

We or our Nationhood Defined

By M.S. Golwalkar Guruji

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THIS WORK IS THE MISSION STATEMENT FOR THE RSS. Golwalkar was the head of the RSS from 1940 - 1973

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**PREFACE**

Pg 4. He will give no consideration to the State (government / politics), but rather focus on the nation ("being a cultural unit).

5. Hence passing references on the connection of the nation and minority communities will not be discussing the latter's political status, but rather their place in the nation.

And by nation here he means "Hindu" nation and "naught else."

6 If he is harsh on the Congress, please know that he does respect their work for independence.

7 – He thanks Savarkar for Rashtra Meemansa – a chief source of inspiration.

9 - He offers this book at the "holy feet of the Divine Mother – The Hindu Nation." March, 22, 1939.

**FORWARD – By Loknayak M. S. Aney**

10 – He seeks to define "nation." From the Latin word "Natio" meaning birth or race and signified a tribe or social group with a same language. Later in the mediaval universities it was used to establish voting rights.

11 – But there is no scholarly work on the subject in any language. Of those who he notes as having written on it, one is Israel Zangwill.

Mazzini is by common consent still regarded as the greatest interpreter of nationality.

12 – Some in the West think the "cult of nationalism" has outlived its usefulness; we need

internationalism and "humanity."

13 – Mazzini said no. "Humanity is the association of peoples; it is the alliance of peoples in order to work out their mission in peace and love. To forget humanity is to suppress the aims of our labors, to cancel the nation is to suppress the instrument by which to achieve the aim."

Dr. Joseph Bernard notes that Progress consists in the adaptation of the ideas and institutions of the past, not in their wholesale annihilation. We need mansions on our foundations. We need foundations for that. Iconoclastic arguments will only set man back in knowledge, material property, morality, and spirituality.

14 – Some say the nation comes from the state. Some the reverse. But the State of Britain happened when three nations merged (Scotch, Welsh, English). This is a state without political unity.

16 – He wishes to now turn to the psychological and spiritual theories of nations.

17 – According to some Nation is the social group as mind is to the individual. Renan developed this idea. Nationality is possession of a rich legacy of memories and desire to live together and continue the heritage received. Renan said that "race, language or common unity of interests are not always enough to create such a spiritual principle.

19 – Thus a Jewish scholar says, a heritage may lie dormant while only some few scholars remember it. Then it may once again expand.

Nationality is sentiment for national literature, heroes, geniuses, language, sentiments, traditions and modes of dress." It is a feeling that goes beyond definition.

21 – Nationality makes individuals limbs of an organism.

Suppression from outside sources can be very helpful in building up this sentiment of nationality. It isn't merely fine culture, the desire to sacrifice oneself comes from the "emotional structure of man."

23 – Hindus have a distinctive common cultural language and a common cultural literature which regulate and governs their life even in the minute details. They have an outlook which is different from that of any other people.

24 – Hindus in the North and South in spite of superficial difference have common basis for their magnificent architecture, painting, music, dancing, and several other fine arts.

24 – "No sane man can question the proposition that Hindus are a nation." Hindus are the vast majority of the population of India. "India is therefore pre-eminently a Hindu nation, Hindusthan."

25 – People thinking about the problem of Muslims often forget to distinguish between nation and state. "No modern State has denied the resident minorities of different nationalities rights of citizenship of the State."

Minorities with rights and special safe-guards for the preservation of their culture and language and religion is not deemed incompatible with the exercise of the rights of the sovereignty of the State as a whole."

26 – "No modern jurist or political philosopher or student of constitutional law can subscribe to the proposition which the author has laid down in Chapter V."

The author, MSG, said "all those who fall outside the fivefold limits of that idea [the nation] can have no place in national life unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture and language of the National and completely merge themselves in the national race. So long as they maintain their racial, religious, and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners, who may be either friendly or inimical to the nation."

The author says the League of Nations agreements will not allow the author's dogmatic ideas. No person whose lineage goes back for centuries in a nation can be treated as a foreigner in any modern state. Conversion cannot be a prerequisite for citizenship.

28 – The author, MSG, says that Muslims are particularly unable to be citizens because they hold themselves and their God is deserving domination

The forward author says religion has now dwindled in importance to the point where it has "ceased to be of consequence."

America, for example, has had total freedom of religion from the beginning [he is wrong about that].

29 – Greater national unity happens when there is complete religious tolerance.

30- Golwalkar has also, the forward author claims, done wrong to the illustrious Englishman who helped the foundation of the Congress by giving them unworthy motives.

30 – He also thinks Golwalkar's impaasioned language is not in keeping with the dignity of the scientific study of nationalism.

31 – Still he agrees on much. He likes the abstract notion of nation propounded. And is glad that Golwalkar at least wrote on the topic.

32 - But all are entitled to religious freedom and cultural maintenance and a part in the State.

33 – The State is an indivisible unit. No community can claim a right to divide the state.

The book is, though, a necessary reply to Gandhi and others who subscribe to the “blank cheque” theory.

34 – He trusts that the minorities will resolve to work shoulder to shoulder with the majority for the restoration of the glory of the “Bharatwarsha.”

M. S. Aney, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1939, New Delhi

### **PROLOGUE – By MS. GOLWALKAR**

35 – When born into adverse times you can test your manliness and stand before the world a colossal personality!

36 - We live in strange times. Words have changed meaning. Noble words are profuse; nobility is at a sad discount. Selfishness, greed, injustice, all pass for virtues. Merit is discouraged. We roll down a bottomless pit of degradation yet congratulate ourselves on our progress.

Traitors are now national heroes. Patriots are heaped with ignominy.

37 – People talk of national regeneration. But do they know what the nation is? What is independence? Swaraj?

Do we want to make our nation glorious or just make a “State”?

Do we get that the nation and state are different ideas? If not, we just grope in the dark.

38 - We stand for national regeneration and not for that hap-hazard bundle of political rights-the state. What we want is Swaraj; and we must be definite what this “swa” means “Our Kingdom.”

### **- CHAPTER ONE -**

39 – To start with, the life of nations is not to be counted in years but centuries. What a year is to a man a century is the Hindu nation.

With the Vedas, the Western Scholars have not still seen even the hem of the garment of the glorious Goddess of knowledge.

40 – if we ignore the vedas and the later Ramayana and Mahabharata, and we still go back 4 – 5,000 years. Hinduism is old. And the Mahabharata depicts an organized society.

42 – So Hindus have been in possession of the land for 8 or even 10 thousand years before the land was invaded by any foreign race.

“Hindu i.e. Aryan race” What evidence is there that Hindusthan, the land of Hindus, was a land of immigrants? None save the “Shady testimony of Western scholars.” The West’s superiority complex blurs its vision.

42 – Can they admit the superiority of a nation they control? Till yesterday, they wandered wild in the wilderness, their nude bodies weirdly tattooed and painted [literally]. By saying all Aryans migrated to Europe and Hindustan, they undermine Hindu’s claim to the land.

44 – The Englishman will never cease duping us into believing that we have no more right to this land than he has.

44 – Tilak said the Aryans came from the Arctic. Perhaps.

45 - But the arctic pole has shifted. The North Pole used to be in Bihar. So, the Vedas come from Hindustan!

46 – On this land the Hindus created the Vedas, “reasoned our Philosophy of the Absolute.” Here he lists progress in many fields.

Here they propounded “one religion, which is no make-belief but religion in essence,” It is a culture of such “sublime nobility that foreign travelers to the land were dumbfounded to see it, a culture which made every individual a noble specimen of humanity, truth and generosity, under the divine influence. . . . a people who not one of “ ever told a lie or stole or indulged in any moral aberration.”

47 – All this before the West had “learnt to roast meat – instead of raw!”

“And we were one nation – ‘over all the land from sea to sea one kingdom!’ is the trumpet cry of the ancient Vedas.” Then came Buddha and Alexander who didn’t even invade, he left so quickly.

But success bred complacency and the nation fell into small principalities. Consciousness of one Hindu Nationhood became musty.

48 – Misunderstanding Buddha led people to loosen their faith. Over individualization happened. Individuals meant more than the nation! But still the “Race Spirit” continued. “And when the hordes of Mussalman free-booters occurred, they indeed found the nation divided against itself and incapable of stemming the tide of devastation.”

49 – Then came the period of the Great Shivaji and the whole illustrious line of Hindu warriors, who overthrew the Moslem domination . . . and shattered the throne of the ‘Great Moghul.’” And they would have won with the help of the great Hindu heroes, the Sikhs . . . but too late.

50 – And this 800 year war was nearly won when the British invaders came. But, they have also not won.

51 – Great warriors, (included is M. Gandhi) and Tilak and Lala Lajapat, and others fight the foe.

Ever since the “evil day, when Moslems first landed in Hindustan” to the present Hindus fight.

Don’t fear the outcome, The Race Spirit has been awakening.

53 – “To counteract this conquering spirit, to extinguish the correct Hindu National consciousness, our Histories teach us that we never were a nation, but a medley of warring chieftains, that our real history begins with the Moghul rulers.”

54 – Another falsity that seems to have borne the bitter fruit, is that “the Nation in the land naturally was composed of all those who happened to reside therein and that all these people were to unite on a common ‘National’ platform and win back ‘freedom’ by ‘Constitutional means.’ Wrong notions of democracy strengthened the view and we began to class ourselves with our old invaders and foes under the outlandish name – Indian.”

55 – **That is the real danger of the day, our self-forgetfulness, our believing our old and bitter enemies to be our friends.”** They must fight the Muslims and the British. “The Moslems are not misled. They take themselves to be the conquering invaders and grasp for power.”

“In hopes of ‘Nationalising’ the foreigners and succeed merely in increasing their all-devouring appetite. The consequence, for us, is that we go more and more astray and lose sight of our cherished goal of National regeneration. **Indeed we begin to fear that calling ourselves Hindus even, is denationalizing.”**

56 – We are blinded into wanting to form a “‘really’ democratic ‘State’” The Congress is there to destroy National consciousness. It has been successful. “We have almost forgotten our Nationhood.”

## CHAPTER TWO

57 – “What is the notion of Democratic states about “Nation”? Is it the same haphazard bundle of friend and foe, master and thief, as we in Hindusthan understand it to mean? Or do the political thinkers of the West think otherwise?”

We think our vision is erroneous, when compared with the original western understanding. So, we'll analyze.

58 – 60 Here MSG lists several definitions, before concluding that the most common elements are "Common heritage of memories," "Common bond of tradition and history" and lastly "Linguistic Unity" are the main three components that repeat. In another formulation there is the "famous five 'Unities' – Geographical (country), Racial, Religious, culture, and linguistic. He'll look at each.

1) Country:

For "any race to live the life of a Nation it is essential that it should have a territory of its own." [He says a nation without a country is unthinkable. What of the Jews?] Even once the Europeans got the land of the USA the people amalgamated into a homogenous whole and so have nationhood.

62 – Jews lost their country and came to the country of the Hindus. Later the "engines of destruction loose under the name of Islam completely destroyed their power and the Jews." They fled. They are the same people in exile from their country. But in having no land of their own, they are "a people and name and are not a nation." The attempt at rehabilitating Palestine with its ancient population of the Jews is nothing more than an effort to reconstruct the broken edifice and revitalize the practically dead Hebrew National Life"

63 – The Parsis are another example. It is the "same old tale of Islamic invasion, with its attendant massacres, devastation, destruction, loot and arson, violation of all sacred places desecration of religion and culture, and forced conversion to the faith of the ready executioner, and everything else that ever went hand in hand with the spread of Islam." Many took refuge with the generous Hindus. But, they have no nation because they have no country.

64 -

2) RACE: "It is superfluous to emphasize the importance of Racial Unity in the National Idea. A Race is a 'hereditary Society having common customs, common language, common memories of glory or disaster; in short, it is a population with a common origin under one culture. Such a race is by far the important ingredient of a nation. Even if there be a people of foreign origin, they must have become assimilated into the body of the mother race and inextricably fused into it." This includes "religion, culture and language."

65 – Without assimilation they are "at best members of a common state for political purposes."

3) RELIGION AND CULTURE: Where the people are super religious it becomes difficult to

separate religion and culture. Culture being the "cumulative effect of age-long customs, traditions, historical and other conditions and most importantly of religious beliefs and their attendant philosophy . . . on the Social Mind."

66 – But where religion is a mere matter of form culture can be the important factor. In Europe, for example, religion is practically dead, so each nation reverts to its pre-Christian sensibility.

67 – But in Hindustan religion is all encompassing. So their culture is just a product of their religion.

68 – At present there is a general tendency to affirm that Religion is an individual question and should have no place in public and political life. This idea comes from those who have no religion worth the name.

If religion only concerns otherworldly matters, then it should have no place in the affairs of this world. In Europe "religion means no more than a few opinions, dogmatically forced down the throat of one and all."

69 It is a relationship between the individual and god for the benefit of the individual. And, so for Europe, religion should have no place in politics.

But real full religion regulates society in all its functions, and provides mental frames for the individual to adopt. At the same time it raises the whole society from the material, through the moral, to the spiritual plane. It provides one a framework for the fullest stature of his manhood.

This sort of religion cannot be ignored in individual or public life. It must have its place in politics as well.

70 – If you ditch religion, all degenerate and politics becomes religion. They have started to get into social and political prosperity. Giving up religion means "stopping short on the lowest rung of the ladder." "It would mean that we have turned faithless to our Race-Spirit, to the ideal and mission for which we have lived for ages."

71 – After so much religious bloodshed, it was deemed right for Europe to have tolerance for sects. Banning religion is the next logical step. Religion in Europe does not distinguish nations so for them country, race, culture and possibly language form the nation.

72 – But even in Europe religion is important. So also with culture.

73 – In passing he says that "Socialism is the 'theory of the State' and takes no account of Nationality."

#### 4) LANGUAGE:

Every race, living in its own country evolves a language of its own. Supplanting it with another is dangerous. It is an expression of the Race spirit, a manifestation of the National web of life. Every word, every turn of expression depicts the Nation's life."

73 – Take away from a nation its ancient literature – its whole-literature goes with it. – and the nation as such ceases-to be."

It is not for nothing that the English long tried, even by force of arms, to force down their languages- on the Irish and to suppress their mother tongue."

74 – Take Afghanistan. It was once Hindu. Then it took on Buddhism and got weakened by this till the Muslims took over and its culture and language were stripped.

### CHAPTER THREE

76 – So the nation concept includes country, race, religion, culture, and language. And it requires each of the five in a homogeneous whole. When one goes extinction is a possibility.

WW I did not change existing European constitutions much.

New states started, but were divided, so the now famous "Minority Treaties" were started whereby the rights of the national and foreign races were granted protection.

77- The need for the Minority treaty shows that the world is not just political. Culture, having nothing to do with politics needed accounting for.

78 – The very definition of minorities as "a class of people incorporated in the body of the nation" but differ "from the majority of the population in Race, Religion, and Language." Shows every nation has its own National race, religion, and language (culture implied).

79 – The agreed upon relocation of many Jews shows the import of country.

82 – His discussion of 'common aspirations' as an element of nationhood leads him to note Italy and Germany revising their aspirations "predetermined by the traditions left by its depredatory ancestors."

83 – But this only confirms, does not add anything to the 5 fold definition of Nation. So we have a definition that accords with ancients and moderns.

84- Having solidifying what a nation "ought" to be, let's see how far it accords with "is."

Let's use England as an example. Race and culture are homogenous in England. What of religion and language? Even though they say they've washed their hands of religion, does England have a state religion? YES!

85 – Notice that the Church of England doesn't pay non-English missionaries in Hindustan. England is notorious for forcing its language on people, Ireland, Wales, Hindustan. So language is important to their definition of Language.

86 – Germany is the other Nation most in the eye of the world. Germany tried to unify its nation via taking over Austria. Germany's religion is not what it should be. "German race pride has now become a topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races – the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifest here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by."

88- Germany makes people use its language in public affairs.

As for religion, its President's oath is purely religious as are state holidays. So Germany also has all five of the "nation" components and considers them important.

89 – With its worker of the world unite slogan, you'd think Russia had transcended the components of a nation. But the rest of the world, even most of the people in Russia were not ready to grasp such a broad ideal, Human mind what it is." Country, race, language so far there. They have stripped down the religion and culture, but have built up new ones in their place.

The new religion is "socialism" the new culture, materialism. It is a religion, "A set of beliefs dogmatically followed." Marx is their prophet and they're intolerant of all who dissent. It is more semitic religious intolerance which has, once again, bathed the world in blood.

91 – Czechoslovakia is the last example. It was formed after The Great War, as a buffer for Germany, out of four nations. Czech minorities recognize the majority nation language and religion, get protection, but also owe the state duties for that protection.

92 – In allowing this, the League of Nations affirmed that the nation and state are not the same and the Nation should be supreme. Country, race, religion, culture, and language should be respected, where possible, by all the foreign races living in the state as minorities.

#### - CHAPTER FOUR -

94 Now we'll come to understand Hindustan in light of the preceding definition of the 5

components of nations. It has all the components!!

95 – Hindus have a culture, that despite being debased by contact with Muslims and Europeans, is still the noblest in the world, partially because it has generosity, toleration, truth, sacrifice, and love for all life.

96 – Hinduism molds men in the image of God and produces great scientists, political theorists, economists, and artists.

97 – The West has many in the form of saints and more, but are ashamed of most of them now.

98 – The only component Hindusthan doesn't have is language unity. But the uniting mother language is Sanskrit, of which the others are just offshoots. As such it takes just a little work to get going on any of them. And, Hindi is known by people in most all provinces.

99 – So in Hindusthan should live the Hindu Nation and all else should "naturally fall out of the pale of real 'National Life.'"

99 – Those are only national patriots who wish to glorify the Hindu race and nation. "All others are either traitors and enemies to the National cause, or, to take a charitable view, idiots."

## - CHAPTER FIVE -

101- What of those living in the land of the Hindus and do not belong to the Hindu Race, Religion and culture?

In terms of the Nation, they "can have no place in the national life, unless they abandon their differences, adopt the religion, culture and language of the Nation and so completely merge themselves in the National Race. So long, however, as they maintain their racial, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation."

102 – Nations can practice religious toleration, but the strangers must acknowledge the National religion as the state Religion. Culturally, linguistically, in terms of aspiration, they must become one with the National race. They should not "tax the generosity of the Nation by demanding privileges as 'Minority communities' in the State. This being the norm, the US didn't adopt the League of Nations suggestions because it might end in "rousing the demon of separateness and variegated interests."

103 – Our delegate said we had so much assimilation, that we had no minorities. "This means that the existence of minorities, in the sense of persons with a right to the protection of the League of Nations, is impossible." Our representative said.

103 – Notice that the old Nations do not undertake to recognize any separate element in their polity. This makes people naturally assimilate themselves.

104 – Foreigners may either assimilate or stay separate and live at the mercy of the National culture or “quit the country at the sweet will of the national race” when that mercy runs out. That is the only sound view on the minorities problem.” “That alone keeps the national life healthy and undisturbed.”

104 - 105 – So foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment – not even citizen’s rights.

105 - “We are an old nation; let us deal, as old nations ought to and do deal, with the foreign races, who have chosen to live in our country.”

106 – 107 The minority treaty of the League was undertaken “to secure for the minorities that measure of protection and justice, which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged.” And, the dangers of treating people differently was seen to have certain dangers. The recognition of “minorities as separate entities, by increasing their coherence and developing in them a sense of their own strength, may provoke them to separate themselves from the state of which they form a part.”

107 - This could lead to the “disruption of the states.” The disaster of Czechoslovakia proves this true.

108 – This is why “all experienced Nations refused to adopt this decision of the League.”

## - CHAPTER SIX -

110 – Might we not be trying to force modern Nation concepts on Hinduism of old. Is this not just a concept borrowed from the West?

The word “Rashtra” expresses the same idea as Nation and it is as old as the Vedas.

111 - Swaraj means independence, the power of the National Race. To be full it should have a scientific frontier and be richly productive.

112 – The footnotes here contrast a Muslim patriot who died abroad and asked that his remains be taken to Mecca. A Hindu who died abroad, to Hindusthan. “This example strongly substantiates our proposition that in this country the Hindus alone are the Nation and the Moslems and others,

if not actually antinational are at least outside the body of the Nation.

Love of the motherland is expressed beautifully in the Ramayana. Ram also dictated that we have 4 classes of society and free from those who do not subscribe to the social laws dictated by the Hindu Religion.

113 – "Race" means those people who have a common origin and common fellow feeling, i.e. are related together by common traditions and naturally by common aspiration.

113 – 115 This section finds the 5 parts of nationalism, (country: race, culture, religion, language) in Hindu texts.

116 – Hindu Culture and Religion were thought to be that of the whole world in the early texts.

And Hindu culture was all.

117 – Hence the texts do not differentiate religion, culture, or language. All were obvious parts of the Rashtra concept. Country and Race were emphasized.

118 – So yes, the modern idea of nation was known in ancient times.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

119 - Since the ancients understood Rashtra, how did moderns come to lose sight of the concept? How can some of those working for independence come to work to destroy Hindu nationality?

In the long peace that followed the great battle of the Mahabharat, the whole nation was lulled into a stupor by a sense of security.

120 – This led to the creation of little independent principalities. When the Muslim invaders came, they conquered the principalities and much of the Nation fell into enemy hands. "But the dormant National consciousness roused itself under Shivaji and the Sikh Gurus."

Shivaji is one such patriotic rejuvenator. He wanted to fight the invaders, but prior to victory, the sense of national consciousness must arise.

121 – The British know of the force of Hindu National Consciousness. They have therefore, systematically tried to stamp it out. They have taught the Hindus to toss out the religion and culture as being out of date. They are raised to think that they never really had a nation. They are taught that they are "upstarts, having no better right than the Muslims or the British to live in the country, they never were masters of the country, but were always, either of the Moghuls or of the British – meek drawers of water and hewers of wood.

122 – The crown of this denationalization was the creation of the “Indian National Congress.” The express purpose of this was to suppress National outbursts, likely to dethrone the British.

122 – 123 “To effect it, the amazing theory was propounded that the Nation is composed of all those who, for one reason or another happen to live, at the time in the country. The absurd result of such a view is that European adventurers, who for their private, selfish ends came to the land yesterday, have earned a place in the National polity.”

123 – Hindus were duped because they equated English wealth, and military power, with knowledge.

124 – The “Educated” class became slaves to the English.

125 – They became “de-culturised, de-nationalised people. But they also formed the bulk of the “Congress.” They thought themselves leaders. This blind-leading-the-blind goes on “necessitating trumpet calls of correction from right minded Patriots, following whose resounding footsteps we have compiled this little work.”

125 - 126 The “lack of the National sentiment of the right sort, is the root of our troubles. All through the centuries, since the Muslims first tread upon this land, it is this want of National Consciousness, which has been the cause of our ills.”

126 – These folks make much of the caste system, of “superstitions,” the want of literacy, the position of women in the social structure. “No society is entirely free of defects. The European Society, we maintain is exceptionally defective and yet they are “free and strong and progressive. In spite of their ugly social order, they are so, for the simple reason that they have cherished and do still foster correct national consciousness.”

Caste existed during the time of the Mahabarata, but they were a strong, independent nation.

127 – Workers also have this apathy towards the nation.

128 – Many ruin us by calling all “who have Hindu Nationhood at heart and dubbing them as communal and anti-national. Does it not seem plain that they believe that we are a Nation in the making and had never enjoyed a National life before?”

“How can we be communal having, as we do, no other interest but those relating our Country, Our Nation? And yet the masses are being duped into believing that we, who stand (as we must rationally) for the Hindu National renaissance are not ‘National.’”

The “Serai” theory is the one that disowns cultural heritage.

## EPILOGUE

130 – We do not despair of the future. The race spirit has prevented our destruction in the past and shall do so again in the future. Other nations have had their day and left, not Hindusthan.

131 – He praises “The great Empire of Ashoka” which had a spiritual awakening under Lord Buddha and other empires.

132 – Today we see a national awakening under Vivekananda, Dayanand, and Arobindo Ghose. Let us rouse ourselves!

## APPENDIX A

Shivaji’s Letter to Jaysingh (asking him to drop multiculturalism). In stirring language: “colour of the glow in this world and next.” For example

135 – “I do now know how I shall deal with thee. If I join thee there is no manliness in it. For brave men are not time-servers.” “Or if I lift up the sword and the axe, then the Hindus on both sides will suffer. The greater sorrow is that my sword, which thirst for the blood of the Mussalmans, should be drawn from the scabbard for some other purpose.”

136 – It might be better for you to “throw down the shield and fly.”

137 – Or, Shivaji asks Jaysingh, “abolish Islam root and branch.”

Why do you fight for the other side, for Rakshasa? I do believe that you’ve “laid down for him the self-respect of they family.”

139 – You’d see to it that the Muslim “cuts our heads with our own swords.” “Polish thy sword and they intellect and prove thyself a Turk to the Turks.”

141 – If the two sides cooperate, they can burst a mountain! Come speak to me in privacy, “I swear my sword, by my horse, by my country and by my religion, that no harm shall befall thee in this.”

142 – “Or if this letter does not appeal to thee, then indeed I am ready with my sword to deal with they army.”

## APPENDIX B

### ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

143 – Mr. Hume, who likes the Congress, doubted its timing in creation, but called it “A safety valve.”

144 – There was worry of war.

145 – He tells of a book, only six copies of which exist, that had details on many cities in India and names. It had a conversation wherein poor folks said they were going to do violence.

146 – Not a revolt, but a crime spree was indicated in the conversation. Small bands would join bigger ones and a national revolt would ensue.

This was the report of Mr. Hume.

This really did happen in the Deccan Riots. The leader Shivaji eventually took over. He addressed challenges to the government and offered 550 Rupees for the head of the Governor of Bombay.