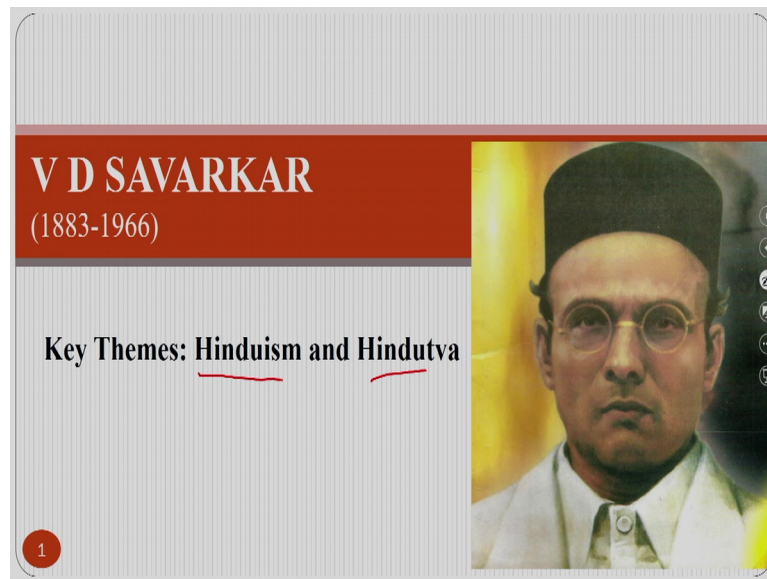


Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought
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Lecture – 18
Hinduism and Hindutva

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Hello and welcome friends to the second and concluding lecture on Savarkar. In the previous lecture we have discussed Savarkar as a patriot as a revolutionary and also as a writer of India's First War of Independence that is about the 1857, which is also regarded or written about as a rebellion or a Sepoy Mutiny by many British and as well as oriental another a scholars.

Now, Savarkar through that text which becomes a kind of Bible for many revolutionaries in India or Indian patriots living outside India. For the first time established the 1857 so, called mutiny as the India's first war of independence and he trace the roots of such revolutionary movement in the long period of the suppressing or oppressive British rule and there he also celebrated the Hindu Muslim unity.

So, we have studied some of these and also his ideas on nation and how he synthesized the territorial conception of nation as promoted by congress and the religious and the cultural notion of nationalism, as it was promoted by Muslim league in India. And he

was trying to synthesize between the two to develop his own doctrine or conception of Hindutva which is a political doctrine.

Now, in this lecture today we are going to discuss in more details his views on Hindutva and how he differentiate Hindutva from the religious or the convertation of Hinduism. And Hinduism acquires a new interpretation reinterpretation by many scholars including Gandhi, Thilak, Aravind Ghosh, Vivekanand and many other scholars and Savarkar although trying to develop his conception of nation on the basis of Hindu culture or Hindu religious practices or belief systems, he gave it a more political or a kind of a kind of approach which makes it more inclusive of different kinds of different religions religious practices or belief systems, which consider India not only as their father land, but also as a holy land. And that give it a more kind of political character than the religious sectarian definition or interpretation of Hinduism. So, Savarkar differ from and that so, we will closely look at what is difference between Hinduism and Hindutva and how Savarkar defines Hindutva.

And also while defining Hindutva, Savarkar also gives a definition of Hindu which is not someone who merely belief's in a particular creed or a religious system, but also someone who consider himself part of a larger or ever inclusive cultural practices or civilization heritage of this land which he called Hindustan. So, who is a Hindu and what constitute Hindu that definition also we will try to understand through Savarkar. And finally, we will try to understand or assess Savarkar's views on Hinduism or about political development or independent movement and his difference from Mahatma Gandhi and then we will conclude conclude his thought assessing about its relevance in understanding contemporary Indian politics.

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- V D Savarkar left behind a contested legacy and there remain an ever-present challenge of critically engaging with his thought and ideas objectively. He provided a theoretical basis of Hindu Rashtra in his major work *Essentials of Hindutva* (1923). He also engaged with the ideas like Hinduism, Indian nationalism, status of national minorities. And, these ideas continue to shape the contemporary debates and discourses in Indian politics.
- His theoretical writings are considered by many to have Hindu revivalist overtones, whereas many others dispute such an evaluation. In order to understand his thought it is essential to critically engage with his conception of 'Hinduism' and 'Hindutva'.
- For Savarkar, Hindutva is a political doctrine and is different from Hinduism. He subscribed to a conceptual framework that related Hindutva to Indian nationhood which focuses on one language and one culture (*Ek Bhasha & ek Sanskriti*) as the basis of the formation of modern nations. This Pan-Hindu conceptualization of Indian nationhood of Savarkar made a sharp distinction between the Muslims of India and the other minorities.

So, to begin with we find in Savarkar and his thought, that he left behind a contested legacy and there remain an ever present challenge of critically engaging with his thought and ideas objectively in this point we have we have discussed. So, there is a kind of shift or a kind of changes or evolvement in Savarkar as a thinker or a political activist, from his early career as a revolutionary thinker or a revolutionary himself for the struggle against the British to an idea of Hindu nationalism. And then it probe British attitude in his later lives seems to be a kind of problematic in understanding Savarkars thoughts. So, for a group of people Savarkar celebrated or followed as a savior of Hinduism, but for the other he is discarded as a divisive thinker or someone who propagated militarization of Hinduism.

So, this contested legacy of Savarkar make it difficult to critically engage with his thought and ideas in an objective manner. He provided a theoretical basis of Hindu rashtra, in his major work called essentials of Hindutva which he wrote in 1923 when he came back from the Andaman and he was incarcerated in the Ratnagiri jail. And he also engaged with the other ideas like Hinduism, Indian nationalism, status of national minorities and these ideas continue to save the contemporary debates and discussions on or about Indian politician. That is something which is powerful legacy of the man and his thought. So, again those who critic and those who support certainly they can always refer to or derive their strength or inspiration from his thought and ideals, but even for the critic it is hard to ignore or sideline or undermine his thought thoughts and ideals. So,

Savarkar and his philosophy remains ever present in any discussion and debates on contemporary politics.

His theoretical writings are considered by many, to have Hindu revivalist overtones. So, many text he wrote about the six hipocs of Hindus glorious past just before his death. So, in through such writings he provided a kind of theoretical basis and that for many characterizes a kind of Hindu revivalist overtones in Savarkar; where as many other dispute such evaluation or assessment of Savarkars thought. And in order to understand his thought therefore, it is essentially to critically engage with his conception of Hinduism and Hindutva that we are going to do in next 20 or 25 minutes or so, in this lecture.

For Savarkar Hindutva is a political doctrine and is different from hinduism, he subscribed to a conceptual framework that related Hindutva to Indian nationhood. So, the way he was conceptualizing Hindutva as a political doctrine was also embedded or connected in the conception of Indian nation hood or Hindu Rastra as he was portraying. So, he subscribed to a conceptual frame work that rlated Hindutva to Indian nation hood, which focuses on one language and one culture or Ek Bhasha and Ek Sanskriti. And in Savarkars conception of nation besides the territorial boundary or the limits of a nation this cultural linguistic or historical inheritance matters equally in the formation of nation.

And will discuss it that how Savarkar was in support of Hindi as the national language and Nagri as a script to write to such language. So, Savarkar developed a kind of homogenous or homogenous or integral notion of nationhood which focuses more on homogeneities, than the cultural religious linguistic pluralism argued by many others including congress. So, this one language and one culture has the basis of formation of modern nations. This pan Hindu conceptualization of Indian nationhood of Savarkar made a sharp distinction between the Muslims of India and the other minorities and this is to do with his notion of punya bhumi and pithru bhumi.

So, here many communities residing in India may consider India as their father land, but for them the holy land is far away from India and therefore, he make a kind of critical distinction in a consolidating of different sections different sects or samaj's of one kind of belief systems or religious tradition while excluding some other practices or belief systems or religious tradition.

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On 'Hindutva' and 'Hinduism':

- Savarkar in his important work of 1923 '*Hindutva : Who is a Hindu?*' developed the core of his philosophy i. e. the concept of Hindutva.
- For him, "*Hindutva is not a word but a history. Not just religion, as with Hinduism, but history in full.*" According to Savarkar, Hindutva was not a word or a creed but a history. It was not only a history of the spiritual or religious life of the Indian people but a history of their entire civilization. Hinduism is only a derivative, a fraction, a part of Hindutva.

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On Hindutva and Hinduism this is described in his classic work which is Hindutva or who is a Hindu or essentials of Hindutva as it is called and he has revised or added many other points in the later additions, but these text becomes the core of his philosophy where he discusses this concept of Hindutva. For him Hindutva is not a word, but a history not just religion as with Hinduism. So, Hinduism for him is a more kind of sectarian belief systems or religious practices, but Hindutva is something broader, something bigger and it allows the inclusiveness of different communities or belief systems, which considers India both as a father land or also as a holy land; and excluding those who have a kind of divided loyalty towards India considering father land and their holy land remains far away from.

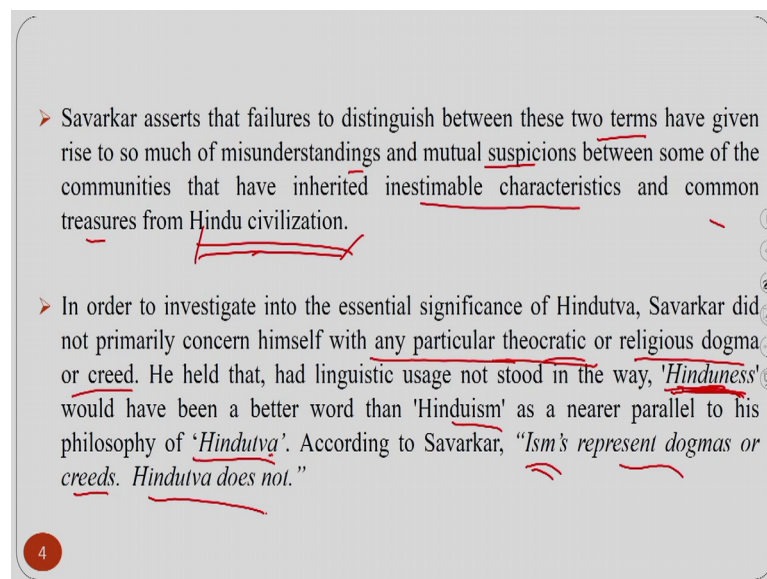
And as for Savarkar, Hindutva is not a word or not just a religion such as hinduism, but history in full. And this history in full is a kind of millinium a different epokes of glorious Hindu passed that Savarkar goes on to describe in his later writings. So, according to Savarkar, Hindutva was not a work or a creed or a religion, but a history. It was not only a history of the spiritual or religious life of the Indian people, but a history of their entire civilization. So, that is a kind of all incompulsing broader view about Hindutva or Hindu civilization which is much broader much bigger than the narrow sectarian conceptualization of Hindusin as a particular creed or particular belief systems. And this difference which we often took interchangably Hindusin and Hindutva Hindu as the basis of Hinduism is something which becomes the kind of enigma or a kind of

problematic in his in his thought, but for analytical purpose it is necessary to make this distinction between a savarkars approach using his utilitarian rationalist and also pragmatic approach of redefining nation hood or nation by using a particular belief systems or civilization.

But critically distinguishing that belief systems or tradition from the a kind of narrowly sectarian kind of practices or religious dogmas eh and etcetera.

So, for him this Hindutva was only the history of the spiritual or the religious life of Indian people, but the history of their entire civilization. Hinduism is only a derivative a fraction or a part of Hindutva or may be a major part of the Hindutva, but Hindutva is something, which is more about the civilisational heritage of the Hindu people or in many of the judgements of the supreme court also when you say Hindu who is a Hindu how to define a Hindu and how to define the Hinduism.

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- Savarkar asserts that failures to distinguish between these two terms have given rise to so much of misunderstandings and mutual suspicions between some of the communities that have inherited inestimable characteristics and common treasures from Hindu civilization.
- In order to investigate into the essential significance of Hindutva, Savarkar did not primarily concern himself with any particular theocratic or religious dogma or creed. He held that, had linguistic usage not stood in the way, 'Hinduness' would have been a better word than 'Hinduism' as a nearer parallel to his philosophy of 'Hindutva'. According to Savarkar, "Ism's represent dogmas or creeds. Hindutva does not."

It becomes a kind of problematic term, because there is no such organized institution as you find in other religion or no one particular text which can define Hinduism.

So, during this period of Indian renaissance which we call or the beginning of nationalist imagination and conciseness, there is a attempts to a interpret or reinterpret in Hinduism in different way and many scholars were involved in such rearticulation of Hinduism. And it remains a kind of a aversive term to define in a analytically neat and a clean way,

but Savarkar radicalized such reinterpretation of Hinduism or indigenous belief systems or religious practices, by giving it a more political outlook or more political orientation through this notion of Hindutva.

So, Savarkar asserts that the failures to distinguish between these two terms Hinduism and Hindutva have given rise to so much of misunderstandings and mutual suspicions between some of the communities that have inherited inestimable characteristics and common treasures from the same Hindu civilization. So, Hinduism or Hindu civilization is also considered as a way of life, as a philosophy or as a system of practices beliefs and faiths which remain somewhat ever accommodative and flexible enough to include new new insides new ideas and redefine itself in the in the context of emerging newly emerging situations or challenges. So, the Hindu civilization or Hinduism as a way of life, which is very different from Hinduism as a belief system or as a faith or as a sectarian creed system. Savarkar wanted to make this distinction and this one can understand perhaps in the historical context, where there is a kind of as we have discussed in the previous lecture; the colonial policies of divide and rule and increasing fragmentation of the Hindu communities.

So, Savarkar is also trying to using his pragmatic approach of taking every communities along and Savarkar played a significant role in social and religious reforms also especially the untouchability or Patil Pavan temple which he constructed; and many such attempts refer to his integrative approach or towards consolidating the Hindu communities and also the Sikhism demanding for separate status and many Buddhism and Jainism similarly others.

So, Savarkar actually try was trying to consolidated them consolidate them together to have a kind of integral view of a nation or Hindu hindu nationhood, which is very different from a kind of sectarian belief systems in the form of Hinduism. And he wanted to make this analytical distinction between the Hinduism and Hindutva to resolve some of the misconception or misunderstanding among different communities which beliefs or derive their ideals form their same Hindu civilization. In order to investigate into the essential significance of Hindutva, Savarkar did not primarily concern himself with any particular theocratic or religious dogma or creed he held that had linguistic usage not stood in the way hinduness would have been a better word than Hinduism as a nearer parallel to his philosophy of Hindutva.

So, first thing which is quiet clear and evident, is Savarkars conception of Hindutva is nothing to do with a particular or any one theocratic or religious dogmas or creed, but he wanted to use this term Hinduness as nearer to his philosophy of Hindutva than Hinduism. And therefore, the Hindutva remains a kind of political doctrine political approach towards constructing a Hindu Rastra and there that definition of Hindu differ very much from just being a follower of a particular creed. For Savarkar hindusim or who is a Hindu and its constituting elements differ very much from the other conception of Hindusim and Hindu or Hindusim.

So, according to Savarkar isms of all kinds represents all kinds of dogmas or creeds whereas, Hindutva does not for him Hindutva is a kind of political objective or a kind of political approach to politics to construct a nation in according to the ideas belief systems and civilizational heritage of a civilizist of a communities residing or inhabiting a geography over a millennia. And he construct his conception of nation on the basis of that inheritance.

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➤ According to Savarkar, "Hinduism must necessarily mean the religion and the religions that are peculiar and native to this land and people." He defined Hindus in terms of the three essentials features:

- a) As a Nation (*Rashtra*),
- b) As a Race (*Jati*),
- c) and as a Civilisation (or *Sanskriti*).

➤ The first important qualification of a Hindu is that for him "the whole continental country from the Indus to the Seas", "is not only a *Pitribhu* but a *Punvabhu*, not only a fatherland but a holyland" as well. In his famous speech to the Hindu Mahasabha session at Nagpur in 1938 he insisted that "India must be a land reserved for the Hindus".

➤ Savarkar early projection of Hindu Muslim unity was completely reversed during his transportation to the Andaman from 1911 to 1921. His Hindutva was articulated as a political ideology of ethno-religious nationalism to include culture and race in the territorial definition of nations. It was designed to unify and mobilise the in-egalitarian classes and hierarchical castes among Hindus under a communal banner. In 1941, his birthday wish was expressed in the slogan: "Hinduise all politics and militarise all hindudom."

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So, according to Savarkar Hinduism must necessarily mean the religion and the religious that are peculiar and native to this land. This land means Bharath Varsha or India and people. And he defined Hindus in terms of three essential features. So, Hindu as a nation or as a Rashtra; Hindu as a Race or a Jathi and this conception of Hindu as a race or a jaathi is very different from the official or every day use of the term jathi and cast and as

a civilization or sanskriti and these all are not different or isolated from each other. Its a kind of together it constitute what Savarkar was trying to construct as a Hindu Rashtra what should be the basis of such a Rashtra. So, he defined Hindus in terms of all these three things Hindu as a nation, they are as a Rashtra Hindu Rashtra as a race as a jati and as a civilization. So, all these things together constitute each conception of Hindutva or how to constitute a Hindu Rashtra.

Now, the first important qualification of a Hindu is that for him the whole continental country from the Indus that is a river in the north west boundary of India and the seas that is the southernmost point is not only a Pitribhumi, but a Punyabhumi. Pitribhumi or a Punyabhumi not only a fatherland, but a holy land as well. So, for Savarkar's conception of a Hindu is the one, who believes not just in whole continental country from Indus to the sea and their attachment to this land is not only as a Pitribhumi, but also as a Punyabhumi.

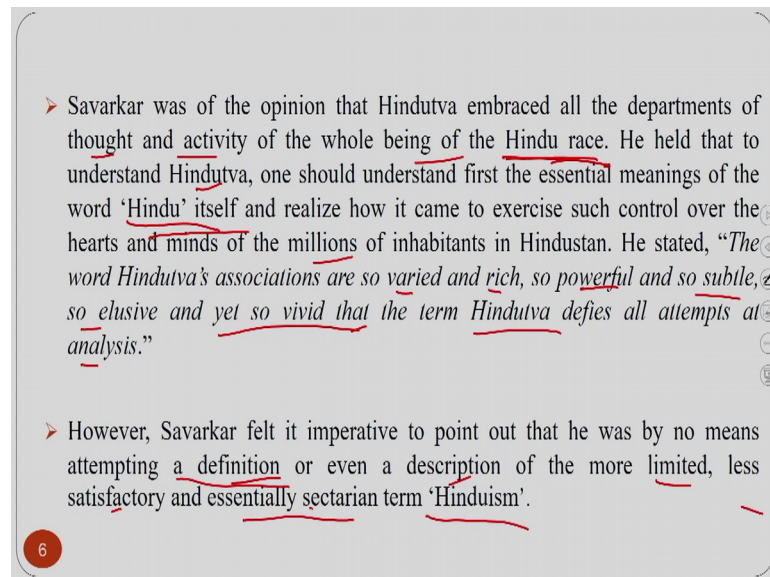
In other words not only as a father land, but also as a holy land. So, in his famous speech to the Hindu Mahasabha session at Nagpur in 1938, he insisted that this land must be reserved for the Hindu and there is the only possibility or basis of Indian nationhood that should be based on Hindu Sanskriti. And there the Hindu word is not synonymous not similar to the word of Hinduism or any particular creed, but a kind of civilizational heritage, which those who inhabited this land from Indus to the sea developed over his millennia and there have been different inputs of such glorious past of Hindu.

So, Savarkar's early projection of Hindu Muslim unity was then completely revised during his transportation to the Andaman from 1911 to 1921. And Hindutva was articulated as a political ideology, not a kind of religious doctrine or conception, but a political ideology of ethno-religious nationalism. So, if one can put his conception of nation or nationhood, it will be more kind of ethno-religious nationalism to include culture and race in the territorial definition of nations.

So, it was designed to unify and mobilise the inegalitarian classes and hierarchical castes among Hindus under a communal banner of Hindutva or Hinduism. So, he divides the hierarchy the inegalitarian status of different sects within the Hindu community, through this philosophy of Hindutva Savarkar was trying to consolidate such or unify such hierarchies or inegalitarian status of different communities.

So, this he wanted to do through Hinduising the all sphere of national life; and in 1941 on occasion of his birthday the slogan that was given is Hinduisse all politics and militarise all hindudom. So, he wanted Hindus to discipline themselves to acquire physical strength to protect their nation or the motherland.

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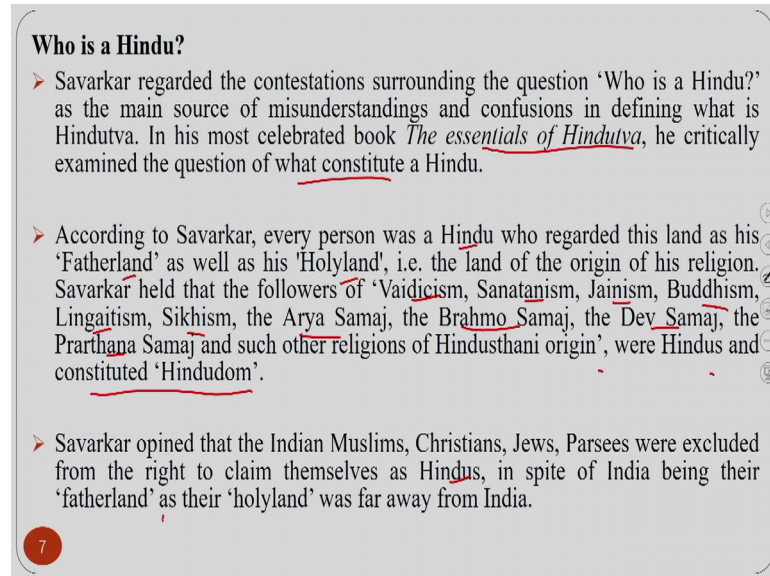
- Savarkar was of the opinion that Hindutva embraced all the departments of thought and activity of the whole being of the Hindu race. He held that to understand Hindutva, one should understand first the essential meanings of the word 'Hindu' itself and realize how it came to exercise such control over the hearts and minds of the millions of inhabitants in Hindustan. He stated, "*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.*"
- However, Savarkar felt it imperative to point out that he was by no means attempting a definition or even a description of the more limited, less satisfactory and essentially sectarian term 'Hinduism'.

So, Savarkar was of the opinion that Hindutva embraced all the departments of thought and activity of the whole beings of Hindu race he held that to understand Hindutva one should understand first the essential meanings of the word Hindu itself. And realize how it came to exercise such control over the hearts and minds of the millions of inhabitants in Hindustan. And he stated the word Hindutva the word Hindutva 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. So, one cannot clearly define or analyse what it constitute and what it is. So, it is a kind of ever inclusive conception to include different sects, different beliefs systems, practices, religious cults in one consolidated identity of Hindutva.

So; however, Savarkar felt it imperative to point out that he was by no means attempting a definition or even a description of the more limited less satisfactory and essentially sectarian term Hinduism. So, Savarkar in his analyses was more concerned about describing or constructing his conception of Hindutva and he was very less bothered

about what he considered essentially sectarian term such as Hinduism and then he goes on to explain who is a Hindu.

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Who is a Hindu?

- Savarkar regarded the contestations surrounding the question 'Who is a Hindu?' as the main source of misunderstandings and confusions in defining what is Hindutva. In his most celebrated book *The essentials of Hindutva*, he critically examined the question of what constitute a Hindu.
- According to Savarkar, every person was a Hindu who regarded this land as his 'Fatherland' as well as his 'Holyland', i.e. the land of the origin of his religion. Savarkar held that the followers of 'Vaidicism, Sanatanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Lingaitism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Dev Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and such other religions of Hindusthani origin', were Hindus and constituted 'Hindudom'.
- Savarkar opined that the Indian Muslims, Christians, Jews, Parsees were excluded from the right to claim themselves as Hindus, in spite of India being their 'fatherland' as their 'holyland' was far away from India.

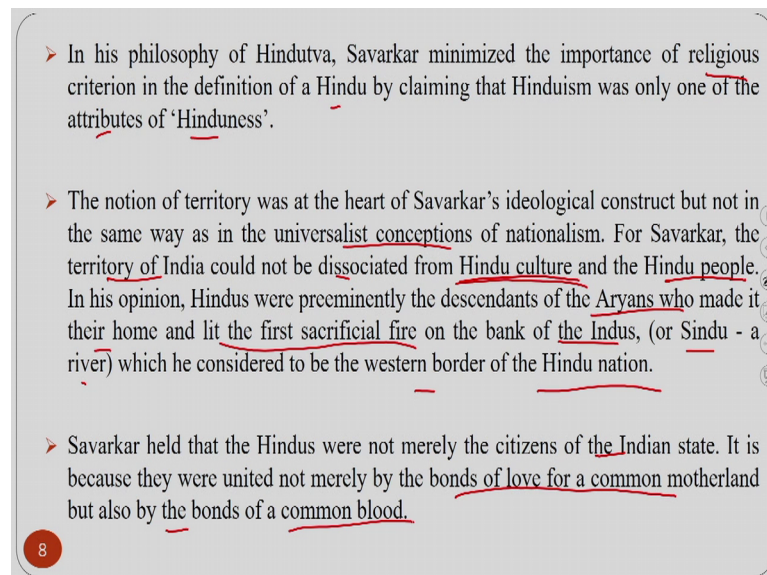
Now, Savarkar regarded the contestations surrounding the question who is a Hindu as the main source of misunderstandings and confusions in defining what is Hindutva. So, for him Hindu who is a Hindu; is not someone who believes and practices particular creed or a religious system. But for him hind Hindu is someone who inherited the civilizational values or beliefs from his ancestors and set a certain common characteristics and trades with them and they together constitute and they differ in their belief in their religious beliefs or in their religious practices. So, Savarkar then went on to examine these constituting elements of a Hindu and who is a Hindu in the text essentials of Hindutva.

So, according to Savarkar every person was a Hindu who regarded this land as a father land as well as a Holyland Pitrubhu or Punyabhu that we have just discussed. So, Savarkar held that the followers of Vaidicism, Sanathanism, Jainism, Buddhism Lingaitism, Sikhism, Arya samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Dev Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and such other religion of Hindusthani origin were Hindus and constituted Hindu Hindudom. So, that is a kind of broader canvas to include all these different sects beliefs faiths creeds to consolidate them into as into a one particular political force which you

call Hindudom because for them this land was both their father land as well as their holy land.

However Savarkar opined that the Indian Muslims Christians and Jews also Parsees were excluded from the right to claim themselves as Hindu, in spite of India being their fatherland; as because their holyland was very far away from the India. So, his conception of nation or Hindu nation is based on this loyalty to India not just as a fatherland, but also as a holy land. And those communities which claim their holy land outside India Savarkar excluded them from his conception of who is a Hindu.

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- In his philosophy of Hindutva, Savarkar minimized the importance of religious criterion in the definition of a Hindu by claiming that Hinduism was only one of the attributes of 'Hinduness'.
- The notion of territory was at the heart of Savarkar's ideological construct but not in the same way as in the universalist conceptions of nationalism. For Savarkar, the territory of India could not be dissociated from Hindu culture and the Hindu people. In his opinion, Hindus were preeminently the descendants of the Aryans who made it their home and lit the first sacrificial fire on the bank of the Indus, (or Sindhu - a river) which he considered to be the western border of the Hindu nation.
- Savarkar held that the Hindus were not merely the citizens of the Indian state. It is because they were united not merely by the bonds of love for a common motherland but also by the bonds of a common blood.

In his philosophy of Hindutva, Savarkar minimized the importance of religious criteria in the definition of a Hindu. By claiming that Hinduism was not was only one of the attributes of Hinduness which he was considered as more closer to his conception of Hindutva. The notion of territory was at the heart of Savarkars ideological construct that the holy land or the fatherland. So, the territory remains very significant in his thought or ideological construct, but not in the same way as in the universalist conceptions of nationalism. So, territory is necessary attributes or characteristic of a modern nationalist universally, but Savarkars conception of territory is very different from this universal approach or conception of nationalism. For Savarkar the territory of India could not be dissociated from Hindu culture and he used it interchangeably or in his synonymous way.

So, for him the territory of India could not be dissociated from the Hindu culture which defines in a broader sense than Hinduism and the Hindu people.

In his opinion Hindus were preeminently the descendants of the Aryans who made it their home and lit the first sacrificial fire on the bank of the Indus or Sindu a river, which he considered to be the western border of the Hindu nation. So, his conception of territory and inheritance of such territory by a particular descendant of Aryan race who first came settled there made their home and evolved the history or culture that cannot be dissociated from the territory of the India and both are deeply intertwined in his conception of nationhood.

So, Savarkar held that the Hindus were not merely the citizens of the Indian state; it is because they were united not merely by the bonds of love for a common motherland, but also by the bonds of a common blood. So, the racial characteristic of Hindutva is equally emphasized upon.

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➤ In contrast with the universalist and territorial pattern of nationalism he emphasized upon the ethnic and racial substance of the Hindu nation. The emphasis placed on the racial criterion minimized the importance of internal divisions in Hindu society by assuming the existence of an invisible but potent binding factor – that of blood.

- The third criterion of Hindutva - a 'common culture' as defined by Savarkar stemmed directly from the crucial importance of rituals, social rules and language in Hinduism. Savarkar held that the Hindus were bound together not only by the tie of a common 'Fatherland', but also by the tie of the common homage they pay to their great civilization - the Hindu culture. Savarkar opined that the Sanskrit language was the common language of the Hindu race. He held that Sanskrit had been the chosen means of expression and preservation of Hindu culture. However, he supported Hindi written in Nagari script as a national language.

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In contrast with the universalist and territorial pattern of nationalism, he emphasized upon the ethnic and racial substance of the Hindu nation, again synthesising or combining the territorial with the cultural or racial or ethnic substance in conception of his understanding of nation. The emphasis placed on the racial criteria minimize the importance of internal divisions in Hindu society, by assuming the existence of an invisible, but potent binding factor that of blood. So, we are the children of the same

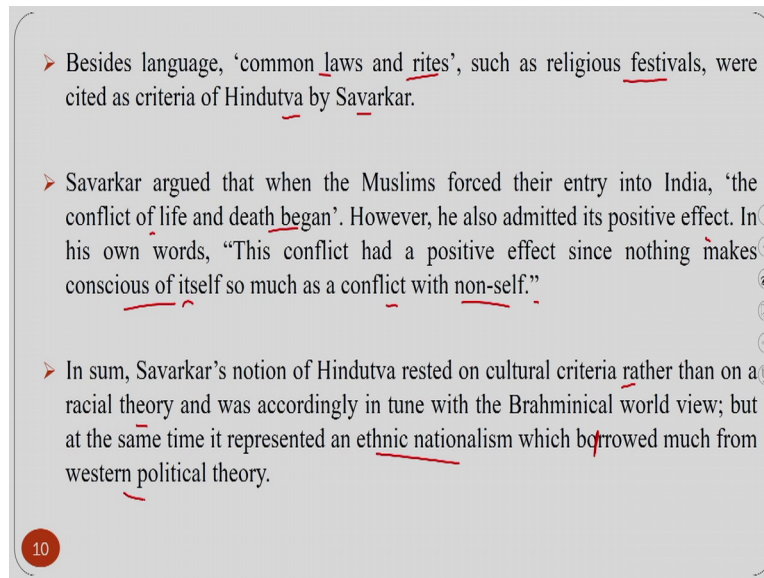
forefathers or same ancestors, who first came and settled on the bank of Sindhu Sindhu river. And that so, the bond of blood also constitute his identity of his identity of who is a Hindu, despite of the internal segregation differences on the basis of caste language and beliefs and creeds. So, this is the second criteria of blood in his conception of who is a Hindu.

The third criteria of Hindutva is a common culture or a Sanskriti; as defined by Savarkar, this stems directly from the crucial importance of rituals social rules and language in Hinduism. So, he saw it as a kind of unifying force of those inhabitants, who considered this land as a father land or also as a holy land or they are tied together by the bond of blood the common blood that run in their veins.

So, this two criteria further get consolidated by this third criteria of a common culture or a common outlook or a common way of life. So, Savarkar held that the Hindus are born together not only by the ties of a common father land, but also by the tie of the common homage, they pay to their great civilization the Hindu culture which is very different from the many pluralist or other kind of conception of Hinduism.

So, Savarkar opined that the Sanskrit language was the common language of the Hindu race and he held that the Sanskrit had been the chosen means of expression and preservation of Hindu culture. However, in the modern conceptualization of nation he supported Hindi to be the mother language written in the Nigari script and he wanted different communities different linguistic groups to adopt Nigari as their script and Hindi as the national language in modern times.

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- Besides language, 'common laws and rites', such as religious festivals, were cited as criteria of Hindutva by Savarkar.
- Savarkar argued that when the Muslims forced their entry into India, 'the conflict of life and death began'. However, he also admitted its positive effect. In his own words, "This conflict had a positive effect since nothing makes conscious of itself so much as a conflict with non-self."
- In sum, Savarkar's notion of Hindutva rested on cultural criteria rather than on a racial theory and was accordingly in tune with the Brahminical world view; but at the same time it represented an ethnic nationalism which borrowed much from western political theory.

Besides language common laws and rights such as the religious festivals, were cited as a criteria of Hindutva by Savarkar and there is the kind of engaging with the distancing analytically to from Hinduism in his conception of Hindutva, but at the same time there is a kind of overlapping concern overlapping definition, where the common laws rights the social values of a particular communities are included in his criteria of Hindutva as well.

So, Savarkar argued that when the Muslims forced their entry into India, the conflict of life and death began there is a kind of churning within the Hindu community once they encountered the Muslims and that in his opinion was a threat to the very existence of Hindu civilization or the Hindu culture. So however, he also admitted its positive effects. In his own words and this comes with his understanding of the survival of the fittest and some of the philosophical insights he derived from the experiences of the western civilization.

So, he regarded this encounter of life and death as a positive effect on Hindu and in his words this conflicts between Hindus and the Muslims had it about life and death of their beliefs or their practices religious practices, this conflict had a positive effect since nothing makes more conscious of itself, so much as a conflict with non-self.

So, the other encounter with the other in the constitution of the self is something which is desirable and which has positive impacts in according to Savarkar and that is true in

many continental philosophers also, the constitution of the self requires the encounter or differentiation of the self from the other. So, in that way it constitutes or it helps in constituting with the more clearer conception of the self as well.

So, in some Savarkar notion of Hindutva rested on the cultural criteria rather than on a racial theory. And was accordingly in tune with the Bhraminical world view to a great extent, but at the same time it represented an ethnic nationalism which borrowed much from the western political theories especially from the Italian conception of Italian thinkers conception of nation especially from Mazzini and Garibaldi.

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- Savarkar opined that not territorial unity, but the religious, racial and cultural unity counted more in the formation of a national unit. According to Savarkar, the idea of territorial nationality alone was envisaged by the Congressmen, who in general preferred to be totally ignorant of Muslim history, theology and political trend of mind.
- However, he argued that “From the Indus to the Himalayas, from the Himalayas to Tibet, from Tibet to Burma and from Burma to the Southern and Western Seas run the lines of the boundaries of our land. The whole territory including Kashmir and Nepal, Pondichery and other French possessions constitutes our national and territorial unit. And this whole constitutes our country - Hindusthan and it must remain one, indivisible and integral.”

So, Savarkar opined not territorial unity, but the religious racial and cultural unity counted more in the formation of national unit and therefore, his conception of Hindu Rastra; not just based on a territory, but also based on the culture and life of the particular people inhabited in that territory.

So, according to Savarkar, the idea of territorial national a nationality alone was envisaged by the congressman who in general preferred to be totally ignorant of Muslim history theology and political trend of mind. However, he argued that while conceptualizing Hindu Rastra or Hindu nation from the Indus to the Himalayas and from Himalayas to Tibet, from Tibet to Burma and from Burma to the Southern and Western seas run the lines of the boundaries of our land. Whole territory including Kashmir and Nepal Pondicherry and other French possessions, constitutes our national and territorial

unit. And this whole constitutes our country Hindustan and it must remain one indivisible and integral. So, therefore, Savarkar while accepting this two nation theory as promoted by Muslim league and Ginna refused to accept division of the territory, because for him this Hindu Rastra constitute this whole this whole territory and it must remain one individual and integral.

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Differences with Gandhi

- It is true that Savarkar had in many ways strong differences with Gandhi and his model of politics. Savarkar argued against the irrational practices of religious rituals and advocated for science and rationality in this age of machines and technologies. His use of religion in political life was to unify people for the cause of Indian independence. Gandhi too used such imagery drawn from Hinduism to mobilize public opinion. However, Gandhi's challenge to outdated religious practices was much more silent than Savarkar's.
- Despite its pretensions to be nationalist and modern, its militant chauvinism make Savarkar's Hindutva an anti-thesis of Gandhi's Hinduism. Savarkar want all Indians to be Hindus and claimed India as a Hindu nation. However, Gandhi's Hinduism is accommodative and give space to all.
- Savarkar was opposed to the absolute non-violent doctrine of Gandhi but there is no record of him personally resorting to violence.

Now, on his relation with the minorities and the other we have discussed in the last lecture, where he thought about the rule and status of minorities, but he made it conditional that they should accept this land as a Hindu Rastra or immerse themselves in the accept their cultures and beliefs of the Hindu majority. So, he was against the any kind of preferential treatment therefore, to the minorities community and yet giving them a status to reside in the in the country in somewhat secondary status or that becomes a kind of critical point for Savarkar.

Now, to look at the difference between Savarkar and Gandhi, we find that it is true that Savarkar in many ways strong differences with Gandhi and his model of politics especially Satya Graha and nonviolence, Savarkar argued against the irrational practices of religious rituals and advocated for science and rationality in this age of machines and technologies. And therefore, he criticize a lot of dogmatic or irrational practices in the Hinduism and wanted to refine it using science or region of modern era. So, his use of religion in political life was to unify people for the cause of Indian independence. Gandhi

to use such measure as we have discussed the idea of Ramraj, Satya, Ahimsa such vocabulary he draws from Hinduism or Jainism to mobilize public opinion.

However Gandhi challenged to outdated religious practices was much more silent than Savarkar. Savarkar was a harsh critic of many practices and he wanted to remove such dogmas and rational practices from the Hinduism and to refine it for making it a kind of more consolidated unifying force and removing all the hierarchy or segregation among different communities inhabiting India.

So, he was very vocal outright critic of such dogmas in Hinduism. Despite its pretensions to be nationalist and modern his conceptions of Hindutva, its militant chauvinism make Savarkar's Hindutva an anti-thesis of Gandhi's Hinduism. So, Savarkar despite of its projection as a nationalist or a modern frame work for politics, his conception remains its opposite or anti-thesis to Gandhian conception of Hinduism. So, Savarkar want all Indians to be Hindus and claim India as a Hindu nation.

However Gandhi's Hinduism is accommodative or ever inclusive and give space to everyone for all the creeds. Savarkar was oppose to the absolute nonviolence doctrine of Gandhi, but there is no record of him personally resorting to violence. So, he justified the use of violence for political independence, for protection of a nation when there is a kind of invasion from the foreign land to protect the nation. So, Savarkar has a kind of relative approach to the question of violence or morality in politics and therefore, he was more pragmatic than a kind of absolute taste of nonviolence like Gandhi about politics.

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Conclusion

- Savarkar, a former president of the Hindu Mahasabha, is often regarded as an early exponent of militant Hindu nationalism. Many also continue to hold him and his ideology responsible for the assassination of Gandhi despite his acquittal in the case by the supreme court.
- Savarkar's is a largely misunderstood legacy. Both his followers and critics are responsible for reducing him to caricatures – one as a patriot, revolutionary, and a savior of Hinduism; and the other, as a bigot who believed in the militarization of Hindu religion.

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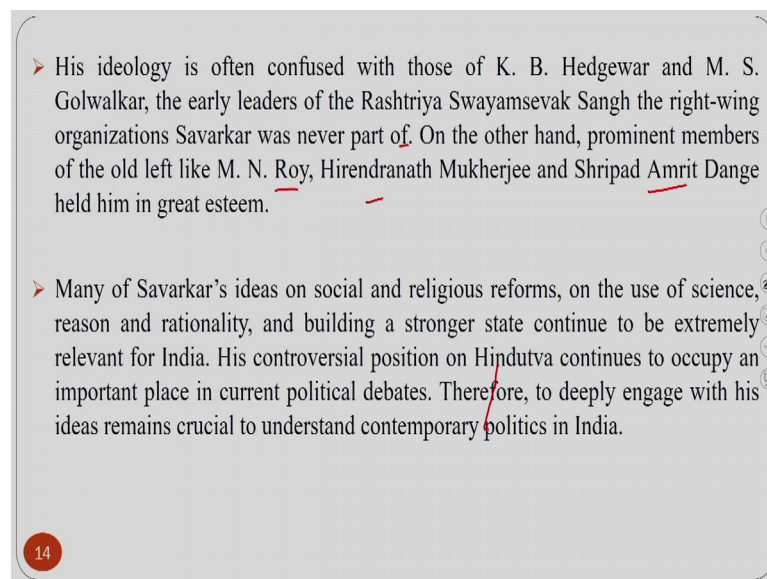
So, in conclusion we find Savarkar a former president of the Hindu Mahasabha, is often regarded as an early exponent of militant Hindu nationalism. Many also continue to hold him and his ideology responsible for the assassination of Gandhi, despite his acquittal in the case by the supreme court many people continue to believe; and that is a kind of contested legacy of Savarkar and also a challenge to understand or engage with his ideas and thoughts critically without being entrapped by his loyal supporters or by his strong critics.

Savarkar's is a largely misunderstood legacy both his followers and critics are responsible for reducing him to caricatures, one as a patriot revolutionary and a savior of Hinduism and the other as a bigot who believed in the militarization of Hindu religion and propagator of communal hatred heartedness. Both these extremes do not give the space or engages with the various nuances various sides of his philosophy and thought. So, Savarkar made a number of contributions in the struggle of struggle of freedom; developed his thought, it may have relevance and it continues to shape many discourses in the contemporaries.

There is some vital ideas conceptions which we need to engage seriously more critically. But this binary or this polarization among the followers or the critic of Savarkar most of the time do not allow such critical engagement with his thoughts and ideals. So, Savarkar when he wrote this first war of independence was a revolutionary developing his

conceptions of a revolution which is very different from say communist or leftist revolution or trying to envision a country or nation a very particular way. But his reduction or his synonymous with the ideolog of Hindu nationalism or Hindu hindu its definition as a secretarial or particular belief systems, which is very different from Savarkar conception of Hindutva, do not allow perhaps these to come or to engage with them more critically and academically.

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- His ideology is often confused with those of K. B. Hedgewar and M. S. Golwalkar, the early leaders of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh the right-wing organizations Savarkar was never part of. On the other hand, prominent members of the old left like M. N. Roy, Hirendranath Mukherjee and Shripad Amrit Dange held him in great esteem.
- Many of Savarkar's ideas on social and religious reforms, on the use of science, reason and rationality, and building a stronger state continue to be extremely relevant for India. His controversial position on Hindutva continues to occupy an important place in current political debates. Therefore, to deeply engage with his ideas remains crucial to understand contemporary politics in India.

So, his ideologies often confused with those of K B Hedgewar or M S Golwalker, the early leaders of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the right wing organization Savarkar was never part although he was the inspiration or he provided advice or suggestion to many of the leaders, but he himself was never part of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, but more often he is and his thoughts and his ideologies are club together with golwalk[er]- Golwalker and Keshavrao B Hedgewar. So, on the other hand prominent members of the left like M N Roy Hirendranath Mukherjee and Shripath Amrith D ange held him in great esteem. So, as we were discussing Savarkar was articulating his thought or practicing his ideas engaging in the social religious reforms as well as in the political movement or his idea of a revolutionary.

So, despite of their differences they used to communicate and respect each other. So, as I was saying Gandhi used to write to him made personal visit to him and he returned from Andaman. So, did Nehru and the Subash Chandra Bose, but in contemporary in many as

we have seen those who are in the left of this spectrum also consider his contribution in the high esteem. But for good or for bad Savarkar in his contemporary incarnation regarded merely as the of Hindu nation which he was, but then the other side of his contributions are remain somewhat undermine, which we need to closely engage with when we think or engage with his ideas on nation or nationhood.

So, many of Savarkar's ideas on social and religious reforms or on the use of science reason and rationality and building a strong state continue to be extremely relevant for India. His controversial position on Hindutva continues to occupy an important place in political current political debates. Therefore, to deeply engage with his ideas remains crucial to understand the contemporary politics and that is unfolding in India. So, Savarkar I in my opinion remains a crucial figure and his ideas we need to perhaps closely engage with to understand challenges of contemporary policy and that is why he remain a kind of inevitable thinker and his texts remain so crucial to understand many of the challenges of our contemporary politics.

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4. '*Savarkar and Hindutva*', by Sukla Sen, P. R. Ram, Irfan Engineer, Uday Mehta and Asad Bin Saif, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 19 (May 8-14, 1999)
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Now, on Savarkar you can look at some of these texts like by Dhananjay Kheer Savarkar and his times, sources of Indian traditions their chapters on his views on a Hinduism which you can look at also political thought in modern India and Savarkar and Hindutva by Sukla Sen, P R Ram, Irfan engineer, Uday Mehta Asad Bin Saif, which is about

Savarkar and Hindutva economi and political weekly and also Gandhis Hinduism and Savarkars Hindutva by Rudolf C Heredia again from economic and political weekly.

So, these are some of the readings which you can refer to understand Savarkar's ideas on Hinduism and Hindutva, you can also refer to his original essentials of Hindutva 1923 classic work to define his conception of a Hindu Rashtra. And then you develop your own conception on or your own critic or admiration for his thought and ideals without being entrapped in this polarized response to Savarkar and his ideas by supporter on the one hand and by the critic on the other. So, there is a need to engage with him and his thought besides these polarized understanding or on Savarkar in his thought. So, that all for this lecture thank you for listening and thanks for your patience.

Thank you.