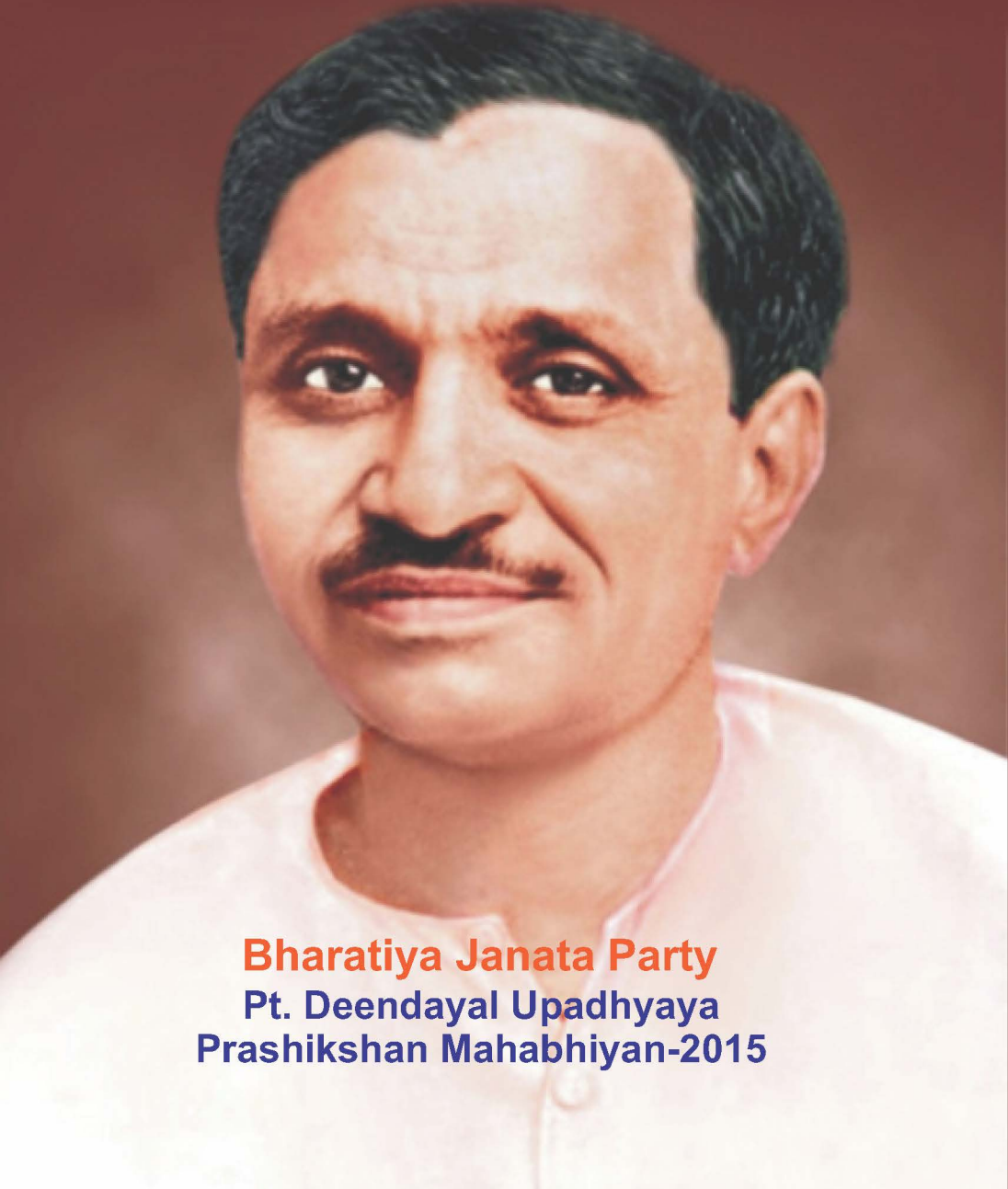


Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya



Bharatiya Janata Party
Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya
Prashikshan Mahabhiyan-2015

Preface

'Pt. Deendayal Prashikshan Mahabhiyan' is a huge initiative of our party. After 'Sadasyata Mahabhiyan' and 'Sampark Mahabhiyan' we have organized 'Prashikshan Mahabhiyan in the third stage. It is an attempt to train 15 lac active members through various sessions about ideology and other special features of our party. We welcome all the participants in the programme.

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya was a 'Yugarishi' of Indian knowledge tradition. He was the propounder of the ideology of our party. His life is an inspiration and guide for all of us. This short sketch of his life must be read by all the trainees therefore it is in your hand. Its study will make us the aspirer of goals of politics.

P. Muralidhar Rao
(National General Secretary)
In-Charge
Prashikshan Mahabhiyan

September, 2015

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya

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Prashikshan Mahabhiyan
2015**

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CHAPTER ONE

DIFFICULT CHILDHOOD : GIFTED STUDENT LIFE

The childhood of Deendayal Upadhyaya was in a lower middle class Sanatani family of north India. Deendayal's great grandfather, the famous astrologer Pandit Hariram Upadhyaya lived in Nagla Chandrabhaan village in Mathura. Shri Jhandu Ram was his younger brother. Pandit Hariram Upadhyaya had three sons – Bhudev, Ramprasad and Ram Pyaare. Jhandu Ram also had two sons – Shankarlal and Bansi Lal.

Bhagwati Prasad was the son of Shri Ramprasad. Bhagwati Prasad was married to Rampyaari. She was a deeply devout lady. On the date of Ashwin Krishna Trayodashi Samvat 1973, date 25th September 1916, Shri Bhagwati Prasad was blessed with a son. At that time Shrimati Rampyaari was at the place of her father, Shri Chunnilal Shukla in Dhanakia (Rajasthan). Her father was the Station Master there. The boy was named Deendayal. At home he was called as 'Deena'. Two years later, Rampyaari gave birth to another son Sivdayal, who was called as 'Shivu' at home.

Joint Family Tradition

The joint family tradition was very much alive in the family of Pandit Hariram. Hence the family was large. His father Bhagwati Prasad was the assistant Station Master in Jaleshar. To relieve trouble at home he called his aunt and his stepmother to his place at Jaleshar and sent Deena, Shivu and Rampyaari to Dhanakia in Rajasthan. Deendayal was just two and a half years old. The village of Chunnilal,

the native place of Rampyaari was in a village Madhai near Fatehpur Sikri in Agra district.

Deendayal left his home at the age of two and a half and then never returned home. He was brought up in unusual conditions. The conditions were bad enough to defeat anyone morally. However, Deendayal nourished the good inside him and developed his personality. The training of his childhood had a deep bearing on his life.

Witnessing Death

Witnessing death produces a sense of asceticism in man. Deendayal Upadhyaya witnessed the deaths of many of his beloved persons in his childhood. He had just arrived at the place of his maternal grandfather, when he received the news that his father Bhagwati Prasad had passed away. His mother became a widow. His innocent eyes witnessed the immense and inconsolable grief of his widowed mother and the sense of bereavement in the eyes of his grandfather. His empathic sensibility received a subconscious lesson. Deendayal gained consciousness as a child and as an individual in the lap of his widowed mother. However, Rampyaari had no consolation. Sad, bereaved and a victim of malnourishment, she fell sick. She caught tuberculosis. In those days, it was a fatal disease. It meant certain death. Deendayal was seven years old and Shivdayal was five years old when their mother Rampyaari passed away. Deendayal became an orphan, deprived of the love of both his mother and father.

It seems that death wanted to harden Deendayal. Only two years had passed since the passing away of his mother, when his loving and caring grandfather who was doing an excellent job of bringing up his grandchildren passed away too. It was September 1926. Deendayal was only ten years old at that time. Devoid of the love of mother, father and grandfather, now he started living with his maternal uncle. His aunt was very affectionate, however Deendayal was very serious. At the age of ten years, Deendayal was conscious of his responsibility as an elder brother to Shivdayal and was concerned about him and his welfare.

Deendayal was studying in seventh standard in Kota in Rajasthan. It was 1931. The tragedy struck again. He had to come from Kota to Rajgarh district (Alwar), as his maternal aunt had passed away. For fifteen years Deendayal had been witnessing the deaths of his parents. At this tender age, Deendayal was also the guardian of his younger brother Shivdayal. His harsh childhood had made him even more sensitive and empathic towards others. So far he had seen only death of his elders. Maybe death was adamant at showing Deendayal its full might. When Deendayal was studying in 9th standard, at eighteen years of age, his younger brother Shivdayal also fell ill. He caught typhoid. Deendayal tried his best to save his younger brother; he took him to many doctors, but on 18th of November, 1934 Shivdayal also left this world, leaving Deendayal alone.

Still, one wrinkled hand caressed Deendayal, his maternal grandmother. Although due to his studies and many other reasons, he could not live for long with his maternal grandmother; her presence was extremely comforting for him. It was the year of 1935. Deendayal had passed 10th class. He was now nineteen years old. In the winters of that year, his maternal grandmother fell sick and passed away.

The deaths of his father, mother, grandfather, aunt, brother and now grandmother gave many life lessons to Deendayal. Although the tender consciousness of this child did not wither away, Deendayal was fast becoming a gloomy and broody child. Deendayal had a maternal cousin sister. Gradually the two had come to love each other dearly. The bond of brother and sister had grown quite deep between them. While Deendayal was studying in the M.A. course in Agra, his cousin sister, Rama Devi fell ill. Deendayal abandoned his studies and came to nurse his sister back to health. Although every effort was made to cure Rama Devi, God wanted something else. Fate wanted Deendayal to witness death of another of his beloved kin. Despite every effort to save her, Ramadevi passed away in

1940. Deendayal was twenty-four then. Who knows that this cruel and tragic childhood was a factor in his deciding to lead a hermit life-style later on in life?

Literally a Nomad

Deendayal was literally a nomad. For the first two and a half years of his life he lived in the house of his father. After that his migratory life started. He never came back to live in his house. For family reasons he had to go to the house of his maternal grandfather Chunnilal in Dhanakia. Chunnilal was a grieving man, suffering from the death of his two sons, Natthi Lal and Harinarayan Lal. The death of his son-in-law Bhagwati Prasad, the father of Deendayal, hurt him even more. He left his job and came back to his home, called Gurh ki Madhai. Deendayal also came to live in Gurh ki Madhai. Deendayal had become nine years old however, still no one had arranged for him to go to school. Now he came to live with his maternal uncle Radharaman, who was an assistant railway station master in Gangapur. He lived here for four years. There were no arrangements for studies past this in Gangapur and hence on 12th of June, 1929, he came to Kota and was admitted to a school. He lived in the 'self-supporting' house here for three years. After that he had to come to Rajgarh (Alwar district). In 1934, Narayan Shukla was transferred to Sikar. For one year, Deendayal lived in Sikar and passed 10th standard from there. For high studies he came to Pilani and stayed there for two years for completing Intermediate. It was 1936. The same year he came to Kanpur for studied B.A. He lived here for two years and for studying M.A. he came to Agra. He used to live in a rented house in Raja ki Mandi in Agra. He lived in Agra for two years and in 1941 for taking admission in the course of B.T., at the age of twenty-five, he went to Prayag. Along with this he entered social life. He had become a constant traveller. He had finally adopted a style.

By the age of 25, Deendayal Upadhyaya had lived in 11 villages, towns and cities of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Perhaps a life of stability, comfort at home produces

attachment to home in people. The childhood of Deendayal was such that he did not form any attachment with home. This nomadic life in his childhood must have contributed to his developing a lifelong peripatetic and homeless lifestyle. To see new places; to meet new people and to develop familial bonds with them; all these qualities he must have learned in his childhood. Perhaps!

Gifted Student Life

Due to certain conditions, up till Deendayal was nine years of age, arrangements for his studies could not be made. His studies started in 1925 when he had arrived at the home of his maternal uncle Radharaman. There was no other student at home. There was no environment conducive to studies. The conditions at home were always tense due to many tragedies. There were no facilities at home. Deendayal was studying in second standard when his uncle fell seriously ill. Deendayal came to Agra, in order to serve his uncle while he was recuperating in a hospital. He could come back home, only a few days before his exams. He took the exams and came first. He cleared third and fourth standards while serving his uncle in his illness. During this harsh period, his family realized that he was a brilliant student.

Having completed fifth, sixth and seventh standards in Kota, he took admission in 8th standard in Rajgarh. He got to realize his extraordinary capabilities in arithmetic during this period. It is often said about him that while he was in ninth standard, students from tenth standards used to come to him for learning mathematics. The next year he had to go to Sikar as his uncle had been transferred. He completed 10th from Kalyan High School, Sikar. Not only did he get first class, he was also first in the entire Board examination. The then king of Sikar, Kalyan Singh presented him with the gold medal and awarded him 10 Rs. monthly scholarship, of Rs 10 and funds for books etc. He got around Rs 250 as scholarship at that time.

In those days Pilani was a great centre of higher studies. Deendayal went to Pilani in 1935 for intermediate studies. He took intermediate exams in 1937 and he also got

distinction in all subjects. He was the first student of Birla College, who had passed the class with flying colours. Like the Maharaja of Sikar, Ghanshyam Das Birla also awarded him gold medal, Rs 10 monthly scholarship, and funds for books etc.

He passed his B.A. examination in 1939 from Sanatana Dharma College from Kanpur in first class. He also took admission in Saint Jones College, Agra in M.A. English program. In first year he managed first division due to illness of his sister; and in second year he could not even take exams. At the behest of his uncle he took the test for administrative exams and cleared them. He was also selected in interviews, however he was not interested in administrative jobs and hence he went to Prayag for doing B.T.

His excellence in studies became even more brilliant when he entered public life. The capacity to create important social and philosophical literature can be seen in his student life.

In his student life Deendayal Upadhyaya and Nanaji Deshmukh studied together. Nanaji tells a tale of his usual honesty:

“One morning we went to buy some vegetables. We had just arrived home after buying vegetables worth 2 paise when Deendayal stopped in his tracks, exclaiming, ‘Nanaji, I made a great mistake!’ When I asked what happened, he said, ‘I had four paise in my pocket. One was damaged. I have given that one damaged paise to the vegetable vendor. What would she be saying? Let us go back and replace it with another paise.’”

He had a guilty-face on. We returned to the vegetable vendor. When we told him the truth, she said: “Who will search for your damaged paise? Go home! It is all right!” But Deendayal was adamant and he searched out the damaged blackened paise from the bulk. He gave the old vegetable vendor the replacement from his pocket. Only then he was relieved. The vegetable vendor got emotional. He said: “Son! So nice of you! May God take care of you!”

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CHAPTER TWO

JOINING THE RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH

The era in which Deendayal Upadhyaya was introduced to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), was an important one in the history of Indian independence. In the elections of 1937, Congress came to power in Uttar Pradesh and the agreement between the Muslim League and Congress was annulled. Chaudhari Khalik Anjuma, the Muslim League leader, said in anger that if we cannot rule together then we can also not live together. The two-nation theory was born and quickly became popular. The idea of communal division and separate nationhood had made the Muslims aggressive. The Muslim League passed the resolution of the creation of Pakistan in the 1940 Lahore Session. This aggressive secessionism hurt every nationalist in India. Deendayal Upadhyaya was also hurt with this secessionist segment of Indian independence struggle. Those who had become violent in the name of establishing two nations on communal basis should have been given proper answer by those following the ideals of national unity. Imperialist Britain was encouraging the two-nation theory. Deendayal Upadhyaya wanted to oppose this two-nation communal mentality and its appeasement strongly. It was in those days that he came in contact with the RSS. He felt that the work that the RSS was doing suited his mindset and future goals.

His co-student in Kanpur, Baluji Mahashabde introduced him to RSS. It was there that he met Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, the founder of RSS. Baba Sahab Apte, and Dada Rav Parmartha also used to stay in this hostel. When freedom fighter Veer Savarkar came to Kanpur, Deendayal Upadhyaya invited him to the Sangh Shakha (Sunday session for holistic development of volunteers) and organized an intellectual session with him. Sundar Singh Bhandari was also his classmate in Kanpur.

RSS was an organization of disciplined youth. No one could become its volunteer without proper training. This training was three years long. In those days, the training of 40 days was organized in Nagpur. They were called 'Sangh Shiksha Varga' - 'Sangh Education Camps'. Deendayal Upadhyaya got training of first year in 1939 and of second year in 1942. In these training sessions, he learned that abusing the British was not enough for patriotism. Independence is not just a matter of slogans. Only an organized and cultured society is worthy of independence.

Deendayal Upadhyaya could not participate very well in the physical training of the Sangh shakhas, although he came first in intellectual training. Baba Sahab Apte wrote in this regard: "Pandit Deendayal wrote many answers in verse but they were not just rhymes or blank imagination. He had adopted verse instead of prose. He had used few words and argued rationally. I could not help getting impressed by him."

After completing his studies and after receiving training in Sangh for the second year, he became a Pracharak (full-time volunteer) of Sangh. All his life, he remained a Pracharak. From 1942 to 1951 he took the vow of remaining a life-long Pracharak in Uttar Pradesh RSS.

The family of Deendayal Upadhyaya was not happy with his decision. His uncle was unhappy as even after clearing the administrative exams, he had not chosen to join the administrative job. He had done B.T. from Kanpur as he was interested in education. His family expected that if not an administrative job, then he should at least accept

a teaching job. But the family was much saddened to know the decision of Deendayal that he would leave everything including home in order to join the RSS as a life-long Pracharak, living the life of a monk. He was appointed as a district Pracharak in the Lakhimpur district of Uttar Pradesh. Deendayal did not go to the house of his uncle after doing B.T. After the Muslim League had passed the resolution of Pakistan as a separate nation in 1940, communal secessionism, aggression and violence had increased manifolds. The heart of Deendayal was getting impatient for giving a fitting reply. Forgetting all about his family, he immersed himself in the work of the Sangh.

He wrote to his uncle in a letter: "The reason of our downfall is the lack of organization in our community. The other faults, like illiteracy are due to the colonized history of India... About individual name and fame, you know a slave has nothing to do with it."

The stream of history from which he had taken the inspiration of his work is also indicated in this letter: "The society and dharma, protecting which Rama endured exile, Krishna endured many hardships, Rana Pratap roamed in the jungles, Shivaji gave everything, and for which the children of Guru Gobind Singh were entombed alive, can we not let go of our desires for that society and dharma?"

He remained a Pracharak in Lakhimpur from 1942 to 1945. He first oversaw the work of the district and then of division. Looking at his excellence in his work, intellectual capabilities and cultural values, he was promoted to the post of Sah Prant Pracharak of Uttar Pradesh (state-level co-ordinator) in 1945. At that time the Prant Pracharak of Uttar Pradesh was Bhaurav Devras. Bhaurav writes about the organizational capabilities of Deendayal:

"In the starting days of the Sangh, when the path of progress for the organization was full of thorns, you took upon yourself a great responsibility. In those times, not many people knew about the work and ideology of the Sangh. As a volunteer, you took upon yourself the responsibility of making it popular. You are the foundation

of the work done by the Sangh in Uttar Pradesh. The Sangh of today is a result of your hard work, your dedication. Many volunteers take you as their inspiration. As long as you were alive you kept inspiring people to take this path. Oh, ideal volunteer! I had heard the virtues of a perfect volunteer from the mouth of the founder of the Sangh. You are the personification of those values. You are that perfect volunteer! Great intellect, unusual dedication, devoid of any pride, you are an ideal of humility!"

In its initial years, the RSS grew through the strength of its university centres and branches in Uttar Pradesh. Deendayal Upadhyaya was the reason this became possible. When the RSS was banned after the assassination of Gandhi, Deendayal Upadhyaya became the wirepuller of Sangh propaganda and Satyagraha. 'Panchjanya' was banned by the government. Deendayal published 'Himalaya', remaining underground. It was also seized by the government. Then he published, 'Rashtrabhakt'. It was during this period that the constitution of the RSS was written. Deendayal Upadhyaya had an important role to play in it.

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CHAPTER THREE

AUTHOR AND JOURNALIST

On issues like nationality and national sovereignty, the RSS had opinions which were different from prevalent presumptions. Youth were attracted to the shakhas of the Sangh. In 1946, in a state meeting, Prant Pracharak Bhaurav Devras expressed the concern that the RSS literature was not available in simple language, understandable to the commoners. There was an urgent need of such literature. Deendayal Ji listened to this quietly. He wrote all night. In the morning, handing over the manuscript to Bhaurav Devras, he said: "Look, whether this booklet will be all right for the volunteers." Everyone was surprised that Deendayal Ji had written a whole tome in one night. His first book was published with the title of 'Samrat Chandragupta'.

The Sangh did not agree with the tactics of the recent attempts at independence. They saw a lack of policy and courage in those attempts. Through the historical characters of Chandragupta Maurya and Chanakya of his work 'Samrat Chandragupta', Deendayal Upadhyaya tried to instil the virtues of courage and military strategy in the adolescent volunteers of the Sangh. He was successful in his attempt. He was successful in expressing his views through the vehicle of these simple stories. The flow of the story is so good that after picking it up once, one cannot stop until it is finished. The book is not heavy with ideas, thoughts and philosophy. The radiance of sentiments,

brilliance of language and the natural flow of the story are some of the important points of this book.

'Samrat Chandragupta', the novel for children became very famous. People started demanding that similar book should be written for an older age group. In order to complete this expectation, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote another novel named, 'Jagadguru Shankaracharya'.

In this second work of Deendayal Upadhyaya, though the characters and events are old, the emotions, thoughts and ambience are modern. The aim of this work was to encourage the youth to devote their time to the work of the Sangh, to instil cultural pride in them and to give birth to the desire of giving up their life for the country, same feelings that Deendayal had while he worked for the Sangh and the country.

'Samrat Chandragupta' and 'Jagadguru Shankaracharya' which were published in 1946 and 1947 respectively are the only literary creations of Deendayal Upadhyaya. The literary genius that is evident from these two initial works is so great that had Deendayal chosen a literary career for himself, he would be counted among the big literary names in India. But after 1947, he did not create any literary work. His later works focus on thoughts and ideas. His later works were concerned with economic, social, political, cultural and philosophical ideas. They do not have the elegance and emotion of his initial two works.

He was also the editor of many newspapers and magazines, even while being a Pracharak for RSS. Through his efforts and inspiration, monthly magazine 'Rashtradharm' was started in 1945 and the weekly 'Paanchjanya' was started in the same year. Later, 'Swadesh' was also started. Deendayal Upadhyaya's name was never published in these publications; however he was the real editor, manager and even the compositor and machine-man if the need arose.

Why Akhand Bharat? (Undivided India)

It was the age when Deendayal Upadhyaya was spreading the nationalist awareness everywhere through

the agency of the Sangh. However the cunning British imperialists were making another scheme. They turned the struggle for independence into a rat race for power. The British put forward the condition that they will only leave if the country is divided into two on the lines of the two-nation theory. The leadership of India could not oppose this scheme of the British, and our colonial masters left after dividing the country into two. The Partition of India saw heavy bloodshed. The country was divided among those who considered India as one country and those who considered that it consisted of two separate nations. The same thought also overpowered Gandhi. He was brutally assassinated.

The Partition of India hurt Deendayal deeply. He vociferously put forward his point of view. According to him: "Akhand Bharat is not just a marker of the geographical unity of India but also emblematic of Indian philosophy which sees unity in diversity. Hence for us, Akhand Bharat is not a political slogan... it is the foundation of our philosophy of life."

In order to analyze the historical, geographical and cultural background behind the idea of Akhand Bharat, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote the book, 'Akhand Bharat Kyon?' (Why Undivided India?) In this work, quoting the ancient Indian texts, he mentioned the cultural and political traditions supporting the one nation theory for India. While the argument of this book is supported by facts, the language is also fluent and elegant. An excerpt: "While our leaders were applying *tilaks* in Delhi, our mothers and sisters were losing their husbands and brothers. While saying Vande Mataram, we had cut those very hands of mother India which had brought us up... Indian independence was declared by unfurling the Indian flag at the Red Fort of India but the bank of the Ravi on which the oath of independence was repeated was taken away from us."

Deendayal Upadhyaya thought that the policies of Muslim separatism, divide-and-rule policy of the British, the perverse view of nationalism of Congress and the policy

of appeasement were responsible for the partition of India. He has quoted that speech of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in detail, which he delivered on 20th December 1887 and in which Khan had called upon the Muslims to maintain a distinct identity from the Hindus and Congress Party. This speech was the first public expression of the idea of Muslim separatism which evolved through various phases of Aligarh Muslim University, the Muslim League and ultimately in the creation of Pakistan.

Deendayal Upadhyaya considered the Hindu-Muslim policy and the composite culture policy of Congress as another form of two-nation theory. He claimed that considering the Muslims as a separate race and to appease this feeling gave birth to the policy of Muslim appeasement. It also distorted the idea of nationalism: "By calling the Caliphate movement a part of the nationalist struggle for independence, we not only blackened our nationalism but also convinced the Muslims that they need not abandon their extra-territorial fealties for being a part of India. On the contrary if nurtured, the tendencies will become a part of Indian mainstream. As a result, Congress president Mohammed Ali opposed Vande Mataram in the Kakinada Congress of 1923."

This tendency of Congress had rallied the common Muslim behind the separatist Muslim leadership. Although the Muslim League was not much successful in the elections of 1935-36, the Muslims had strengthened their organization by taking advantage of the Muslim appeasement policy of Congress. In order to come to an agreement with Congress, Jinnah put forward a fourteen point and then a twenty-one point agenda in front of them. However, there was no agreement, since the Muslim League did not want one. They celebrated 'independence day' when Congress cabinet resigned and declared in Lahore in 1940 that Pakistan was their goal.

Deendayal was not of the view that if India had not accepted Partition, then it would not have become independent. He believed that had the Congress leaders

withstood their ground and helped in awakening the consciousness of India then the British would have left an undivided India and would have handed over the rule to Congress Party. About the ensuing bloodshed, he believes: "The blood that flowed before and after the Partition of India was more than the blood that flowed in the first and the Second World War. The animal instincts of human being that became apparent in the loot, kidnapping, murder and rape in the event did not take place even during the wartime."

None of our problems were solved with the Partition. The problem became even more severe. Pakistan plays a big role in making sure that the international strength of India remains zero. The Hindu-Muslim problem is just like it was before the Partition. The political parties of India still espouse the same ideas of composite culture and nationality. Their ideas give legitimacy to the state of Pakistan and its existence. Giving solutions at the end of his book, Deendayal says: "In reality, war is not the way to make India undivided once again. War can achieve geographical unity, but not national unity. Sovereignty is not just a geographical idea; it is also a cultural and national idea. The country was divided because of the principle of two-nation theory and the tendency to make many compromises. The idea of Akhand Bharat will be achieved if we stay on that principle completely. Those Muslims who lack nationalism now will also come with us later. But only if we stop compromising on the issue of nationalism, that which seems impossible today, can become possible tomorrow. We just have to keep alive the idealist within us."

In another article explaining his policy of not compromising on the issue of nationalism, he writes: "If we want unity, then Indian nationalism, which is Hindu nationalism and Indian culture which is Hindu culture should be considered our ideals. We should let all streams flow in this great flow of Bhagirathi. It will also take in the Yamuna and it will become one with the Ganga, losing all its impurities."

This book, 'Akhand Bharat Kyon' was written in the transition period, the time when he was moving over from the Sangh to Jan Sangh. His writing continued during this period. The coming chapters will mention it whenever the need arises.



CHAPTER FOUR

A REPRESENTATIVE OF CULTURE IN POLITICS

Gandhi said that after independence, Congress should be disbanded and different political parties based on different ideologies should be created. The socialists left Congress because of the differences in ideology. Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee was also the first Minister of Industry in the cabinet that was formed after independence. The Nehru-Liakat agreement was reached in 1950. Mukherjee was against it. He resigned from Congress. On 21st October 1951, 'Bharatiya Jan Sangh' was established under the leadership of Dr. Mukherjee. Before establishing it, Dr. Mukherjee had met with the Sarsanghchalak of the RSS, Shri M. S. Golwalkar. Both agreed on their idea of nationalism and nationality. Shri Golwalkar writes in an article: "...we agreed on everything. It was then that I chose the devoted, mature and selfless colleagues of mine for the responsibility of starting a new party... it was in this way that Dr. Mukherjee was able to accomplish his desire of establishing a new political party in the form of Bharatiya Jan Sangh."

He also wrote that: "We both (Dr. Mukherjee and Golwalkar) never took any important decision or step regarding organizational work without consulting each other. But we also took care that we do not interfere in each other's work and that no difference arises between the two organizations - so that no organization could dominate the other."

The most important of the devoted and hardworking

men that Shri Golwalkar had chosen and given to Dr. Mukherjee to work was Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. The first session of Bharatiya Jan Sangh was held on 29th, 30th and 31st of December 1952 in Kanpur. Deendayal Upadhyaya was appointed the General Secretary of this new party. This is where the pan-India journey of Deendayal Upadhyaya in the political arena starts. He showed his intellectual capacity in the very first session. A total of 15 resolutions were passed in this session, of which Deendayal alone had proposed seven. Dr. Mukherjee was not previously acquainted with the newly appointed General Secretary Deendayal Upadhyaya. But in Kanpur session he felt the work capacity, organizational skills and intellectual depth of Deendayal Upadhyaya. It is on this basis that he pronounced this famous judgment: "If I can get two Deendayals then I will change the political face of India."

Deendayal Upadhyaya had no personal life. He was the Pracharak of the RSS who had devoted his entire life to the organization. It was in the capacity of a Sangh Pracharak that he had accepted the responsibility of the General Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh political party. Hence except Jan Sangh he had no other personal or public life. He worked for Jan Sangh for seventeen years in the capacity of General Secretary, being its organizer and leading thinker.

Golwalkar had called for deep discussions on basic principles of the Jan Sangh in his talks with Mukherjee. Similarly Deendayal Upadhyaya had also taken upon himself to bring about a cultural renaissance in Jan Sangh and make its character and stand clear in front of everyone. He had started this from the very first Kanpur session. Denying geographical and land-based nationalism, analyzing the history of India and other countries, he argued that "geographical unity was not enough for national unity. Inhabitants of a country become one nation, only when they are culturally unified into a single unit. Until Indian society followed one culture, the basic unity of India was

maintained despite many political states. However, since the foreign rulers in India gave birth to foreign-oriented ideologies in India in order to increase the number of their own followers, our nationality came under threat. India which was following the idea of one nation for many centuries saw the idea of two-nation theory win. The country was divided and it became impossible for Hindus and other minorities to live in Pakistan. On the other hand, considering Muslim culture different from the rest, the same two-nation theory is nurtured and propagated in India by its politicians. This idea is an obstruction in the nation-building. For the development of one-nationality of India, it is very important that India nurtures one culture."

In the same session, without taking any particular name, the Indianization of a certain community was called for. "...but the society owes to the nation that it takes upon itself the job of Indianization of those factions of Indian society which were alienated by the foreign invaders and became foreign oriented. The Hindu society should affectionately take them into its fold, make them their own. This is the only way to end communalism and the unification of the nation and the country can be achieved."

This is an important resolution that marks out Bharatiya Jan Sangh from other political parties in India like Congress, socialist parties and other communist parties. These parties believe in an 'Indian nationality' which is based on the philosophy of composite Hindu-Muslim culture, 'regional nationality' and nation-state based upon the geographical and political grounds. They favour that Muslims have a different culture and that aspects of their culture and the special rights of Muslims should be protected and propagated at any cost. On the other hand, Hindu Mahasabha is not ready to accept the Muslims as Indians. That is the reason that Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee left Hindu Mahasabha and opened the gates of Jan Sangh for every religion. For Muslims and Christians, he used the phrase, 'those parts' and accepted them as part of Indian life and society. Virtually it has been accepted that the Hindu

society is also responsible in some parts in alienating the Muslim society. This fault should be remedied now and they should be shown love and affection. Only then the problem of Muslim communalism will be solved. Considering Muslims and Christians separate nationalities and propagating their special rights were considered as communalist and nation-breaking thoughts by Deendayal Upadhyaya. Commenting upon the thoughts expressed in the manifestos of every political party Deendayal Upadhyaya said: "The analysis made by parties like Congress, Swatantra Party and the Communists claims that justice is not done to the minorities. Bharatiya Jan Sangh does not consider the terms majority and minority as valid. It does not accept this division. It considers India is undivided; that it is One Nation. Jan Sangh has full faith that the culture of the entire nation is one. It does not accept the idea of different cultures on the basis of different religions. It believes in one national culture and One Nation. However, due to some historical reasons, a part of our society has been alienated from the national mainstream. It has also become anti-national. The Jan Sangh believes in curing them. It does not at all believe in supporting their separatist mentality... For us, nation is most important." This cultural concept of nationality is the fundamental thought behind Jan Sangh. Hence only the concepts of secularism and welfare state, which are the founding principles of any political party in the West, could never become the foundation of Jan Sangh. That is why Deendayal Upadhyaya said: "Jan Sangh is basically culturalist. It is on the foundation of culture that our economic, political and social thought stands."

Deendayal Ji gave a form to Bharatiya Jan Sangh, expanded it and gave it a certain character. However, he was not a political personality in traditional terms. It is imperative to mention an important incident here. 1964 summer Sangh Shiksha Varg (Sangh Education Camp) was going on in Udaipur, Rajasthan. In an intellectual session, Deendayal Upadhyaya said: "A volunteer should be

untouched by politics, like me.” This sentence was a puzzle. During the evening session, in the question-answer hour, he was asked: “You are the All-India General Secretary of a political party, how are you untouched by politics?” Deendayal Upadhyaya answered: “I am not in it for politics’ sake. I am a cultural ambassador in politics. It is not good for politics to become completely devoid of culture.” He insisted that we should develop Bharatiya Jan Sangh as a culture-centred party.



CHAPTER 5

POLITICS OF NATIONAL UNITY

Jan Sangh was born in the ideological background of Akhand Bharat. Due to this background, from the very first day, Jan Sangh started raising its voice in favour of the issues opposing the two-nation theory and in support of anti-Pakistan ideas. No other party has opposed state, casteist and linguistic separationism like Jan Sangh has. The architect of this nationalist push in Jan Sangh was none other than Deendayal Upadhyaya. It was he who created a political party which was different from all others. Every other political party was built upon selfish agendas centred on a particular community with materialistic agendas. On the contrary, Jan Sangh was built upon ideas of national unity and sovereignty. It not only raised its own voice for nationalistic goals, it also organized general public for these causes.

Kashmir Movement

The Kashmir Movement, waged by Bharatiya Jan Sangh had three famous slogans: ‘One country - One Law’; ‘One Country - One Leader’; ‘One Country - One Symbol’.

This was chiefly organized by the people’s parliament of Jammu. On 6th March 1953, Dr. Mukherjee entered Kashmir without permission. He waged Satyagraha and then sacrificed his life for the sake of merging Kashmir into India completely. Deendayal Upadhyaya played his role in collecting Satyagrahis from every corner of the country and making them active in the organization. In order to

express his views on the Kashmir issue, he wrote a long article in the Kashmir edition of 'Panchjanya'. He described in detail the related issues like the Pakistani attack on Kashmir just after the Partition; and the consequent weak response by Indian government and its decision to make United Nations a party in the issue, to entertain the idea of plebiscite for deciding whether Kashmir stays in India or not and to give Kashmir a special status by inserting Article 370 in the Constitution.

Another incident is worth mentioning here. Bharatiya Jan Sangh had come to acquire a reputation of a non-Communist party; hence the rightist Swatantra Party wanted Jan Sangh to merge with it. Some members of the Jan Sangh also were in the favour of this merger. Many meetings were held and electoral alliances were made. It was at this time that the General Secretary of Swatantra Party, Minoo Masani gave a statement that he was not satisfied by Jan Sangh's stand on the Kashmir issue. According to him, it was necessary to hold talks with Pakistan on this issue. He was also in favour of making United Nations a mediator in this issue. Deendayal Upadhyaya did not agree with this. He broke the alliance between Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party and declared:

"I thank Masani that he expressed his views on this issue in such clear terms. His declaration freed us from the electoral agreement which was becoming a problem due to the stand that Swatantra Party's leaders were taking on the issue of Kashmir and Pakistan. It is natural that Jan Sangh does not come to agreement with any such group or party which wants to hand over a party of the country to an aggressor and invader. We do not need the lectures of Masani on what is good and what is bad. The issue of national unity and indivisibility are central to our existence. We will not leave any stone unturned in achieving this goal."

Goa Liberation Movement

It is a strange thing that the Indian government which opposed imperialism and colonialism in every part of the

world had to be forced into acting against the Portuguese and French colonialists in the colonial enclaves of Goa, Daman, Diu and Pondicherry. In the very first session of Jan Sangh in Kanpur, 1952, Deendayal Upadhyaya had proposed the resolution to free these colonial enclaves from their colonial masters. For this Bharatiya Jan Sangh decided to celebrate 'dissolution day' (*Vilay Divas*) for pressurizing Nehru and to create awareness about foreign colonialism in India. Regarding this, Deendayal Upadhyaya issued a statement from Indore:

"The inhabitants of the French colonies of India have started a peaceful struggle in order to get freedom from their colonialist masters... Indian government should stop their 'wait and watch' policy and should take a powerful step in order to end this brutality against India. It was extremely necessary to take immediate police action."

Bharatiya Jan Sangh organized Goa Liberation Week from 9th of December, 1954 to 16th of December, 1954. On 14th April, 1955 the Central Executive Committee created Goa Liberation Committee and requested Indian government to take action for the liberation of Goa. Jan Sangh waged a nation-wide movement for spreading the awareness about liberating Goa from the rule of the Salazar of Portugal. On 21st June 1955, Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee decided to organize Satyagraha in Goa on 'Balidan Divas' (Martyr's Day). One hundred one Satyagrahis entered Goa under the leadership of the Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Jagannath Rao Joshi. They were persecuted. Raja Bhau Mahakaal from Madhya Pradesh and Amirchand Gupta from Uttar Pradesh, along with many others were martyred. Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote extensively for Goa Satyagraha and travelled all over India. Other parties, especially socialist parties also took part in this Satyagraha, but the behaviour of Congress was unfortunate, to say the least.

For forcing police action in Goa and to make India's independence complete, Bharatiya Jan Sangh and Deendayal Upadhyaya were very active in the Satyagraha.

They wanted these signs of imperialism to be wiped out from India.

Public Movement against the Berubari Handover

For ascertaining the border between the border states of India like West Bengal, Assam and Tripura with Pakistan, an agreement was made between Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru and Pakistan's Prime Minister Sir Feroz Khan Noon. According to this agreement, India decided to hand over the Berubari Union area to Pakistan in the Jalpaiguri district. The following analysis of the Sangh regarding this issue is worth mentioning:

"In 1958, Pakistan kept firing relentlessly into Indian territory in the Cooch Behar district of Assam and the border areas of Tripura. It occupied the Toker village in Assam and the Lakhimpur village in Tripura. It was in this relation that a meeting of secretaries was called in Pakistan and which was unsuccessful. Later the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan also met. As a result, Nehru-Noon agreement was reached between the two countries on 10th of September, 1958. In this agreement the villages of Toker and Lakhimpur were not even mentioned. They were allowed to remain in the illegal occupation of Pakistan. This was very bad but the Prime Minister did something even worse. He declared status quo and gave Pakistan the permission to raise the issue from scratch. He gave permission to Pakistan to make claim on areas on which there was no dispute since the Partition. A swap between the two countries was decided upon regarding areas such as the coastal area of the Ikshamati River in the 24 Pargana district, and the Berubari Union area of the Jalpaiguri district and the enclaves and exclaves of the Cooch Behar district. India stood to lose territorially in this agreement. All of this was hidden from the general public in the Nehru-Noon agreement. These issues became public when Pakistan's Prime Minister Sir Feroz Khan-Noon declared about it in the Parliament of Pakistan." The people of West Bengal opposed this deal tooth and nail. Jan Sangh started

a nation-wide movement against this deal. The Vidhan Sabha and Vidhan Parishad of West Bengal passed the resolution against this deal unanimously. Chief Minister Vidhan Chandra Rai said in Vidhan Sabha: "This deal has been reached without taking the people of West Bengal into confidence." Under the pressure from public, the President sent the issue of Berubari Union exchange to the Supreme Court for commendation. After analyzing all aspects of the issue, the Supreme Court gave a unanimous decision that: "In today's condition, it is un-constitutional to hand over any part of India to another country." The government then presented an amendment Bill in the Parliament. Jan Sangh declared a massive protest under the leadership of Deendayal Upadhyaya in front of the Lok Sabha. However, on the strength of their majority in the Lok Sabha, the government got this Bill passed in the House. Just a few weeks later, "China attacked India and Emergency was declared in the country. In order to humiliate India, Pakistan allied with China. In the light of these new developments everybody thought that the Berubari agreement will now be annulled. But the surprising thing is that the process of transfer of land was again started. The government of India suppressed the protests with *lathi* charge and arrested a great number of people."

Deendayal Upadhyaya was greatly saddened by this behaviour of the government. Criticizing Nehru, he said: "Pandit Nehru may well be a dictator, but we do not consider him as cruel and merciless as a despot. He has many qualities which stop him from being a perpetrator of violence... The situations today are such that he seems to be the creator of India's destiny. This situation is dangerous for those who value democracy. It is dangerous even for Pandit Nehru."

Protests against the Kutch Agreement

The events leading from the Kutch Agreement to the Tashkent Declaration (1965-66) show the difference of opinion between the two Prime Ministers, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri on the issues of defence.

For the first time, India replied the military aggression of Pakistan by similar aggression. Describing this in detail Deendayal Upadhyaya writes in his article:

“In February 1965, Pakistan Border Police started infiltration in the Rann of Kutch. On 17th March, Pakistan Rangers occupied Kanjarkot, 1300 yards inside Indian Territory. They kept doing this. On 25th of March, they occupied Dingh where the Indian Border Security Force had to retreat for 6 miles up to Vingokot... Pakistan marched forward in Kutch and on 9th April with heavy cannon fire and a huge army it attacked Sardan Post and Vingokot. Till now Indian government had left the security of borders to the Border Security Force. However, the public opinion in India was agitated against the present arrangement. As a result, the Army was given the task for protecting Kutch. The Army started pushing back the Pakistanis back to their country. As a result, on 14th April, 1965 Pakistan declared ceasefire and started talking about solving disputes by negotiations. India dismissed it by saying that there is no dispute over the Rann of Kutch. Hence, until and unless Pakistan retreats from Kanjarkot and all of the areas occupied by its Army, there will be no ceasefire.

“On 24th April, Pakistan attacked Indian Border Post Point 84. This attack also used the American tanks, which was against the agreement with America. India brought this fact to the attention of America, but it did not pay any attention towards this breach. This increased the confidence of Pakistan even further and later on it openly used American weapons in the war.”

“As soon as Indian Army prepared for embattlement against the enemy, British Prime Minister Wilson appealed and a ceasefire was accepted and later on in a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, as a result of the unofficial talks with Pakistan, it was decided to hand over the resolution of the Kutch dispute to an international jury.” This was the Kutch agreement between India and Pakistan. Naturally the decision of Shastri to not accept ceasefire before Pakistan returns the occupied land to India was

commended by Deendayal Upadhyaya, who considered it an unprecedented event in Indian history. However, he vociferously opposed the Kutch agreement arrived at between the two countries.

Bharatiya Jan Sangh waged nation-wide campaign to raise awareness about our military victory in the Rann of Kutch and against this agreement. The largest protest in Indian history was organized on 16th August 1965 under the leadership of Shri Bachhraj Vyas and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya in front of the Parliament. Not only in India, but the effectiveness, discipline, strength in number and the nationalist enthusiasm of this protest was recognized all over the world. The BBC estimated the number of protestors at about 5 lakh. Many leaders of the opposition parties addressed this huge rally. The immediate effect of this protest was that the then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri cancelled the meeting of the foreign ministers of India and Pakistan on 20th August 1965. Jan Sangh said in its proposal that if the public remains conscious like this, then the Kutch agreement will never become more than a piece of paper.

Indo-Pak War of 1965 and the Tashkent Declaration

This was a new experience for Pakistan. So far it had always had the upper hand in dealing with India, with the help of agreements and international pressure. Due to the cancellation of 20th August, the Kutch agreement was practically rendered useless. Pakistan tried to foment a big internal revolt in Kashmir by sending infiltrators, but the Indian Army foiled these attempts too and occupied those areas of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir from where most of the infiltrators entered. On 25th August, Indian Army occupied all points from where the infiltrators came. It declared ceasefire only after crossing the boundary and occupied Kargil peak and Hazipir valley.

On 1st September 1965, Pakistan attacked the Chhamb border region with heavy artillery and many soldiers. It had become clear that Pakistan was preparing for a large

scale war. On 5th September Pakistan attacked Amritsar with its air force. On 6th September Indian Army proceeded for Lahore and Sialkot. Describing these events almost live, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote in his article: "The policy for which the Jan Sangh was agitating started that day."

On 6th September, Lal Bahadur Shastri called an all party meeting in which Deendayal Upadhyaya and Sarsanghchalak Shri Guruji M. S. Golwalkar were also invited. Preparing for war, Jan Sangh and Sangh were acting as one unit. They assured the government of every kind of support. Deendayal Upadhyaya describes those days of war in these proud and elated words:

"The twenty-two days period of war with Pakistan was a time of pride in the history of independent India. Indian administration decided to take a bold and courageous step. The Army and general public helped in implementing that decision with enthusiasm, hard work, patience, skill and courage. The country came to know about its strengths and weaknesses on this occasion. It also came to know who was a friend and who was an enemy. Its self-dependence and self-respect also increased. Its reverie ended and the country started walking on solid ground again. Its desire to achieve greater goals strengthened. The ideology of Bharatiya Jan Sangh started becoming the ideology of the country."

The United Nations demanded a ceasefire in the name of peace. But India declined ceasefire until Pakistani Army remained on its soil. In 1949 too, India had declared ceasefire at the behest of the UN, but for sixteen years Pakistan occupied Indian Territory and the UN said and did nothing. Bharatiya Jan Sangh kept up the public pressure so that India does not declare ceasefire without completely freeing occupied Kashmir. A spirit of battle had pervaded entire India.

At the behest of Russian Prime Minister, a ceasefire was declared on 17th September, 1965 and the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan decided to hold a summit in Tashkent, mediated by Soviet Union. Deendayal Upadhyaya opposed

this declaration. Guruji M. S. Golwalkar gave many lectures across the country, repeating the slogan, 'Shri Shastri, do not go to Tashkent'. But no one could fight with fate. On 10th January 1967, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Mohammed Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Declaration. That night Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri mysteriously died due to cardiac arrest. The announcement said: "Indian Prime Minister and Pakistani President agreed that the armed soldiers of both the countries will return to their pre 5th August, 1965 positions. This will not be done after the date of 25th February, 1966. (Which means the withdrawal of soldiers will be done before this date). Both the sides will respect ceasefire on the line of control."

Hence the Indian land in Kashmir that had been liberated by the Army was to be reverted back to Pakistan. If Shastri had come back to India alive, Jan Sangh would have welcomed him with black flags, however his martyrdom changed things. Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote the book, 'Vishwasghat' ('Betrayal') on the Tashkent Declaration. He demanded for repealing the Tashkent Declaration. He was sad at that fact that despite so much sacrifice and national enthusiasm, Pakistani aggression on Indian land could not be put to an end. Lal Bahadur Shastri was declared by Deendayal Upadhyaya as a 'National Hero' during the war. However, in view of Tashkent Declaration, Shastri said in relation to the slogan, 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan'.

"We forgot the slogan of 'Jai Jawan' in Tashkent, and we also forgot 'Jai Kisan' when we got the American wheat. This is not a good sign. No foreign assistance is without its attendant costs."

He wanted India to become a nuclear power. He believed that on one hand nobody stood to be threatened by India's atom bomb and neither are we the agents of peace. "American and Russia have more than the number of atomic and nuclear bombs that are necessary to destroy this world, but they have not come to war so far. Hence the Congress government should start building the atomic

bomb and leave international peace to God.” (With luck, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the disciple of Deendayal Upadhyaya became Indian Prime Minister in 1998 and defying world powers, he made India a nuclear power.)

Reconstructing the Nation

On issues like internal indivisibility and security, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya was against the Federal Constitution structure itself. He favoured decentralized administration instead. As we had adopted the Union structure we had to create the various states as stipulated. The concept of linguistic states was accepted. It gave birth to many problems. Criticizing the federal structure and accepting the linguistic basis for the re-organization of the states, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote: “Language is an important unit in the creation of an administrative unit, but it cannot be considered the sole decider of statehood. Language has an important role to play in administration, especially democratic administration. That is why linguistic boundaries have become boundaries of the states, but some people have such extremist view on language that it starts smelling of sub-nationalism. Jan Sangh does not consider it right.” Hence he demanded that “a commission should be created which reorganizes the boundaries of the state. Saying that the different states have different languages and different cultures, is a fundamental mistake.” Upadhyaya also objected them being called states. He thought that India is one country; it is not a union of many states. Hence he suggests that instead of using the words, ‘Union’ and ‘states’, we should use central administration and provincial administration. This will be a step in the direction of One Rule. In the very first session of Kanpur, Bharatiya Jan Sangh had demanded the creation of a committee for the re-organization of the states, by passing a resolution.

In 1954, the Committee for the Re-organization of the states was constituted. Deendayal Upadhyaya handed over a notification to the Committee in which the request was made to consider criteria other than language in the re-

organization of the states. Commenting upon the policy of Bharatiya Jan Sangh to think of states re-organization on grounds other than linguistic, he said:

“...even if there is not a single Maharashtrian in Mumbai, even then it should be merged into Maharashtra. Similarly, even if there is not a single Bengali in Kolkata, even then it is a part of Bengal. We should think about re-organization on the geographical criteria... I am not willing to listen about what the local people are saying. Will we look for public consent again and again on these inconsequential topics? There will be One Rule in India, if not today, and then tomorrow, it will.”

Many communities and groups gave notifications to the Committee. They presented their own view for the re-organization of the states. When the Committee presented its report to the government, the Jan Sangh party welcomed it. Deendayal Upadhyaya said we have welcomed the report. Many are saying that this report has been prepared mainly on the basis of the recommendations of Jan Sangh.

Language Policy

India is a diverse country with a prosperous society and a vast geography. It is a problematic issue to create the language policy for such a country. Has any language ever been the national language of India in history? The answer to this question is not easy. Those linguists who differentiate between the Aryan and the Dravidian languages consider the languages of the south different from Sanskrit. However Deendayal Upadhyaya firmly believed that Sanskrit was the language of the educated elite of entire India and the languages of south India are not non-Sanskrit or anti-Sanskrit.

Deendayal Upadhyaya thought that both Urdu and English damaged the self-respect of the nation. Urdu was born of the medieval foreign attacks, written in Arabic script and composed of Persian vocabulary and English was the language of the British colonialists. He wanted to make Hindi the undisputed national language of India but due to the influence of regional languages and the dominance

of English, this was not easy. He remained very active in the language controversy with his sharp wit and kept expressing his view. He also made practical compromises on many issues. By making language a political issue, the national pride based on language was hurt and the development of Hindi was obstructed. Deendayal Upadhyaya observes: "Politicians can fight over the issue of language, they cannot create a language."

Commenting upon the notions that Hindi was incapable of becoming national language and English was the practical language, Deendayal Upadhyaya comments in his Swarajya vein: "During the early days of independence struggle, we always replied the pro-British elements within us that the need for self-rule would not be quenched by just good rule. Just like that, today the need for our own language will not be completed by just a good language."

He considered communication and the means of communication as an integral part of national unity and indivisibility. Hence he considered that the oldest language of India, Sanskrit should be declared as the link language of India. He was a great supporter of Hindi, however the 1957 Session of Bangalore and the 1967 Session of Calicut made him realize the limitations of Hindi. If arguing for a particular language as the national language of India results in the division of India into northern and southern parts, then it could not become the basis of the ideology of national unity for Deendayal Upadhyaya. Hence his desire to find the substitute of English in Indian languages increased. Before he could resolve the issue of a national language holistically, fate took him away from us.



CHAPTER 6

A PRIEST OF DEMOCRACY

Deendayal Upadhyaya wanted to build national freedom on the basis of Indian culture. Hence those Western concepts which are considered axiomatic by many, Deendayal Upadhyaya was not willing to agree to them blindly. On issues like western concepts of State, secularism, democracy and various '-isms' of the West, he commented from an Indian perspective. He was also in favour of Indianization of all of these concepts. He believed that democracy as such was not a Western gift to India. The basic concept of State in India is democratic. He writes: "Vedic 'sabhas' and 'samitis' (meetings and committees) were constituted on a democratic basis and many medieval states were completely democratic. We always put the king under the watch of various ethical disciplines. Our king did not just love his subjects, he also followed his subjects. There are of course the examples of those kings who violated these ethical boundaries and rules. However the public opposition to such kings and the tendency to consider such kings as fallen and evil shows the basic democratic nature of our society." Deendayal Upadhyaya says: "One interpretation of democracy is that it is a state which runs on debate. There is an old proverb in India which says that debate makes one realize the true nature of the self. But... if one does not try to understand the perspective of other and just keeps trying to impose one's own perspective, then debate leads to hardening of one's positions. When Voltaire said, "I do not think you are right, but I will fight with my

entire strength to defend your right to express what you consider as truth.” then he was just considered with the most superficial and outward meaning of language. Indian culture does more than this and considers debate as a means of achieving true ‘self-realization’. Deendayal Upadhyaya commented freely upon the rise of democracy in the West, its distortion as capitalism and ideas like the favouring of dictatorship by Karl Marx.

Indianization of Democracy

Even while Deendayal Upadhyaya was basically in agreement with the fundamental concept of democracy he considered that the western concept of democracy came in opposition to the unbridled kingship and the capitalist fuelled totalitarian state. He wanted to Indianize this concept. He welcomed the process of Indianization of democracy.

The West has invented the process of electing a democracy. It created constitution, executive, legislature and judiciary. But this is just the formal face of democracy. The soul of democracy is not in its form, but in the ability to truly represent the public desire. “Democracy does not depend on an outer structure. Adult franchise and election procedures are important parts of the election process, but they alone do not create democracy. Both are present in Russia, but the experts of international politics are not willing to call it a democracy. Along with adult franchise and election, a spirit is also needed to create a democracy... Just majority’s rule is not democracy... In such a structure, there will always be a community, a part of society whose voice will be stifled, no matter how right it is. This form of democracy cannot fulfil the concept of happiness for everyone, welfare for everyone. Hence in Indian concept of democracy, instead of external ideas like election, majority, minority-view, the focus is on harmony and confluence of different points of view. Even if one person has a different view, then we should not just respect him, but also try to integrate his point of view into our functioning. In England, where today’s democratic process

has gained maximum popularity, the leader of the opposition is paid from the government coffers. Just like in sports it is necessary to have two parties, in Parliament too, we need to have two parties. The opposition keeps giving its view on the policies of the government.”

Refinement of Public Opinion and Public Desire

Deendayal Upadhyaya believed that even though democracy is immediately decided by the process of elections, the rule of majority and the freedom of expression of the minorities alone cannot express democracy and democratic ideas properly. This process creates bitterness among communities and creates an unending strife in the society. Hence democracy is neither the rule of the majority, nor that of minority; it is the rule of the common public desire. The people cannot express their common desire officially. When the common public desire is not very clear then democracy is turned into a rule of crowds. Well-versed people can misuse it. Deendayal Upadhyaya quotes from an incident in Shakespeare’s play Julius Caesar: “The same crowd that was cheering Brutus on the assassination of Julius Caesar, in a few minutes, switched sides on hearing Antony and became bent upon killing Brutus. There is a fine line between mobocracy and autocracy. Democracy is that fine line but it is hard to walk it.” It is necessary to develop public opinion. Deendayal Upadhyaya considers this method as the one by which democracy is matured. Maturing a democracy is a cultural process. On one hand the way of the Communist dictatorships to brainwash and coerce the unwilling citizens in the ways of the State, is inhuman. On the other hand, a democracy either gives way to anarchy or the government propaganda medium becomes the vehicle of propagating its opinion. According to Deendayal Upadhyaya, “India solved this problem by taking away the means of moulding public opinion from the State. It is the task of the debating saints to develop public opinion. It is the job of the State to work according to public opinion. The saints, taking care of the spiritual

well-being of the people, keep telling them about the ethics of dharma. As they are not at all involved in the proceedings of the world, they can easily arbitrate truth. It is with education and culture that society creates and nourishes values. When we bind the public into these values, public opinion will never become a problem by breaking its disciplinary banks." Deendayal Upadhyaya's idea of maturing public opinion is similar to the thinkers who gave birth to the 'We Educate our Masters' movement in the West. Some of the most important concepts that Deendayal Upadhyaya propounded are: 1. Tolerance and Discipline. 2. Fearless disposition. 3. Healthy respect of law

He did psychoanalysis of these concepts and called upon the volunteers so that they can propagate these concepts in the society through the process of maturing public opinion.

Deendayal Upadhyaya was not only an academic savant, or just a philosopher, he was also a volunteer in the political arena. Election process is not a tool to gain power; instead it is a medium of public participation. To ensure that this medium is used for this good purpose, he also wrote over issues like good candidate, good party and good voter. This portrays him more in the image of a statesman rather than a politician.

Good candidate

According to Deendayal Upadhyaya: "An ideal candidate is the one who, along with representing his political parties in the assemblies, also recognizes the pulse of the people he represents. As an individual he should be loyal to his people. He should also follow the discipline of the party that he represents. He should also have a sense of devotion in his heart for the completion of his goal."

The criterion of a good candidate is to be equally dedicated to his party and his people. However, he expressed his dissatisfaction at the state of the then political parties in India. He expressed that the parties are more interested in choosing the winning candidate rather than choosing the good candidate who fulfils the criteria described above:

"Unfortunately I have to say that there is no political party in India which fulfils all these criteria, and the only thing which matters to them is that anyhow their candidate should win the elections... They try to give ticket to a candidate who is more likely to win the elections than other candidates of the ticket." That is why Deendayal Upadhyaya warns the voters: "We will always have to remember that a bad candidate is not worthy of our votes just because he is from a good party... It is possible that the party gave ticket to an unworthy candidate due to some reasons or by mistake. Hence the job of the responsible voter is that he corrects the mistake of the party by voting the right candidate."

Good Party

Political parties play a very important role in the democratic process. By looking at the character of its political parties, we can guess how democratic a society is. According to Deendayal Upadhyaya, the signs of an ideal party are: "A Party which is not just a group of power-hungry politicians, but a dynamic and alive organization, which specializes in things other than winning power. For such a party the goal of taking power will not be an end in itself but it will be a means to implement its principles and programs. In such a party, everyone from the highest officer to the commonest worker will have an idealist faith in the goals of the party. We should remember that this dedication is what gives birth to discipline and devotion... if discipline is imposed from above then it just displays the inner lack of strength in a party."

Deendayal Upadhyaya sadly proclaims that the political parties of India are parties, just in name. The internal weakness of political parties makes them accept the anti-social elements in the party. Upadhyaya mentions the compulsions: 1. Kings 2. Casteism and 3. Entrepreneurs.

Kings: "The political parties of India have still not been able to spread their roots in the general public... Political parties sweep aside their political programs. They are just interested in making themselves perfect in winning the

elections. This is the reason that even in this age, efforts are made to draw old kings, Nawabs and landlords in the fold of political parties... We accept that this old class of society should also become active in the political arena, but the criterion of giving ticket should not be their being from a royal family, but on their inherent capabilities."

Casteism: "Considering caste and community before choosing the candidates also affects the selection process... Every person in India is from one caste or other. Hence blaming others of Casteism and narrow-mindedness unknowingly encourages this trend... If the situation deteriorates to the point where even a personality like Ram Manohar Lohia has to step down from the candidacy in a particular constituency just because he does not belong to the dominant caste of the region, then the situation is serious. The only way to solve this is to make the organization strong instead of appealing to the voters in the name of caste."

Capitalists: The second most important criterion in choosing a candidate is his economic condition; that how much can he spend in the elections. The only reason to give tickets to many candidates is their strong economic conditions. They do not go to political parties and voters to ask for tickets and votes; they come to buy it... Membership of the Parliament is just a way for them to get richer. Congress and all other political parties want money so badly that in order to increase their strength they are always eager to get the support of these capitalists.

Good Voter: Deendayal Upadhyaya believed that only the wisdom of voter can make him vote wisely. "All of these problems are taking the politics of the country in the wrong direction." Those political parties which want to emerge as the primary political party of the country should not kill their principles by compromising on these issues. Similarly the public also has the duty to remain aware and act with wisdom so that the wrong attitudes of the political parties are remedied." For this Deendayal Upadhyaya tells the voter to remember certain points:

1. "...one should cast one's vote for one's principle and

not for the party; for the party and not for the individual; for the individual and not for money."

2. "...victim of extreme propaganda, some cast their vote just because a candidate is going to win. In this case no matter what is the result of the elections, such a voter will lose."
3. "... the right to vote is the test of your intelligence and wisdom. Hence do not be disillusioned; do not sell it and do not let it go to waste."
4. "The right to vote is the sign of the freedom of every citizen. Being a democratic citizen of a free country, you should not exercise it on anyone's instructions; you should use it at the call of your conscience and according to your wisdom."
5. "...the public has to remember this again and again that it is the public which creates the political parties."

Deendayal Upadhyaya was the General Secretary of a political party, but his thoughts transcend the boundaries of party-based politics. He has expressed these views as a true proponent of democracy. The diverse character of our country can only maintain its national unity, if the country remains democratic. It was his nationalism that made Deendayal Upadhyaya a staunch supporter of democracy.

Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote profusely on democracy and related issues. Starting from Western and Indian concept of democracy he talks about Indianization of democracy. He concludes his thinking on the subject with an analysis of Indian democracy. Deendayal Upadhyaya's thinking is idealist. His thoughts are more influenced by ethics rather than sociology and psychology. Someone who follows ethics even in difficult circumstances can also prove the importance of ethics. Opportunists, who make compromises in difficult situations, abandon ethics for immediate gains. Their behavioral policy is nothing more than opportunism. The worst age of the opportunism that Deendayal Upadhyaya had warned us about, began in India when he was murdered. It was a huge loss for Indian democracy. ■■

CHAPTER SEVEN

ECONOMIC THINKING

We know about Deendayal Upadhyaya's mathematical acumen from the stories of his childhood. When he was pursuing higher education in literature and when he became the member of a political party, he realized that without an independent economic thinking, no independent society can think about its holistic development. He was not ready to accept a ready-made economic model. Deendayal Upadhyaya was the leader of a party which was basically culturalistic in nature and which did not want to walk on the path of materialistic pathways created by the Western thinkers. No modern party can think about its continued existence without the 'economic policy' based upon the modern welfare state. Without familiarizing oneself with social and economic life, no political party can gain ascendance on the basis of cultural, religious and classical principles. Hence when Deendayal Upadhyaya became the leader of the party, he tried to develop an economic policy for the party which was based on cultural foundation. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote many articles and documents on this topic. The following three books were published in which these articles are in chronological order:

1. The Two Plans: Premises, Performance, Prospects. 2. Bharatiya Arth Neeti: Vikas Ki Ek Disha. (Indian Economic Policy: A Direction of Development) 3. Devaluation - A Great Fall

Indianization of Economic Policy

Deendayal Upadhyaya used to express his opinion on this issue in related lectures and articles, commenting upon the policies of the government. He thought that copying the economic policies of the West was bad. He thought that there are a lot of differences in our conditions and those of the West. We will have to Indianize our economic policy. Analyzing this aspect, Deendayal Upadhyaya writes:

"The problem of poverty in the country should be solved. There is no question about it. However, the question is: how to do it? Shall we take the American route of capitalism or the Russian route of socialism, or shall we follow the European countries? We will have to understand that no matter how different these economies are, there is one similarity in all of them. All of them have considered the machines as the route to economic progress. The primary quality of a machine is maximum production without using human help. As a result these countries had to look for foreign markets in order to sell the surplus produce in their own countries. Imperialist colonialism is a natural conclusion of this phenomenon. The route of imperialist expansion may be different, but be it Russia, America or England, all had to take recourse of this route. We will have to accept that the route to economic development of India is not the route of the machines. The only way our country can economically progress is by considering cottage industries the foundation of Indian economic policy."

Deendayal Upadhyaya did not consider an economy based upon large-scale industry appropriate for Indian conditions. He was in favor of small landed peasants in agriculture. In the Congress Session of 1959, based on the Communist Chinese experiment, the government passed the Bill for co-operative farming. Deendayal Upadhyaya opposed the Bill considering it impractical and undesirable.

He commented upon every economic and financial incident in the country. The literature comprising these comments was readily available. When the government proposed the nationalization of food industry, Deendayal

Upadhyaya opposed this move with sound economic arguments. P.A.L. in 1960, Gold (Control) Act in 1963 and the Devaluation of Indian Rupee in 1966 were incidents during which Deendayal Upadhyaya refined his arguments. He presented his pathway of national and human empathy holistically and with facts. He used to write a new article on economic policy every year, which was based on cultural thinking

Deendayal Upadhyaya was a regular critic of our five-year plans. In 1958, he wrote a book based on solid research on the two five-year plans till date: "Two Plans: Promises, Fulfillment and Symptoms" It is a research based analysis of an economist politician. Definitely the author of this book is giving an anti-thesis, is the member of the opposition. Hence, he has used language which is aggressive in nature, making political attacks on the government.

This book does not only analyze the two five-year plans but also makes a holistic criticism of the concept of economic management and along with it historical and factual solutions to these problems. There is too much factual information in the book, presenting comparative and analytical figures. It is not easy to read or understand this book without having a background in economics.

Yagyadatt Sharma comments upon this book by Deendayal Upadhyaya: "This book was so interpenetrating that the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal issued a notice to all related officers, telling them that he had not seen such serious and factual criticism of the these Plans elsewhere." Apart from this book, Deendayal Upadhyaya kept criticizing and analyzing these plans in various articles until the Fourth Five-Year Plan. In order to understand his analysis properly it is necessary to understand all the comprehensive literature available.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru died while the Fourth Five-Year Plan was in the making. Naturally if there is an imprint of one man on the Five-Year Plans of India, then it is Jawaharlal Nehru. He was the creator of these plans. His

ambitious ideas about economic progress are reflected in these plans. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted rapid economic progress for India so that it could compete in the rat race on global platform. Deendayal Upadhyaya favored normal progress. He considered evolutionary process more long-lasting and less problematic. He thought that while on one hand our country should be ahead in the race for progress, we should also take care that every individual of our country also participates in that progress. That is why he always insisted that the principle of 'job for everyone' should be the first priority of these five-year plans. The common results of over-working a system could be seen in our country. Deendayal Upadhyaya said: "It is possible that the goose laying the golden eggs may be killed."

Lal Bahadur Shastri was not charismatic enough a leader to be able to change the Planning Commission and the structure of Five-Year Plans, which were created by his larger than life predecessor Jawaharlal Nehru. Deendayal Upadhyaya's criticism of the Fourth Five-Year Plan is wider and more systematic than that of the previous plans. He wrote a series of five articles in 'Panchjanya' by the name of 'Yojana Badlo' (Change the Plan!). We can study his thoughts on the basis of these articles.

Finance in Indian Culture

Deendayal Upadhyaya was not just a critic of economy, but he was also an economic thinker. He was a dynamic philosopher of Jan Sangh. Being a holistic philosopher, Deendayal Upadhyaya disagreed with anyone who considered one specific dimension of life as the sole regulator of the wholeness of life. Such thinkers present such one-sided view of one dimension that all the diverse aspects of life are ignored. Deendayal Upadhyaya writes in this respect:

"Bharatiya Jan Sangh has clear economic program; but its place has only that much importance in our entire program as the importance of finance is in Indian culture. Western culture is economy-centric as it is materialistic in nature. We want a harmony of both materialism and

spiritualism. Hence it is clear that Jan Sangh will always differ from those political parties and groups which consider every other life value inferior to finance. Jan Sangh thinks holistically about heart, mind and body, all three of them. That is why some people blame the Jan Sangh that it ignores spirituality; that it cannot speak the language of Maharishi Aurobindo and other great men. We invite both kinds of allegations and want to say just this: finance is necessary in any concept of society. However, only that much money which is necessary for the livelihood is given space in our program. The rest of the time and energy of all of us should be employed in doing greater work."

In order to explain his economic thinking, Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote a book: "Bharatiya Arthneeti: Vikas Ki Ek Disha" (Indian Economic Thinking: A Director of Progress). Analyzing his economic policy he has tried to explain his meaning of 'integral human'. "What we mean by the 'economic dimension' is to eliminate both the effect and absence of finance from society."

The Psychology of Money

The absence of money makes one steal. The stealing that is done in want of a necessity is not considered stealing in Indian Shastras. It is called, as the dharma of times of emergency:

"Vishwamitra violated many limitations of dharma. By quoting the dharma of emergency, the Shastras' authors have legitimized his actions. If there is a lack of money, then the very act of stealing will become the dharma of the people. If this situation becomes whole sale and becomes all prevalent then people will steal from each other."

Hence the lack of wealth in society converts adharma into dharma. As it is said: "Just the influence of wealth destroys dharma... When wealth or the objects bought with wealth create affliction in their master, and makes them habitual of luxury and indulgence then it is called the effect of money. When everyone is running after wealth in a society, then every job will require lot of money. This effect of wealth in turn will create the lack of wealth in everyone's

life."

The Question of Proprietorship

Who owns it? It is the age-old question of a civilized society. Thinking of property as the regulator of entire society has increased the importance of this query. The ideological clash of individualism and socialism has given a new dimension to this. Does the individual own the property? Or the society owns the property? Upadhyaya considers this very clash as irrelevant, hence there is no clear answer to this question.

Every individual is a representative of society. Hence he is the custodian of a part of the property that belongs to the society. Upadhyaya was against making an individual devoid of all glory. All individuals are part of the society. He himself is a part of the heritage. The property truly belongs to the society. However, Deendayal Upadhyaya did not consider the State as the sole representative institution of the society. He considered the centralization of private property as wrong as centralization by the State in the name of social or public right. He considered it the insult of humanity to make the common man a slave of capitalists or the State capitalists. Deendayal Upadhyaya did not consider either individual as the sole proprietor of property, nor the State power as such. He was against the centralization of proprietorship. Hence he was the supporter of a decentralized state and decentralized economy.

Deendayal Upadhyaya said: "... the socialists talk about ending personal property. It is hard to support them either theoretically or practically. Although, our saints have been calling for not hoarding money or other materials, this world is made of possessions and possessiveness. The Communists, who wanted to put an end to private property, started accepting it, first personal property and then private property. Even while there are some evils in private property we cannot oppose it. But of course, we will have to put some limits on private property."

For the regulation of private property and for

management of the earning of livelihood, Upadhyaya accepts the authority of the State. Where there is a danger of the wealth getting concentrated into a few hands, he considers that nationalization is important and desirable:

“So far as the cottage industries are concerned, this is not at all a danger. But where the big industries come into the scene, this danger becomes apparent. The nationalization of the defense industry is a must. Now the question remains about the capital industries. They should also be nationalized ultimately. Today capital industries are considered private ventures. They should be evolved into something more. Until the process of nationalization of all these industries is not achieved, the banding of all such industries together in a group should be prevented. Those industries where these groups have already been formed should be nationalized. Even in the arena of cottage industries, we should be careful that the capitalists do not use them by herding them into groups. The difference in the distribution and property in Japan is due to the reason that their cottage industries are controlled by their capitalists.”

The way that the capitalists and the socialists present the question of proprietorship, Deendayal Upadhyaya considers it a sign of their fragmented thinking. He thinks that instead of the question of proprietorship of property, the question of its centralization or control is more important. The question of consumerism is also important. Hence he writes:

“The concepts of either complete control of proprietorship or its unbridled use are both wrong. Even if I completely own an object, it does not mean that I can do with it whatever I want. Until and unless we separate proprietorship and consumption, we cannot stop the evils that result from them. Everyone should think that ‘even if I am the owner of an object, I can only use it in the benefit of the society’. Even when the State is the owner, it controls the property or the product with the help of individuals. Someone who uses his own product without any hindrance will also use public property with abandon. If we consider

implementing laws to regulate his use of the property, then they can be implemented even while maintaining his ownership of the property.”

Deendayal Upadhyaya was against both extremities: the idea of unbridled State power which disrespects individual rights; and unbridled individual rights which disrespect the society. He considered it the unhealthy state of human society. The question of either individual or State having unbridled control over property was also a result of this unhealthy state of being. He thought that: “The question of the use of any product is actually the right to use any property within the limits of the society and for achieving certain goals. With time these rights change. Hence, naturally we will not entertain this Individual vs. State debate. A property should be enjoyed for the benefit of the society, not without control. This Indian idea of ‘trusteeship’ was put forward by Indian thinkers like Gandhi and Guruji Golwalkar.” The happiness of the entire humanity is in the harmony of the individual with the whole world. This concept of common ownership of property was at the foundation of his grand idea of ‘integral humanism’.

Economic Democracy

Deendayal Upadhyaya did not consider democracy the only dimension of the political life. He thought that just like ‘vote for everyone’ is the criterion of political democracy; similarly ‘job for everyone’ should be the criterion of economic democracy. Explaining the idea of ‘job for everyone’ he says: “First the job should enable the individual to earn his livelihood. Second, the individual should be able to choose which job he wants to take. If he does not get a justified part of the national income in return of his services, then his work will be considered ‘forced labor’. From this point of view, minimum wages, just distribution and some kind of social security become necessary.”

Upadhyaya explains further: “Just like ‘forced labor’ is not something we can accept, similarly an individual not producing products or services up to his capacity is also not work. ‘Under-employment’ is also a problem.”

Deendayal Upadhyaya considered an economy un-democratic which harms the freedom of production. A worker who is not the owner of his own produce sells his freedom. Economic independence and political independence are mutually dependent. Political democracy cannot run without economic democracy. Someone who is economically independent will be able to cast his vote and opinion with independence.

The greatest harm to freedom of production has been dealt by capitalist industrialization. Hence he wanted the regulation of industrialization in a way so that it does not stifle the life out of the cottage industry. "Today, when we talk about holistic development, we think that protection is necessary. The national industry will have to be protected from the global industry and the cottage industry will have to be protected by the big industry." Upadhyaya felt that copying Western industrialization has pushed back traditional production in India and it has encouraged the brokers." We have blindly followed western technology. Our industry is not developing naturally. They are not an integral part of our culture, but have been imposed from above. The development of our industry is led by those indigenous industrialists who copy the western methods. That is the reason that most of the big industrialists of India have come from the ranks of speculators, stockists and brokers. Artisans in handicraft and other related industries have not developed at all."

Development of Volunteerism

The industrialization which disrespects the common craftsman and artisan is un-democratic. Deendayal Upadhyaya considers the fight between capitalism and socialism over private and public area and property as unnecessary and wrong. Both have stifled volunteerism. For economic democracy the tradition of volunteerism has to be encouraged. For this decentralized economy is needed:

"...just like the institutions of administration are created by decentralizing the political power, similarly the foundation of decentralization of economy should also be

achieved. The creative capacity of an individual gets full scope to express itself in a political democracy. Just like that in economic democracy, the capabilities of the individuals should not be trampled but should be allowed to flourish... just like the dictatorship destroys the creative capability of an individual, similarly heavy industrialization destroys the creative capacity of the individual, regarding his economic prowess. Hence, just like dictatorship, such industrialization should also be avoided."

Making clear the limitations of machine-driven industrialization, Deendayal Upadhyaya proposes: "If 'job for everyone' principle is adopted, then the direction of equal distribution is decided and we progress towards decentralization. It is wrong to consider industrialization our objective. In mathematics, we can express this formula as: $J \times K \times Y \times E$

Here J denominates people, K denominates the state of work, Y denominates machines and E denominates the dominant desire of the society, or the symbol of willed resolution. E and J are constants. K and Y have to be decided in ratio of E and J. But when industrialization is the goal, 'Y' controls everything else. People are screened out in proportion of Y. E also has to follow the surplus production from machines in ratio of Y. This is always undesirable. Any economic policy which limits J is un-democratic. Any economy which limits and controls E is dictatorial. Hence, K should be managed in control of J and E. Only such an economic policy can be called democratic and humane.

Decentralized Economy

For decentralized economy, decentralized political system is also necessary. Regarding this, Deendayal Upadhyaya was in support of self-dependent Gram Panchayats and Janpads. The foundation of our economy should be our villages and our Janpads. Those economic policies which lay ruins to villages will ultimately ruin India. The extreme development of our cities and villages will ultimately be bad for our national unity. Due to the centralization of resources and power, we cannot escape

from the cycle of the evils of capitalism and its reactions. In Indian circumstances, a decentralized economy is must for the establishment of democracy. Hence Deendayal Upadhyaya says:

“...we need decentralized economy. We will have to create a self-employed sector. The larger this sector is, the farther man will progress, the more humanity will progress and one man will be able to think about other. If we think about the needs and capabilities of every individual and give him work accordingly then his abilities can be developed. India can give the world such decentralized economy.” It is hard to bring back those sectors which are now employed with heavy industrialization. Hence the Third World countries should adopt the decentralized economy centered on villages and cottage industries.

Deendayal Upadhyaya did not think that cottage industries are not economic in nature. He thought that the belief that big industries earn big profit is a myth. Real surplus and income comes from small-scale and cottage industries.

“...the truth is that surplus income is not generated by producing on a big scale but producing in large quantities. If we study history then we will know that despite the fact that cloth was manufactured on a big scale in Britain even then, Indian cloth was cheaper in Britain. Those products from Japan which are cheaper than the local products in India and other countries are not manufactured in big factories but in cottage industries in homes. If the inconveniences of small-scale industries are eliminated and the facilities given to large-scale industries are withdrawn then small-scale industry will come out as the winner. We know that during 1930-37, the motorways had left the railways behind. If the State and the War had not come to the aid of railways then it would have been hard for them to stay afloat.”



CHAPTER 8

FOUNDER OF INTEGRAL HUMANISM

Deendayal Upadhyaya is a great personality of the latter half of 20th century. It was the time when many ideologies were quite popular all over the world. In the four centuries after the European Renaissance of sixteenth century, ideas had developed a global character. Now the visible world was no longer an unsolvable mystery. Courageous globe-trotters had travelled all over the world. Science, materialism and humanism had challenged the monopoly of God and his mysterious ways. Science attacked the mysticism and secretiveness and faith based beliefs were shaken by logic and reason. Now wisdom was ruling instead of faith in God. Ideas like secularism, democratic individualism and socialism had become strong in place of theocracy. Europe had been turned upside down.

Man, released from the fear and love of God, planned to conquest Nature and conquest the world. European colonies were built on new lands ‘discovered’ by the courageous explorers. 20th century was the age in which these empires were challenged. Nationalism started attacking imperialism.

The science and other knowledge of the West reached Asia and Africa through the agency of colonialism. Due to the influence of the West, the decisive direction of these societies was changed. But Asian nationalist mind thought that it was its insult to accept the predominance of the West

in knowledge along with its predominance in political sphere. Hence it rejected the Western knowledge. Deendayal Upadhyaya was the product of this kind of thinking.

After careful study and experience of two decades, Deendayal Upadhyaya codified his ideology as 'Integral Humanism' in a document of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, named 'Concepts and Policies'. Remembering Chanakya and Shankaracharya in its Preface, he says:

"Today I remember two Indians who brought revolutions in Indian history. One was Jagadguru Shankaracharya when he set out for eliminating adharma and evil in the country with the idea of Sanatana Dharma; and the second was Chanakya who, taking responsibility of economic thinking, set out to create an organized Empire from many republics that were scattered and fighting with each other. Today, presenting this prototype, a third such incident comes to mind. Developed upon the reflections of foreign philosophies, human relations are today incomplete and malnourished. As compared to that, the philosophy of 'Integral Humanism' is based on pure Indian thoughts. Today we are starting the great work of re-strengthening Indian point of view, through the philosophy of 'Integral Humanism'."

Deendayal Upadhyaya creates a new three-legged foundation of Indian philosophy, comprised of the Vedanta of Shankara, Arthashastra of Kautilya and Integral Humanism propounded by him.

The ancient foundation had the Upanishads, Shrimad Bhagvad Gita and Brahma Sutras created by Vyasa.

Deendayal Upadhyaya got the opportunity to develop and present his thoughts clearly in the yearly sessions of Sangh Education Camps organized by the RSS, where he could be free of party politics and immediate responsibilities. His philosophical thoughts were refined over many intellectual sessions that he took in these Camps. He propounded his theory of 'Integral Humanism' for the first time in the 1964 camp of Bharatiya Jan Sangh in Udaipur

of Rajasthan. He also used the 'Volunteers Training Camps' of Bharatiya Jan Sangh for this purpose too. His ideas that matured over these education camps were presented systematically on two occasions. The first occasion was the training camp of Bharatiya Jan Sangh from 11th of August to 15th of September, 1964 held in Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh. He had presented the prototype of his book 'Concepts and Policies', written for Bharatiya Jan Sangh. The party declared this concept paper its official ideology in the 1965 session of Vijaywada. The second occasion was when from 22nd to 25th of April, 1965, Deendayal Upadhyaya gave four consecutive lectures on 'Integral Humanism' in Mumbai. But a large part of his philosophy is implicit in the Sangh Education Camps in which he had given a lot of intellectual talks. This philosophy is spread out in the lectures delivered by him over a period of 20 years. Most of these lectures are no longer available. Its background is given in the articles of *Rashtradharma*, *Panchajanya* and the *Organisers*.

The intellectual dependence that was prevalent in post-independence India was unbearable to Deendayal Upadhyaya. It is in this pain that his ideas evolved. Expressing his intense experiences, he writes in his article, 'Concepts and Policies': "Instead of working for the well-organized and planned progress of the nation, the ruler and the ruled are victims of unconcern and delusion. They are bewildered and have lost the drive to progress on a decided path. In a permanent state of loss of faith and self-confidence this state is not good for the identity and existence of the nation. It is dangerous for its soul. It is shameful. We will have to change this and challenge the manhood of the nation."

"The biggest reason behind the present sorry state of affairs is that foreign ideologies and life values are imposed upon us, without analyzing and understanding the soul of the nation. In the impatience to get sudden promotion and success, we have been following other countries blindly. This is how we have developed the tradition of self-loathing

and self-hatred. This has resulted into a frustrated national mind.”

This frustration was the challenge that woke up the inherent philosopher in Deendayal Upadhyaya. He gave the nectar of Integral Humanism to the world and the society.

Theoretical Background

There are two dimensions to the concept of ‘Integral Humanism’. The first dimension is: philosophy of life; and the second is: Indian culture. Humanism is basically a western concept and integral identity is an Indian one. Western philosophies are body-centric. Hence it can be said that ‘Integral Humanism’ is a result of the Indianization of the western concept of ‘humanism’.

Generally, Deendayal Upadhyaya in his many articles and speeches, has described Indian culture with pride. But he was also conscious about the weaknesses of India. Isolationism, dependence on fate and other diseases were eating India from the inside. Hence, he was against redundant ideas in the name of cultural superiority. He writes:

“We have thought over our ancient civilization. But we are not archaeologists. We do not want to become the curator of an archaeological museum. Our goal is not the preservation of culture, but to make it more alive and efficient. We will have to put an end to many dogmas. We will have to make many amends. If untouchability and discrimination are rampant in the society, due to which human beings are not considered human beings and which are proving dangerous to national unity, then we will put an end to them.”

Deendayal Upadhyaya was conscious about the western distortions and was a devout follower of Indian culture. His Indian nature was open to harmony. Hence neither did he consider a foreigner derogatorily, nor did he consider every Swadeshi thing automatically the best. His formula was: “We should see human knowledge and achievements cumulatively. We should mould whatever is ours according

to the present age, and whatever is foreign, according to our native conditions. This is how we should pave the road ahead.” He believed that Swadeshi should be adapted according to the present situations and the foreign elements should be Indianized. It is due to this mentality that he said: “Neither do we want to make India an imprint of what it was in some ancient era in history, and nor do we want to convert it into Russia or America.”

When Deendayal Upadhyaya presented his analysis of ‘Integral Humanism’ in the historical lecture at Mumbai, he concluded his lecture in these emotional words:

“We will create an India based on the global knowledge and our traditions, which will be even more glorious than the India of our ancestors. It will be an India in which man will develop not just himself, but along with it his society, entire humanity and entire world. He will be able to realize oneness with Nature. He will be able to realize God. This is the eternal, divine and dynamic nature of our culture. This is our guidance to the global man who is on crossroads. God shall give us strength so that we are successful in this aim, this is my prayer to him.”

“The centre of our entire system, should be, ‘man’; the man who is the living representative of the entire universe. Physical tools are means of gaining happiness. They are not an end in themselves. The system which focuses the materialistic man instead of the holistic man is faulty. Our foundation is the ‘integral human’ who is capable of representing all wholeness within himself. We will have to develop all institutions of life.”



CHAPTER 9

GENERAL SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT OF BHARATIYA JAN SANGH

From December 1951, first session of Bharatiya Jan Sangh at Kanpur to December 1967, fourteenth session at Calicut, Deendayal Upadhyaya remained the General Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh.

The sessions, movements, practice sessions and resolutions of Jan Sangh of Bharatiya Jan Sangh were all influenced by the personality of Deendayal Upadhyaya. His constant travelling all over the country made him readily available to the volunteers. His reports presented in sessions of the party were not just formal compilation of facts, instead they were an enthusiastic and self-critical appraisal of the dynamism of the institution. The report of a General Secretary is a document which presents the evolution of Jan Sangh. They are not just a catalogue of the activities of Jan Sangh, they are also the diary of national events. The reports of 1957, 1962 and 1967 are no less than a university thesis or dissertation, based on solid research. They compile political situations, political and statistical solutions, comments on various incidents etc. They are invaluable documents for any researcher of history. They are also the registers of the guiding principles of the political volunteers. Under his guidance the vote share of Jan Sangh increased in every election. Along with this Jan Sangh's share in Vidhan Sabhas and Parliament also kept going up. He was

chosen the President in the Calicut Session of 1967. Deendayal Upadhyaya Ji became famous and perhaps that turned bad. In this Session, both Deendayal Upadhyaya and Jan Sangh were at the zenith of their prestige and influence.

On 29th, 30th and 31st December 1967, the 14th Session of Jan Sangh was accomplished under the guidance of Deendayal Upadhyaya. However, on 10th February, at midnight he was murdered at the Mughalsarai Station. Deendayal Upadhyaya remained the President of Jan Sangh for just forty-four days. The most important job done by him in these forty-four days was his lecture as the National President of Jan Sangh. This lecture described the philosophy of Jan Sangh, Sangh and Deendayal Upadhyaya. Every lecture is given in the context of a particular time and space. The background of this lecture by Deendayal Upadhyaya was the different conditions of the 1967 elections.

According to Deendayal Upadhyaya, the result of the socio-political efforts made after independence was: "The greatest achievement of this era is the rise of political awareness in common people." He said: "It is not good to make politics the vehicle of gaining immediate goals." It is his timeless lecture, which can guide Indian politics for eras.



CHAPTER 10

FINAL SETTING OUT

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya remained active in the national life of India from 1937 to 1968. He came in contact with the Sangh in 1937. For five years he kept working as the regional volunteer. In 1942 he became the life-long Pracharak of the RSS and until 1951 he kept working as the Sangh volunteer in Uttar Pradesh. His nine years as a volunteer underlined his organizational and literary capabilities. From 1951 to 1967, for sixteen years he remained the General Secretary of Bharatiya Jan Sangh. He bore his responsibility as a national leader. When this leadership manifested as the President of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, then fate cruelly and mysteriously intervened and took away his life. He remained the President of Jan Sangh for only forty-four days, from 29th of December, 1967 to 10th of February, 1968.

At around 4 AM in the morning of 11th February, 1968, the lever man of the Mughalsarai station called the assistant station master to give him information that about 150 yards from the station, on the south side of the line, near the electricity pole no. 1276, a dead body was lying on the pebbles. Police was called on the spot. The memo which the assistant station master sent to police, said, 'almost dead'. In the morning, the doctor examined the body and declared it dead. When the body was brought to the platform, a curious crowd gathered around. A man from the crowd suddenly exclaimed, "Oh, this is the President of Bharatiya

Jan Sangh, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya." This news spread like electric fire in all directions and a gloom set in.

Parliament budget begins in the month of February. On 11th of February, 1968 the Parliamentary Board meeting of Jan Sangh was in Delhi. Newly elected President was going to attend the Parliamentary meeting for the first time. On 10th February Deendayal Upadhyaya was in Lucknow. In the morning, Ashwini Kumar, the organizational minister of Bihar Jan Sangh called Deendayal Upadhyaya. He requested that the budget session was going to be long. Before that Deendayal Upadhyaya should also attend the executive meeting of Bihar Pradesh on 11th February. Deendayal Upadhyaya discussed with the newly elected General Secretary Sundar Singh Bhandari and on 11th February, he decided to go to Patna instead of Delhi.

Despite being the President of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Deendayal Upadhyaya always travelled third class. He preferred passenger trains instead of express trains. He got time for studying on passenger trains and he also got the opportunity of meeting volunteers on small stations. After he became President, everyone decided that now Deendayal Upadhyaya should travel by first class. Hence a first class ticket was bought for him for Pathankot Sialdah Express. This train departed from Lucknow on 10th February, at seven in the evening.

The then deputy Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Ramprakash Gupta and the former President of Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Pitambar Das had come to see him off at the station. His bedding and his bag of books were also put in his compartment. The train left and he saw everyone off with folded hands. At around 12 at midnight, the personal secretary of Jaunpur's Raja Sahab, Kanhaiyyalal Pandit had come to meet him at the Jaunpur station. He gave Raja Sahab's letter to Deendayal Ji. At 12:12 AM the train left Jaunpur station and reached the Mughalsarai station. Sialdah-Pathankot Express did not go to Patna directly. When this train reached at Platform No. 1 at 02:15 AM, then the bogie in which Deendayal Upadhyaya was

traveling was detached and attached to the Delhi-Howrah Express which departed the Mughalsarai station at around 02:50 AM. When this train reached Patna, then Deendayal Ji was not in it.

At Mughalsarai, his dead body was identified. Along with Guru Golwalkar everyone else was informed. The meeting of the Parliamentary Board was going on in Delhi. Cancelling the meeting, every senior leader reached Varanasi by special flight and his temporal body was brought to Delhi. People started reaching Delhi from every corner in the country. Guruji had already reached Varanasi. Guruji and Deendayal Ji had very good relations. Guruji was not just the Sarsanghchalak of the Sangh, he was also a spiritual personality. Deendayal Ji was his follower but he had a very close relationship with Guruji. Guruji, who generally remained unperturbed, when reaching near the temporal body of Deendayal Ji, became emotional and with a full throat said, 'Oh, what happened to him!'

Deendayal Ji's body was put in the plane and Guruji got on the stairs leading to the cabin. He touched Deendayal Ji's face with his hands and then brought them to his eyes, touching them. He did this thrice. He said in these words: "Many people run their family and hence they can imagine what this is like. I do not run a family, hence my grief is thousand-fold. Hence I will not say anything about him. Just that, Deendayal was taken from me by God. I had read an old English saying somewhere, 'Whom the gods love, die young.'"

Delhi was also plunged in sorrow. The markets were closed; the offices were closed. People were proceeding to 30, Rajendra Prasad Road. The police and the RSS Swayamsevaks had difficulty in managing the crowds. The crowds were swelling. People were raining flowers, garlands, and offering emotional tributes to the great leader. Everywhere one could hear people sobbing and crying. This tragedy had left everyone bewildered. Who was that monster who killed this saint, who brought about the untimely end to his life? Who would answer? Everyone

was grief-stricken!

On 12th February, in the morning, Dr. Zakir Hussain, the President of India came to offer his tribute. Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Vice Prime Minister Morarji Desai also offered their tributes. Leaders, social workers, cultural personalities kept coming. The public also turned in hordes to pay its tribute.

At around 01:00 PM, his temporal body was put in the (ratha) car. He was making his final journey. Four soldiers on horses were marching in front of the car. The senior leaders of Sangh and Jan Sangh were also walking along with the cavalcade. On both sides of the way, the public was present to pay its final tribute. The women were chanting Gayantri mantra, trailing the car. This slowly moving mass reached the Nigambodh Ghat at six in the evening. At 06:45 in the evening, the program of last tribute began. At 07:06 minutes, his maternal cousin, Shri Prabhudayal Shukla lighted the funeral pyre. At 07:23 minutes, the Kapalkriya happened. The temporal body of Deendayal Upadhyaya was merged into the five elements.



BHARAT MATA – FOUNDATION OF NATIONALISM

The foundation of our nationalism is 'Bharat Mata', not just Bharat. If we remove the word, mother, then Bharat becomes just a piece of land. We come to love this land only when we regard it as our mother. No land can become a nation, a country until a community comes to love it as its own, just like a child loves his mother. This is patriotism. It does not just mean loving a piece of land. Many animals and birds too love their homes. The snake never leaves its burrow; the lion lives in his den; the birds return to their nests daily. However, we cannot say that they are patriots. Human beings also live on land and they also come to love that land. This is not patriotism. Those who love their country as a community, as a whole, and become one with the nation, give birth to patriotism. That is patriotism! That feeling is immortal!



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