CHAPTER-III

PERCEPTION OF BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY
THE CONCEPT OF HINDU NATIONALISM

To further a clear cut picture of the ideological base of Bharatiya Janata Party, discussion about Hindu Nationalism is rather inevitable.

The rise of nationalism in India is a fascinating chapter of Indian history. The Hindu nationalists oppose the secular nationalism preached by the Indian National Congress and other. V.D. Sarvakar has set a clear philosophical base to the idea of Hindu nationalism and this has brought a basic change in the approach itself. The Hindu Mahasabha is the first prominent exponent of Hindu nationalism. After Independence, the RSS - backed Janasangh to take up the role. The BJP comes into scene in 1980 only. It puts emphasis on Bharatiya Nationalism. To it both the terms are synonymous.

Nationalism in the Western Scene is a phenomenon of the Modern age. It has become the determining factor governing the political and cultural forces among all the races of the world. The concept of Hindu nationalism is a synthesis of Modern Indian nationalism and Hindu Renaissance, both of which have been in existence in the later half of 19th Century, though the terms scene apparently different. It is not easy to separate them because they are not competitive but complementary.²
Hindu Rastra

There are two words in Hindu Rastra—'Hindu and Rastra'. SHREEMAD BHAGWAT states—"The concept of human being for the first time was the result of two forces Manu and Sradha which was named as Hidoo. In the course of time they gradually changed into Hindu."³

Hinduism

In reality Hinduism is a Philosophy of life, Society, a culture, a nationality in Indian context. According to Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, "Hindu is not a sect but is a great common wealth of those who believe in truth and who seek after the truth with devotion".⁴ Hindu is treated as the land situated in between river Sindu and Hind Ocean that is Bharat as his Pitri Bhumi"(Father land) and Punya Bhoomi (Holy Land). The word Hindu thus connotes not a particular sect, a religion or faith but the culture, tradition, the way of life of the people inhabiting this part of the world from time immemorial.⁵

Not, A Political concept

In Bharat, the people are living on this common Mother land for thousands of years. We have common fore fathers, common sages, saints, heroes, common value of life, common traditions, culture, common history, common way of life, common aspiration which is called Dharma. Those who identify with these common factors form the ‘Rashtra’ of the Nation and that is exactly the Hindu Rashtra ⁶ we are all part and parcel of this Hindu Rashtra, weather some people accept it or recognise it or not, due to their ignorance, Hindu Rashtra exists. It has been existing for ages and it
shall continue to exist for ever. Thus Hindu Rastra is not a political concept but a cultural and emotional one”.7

Hindu, A National Concept

Hindu is not the name of a religious faith like ‘Muslim’ or the ‘Christian’ “It denotes the nationals of India and way of life and includes all those who feel firmly committed to the unity and sanctity of our country and our people”.8

In short, ‘Hindu Rashtra’ is essentially cultural in content where as the secular concept pertain to state and is limited to the state and is limited to the territorial and political aspects of it. State is just one of the instruments through which everyone is created by the nation to serve its material needs. The nation denotes the whole, while the state only a part. Further while the culture represents those of the intellect and spirit, the word Hindu denotes the whole of our national entity.9

Not a Theocratic State

Hindu Rastra is neither religious nor a political concept though it is generally misrepresented as a theocratic state or a religious Hindu state. Nation (Rastra) and State (Rajya) are entirely different and should never be mixed up. State is purely a political concept. It is the political authority with the governance of the people laying and directing the policies of the government. The state changes as the political authority shift from person to person or party to party, but the people and nation remain the same.10
Hindutva

An obvious question that arises in our mind is about the factors that have kept this nation as one, in spite of foreign domination for over thousands of years. It is its faith in its age-old culture, dharma, tradition and its forefathers like Rishis, Acharyas, Sri Ram and Sri Krishna. All these can be considered into one word and that is ‘Hinduness’ or ‘Hindutva’ - This Hindu ethos is asserting in a most natural way in a socio-political lives and activities of the people. Hindutva is the unity in diversity. It is the basic thread of India’s unity.

The BJP is committed to the concept of ‘one nation, one people and one culture’ our nationalist vision is not bound by the geographical or political identity of India but defined by our cultural heritage. From this belief flows our faith in ‘Cultural Nationalism” which is the core of Hindutva. That we believe is the identity of our ancient nation - ‘Bharatvarsha’.12

Hindutva is unifying principle which alone can preserve the unity and integrity of our nation. It is a collective endeavour to protect and re-energise the soul of India. Hindutva actually means justice for all.13

Hindu Rastra is very much alive and it asserts too in various forms. This is the strongest and the only integrating force finding on the people from North to South and East to West, rising above all consideration of religion, language, region, caste and class. It betrays the ignorance to say that Hindu Rastra will disintegrate the country into various parts. Inspite of the havoc created by the political parties and leaders of the last fifty years of
independence, the country remains one only because of its essential Hindu character. Several fissiparous tendencies have cropped up only because this Hinduness is being suppressed by politically vested interests. It is convinced that only when every person in this country realises that he is after all a part and parcel of Hindu Rastra. This nation can progress standing up as a unified whole.

In the long history of Bharat no Hindu King has ever tried to impose his brand of religion on the subjects in his territory and even no Hindu object to a Muslim or Christian procession in a Hindu locality. In general, every Hindu respects and recognises every other religion and does not prevent any body following his own religion. This attitude of the Hindu is reflected in the social, cultural and political activities.

"So many times this Hindu Rastra has been termed as communal and fundamentalist. Hindu can neither be communalist and fundamentalist. The British started this mischief of calling Hindu as communal. But even after independence our political leaders also speak about Hindu organisation as communal but it is a great insult to our forefathers as well as to our culture and religion etc. It is a total self condemnation," observes K. Suryanarayan Rao.

Nationalism

Nationalism in European sense is a phenomenon of Modern age. It is one of those concepts which is easy to understand but difficult to expose in precise term. The term has been variously understood and defined. It has
been described as a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of individual is due to the Nation State.\textsuperscript{18}

The growth of nationalism is the process of integration of masses into a common political form. Nationalism, therefore, presupposes the existence, in fact of an ideal of a centralised form of government over a large and distinct territory. Nationalism is first and foremost, a state of mind, an act of conscious ness.\textsuperscript{19}

Nationalism is a group consciousness, therefore, a psychological or sociological explanation is sufficient. An American psychologist defined a nation as “a group of individuals that feels itself one, is ready within limits to sacrifice the individual for the group advantage that prospers as a whole, each of whom rejoices with the advancement and suffers with the losses of the group. Nationality is a mental state or community in behaviour.”\textsuperscript{20}

Nationalism in Western sense is a political movement which seeks to attain and defend an objective - the national integrity. The growth of nationalism is the process of integration of the people into a common political form. It seeks freedom and the demand for freedom is already carried with it. Further as per western stand and in this sense, it is a political movement depending on a feeling of collective grievance against foreigners.\textsuperscript{21}

The view of J.S. Mill on nationalism says - A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathy which do not exist between them and any others, which
make them co-operative with each other, more willingly than with the other people, desire to be under the same government and desire that it should be governed by themselves or a portion of them exclusively.\textsuperscript{22}

However, Indian concept of nationalism is different from western concept. In the west the freedom struggle, constitutional development and material progress are supposed to be the basis of nationalism. To the contrary Indian nationalism connotes the totality of public life which comes from the past, adjust itself to the present and shapes the future. It covers not only the land but the religion, culture, philosophy, literature and what not. It is the deep love of motherland for which matters like Indian nationalism is universalistic, not theocratic and all embracing.\textsuperscript{23}

Indian concept of nationalism finds some sort of resemblance with western idealism. However, it connotes a distinct meaning by itself one classical definition may be quoted from the writing of M.S. Golwakar who observes, “The first requisite for a nation is continuous piece of land, delimited as far as possible by natural boundaries to serve as the substartum on which the nation has to live, grow and prosper. Then the second requisite is the people living in that particular territory should have developed love and adoration for it, as their mother land, as the next piece of their substances, security and prosperity. Then, they should evolve a definite way of life moulded by community of life, ideals, culture, feelings, sentiment, faith and tradition. If people thus become united in a coherent and well ordered society, then such people living as the children of that particular territory may be termed as nation.”\textsuperscript{24} Again to quote him the concept of nation
includes the substratum on which the nation has to live and grow. "If the people become unified having common tradition and aspiration, a common memory of the happy and unhappy experiences of their past life, common feeling of friendship, hostility and all their interests inter twined into one identical whole which may be termed as nation." Following the definition, Hindus constitute the term nationals of India. The term Hindu does not connote any relation but to the land and culture of India. Thus it has geopolitical significance.

V.D. Sarvakar in his classical work 'Hindutva' deals a good deal under the title 'Hindu Nation'. Here he writes that 'Hindustan' was not merely a piece of land but it was a nation which was ideally, if not actually a state. He points out that the definition of nation is based on any theological hair-splitting or religion fanaticism. "The word Arya is expressly stated in the very verses to mean all those who had been incorporated as part of the nation and people that flourished on this land of our side of the Indus." Sarvakar questions that in the Modern Mohammadanised Persian period some contemptuous meaning has come to be associated with the term Hindu but how does that show that the original significance of Hindu was contemptuous?

He also answers the questions and tells that the fact is that the word Hindu dates back its origin not from Mohammadanised Persian but from ancient language of Iran, the zend, the epithet Hindu and Hindustan had been the proud and patriotic designation signifying our land and our nation long before the Mohammadan and Mohammadanised Persian had heard of
it. It becomes almost immeterial so far as the greatness epithet Hindu and its claim of our love is concerned.\textsuperscript{31}

Sarvarkar further asserts that people love the land which stretches from the Bay of Bengal to Arabian sea as their sacred land.\textsuperscript{32} He further explains a Hindu is he, who feels attachment to the land that extend from Sindhu as the land of his forefathers - as his father land who inherits the blood of the great race whose first discernible source could be traced from the Himalayan attitude of the vedic saptasindhu and which assimilating all that was assimilated had grown into and came to be known as Hindu people and who as a consequence of the foregoing attribute had inherited and claims as his own, the Hindu sanskriti, the Hindu civilisation as represented in common history, common heros, a common literature, common art, a common law and common jurisprudence, common fair and festival rites and vituals, ceremonies and sacrament.\textsuperscript{32}

In Kuswant Singh view "India could be described as Hindu country. He adds that Hinduism has no prophet as in the sense of Jews, Christian and Muslims have prophets. It has no particular book like Bible or Koran, neither it has any specific creed.\textsuperscript{33} A Muslim cannot continue to be a Muslim by disregarding the Koran and so is the case for a Christian but a Hindu continuous to be a Hindu even it has no faith in the Hindu religious practice."\textsuperscript{34}
M.A. Venkat Rao views that "The word Hindu has a national character. It connotes the entire culture and civilisation of Indian people from historic development."[^35]

Prof. Balraj Madhok feels that the word Hindu had a national connotation, all through the long centuries of foreign Turkish and Mughol rule. He comprehended all the people of Hindustan irrespective of their caste, sect and religion who looked upon the Hindustan as their Mother land and Holy land and identified themselves with its culture and heritage. Hindutva and Hinduess of the people was most effective factor which kept consciousness of India being one country alive through ups and down of the history.[^36]

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee claims that history, literature, life of great man, social and religious festival play a great part in the process of influencing the race conduct. In India all these are essentially Hindu. therefore he considers Indian culture to be an essence of Hindu culture which has come down in continuous flow right from the vedic time absorbing and assimilating the contribution of a number of elements, which in the course of history observed into the Hindu or Bharatiya Society.[^37]

The traditional historians put forth the factor of Aryan invasion when the question of Hindu nationalism is raised. But this has been refused by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and B.R. Ambedkar.[^38]

Savitri Devi a Greek turned Indian lady feels that Hinduism can provide the basis of pan Indian nationalism.[^39] Anne Besant also shares the same view. Addressing to the Central Hindu College of Banaras, she said,
“Without Hinduism India has no futures. Everyone might pass away as they came and India would still remain. Jorāstraian might pass but India would remain, Budhism has disappeared and India remains. India would live before their concing, India would live after their passing.”

Vivekananda had mentioned that Indian unity is evidence from one ancestral civilisation and common love and common hates. Dr. Radhakrishnan shares his view with Hindu as an entity with essential unity. He defines this unity as an oneness of spirit among the religious practices of India and it was the achievement of Hindu. Hindu culture as he told is a single culture through out India and through out Indian history. It possesses some vitality which seems to desire to some other forceful current. Therefore John Woodrofe clearly visualises indian civilisations in the form of Hindu civilisation.

Looking at the views of all the political thinkers it can be concluded that Hinduism plays a vital role in Indian nationalism.
REFERENCES

24. Ibid., P.161.
25. Ibid., P.16.
26. Ibid., no. 22, P.161.
27. Ibid.
29. Ibid., P.100.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., P.85.
32. Ibid., P.91.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
37. Madhok, Balraj. A Biography of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, P.184.
38. Madhok, Balraj. Indianisation, P.70.
BJP'S INSISTENCE ON HINDUTVA

Hindutva is the very much on the fore these days. The Bharatiya Janata Patry, along with its friendly organisation have thrown their full ideological and political weight behind the slogan of Hindutva.¹

Our civilization is more than 5000 years old. The people of this land irrespective of their region or religion, caste or language have shared common values, beliefs and customs. Not withstanding all its diversities over the years, our nation has evolved a common way of life, which is unique to India that we call Hindutva or Cultural nationalism, Indianness and Bharatiya but the meaning remains the same.²

For BJP, the emergence of Hindutva was the spontaneous outcome of India’s political transformation in 1857. Congress extremists and even Mahatma Gandhi symbolised it. After independence the aim of BJS and BJP has been to carry forward the Hindu nationalism.³

The Hindu figure however serves for another more substantial purpose. They constitute the intellectual boundaries from within which BJP has constructed its own ideology. BJP specially discusses the ideology of Hindutva represented by Hindu Mahasabha and R S S. The Hindu thinking represented by personalities like Mahatma Gandhi, Shyama Prasada Mukherjee, Sardar Patel. The idea of these group are organised according
to three main themes, their description, their relationship between Hindu community and the nation, their view of sate and programme of action. The RSS is given the most emphasis because of its relationship with BJS and BJP.

The term Hindu nationalism is used to refer to the ideologies of Hindu Mahasabha represented in the writing of V.D Sarvakar and the R.S.S, examined mainly through the writing of M.S.Golwalkar. The Hindu nationalists argue that the Hindu are not merely a religious community but represent an ancient nation beyond history and beyond time. According to the nationalist view point such as Hindunation has been invisible, cultural and geographical whole that extended across the breadth of the subcontinent including area like Bangladesh and Burma.

Intellectual genesis of the BJP should be traced to the pre-independence period In India when a section of the Hindu felt that the congress party under Mahatma Gandhi was unnecessarily appeasing the Muslim and neglecting the interest of the Hindus, who constituted the majority. According to H.R.Khanna, “The charge levelled against the party of being communal is rather misconceived. As per his opinion BJP has undoubtedly its main political base among the Hindus that has,because the bulk of population consisting of Hindus.” Somehow because of certain happenings, rightly or wrongly a large section of Hindus carried the impression of wrong done to them. BJP appealed to the Hindu sentiment and highlighted those feelings. It also tried to instill a sense of pride in the
Hindu sentiment and highlighted those feelings. It tried to instill a sense of pride in the Hindu in professing Hinduism personally, H.R. Khanna believes that there is no antithesis between being a devout Hindu or devout Sikh or devout Muslim or being a staunch secularist.

India is a mosaic of different religions, languages and races and each of them adds to the richness of the cultural stream of the country. Yet, the fact remains that the source of that cultural stream is in ancient Hindu scriptures and school of philosophy. Here point to be noted that the top leaders of BJP have been stressing from time to time that it is not against the Muslim who are as much part of Indian society as the Hindus. It has established a minority cell which looks after the interests of minorities specially the Muslims. Many active Muslim workers of BJP are acting under its protection. This baseless propaganda has been let loose by the congress and the leftist so that the created Muslim vote bank may not slip away from their grip and go to BJP. The whole government media is busy in protecting BJP as anti-Muslim.

It is in this context that Hindutva acquires a pressing contemporary relevance. Hindutva as in the BJP have consistently pointed out is not religion or a recipe for a theocratic state. It encapsulates the essence and core of nation hood. It is the cementing force that keeps the nation together. Hindutva is not merely a temple in Ayodhya, it is the collective wisdom of the Indian experience stretching over thousand years. Advani recalls J. Nehru’s address to the AICC Madurai in October, 1961.
"India has for ages past, been a country of pilgrimages. All over these country you find these ancient places, from Badrinath, Kedarnath and Amarnath high up in the snowy Himalayas down to Kanyakumari in the south."

"What has drawn our people from the south to the north and from the north to the south in these great pilgrimage? It is the feeling of one country and one culture and these feeling bound us together. Our ancient books have said that the land of Bharat is the land stretching from the Himalayas in the north to the southern seas.

"This conception of Bharat as one great land which the people considered a holy land has come down the ages and has joined us together, even though we have had different political Kingdoms and even though we may speak different languages".

Neheru did not use the word Hindu, but what he did identify unambiguously as the basis of India's unity - the silken bond of culture - nothing other than what the BJP describes as related to BJP's Cultural nationalism or Hindutva.

Hindutva, thus is the ideal that links the past and future with the present. In the name of 'secularism' politicians want the country to raise its identity. Without this identity and inspiration, India may as well not exist. Hindutva is more than a doctrine. It is the reality of our commitment to India. And no arbitrary law passed by congress governments to wish away this reality.
Hindutva will remain as well as Indian civilisation holds, and BJP will ensure that the spirit of India, epitomised by Hindutva, prevails over draconian, undemocratic laws. This is more than an electoral plank. It is our mission. Let all delegates assembled have rededicate themselves to the fulfillment of this mission. That alone can restore to Indian politics the moral and ethical base which is being progressively undermined by the proponents of casteist and communal vote-bank politics.8

Again about Hindutva, K.R. Malkani said, “Every society has to have a cement, a glue and identity that will hold it together. China find it in the ‘Han race’ Russia find it in the ‘Slan race’, Britain finds it in the ‘Church of England’. The US find it in the ‘Market Economy’. India is held together by its culture called Hindu, Indian, Bharatiya and whatever. It is this Cultural communality that keeps Assam, Gujrat, Punjab and Tamil Nadu together in one state.9

To emphasis Hindutva is to emphasis this national commonality for national unity. To see it as Hindus challenge to Muslims is a recent and passing phenomena. Sir Syed Ahemed of Aligarh Education Movement fame proudly called himself Hindu. And so did the Muslim leader like M.C.Chagla, a Christian leader like Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and the the Parsi leader like A.D.Gorwala, even the Jamat-E-Islami organ radiance wrote on 1st March, 1970. Muslim can quite reasonable claim to be Hindu in the geographical sense”.10
It must be clearly understood that whatever the differentiation, Hindus and Muslim are one people, one Nation. The solution to their problems lies in an elaboration and implementation of the ideology or nationalism and not in communalism, casteism and classism. Once this allergy to Hindutva is over, what is dubbed today ‘Hindu nationalism’ will be seen as nationalism simple and pure. All BJP programmes, whether it is support to swadeshi, missile defence and full security, full employment and small scale industry or opposition to exploitation are next to protect and promote the interest of whole country and of all our people, It is this foundation of nationalism that has made BJP unstoppable.

In order to get a clear cut idea about BJP’s insistence on Hindutva one has to go through the view of different political philosophers and politicians. As H.J.Nanpooria very cogently argued in order to confunting the Congress-I, the BJP has given itself the responsibility of ensuring that “Hindutva is a true regeneration of Indian nationalism”. L.K.Advani in his speech at the National council meeting at Baroda said - “Hindutva would remain as the agenda of the party. It is a mission and no arbitrary law passed by the government can wash away the reality”. Again L.K.Advani in the National Executive meeting held at Hyderabad from March 20 to 22 said - “Hindutva is the Bharatiya Janata party’s ideological mascot, the most distinctive feature of its identity and approach. It has been the hallmark of the party well before Ayodhya and will continue to be so; even after magnificent Ram Temple at the birth place of Ram in Ayodhya became the fact of life.”
The cause of Hinduness is the bedrock of BJP ideological plan and its very survival. They interpret it as positive secularism as distinguished from appeasement policy which has been disintegrating the country.\(^{13}\)

According to Mrs. Vasundhara Raje (M.P., BJP) "Hindutva must be seen as cementing force and a national awakening of the people of this great country. However we must guard against the distorted misrepresentations of the party as a section of the vested interest media".\(^{14}\)

K.R. Malkani in the editorial portion of BJP Today describes "If the party mention Ayodhya, it is a one issue party", if it does not mention that issue much, it has put Hindutva on the back burner. At the same time the Supreme Court also on 11th December, 1995 said, "Hindutva and Hinduism in the election speeches did not automatically amount to the corrupt practice of seeking votes on the ground of religion".\(^{15}\)

The BJP critics have described cultural nationalism as being exclusive and communal. But that argument is without any basis. Hindutva is by definition an all inclusive concept and is imperfect harmony with the true meaning of secularism - Sarva Panth Samabhav - It means justice for all citizen. And it is the inherent strength of Hindutva that has helped check the vote bank politics of pseudo - secularist.
REFERENCES


3. Ahuja, G.M. *BJP and Indian Politics*, P.338.


14. *In the answer to the questionnaires*, given by Smt. Vasundhara Raje.


'Integral Humanism' is the cornerstone of BJP world view. It was accepted by the party in July, 1985 mentioned in the National Council in October, 1985 and instructed in the party constitution at the end of 1986.\(^1\) Article III of the constitution entitled 'Basic philosophy' reads: - Integral humanism shall be the basic philosophy of the party.\(^2\) Membership of BJP requires to pledge thus "I believe in Integral Humanism which is the basic philosophy of Bharatiya Janata Party.\(^3\) The philosophy of Integral Humanism in fact pre-legacy of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the then president of party Deendayal Upadhyaya (1966-67) presented a thesis what was called Integral Humanism.\(^4\) and this become the fundamental philosophy of the party. The party defined, "Integral Humanism is the name we have given to the sum total of various features of Bharatiya ‘Sanskriti’, ability, dynamic, synthesising and sublime. This is the ideal which determines our directions.\(^5\)

So far as BJP is concerned, this philosophy is not separated as its basic philosophy. During one of the constituent meeting of BJP a vote was taken on whether the ideology should be Integral Humanism or
“Gandhian Socialism”, the letter was a small majority, but to please another one, it was decided that Gandhian Socialism is “Integral Humanism”. However by no means it was aimed at marginalising the latter rather it was widely contemplated as the rational underlying philosophy of the party.\(^5\) Integral Humanism tends to modernise ancient India. It is the culmination of the thought process stemming since the days of renaissances. Upadhyaya had used the term humanism to signify decentralised economy for the first time in a speech on 19th March, 1951 at Lucknow.\(^7\)

The Report of the working group presented to National Executive, Bhopal describe Integral approach remains the only alternative on which a new socio-economic order can be successfully constructed. Contrary to the mechanistic view, individuals in this approach are not parts of social machine but are representatives of the human society. In mutual and perpetual interaction with each other and nature. Human personality will thus occupy a central position in this approach “Integral Humanism” - a concept which was described by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya can appropriately describe this “Unbroken wholeness” underlying between man and the echo system. The outcome of this approach is that no human problem can be solved without taking into account its integration with social and natural environment.\(^8\)
The quintessence of Indian culture has been to recognise the basic unity in the diversity of the cosmic phenomena. Long back the ancient Indian genius had enunciated the principle “Yat pinde Tad Brahmande”, ‘That’ what is in whole is also in parts or the part and whole are manifestations of one and same reality. Integral Humanism is thus at once in consonance with Indian ethos. It confirms the basic Indian understanding of reality and is the extension of the tenents of Indian philosophy is building up a social order capable of resolving modern conflicts.9

Various tenents of Integral Humanism are as follows:-

1) The history of India is to be read in its entirety and not in parts that means history cannot be read from the mid point but from its origin. National life represents the sum total of its history.10

2) ‘Chaturvida purusharta’ is the governing principle of human life. Dharma, Artha, Kama and Mokha are to be realised. There is chitti and virat of a nation. ‘Chitti’ may be compared with soul while virat is life force or strength. Therefore the chitti of a nation is to be recognised and virat should be strengthened.11

3) Chitti, Dharma and culture are the three bases of a Nation. “A Nation is therefore distinguished from state. A state is merely mechanistic institution where as the Nation like India has the life of its own.” Our national life
continued to be uninterrupted even after the state went in the hands of foreigners. The passion of nation came to an end with their loss of independence. In our country there were foreign rules. The pathans seized the throne of Delhi and then the Turks, the Mughals and the British too established their rules. Despite all this our national life went on because the state was not its centre. On the other hand, state was not believed to be Central to its life, the nation survived the transfer of political power.\(^{12}\)

The ideals of the nation constitute chitti which is analogues to the soul of an individual. It requires some effort to comprehend chitti. The laws that help manifest and maintain chitti of a Nation are termed ‘Dharma’ of that Nation. Hence it is this ‘Dharma’ that is supreme Dharma is the repository of the nations soul and cannot be destroyed. Dharma is not confined to temples and Mosques. Worship of God is only a part of Dharma. Dharma is much wider. It does not mean religion.

It carries higher connotation. In the past, temples have served as effective medium to educate people in their Dharma. Dharma is that which sustains the society. Even further it sustains the whole world. That which sustains is Dharma.\(^{13}\)

5) Integral Humanism is averse to materialism and critical of Western utilisation. According to Integral Humanism there must be internal progress
of the individual covering material, intellectual and spiritual aspects without which Individual would be in complete.\textsuperscript{14} Integral Humanism considers man as a total being as distinguished from communism and capitalism which treat only the economic or material man.\textsuperscript{14}

6) Integral Humanism upholds the individual and society, the nation and world in a harmonious system. It rejects conflict. It talks of essential unity and harmonisation in every aspect of life.\textsuperscript{15}

7) Integral Humanism upholds the individual, society nation and universe is a characteristic feature of Hindu nationalism. There was integral approach in the writing of M.N. Roy when he talked of the Radical humanism in 1940 and new humanism in 1947. But they were rooted in rationalist thought of Western model. To the contrary Deendayal\textquoteleft s concept of Integral Humanism represent, the ethos of Hindu nationalism. The springs of inspiration of him were the holy scriptures of the Gita and upanisad and so also the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata.\textsuperscript{16}

Integral Humanism provokes the inherent contradiction of social contract which fails to contract the individual, society dichotomy. "If the individual, produces a society then on whom the residual power remains vested in the society or in the individual? Does the individual have the right to change the society? Can the society impose a variety of regularity on the individual and claim a right to the allegiance of the individual for itself? Or is the individual free in regard to this question?"
Consequently Integral Humanism rejects the theory of class struggle as envisaged by Karl Marx but it talks of class cooperation. In the word of D.B. Thengadi, “The integral concept rejects the class conflict and places a high value or organisational strength, national loyalty and solidarity to the community. That the various communities are different limbs of same organisation that is Bharatiya nation. “The system of social order thus implies the industry-wise arrangement and not class-wise division of society”. An integrated life is not only the foundation of underlying principle but also its aim at its idea. Deendayal Upadhyaya accounts that the civilisation has grown not only on the basis of survival of the fittest but by the consideration of how the co-operation of this law would be the least in human life. Thus the individual occupies a pivotal position in this system. The individual aspires happiness at every level through body, mind and soul.

Integral Humanism assures of social order free from all kinds of exploitation. According to the integral approach, the relationship between society (whole) and individual (part) is symbiotic. They sustain each other. Since each part contains the whole the exploitation of a part by the whole or of one part by the other is also ruled out. The essential similarity or equality of the constituents and the fraternal bonds which keep within the system can easily be recognised on the basis of this approach. Belief in Integral
Humanism means belief in a social order based on equality and free from exploitation.\(^{18}\)

Human society is composed of various nations, which in their turn are constituted of social groups, communities and individuals. Nations, therefore, are part of the vast human family and function as whole for the individuals. They according to Integral approach are not creatures of political compulsion but are conceived as the natural groupings of human beings through which the 'wholeness of mankind' is manifested in a deeper and fuller sense. Each nation may be recognised as exhibiting some aspects of wholeness in the striking manner. Nations therefore must maintain a balance and equilibrium amongst themselves so as to serve the well being of the entire mankind. A sense of nationalism thus releases immense energies to work for development of fellow nations and also for the progress of mankind.\(^{19}\)

The interactions on spiritual plane between various groups and individuals may result in a variety of experiences which may sometimes appear to be quite divergent. Different modes of religious orders are thus bound to exist. Any social order based on Integral Humanism will recognise this divergence as the manifestation of different aspects of one and the same cosmic spirit. The inescapable conclusion is that social and political institution will always have to keep in mind that all religious experiences are to be equally
respected. This is the positive aspect of secularism and is synonymous with Indian tradition of ‘Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava’. It is in this sense that BJP has accepted positive secularism.\(^20\)

One of the major component of the global crisis is the prevailing economic disorder accompanied by a threatening environmental degradation. Solutions for these disruptions can be found within the framework of the Integral approach, provided it is realised that in a finite environment there is a limit to expansion. Equilibrium between various social and economic forces and tendencies on the one hand and the limited dimension of our planet on the other is a must, if mankind is to be really saved from the dangers of a catastrophe looming large. Unlimited growth in less than a third world population and untold misery and dehumanising deprivation in the third world with environmental hazards all round are not solutions to this economic impasse. Technology must not serve the affluent nations alone. It must not lead to high degree of concentration of economic power which enables few to exploit many. Integral humanism demands a technology which provides employment and bread to the hundred millions and economic system which is free from exploitation is a must, if equality of life in our society is to be improved. In Indian context Gandhian approach to economy which aims at the
decentralisation of power and regulating the production and patterns of consumption to ensure distributive justice represents the basic features of integral humanist approach. Freedom, bread and employment along with an emphasis on a non exploitative society are the main characteristics of his economic order.  

Socialism all over the world has acquired different connotations. In India it is understood as a synonym to social justice. Socialism enshrined in Indian constitution is thus a creed for the upliftment of the poor and the down trodden. In this sense it is quite in line with Integral Humanism.  

Belief in a non-exploitative system it implies a social order based on a set of norms and values. Human activity devoid of any clues leads to a virtual collapse of the social system. Integral Humanism believes in a value based society. Political activity without any commitment to a set of norms and values becomes merely self seeking game.  

Modern state apparatus has become most powerful instrument transforming the society. If quality of human life has to be improved and social justice has to be ensured, State must give top priority to the welfare of its people. A welfare state based on democracy and decentralised economy and belief in human value can bring about a socio-economic metamorphosis which is urgently needed in India and most part of the worlds.
Elucidating further, BJP president M.M. Joshi said, “The late Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya had realised the shortcoming of both capitalism and Marxism. He had also deeply analysed India’s philosophical achievement. On the basis of his studies, he presented the philosophy of Integral humanism as the answer to India’s problems. According to this philosophy the individual, the human society and nature are inter-dependent and receive sustenance from each other. Hence, this system has scope for utilisation of nature but not for its exploitation. So also neither should the individual be exploited nor should the individual exploit the society. In this system individual industriousness has limitless scope but there has to be restraint on consumption. Hence this philosophy provides for full development of productive force but Justice in distribution. A system based on this thought would be free from defects arising from an excess or an absence of Money the present economic plight of India can be corrected only with his system. The individual would be the focal point of the system but the society would be its goal. The principal aim of this activity would be the happiness of the least privileged.”
REFERENCES


3. Ibid., P.14.

4. Swaroop Denvendra. “Justifies that this title was not coined by Deendayal himself but by others”, Organiser, 16th June, 1981.

5. Ibid., no.1, P.375.


9. Ibid., P.18.


11. Ibid., P.40.

12. Ibid., PP.44-45.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.


