

INCENDIARY HAND
OF THE
RSS AND JANA SANGH
BEHIND
COMMUNAL RIOTS

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GURU GOLWALKAR, THE RSS SUPREMO, has in recent months become very active, assertive and provocative. Apart from incendiary speeches that he delivers, during the last six months alone he has organised, addressed and conducted more than six camps of RSS volunteers. These camps are three-day camps with drill and training and all paramilitary activities culminating in what may be called the passing-out parade conducted and addressed by the Guru. In each one of these camps, some ten thousand to twenty thousand RSS volunteers are collected for three days. Such camps have already been held in Meerut, Moradabad, Saharanpur, Lucknow, Kanpur, Banaras, Delhi and Allahabad. The process is still on.

What is the RSS and its political counterpart up to? Politically, the RSS and Jana Sangh with their disruptive revivalist slogans of Hindu rashtra are a menace to the unity, integrity and secular democratic set-up of our country. But more than that, they are an agency of injecting the virus of communal hatred in our youth and our people. The RSS and its political counterpart, the Jana Sangh, do not stop at propaganda alone. They actively organise communal riots. The incendiary hand of the RSS can be seen behind the often erupting riots in our country.

The RSS Guru Golwalkar refers every time to the vedas. The vedas, especially the Rigveda, are beautiful hymns—to nature, to man, to goodness and things like that. But this Guru, who misses no occasion to refer to the vedas and rishis, himself on the other hand indulges in hymns of hate. This is what he says: 'The races and cultures which basically differ from each other, it would be erroneous for them to live together.' (Quoted in *RSS Anti-National Conspiracy* by Subhadra Joshi)

Then follows the crucial advice of the great Guru who approvingly refers to Hitler and his methods every time to solve the question of people of different races and cultures

remaining together in one land. The Guru gives Hitler's recipe—'To save its racial and cultural purity, Germany drove out the Jews.' (*ibid*)

So this is the *Mein Kampf* of Guru Golwalkar! To save the so-called racial and cultural purity of 'Hindu rashtra', all others, i.e. Muslims, Christians, Buddhists (and who knows when the Sikhs, too, may be included in this list!) should be driven out of India.

It is this pernicious outlook which in practical activity degenerates into 'exterminating' the non-Hindus. This is the programmatic ideological foundation on which the whole nefarious conspiracy of fomenting, organising and spreading communal riots is organised.

It would be interesting to analyse the available material and reports on the various communal riots that have taken place in the country in the recent past.

It is a great shame and tragedy for our nation that the incendiarism of communal riots is on the increase. In the whole of the eight-year period between 1954 and 1962, the number of persons who lost their lives in communal riots was 314. In 1967 alone, however, this number was 301 and in 1968 this figure has almost doubled.

RANCHI RIOTS OF AUGUST 1967

The major communal massacre in which the RSS and Jana Sangh had a direct hand was in Ranchi in August 1967. It is not difficult to understand why Ranchi was chosen by them. At that time in Bihar, a united front ministry was in office. The Jana Sangh had two ministers in the cabinet. They could thus utilise their official position to mask their dirty role and also try to slow or paralyse effective administration.

In this united front ministry, Comrade Indradeep Sinha was the revenue minister. The 31-point programme adopted by the united front in February 1967 contained the clause for agrarian reform. This was anathema for the Jana Sangh but the mass sentiment immediately following the general election was so strong that the Jana Sangh had to agree to

this clause of the programme. Revenue minister Indradeep Sinha introduced the bataidari bill which naturally angered the big landed interests and they started pressurising the Jana Sangh.

The Jana Sangh wanted to sabotage these agrarian reform measures and yet wanted a shield to hide its real face. The stratagem of fomenting riots and diverting the whole energy and attention of the united front and the government to this new issue suited the political exigencies of the Jana Sangh.

There was yet another factor. As already stated, under pressure of mass sentiment, the Jana Sangh was forced to put up with an item on the UF programme of giving due recognition to Urdu. The Jana Sangh had feebly tried to oppose it but had to gulp it down. This was included in the governor's address delivered in March 1967 when the UF ministry was holding office. The Jana Sangh, however, wanted to torpedo this item of the programme. They, therefore, chose opposition to recognition of due position of Urdu as their main plank to rouse communal hatred. In this, of course, they were joined by others.

It should be noted that at Ranchi is located the Heavy Engineering Corporation plant, which till then was not working according to schedule. This plant set up with Soviet assistance had the potentiality of making India self-reliant even in the manufacture of a steel mill. No wonder that this drew the most venomous attention of the Jana Sangh. It is not without significance that the biggest and most ghastly massacre of Muslims that took place in the Ranchi riots was that of the Muslim workers of the HEC at Hatia.

All these factors show why Ranchi was chosen as the best spot for these riots.

The Ranchi massacre was thus the culminating point. The riot was triggered off by the observance of Anti-Urdu Day on 22 August 1967. In this venture some discredited congress elements too lent their name and support.

The ground was prepared much earlier. A false report was published in the local papers that a Muslim medical

student had been arrested for spying for Pakistan. This report was absolutely false. The Muslim students of the Medical College demanded that the report be contradicted. But the principal did not act.

'A few months before the outbreak of the riot, a Jana Sangh meeting was held in Hostel No. 3 where Thakur R. D. Singh was elected the general secretary. The report of this meeting was flashed in the *Ranchi Express*. We brought this to the notice of the principal but no action was taken.' (From Memorandum submitted to the prime minister by the Muslim students and teachers of the Medical College in September 1967)

The Jana Sangh had two ministers, namely Sarangi and Ramdeo Mahato. This Ramdeo Mahato was elected from Patna district. However, he made Ranchi his headquarters and he not only injected the communal virus but even organised the RSS detachments for the riot.

That there was an organised conspiracy behind the whole thing will be clear from the following facts. These facts have been taken from what has been written in the various memoranda submitted to the prime minister when she visited Ranchi soon after the unfortunate tragedy.

'The Azad School and Madrasa was surrounded and heavy stone throwing started. Jama Masjid and Hande Masjid were attacked. Incidents of stabbing of members of the minority community started at about 3.30 p.m. on 22 August 1967; while the first incident of an attack on a young man of majority community took place at 5 p.m.' (Memorandum of Muslims to prime minister)

'Thereupon rumours spread like wild fire throughout the city so swiftly and exactly in identical style indicating a definite preplanned conspiracy behind it... Soon after this, incidents of loot and arson started all over the city from about 4 p.m. But curfew was imposed at 7.30 p.m. When shops were being looted and burnt on the main road police officials were present there but they did not take any steps to stop the rioters. The military started parading the city from 9 p.m. By that time, false and wild rumours had spread throughout the city and in spreading them the main

role was played by the Jana Sangh volunteers.' (From Memorandum submitted by Ranchi unit of the CPI)

The bloodbath organised against the medical students and members of the staff of the Rajendra Medical College was even more sordid. These students and members of the staff were asked to take shelter in the 'meeting hall' of the college where they were assured protection by the military.

However, the military and the magistrate made the indoor badminton hall their camp. This is 200 yards away from the meeting hall. In the night the meeting hall was surrounded by RSS-led boys, its window panes were broken by throwing stones; the assailants rushed in. Mohammed Idris, a second-year student, was brutally done to death. Many others were wounded. The timely arrival of police minister Ramanand Tiwari alone could save the rest of the students and members of the staff who were taken by the minister to an unknown destination.

The Muslim employees of the Heavy Engineering Corporation plant requested that they be sent to a place of safety and military be called. But the chairman of the corporation, T. R. Gupta, refused to act. He had with him 20 vehicles at that time. He did not use them. He did not call the police or the military. This despite the fact that since two days virulent stabbing, looting and arson had been going on in Ranchi. On 24 August 1967 the Muslim employees were surrounded and mercilessly butchered.

Such is the heart-rending tale of Ranchi riots and the nefarious role of the RSS and the Jana Sangh.

SRINAGAR RIOTS

Almost exactly a month after this, on 23 September 1967 communal tension and incidents broke out in Srinagar in Kashmir. The whole thing was worked up on the basis of religious conversion and marriage of a girl of the Pandit community to a Muslim youth.

The weekly *Week-end Review*, which by no means can be accused of being anti-Jana Sangh, has this to say about the incident which was used to spark off the trouble:

'It appears that there is no dispute about the facts and events which led to this trouble. Parmeshwari Handoo, a girl who was working as a sales girl in the recently opened Super Bazar, was admitted to the Muslim religion in a private ceremony held in the third week of July. A week after she married a youth Gulam Rasool, who was working as accountant in the same Super Bazar. The marriage was solemnised by Nikah system.

'On 3 August, the mother of the girl (a widow) namely Smt. Dhanvati Handoo lodged a complaint in the police station that her daughter has disappeared. Two days later the police discovered that the girl was staying at the house of the father of Gulam Rasool.

'The police took the girl in custody.

'The girl's mother said that the age of the girl is less than 18 years. She produced a school certificate showing the age of the girl as 17 years and some months.

'The police got the girl examined by a lady doctor, who said that the age of the girl is about 20 years.

(Incidentally the lady doctor who examined the girl was not a Muslim.)

'The girl was examined by radiological tests. Her age by these tests was found to be above 18 years. The police found that in the birth record of the municipality, there is an entry showing that in June 1947 a girl was born by Narayanji Handoo, father of the girl. This meant that the age of the girl was over 20 years. The municipal records did not show the birth of any child to Handoos in July 1950, the month and year of the birth of the girl as alleged by her mother.

'The girl stated on oath before the munsif magistrate, Srinagar, to the effect that she had, of her free will, embraced Islam and had married Gulam Rasool.'

It may be noted that during the days the girl was in police custody, her close relatives were allowed to meet her and even try to persuade her. But they did not succeed.

The whole thing was thus a case of intercommunal love marriage. This is nothing peculiar to Kashmir where hundreds of such marriages have taken place in the past and

many Muslim girls have married Pandit boys. But the RSS and Jana Sangh always look for such opportunities.

The RSS organised Hindu Action Committee in Delhi, Chandigarh, Amritsar and Jammu. These committees contained the same people who were the leaders of the anticow-slaughter stir of 1966.

Then Balraj Madhok went to Srinagar. There he delivered a most provocative speech. He said 'Kashmir has joined India because of Maharaja Hari Singh and not due to Sheikh Abdullah'. He castigated the Muslims and said: 'If the Muslims don't like to stay in India and if they don't behave, let them go to Pakistan.'

Who gave this Madhok the authority to allow to stay or throw out citizens from this country?

The chairman of the Hindu Sangharsh Samiti, one P. N. Ghasi, said: 'The case of Parmeshwari is not an individual case. The Pakistanis have understood that they cannot get or annex Kashmir by talks or by war. They have, therefore, now stooped to these unbecoming methods.'

So, according to this RSS cadre, the whole question of Parmeshwari's marriage is a question of a new strategy of Pakistan to secure Kashmir. Could absurdity go further? But there is a method in this madness. The RSS and Jana Sangh utilised Parmeshwari's case to inject the poison of communalism through false pretensions. They used it to create a serious communal tension and riot in Srinagar.

The fact that all these preparations were made long before in Delhi, Chandigarh, Amritsar and Jammu, the fact that the communal incidents erupted soon after Balraj Madhok's visit and his provocative speeches, and the fact that these incidents erupted full *two months* after the religious conversion and marriage of Parmeshwari Handoo clearly show that the thing was obviously engineered and fomented by the RSS and Jana Sangh. It is not without significance that immediately after Madhok's speech in Srinagar all the RSS organisers and leaders of Jammu and Kashmir suddenly went underground. What more proof is needed of their conspiracy and complicity in fomenting this communal trouble?

MEERUT RIOTS

The Meerut riots which commenced on 28 January 1968 all the more clearly show the incendiary hand of the RSS and Jana Sangh behind it. In the case of Meerut it is almost selfadmitted by them.

Meerut is very near Delhi, the capital of India, and what happens in Meerut naturally moves people in Delhi very much. Soon after the riots, two leading persons, namely Ashwini K. Roy, Research Officer, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, and Subash Chakravarty, Research Officer, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, decided to make an on the spot case study of the Meerut riots.

These two eminent sociologists, research officers in recognised independent institutions, spent a lot of time, met hundreds of people in Meerut and they have finally submitted their report. We have thus the benefit of such objective and scientific analysis made soon after the events by such eminent and independent persons. What are their conclusions?

They say in their report: 'After a detailed study of the Meerut riots and after analysis of the viewpoint of various political parties and individuals, we have no hesitation in saying that altogether the responsibility of these riots falls on the local leaders of the majority community. The events show that the plans of the riot were made long ago. This plan was put into execution relentlessly in utter disregard of the loss of lives of human beings.' (Report on Meerut Riots by Ashwini K. Roy and Subash Chakravarty).

The same sociologists further say: 'It is now clear why was there any need of formation of such a "Save Kashmir Front" whose leaders were only the leaders of the RSS, Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha. It is this "front" that brought out that provocative poster, held meetings everywhere, organised the procession of 28 January 1968 which clashed with the volunteers of the Jamiat. *Taking shelter behind the incident of this clash, the preplanned communal riot strategy was put into practice.*' (*ibid*, emphasis added)

There are many details of the incidents which show the organised conspiracy but it would be enough to refer to only a few of them. These incidents have been narrated in the same report of these two eminent sociologists.

The leaders of the Jamiat who had organised the conference, anticipating trouble, had, on the previous day, i.e. 27 January 1968, requested the deputy collector to make adequate arrangements for giving the conference protection. This letter was personally taken by Hakimi Shahabuddin. The deputy collector assured them that he will take all steps.

On 28th of January itself, Shah Nawaz Khan went to inspect the arrangements at about 4.30 p.m. He asked the city magistrate who was posted on the spot to see that the announced procession should not be allowed to come into direct contact with the volunteers of the Jamiat who were standing at the gate of the Faiz-e-Aam College in the rear enclosed compound of which the conference was to be held. The city magistrate gave an assurance to this effect.

Yet, despite all this, hundreds of processionists headed by a loud-speaker-fitted jeep on which stood the local leader of the RSS were allowed to go right up to the gate where the Jamiat volunteers were standing. No wonder that a scuffle ensued. The RSS has spread the story that stones were thrown from inside the compound. But no one was 'injured' by these stones. Even the RSS leader who was standing on the jeep and leading the show had no injury due to any stone.

The two Delhi sociologists drew his attention to this fact whereupon the RSS leader replied: 'This is because god saves us.'

This crowd of processionists and the Jamiat volunteers were then lathi-charged and tear-gassed and dispersed.

Even while Sheikh Abdullah was addressing the more than 20,000 strong meeting, some goondas armed with knives were waiting hiding in the nearby dark lane.

The investigations of the two sociologists have revealed that when buses and tempo vehicles full of people belong-

ing to the minority community, who obviously were late arrivals for the meeting, reached near at about 7 p.m. they were diverted by the police from Thana Sadar to go by a particular route and on that route near the UP Roadways depot 100-150 people armed with knives were waiting and they stabbed and thus wounded and killed the persons belonging to the minority community.

It is obvious that people who, armed with knives, were lying in wait in the dark lane near the UP Roadways depot had prior knowledge that vehicles carrying persons coming to the conference would be diverted from that side. What more is needed to prove that the whole thing was a pre-planned conspiracy?

It is known that in UP in the last general election, the Jana Sangh emerged as the second biggest party. Their man was the deputy chief minister in the UP ministry. No wonder they used the official position to make their conspiracy a success. It would be interesting to quote what these sociologists have to say in their report about this:

'It is surprising that, while the president of the Meerut Cant. Jana Sangh, Shri Dharmaveer Anand, and vice-president Shri Abhay Gupta were arrested, the RSS leader who delivered provocative speeches and who was leading the procession was left scot-free. This leader has admitted to us that the warrant issued for his arrest was withdrawn after he had met Charan Singh.'

The conspiracy and role of the RSS and Jana Sangh in this preplanned manslaughter is almost selfconfessed. The findings of these two eminent sociologists and research officers are a most convincing proof of their role.

RIOTS AT AURANGABAD, KARIMGANJ AND OTHER PLACES

Some of the riot incidents have been described in great detail for only detailed facts can be the basis of a proper conclusion. The riots which have taken place at other centres have followed the same pattern.

In Aurangabad it was sparked off by an incident which is so ordinary and commonplace that it could not have led to such communal flare-up unless there was an organised hand behind it. A cow put its mouth into the bread loaves lying in the front part of a bakery. A Muslim employee of the shop who saw the cow had a long breadcutting knife in his hand. In his effort to drive the cow away, he struck the cow with the flat side of the knife. It inflicted a small cut on the skin of the cow.

Then came the RSS and Jana Sangh. Rumour was spread all over the town that a Muslim had cut off the head of a cow and slaughtered it. Organised gangs egged on people to acts of loot and incendiarism against the Muslim minority.

This cow incidentally was taken into custody by the police and was kept in the veterinary hospital. Comrade Bhagwat along with two MLAs visited this veterinary hospital and saw the cow. It had only a small thin mark of a cut.

Yet, using it as a pretext, Aurangabad was plunged into the worst riot in many years.

The incidents of Karimganj are very similar. Of course, for some months, stray minor incidents of attacks on Muslims had been going on and certain amount of tension was there in the air. Then the following incident took place on 1 March 1968 in Hydergram area of Karimganj: A cow belonging to a Muslim went into the house of a Hindu. A Hindu boy started leading the cow to the kanji house with a view to getting it locked there. While this boy was thus leading the cow, the son of the owner of the cow, a Muslim boy, beat this Hindu boy. There was some heat but finally the old men belonging to both communities intervened and the whole quarrel was amicably settled.

Next morning the Hindu boy, obviously under some instigation, came and put fresh demands. He claimed that he had Rs. 265 in his pocket which were taken away and his fountain pen was also snatched away. He wanted all these back. In addition, he wanted that the Muslim womenfolk who had used abusive language against him the previous

day should apologise in public. Obviously the purpose was to put such issues as cannot be resolved and then start the quarrel. But the old panchas proved wise. They decided that the father of the Muslim boy give Rs. 200 as compensation to the Hindu boy. Again the whole quarrel was settled.

But even as this was being done, a gang led by a person named Gandhi (what an irony!), who had organised a communal club known as the Sanghani Sangh and who was in touch with the Jana Sangh elements through some businessmen, came with his band, molested the Muslim students and, as if by prearranged signal, rumour spread that the head mistress of a Hindu girls' school had been beaten unconscious (an absolutely false story) and then in the main bazar shops of Muslims were burnt and looted and areca-nut trees belonging to them were uprooted and burnt. In the Hydergram area which is the most prosperous area of the town, all the 60 houses of Muslims were burnt. These houses are all surrounded by houses belonging to Hindus. So savage was the attack that an 80-year-old paralytic Haji Ramzan Ali was done to death. The four-year-old daughter of Jabbar was just burnt to death.

The facts narrated above are contained in a published study of the Karimganj riots made by the same sociologists and research officers, Ashwini K. Roy and Subash Chakravarty, who had made a case study of the Meerut riots which has been referred to earlier.

These facts clearly show that the 'incident' in question was only a pretext. After all, it was a Hindu boy who was taking the cow belonging to a Muslim to 'deposit' it in the kanji house. This 'incident' is not only trivial but strictly speaking it could not have been the basis of rousing any communal sentiments. Moreover, on the evening of the 1st and morning of the 2nd, the dispute had been amicably settled. The whole thing flared up because of the gang led by that 'Gandhi'. This Karimganj riots, too, have thus shown that the real thing behind all these is the conspiratorial incendiary hand of the RSS and the Jana Sangh.

ATROCITIES AGAINST SATNAMIS IN MP

The RSS-Jana Sangh conception of Hindu rashtra stipulates that the caste division is the main and basic tenet of Hindu religion and culture. Thus, according to them, the non-Hindus, even the scheduled castes and tribes, do not deserve to live like equal citizens.

This hateful conception was given practical shape when in January 1968 the poor Satnamis of Mungeli in Madhya Pradesh were attacked, killed and their houses burnt.

As always, the thing starts from an incident. One Uday Satnami of Kudhurtal had lent Rs. 10 to Janak Teli. On 15th of January, Uday asked Janak to return his money. Another person, Ram Sahai Teli, shouted at Uday and said why does he every time give money and then start a quarrel for its recovery. Some altercation on this issue took place. Ram Sahai is said to have wielded a stick.

The RSS and Jana Sangh were prepared and lying in wait. On 14th of January, a procession was taken out in Mungeli led by Pokhel Singh. The procession shouted slogans like 'Down with Satnamis!' etc. The procession was at the end addressed by Jana Sangh leaders Niranjan Singh and Dinesh Tiwari, an advocate. The speeches were extremely provocative and a call for a sort of holy war against the Satnamis was given. On 15th the congregation was called to assemble in village Bargakapa.

All these processions, these provocative speeches were part of a well-laid plan to incite anti-Satnami riots. Therefore, when on 15 January 1968 the abovementioned simple altercation between Uday Satnami and Ram Sahay Teli took place, that was immediately used as a pretext to trigger off the attack. 1500 people under the leadership of Pokhel Singh reached Kudhurtal and surrounded the houses of Satnamis, indiscriminately beat them, burnt their houses and committed all sorts of atrocities.

When people made statements the next day before the police officer and mentioned the name of Pokhel Singh, he asked the poor Satnamis not to mention that name. After all the communal virus of the RSS and the Jana Sangh needs

the conniving hand of the administration to carry on its nefarious designs. Everybody knows that the MP cabinet is dominated by Jana Sangh. The police officers who during earlier riots had taken strict action were either demoted or transferred. The whole administration was 'made to realise' that no action can be taken against the RSS and Jana Sangh. No wonder, therefore, that the police officer did not write the name of Jana Sangh showpiece Pokhel Singh.

Emboldened, the gang of Pokhel Singh carried their ravages on 16th and 17th night also. Innocent women were molested and beaten. The whole Satnami population fled from the villages in terror.

The foregoing analysis is based on facts revealed in enquiries made by eminent and important social workers. The tragedy is that only a few of the serious riot incidents have so far been properly investigated. Even in these cases, full facts are not known to the people at large. The RSS and Jana Sangh feed them on lies and concocted stories.

The Jana Sangh, which is the political wing of the RSS, in its effort to hide its nefarious game has come out with a so-called report on the various riots. The story put across is just fantastic. It is claimed that all these riots started because of provocative 'attacks' from the side of the minority community. The plea taken in the report is that poor Hindus have only acted in 'selfdefence' and the RSS has helped them in that defence.

But the RSS and Jana Sangh leaders are flying in the face of facts. 84 per cent of the people who have lost their life in riots are Muslims. In Meerut, for example, the position as shown by Roy and Chakravarty in their report, is as under:

'According to government reports, 17 persons died in these riots. Out of these 16 belonged to the minority community and only one to the majority community. And he was killed under the mistaken impression that he was a Muslim.'

In Karimganj, too, 98 per cent of the losses in property and houses have been suffered by Muslims.

It is the same story everywhere.

Does the RSS and the Jana Sangh want the people to believe that even though riots are started due to 'provocative attacks by Muslims', yet in every riot it is the Muslims who suffer almost all the losses and casualties?

The Jana Sangh report is thus only a smokescreen to hide the role of the RSS and the Jana Sangh.

The way riots have taken place in the recent period shows that it is no longer a spontaneous communal outburst. As will be seen from a detailed analysis of the various riots made in the foregoing pages, none of them started in the form of a mass or mob frenzy. It is either some cow-beating or Hindu-boy-beating incident or some other minor quarrel which, after the whole thing subsided, is made the *pretext* for spreading false rumours and then cases of loot and arson 'suddenly' start. What is behind them is an organised force which preplans the riots and uses some small incident as a pretext.

It will be interesting to analyse also the type of injuries which lead to casualties. In most cases, it is stabbing. Acts of stabbing can be organised by select and trained people lying in wait. If riots were the culmination of mass and mob frenzy, the injuries would have been different. But the fact that an overwhelming majority of the casualties are due to stabbing, too, shows that the riots are engineered and preplanned affairs executed by trained, ruthless and brutal men. It is the RSS which rears a whole corps of such people.

Yet another feature of these riots is that incidents of loot and arson take place almost simultaneously all over the town. It is not as if an excited mob is parading and ravaging the various parts. In that case the incidents of arson and loot would take place in different places at different times following the route taken by such a mob. But an analysis of all the riot studies shows that in every case the incidents of loot and arson have taken place at the same time all over the town. Who sees to it that similar rumours reach all parts of the town at the same time? How is it that at the same moment (as if by a signal) a small crowd emerges

in every part of the town and indulges in the same type of acts of loot, arson and attacks?

All this can be possible *only* when there is a preplanned organised element, engineered and executed by an organisation. And that organisation is the RSS.

It is necessary that every right-thinking person of our great land is warned that the RSS and the Jana Sangh bode ill to our whole tradition, culture, secularism and, above all, to democracy.

Taking advantage of the prevailing anticongress sentiments, skilfully using the organisation of the RSS and the resources of the monopolists and feudalists (the Jana Sangh stands third in the list of parties which got big money from companies in the last general election) and fostering the revivalist and religious sentiments among people, the Jana Sangh has emerged as a sizable force in Northern India. It occupies a leading position in the present government in Madhya Pradesh. It has a single party majority and fully controls the Delhi administration. Its position in the last SVD government in Uttar Pradesh was almost a leading one.

The Jana Sangh has shamelessly used its official position. The way it packed the cooperatives with its own men in UP, the way it utilised issue of transport permits to enrich its coffers, the way it has put its own men in the administration, in teaching institutions and vital and key places, is now well known.

Using these administrative positions, it is making a bid to become the largest single party in UP, a partner with the Akalis in the government in Punjab and a sizable strength in Bihar. The Jana Sangh and behind it the RSS are thus planning to secure a firmer foothold for themselves.

Its nefarious plans are always based on fomenting, inciting and organising riots and thus creating a poisonous atmosphere. The riots are the biggest diversion and setback for all progressive movements and causes in our country.

The way Guru Golwalkar is touring Northern India, the numerous camps he has organised and the increased aggressiveness of his speeches show that after the midterm

elections in the four states the RSS is planning another round of communal riots.

The danger they represent is so real and menacing that it is necessary for all democratic, secular and sensible forces to come together to meet this menace.

One of the most pernicious actions of the RSS is organising and fomenting riots. The detailed analysis made in the foregoing pages clearly shows that behind the spate of communal riots which have taken place lies the incendiary hand of the RSS and the Jana Sangh. This incendiarism which poisons our social and political life has to be rebuffed, stopped and crushed. That is why the real face of the RSS and the Jana Sangh has to be unmasked and understood. The dressed-up respectability of these organisations only hides the hideous criminal face underneath.