

## The Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh: Organisation base of the BJS/BJP

Kiran Bala

Department of Geography, Kishan Lal Public College, Rewari, Haryana, India

### Abstract

This work has compiled the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and its working ways. The study begins with a description of Hindu revivalism including the views of modernists and revivalists, protest against British rule, Hindu world view, revivalist organizations, expansion of communication facilities and revivalist response to Gandhi. The formation and development of the RSS has been discussed at great length.

**Keywords:** Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), hindu revivalism

### Introduction

The RSS had emerged during a wave of Hindu-Muslim riots that spread across India in the early 1920s. These communal riots were seen by its founder (Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar) as a symptom of the weakness and divisions within the Hindu community. "Dr. Hedgewar argued that independence could be achieved only after the splintered Hindu community -- divided by caste, religion, language and sect -- coalesced. He believed that the Congress, in which he had been an active participant, had appeased Muslims and therefore unable to unite the Hindus; and in his view Hindu unity was the necessary precondition of any successful independence struggle" (Andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) [1].

In 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League met at Lucknow. The point was to bring together the Hindus and the Muslims politically at the national level. The leaders of both the religious organizations supported the demand for complete self-government and for the continuation of separate Muslim electorates in the legislative councils. But this pact was opposed by some revivalists, such as Madan Mohan Malaviya on the grounds that this approach to the Hindu-Muslim unity, in fact, seriously undermined the Hindu interests. Most revivalists also argued that Gandhiji's efforts in the early 1920s to strengthen the Hindu-Muslim bonds by lining up "the Congress organization behind the Muslim protest against the dismemberment of the Turkish empire, referred to as the Khilafat Movement, would encourage Muslim separatism" (Andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) [1].

Mahatma Gandhi launched his first non-cooperation movement on 1 August 1920. One of the issues was the British unwillingness to satisfy the Muslims on the Turkish issue. Gandhiji called for a complete boycott of government institutions following the method of non-violence resistance. This was opposed by a considerable number of Congress members, including many revivalists, such as; Lokminaya Balgangadhar Tilak. However, there were many other Hindu revivalists who had supported the non-cooperation movement.

However, Gandhiji had to call it off because a mob had killed a number of policemen in the United Provinces.

The failure of the movement was followed by widespread communal riots. On this, many Hindu revivalists believed that the weakness of the Hindu community could be overcome by strengthening the community bonds by adopting an assertive *Kshatriya* (warrior) outlook. They argued that communal peace could result only if Muslims and Hindus realize that an attack on one community would result in a devastating response by the other.

The widespread communal riots occurred on the Malabar Coast of southwestern India during August 1921 alarmed the Hindu revivalists. In the Malabar area, the Muslim resentment against the British rule was coupled with anti-Hindu sentiments. The rioting grew to such extent that the civil administration was unable to cope with the situation in many places. These riots were also accompanied by forced conversions of the Hindus. Thus, the Hindus feared that this violence was an attempt of conversion to enhance the political influence of Muslims at the expense of the Hindu community. These apprehensions fueled revivalist sentiment. The All-India Congress Committee condemned the events on the Malabar Coast, but not forcefully enough to suit some Hindu Congressmen.

As a result of the intensification of Hindu-Muslim tensions between 1921-23, the dormant Hindu Mahasabha, formed in 1915 as a forum for a variety of Hindu interests (cow protection, Hindi in the *Devnagari* script, caste reforms, etc.), was revitalized. Many Hindu leaders viewed the entry of Muslim *ulema* into politics as danger to the Hindu interest. They were convinced that they had to create an effective organizational mechanism if they want to counter a revived and aggressive Islam. A large number of new Hindu sabhas were formed in the north India, especially in those areas (Punjab, Delhi, United Provinces and Bihar) where communal antagonism had reached to alarming proportions.

The proliferation of the Hindu sabhas and the other Hindu associations were the reactions to the "growing communal

violence, the increasing political articulation of Muslims, the cultural 'Islamization' of the Muslim community and the failure to achieve independence" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) <sup>[1]</sup>. Such organizations provided the Hindus suitable platforms to express their views regarding the oppressions they had to face from the Muslims and the British. While, these organizations could make little effects on the British policy, they did advance the Hindu unity. It was in this overall setting that the RSS was established.

### Origins and Growth of the RSS

The roots of the RSS are imbedded in the soil of Maharashtra. Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar founded the RSS and became its first '*sarsanghachalak*' (chief). He was born in 1889 in Nagpur, in a Brahman family. In his young age he came under the influence of great nationalists for several years before going to the University of Calcutta where he got his medical degree (in 1915). There he came in association with the revolutionary group of Bipin Chandra Pal. Dr. Moonje persuaded Hedgewar to join the Indian National Congress. At that time the Rashtriya Mandal was controlled by the followers of Tilak and Hedgewar was accepted into its inner circles. In 1919, he organized the distribution of *Sankalpa* (the Mandal's newly founded newspaper).

During early 1920s, Hedgewar was deeply engaged in the Congress party activities. "At the 1920 annual Congress session in Nagpur, he organized a volunteer unit of some 1,200 young men to keep order at the meeting. At that session, Gandhi promised freedom within the year through peaceful non-cooperation. Tilak had died... and his supporters were unable to counter Gandhi's program. Many of Tilak's supporters, including Hedgewar, decided to give the experiment in nonviolent disobedience a chance to prove its efficacy" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) <sup>[1]</sup>. In September 1920, Hedgewar was asked to mobilize public support for the non-cooperation movement. On 14 August 1921, he was arrested and sentenced to a one-year prison term for defying the ban on political meetings. He also worked in the Khilafat movement, but was disillusioned when the movement collapsed and a series of communal riots occurred in the country. He was released on 12 July 1922, at the time when tactics of the Congress appeared incapable in respect of either uniting Indians or loosening the colonial grip on the country. The year 1921 ended without the promised *swaraj*. Hedgewar started a newspaper in Marathi '*Swatantrya*' which ceased publication in less than a year. Hedgewar and his several associates started thinking that the freedom could not be won by the Hindus without the physical strength and strong Hindu culture. He opined that "... Hindus were the nation in Bharat, and that Hindutva was Rashtriyatva... Only Hindus could free Hindustan and save Hindu culture... Hindu youth had to be organized on the basis of personal character and absolute love of the mother land" (Baxter, C., 1969) <sup>[2]</sup>.

In early 1922, Gandhi called off the non-cooperation campaign because of the killing of a number of policemen by a mob in the United Provinces. "Hedgewar (and others) believed Gandhi had made a serious tactical mistake. Though Hedgewar remained within the Congress and continued to take an active interest in Congress affairs until 1928, and he

became increasingly disenchanted with Gandhi and with politics" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) <sup>[1]</sup>.

The out break of communal riots in 1923 led Hedgewar to question the earlier attempted methods to get India free of colonial rule. In his view, the riots were the signs of a deep social problem, that is disunity among Hindus, and freedom could only be achieved after uniting them. He observed the problem closely since Nagpur was one of the major centers of the rioting. During this period, in Sept. 1923, the annual festival of honouring *Ganesh* (the Hindu deity) and on 30 October, 1923, Dindi processions (in honour of a Hindu deity) were banned by the then District Collector of Nagpur. The decision on ban on Dindi procession was disobeyed by influential Hindu leaders. The response to the call was great and as an outcome the "Nagpur Hindu Sabha" was emerged. Dr. Moonje became its vice-president and Hedgewar secretary. In 1924, "in Nagpur, the Hindus reacted by declaring a boycott against Muslim-owned businesses. This was a serious blow to the Muslim craftsmen in the city, whose suppliers and customers were largely Hindu" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) <sup>[1]</sup>. To bring communal harmony, two Congress leaders, Motilal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad arranged a compromise between the two communities. However, nothing concrete could happen.

Such circumstances led the Hindu revivalists, like Hedgewar to think about the necessity of an organization to protect the Hindu interests. They wanted the Hindu community to adopt a more martial *kshatriya* world view. It was the period when Hedgewar began to develop the intellectual foundations of the RSS. His thoughts were mainly influenced by a handwritten manuscript of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar's "Hindutva". The central proportion of the manuscript was that "Hindu are the indigenous people of the subcontinent and that they form a single national group" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) <sup>[1]</sup>. The Savarkar's work provided Hedgewar with an intellectual justification for the concept of a Hindu nation that embraced all the peoples of the subcontinent, but it failed to give him a method of uniting the Hindu community.

Hedgewar believed that independence and national revitalization could be achieved only when the root cause of India's weakness would be discovered. He was disturbed that a small group of colonial administration could rule a vast country like India and with such ease. He viewed that the fundamental problem was psychological and an inner transformation was required to reawaken a sense of national consciousness and social cohesion. "Once having created a cadre of persons committed to national reconstruction, he believed there would be little difficulty in sustaining a movement of revitalization, which, of course, would include independence as one of its objectives" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987) <sup>[1]</sup>. Keeping all this in view, he with five associates launched his new movement of Hindu revitalization (RSS) in Nagpur in the September 1925 on day of the Hindu festival of Dussehra (Vijayadashmi Day), a festival commemorating the victory of Lord Ram over *Ravana*. The first group of participants was recruited from a largely Brahmin locality. The participants were expected to attend an *akhara* (gymnasium) during the week and take part in political classes on Sunday and Thursday. In this way, the first *shakha*

(local branch) of the RSS was established with Hedgewar as its first *sarsanghachalak*.

In September, 1927, communal riots erupted once again at Nagpur. In the prevailing circumstances, the existence of RSS was captured by the Hindus for safeguarding their interests. The publicity generated by this move led the organizers of the December 1927 Hindu Mahasabha national conclave, at Ahmadabad, to invite Hedgewar to send RSS members in uniform to the session. Hedgewar, who kept the RSS away from political activities, permitted the RSS members to take part in political activities in their individual capacity. He himself had acted in the same manner. During "his own participation in the 1931 Congress Civil Disobedience movement, [he] handed over his position to Dr. L.B. Paranjpe, a member of Dr. Moonje's political circle, for the duration of his movement" (andersen, W. K. and Damle, S. D., 1987)<sup>[1]</sup>.

Initially, the RSS grew very slowly. Hedgewar preferred only a devoted core of workers who would later go in different parts of India to spread the message. Before 1932, the highest membership ever reached for the RSS "was 500 swayamsevaks. The organization operated only in the Nagpur District. For this reason, the leadership of the RSS was weighted towards Maharashtrians and more particularly Maharashtrian Brahmins" (Baxter, C., 1969)<sup>[2]</sup>. In some cases, membership of non-Brahmins including Harijans was also recorded.

The RSS welcomed the Lahore resolution of the Congress held in 1929 about complete independence and each *shakha* of the RSS sent a congratulatory message to the Congress president, Jawahar Lal Nehru. In 1930, "the RSS participated actively in the Nagpur area in the Non-Cooperation Movement" (Baxter, C., 1969)<sup>[2]</sup>. Hedgewar was imprisoned. He had resigned from his membership of the Hindu Mahasabha and aroused the annoyance of Savarkar. After five years of limiting activity to Nagpur, in 1932, Hedgewar decided to expand the RSS to other parts of Maharashtra, including the Marathi-speaking areas of the then Central Provinces. It is interesting to note that one of Hedgewar's companions was Nathuram Godse. Godse had joined the RSS in 1930 and gained importance as an organizer. But, later in 1934, he resigned from the RSS, when Hedgewar refused to take the RSS into direct political activities.

In the span of next five years, RSS organizers travelled different parts of India. They had achieved success notably in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Delhi and the central Indian princely states. "By 1938, the membership was estimated at 40,000; by 1940, the RSS claimed the adherence of 100,000 persons. The new, more national character of the organization was recognized in 1938, when at an Organizer's Training Camp Sanskrit was substituted for the original Marathi and Hindi in the prayer of the RSS. In 1940, the camp had among its participant, representatives of all provinces except Orissa and Assam and of most princely states – not, however, Jammu and Kashmir" (Baxter, C., 1969)<sup>[2]</sup>. On June 21, 1940, Hedgewar died however, before his death he had designated Golwalkar as his successor. Golwalkar assumed the office of *sarsanghachalak* on July 5, 1940.

Golwalkar first met Hedgewar in 1930, when he joined the faculty of Banaras Hindu University. After a year, Golwalkar

founded the RSS *shakha* of Banaras. In his student days, as well as a faculty member, he met and admired Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Through Malaviya, Golwalkar came in contact with the Mahasabha although he never associated with the party. In 1933, at Hedgewar's request, he left the university and returned to Nagpur where he worked in the RSS headquarter. In 1935, he received an LLB degree and did a law practice all along with RSS work for the next two years. At that time he was also associated with Ramakrishna Mission. In 1937, he left the RSS. For some spiritual queries, he went to Calcutta to become a disciple of Swami Akhandananda. But Akhandananda's sudden death left him into depression. He returned to Nagpur and met Hedgewar, who convinced him that his best service to the Hindu society would be by returning into the RSS work. Hedgewar gave him several organization works. He set up the first *shakha* in Calcutta. "We; or our Nationhood Defined" was his principal work, which he wrote in 1939. In the same year, he was appointed *sarkaryavaha* (general secretary) of the RSS and during the ill health of Hedgewar he even acted as *sarsanghachalak*. Under his leadership, the RSS expanded its network. It expanded in the Hindi-speaking areas of north India, Punjab and Maharashtra. Thereafter, it started to look west to Gujarat and south to Andhra and the Malabar area. In this overall process, Bengal, Orissa and Assam were neglected.

The RSS did not come out strongly against the British government as the Congress did after the World War II (1939) started. The RSS had not supported the Quit India Movement. The Sangh viewed "the movement sympathetically but did not participate in it on the organizational level. It was felt that it was the time to organize and strengthen the people, and not to land ourselves in jail and remain immobilized for years... All the same quite a few RSS workers participated in the 1942 movement in their individual capacity" (Baxter, C., 1969)<sup>[2]</sup>.

The partition of the country had also brought many Hindus closer to the Hindu organizations. Just prior to the independence, the RSS started its weekly 'Organiser' in English which was first published on July 3, 1947, in Delhi, under the editorship of A.R. Nair. The first issue of 'Organiser' contained an article by Shyama Prasad Mookerjee entitled "Hindus Will Never Accept Partition". It was a reaction to the announcement plan of Lord Mountbatten of independence of the country, including the partition.

In August, 1946, communal riots began in Bihar and Bengal, which gradually spread throughout the northern India. After independence, fight broke out between India and Pakistan in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. Reacting over the whole situation, the RSS viewed that "... there was the consideration of protecting Hindu life and honour throughout Northern Bharat. Muslim riots were going on all over. Who would save the Hindus in the absence of the RSS? ... It was the Sangh workers who saved millions of Hindus in Pakistan area -- including Congress ministers -- from annihilation. And it was the RSS which scotched the Muslim conspiracy to rise in revolt in East Punjab and Delhi, and annex the area to Pakistan. Also RSS plunged itself into relief work" (Baxter, C., 1969)<sup>[2]</sup>. In 1948, the Government of West Punjab (Pakistan) published a pamphlet, claiming that the RSS was

deeply involved in a plot to eliminate Muslims in selected tehsils to change the composition of the population from a Muslim majority to minority. The report also stated about the relationship/cooperation between the Akal Fauj of the Sikhs and the RSS. After the events, Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wrote to Golwalkar. "There can be no doubt that RSS did service to Hindu Society. In the areas where there was the need for help and organization, the young men of RSS protected women and children and strove much for their sake. No person of understanding could have a word of objection regarding that. But the objectionable part arose when they, burning with revenge, began attacking Mussalmans. Organizing the Hindus and helping them is one thing, but going in for revenge for its sufferings on innocent and helpless men, women and children is quiet another thing" (Baxter, C., 1969) <sup>[2]</sup>.

In Kashmir also the RSS was accused of its anti-muslim activities. The first president of the Azad Kashmir Government blamed the RSS for making conspiracy to completely wipe out the Muslim community in the Jammu city. While an official publication of the RSS defended itself by stating that: "In Jammu the local Muslims were in league with Pakistan...In Jammu the Muslim plan was to stage a coup. To this end they had collected a big stock of arms...Then followed a Muslim riot. Initially taken aback, the Hindus, heartened by RSS workers, mustered strength and retaliated. The tables were turned on the Muslims..." (Baxter, C., 1969) <sup>[2]</sup>. Sardar Patel as well as most observers held opinion that although the RSS helped the Hindus but also attacked the Muslims.

The independence on August 15, 1947, brought a day of mourning for the destruction of the "sacred indivisibility of Bharatmata" for the RSS. Gandhiji, who was against the narrow views of the RSS, also appreciated the rescue work being done by the *Swayamsevaks*, and visited the RSS camp in Delhi on September 16, 1947. When he went on fast in January 1948, he was visited by leaders of all communities including Lala Hansraj Gupta, the Delhi *sanghachalak*. However, things had changed when on January 30, 1948 Gandhiji was assassinated by Nathuram Godse who once was associated with both the RSS and the Mahasabha. It affected the RSS severely. The organization was banned on February 4, 1948 by the Government of India, followed by the arrest of Golwalkar on February 3, 1948.

It was followed with the arrest of 20,000 *swayamsevaks*. On February 4, 1948, the government declared the RSS unlawful. The RSS was declared responsible for the assassination of Gandhi and also for sponsoring acts of violence.

Golwalkar remained in Nagpur until the restrictions on his travel were cancelled. From Jail itself, he on February 08, 1948 he issued a directive to all *swayamsevaks* about the disbanding the organization. He wrote both to Nehru and Patel regarding any complaint of criminal nature against the RSS or its member. In the case of any complaint, he also supported open court of law for trial. The unsatisfactory reply from the government anguished him. A series of negotiations took place between Patel and Golwalkar through intermediaries. The main mediator was T.V.R. Shastri, president of the Indian Liberal Federation. Another person was Pandit Mauli Chandra

Sharma, the then general secretary of the Civil Liberties Union and later became an important figure in the Jana Sangh history.

The government demanded the RSS, its written constitution and to make it a public document. On April 11, 1949, Golwalkar forwarded a written constitution. The government objected that the constitution lacked sufficient elective positions on the highest executive. On this, Golwalkar replied that a large extent of the plan has been borrowed by him from the constitution of the Congress party itself. The ban was ultimately lifted on July 12, 1949 after the Red Fort Trial in Old Delhi which "showed clearly that the RSS was not connected with Gandhi's murder" (Baxter, C., 1969) <sup>[2]</sup>.

Since the lifting of the ban, the RSS has continued to grow and remains an important factor on the India scene. The active membership of the RSS by late 1960s was estimated from 700,000 to 1,000,000. The RSS has continued to perform some notable work at times, of local or more widespread disaster (such as flood and famine relief) and for the cause of refugees from Pakistan. It has also participated in semi-political activities, such as opposition to the Hindu code bill and agitation for legislation against cow slaughter.

The network of the RSS continued to grow rather steadily in the 1950s-60s. In 1951, "it had 600,000 *swayamsevaks*, most of them concentrated in central and northern India. The regions where it was strongest were Uttar Pradesh (200,000members), Madhya Pradesh (125,000), Punjab (Delhi and Himachal Pradesh included, 125,000), Bombay Presidency (60,000) and Bihar (50,000)" (Jaffrelot, C., 2005) <sup>[6]</sup>. The RSS gave more importance to social welfare activities after 1950. For instance, "its role in rehabilitation work during the earthquake in Assam in 1950 was remarkable. The RSS workers played an important role in the national movement to liberate the Portuguese enclave of Dadra Nagar Haveli in 1954" (Appaiah, Parvathi, 2003) <sup>[5]</sup>. During the war times in 1962, 1965 and 1971 also, the RSS work was appreciable.

The RSS became a countrywide organization under the leadership of Golwalkar. After Golwalkar's death in 1973, the RSS continued its work under the leadership of Bala Saheb Deoras. Deoras joined the RSS in Nagpur and became secretary of the local unit of the RSS. He was the first *pracharak* sent to Bengal. But he returned to the movement's headquarter to direct the publication of *Tarun Bharat*, a marathi daily, and then *Yugadharma*, a Hindi daily. He became the general secretary of the RSS in 1965. During the same year "he addressed the annual meeting of the Jana Sangh, an unprecedented move by an RSS dignitary which reflected his strong interest in politics and his will to make the movement play a larger part in the public sphere" (Jaffrelot, C. (ed.) 2007) <sup>[7]</sup>. He gave a new orientation to the RSS. Under his leadership the RSS supported the 'JP movement' a movement led by Jaya Prakash Narayan against the policies adopted by Indira Gandhi during the period of Emergency.

The RSS registered a second setback due to another ban imposed on it during the Emergency (1975-6) by Indira Gandhi. However, it marked "a vigorous growth during the Janata phase. The number of *shakhas* jumped from 10,000 in 1977 to 13,000 in 1979. The number of *swayamsevaks* then crossed the 1 million landmark. The expansion continued at

the same pace in the early 1980s: the number of *shakhas* rose to 17,000 in 1981, 20,000 in 1985 and 25,000 (...) in 1989 that is 1.8 million *swayamsewaks*" (Jaffrelot, C., 2005)<sup>[6]</sup>.

Deoras built the RSS into a major socio-political force. "Dr. Hedgewar gave the RSS an ideology and *Guruji* a status and spiritual base, Mr. Bala Saheb Deoras provided strategy and planning that saw the organization grow phenomenally. He was an acknowledge master...who infused life into the Hindutva movement of the *sangh parivar*" (Appaiah, Parvathi, 2003)<sup>[5]</sup>. Deoras laid down office before his death and named Prof. Rajinder Singh (the then *Sarkaryavaha*) as the *sarsanghachalak*, on 3 March, 1994. Under his leadership, the RSS reiterated the objectives of the earlier leaderships. Rajendra Singh wanted the RSS to lead the nation to the pinnacle of glory. According to him, this glory can be achieved through '*sanghatan*'. The development of the RSS was less vigorous in the 1990s. According to the RSS sources "there were 27,264 *shakhas* and 39,175 *upshakhas* in 1998. In 2000, he named Shri. K.S. Sudarshan as the *sarsanghachalak*. In 2001, in his annual report before the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha (ABPS) of the RSS, the General Secretary of the organization indicated that "it had 30,053 *shakhas* and 43,535 *upshakhas*. In 2003, he gave the figures, respectively, of 32,075 and 46,000 and in 2004, 33,758 and 48,329" (Jaffrelot, C., 2005)<sup>[6]</sup>.

RSS continued its participation in many relief activities during natural calamities. The RSS assisted in relief efforts quite extensively during the 2001 Gujarat earthquake. The RSS participated in relief efforts during the 2004 Sumatra-Andaman earthquake and the subsequent *Tsunami*. In 2006, RSS participated in relief efforts to provide basic necessities such as food, milk and potable water to the people of Surat, Gujarat who were affected by massive floods in the region. Although the RSS claims not to keep membership records, it is estimated that the organization has between 2.5–6 million members (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.htm). The position of the *sarsanghachalak* is decided by nomination by predecessor. The current *Sarsanghachalak* of RSS is Dr. Mohan Madhukar Bhagwat who was nominated by K.S. Sudarshan, on 21 March, 2009.

## Conclusion

The RSS was the result of Hindu-Muslim riots that spread across India in the early 1920s. These communal riots were seen by its founder (Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar) as a symptom of the weakness and divisions within the Hindu community. It was thought that that the weakness of the Hindu community could be overcome by strengthening the community bonds by adopting an assertive *Kshatriya* (warrior) outlook and a new organisation came in the name of RSS. The RSS became a countrywide organization under the leadership of Golwalkar. Since its inception it has been participating in various socio-political activities.

## References

1. Andersen WK, Damle SD. The Brotherhood in saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi, 1987.

2. Baxter C. The Jana Sangh: A Biography of an Indian Political Party, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1969.
3. Goyal DR. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Radha Krishan Prakashan, New Delhi, 1979.
4. Basu T, et.al. Khakhi Shorts, Saffron Flags, Tracts for the Times, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1993.
5. Appaiah Parvathi. Hindutva: Ideology and Politics, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 2003.
6. Jaffrelot C. The Sangh Parivar: A Reader, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005.
7. Jaffrelot C. (ed.), Hindu Nationalism: A Reader, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007.