, when people of the elite class, who can very well talk in Bharatiya languages, meet, they talk in English. Let us start giving respect to our mother tongue. Language is the carrier of meaning, the carrier of culture, and for the progress of mankind languages are inevitable. We must have complete knowledge

of our language, and there is no need for enmity towards any other language. Not 'banish English;' Retain English; accord it an appropriate place. We have to remove the dominance of English from our minds. We call English an international language. But as a matter of fact, when two people of Bharatiya origin, residing in different European countries, happen to meet and if one starts speaking in English, it is not necessary that the other will understand what he is saying. So they will have to talk in a Bharatiya language. English has its own place in countries wherever English is the dominant language. However, in America, where the people speak English, they say, "Our English is different from the British English." There, even the spelling is different. In France, one has to use French. If you want to go to Israel for studies, first you have to learn the Hebrew language. If it is Russia, you have to learn the Russian language. In China, Japan, etc. they use only their own language. And they have effortfully accomplished this. So, it is necessary for us to make efforts in the same manner.

As far as possible, we have to use our own languages, and the richest of all languages are our own languages. We have no enmity for English. On the contrary, we must have people capable of speaking English in such a way as to leave the impression that we have the best orators in English. As a language, we are not against any language. However, as the means for the development of our nation, mother tongue should be made the medium of instruction in our education.

Now, the problem is, we have so many languages. Now, why can't one of our own languages be ours? We have to cultivate the mentality to learn one more Bharatiya language. The matter regarding Hindi has naturally been there for so long, because a majority of our people speak Hindi. However, mental preparation is necessary for it. It cannot be achieved by enacting some law or through imposition. After all, we are talking about a common language only to unite the nation. If adopting a common language will create antagonism and bitter feeling among people, we have to think of the ways and means

to cultivate a favourable mentality. From my experience, I can tell Hindi is okay and there is no problem. But, as in a majority of places in our nation we have to manage with Hindi so many people belonging to other states are learning Hindi. At the time, as people of Hindi states can manage with Hindi, they do not learn other languages. Why not people of Hindi speaking states also, learn the language of some other state? This will quickly lead to unity of minds. Then we can have a national language and can manage everything with it. And it should happen at the earliest, and is also necessary.

If the number of Sanskrit schools is decreasing and it is given lesser importance, who is responsible for it? As we do not give it much of any importance the government also is showing scant interest. We ourselves should have the desire to learn the language and also teach Sanskrit to our children; at least to speak in Sanskrit, because almost all our traditional literature is in Sanskrit. Our swayamsevaks have taken up this work. Two or three activities have been taken up for the promotion of Sanskrit and the endeavour is also progressing well. But if we are convinced of it, not only we will be able to study about our heritage properly, but also realise that we are the inheritors of a great language which is most suitable for computer. When the prestige of Sanskrit increases this way, then the desire to learn will also increase and, as a result, more schools have to be opened. Here, let us remember, the people's resolve will certainly influence the policy. But we are not ready to do what is required in the matter and think that 'let somebody else do it'. In that case, nothing is going to change.

There is no question of any preference. The very word preference is wrong. All the languages of Bharat are my own languages. And I will speak the language of the place where I reside- let this be the attitude. We must know our mother tongue fully well. Also, we have to assimilate the language of the place where we are living. And will have one common language for the whole Bharat. It is not because that language is great, but because that will be most suitable for the

present times. We have to learn that language also. And if we feel it necessary, we can also learn some foreign language and acquire mastery over that language, better than the foreigners. And that will make Bharat proud.

## **The Sangh's view on Women**

**Q. - What is the Sangh's view on the security of girls and women?**

**Has the Sangh taken any steps in this regard?**

**After all, why criminals do not fear law?**

**Ans. -** Two or three steps have to be taken to ensure the safety of girls and women. When, in olden times, women were confined to the four walls of their homes, the responsibility of their safety was squarely on the shoulders of their families. But, now women, just like men, go out and are very active, and it should be so. At the same time, they should be cautious and capable of ensuring their own security. So, training should be imparted to both adolescent girls and boys to ensure their proper development. The Swayamsevaks are engaged in this work, because women become insecure only when men change the attitude they view women.

When the Supreme Court handed down the most stringent punishment to rapists, debates had taken place on the TV. In one of the debates, I heard a lady journalist saying that mere meting out severe punishment to the culprits in itself was not sufficient. So, the basic requirement is the attitude of men towards women should change. Our traditional view has been : 'मातृवत् परदारेषु' That is, all women other than one's own wife should be viewed as one's own mother. This is our ideal. Men should also be made aware of such cultural values. Hence there should be programmes for the proper development of both girls and boys. Also, programmes for imparting the art of self-defence to women should be conducted. Swayamsevaks have started work in this field also. And, from the last year, they have

started imparting such training on a large scale to school and college students and are also conducting competitions in the subject. In days to come, they are about to start this work in all the states. However, everything is looked after by our swayamsevaks and the Sangh work is confined to running its daily sakhās and nothing else. As it is our swayamsevaks who have taken up this work, the project has been initiated through the Vidyarthi Parishad, and they are organising mega programmes to impart the training. They will spread it a nation-wide.

As law has its own limitations, culprits are less fearful of it. Social 'control and values' will be able to play a more effective role. The success of law depends on the psychology of the people. We have traffic rules. But only if the society abides by the traffic rules, the rules will be effective. So, the law should be made stringent and enforced strictly so as to give stringent punishment to the violators, about which there cannot be two opinions. However, along with it, the society also should be made responsible. People should feel ashamed when others see what they do. The situation in the society should be such that the culprits do not get any encouragement. This is our responsibility. From this view also, to awaken cultural values is equally important. At some places we find women avoid venturing out of their homes after 5.00 or 5.30 in the evening. But, there are other places where women go out even during night hours wearing ornaments and returning safely without any fear. They even go alone fearlessly. This cannot be taken as the result of stringent law, but has to do with the social awareness there. It is necessary for us to work hard for creating such a situation.

### **Anger and violence in the name of Hindutva**

**Q. - As has been narrated here, Hindutva system is lofty and beautiful. Then why there is so much of anger and violence seen today in the world in general and Bharat? What is the Sangh doing about it?**

**Ans. -** There is no anger or violence in the world in the name of

Hindutva. On the contrary, acceptance of Hindutva as a thought, is increasing in the world. Yes, there is anger in Bharat. But it is not because of the Hindu thought. It is the result of the aberrant example we have presented in the past fifteen or twenty centuries, discarding our thoughts. Instead of behaving in accordance with our basic values, when we started following bad customs and became dogmatic, we committed all sorts of Adharma (things unethical) in the name of Dharma. So, once we start practicing Dharma, changing its form suitable to the place and time, all the anger will vanish, because, as a thought, Hindu thought is the best, lofty and pure. It is for us to live according to the thought, and the Sangh is doing it.

The lectures (boudhik varg) given by Dr. Hedgawar during the initial period are rare to get. One among the available is "Principles and Practice," in which Dr. Hedgawar says: "Great principles are intended not merely for verbal expression, but should be validated through practice. What use is the principle that cannot be put into practice? What use is a lofty principle if it is put to wrong use?" What is the use of such a principle? So, first a Hindu should become a good, perfect and a genuine Hindu and the Sangh is working precisely with that idea, and for the last 92 years our endeavour has been to infuse each individual with these cultural values.

## **Regarding Cow Protection**

**Q. - Is lynching by mobs justified in the name of cow?**

**Ans. -** Law has not been enacted for cow protection. Those who are indulging in cow smuggling have become very bold. Those who seek to protect cows are being attacked. What can be the solution for all these issues?

Why only in the name of cow, to take law into one's own hands and taking to violence and destruction on any issue is totally unjustifiable and those who take to such criminal acts should be punished accordingly. At the same time, by tradition, cow is considered

to be an object of reverence and a symbol of honour. I am a veterinary doctor and know veterinary science. And based on my knowledge on the subject I can say, for small-land holding farmers who form the majority, nothing else but cow can be their source of income. Also, cow is useful in many ways. Now everything is coming to light, and A2 milk is a topic of discussion. Formerly it was not known but now science has proved it. It is also included in the directive principles of our Constitution. So, cow protection is necessary. But cow protection cannot be achieved only with the help of law. Those people who want to protect cows should first be ready to nurture cows. If we fail to tie our cattle in the cowshed and let them stray on our roads that will lead to problems. Some may not accept cow-protection as related to faith. So, we should think of not just protecting but nurturing cows. Many people today, are engaged in finding ways and means to bring into effect different uses of cow in our daily life and also using modern technology to reach the same in every home.

Those who speak of cow protection do not take to lynching. They are righteous people who are working for the good of society. All of them are not Sangh swayamsevaks. The entire Jain community is active in the field. There are so many others also. There are Muslims who run good Gausshalas (cowsheds) with utmost devotion. None of these people can ever be linked to lynching. All these people are working in the interest of the common people of this nation and they should be encouraged. Also this may provide a big support to our economy. When cow-smugglers take to aggression and violence, why is there no hue and cry. We have to give up such double standards.

The only solution to this problem is to create awareness in the minds of people about the various uses of the cow. This awareness is being created and is also growing. And now everything is available in black and white, as also the documents related to scientific research. The righteous people, who are engaged in cow protection activities, are taking their work forward and, no doubt, it will develop further. If we desist from bracketing them with antisocial elements and try to



create awareness in society, movement for cow protection will succeed and the nation will benefit out of it. It is practical experience that with the presence of cow, and also by serving it, criminal tendencies come down. The experiments conducted in prisons, where there are Gausalas, have proved this. I feel, the rate of crimes, etc. will come down as a result.

## **Religious Conversion**

**Q. - Is religious conversion taking place through deception, coercion and money-power?**

**Is it necessary to have a law at the national level to deal with it?**

**If every religion and sect is equal, why should the Sangh oppose religious conversion?**

**Ans. -** The last question was put to Gulabrao Maharaj. I will repeat the reply given by him, to your question. When he was asked, if all religions and sects are equal, why religious conversion be opposed, he said: "If all religions are equal, where is the need for conversion? Why you are taking the pains of going from this place to that place if all religions and sects are equal. So, let them continue to be where they are and do Tapasya (penance) and they will attain to perfection. Even in spite of that, if you want to take them from here to there your motive is not to teach them spirituality. God is not a saleable commodity in the market; God cannot be imposed forcibly. So, deception, coercion and money-power should never be used, for the very purpose of using such measures can never be spiritual progress, but some hidden agenda." You all, being learned, there is no need to explain it further.

If you study our own history and the history of other countries in the world, you will come to know the role of those indulged in religious conversion. You take its factual data. I don't ask you to accept the data compiled by the Sangh people. Even those who are

opposed to the Sangh have collected such data, and if you study it, you will come to realise why it should be opposed. Why should only the Sangh people oppose it? The entire society should come forward to oppose religious conversions. Whom I should worship is a matter of my personal choice.

There was a Chitpavan Brahmin by the name Narayan Vaman Tilak, who belonged to a respectable family. Thinking that the path of Jesus Christ is right and he got himself baptised and became a pastor. However, his wife did not convert and continued to follow her own religion. Everyone in Maharashtra, including the Sangh people have the highest regard and respect for him. Although he had changed his religion, nobody cares about it, as he had written a number of good patriotic poems, and by leading an exemplary life presented himself as a model before the society. Why? It is because he was not converted through deception or coercion, but of his own volition. Hindus appreciate such conversions. But this is not what is happening. Whensomeone says, if you come to the church, we will pay you so and so amount, that should be opposed. After all, spirituality is not a saleable commodity!

## **On Population**

**Q. - In many parts of our nation religious demography is changing and Hindu population is dwindling fast. How does the Sangh view this?**

**Is there need of a law for population control?**

**What will be the position of Hindus in Bharat after fifty years? Is population hindering development? What is the Sangh's take on this?**

**Ans. -** I would like to explain the resolution adopted by the Sangh on the issue. While discussing the subject, population is presented as a burden, as increase in number of mouths to be fed leads to demand for more food, more living space and more stress on the environment.

On the other hand, population provides hands for work also. Now Bharat is a nation of youth, probably constituting 55 percent of our population. If after 30 years, when the present youth population become aged, and if the population of youth is not more than what it is at present, then Bharat will become a nation of the aged, like what is China today. Hence, while thinking on population, our view should be bifocal. So, rather than thinking about the immediate, we have to make a projection of 50 years in our minds and calculate the number of people we will be able to feed then. What will be our capacity to meet the six basic requirements of householders, viz., food, clothes, shelter, health, education and entertaining of guests? At that time, how much stress the ecology will be able to sustain? To what extent we will be able to augment its sustainability? By that time, the number of hands we shall need to do all these by then?

Although we all discuss about the population, it is the mother who gives birth. So, it is inevitable for us to think about her efficiency, the extent of freedom she enjoys, and her capacity to maintain her family.

Along with all these, there is another important matter, the demographic imbalance, which figures in the first question. Whether we accept it or not, everywhere this issue is treated as something very important. Even those who maintain silence on the issue fully understand its importance and implications.

Demographic balance has to be maintained, and keeping this in mind, a policy has to be formulated. The present policy recommends fertility rate 2.1. However, it is necessary to make it once again sure that all the above factors have been taken into consideration; whether it is a well thought out policy or not; and the situation evolving in the coming 50 years has been taken into account. And then a new policy should be formulated. Whatever decision is taken should be implemented everywhere uniformly and no concession should be allowed to anyone. It should be implemented first where the problem exists. In other words, where the capacity for raising children is

lacking and the birth rate is high, and consequently, if the bringing up of the children is poor, we won't be getting good citizens. So, we have to first address the problems at such places. Although at other places the policy should necessarily be implemented, we can afford some delay. The reason that a law is in place in itself is no guarantee of the people's acceptance of it. I myself was in government service for one year, and the Family Planning Campaign was at its zenith then. All of us, irrespective of the department in which worked, were sent for this work. And I had to visit many villages and do campaigning in those villages and to take their questions. So, it is necessary to convince every one of them. For it, we have to think boldly, think rightly, think comprehensively and then decide how to go about it. Then the people have to be convinced about what has been decided and should be enforced on all uniformly. Only if it is carried out this way, it will be beneficial.

Rate of birth is another matter that needs attention. Whether the birth rate of Hindus is increasing or decreasing, whatever may be the case, we cannot hold the policy solely responsible for it. Of course, we are concerned about it. But what is the right way of thinking about it? How many children are there in our families? Don't take it merely as a national problem, as it is as good the problem of every family. Now the question is how to think about it in a balanced way? For it also, our society needs training. There are two more things: religious conversion and infiltration. These are also responsible for demographic imbalance. I have already spoken about religious conversion. Infiltration poses a direct challenge to our sovereignty and, hence, has to be dealt with stringently.

## **Reservation**

**Q. - What is Sangh's view on reservation?**

**Is the Sangh in favour of economic reservation?**

**As a result of reservation, there is so much ill-feeling.**

**What is its solution?**

**Should creamy layer get the benefit of reservation?**

**Should the minorities be given reservation?**

**Ans.** - The provision for social reservation in the constitution has been made to ensure equal opportunities to all, ending social discrimination. The Sangh is in favour of all sorts of reservation guaranteed under the Constitution. Whenever we make some statement about it, it is mis-interpreted. However, one thing is clear: all reservations granted by the constitution with an aim to end social discrimination, the Sangh will ever support it. It is for those, who are availing the benefit of reservation, to decide till what time it should continue. When they feel that they don't need reservations anymore, then we can think of the next step. Till that time it should continue. From the very beginning this has been the considered and clear opinion of the Sangh. It has never changed.

The next question is: what to do with the creamy layer? The Constitution guarantees social reservation, and not religious reservation, because, here, all the religions, at one time or other, were amongst the higher classes. So, what have they to do with reservation? Now more castes have started demanding reservation. To think about it the Constitution has created a forum and it is for them to think about it and take appropriate decisions.

In fact, not the reservation, but the politics of reservation is the real problem. For historical and social reasons, a section of our society has remained backward. Only if all the limbs of the body are able to work in synch, when needed, we can say that the body is fully healthy. When I want to move ahead and, while my hands move but my legs lag behind, then I will be called a paralytic. So, it is necessary to make all limbs move equally efficiently and in synch. achieve motor coordination to combine the movement of legs. To rescue someone who has fallen into a deep pit, the one who is above should bend low and stretch his hand down, and the one who is in

the pit should raise his heels and stretch his hand up, so as to enable the other to hold him by his hand, to lift him up. The society should think about reservation with this mindset. To put it in another way, the society should approach the question of reservation with this view in mind and not in terms of whether we are getting it or not now. Because of social reasons, this has been the situation for thousands of years, so much so we have rendered a section of our society weak and it is necessary to rectify this deficiency. If we have to bend low for hundred or hundred and fifty years to cure a disease that is thousands of years old, it is not at all a costly deal. This is our duty. And with such an approach, we will be able to find solution to these problems. Also, we should never use these problems for political gains. This is a matter of our social health. And, hence, the Sangh feels that, in this matter, there should be consensus of opinion among all.

### **SC/ST Act**

**Q. - Is the reaction and anger of the SC/ST people justified in the wake of the Supreme Court verdict regarding The Scheduled Caste & Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989?**

**Should the Parliament have brought in a new law to bypass the ruling of the Supreme Court?**

**Is the schism among upper caste Hindus and the ST/SC communities advisable? How can it be remedied?**

**Ans. -** The atrocities are the direct consequence of our social backwardness and the caste-based ego. The Prevention of Atrocities Act was brought to deal with this. The Act should be properly implemented, and, at the same time, should not be misused. But how is this possible? Law by itself cannot achieve this. Goodwill in society and social harmony has a role to play in it. In spite of education becoming widespread, when I see you for the first time, the thought

entering my mind will be, who are you? Not that I do not know your name. But my eagerness is to identify the community to which you belong! Why do all this thought come to my mind? Atrocity is, after all, atrocity! One can not say, as it is committed against someone it is legal, and as it is committed against someone else it is illegal! So, it is necessary to create goodwill. However, I won't say anything about what other things the Supreme Court has said and what the government has done. In the view of the Sangh, along with protecting the law and ensuring against its misuse, the solution lies in promoting mutual goodwill in society. Whether the law does something or not, untouchability has not gained currency as a result of any government law, but has come because of wrong practices; it has not come from any scriptural texts, but because of our malice. So, only our goodwill can correct it. And our swayamsevaks are engaged in promoting goodwill. So as to set things right, swayamsevaks are doing it using the platform of Samarasata Manch and by holding sadbhavana baithaks.

### **Article 377**

**Q. - After the latest Supreme Court verdict, Article 377 and gender equality have become topics of discussion. What is the Sangh's opinion in the matter? Along with it, the social status of transgender is also an issue. What is your opinion about it?**

**Ans. -** Each one in our society is member in our society, along with his language, if he so desires his caste, and his religion. Along with these specialities, if some people in society have other peculiarities, still they are part and parcel of our society, and it is for the society to accommodate them. And in our tradition, in our society we have done it even before.

Now, that the times have changed, it is necessary to make different types of arrangements. Making it a very big issue as if it is the biggest problem before us, and brouhaha over it will serve no

purpose. This issue demands a sympathetic approach, and whatever is possible should be done. Otherwise, accepting them in the condition in which they are some arrangement has to be made for them, while taking care that the society lives with a healthy mind. Also, if, for some reason, anybody has this tendency or peculiarity, they should never have the feeling of isolation, as that would pose an impediment for them to strive to achieve the aspirations of their lives. The society has to take care of all this. Times have changed, and we have to think, in the given milieu, how best they can be tackled socially.

Let the law interpret it in its own manner, we can't do anything about it. We can't do anything about it. If at all we attempt to discuss that matter, all sorts of issues will come out, and the problem will remain unresolved. So, treating all such people with sympathy, and at the same time ensuring the social health, we have to think of making some arrangement for them lest the feeling of isolation leads them into an abyss. And I feel, it needs to be done.

## **The Sangh & Minorities**

**Q. - What is the Sangh's thinking on the subject of accepting the minorities?**

**In the 'Bunch of Thoughts,' Muslim community has been addressed as enemies. Does the Sangh accept this view?**

**How fear of the Sangh among Muslims can be removed?**

**Ans. -** Here, even now, the very definition of the word minority is not clear. If it is about number of followers in relation to religion or language, we have many types of them here from ancient times. But we have never ever used the word minority before we became independent or before the advent of the British. We all belonged to the same society. We were all living like a garland of flowers. Yes, it is a fact that distances have increased. I think instead of saying 'connecting the minorities' we should think of 'connecting to our estranged brothers together.' Language also has its own effect. When



you say minorities, the implied meaning is that we and you are separate and, hence, we have to link you with us. Why should you join us? That will bring prosperity. If there is prosperity, are we going to abandon them? The thing is, we are all the children of the same nation and we have to live as brothers. Hence, the Sangh has reservation about the very word 'minority.' The Sangh does not approve of it. So we are speaking with the feeling that all are one, our people and if some have distanced themselves away from us, we have to bring them back with us.

If the Muslim community has any fears about it, you don't go by what I have said yesterday. You are welcome to join the Sangh and see for yourself. Wherever Muslims reside in the proximity of a Sangh shakha, I can say with certainty that the Muslims there feel more secure, which you can very well see. Our call is rooted in Rashtriyata. It is about the tradition of the Muslims, the tradition of the Christians, and of all others in Bharat. It is about reverence for it, devotion to the motherland; that is Hindutva. Why should there be fear without reason? You come once and see for yourself and then talk to them. You attend the Sangh programmes and see for yourself what is happening there; what all things are discussed there. My experience is that who all have come, have changed their opinion. So, you also come and if you come across something that breeds hatred for you, then tell us! There is nothing of that sort in the Sangh. But we shall keep on telling the truth even if you do not like or approve it. By tradition, by nationality (Rashtriyata), by our motherland, and by our common ancestors, we say, we are all Hindus, and we will continue to say so. Why are we not ready to give up that word? I have made it clear yesterday. However, that does not mean that we don't treat you as our own. On the contrary, we are saying it so that we can claim you as our own. We cannot claim you as our own based on your religion, sect, language, caste, etc. It is only possible on the basis of the motherland, the culture and the ancestors. And so, we insist on that. We consider them as the organs of our Rashtriyata. So, you can come and see.

Coming to the 'Bunch of Thoughts,' when someone speaks, it will be based on some specific circumstance and regarding some special context. It is not eternal. One thing, Shri Guruji's eternal thoughts have been compiled and brought out in book form under the caption, Sri Guruji: His Vision and Mission. In that book, we have given only his thought that has eternal relevance, omitting his views that were contemporary in nature. You read that book in which you will never find such things. Secondly, the Sangh is not a closed organisation. So, if Dr. Hedgewar has said something that does not mean that we will adhere to what he said at that point of time, forever. Times are changing; the condition of the organisation also changes; so also, the manner of articulation changes. We have already got permission from Dr. Hedgewar to bring about necessary changes. Otherwise, on the very first day, itself Dr. Hedgewar would have said: "We have to run the shakha of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and, hence, you start the shakha!" He never gave any such instruction, but only presented the idea. The swayamsevaks, who were youths, conducted experiments and retained what they felt suitable and gave up what they thought unsuitable, and the Sangh has been growing like this. If you think about the Sangh, taking it as a closed book, you will have doubts about what has been said in the 'Bunch of Thoughts.' I would request to understand Sangh through the activities swayamsevaks are doing, how and what what they are thinking and have a direct experience of it. Then all your doubt will be cleared.

### **Article 370 & Article 35A**

**Q. - What is the Sangh's view on Article 370 and Article 35A?**

**Should the Jammu & Kashmir state be trifurcated?**

**Has the Sangh made any attempt to arouse the national sentiment among the agitated youths of the valley?**

**Ans. -** Our view on Articles 370 and 35A is well- known. We do not approve of them and hence, in our opinion, they have to be abrogated.

If I have to go into the reasons, it will take a long time. So, let me say in one sentence: many a time I have spoken on it in my speeches. We have also published books on it, which are available at Suruchi Prakashan.

What is the idea that goes in to the formation of a state, its division, etc.? It is national integrity, unity, security and administrative convenience. Taking these factors into consideration, if necessity is felt for three states, let the government of the time do it. And if it is felt that there is no need for it, let it be as it is now. But, is the administration able to ensure at least a minimum of equitability, fairness and an unprejudiced developmental opportunity uniformly to all the areas of Jammu, Ladhak and the Kashmir valley, presently with Bharat (Pak-occupied Kashmir is still with them)? In the situation prevailing there, it is necessary to think what will be beneficial to all the three regions, as also to Bharat, in the context of overall unity, integrity and security. It is for the government and the administration to go into it, as and when they feel it necessary.

The basic point is the administration should be one that is capable of ensuring security. Security is ensured when there are security forces, law and the Constitution. However, the most important factor is the society and what it wants!

Your question is very correct: something has to be done for the agitated youths and we are doing it also. Our swayamsevaks- let me again repeat, when I say we are doing, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is only running the shakha and also we absolutely don't want to do anything else. However, the swayamsevaks moulded by us are engaged in fulfilling every need of society. They have been conducting service activities there. They are running Ekal Vidyalayas (one teacher schools) and regular schools there. In those schools Rashtriyata is one of the topics; there is Vandemataram and also our National Anthem (jana gana mana...). January 26 and August 15 are celebrated there. And we are getting very good response and cooperation from the well-wishers and the students studying in those schools. This will

gradually grow, because such efforts were never made there before, and have been started only now. It will take time to get the results. So, it is not that we have done nothing in the matter. In my Vijayadashami address, I have been telling that attempt should be made to solve rest of the issues, whatever they are. Assimilation of the common people of Kashmir with the rest of Bharat as well as mutual interaction should take place. I am now telling you this only for the reason that the work has already been begun. It is not our practice to speak on any work we have not started. So, this work has been going on and also progressing. Once it becomes widespread and gains sufficiently in strength, we will also keep on talking about it.

### **Internal Security**

**Q. - What in the Sangh perception are the biggest internal security challenge and its solution?**

**Terrorism has become the biggest challenge today. How to solve it?**

**Traitors have become fearless. Should we have a stringent law to deal with them?**

**Should we have fast-track courts to deal with terrorism related issues?**

**Ans. -** In the matter of internal security, to see that the society does not get attracted towards those who are creating internal anarchy, the benefit of development should reach everywhere; people should feel that the government and the administration are their own, transparent and responsible. They should have the confidence that they can live and achieve progress in life here. This task is the responsibility of the government, the administration and also the society, because there are people everywhere, who are keen to make use of such deficiencies to create challenges to internal security. They are here also. If we want to neutralise them, this has to be

done. Those who are flagrantly objecting to enforcement of the nation's constitutional law should be dealt with sternly.

When we think about the internal security, the condition of our society also poses a challenge before us. The government action should be sufficiently strong and adequately straightforward. Let us remember, that what cannot be achieved through bullets, can be achieved through dialogue. And the dialogue should be for driving home the point that Bharat should remain undivided one. Everyone should follow this attitude. The result of any discordance will be disastrous. So, it is necessary for the government to pursue determined policy; the society and the government should approach all people; the benefit of development should reach all; and the confidence of being 'one' should be cultivated in all. Necessary law should be enacted in this regard and, if need be, the laws should be made more stringent. Also I must tell, while enforcing these laws, it is necessary to ensure that no one in our society comes forward to support those who are bent on jeopardising our security, the lawbreakers and those who are speaking the language of traitors. The attitude in our society should be one of isolating such forces. Side by side, this should also happen. If we are able to take care of both these things, our internal security will ever remain strong.

## **Uniform Civil Code**

**Q. - What is the view of Sangh on Uniform Civil Code?**

**Ans. -** This is in the Directive Principles of our Constitution and, from this point of view, people of one nation should remain under one law. Society should make up its mind to remain under one law. When people start discussing Uniform Civil Code, they resort to Hindu and Muslim! But it is not limited to this only. There will be changes in the traditions of all, even Hindus also. So, presently, we find both Dayabhaga and Mitakshra law are in force. The traditional law of our Scheduled Tribe brethren is also in operation. Taking into account all such diversities, our Constitution has permitted this. Keeping all these

factors in mind, efforts should be made to create a mindset in society in favour of Uniform Civil Code. In fact, the talk of Uniform Civil Code promotes national integration. And it is also necessary for unity. So as to take care that no new group develops in society as a result of its implementation, it should be brought into force gradually. There is no need for me to tell that it has been specifically mentioned in the Directive Principles of our Constitution that the government is expected to implement it. So, taking a comprehensive view, the government should formulate the Uniform Civil Code and, cultivating the social mind in its favour, implement it.

## **Indian Republic & the Sangh**

**Q. - What is the Sangh's view on the provision of NOTA?**

**Like in the USA and Russia, why not we elect our President also on the basis of universal adult franchise? If from the Constitutional point of view all are equal, why there should be special provisions for minorities?**

**Ans. -** During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, even the representatives of, whom we call minorities now, wanted the very word minority to be removed. According to them, the very word was responsible for partition and nobody wanted any partition in future. But I feel, the founding fathers of our Constitution would have thought of giving some special consideration to them, as their numbers were less. But I tell you, the very word is misleading. Who are the minorities in Kashmir? In our nation, the situation is different in different places. Now, whatever be there in law, let it be there, and let us not say anything about it, because if we say something, as a result, many things that may lead to bitterness may emerge. However, it is necessary to make efforts to eradicate the very majority-minority thought. We all belong to one nation, and we are all brothers. Diversities in our way of living is our speciality and we will live with these diversities together as brothers; like a garland of flowers- this should be the attitude, for which many things have to be done.

We speak of the American and Russian systems. But why not Bharat have its own system, why should it follow the American and Russian pattern? In our case, we have to go according to the decision, all of us take together. In Bharat, common people know how to manage their lives, utilising the policies and schemes implemented by the administration. So, it is necessary to talk to them and we have to go according to the consensus achieved. At present, the existing system has been doing well. Now the entire world is saying, quite unexpectedly, "Bharat's democratic system is most successful." Now, some knowledgeable people and thinkers, who have gone deep into the subject, have started speaking about reforms, which certainly needs consideration. And whatever consensus emerges, we have to go according to it. Although many suggestions have come, so far no suggestions have come up recommending total revamp. There is need to reform the electoral system; to reform this and that; many such suggestions are made. I feel, we have to certainly consider all these suggestions, before going for any reforms.

Now, there is the question of NOTA. If there are five candidates and none of them is of my preference, then I say NOTA (None Of The Above). However, in a democratic polity, we have to elect the available best. To get one who is hundred percent perfect is well nigh impossible. It is as good as running after a mirage. Now let me say something not about the present, but about the period of The Mahabharata, from which time itself it has been so. As the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas became imminent, in the Yadava Assembly discussions started, about whom to support? Some were in support of the Kauravas and some others were supporting the Pandavas. And when the discussion digressed to the Kauravas' Adharma, someone from the other side said: Are the Pandavas all that saintly? Have you ever heard of someone who has gambled his wife? They also have committed many mistakes! How can you say they are Dharmic (ethical)?" Then Balarama intervened and said: "You are indulging in too much of polemics, in spite knowing well that we are going to do according to Krishna's bidding! But he is silent. You

had better ask him?" So, when they asked Krishna, He gave a speech in the Assembly, which he started with the following remark: "Politics is such a phenomenon that to get people who are hundred percent perfect, is very difficult!" Then Krishna gave his verdict in favour of the Pandavas. If we are able to find someone like Deendayalji, that is fine. This Krishna has not said, but I am saying. So, here, we have no alternative but to elect the best available. By exercising the NOTA option, we will be sidelining the available best candidate also, the benefit of which will go to the worst available candidate. So, in my opinion, Even if the provision for NOTA is there, we should never use the NOTA option, and should elect the best available candidate.

### **The Sangh, Politics & the Political Party**

**Q. - If the Sangh has no connection with politics, why the BJP is always getting its Organising Secretary from the Sangh?**

**Has the Sangh so far supported other political parties or other organisations?**

**What is the Sangh's view on religion-based and caste-based politics?**

**When will politics get deliverance from the clutches of crematorium, graveyard and saffron- terrorism?**

**Ans. -** The Sangh can provide the organising secretary to whoever ask for it. However, until now, nobody has made any such request. If someone makes a request, then we will think about it. If their work is good, we can certainly give them one. However, in the last 93years, we have never ever supported any political party. We are having a policy, and the benefit of growth in our strength goes to the political parties who support that policy. Those who are able to take its advantage are benefitted. Those who are unable to take the advantage are not benefitted.

During the Internal Emergency, we have vehemently opposed



it and had pursued the anti-Emergency policy. There were many other people who fought the Emergency. And we had never thought that its benefit should go to the Bharateeya Jana Sangh. Babu Jagjivan Ram, S.M. Joshi, N.G. Goray and A.K. Gopalan of the CPI (M) also were there. And everybody got its benefit. Swayamsvaks had worked for everyone. But it happened only in one election. We have been supporting the policy on Ram Temple at Ayodhya, and the BJP has been the only political party to support it and, hence, only they could derive the benefit out of it. In spite of this, wherever they formed alliance with others, their alliance partners also got the benefit. So, we have always supported only policies and not any political parties. Also we will never do it. At the same time, because of our support any benefit accrues, how to take advantage of it, it is for them to think. Because it is they who are in politics, not us!

As for the term 'using the Sangh,' used by you, it is something very difficult to do. This can never happen! Nothing of the sort will ever happen through the Sangh. Now-a-days, so many people come, they take photographs and, at times, also enclose it with their applications. But the organising secretary sitting there is a swayamsevak, quite capable of understanding the meaning of the photograph! So, instead of any benefit, that may prove contrary!

The methodology we have adopted is such that whoever comes and in whatever condition, we can mould and prepare him the way we want. If at all he is selfish, etc., he will move to the sidelines. Here, even if you do the Sangh work your whole life, nobody is going to say you 'thanks!' And leave alone the question of getting anything, there is only the provision for giving more and more.

Babarao Bhide was our Pranth Sanghchalaks. He used to tell swayamsevak: "In the Sangh, we do 'याद्या'. The word यदि in Marathi means list. However, if the word is split into two as 'या' and 'द्या', the meaning will be: Come, come 'या', and give 'द्या'. So in the Sangh, the only work is to give, and there is nothing you get at all. This is what the Sangh is. In spite of it, if very few people with

extraordinary cunning happen to emerge, that will not be of any consequence. So, what to do? Let me tell you, if you remain with the Sangh for a long time, the risk of you becoming the Sangh-man is there!

Politics should be for public welfare. Power is the medium to achieve public welfare. It should not go beyond that. If this happen, and our political class work according to Jaya Prakashji's wish, according to Gandhiji's wish, the fifth question would not have come up at all; crematorium, graveyard and saffron-terrorism would not have been there. All such things happen when, instead of using politics as the medium of accomplishing public welfare, it is used merely for self-aggrandisement. So, it is necessary to impart proper training to achieve this, and it is for those who are in politics to take a call on that.

### **Economic situation and unemployment**

**Q. - What is the Sangh's opinion on rural-development, swadeshi-based economy, and unemployment? Is the development we have achieved since 2014, in conformity with the Sangh's view?**

**Ans. -** We are already involved in rural-development activities. The development of villages is essential. However, the rurality of villages has to be preserved. Rurality is a mental attitude and not just about streets or absence of a school or other essential facilities in villages. No doubt, villages should be fully developed. At the same time, development should be achieved retaining friendliness towards nature, mutual -cooperation, harmony and such other traits peculiar to villages. We believe, Bharat's development should be rooted in villages and, hence, our swayamsevaks are engaged in activities for rural upliftment. As a result of the efforts of our workers, presently there are five hundred villages in Bharat that are, in modern parlance, worth seeing.

It is for everyone to follow swadeshi-based economic policy,

because in economics, economic security is based on self-reliance. So long as we do not follow the swadeshi principle, our real development will be well nigh impossible. What is meant by swadeshi? Swadeshi does not mean keeping the nation insulated from others. “आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः” (Let noble thoughts come to us from all over the world). So, what I can produce in my home, I won't buy from market. Whatever is available in the local market, which is the livelihood of my village, I won't buy from other villages or markets. If it goes like this successively, whatever is produced or manufactured in my nation, should not be bought from outside. But something that is not produced or manufactured here and if it is necessary, I will bring it from outside. If it is knowledge or technology, we will take it from the entire world, and in a way to suit the nature and the future aspirations of our nation, we will bring about changes in it and our efforts will be to manufacture everything indigenously. In the absence of swadeshi attitude, no economic policy will be effective in making our nation strong.

Has it happened so after 2014? You please think, leave alone 2014, has it happened at any time; has it happened in 1947? If you ask like this, my answer will be the same: to bring this ideal into practice, they have to work in an environment they have inherited. Let us presume that a government is formed and it decides to implement the swadeshi policy. But when they open the treasury, they find it empty. So, they have to bring money from elsewhere. Before that they have to make provision for it. Then only they will be able to take the swadeshi agenda ahead. Hence, you take any year, 1947, 1952, 1957 or, for that matter, any year- has any government achieved hundred percent progress in the matter? Within the framework in which any government and administration has to function now, it is not possible to do everything at once. But have things moved in the direction? According to me, it has started moving in that direction, as is evident from the change in the social mood. Now a majority of our people think: "We will produce in our own country." Today we witness the spectacle of our companies coming

forward to compete with others. Why, even yogis like Ramdev Baba are surging ahead. Entrepreneurship has increased, skill-training has picked up. Our youths, who are going abroad for higher studies, are coming back after their studies and working here. They are active in farming and skill-development. Some expectation is building up and people want to make the nation to stand on its feet. All these things are happening and the hopes are also rising. Has all this happened because our speeches? Never! This is happening because of the experience they have been gaining. So, we can very well say that hundred percent cannot be achieved at once. However, the day we are able to achieve it will be the Golden Day for us! Now, we can certainly claim that our nation has moved in that direction.

### **Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Temple**

**Q. - An issue of faith has been turned into a legal problem. Can an ordinance be promulgated in this matter, as was done in the wake of Shah Bano verdict? Or, can some big social debate be planned like this series of lectures organised by the Sangh?**

**Ans. -** Now the question of ordinance is for the government to decide, and whether to conduct some big debate has to be decided by the Rama Janmabhoomi Mukthi Sangharsha Samiti. I am not in both. Decision about the details of the agitation has been taken by its apex body. If they seek my opinion, I will certainly give them. In my view, debates are necessary. Not that debates are not taking place; they are taking place. Is it possible to bring an ordinance, or not? Is it possible to bring in a law? Once ordinance is brought, is there any guarantee that it will not be challenged? Once it is challenged, it will be said, it has been brought with an eye on elections? So, it is their responsibility to think about all such things, and not mine.

As a swayamsevak, as the Sarsanghchalak, and as a participant in the Rama Janmabhoomi Movement, it is my earnest desire that a majestic Ram Mandir be built at the Rama Janmabhoomi at the earliest.

For a majority of our people Lord Rama is God. But He is not God only. There are also people in our nation who do not accept Him as God. However, even for them, He is the symbol of reverence and righteous behaviour (Maryada). He is considered as the Imam-e-Hind. So, the issue is linked with the faith of all sections of society. There are so many Ram temples and many of them are also in a dilapidated condition. But we are not talking about all these temples. But a temple should be constructed at His birthplace where a temple stood formerly, which has been confirmed with the help of laser rays.

If this fructifies, the major cause of the friction between Hindus and Muslims will be solved. If it is settled through goodwill, the accusing finger being raised against Muslims will come down drastically. This is an issue of national unity, which will also strengthen the national ideals. Also, it a matter of the faith of crores of people, and the problem should not be allowed to continue anymore. If at all the issue were dealt with, taking into account the national interest and without allowing political interference in it, the issue would have been solved long back. Better late than never, so goes the saying. And in my opinion, by all means, a majestic Ram temple should be constructed at the Ran Janmabhoomi at the earliest.

### **Intolerance to Hindu festivals and traditions**

**Q. - What is the opinion of the Sangh on the intolerance to Hindu festivals and traditions?**

**Ans. -** Is it not wrong doing such things in whatever name? Whatever has to be done it should be done straight and with honesty. Intolerance to festivals on the pretext of environment! But there are many such festivals of other people also. One thing, if there is any genuine threat to environment, then the issue demands discussion. Rituals related to festivals are not all that mandatory. They also change. For instance, on the day of Vata Savitri Vrat, women in every village, and even in towns, go and wrap cotton thread around the trunk of a banyan tree.

But in cities like Mumbai and Kolkata, you can't find banyan trees. So, what happened? People started bringing branches of banyan tree and selling it. And ladies started wrapping the thread to the branch bought by them. This does not have any religious sanction. But this being the symbol of our culture, they have to find some way out. "Of course, we have not worshipped the banyan tree but have offered worship to its branch." So, all these change according to place, time and circumstance, and let there be no hesitation to accept the change.

The very thought of fireworks brings the problem of pollution to our minds. You know, fireworks manufactured in olden times were not spurious. They were manufactured using gunpowder. After all farming activities were over and harvesting the first crop, and with the end of rainy season, the farms get infected with harmful worms and the smoke of fireworks was the best antidote, effective in controlling the worms. This was the use of fireworks. Is it useful even today, it is for us to think. If you feel that it is not useful but also harmful today, it has to go. But why not tell it plainly. Then, why should it be only against Hindu festivals? You investigate things connected with everyone in the same manner. Change is inevitable in keeping with place, time and circumstances. Ritual is not something permanent, it keeps on changing.

You, sitting at your home, think properly, deeply and then go out to tell people that you are a scholar and because I tell you, change it! Don't do like that. You have to change the mind of society. Explain to them, request them. While talking to them, why do you say that Hindu tradition is bad? Why at all you say that? Instead, you tell them it is harmful to environment; Hindu tradition favours reforms. So, why not you think about it? Then people will agree. The way it is done is bound to create doubts in the mind. If the very intention is wrong, that is unfair. If the intention is good, then do it in a way so as to convince the people of your good intention. In that case, even our Dharmacharyas will consider it positively.

## **The Sangh methodology and etiquette**

**Q. - In the Sangh, it is said, once you get an instruction, then stop thinking. Does it not amount to dictatorship?**

**Why in the Sangh the Sarsanghchhalak is not elected?**

**Is the Sangh a registered body? Do the Sangh get its accounts audited?**

**Sikhs have played a crucial role in protecting Hindu Dharma. But why the Sangh is singing paeans only to Maharana Pratap and Shivaji Maharaj? What is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh doing to give guidance to youths?**

**Ans. -** Now, I am not going to answer these questions in their sequence, but would like to reply to all of them together. It is only just now I quoted the verse: 'चतुर्वेदा पुराणानि ....' in which the Guru Granth Sahib is also mentioned. This I have quoted from the Ekatmata Stotra that we recite every morning. In it, names of Guru Nanak Devji and Guru Gobind Singh Maharaj also have been mentioned, whom we remember every day, while reciting the Stotra. Rajabhai Paturkar was our Pranth Pracharak in Punjab. After his return from there, he had toured every state and conducted a pictorial exhibition of the history of the great martyrdom of Sikhs. They are the Gurus for all, not merely the Gurus of the Sikhs. They belong to all of us. Although they have taken birth in the Sikh religion, for our nation and the world at large, like all other Gurus in our tradition, they are also our own Gurus. And we adore and respect all. It was recently I gave a talk in Delhi, which most probably might have reached you. And it is because of their great history we respect them and look upon them with utmost devotion. This is how we think.

Why the Sangh is not a registered body? It is because when the Sangh was started in 1925, Bharat was not under our own rule. The Sangh work continued after independence also. Even in

independent Bharat there has not been any legal provision, which stipulates that every organisation should have registration. Anyhow, according to law, the status of the Sangh is: "Body of Individuals." And we conduct ourselves accordingly. Being a Body of Individuals, according to law, we are not taxable. Hence, the government do not insist on filing of our returns. However, we have to maintain our credibility and hence maintain our accounts to the last penny. Every year we get the accounts of every economic unit audited. And we have never compromised on it. If the government wants us to submit our accounts, we are ready with it. We are law-abiding. Whatever we have it is strictly in accordance with law. We get our accounts audited. We also have the system of internal auditing, and we engage a Chartered Account from outside for the purpose. Also, we are maintaining our accounts strictly according to the legally approved format. And all our transactions are routed through our bank account. Also, we don't iii transfer the funds to other heads.

Now, why there is no election for the Sarsanghchalak's post? It is because Dr. Hedgewar was our Sarsanghchalak. After him, Shri Guruji was our Sarsanghchalak. The post decorated by such luminaries is an object of devotion for us. Who will be the Sarsanghchalak after me, I will decide. And till what time I will hold the post, I will decide. However, the Sangh has cleverly dealt the question of the authority of the Sarsanghchalak. The Sarsanghchalak has no authority in the Sangh. He is only the friend, guide and philosopher. He has absolutely no powers to do anything. Sarkaryavah is the chief executive of the Sangh. All authority is vested in him. And if right now, he instructs me to stop this session and immediately go to Nagpur, I will have no option but to leave immediately. And the election of the Sarkaryavah takes place once in three years. Ever since the Sangh submitted its written Constitution to the government, till date, the election has not been postponed even by a day. Our shakhas elect our provincial representatives, and the election of Sanghchalaks take place at the taluk , district (jilla), divisional (vibhag), provincial (pranah) and zonal (kshethra) levels. Then the Akhil Bharatiya



Pratinidhis (All- Bharat representatives) are elected, who, in every three years, elect the Sarkaryavah. We have been strictly following this process, keeping its spirit in our minds, in a perfect manner. Only when the Sangh was banned during the Internal Emergency, and as the election period came during the ban period, that year we could not conduct the election. However, in the Pratinidhi Sabha held after the lifting of the ban, the first business listed on the agenda was the election of the Sarkaryavah. So, we do it regularly.

To stop thinking once the instruction is given is correct. However, what happens before the instruction is given, has not been taken into account, while raising the question. Instruction is given after prolonged discussions. In the last two days I have given talks here. Also I spoke extempore. You may be thinking that I have shared with you my personal thoughts. But before that I have had discussions with all prominent office bearers of the Sangh on what to present and what not to present. That is, when I suggested that I would present this, they said, no, it was not necessary, and so, I withdrew. Now nobody in the Sangh will protest against what I have presented before you.

It is true, thinking stops the moment instruction is given. But there is need to think beforehand, before the instruction is given. And whatever may my personal thoughts be, I am speaking based on the outcome of the collective thinking. This is methodology of the Sangh. You feel democracy is all about mutual bickering. But in real term, the essence of democracy is consensus. The Bharatiya Constitution has been written through this process. In the Sangh, everything is decided by consensus. Hence, we can very well say stop thinking once the instruction is given. If you ask someone to do it, will he do it? Never! No, you cannot stop thinking. But when can it happen? It can happen only when, taking into account everyone's opinion, a consensus emerges. As we are doing it, we can certainly say like that. Also, it is followed with honesty. Anyhow, it is not happening because of any dictatorship.

## CONCLUSION

I have to tell only three or four small things, because I have already given two talks and answered your questions. First thing, you don't go by what others, whoever they are, say about the Sangh. If you don't feel like believing what I have said, you don't believe it also. The Sangh is an open organisation and there is no membership fee for joining it. You can come and see the Sangh from within. The mothers who are present here also can come and happily see what is going on there. Then form whatever opinion you want about the Sangh. I won't say you to get convinced, as I have said nothing to convince you. But try to see the Sangh at close quarters and know it. Then you can say whatever you feel like, and do whatever you please.

This programme has not been conducted with the idea of convincing you, but only to present the facts before you, which I have done. Now, if anybody from among you feels like joining the Sangh then you can go to our shakha. If you feel that it is not possible to attend the shakha, it is all right. Sangh swayamsevaks are doing so many activities and you can very well join them. They, who are working with the idea of bringing about social transformation, are active in every field. You can also participate in that work.

If you feel, "I have done some good work together with the swayamsevaks and I would like to continue to do the same," you certainly do it. If you don't feel like joining others and want to do it yourself, surely do it. However, we have only one request to you: hereafter, please don't remain inactive. In whichever way you feel, you do whatever small and big contribution you can do to make this

Rashtra stand on its own identity and to take it to the pinnacle of glory, by understanding this Rashtra, and for uniting the whole country.

The Sangh swayamsevaks will help you as much as possible, according to their strength. You have only to keep in touch with them. Many people think that merely by telling me is sufficient to things to happen. But in the Sangh, reverse is the case. Nothing can happen at the top. You have to contact those who are at the grassroots level. You need not climb even one step above. You can mutually settle everything there itself. You maintain contact at the local level, and you will get help. On the other hand, if we need any help from you, because of the acquaintance, we can also request you. We will do whatever we can, depending on our strength. And you can also do it, according to your strength. Anyway, we have to rebuild this nation, as the entire world is in need of a Third Way today.

Not only the world but we are also aware that Bharat has the inherent strength to show the third way. No doubt, this work will benefit Bharat. However, as we are living in Bharat and are also its citizens, this will be beneficial to us individually and also to our families and also for the welfare of the world. If we fail to do it, it will do harm to all the three. Whenever Bharat stepped into the world outside, it was never to conquer. But we won the hearts of all and ennobled everything there. Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore says in his poem: “ए आमार देश जेदिन तोमार वैभवमय भाण्डार द्वार अबरित छिलो विश्वजनाय सकलकामना पूर्ण करे से महादिने महाइतिहास नित्यजीवने वरण करे।” (O, Great Nation, Ye, our Great Nation! The day the trove of your infinite wisdom and the riches and assets, was opened to fulfil the desires of humanity, remember that great day and make it the part of your life). This clarion call is before us. And it is for us to strengthen our society to fulfil it. There is only one formula in the world to unite the society. And we have to unite the entire society making use of it and make it aware of its responsibility. And improving its quality, try to promote the social efforts.

This is a very sacred mission, which will provide a meaning

and prosperity to the life of the world. Being known as the sons of Bharatmata and known as the citizens of the Bharatiya nation, we have essentially to do this work. The very existence of Bharat is to accomplish this mission. Just imagine, after realising the truth, how much efforts our ancestors, our Rishis and saints of that time have made to take the traits of our nation to every village and every hut in the nation!

Regarding the question about the identity of nomads, let me tell, those are the people who realised the message of our culture in their own lives and of their own volition gave up their home and village. Refusing to lead a settled life and accepting the nomadic life, they are engaged in spreading this message from village to village. Times have changed and we are unable to understand their sacred teachings. There is a community named Dombari, who perform acrobatics on streets. They were the people who used to impart physical culture to society. They have in-depth knowledge about herbs. It was the Iron Age. They were the people who taught and learnt blacksmithing. There are so many types among them. Before going for work, they do their traditional worship in their homes. Not only that, if someone asks them to quit their present vocation saying that it has no use in the present-day world, the reply will mostly be, “This is our Dharma.” In short, this nation has come into being through so much of toil and hard work to fulfil its God-given mission, and it should accomplish it. It is for this reason we have been repeating it time and again.

The very purpose of telling you all this is to clear your misunderstanding about the Sangh. But if the Sangh alone grows, what is so great about it? We don't want the history to record that the redemption of the nation has been achieved because of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Instead, we want it to record that such a generation was created here and as a result of their efforts our nation has become the Guru of the entire world. And I appeal you to begin this work.

The last two days, you have heard my very long speeches with utmost courage. I have also replied to your questions and you have heard it. If there have been any mistakes, I beg of the pardon of all of you. Let me conclude by telling that it is for us to arouse the sense of responsibility and dutifulness in our society. Thank you very much.



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