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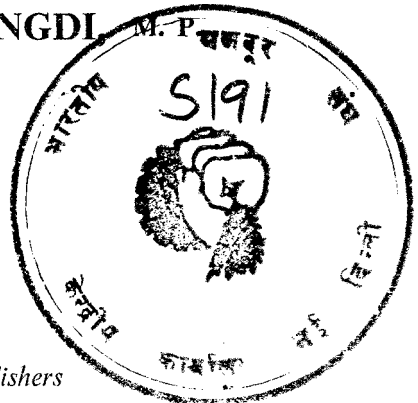
**HIS
LEGACY:
OUR
MISSION**

D.B. THENGADI

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HIS LEGACY: OUR MISSION

D. B. THENGDI, M. P.



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HIS LEGACY: OUR MISSION

By

D. B. THENGDI, M. P.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

On the occasion of the fifth 'Punya Thithi' (Death anniversary) of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya we are presenting this collection of articles by Sri. D. B. Thengdi to our readers.

These articles have been published earlier, on different occasions, by 'Organiser' and 'Deendayal Research Institute'. We, however, felt that, clubbed together, they would present a comprehensive and integrated picture of the mission and message of our beloved Leader.

We are grateful to Sri. D. B. Thengdi M. P., for permitting us to present his valuable articles into a book form which is our first English publication and eighth in the series. We are also thankful to the Mathrubhumi Printing Press for the beautiful printing of the book in a very short span of time.

Calicut, }
11-2-'73 }

PUBLISHERS

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Sri. Subhash Chandra Bose expressed an eternal truth when he wrote to the then Governor of Bengal :



THE AUTHOR

“In this mortal world every thing perishes and will perish, but the ideas, ideals and dreams do not”.

This publication is a feeble attempt to depict an imperishable vision of a Seer whose shadow lengthens out to remote posterity.

I am extremely thankful to M/S. Jayabharath Publications, Calicut, for this love's labour.

57, South Avenue }
New Delhi }
26-1-1973 }

D. B. THENGDI

OUR PANDITJI

- Sept. 25, 1916—Born to Bhagwathi Prasad and Rampyari at Mathura.
- 1919—Lost his father and in 1923, Mother.
- 1925—Comes to uncle Radha Raman's house.
- 1934—Lost his only brother Shibu Dayal.
- 1935—Passed Matric from Sikar with record marks and got the Sikar Maharaja's Scholarship.
- 1937—Passed Intermediate with distinction in every subject.
- 1937—Went to Kanpur for B. A.
Joined the R. S. S.
- 1939—Graduated with First class.
- 1941—Passed B. T., Pracharak of R. S. S. at Lakhimpur, U. P.
- 1949—Wrote the life of Shri Sankaracharya.
- 1951—Saha Pranth Pracharak of U. P. Founded Rashtra Dharma Prakashan, Weekly Panchajanya, Rashtra Dharma Monthly and Tharun Bharath daily.
- Sept. 21, 1951—With Dr. S. P. Mukherji launched the U. P. Unit of Janasangh.
- Oct. 21, 1951—Founding of All India Bharatheeya Janasangh.
- 1952—Made General Secretary of Janasangh.
- 1963—Tour of the United States, U. K., European and African countries.
- 1965—Formulated 'Principle and policy' of Janasangh based on Integral Humanism.
- Dec. 1967—Presided over the All India Session at Calicut.
- Feb. 11, 1968—The tragic end at Mughal Serai.

HIS WORKS:

SHRI SANKARACHARYA (HINDI)

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA (HINDI)

BHARATHEEYA ARTHANEETHI;

VIKAS KI EK DISA (HINDI)

RASHTRA JEEVAN KI DISA (HINDI)

RASHTRA CHINTAN (HINDI)

TWO PLANS (ENGLISH)

INTEGRAL HUMANISM (ENGLISH)

POLITICAL DIARY (ENGLISH)

And innumerable topical essays.

HIS MESSAGE: OUR HOMAGE

A vain Dutchess once asked Leonardo Da Vinci as to how much time he had taken to accomplish one of his best pictures. "Sixty one years, Madam", replied the artist.

The term 'integral humanism' was the ripe fruit of life-long penances of Pandit Deendayalji. Through him, the ancient wisdom of this land offered to the bewildered west the very essence of its 'Darshana' which would lead the latter from darkness to the light. It is not a mere political slogan, it is the 'mantram' — even as Panditji was not a mere political leader, he was a 'Drashta'.

Now that the 'sweet-scented manuscript' is closed, one cannot but feel, viewing retrospectively, that the Divinity had sent him in this world to deliver this Message. This was destined to be his life-mission. I heard one of his admirers saying that Panditji was a modern 'Dadhichi'. True, like Dadhichi he has sacrificed himself at the altar of the Motherland. The 'Vajram' manufactured out of his supreme self-immolation is the concept of 'integral humanism'. Armed with it, our nation can annihilate modern Vritrasuras in any battle on ideological plane.

It is only through the ideological battle that the issues will be settled finally one way or the other. It is significant that this Message has been delivered at a time when the implicit faith of the Marxists in the inevitability of their ultimate

victory is thoroughly shaken. 'Integral Humanism' has appeared on the world-stage to fill up this ideological void. It has the courage to take an integrated view of life, while all western isms strive for its compartmentalisation. Through this 'mantram' Panditji has reinterpreted our 'Sanatana Dharma' in the context of the modern times.

The best way to pay homage to him is to take a vow on this occasion of his first death anniversary to carry this his message to every home — and to every heart. That is also the way to build up the Bharatiya socio-economic order as envisaged by that great seer.

(‘Organiser’ of Feb. 8, 69)

LEAD KINDLY O LIGHT !

“Then Jesus said unto them, ‘Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you; for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth’.

‘While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light’. These things spake Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them”.

St. John 12/35-36

एवं परंपरा प्राप्तमिमं राजर्षयो विदुः ।

स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परंतप ॥

स एवायं मया तेऽद्य योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः ।

—गीता 4/2-3

As we all know, Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya was a nationalist to the core. He loved not only the abstract concept of ‘nation’ but also the nation in flesh and blood. His patriotism did not prevent him from being an internationalist. Rather, internationalism was only the natural evolution of his enlightened nationalism. He had realised that affinity of an individual with different organisms, ranging from family to the Universe, was only an outward manifestation of the evolution of his consciousness. More developed the consciousness, larger would be the organism with which one is identified. But this being a process of evolution, the higher level of consciousness does not preclude all the previous lower levels. It is inclusive, not exclusive in character. One can be equally and simultaneously attached to all the organisms without doing injustice to any one of them. What is needed is a realistic, an integral view of the things. This led him to expound his theory of “Integral Humanism” which is in direct contrast with the compartmentalised thinking of the west.

The latter has given rise to strife and struggles at all levels in all departments of life. The seed, the sprout, the trunk, the branch, the leaves and the fruit constitute one single un-intermittant process of evolution अखण्डमण्डलाकारम्. They are not mutually conflicting or exclusive.

In fact, Panditji's comprehension was not confined to the human species. His integralism indicated the flowering of human consciousness into universal consciousness. That is why he was a humanist without being homocentric. Consequently, he thought that the more appropriate term for his thought-system would be "Integralism". But, in view of his field of practical activity, he considered the term "Integral Humanism" as more convenient in the immediate context, as a compromise between his ultimate concept and the common level of understanding in the field, even as his use of the term 'ism' was, again a similar concession to the level of common understanding which could be comprehend the grand 'ism' lessness of the eternal Dharma.

As a torch-bearer of Dharma, he became a Pracharak of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. He knew that no amount of theorisation would help, unless the nation is organised on a firm footing. He realised how RSS is psychologically identified and conceptually co-extensive with the entire Nation. The existing net-work of its Shakhas, he considered as the infra-structure of our ideal nation, and strove hard to strengthen it.

He considered Bharatiya Jana Sangh as an appropriate medium of the Rashtra-Shakti for its progressive self-unfolding in the political field.

He was the first political leader of the country who added yet another dimension to the traditionally defined 'nation'-concept. Every nation has its soul, its 'Chiti'; he declared.

The strength and energy activating the nation is its 'Virat'. It is channelised by 'Chiti'. The place of 'Virat' in the life of a nation is similar to that of 'Prana' in the body. Just as 'Prana' infuses strength in various organs of the body, refreshes the intellect, and keeps body and soul together, so also in a nation, with a strong 'Virat' alone can democracy succeed and the government be effective. "When the 'Virat' is awake, diversity does not lead to conflict, and people cooperate with each other like the various limbs of the human body, or like the members of a family."

The stand Jana Sangh took on various issues, such as, Article 370 of the Constitution, border States, linguistic States, the unitary form of government, Goa, Kutch, Chinese and Pak aggression, etc., would unmistakably indicate how that party, with Panditji as its guide-in-chief, had already undertaken the supreme task of re-awakening our nation's 'Virat'.

As a nationalist, Panditji was vitally concerned with the problems of national reconstruction. He studied all the various thought systems of the west as well as those of ancient India. His mind was rooted in the past, living in the present, and moving dynamically towards the future. Unlike some of our radicals, he did not accept everything western as 'progressive'. Unlike the conservatives, he would not cling to everything traditional simply because it was traditional. He sought to reconcile Bharatiya values of life with the modern scientific and technological advance. He aspired to fulfil the demands of the modern age on the basis of the Sanatana ideals of Dharma. His approach to the problem of national reconstruction can be aptly summed up in the following words of Revered Shri Guruji:

"Once the life-stream of unity begins to flow freely in all the veins of our body-politic, the various limbs of our

national life will automatically begin to function actively and harmoniously for the welfare of the Nation as a whole. Such a living and growing society will preserve out of its multitude of old systems and patterns whatever is essential and conducive to its progressive march, throw off those as have outlived their utility and evolve new systems in their place. No one need shed tears at the passing of the old order nor shirk to welcome the new order of things. That is the nature of all living and growing organisms. As a tree grows, ripe leaves and dry twigs fall off making way for fresh growth. The main thing to bear in mind is to see that the life-sap of oneness permeates all parts of our social set-up. Every system or pattern will live or change or even entirely disappear according as it nourishes that life-sap or not. Hence, it is useless in the present social context to discuss about the future of all such systems. The supreme call of the times is to revive the spirit of inherent unity and the awareness of its life purpose in our society. All other things will take care of themselves."

In the political field of the country, Panditji was the first to enunciate this. As is already known, his mind was always, and perfectly, attuned to that of Shri Guruji.

This pattern of thinking Panditji applied to all departments of national life. For example, expressing his views on economic reconstruction, Panditji says:

"But one thing is clear that many old institutions will yield place to new ones. This will adversely affect those who have vested interests in the old institutions. Some others who are by nature averse to change will also suffer by efforts of reconstruction. But disease must be treated with medicine. Strength can be gained only from exercise and hard work. Therefore, we shall have to discard the status-quo mentality

and usher in a new era. Indeed our efforts at reconstruction need not be clouded by prejudice or disregard for all that is inherited from our past. On the other hand, there is no need to cling to past institutions and traditions which have outlived their utility."

He differed from the Gandhian school of thought in as much as he laid greater stress on mechanisation. But he also differed from the Nehruian approach. Wholesale transplantation of technology and industrial structure from the west would not suit Indian conditions, he said. No doubt Charkha is to be replaced by machines. But this replacement should not necessarily be by automatic machines aggravating the problems of unemployment, idle capacity, complete decapitalisation of the existing means of production, dearth of foreign exchange and domestic capital, and colossal waste of available raw material. The factors, such as, wind, water, steam, oil, gas, electricity and atomic power that can supply the motive power must also be taken into consideration. The available managerial skills must be fully utilised. The production should be suited to the needs of the society. In brief, the seven 'M's — must be taken care of. For this purpose we should design suitable machines, introduce reasonably adaptable changes in the traditional techniques of production, and develop a Bharatiya Technology.

He was against indiscriminate emphasis on large scale industries. What achieved economy was large production and not necessarily large scale production. Large production could be achieved through larger number of small scale and medium industries. He gave preference to the size of a production unit which would enable those who participate in the productive activity to own, operate and manage the production unit directly. The worker should have a sense of direct participation in the management of the 'surplus value' which

is managed by employers under capitalist system and the State under socialism. He stood for appropriate diversification of industries, and introduction in rural areas of the agro-based, small scale industries, based upon our own indigenous technology with greater emphasis on decentralisation of the processes of production with the help of power, — with home, instead of factory, as a centre of production. He sought to meet simultaneously the challenges of over-urbanisation and rural unemployment. While he dealt elaborately with the problem of capital-formation, what singled him out from the fashionable economists was the fact that he considered India's manpower as an important part of its capital to be utilised fully for the purposes of economic reconstruction.

This entire approach distinguishes him clearly from Gandhians on the one hand and radicals on the other.

Regarding planning, Panditji steered clear of both the extremes, i.e., of plan-lessness and regimentation from the Centre. He pleaded for evolution of a plan from the lowest regional units. The regional plans thus formulated should be properly coordinated by the Centre. (It is noteworthy that this view was endorsed by Dr. D. R. Gadgil also, though he had no free hand in the matter after he became Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission).

Panditji attached great importance to the role of self-employed persons. He stood for the people's Sector and said that the private and the public sectors should be made mutually complimentary, there being ample scope for the development of both under the present conditions.

Regarding the patterns of industrial ownership, his approach was pragmatic. He stood neither for 'no nationalisation' nor 'all nationalisation'. There are various patterns of

the ownership of industries. The decision in case of each industry should depend upon its peculiar characteristics, and not upon any pre-conceived dogma.

In the rural sector, he was an advocate of peasant-proprietorship with land-ceiling and redistribution of all surplus and cultivable waste lands. He encouraged service co-operatives, and his opposition to 'co-operative farming' was due to the fact that it was anything but co-operative. He presented a comprehensive scheme for the rejuvenation of our agricultural sector which, he believed, did not receive the priority it deserved under the planning. Agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, — that was his order of priorities.

In fine, Panditji offered to the country a line of economic thinking which was distinctly different from that of his predecessors or contemporaries on the national scene. This created difficulties for the adversaries of Jana Sangh. They could not dub it as "rightist" because of the contents of its programme. Nor could they accept it as "leftist" in as much as it did not profess socialism. Panditji considered this categorisation as thoroughly irrelevant to Indian conditions. He was guided by realism based upon Indian conditions and traditions. He rejected doctrinaire approach. He was opposed to "scientific socialism" which culminated invariably in the dictatorship of a group. He did seek to eliminate exploitation and inequalities. To that extent he was not at war with democratic socialism. But he was not a socialist, since he knew that socialism can never achieve its professed objectives so long as it is wedded to the philosophy of materialism. The French Revolution had given the west three precious principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. But it was found that the principle of liberty, when implemented, gave rise to gross inequalities; the principle of equality, when professed by the communist States, put an end to all liberty, and the ideal of

fraternity had remained a distant dream. This historic failure has been caused by the materialistic base of western thought. The philosophy of materialism cannot but give rise to the materialistic values of life. If one's values of life be purely materialistic, there is no valid reason why he should refrain from exploiting the weaker ones if such an exploitation can bring him material prosperity. True, economic equality can be enforced by law. Panditji also declared that the ratio between the minimum and the maximum expendable incomes in the land should be 1:20. But if one is thoroughly materialistic, with no other values of life except materialistic ones, there is again no valid reason why he should exert himself severely for development of his individual faculties, since additional exertion is not going to make any substantial difference in his material gains, the minimum subsistence is already guaranteed, and there is no non-materialistic incentive to inspire him to maximum efforts.

The Hindu culture evolved a coordinated system of materialistic as well as non-materialistic values of life which together served as an incentive for individual development. As is well known, the अर्थ and काम constituted the materialistic values which were blended finely with the non-materialistic values of the धर्म and मोक्ष. The material aspect was neither ignored nor glorified. Consequently, the incentive was also of two types-materialistic as well as non-materialistic; material gains and enjoyment, and social status and recognition based on the non-materialistic values. Everyone was free to follow either of the two with the proviso that the sphere of enjoyment and social status would invariably be in inverse ratio. The higher the social status the narrower would be the sphere of enjoyment; the wider the sphere of enjoyment the lower would be the social status. There was perfect equality in society in that the total quota of enjoyment and social status put together would always be the same for every individual, though the ingredients of the quota would differ

from man to man — depending entirely on one's own voluntary choice. The circumference of the circle of incentives offered to every individual in the society would always remain the same, constant. But the circle comprised both types of incentives. If the sphere of the materialistic one is widened, that of the non-materialistic one would automatically shrink, — circle remaining constant. On the contrary, if the sphere of the non-materialistic one is widened, that of the materialistic one would automatically shrink, — circle, again, remaining the same. And in this respect the choice was left entirely to individuals concerned. This was the scientific Hindu way of achieving real and abiding equality. This compact system of the four-fold objectives of life helped the Hindus in building up a lasting and genuinely egalitarian structure of society. Panditji was convinced that if socialism is ever to reach its professed goal, it would be only on the basis of the Bharatiya system.

∕ Panditji was a votary of Bharatiyata not only because it was his national heritage. He was convinced that the maladies of humanity in general and India in particular could be remedied only on the strength of Bharatiya culture. Is it possible for the west to reconcile individual liberty with social discipline? In the materialistic west liberty soon degenerates into licentiousness, and discipline into regimentation. The west could never conceive of basic organic unity in the midst of apparent diversities, for it mistook uniformity for unity. It could never appreciate the merit of Bharatiya socio-economic order, for it mistook our stability for stagnation and its own adventurism for dynamism. No western thinker could conceive of the unitary form of government with maximum decentralisation of administrative authority, because it is beyond their comprehension that there can be set up the Central State authority without Stateism, and with the regional, industrial and civic self governments — which has been the special

characteristic of Bharatiya social order. The west considered national self-reliance as incompatible with the spirit of international co-operation. In the west, nationalism can degenerate into imperialism and internationalism into disloyalty to one's own nation. The 'integral humanism' as expounded by Panditji has exposed the inadequacies, lopsidedness, imbalance and futility of the compartmentalised thought-systems of the west. His integralism enabled him to visualise the emergence of the World State enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures, and evolution of Manava Dharma enriched by the perfection of all the religions, including 'materialism.'

*

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Deendayalji was a Drashta, a Seer, — not merely a philosopher. Because of his sadhana, his identification with the Dharma, he could, as if, like a Time Machine, roll himself back and forth the centuries and stand face to face with the ancient Seers and the unborn generations. He worked out for us the solutions of modern problems in the light of the ancient wisdom. He foresaw the maladies that would afflict humanity in distant future, and prescribed for them the remedies tested with success by the Sanatana Dharma.

It has been said that people without a vision perish. A nation without its Drashta is doomed to decay and death. But our Dharma is Sanatana, i.e.; endless as well as beginningless. It has, therefore, been the sacred mission of Bharat Mata to give birth, in every age, to Drashtas who deliver a message of hope to the otherwise frustrated mankind pursuing false ideals. In this age, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya has been the precious gift of this Dharma Bhumi to the erring humanity.

(By Courtesy of the D. D. R. Institute)

HIS LEGACY: OUR MISSION

'Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya' !

It is no longer the name of an individual.

It symbolises a tendency, — a trend of thought, an ideology, a Darshana.

This Darshana has been the basis of our national renaissance in the past.

This alone can be the basis of our national renaissance in future.

To spell it out in the context of the present, is the real homage to the departed soul.

* * *

On August 15, 1947, there was transfer of power accompanied by the partition of the motherland. But can it be said that even this truncated country attained Swaraj in the real sense of the term ?

Yogi Arobindo voiced the conviction of all true Indians when he observed, "Swaraj as a sort of European ideal, political liberty for the sake of political assertion, will not awaken India. Swaraj as the fulfilment of ancient life of India under modern conditions, the return of satyagraha of national greatness, the resumption by her of the great role of teacher and guide, self liberation of the people for the final fulfilment of vedantic ideal in politics, — this is true Swaraj of India".

How far we have advanced in this direction during the last twenty-three years ? It may be argued that 'the pressure of dominant European ideas and motives, the temptations of

political needs of the hour, the velocity of rapid inevitable change' left 'no time for the growth of sound thought and spiritual reflection', strained 'to bursting point the old Indian culture and social system', and shattered 'this ancient civilisation before India has had time to readjust her mental stand and outlook or to reject, remould the forms that can no longer meet her environmental necessities, create new characteristic powers and figures and find a firm basis for a swift evolution in the sense of her own spirit and ideals'. But in that event, our sages have rightly apprehended that "a rationalised and westernised India, a brown ape of Europe, might emerge from the chaos keeping some element only of her ancient thought, to modify, but no longer to shape and govern her total existence. Like other countries she would have passed into the mould of occidental modernism; ancient India would have perished."

The bewildered East is trying to imitate blindly the still more perplexed West. No thought-system evolved by the West has succeeded so far in achieving its professed objectives. No "ism" could organise a socio-economic order of its own dreams. With passage of time, the so-called radical "isms" are being converted into out-of-date "wasms". None of them can claim to be a panacea — their arrogant professions notwithstanding. Our adherence to the Western ideologies is a case of the blind led by the blind.

* * *

Panditji was a seer — A Drashta. He located and diagnosed the maladies of the humanity. Their solution was his life-mission.

* * *

To-day the mankind is confronted with a number of basic and baffling problems. For example:

How to reconcile —

Individual liberty with social discipline;
Incentive for individual development with urge for equality;
Economic growth with social justice;
Basic organic unity with apparent diversities;
State authority with industrial and civic self-governments;
System with spontaneity;
Social order with statelessness;
Self-restraint with self-unfoldment;
Rationalism with consciousness of the office and limitations of Reason;
Specialisation with integrated view;
Material advance with spiritual elevation;
National self-reliance with international cooperation;

And, again, How to ensure —

Liberty without licentiousness;
Discipline without regimentation;
Status without privileges;
Unity without uniformity;
Stability without stagnation;
Dynamism without adventurism;
State authority without Stateism;
Technological advance without loss of humaneness;
Material prosperity without crude 'materialism';
Vertical arrangement of societies without their horizontal division;
Humanism without homo-centricism.

On national plane too there are a number of urgent and challenging problems. For example:

How to reconcile —

Expansion of employment opportunities with up-to-date modern technology;

Decentralised processes of production with increase in productivity;

Nationalisation with public accountability;

Pace of urbanisation with cultural background;

Micro-planning at lower levels with macro-planning at national level;

Integration of various natural groups with the preservation of their distinct group characteristics;

Bharatiya values of Life with the modern scientific and technological advance;

Demands of the modern age with the Sanatana ideals of Dharma.

How to achieve —

Evolution of the World State enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures; and

Evolution of Manava Dharma enriched by the perfection of all the religions including 'materialism'.

* * *

Needless to add that this enumeration is illustrative, not exhaustive. Reconstruction and research go invariably together. Research — intensive as well as extensive — in all departments of national and international life!

* * *

Panditji was convinced that these basic problems cannot be solved except on the basis of Bharatiyatva.

To work out these solutions for the benefit of the nation and the mankind in the light of the guidelines furnished by him is the mission passed on to us by Panditji as his legacy.

(*Organiser* 5-2-69)