

Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?

By Vinayak Damodar Savarkar

S. S. Savarkar, Bombay

Editions: 1923, 1942, 1950, 1965, 1969

John Press descriptor: This is the text that Hedgewar read just prior to starting the RSS. As such, it is the founding document of the RSS. The RSS is the largest culturist organization in the world. It trains youth to be strong and understand the Hindutva philosophy.

### **TITLE PAGE QUOTES**

"A HINDU means a person who regards this land of BHARATVARSHA, from the Indus to the Seas as his Father-Land that is the cradle of his religion."

"Who delivers this our Nation of Sapta Sindhus who endows us with wealth, do thou O! Lord, hurl thy mighty thunder-bolt to destroy our enemies – the Dasas."

### **PREFACE BY THE PUBLISHER OF THE SECOND EDITION**

- i- While in England from 1906 – 1910 Sarvarkar started asking "Who is a Hindu?" After years of study, he found the confusion lay in only identifying "Hindu" with religious aspects.
- ii- Sarvarkar decided to approach this question historically.
- iii- When sent to prison in Andamans for 50 years for being a political revolutionary, he decided to write the book we're reading. He wrote the book on the cell walls via scratching, then memorized them. When the walls of the prison were washed each year, he got "fresh paper."
- iv- He wrote in poems and couplets often.

Sarvarkar coined the terms "Hindutva," "Hinduness," and "Hindudom" in order to express totality of the cultural, historical, and above all the national aspects along with the religious one, which mark out the Hindu People as a whole.

V. Sarvarkar got his imprisoned compatriots to memorize passages prior to their release. Thus the arguments were re-transported to India.

vi. Then, after 12 years of imprisonment, the Sarvarkar brothers were sent to an Indian prison. More

esteemed prisoners got him pen and paper. He immediately wrote this work and had it snuck out of the prison. In 1923, while Savarkar was still in prison, the first version came out under the non-de-plume "A Maratha."

Vii Lala Lajpatrai liked it and it awakened an India that had started to doubt it was a nation at all. And later the Hindu Mahasabha took it as its official definition of Hindutva.

## **INTRODUCTION**

**By G. M. Joshi, 1966**

x. All the predictions in this book have come true. Savarkar knew there was a thread that united all the various Hindu castes and sects. He hit upon the historical basis.

Xi. He found the word Hindu is as old as the Rigveda itself. Hindutva is to fit in with modern political theory. Savarkar quote says Hindus are tied together by blood. But, notes the idea of races is provisional at best.

xii. Nature tries to throw off this "race" concept all the time, sexual attraction is more powerful than the prophets. .

Savarkar also knew that this book had to instill love of the fatherland and holyland. When a person is torn between these two their actions are unpredictable.

When Savarkar was freed from prisons in 1937 all Hindus rallied around him under the Pan-Hindu flag.

xiii. When the Atlantic charter was signed, Savarkar sent a cable to FDR insisting the principles apply to India. This led to support in America and its newspapers.

When it was clear that India would be partitioned (as the Muslim League demanded), Savarkar in retaliation led the movement to have Pakistan partitioned. This got Mountbatten to force Jinnah to part with the what is now western Bangal and easter Punjab.

Signed, G. M. Joshi, Bombay, May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1966 (Savarkar's birthday)

## **ESSENTIALS OF HINDUTVA**

### **What is in a name?**

Pg. 1. Brilliantly, Savarkar opens with the "Fair maid of Verona" asking, "What's in a name?" This brings in the western reader and lets them know the author is erudite.

Initially names are arbitrary, but "as the association of the word with the thing it signifies grows stronger" so does the connection. Ultimately the word and idea seem completely wed. Eventually sentiments get mystically entwined with the word.

2 - Such names, "though they be 'nor hand, nor foot, nor any other part belonging to a man,' are not all that, precisely because they are the very soul of man."

If you entitle a Madonna painting Fatima, people don't mind it. If you call it Mary, they bow in reverence.

3. Ask a Muslim "to call himself a Jew, and you would soon find that the 'open sesame' was not the only word of its type." [Brilliant]

### **Hindutva is different from Hinduism**

3 – The word Hindutva's associations are "so varied and rich, so powerful and so subtle, so elusive and yet so vivid that the term Hindutva defies all attempts at analysis."

"Hindutva is not a word but a history." Not just religion, as with "Hinduism," but history in full.

Failure to distinguish between these two terms has given rise to much misunderstanding and mutual suspicion between some of those sister communities that have inherited this inestimable and common treasure of our Hindu civilization."

4. "ism"s represent dogmas or creeds. Hindutva does not. We are not attempting a definition of the more limited term Hinduism (which has dogma and creed). But we must understand Hindu to understand Hindutva.

### **What is a Hindu?**

4. We don't know exactly when the first intrepid Aryans made it to the Sindhu, the Indus River, but it was before the Egyptians and Babylonians.

5. By the time the Aryans got to Indus, they had developed a sense of nationality and given it a name, "Sapta Sindus." The Rigveda records this as applying to all of Vedic India.

6. Sindu is a variation on Indus River and the S and H being interchanged in Sanskrit, Sindu indicates Hindu.

7. Other nations also recognized the Hindus. The Persians designated Vedic Aryans as Hindus.

8. Local tribes, who contacted Persians, must have also known the Aryans as Hindus.

Vedic Sanskrit began to give birth to the Indian Prakrits.

### **Name older still**

8. We have been working on recorded facts, but let's now skip into conjecture. Is Hindu, Sindu, etc in the Aryan tongue?

9. When arriving we often ask locals what a place is called. So the Aryans may have learned it from people even preceding them. It may be that the name is like New England, a reference to the past, but we have record of Aryan contact with many tribes they befriended and whose words they incorporated. (Alasada for Alexandria, Suluva for Selucus, for example. So this term Hindu goes back to the beginning of mythology even.

### **Hindu, a nation**

10. The Hindus spread "led by the consciousness of a great mission and their Sacrificial Fire that was the symbol thereof."

11. Cities arose and kingdoms thrived. But due to the Aryan's individualistic tendencies, their polities were loosely centralized. As their reach increased they brought other highly developed folks into their orbit. Keeping distant from locals, [in some process I don't totally get], new names such as Kurus, Kashis, and Magadhas emerged while the old generic term of Sindhus or Hindus was almost forgotten.

Not that the conception of national and cultural unity vanished, it just took other names.

This growth peaked when "the valorous Prince of Ayodhya made a triumphant entry in Ceylon and actually brought the whole land from the Himalayas to the Seas under one sovereign sway."

12. Then the "great white Umbrella of Sovereignty was unfurled over that Imperial throne of Ramchandra." All swore loving allegiance, "not only by the Princes of Aryan blood but Hanuman. . . that day was the real birth-day of our Hindu people. It was truly our national day: for Aryans and Anaryans knitting themselves into a people were born as a nation."

### **Other names**

13 A suitable alternative name was found to indicate the Indian Nation "when the House of Bharat came to exercise its sway over the entire world." We won't debate whether he was Vedic or a Jain or the exact dates of his rule. But, the subordinate groups took up the term "Bharatkhand" which indicated all from the Himalayas to the sea – a "common cultural empire." The Vishu Puran calls it the land "named Bharata inhabited by the descendants of the Bharata."

### **How names are given**

14 – The name did not totally suppress the name Hindu or Sindhu or remove attachment to the river – "The Sindhu at whose breast our Patriarchs and people had drunk the milk of life." The language still being "Sindhi."

Though Bharatakhanda almost overshadowed Hindu, it did not.

15. The Jews and Greeks continued to call us Sindhus or Hindus. Even a Chinese scholar did so. As such, in reverence the land is now called Hindustan and the people Hindus.

But names are for others, more than ourselves. As wars and contact with the world happened, the word Hindu eclipsed "Bharatakhanda."

### **International life**

16 – Though Hindustan was by no means cut off from the world when Buddhism entered, this entry shows an international character.

17 – At this time, Hindustan had filled up its land. And, India had become the heart and soul of almost the whole then known world. The outsiders who poured in to learn and trade came to call us Hindus too.

Buddhism helped the name to grow in prominence throughout the world and made us more conscious of ourselves as Hindus.

### **Fall of Buddhism**

18. "Can it be that philosophical differences alone could have made our nation turn against Buddhism?" "Can it be the inanition and demoralization of the Buddhist Church itself?" Note wholly.

Such shortcomings "would not have attracted such fierce attention and proved fatal to Buddhistic power in India had not the political consequences of the Buddhistic expansion been so disastrous to the national virility and even the national existence of our race."

19. The Buddhist faith made people too passive and thus facilitated the Huns taking over India. Hindus "could not drink with equanimity this cup of bitterness and political servitude at the hands of those whose barbarous violence could still be soothed by the mealy-mouthed formulas of Ahimsa and spiritual brotherhood."

20. He does not mean to rebuke Buddhism, "We yield to none in our love, admiration and respect for the Buddha – the Dharma – the Sangha. They are all ours. Their glories are ours and ours their failures." But, even holier things preceded the Buddhists, Hindu statesmen that allowed Buddhism to become what it became.

"So, we do not think that the political virility or the manly nobility of our race began and ended with the Mauryas alone – or was a consequence of their embracing Buddhism."

21. But Hindus could not be other worldly while dominated by Huns whose whole creed could be summed in two words, "Fire and Sword." And Buddhism had no "logic and no argument" that could counter the Fire and Sword doctrine.

"So the leaders of thought and action of our race had to rekindle their Sacrificial Fire to oppose the sacrilegious one and to re-open the Vedic fields for steel, to get it sharpened on the altar of Kali."

22. The Hindus drove the invaders back to Tartary and Mongolia. "Back to the Vedas!" The national cry grew louder and louder, more and more imperative, because this was essentially a political necessity."

### **Buddhism – A universal religion**

22. Grand though its achievements were, Buddhism "could not eradicate the seeds of animal passions nor of political ambitions nor of individual aggrandizement."

23. India did try to incorporate and live up to Buddhist precepts to the best of its ability, "Nobly did she try to kill killing by getting killed – and at last found out that palm leaves at times are too fragile for steel!"

"The leaders of thought and action grew sick of repeating the mumbos and jumbos of universal brotherhood."

24 – "Moreover everything that is common in us with our enemies, weakens our power of opposing

them. The foe that has nothing in common with us is the foe likely to be most bitterly resisted by us."

### **Then came reaction!**

25. The attempt to re-establish Buddhist power in India, made the nation take an even more threatening attitude. We were aware of people in our ranks who sympathized with the enemy.

26. Buddhist armies, stationed in China readied for attack. The Buddhists lost. And "They had to formally renounce all ulterior national aims against India and give a pledge that they would never again enter India with any political end in view." The Buddhist all took this oath.

### **Institutions in favour of Nationality**

27. As a part of this retrenching in the face of the Buddhist face institutions were revived: The system of four varnas grew in popularity.

"From this it was a natural step to prohibit our people from visiting shores which were uncongenial – in some cases fiercely hostile – to such peculiar institutions."

### **Commingling of Races**

28. The nation became stronger in self-knowledge to fight off the Buddhists. But in our North-Western borders there was a comingling of races that was "growing rather too unceremonious to be healthy and our frontiers too shift to be safe."

29. And so a boundary was drawn. And which was chosen? Would you guess? The Sindu River. "The day on which the patriarchs of our race had crossed that stream they ceased to belong to the people they had left behind and laid the foundation of a new nation."

They assimilated and expanded and created "a race and a new polity that could only be most fittingly and feelingly described as Sindhu or Hindu."

### **Back to the Vedas**

29. Going back to the Indus River border was a natural result of the new cry "Back to the Vedas." One of the patriotic Puranas, who expelled the foreigners beyond the Indus, "issued a Royal Decree

to the effect that thenceforth the Indus should constitute the line of demarcation between India and non-Indian nations.

30. It was called "Sindusthan."

### **Sindhustan**

31. Bharatvarsha is and must be a latter designation besides being personal in its appeal. It refers to a particular King. Emperor Bharat is gone, but Sindu goes on forever. "It is the vital spinal cord that connects the remotest past to the remotest future." This must be why the leaders must have restored the "ancient Vedic name of our land and nation Sindusthan – the best nation of Aryans."

32. Another advantage to the name is that "Sindhu in Sanskrit does not only mean the Indus but also the Sea-which girdles the southern peninsula." So it points to the whole expanse in one word.

### **What is Arya?**

32. But Sindu does not only refer to geography. It refers to the culture. Sindusthan was the "Best nation of the Aryas."

33. The term, it should be noticed, "is not based on any theological hair-splitting or fanaticism." The word Arya expressly refers to all who "have inherited a common culture, common blood, common country and common polity, while Mlechcha also by the very fact of its being put in opposition to Sindhustan meant foreigners nationally and racially and not necessarily religiously."

### **Hindu & Hindusthan**

33. The word "Attock" was also used. Its strong embrace indicates a Royal edit sanctioned its association with Sindhusthan. [I'll admit being a bit lost here].

34. The use of "Attock" must have also been an attempt to point people back to the Vedas. But for the same aim, all men know what Hindu and Hindusthan point to, but not Bharatwarsha.

35. In a footnote he discusses his lack of certainty on the origin of Attock. But, he says the "habit of doubting everything in the Puranas till it has been corroborated by some foreign evidence is absurd." Without total corroboration, being recorded in historical times and seeming quite plausible in presentation seems good corroboration. On 36 he says the account has blemishes and contradictions. Doesn't Plutarch? If there is an air of super-naturalness, what of Alexander the Great's



descriptions?

### **Reverence to Buddha**

35. Before proceeding, he wishes to smooth feathers possibly ruffled by his analysis of the weakness of Buddhism.

36. No. He loves Buddhism.

37. Buddhism is a great attempt to wean man from the brute inherent in him. He reveres the teachers in this lineage. And, if the teachers in the lineage, what do you think he thinks of the great Buddha himself, eh?

38 But, "the banner of nationality will refuse to be replaced by that of Universality." Still India is so much the richer for having cradled and absorbed Buddhism into its spirit.

### **Hindus: All one and a nation**

38. So far we've looked at Sanskrit sources.

39. The word Hindustan was rid of any association with a particular institution or party." By institution he means varnas (caste). But even caste is not Hindusthan as "an institution is meant for the society, not the society or its ideal for an institution."

If the system of varnas disappears, will Hindustan become a land of foreigners? The Sikhs do not have caste, but they are not foreigners. "They are ours by blood, by race, by country, by God."

"We, Hindus, are all one and a nation, because chiefly of our common blood – 'Bharati Santati.'"

### **Hindusthani Language**

40. The rise and fall of Buddhism were accompanied by a remarkable spread and growth of the vernacular and Sanskrit being shut up in a classical fortress.

"Prakrit" (Hindi) which better fit the living thoughts of the people.

"Sanskrit writers generally preferred the word Bharat in being more in consonance with the established canons of elegance."

But Hindusthan stuck in popular and living culture.

41. While Sanskrit is the linguistic and cultural backbone, Prakrit (Hindi) – an elder daughter of Sanskrit – is the living spoken tongue.

Centuries prior to the British Hindi or Hindustani was the mother tongue for those crossing the nation.

42. After the Huns were expelled, nearly a thousand years of peace and prosperity took place. A connected family of princes ruled. And the adoption of Hindi was just an outward manifestation of this national well-being and bonding.

### **Foreign invaders**

42. Success lulled the people into false security and living in the land of dreams. Sindusthan was rudely awakened on the day when Mohammad of Gazni crossed the Indus.

43 – “Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan . . . nations and civilizations fell in heaps before the sword of Islam of Peace!! But here for the first time the sword succeeded in striking, but not killing.”

Each time the sword struck it got duller and the wound sayed healed. The “Vitality of the victim proved stronger than the vitality of the victory.” “It was not a race, a nation or a people India had to struggle with. It was nearly all of Asia, quickly to be followed by nearly all of Europe.”

44. Decade after decade, century after century, the ghastly conflict continued and India single-handed kept up the fight morally and militarily.”

### **Hindutva at work**

44. “IN this prolonged furious conflict our people became intensely conscious of ourselves as Hindus and were welded into a nation to an extent unknown in our history.”

46. Hindutva, again, refers to all in this unity who suffered under the invaders. Those who fought did so as Hindutva. All the testimonials to those who cultivated and fought in the name of HIndutva would take volumes. He offers a few examples.

47 The very first composition in the northern vernacular literature refers to Hindusthan. One poet uses the terms so frequently and freely, but we cannot doubt that they were popular as far back as the 11<sup>th</sup> century when the Muslims had not secured any footing even in the Punjab.

48. – 49. We learn of a battle between the Muslims and Hindus. The losing Hindu leader gives patriotic prayers to Durga. And, all this in a poem, we hear a last touching tribute to the fallen

Hindu Emperor. "Bharat" nearly never appears in this first in this earliest northern vernacular composition.

50 – 56 has defiant patriotic poetry. Much of it is defiant Shivaji in 1646, defending against the Muslims.

57 – When a Rajput prince fought him Shivaji said "It was disheartening in the extreme to find the Rajputs – the ancient shield of Hindutva – shedding their blood and the blood of their co-religionists and brother Hindus that the Mohammedans might win!"

59 - He continued, "I am ready to hand over to you all fortresses you might ask for. I myself will plant your flag on them. But let not those Muhammedans triumph. I am a Hindu; you are a Rajput and therefore a Hindu. The kingdom has originally been of the Hindus. I will humble my head a humble times before one who protects the Hindu Religion."

61 – A Swami also urged his adherent to not tarry, but attack. A woman, Mathurabai, wrote letters of patriotic fervor to him.

63 – "The Portuguese fanaticism at Goa was an Indian edition of the Inquisition in Europe. Once they prohibited the open observation of all Hindu religious rites and rituals." Hindu patriots overthrew this domination.

68 – Footnotes that go under many pages announce, but a 1793 letter states that Hindu history has been diminished by Muslim destruction of records. But, also Muslims make small victories into eternal triumphs and Hindus do the opposite. But, Hindu glory is evident in the preservation of the Vedas and Shastras, the protection of Cows and Brahmins.

### **Stupid notions must go**

70 – The last Hindu empire fell in 1818 A.D. We will now get to the essentials of Hindutva. But, to do this we first had to destroy the idea that Hindusthan and Hindu came from the malice of the Mohammedans. Long before Muhammed was born "Sindu" existed. So his religion could not have made the term or idea.

72 – By the logic of those who give Muslims credit for naming us, we should be called "Kafars." But it is true that the word Hindu is not found in Sanskrit. But it is silly to expect to find a Prakrit (Hindi) word in a classical Sanskrit text. "Sindu" is in Sanskrit.

73 - In an ancient language of Iran, pre-Persian, Hindu meant black person. But it could not then apply to Hindus of India (though they lived side-by-side). The word predates this use.

74 – And were it an epithet, it is interesting to note parallels with England. To call someone “English” was an insult under Normandy conquerors. But, the English stuck to their name. “precisely because they did not disown their ancient blood or name, to-day we find that while the word Norman has become an historical fossil and Normandy has no place on the map of the world, the contemptuous English and their English language have come to own the largest empire the world has yet seen.”

**“In times of conflict nations do lose their balance of mind** and if the Persians or others once understood by the word Hindu a thief or a black man alone then let them remember that the word Mohammedan too was not always mentioned to denote any very enviable type of mankind by the Hindus either.”

75 – Nor should we forget that the ancient Jews used the term Hindu to denote strength or vigour.

80 – Another sickness that attacks the minds of those who’d ditch the word Hindu (due to the mistaken idea of its foreign and pejorative origin) is that it denotes a belief in dogma. Additionally, the term Hindutva could alienate Jains and Buddhists.

81 – In fact, the word “Hinduism” is a new-fangled term. A man can be Hindu without believing in the Vedas. The Jain prove this. Hindutva covers “national and cultural aspects.”

82 – Obviously Hindutva comes from the words Hindu and Hindusthan. Hindutva, to serve as a word, must appeal to the geographic source of India’s cohesion. It does so via Hindusthan. This word is understood as Americans understand the word “India,” without religious connotation.

82 – 83 But what of the Hindu derivation of the word “Hindutva”? Well it goes back to the word Sindhu meaning a citizen of Hindusthan. Thus it has no more religious connotation than the word “Hindi.”

### **Essential implications of Hindutva**

**83 – But, while it is religion free, the word “Hindutva” does not include a Mohammedan. It may some day come to only to indicate a person who resides on the Hindu soil. But, that will require all mankind to drop isms and be purely human. “But as even the first streaks of this consummation, so devoutly to be wished for, are scarcely discernable on the horizon, it would be folly for us to ignore stern realities. As long as every other ‘ism’ has not disowned its special dogmas, which ever tend into dangerous war cries, so long no cultural or national unit can afford to loosen the bonds, especially those of a common name and a common banner.**

**84 – An American may become a citizen of India. But, “as long as in addition to our country,**

**he has not adopted our culture and our history, inherited our blood and come to look upon our land not only as the land of his love but even of his worship, he cannot get himself incorporated into the Hindu fold."**

### **Bond of common blood**

The reason Hindu cannot be synonymous with Bharatiya or Hindi and mean Indian only, is that Hindu is not a Nation or race-jati.

The word "Jati" derived from the root Jan means "brotherhood, a race determined by a common origin, possessing a common blood." All hindus have the Vedic fathers, the Sindhus' blood in them.

85 – But people really ask, is there such a thing as a Hindu race? Well is there an English one? Is there French blood? If these folks, with their intermarriage do, Hindus do too. If we restrict between castes with saying this caste and that equals that, so much more outside of castes. And this too goes back to the Vedas.

87 – And there has been foreign and Buddhist intermarriage. And some of these have become national heroes in our epics. Sikhs also intermarry.

89 – No word can give full expression to this racial unity of our people as the epithet, Hindu, does. Some were Aryans, Some Gauds, some Jains, some pantheists, but we are a JATI, a race bound together by the dearest ties of blood.

90 – "After all there is throughout this world so far as man is concerned but a single race – the human race kept alive by one common blood, the human blood. All other talk is at best provisional, a makeshift and only relatively true. Nature is constantly trying to overthrow the artificial barriers you raise between race and race. To try to prevent the commingling of blood is to build on sand. Sexual attraction has proved more powerful than all the commands of the prophets put together."

"Speaking relatively alone, no people in the world can more justly claim to get recognized as a racial unit than the Hindus and perhaps the Jews. A Hindu marrying a Hindu may lose his caste but not his Hindutva." You can adopt a different philosophy but not lose his Hindutva – his Hinduness." Your love of the land.

### **Common culture**

91 – “The majority of the Indian Mohammedans may, if free from the prejudices born of ignorance, come to love our land as their fatherland, as the patriotic and noble – minded amongst them have always been doing. The story of their conversions, forcible in millions of cases is too recent to make them forget . . . that they inherit Hindu blood in their veins.”

But can we see them as Hindus? No. Because we not only have ties of blood and fatherland,

92 – “but also by the tie of the common homage we pay to our great civilization – our Hindu culture.” Our Sanskriti (civilization).

### **What is civilization?**

**92 – “Civilization is the expression of the mind of man. Civilization is the account of what man has made of matter.”**

**“The story of the civilization of a nation is the story of its thoughts, its actions and its achievements. Literature and art tell us of its thoughts; history and social institutions its actions and achievements.”**

**93 – Civilizations may borrow much, “yet their civilization is too characteristic to be mistaken for any other cultural unit.”**

94 – He lists cultural items all Hindus and only Hindus understand. We understood our Hindu heroes as people who fought and died for us.

95 – What of wars between Hindus? What of the War of the Roses. Sanskrit unites us as our best that enriches all the family of our sister languages, Hindi, Bengali, and more.”

96 – Ask a Sikh if a work of the Vedas or that of Shakespeare is his. He will answer the Vedic work.

97 – The same of art and architecture which his ancestors funded and worked on. Buddhist works too.

### **Common laws and rites**

97 – Despite western growth, Hindu jurisprudence unites us too. All collected the Hindi law could never fit in the English or Mohammedan or Japanese law books.

98 – We have feasts and festivals in common.

99 – So far all that has been mentioned as uniting has been done without religion. No 'ism's mentioned. But religious festivals are a shared inheritance.

100 – A Hindu inherits Sanskrit, Hindu civilization, history, heroes, literature, art, law, common fairs and festivals, rites, rituals, ceremonies and sacraments. Not that each does all, mind you. But he has more of it in common with his Hindu brothers than with an Arab or Englishman.

Any Christian or Muslim, though they have just recently converted and still have lots of Hindu content in their spiritual lives, "since their adoption of the new cult they had ceased to own Hindu civilization (Sanskriti) as a whole. They belong, or feel that they belong, to a cultural unit altogether different from the Hindu one. Their heroes and their hero-worship, their fairs and their festivals, their ideals and their outlook on life, have now ceased to be common with ours."

101 – Even if one is an age old Hindu who just turned Muslim, "he is subject to Hindu law – the law of his forefathers. He is part of the nation, race, and civilization. He may differ in terms of a few festivals.

102 – This convert would be Hindu except for one detail, Sanskriti or culture. But this element is so important, it deserves greater attention. This treatment will bring us face to face with the religious aspect of Hindutva.

### **WHO IS A HINDU?**

102 – 103 "Any definition of Hinduism that leaves out any important section of our people and forces them either to play false to their convictions or go outside the pale of Hindutva stands self-condemned."

103 – "Hinduism means the system of religious beliefs found common amongst the Hindu people."

This circular logic is not enough. And the idea that there is no such thing as a Hindu, is also unsatisfactory.

104 – Hinduism means the "ism' of the Hindu. The word Hindu comes from Sindu, the Indus. Thus it means the religions that are peculiar and native to this land and these people. You might say these sects contradict each other. But they are all still of the Indus and as such "Hinduism."

105 – All of the sects of religion belonging to the Sindu traditions are called Vaidik Dharma. We cannot say sects and heterodox are not allowed, without alienating too many.

107 – Hinduism is not just the religion of the majority. It is the religion of all the Hindus or it should be dropped. Vaidik Dharma is the majority, but Sikha Dharma, Arya Dharma, Jain Dharma and

Buddha Dharma are legit too. But if you use the term Hindu, it seems to denote only the majority Dharma.

107 – The Vedas came first to the Indian continent (and the world). There was never such a thing as Vedic religion, but it could not even be identified with Sindhu Dharma for that term had not been coined. But the Vedas, for atheists and monists alike, is the science of religion applied. It is Hindu Dharma (Vaidik and Non-Vaidik). In this remember that Dharma is not merely religious.

110 – And these devotions flow out of the land, the Ganges. The first qualification for Hindutva is that you love this land of the Sindus. The second most important qualification for Hindutva is to be born of Hindu parents, with blood of the Sindu in you. This includes, he states, many cultural landmarks.

112 – He then vacillates back to the many places on the land where Krishna walked, Ram went to war, etc. attaching the history and the land. "Every stone has a story of martyrdom to tell!"

113 – This is why converts to Christianity and Islam are not to be recognized as countrymen, though they have much culturally in common.

"Hindusthan to them is Fatherland as to any other Hindu, yet it is not to them a Holyland too. Their holyland is far off in Arabia or Palestine." Consequently their names and their outlook smack of a foreign origin. Their love is divided." "They must set their Holyland above their Fatherland in their love and allegiance. That is but natural. We are not condemning nor are we lamenting. We are simply telling facts as they stand."

115 – Thus reconversion to the Hindu fold is allowed. But those who speak of a distant Holyland cannot be part of Hindutva.

116 - Nation (rashtra), Jati (race), civilization (Sanskriti) and Holyland are the essentials.

### **Hindus in Sindh**

117 – We have a working definition, does it stand a detailed examination? Is it too wide or too narrow? It is a definition of people who have kept their name in 5,000 years.

118 – What effect does diaspora have on this river bound definition? None. If his ancestors came from India as Hindus he cannot help but recognize it as his homeland, the land of his prophets. Hindutva does not clip the wings of the Himalayan eagle.

120 - As with the English, with their Anglo, Celt, Norman blood, are now one; the castes, Aryans, Dravidians are all now of a Hindu "race." This is more the land of such an admixture than that of



the "Aryan."

122 – Here he shows that Sikhs are very much of India. They "extolled the glories of the River on whose banks the first seeds of our culture and civilization are sewn."

123- Sikhs adore Sanskrit as the language of their ancestors and the sacred language of the land.

124-As their Gurus themselves had been the children of Hindus they would fail to understand if not resent any attempt to class them as Non-Hindus.

125 – Sikhs may even reject the Vedas, but they are still Hindus in the sense of our definition of Hindutva.

Some Sikhs have not wanted to be classed as Hindus, but this is a political argument. They wish to get special privileges like the Muslims.

126 – But they could have asked for special laws being non-Brahmanical without rejecting Hindutva. Such communalism, like that between castes, is okay; people can keep their special identity. But, it should not mess with their sense of Hindutva. Sikhs should be classed as Sikhs religiously, but as Hindus racially and culturally.

127 – Will these brave people disown their seed, forswear their fathers and sell their birthright for a mess of pottage? God forbid! Let our minorities remember that strength lies in union.

If a foreigner raises a sword against you, we Hindus will defend you.

128 - These religions did not fall from the sky! They are products of India.

129 – A flower cannot deny its roots. As both Sikhs and Hindus are true to their gurus, they are to Sindhu.

129 – The exception that proves a rule. The biggest test case is that of Sister Nivedita. Despite her lack of Hindu blood, she adopted Sindu as her holyland. This makes her entitled. But, as used by the masses, the real test, we can say that any convert of non-Hindu parentage to Hindutva can be a Hindu bonafied. Her adoption of Hindutva, like that of Annie Besant, is an exception, we must know it is such. We need to be somewhat elastic and not overly rigid.

### **Unique Natural Blessings to Hindusthan**

131 – So far we have not allowed any considerations of utility to prejudice our inquiry. But now at the end, we found Hindutva to contribute towards the strength, cohesion, and progress of our people. But is it a ground strong enough to build a future that will repel attacks?

132 – Some ancient people build huge walls as to convert a whole country into a fortified castle. Today their walls are dust. The Himalayas are Sindhustan's ramparts, the oceans their moat.

133 – "She is the richly endowed, daughter of God – this our Motherland." And on and on he writes beautiful poetry about Sindhustan's natural endowments.

134 – And the 2<sup>nd</sup> essential of Hindustan (beyond a land) "puts the estimate of our latent powers of national cohesion and greatness yet higher. No country in the world with the exception of China again, is peopled by a race so homogeneous, yet so anient." Muslims and Christians are religious but not a race or national. The Hindus are!

"And culture? The English and Americans feel they are kith and kin because they possess a Shakespeare in common." The Hindus a Ramayana and Mahabarat and the Vedas. Americans have history in centuries. Hindus in Kalpas. "If a people that had no past has no future, then a people that had produced an unending galaxy of heroes . . . [who] fought with and vanguished the forces whose might struck Greece and Rome . . ." They "have in their history a guarantee of their future greatness more assuring than any other people on earth yet possess." Beyond culture, the tie of common holyland has often seemed stronger than the bonds of Motherland. Muslims would sacrifice all India if that be to the glory of Islam or could save the city of their prophet.

136 - Look at the Jews though centuries abroad, they are still super attached to Israel, the land of their Prophets. If a Jewish state ever happens in Palestine, they would naturally set the interests of their Holyland above those of their Motherland in America and Europe. If war happened between their motherland and Holyland, they'd sympathize with the latter.

The crusades again attest to the wonderful influence that a common holyland exercises over a people widely separated in race, nationality, and language.

The ideal conditions in which a nation can attain perfect solidarity and cohesion would, other things being equal, be found in the case of those people who inhabit the land they adore, the land of whose forefathers is also the land of their Gods, the scenes of their history and mythology. Only Arabia and Palestine (if it becomes Jewish) have this advantage.

137 – But Arabia is poorer in natural, cultural, and historical essentials of a great people. And the potential Zionist state too. China alone of the present comity of nations is almost as richly gifted with the geographical, racial, cultural essentials as the Hindus are.

137 – Thus the actual essentials of Hindutva are the ideal essentials of nationality. [He keeps forgetting the presence of the Muslim population].

138 – Great combinations are the order of the day; t, etc. he League of Nations, Pan-Islamism,

Pan-Slavism are each little beings seeking to be incorporated into greater wholes, so as to be better-fitted for the struggle for existence and power. "Who to those who have them already as their birth-right and know them not; or worse, despise them!" Can any one of you, Oh Hindus! Whether Jain or Samaji or Sikh or any other subsection afford to cut yourselves off or fall out of the organic combination that already exists? Strengthen these ties if you can: "pull down the barriers that have survived their utility, of castes, and customs, of sects and sections: . . . "intermarriages between provinces and provinces, castes and castes, be encouraged where they do not exist."

139 – Where they do exist – "suicidal be the hand that tries to cut the nuptial tie."

"Let the minorities remember they would be cutting the very branch on which they stand. Strengthen every tie that binds you to the main organism, whether of blood or language or common Motherland." Blend blood, "from vein to vein, from Attock to Cuttack till at last the Hindu people get fused and welded into an indivisible whole, till our race gets consolidated and strong sharp as steel."

"We are trying our best, as we ought to do, to develop the consciousness of and a sense of attachment to the greater whole, whereby Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews would feel as Indians first and every other thing afterwards. But whatever progress India may have made to that goal one thing remains almost axiomatically true – not only in India but everywhere in the world- that a nation requires a foundation to stand upon and the essence of the life of a nation is the life of that portion of its citizens whose interest and history and aspirations are most closely bound up with the land and who thus provide the real foundation to the structure of their national state."

140 – Look at America whose Germans deserted during WW I. The "American State, in the last resort, must stand or fall with the fortunes of its Anglo-Saxon constituents." Hindus are India's bedrock.

Therefore even from the point of Indian nationality, must ye, O Hindus, consolidate and strengthen Hindu nationality; not to give wanton offence to any of our non-Hindu compatriots . . . but in just and urgent defense of our race and land."

140 – As long as competition and pan – movements compete for the world, we must have our team in order. And some day India when will be able to dictate claims to the whole earth they cannot do so in terms so very different from the terms which the Gita dictates or the Buddha lays down.