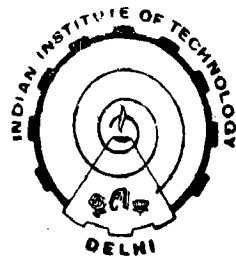


IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF R.S.S.

By
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Dedicated to my Parents

Shri J.N. Kaul

and

Smt. Uma Kaul

C E R T I F I C A T E

I am satisfied that the thesis presented by Mr. Chand Mohan is worthy of consideration for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and is a record of the original bonafide research work carried out by him under my guidance and supervision and that the results contained in it have not been submitted in part or full to any other University or Institute for award of any degree/diploma. I certify that he has pursued the prescribed course of research.

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Chand Mohan
Chand Mohan

Abstract

R.S.S. has been subject of intense national controversy, regarding its role in the national development. R.S.S. ideology inspite of its importance has not been studied in a non-partisan scholarly way. Thus, in absence of any theoretical or empirical work on the subject, this study is by definition an exploratory study, with all the limitations implicit in such a study.

The aim of this study is to delineate the ideology of R.S.S. in context of the role of ideology in modernisation - in India, with particular reference to Nationalist movement in India.

This study of R.S.S. ideology has been divided in two phases:

- (1). Analysis of basic writings of the exponents of R.S.S. ideology,
- (2). Empirical analysis of actual beliefs held by the core group - the 'Pracharaks' who are the professional preachers/propagandist of R.S.S.

All the 'Pracharaks' of Delhi were taken as the sample for the study. The very nature and complexity of defining the word 'Hindu' and 'Hinduism' or 'Indigenous traditions of India', limits the nature of the R.S.S. organisation.

The ambiguities and contradictions in the ideology of R.S.S. spring from their inability to relate their single goal of 'Hindu Nation' to the nature of cultural tradition nay even religious tradition of Hindus. In defining the national identity in terms of 'Hindu', the very nature of this religion really 'non-religious' defeats the possibility of generating a meaningful ideology. The socio-economic ideology (which are not even properly discussed in R.S.S. texts) are simply conservative, even ultra-conservatives.

R.S.S. as an organisation functions to generate an ideological primary group where 'Hindus' are 'we' and 'others', 'they', friends and foes are clearly defined. The pattern of symbolic and organisational structure together with its basic ideological concern makes it an extremist neo-political party.

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