Chapter I

Introduction

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya fondly called as 'Deena' was born on September 25, 1916 in a village Nagla Chanderabhan in district Mathura of Uttar Pradesh. His father Bhagwati Prasad was one of the grandsons of great astrologer Pandit Hariram Upadhyaya. Deendayal’s mother Rampyari was a religious woman. Deena had one younger brother, Shivdayal fondly called as 'Shibu', who was two years younger than him. Bhagwati Prasad was employed in railways and his job kept him out most of the time. Deendayal was hardly two and a half years old when his father sent him with his mother Rampyari and brother Shivdayal to his maternal grandfather Chuni Lal Shukla who was working as a station master in railways at Dhankia in Rajasthan. Deendayal left his paternal house at this tender age and never returned to live there.

He was hardly three years old when his father passed away. His widowed mother was much shocked by her husband’s death. Her health deteriorated and she contracted tuberculosis, which was an incurable disease at that time. She also died after protracted illness leaving behind two orphans, Deendayal and Shivdayal. At that time Deendayal was seven years old and Shivdayal, just five. The death of their mother shocked them deeply. Chuni Lal Shukla, the maternal grandfather was also deeply shocked. He relinquished his job and came to his native village Gud-Ka-Mandyee near Fatehpur Sikri in district Agra of Uttar Pradesh along with Deendayal and Shivdayal. Both the children got ample love and affection from their maternal grandparents.
Deendayal and Shivdayal attained the age of nine and seven years respectively but no arrangement for their schooling could be made because of the worries at home and odd circumstances. In July 1925, Chuni Lal sent both the children along with their uncle, Radha Raman to Gangapur in Rajasthan for schooling. Deendayal was admitted to the primary class and his regular schooling started. In September 1926, Chuni Lal also died. Grievously hurt Deendayal was looked after by his uncle, Radha Raman.

Radha Raman also fell a prey to tuberculosis. He went to Lucknow for treatment. Though barely eleven, Deendayal nursed his uncle with great care. Radha Raman's health improved gradually. In March 1927, Deendayal returned to Gangapur and continued his studies. He stood first in his class. He passed up to the fourth standard from Gangapur. In August 1929, he went to Kotla in Rajasthan for further schooling and studied there up to the seventh standard. In 1932, he went to Rajgarh in district Alwar of Rajasthan, where he passed the eighth and ninth standards.

When Deendayal was studying in the ninth standard, his younger brother Shivdayal fell seriously ill. All efforts were made to save his life but in vain and he died of typhoid in November 1934. This incident left Deendayal all alone. During this year, Deendayal got another tragic blow from the death of his maternal grand mother. Radha Raman came to Sikar in Rajasthan after his transfer. Deendayal accompanied his uncle and joined Kalyan High School there. He stood first class first in the tenth standard examination conducted by the Ajmer Board of School Education, securing distinction in every subject, and setting a new record of marks. For his success, Maharaja Kalyan Singh of Sikar gave him a gold medal, rupees two hundred and fifty for books and
a monthly scholarship of rupees ten. Deendayal went to Pilani in 1935 for his intermediate education. He joined Birla College Pilani. Here, he founded 'Zero Association' to guide his fellow students in studies who failed to secure even one mark in the house examination. In 1937, he passed the intermediate board examination with distinction in every subject and again set a new record. Pleased with his achievement Ghanshyam Das Birla, just like the Maharaja of Sikar, presented Deendayal a gold medal, rupees two hundred and fifty and a monthly scholarship of rupees ten. For further studies, Deendayal went to Kanpur and joined 'Sanatan Dharam College'. He stayed at college hostel, and was befriended by Sunder Singh Bhandari and Balwant Mahashabde. At the instance of the latter Deendayal joined R.S.S. in 1937. He came in contact with Dr. Hedgewar, the founder of the R.S.S. Gradually his interest in R.S.S. activities grew and he started devoting time to this organisation. Thus, Deendayal started his public life from Kanpur. He passed B.A. in 1939 with first class and joined St. Joans College at Agra for post graduation in English literature and also continued his activities in R.S.S. He passed M.A. first year examination obtaining first class.

During his postgraduate studies, his cousin Rama Devi fell seriously ill and was taken to Agra for treatment. Deendayal took the responsibility of taking her care. All efforts to save her life proved futile. Deendayal felt highly grieved and depressed. He could not devote time to his studies and did not appear in M.A. second year examination. His studies were interrupted. His uncle, Radha Raman was not happy with the discontinuation of his M.A. studies. He asked Deendayal to appear in the Administrative Services Examination. Deendayal successfully took the
examination. "When he went for interview ... all other candidates were wearing fine suits, while he alone was in a 'dhoti' and 'kurta' with a cap on his head. The candidates made fun of him and remarked, 'Panditji has come'. This was the first time he was called Panditji". He was at the top of the list of selected candidates but did not join the service. Government job had no fascination for him. On the insistence of his uncle Deendayal joined B.T. course at Paryag. He stayed in the hostel and also got engaged in R.S.S. work. He passed B.T. in 1941 and it was the last degree of his academic career.

His uncle advised him to join a good job and get married. Deendayal was a brilliant student. He got opportunities to get a job and lead a comfortable life. He was selected for an administrative post and was offered a job of Headmaster in a higher secondary school but he was not interested in the offer. Bapurao Moghe writes, "When he (Deendayal) did not appear interested the school committee thought that perhaps the starting salary was not enough for him. So he was offered three or four increments in the beginning." However, Deendayal gave a remarkable reply: "My requirements are two dhotis, two kurtas and two meals a day. For this I do not require more than 30 rupees a month. What will I do with all the money you offer?" Thus Deendayal turned down the extraordinary chance of Headmastership. This showed not only his firm determination but also his extraordinary sense of sacrifice.

Now the question arises as to what led him to decline the offer of job and what was the objective of his life? It is observed that Deendayal was influenced by the R.S.S. and remained attached with its activities from his college days. He made up his mind to work for the R.S.S. Initially, he
wanted to do a job as well as utilize his energies for the organizational work of the R.S.S. He wrote, "I too was at first thinking of taking up a job in some school and also attending to the Sangh work of the place simultaneously. I was thinking on those lines when I came to Lucknow." He added, "But in Lucknow, I was able to study the current situation and to form an idea of the vast field of work ahead, and I got the advice that instead of working in one particular town I would have to work in a whole district. That is how the paucity of available workers in the dormant Hindu Samaj has to be made up."

He was disturbed by the conditions, which were prevailing in the country at that time. Thus he remarked, "Take the case of the highest personality in India and then consider the actual situation in which he finds himself. Muslim goondas may at a single stroke, besmirch the honour and reputation of the highest citizen...Our sisters and daughters are carried away by the Muslims, they are victims of assaults by British soldiers in broad day-light and we, who are never tired of boasting of our honour and our exalted position in society, are obliged to look on in utter helplessness. We can do nothing to check all this. The utmost we can do is to publish it in papers as a sensational news item under banner headlines. Or, it may be reflected in an article by Mahatmaji in the 'Harijan'." According to Deendayal, that was because our society was "weak and degenerate, devoid of power and steeped in selfishness. Every one of us is engrossed in his personal interests and is inclined to think about himself alone. If a man is sailing in a leaking boat, he may carry his load as high above his head as possible, but it is bound to sink along with him. This is exactly the situation in which the Hindu
Samaj finds itself today.\textsuperscript{11} Emphasizing the need of the hour he said, "Today, begging bowl in hand, the Samaj is seeking alms from us. If we continue to be indifferent to its demands a day may come when we may, willy nilly, have to part with a great deal that we most dearly love."\textsuperscript{12}

In view of the above circumstances, Deendayal wanted to provide his services for the upliftment of the country to make her virile, valiant, strong and prosperous. According to him, the only way to strengthen their country was to organise the society in accordance with the ideas and principles of R.S.S. Deendayal was greatly influenced and inspired by the ideology of R.S.S. He was determined to work for the R.S.S., but when he realized that he could not discharge both the responsibilities of a job and R.S.S. work simultaneously in a satisfactory manner then with a specific objective in life, he dedicated his entire life fully for the work and mission of the R.S.S. He left the idea of doing a job and the work of the R.S.S. became his priority and an objective of life. Shanti Bhushan has written, "Deendayalji always wanted to dedicate his life to the country, because he believed that service of the country was not possible after taking up a government job while the country was in bondage. So he dedicated his life to the service of the country, and for this he chose the medium of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh."\textsuperscript{13}

It is noteworthy that during forties when he became a full time worker of the R.S.S., the struggle for freedom movement in India was at its peak. Deendayal was against the alien rule, however he did not participate in the freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He was desperately concerned to realize the objective of organizing Hindu society as per the programme and policy of the R.S.S.
To him, strengthening of R.S.S. work would help to realize the desired goal of all round social development. Therefore, he dedicated himself enthusiastically and diligently to the R.S.S. and preferred a different way of life.

In the year 1940, Muslim fundamentalism was very intense. The Muslim League demanded separate state for the Muslims. Deendayal opposed the demand for partition of India. He worked to combat Muslim fundamentalism and to integrate the Hindu society. The founder of R.S.S, Dr. Hedgewar died in 1940. Madhav Sadashivrao Goalwalkar became the supremo of R.S.S. Deendayal worked under his leadership. He worked as Pracharak (organiser) of R.S.S. in district Lakhmipur of Uttar Pradesh till 1944 and was promoted to joint provincial organiser in the organisational hierarchy of R.S.S. in Uttar Pradesh and continued till 1951. He worked and strove very hard to strengthen R.S.S. While remaining on various positions of organisational hierarchy, he earned repute and acclaim in the organization because of his hard work, dedication, sincerity, organizing skills and capacity, loyalty and commitment towards the R.S.S. Nanaji Deshmukh has written, "Deendayal was gifted with a many-faceted personality. He was an extraordinary successful organizer and had the knack of keeping people together. His role in the growth and development of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in Uttar Pradesh was very significant."

Deendayal also steered and geared up the organisational work by professing the ideas of R.S.S. by exhibiting academic talent through different journals. In 1945, he founded "Rashtra Dharam Prakashan" in Lucknow and launched a monthly journal Rashtra Dharma. He also launched the weekly Panchajanya in 1948 and daily Swadesh during 1949-50. Of these periodicals only Panchajanya achieved the status of an
all-India weekly Journal and is now published from Delhi. The monthly, Rashtra Dharma continued to be published from Lucknow but the daily Swadesh is replaced by Tarun Bharat and is published from Lucknow.¹⁷ Deendayal Upadhyaya wrote two books namely Samrat Chandragupta and Jagat Guru Sankracharya, which were published in 1946 and 1947 respectively. Later, he expressed his ideas in a number of philosophical essays and speeches¹⁸, which are contained in the books and booklets such as Integral Humanism, Rashtra Jeevan Ki Disha, Bharatiya Arth Niti Vikas Ki Ek Disha, Akhand Bharat Aur Muslim Samasaya, Hindu Sanskriti Ki Visheshta, The Two Plans, Political Diary, Devaluation: A Great Fall, His Presidential Address, etc.

In 1947, India got independence. The Congress Party headed the government. Differences between Congress and R.S.S. surfaced on some issues. After the death of Mahatma Gandhi, the relation between Congress and R.S.S. became highly soured. The latter was accused of murdering Mahatma Gandhi, but its leaders disclaimed any involvement in this heinous crime. The government imposed a ban on R.S.S. and ordered an inquiry. The accusation was not proved, therefore, the ban on R.S.S. and its activities was lifted. But differences between R.S.S. and Congress still continued to worsen, and the climax came in 1950. On April 8, 1950 the Nehru Liaquat Ali agreement was signed.¹⁹ R.S.S. dubbed the pact as unilateral. The Government was accused of surrendering Indian interests to Pakistan. R.S.S. opposed the agreement tooth and nail.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, the minister of industries in the Nehru government also opposed the agreement strongly. He resigned from the cabinet and joined the opposition. Dr. Mukherji started criticising the government vehemently and
demanded that Kashmir be declared as an integral part of India without the special privileges guaranteed under the instrument of accession. He began to realize the necessity of forming an alternative to the Congress on all India basis. R.S.S. too felt a need to form a political party in India, which could protect its interests in political field in general and in legislature in particular. Vasant Nargolker has written, "it seems that those who wanted to protect the Hindu interests and promote the Hindu culture exclusively, began to feel the need for a political front to propagate their views through elections and representation in the legislature. Deendayal himself was one of them." There was a need of dedicated young men to take up this work. Deendayal was regarded as very important person in the R.S.S. He was considered the future architect and a vehicle of carrying out and promoting the principles and programmes of the R.S.S. in political field. Therefore, Deendayal and a handful of other selected workers were put at the disposal of Dr. S.P. Mukherji. It is observed that Deendayal was uninterested in politics. Highlighting this fact, M.S. Golwalkar has remarked, "Deendayalji had not the slightest inclination towards politics. In the past years he said to me several times: 'This is a nasty affair into which you have placed me. Permit me again to do work of a pracharak'. I said, 'whom else can I put into this nasty affair? Only a man, with such deep and unfaltering faith in organization work, can remain in this nasty affair and still be unaffected by it; he only can clean it up. None else can do it.' Nevertheless, at the insistence of M.S. Golwalkar, he joined a political party. In September 1951, Deendayal Upadhyaya and Dr. S.P. Mukherji launched the Uttar Pradesh unit of B.J.S. in Lucknow. A month later, on October 21, 1951 an all India convention was held in Delhi to form an
All India Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Dr. S.P. Mukherji was elected as its founder president. The first national level conference of B.J.S. was held in Kanpur from Dec. 29-31, 1952. Deendayal was made its General Secretary. In this session of B.J.S., Deendayal was also entrusted with the responsibility of running the Satyagraha on Kashmir. The movement started with the slogan — *Ek Vidhan, Ek Nishan, Ek Pradhan* (One constitution, One flag and One Prime Minister). This movement was against the Act 370 of Indian constitution, which guarantees special status to Jammu and Kashmir. Dr. Mukherji led a batch of Satyagrahis towards Jammu and Kashmir. He was arrested and put in Srinagar jail where he died after a few days.

Deendayal also contested a parliamentary election during his tenure as General Secretary of B.J.S. He contested 1963 by-elections from Jonpur parliamentary constituency unsuccessfully. During this year he also toured the United States, U.K. and some European and African countries. During his tour he met various people and addressed press conferences. He addressed the annual function of R.S.S. in Nairobi in Africa. In August, 1964 he released a significant document "Integral Humanism, The basis of B.J.S programme" in the five days study camp of B.J.S. held in Gwalior. The statement of "Principles and Policy", which contains extracts from the document drafted by Deendayal Upadhyaya was adopted by the *Akhil Bhartiya Pratinidhi Sabha* of B.J.S. in its meeting at Vijayawada held w.e.f. 23-25 Jan., 1965. The various tenets of his Integral Humanism were contained in the four lectures delivered by him in Mumbai from 22-25 April 1965.

On June 30, 1965 India and Pakistan signed the Kutch Agreement. Deendayal opposed the pact and organised a
'Delhi Chalo' campaign against the agreement to impress upon the government. He demonstrated against this in Delhi on August 16, 1965. He said, "It was an act of gross betrayal of national rights and interests. Its terms are derogatory to a self-respecting nation." He added, "What will the government do if the Tribunal gives a verdict against India? Will they go back upon the agreement or surrender 3500 square miles of Indian territory to Pakistan."

Deendayal Upadhyaya remained the General Secretary of B.J.S. for fifteen years (1953-67). After the death of the founder President, Deendayal was elevated to the position of President in the Calicut session of B.J.S., held in December 29-31, 1967. B.J.S. could not get his steward leadership as a President for a long time. He was found dead on February 11, 1968 at Mughal Sarai. He was allegedly murdered and the mystery of his death still remains unsolved. Deendayal remained President of B.J.S. for only forty-three days.

His untiring efforts made B.J.S. a strong political force to be reckoned with. Though, he was uninterested to work in a political party even then he discharged his duties effectively to buildup and strengthen the network of B.J.S. throughout India. Sunder Singh Bhandari has said, "The Bharatiya Jan Sangh became famous for its organizational strength. The credit of this reputation went mostly to Deendayalji. By building it up brick by brick, unit by unit, he made the Jana Sangh a fortress of strength and gave it its reputation. It was his tremendous dedication and inexhaustible capacity for contact with the people that wove a country-wide organizational net-work for the Jana Sangh."

Deendayal’s efforts are widely acclaimed in political life of India. He earned repute not only as a sincere and dedicated worker but also as a foremost ideologue of the
party. He was not an armchair philosopher in an ivory tower but also an important activist and ideologue of a political party, who was interested in converting his ideas into the stuff of reality. He said, "we do have before our eyes a vision of a great future of this country; we are not mere visionaries but are karmayogis, resolved to translate our vision into reality."\textsuperscript{37}

Some scholars have paid attention to the thought and the ideas of Deendayal Upadhyaya. It would be necessary to know the work done on him before embarking upon the discussion on the topic of research. \textit{Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya: A Profile}\textsuperscript{38}, edited by Sudhakar Raje contains fourteen chapters. Different scholars have contributed to various aspects of Deendayal’s life and ideas. The work begins with his biography and some selected tributes paid to him on his tragic death, by eminent personalities and leading newspapers of the country. M.S. Golwalkar in “Ideal Swayamsevak” has described Deendayal as a dedicated and honest worker with versatile genius who dedicated his energy and life for the mission of R.S.S. D.B. Thengadi in “Integral Humanist” has discussed his ideas on man, society and nation. He has also briefly examined his philosophy of Integral Humanism. Jagdish Prasad Mathur has argued that the basis of Deendayal’s ideas was rooted in the history and tradition of his country. Mathur has considered him a fundamental and comprehensive thinker. Satyavrata Sinha in his paper, “Gandhi, Lohia, and Deendayal” has made an attempt to study the life and philosophy of the trio. Dharam Vir Bharti has called him a pure Indian in his action and thinking, while K.R. Malkani has seen in him the angelic qualities. Malkani has argued that Deendayal was a man of high virtues and extraordinary qualities and was above the
ordinary human beings. Chapter thirteen consists of a memorable letter dated July 21, 1942, written by Deendayal from Lakhimpur to his maternal uncle, which explains as to why he became a Pracharak of R.S.S. The concluding chapter consists of some selected ideas of Deendayal, which give an insight into his philosophy of Integral Humanism.

Upadhyaya’s Integral Humanism: Concepts and its Applications is an edited work by Dr. Mahesh J. Mehta consisting of five sections. First section, “Deendayal Upadhyaya: The Man”, contains five papers. In this section the authors have described Deendayal’s life, personality and influences on him and his ideas. Norman D. Palmer has described him as a kind hearted, gentle, a soul of simplicity, and a selfless person, with a remarkable lack of ego, who led an exemplary life. Palmer has regarded Deendayal as a voracious reader, who was always a student, and a skillful organiser, but a reluctant politician. According to him, Deendayal was a true democrat and a basic thinker with modern and comprehensive outlook. In short, it is argued that Deendayal was a many faceted personality. The second section contains three papers, viz. “Thoughts on Social Theories: An Integral Approach”, “Ekatm Manav: The Universal Law”, and “Humane Socio-Economic Order.” In these papers an attempt has been made to highlight, explain and examine Deendayal’s humanistic ideas. The third section, “Economics and Integral Humanism” is a study of economic ideas of Deendayal Upadhyaya. In a paper, “Economic Perspective in Integral Humanism”, Dr. Subramanian Swamy has argued that economic ideas of Deendayal were different from capitalist and communist ideologies. Swamy has tried to show that Deendayal was critical of the economic models based on the above mentioned ideologies and has suggested an
alternative economic thinking for the requirement of man, society and entire humanity. Such an economic model lies embedded in the comprehensive philosophy of Integral Humanism envisioned by Deendayal. The fourth section, “Political Theories and Integral Humanism” contains five papers. In this section the authors have made an attempt to explain, interpret and visualise political aspects of Deendayal’s philosophy. In ‘Political Philosophy of Deendayal Upadhyaya’, Dr. Walter K. Anderson has contended that nationalism, democracy and socialism provide only partial solution to human quest for good life. Nationalism poses a threat to world peace. Democracy when linked with capitalism establishes exploitation. Socialism robs the individual of dignity and freedom. Each of these political concepts exacerbates material acquisitiveness and stimulates greed, class antagonism, exploitation and social anarchy. Anderson has asserted that Deendayal’s political ideas profess mutual cooperation and complementarity of interests of individual, society and humanity. The last section of the book deals with various points of resemblance and differences between the ideas of Deendayal and Mahatma Gandhi.

_Gandhi, Lohia and Deendayal_ is a collection of some essays, delivered in an essay competition organised by Deendayal Research Institute on the topic entitled “The common basis of Mahatma Gandhi, Ram Manohar Lohia and Deendayal Upadhyaya, with special emphasis on Man, Mission and Message.” Different essayists have explored various points of similarities among the trio. In the foreword Prof. Madhu Dandavate has commented, “Gandhi dreamt of a Ram Rajya. To him, Ram and Rahim were different manifestations of same element of truth, goodness and harmony. Very few
know that a socialist like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia too had derived great inspiration from Ramayana and Mahabharata and had put his own interesting and unconventional interpretation on the roles of Rama, Krishna and Shiva in the context of the problems of the modern world. The springs of inspiration of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya were the holy scriptures of Geeta and Upanishads and Mahabharata. Different essayists have argued that the ideas of the above thinkers were influenced by the age-old Indian tradition and wisdom, and had emerged in context of the present conditions and problems of humanity.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and Perception consists of seven parts, which have been written by different authors. The first part entitled, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and Perception: An Inquest, is authored by D.B. Thengadi. It is an introductory part, which mainly deals with Deendayal’s life history. The author has highlighted Deendayal’s role as a Pracharak of R.S.S. and his contribution to politics particularly in the development of B.J.S. Thengadi has argued that Deendayal denounced the blind imitation of Western ideas and looked upon Indian traditions and values to solve the problems of man and mankind. In the concluding part of the book, some appendices are given, which reflect important pieces of information on the ideals of Deendayal’s life.

In the second part, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and Perception: Integral Humanism, V.V. Nene has discussed certain important Western concepts such as Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism, and has analysed Deendayal’s views in the context of these notions. He has also highlighted various aspects of Deendayal’s philosophy of Integral Humanism.
Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and perception: Political Thought is the third part, which is written by B.K. Kelkar. The author has narrated the story of the birth and development of B.J.S., and its views of national life. He has regarded Deendayal as a basic and proficient ideologue of B.J.S., who emphasized on cultural freedom of India. Kelkar has also given some details of Deendayal’s public life. He has discussed Deendayal not only as a theorist of Jan Sangh but also as a party organizer. Finally, the author has discussed the legacy of Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Sharad A. Kulkarni in the fourth part of the series on Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and Perception has discussed the Integral economic policy of Deendayal Upadhyaya in the context of the prevailing theories such as capitalism, communism and socialism. He has described Deendayal’s thoughts on planning priorities, agriculture and self-sufficiency, goals of industrialization, capital-formation through economic discipline, Swadeshi, foreign aid’s dimensions, fiscal and monetary policies, pricing and taxation measures, etc. The author has argued that Deendayal’s economic thought and philosophy can help to solve many problems confronting man and mankind.

In part five of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and perception, C.P. Bhishikar has discussed Deendayal’s concept of Rashtra. He has observed that Upadhyaya was a protagonist of Hindu Rashtra, who had a firm conviction in age-old Hindu culture. However, according to the author there is no reactionary element in Deendayal’s assertion of Hindu Rashtra.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and perception: Politics for Nation’s Sake constituting the sixth part, is
written by B. N. Jog. The author has discussed Deendayal's perception of politics with particular reference to the new ideals introduced by him in Indian politics. This is followed by a discussion on Deendayal's views on undivided Bharat, one nation and one culture. The author has also briefly touched upon Deendayal's views on foreign policy and nationalism.

In part seven, written by V.N. Deodhar, the profile of Deendayal Upadhyaya is given, which highlights the various aspects of his personality and ideology. According to the author, Deendayal was a simple man with versatile genius, who never compromised his principles and values, which he cherished for the man and the mankind. In the end, there are four appendices, which reflect Deendayal's ideas on various aspects. Appendix four: is the Presidential address of Deendayal Upadhyaya, which was delivered in Calicut.

Destination is the first publication of Deendayal Research Institute. It is a collection of views and papers contributed by various eminent personalities. It gives an insight into the life, personality and mission of Deendayal. Some papers also explain and examine his philosophy of Integral Humanism. In his paper, "The Political Philosophy of Deendayal Upadhyaya", Walter K. Anderson has written that contemporary politics in India, according to Upadhyaya was based on a partial, if not correct understanding of man and his role in society. The political leadership of post-independence India, he asserted, had attempted to apply Western notions of good society to Indian conditions, and the results were unsatisfactory. The author added that Upadhyaya has proposed that only the Indian thought could provide solution to the riddles. Anderson has argued that Deendayal's philosophy of Integral Humanism was shaped in
accordance with the unique national identity of India. The author is of the view that Deendayal has made an important contribution to Indian political thought. Mehesh Mehta, in “Deendayal Upadhyaya’s Thoughts on Social Theories: An Integral Approach” has discussed Deendayal’s views on Individual happiness, relationship of the individual with the society, and the role of state in the welfare of the society. According to Mehta, Deendayal Upadhyaya has tried to tackle these issues by taking into consideration the ideal of Indian culture and philosophy.

His Legacy: Our Mission, written by D.B.Thengadi was released on the occasion of the fifth death anniversary of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. The author has narrated some of the important events related to Deendayal’s life in a chronological order. D.B.Thengadi has considered Deendayal as a nationalist and also as an internationalist, and has argued that his humanism visualised integral unity and mutual complementarity among man, society, and universe. The author has also thrown some light on Deendayal’s views on issues such as nation, mechanisation, planning, socialism, and capitalism.

Deendayal Upadhyaya: Kartritva Evam Vichar is a voluminous work written by Mahesh Chander Sharma containing twelve chapters in 474 pages. The author has attempted to write Deendayal’s biography narrating his early life, his contacts with R.S.S., and his concerns and activities in political field as the General Secretary and President of B.J.S. While explaining Deendayal’s humanism the author has interpreted and visualised basic concepts of Deendayal’s philosophy, such as Vayashti (man), Samashti (society), Sanskriti (culture), Chiti (ethos or soul), Virat (energy), etc. Further, the writer has tried to explain and analyse
the social, cultural, political, and economic ideas of Deendayal Upadhyaya. He has concluded that the age-old Indian philosophy has a bearing and an impact on the Integral Humanism of Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Dr. Harishchander Barthwal in the booklet Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya: Vyaktitva Evam Jeevan-Darshan has given a brief biographical note on Deendayal Upadhyaya. This is followed by a discussion on various aspects of his philosophy of Integral Humanism, which include his views on man, society, relation of man and society, four-fold concept of Purushartha, state, nation and nationalism, and world peace. He has also discussed his economic ideas particularly in the context of agricultural and industrial development.

D. D. Bandiste in his book Humanist Thought in Contemporary India has tried to present Indian humanist traditions with reference to M. N. Roy, Ram Manohar Lohia, B. R. Ambedkar, S. N. Agnihotri, Karl Marx and N. K. Devaraja. The book is divided into seven parts. In the first chapter while explaining the meaning of humanism the author has argued that it is a philosophy, which has the welfare of man as its central theme. In the subsequent chapters the author has tried to explain, analyse and examine the ideas of above mentioned scholars. According to him all these scholars have adopted a humanistic outlook and evolved different strategies to build a happy human life.

Partha S. Ghosh in his book, B.J.P. and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism: From Periphery to Centre has given the historical background of B.J.P. and has highlighted its ideology, programmes and political agenda. The author is of the opinion that since there has been a phenomenal rise in the influence of the B.J.P., therefore, it is pertinent to understand and analyse the phenomenon and ideology behind
this party and Hindu nationalism. In this context the author has also highlighted the role of Deendayal Upadhyaya who remained associated with the party for a long time. The author has referred to Deendayal's attitude towards Indian foreign policy. He has also argued that Deendayal's Integral Humanism formed the basis of the economic policy of B.J.P. However, the author has not dealt in detail with Deendayal's philosophy of Integral Humanism.

Research journal Manthan entitled "Deendayal Upadhyaya’s Integral Humanism: Basic Documents, Interpretations, Contextualization & Comparisons", published by Deendayal Research Institute consists of four sections. Section A - "Basic Documents" contains two documents. The first document, “Principles and Policies” is an extract from a document drafted by Deendayal Upadhyaya, which was adopted by the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha of the B.J.S. in its meeting at Vijayawada held on Jan. 23-25, 1965. Second document, “Integral Humanism” consists of the four lectures delivered by Deendayal Upadhyaya in Mumbai from April 22-25, 1965, which reflect his views on different aspects of his philosophy of Integral Humanism. Section-B entitled "Interpretations" includes various articles, which focus on different facets of Deendayal’s philosophy. M.S. Golwalkar while discussing Deendayal’s views on man has argued that Deendayal was a great thinker and philosopher who talked about Integral man and his all round development on the basis of fourfold Purusarthas, which are Artha, Kama, Dharma and Moksha. Next two articles are devoted to the study of Deendayal’s philosophy of Integral Humanism. D.B.Thengadi in his article, “Integral Humanism - A Study” has argued that Deendayal had developed his philosophy of Integral Humanism to suit the changed conditions of the contemporary world.
This philosophy was conceived to perfect the existing social and political theories, so that they could meet the challenges posed to them. Dr. Chandra P. Agrawal in “Integral Humanism: A philosophy for a Humane Socio-Economic-Order” has first of all differentiated Integral Humanism from some other major humanistic movements. This is followed by a discussion on Deendayal’s concept of man in Integral Humanism. Finally, the author has analysed Upadhyaya’s use of this concept in his socio-economic system. Mahesh Mehta has discussed the social aspect of the philosophy of Integral Humanism, whereas Dr. Amit Kumar Mitra has highlighted the economic thinking of Deendayal Upadhyaya. The author has argued that man is the main centre of the economic structure suggested by Deendayal. In this context Dr. Mitra has also discussed his views on the relation between man, machine and technology.

Section-C entitled “Contextualisation and Comparison” consists of seven articles. Dr Mahesh Chandra Sharma in the article “A Continuation of Bharatiya Thought Tradition” has asserted that Deendayal belonged to that school of thought which emphasized the superiority of native knowledge and way of life. It is argued that his writings and thought derived inspiration from the Vedas, the Puranas, the Smritis and the Upanishads. In the article, “Deendayalji, R.S.S. and Hindu Nationalism”, B.K. Kelkar has made an attempt to study Deendayal’s political activities and leadership as a volunteer of R.S.S., and his perceptions on nation building. Kelkar argued that though Deendayal was in R.S.S., however, he believed firmly that there was a need to bring some changes in Indian thought so that India could survive in the modern world. But such changes according to Deendayal should
be made while preserving the original character of the
country.

Dr. Walter K. Anderson has compared and contrasted the
ideas and approaches of Mahatma Gandhi and Deendayal
Upadhyaya. The author has concluded that despite many
differences between the two, both come to the conclusion
that it was the quality of men in society, which would
ultimately determine the nature of the state.

In the article entitled "Economic thought of Gandhi,
Lohia, Deendayal", Dr. Keshva Prasad Singh has pointed out
the basic similarities between the economic thinking of
these three great thinkers and nation-builders of modern
India. Next two articles by D.B. Thengadi and Dr. Ashok
Modak are devoted to a comparative study of the ideas of
Deendayal with that of Marx and M.N. Roy respectively.
Finally, Jana Krishnamurty has compared the ideas of
Deendayal with Jayaprakash Narayan’s concept of Total
Revolution. The author has argued that a minute examination
revealed that Integral Humanism and Total Revolution were
complementary to each other.

There are four articles in Section-D entitled
"Destination". K.S. Sudershan in "An Unbroken Continuum:
Integral Humanism" has contended that life in its totality
is a continuum. The cause of our existence lies in the past
and influences our future. The realization that this cause
influences our life generates a sense of responsibility in
us. According to him, Deendayal has given this thought in an
organized form in his Integral Humanism.

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi in "Hinduism-A Geo-Cultural
Concept" has asserted that the term Hindu originated as a
geographical concept and gradually became geo-cultural.
According to him, Deendayal expounded the Hindu view as a
dharmic view. He has argued that Hindutva is the name whereby our culture - our way of life, outlook and goals - are identified. According to him Sanatana Dharma, Hindutva, Integral Humanism, all are synonymous.

In the article “Concept of Dharma in Deendayal’s Thought”, Chaturvedi Badrinath has argued that Deendayal applied the concept of Dharma to the solutions of India’s problems. His vision of future India is Dharma-Rajya, which is neither a theocratic state nor is there any room for inequality and division in it. Surendra Prasad Gain in “Deendayal’s Views on Rural Development” has discussed the basic aims, which are regarded by Deendayal as essential ingredients of an economic programme.

In the paper, entitled “Political Dimensions of Integral Humanism” in the journal *Manthan*55, M.M. Sankhdher has tried to highlight the political component of the composite philosophy of Integral Humanism. He has further made an attempt to draw inferences therefrom for an Indian paradigm of politics relevant to modern times. In the paper, “Comparison between Radical Humanism and Integral Humanism”, Ashok Modak has discussed the similarities and dissimilarities between the philosophies enunciated by M.N.Roy and Deendayal Upadhyaya. Talking about the similarities between the two, the author has argued that both the thinkers had agreed to elevate man to the highest place of honour; both felt perturbed to see the helplessness of a common man in the modern world and were highly critical of the capitalist and communist systems. Highlighting the points of disagreement between the two thinkers the author has argued that M. N. Roy remained a materialist whereas Deendayal was a spiritualist; the former disliked the domination of religion in the affairs of man
and society but the latter relied on age-old Indian tradition and role of Dharma. Besides, the author has argued that M.N. Roy has expounded an idea of radical change to arrive at humanism while Deendayal has emphasised mutual cooperation, complementarity and harmony among the individual, society, and universe. In another paper, “Integral Humanism and Total Revolution”, Jana Krishnamoorthy has made an attempt to compare the ideas propounded by Deendayal Upadhyaya and Jayaprakash Narayan. The author has argued that both the philosophies stood for change in existing conditions of society in various aspects such as political, economic, social, educational, and cultural. He has also pointed out that the concept of Total Revolution of Jayaprakash Narayan was restricted to Indian society only while Integral Humanism of Deendayal Upadhyaya has wider scope embracing within its ambit not only Indian society but also humanity as a whole.

It is observed on the basis of the preceding discussion that though the above mentioned works are important in their own way but a detailed examination of Deendayal Upadhyaya’s thought has not been done so far. In spite of the fact that a very significant contribution was made by Deendayal Upadhyaya to the academic world, very little work has been done on him. This explains the importance of the present study. An analysis of Deendayal Upadhyaya’s philosophy is also important because its basic tenets have been derived from the age-old wisdom of Indian thought. Further he is the least known political leader in India. In a commentary on “Gandhi, Lohia, and Deendayal”, Satyavrata Sinha writes, “It is true that Deendayalji never received from the people and the press the same attention as the known leaders of other political parties did both before and after independence.”
In the light of this therefore, it becomes pertinent to examine, visualise and analyse the ideas of Deendayal Upadhyaya.

Now the question arises, as to how can one analyse or interpret the ideas of a thinker, who lived in a historical context, which was different from the context in which we are living. Those scholars who advocate textual approach argue that concentration on the pieces of writings, 'texts' is sufficient for understanding of the ideas contained in them. They insist "on the autonomy of the text itself as the sole necessary key to its own meaning." However, an exclusive concentration on the text is inadequate to gain insight into a thinker's views. Thus textual approach assumes the existence of 'timeless elements' of 'perennial interest' in the works of thinkers of past, which the researcher hopes to distil from the texts and in certain cases, even to learn from them. But Quentin Skinner argues, "any attempt to justify the study of the subject in terms of the 'perennial problems' and 'universal truths' to be learned from the classic texts must amount to the purchase of justification at the expense of making the subject itself foolishly and needlessly naive." Any statement he adds, "is inescapably the embodiment of a particular intention, on a particular occasion, addressed to the solution of a particular problem, and thus specific to its situation in a way that it can only be naive to try to transcend."

Consideration of social context helps us to have a better understanding of the text. One can have a clear understanding of a thinker's ideas by grasping about what sort of society the given thinker was writing for and trying to pursuade. Ernest Gellner argues, "concepts and beliefs do not exist in isolation, in texts or in individual mind, but
in the life of men and societies. The activities and institutions, in the context of which a word or phrase or set of phrases is used, must be known before that word or these phrases can be understood, before we can really speak of a concept or a belief.\textsuperscript{60}

It is also observed that the meanings of terms sometimes change with the passage of time and the text itself does not indicate the way in which terms are used by its author. To understand the meaning of the terms, which a researcher comes across in a given text, he has to go beyond the text. Pure textual study also does not enable the researcher to understand the hidden or oblique references that the thinker may be making or to see if the thinker is weaving irony into his arguments. For these it is necessary to examine the social, political, economic, and cultural context in which the thinker is writing. Thus an integrated approach would be followed involving the study of both text and the social context in which the text is written.

In the course of the present study there would be an attempt to understand, explain, analyse and evaluate the philosophy of Integral Humanism of Deendayal Upadhyaya. Further, the aim of the present study is to bring out the social, political and economic components from the composite philosophy of Integral Humanism and to draw inferences therefrom for an Indian society and humanity. The work will proceed with a study of the Western and the Indian humanist thought in the second chapter. This will be followed by an examination of Deendayal’s humanism in the light of the prevailing stream of humanistic ideas. For detailed and comprehensive understanding of Deendayal’s philosophy, the various dimensions of his thought will be analyzed in a comparative and evaluative framework of humanistic thought;
Western as well as Indian. To be more precise, the social, political and economic dimensions of his philosophy of Integral Humanism will be taken up in third, fourth and fifth chapters respectively. Finally in the sixth chapter evaluation of Deendayal’s Integral Humanism would be done.
Notes and References


3Sunder Singh Bhandari is a resident of Udaipur in Rajasthan. A teacher turned Pracharak of R.S.S., who joined politics. He became General Secretary of B.J.S. after Deendayal’s death and remained Vice-president of B.J.P. for a long time. He remained the Governor of Bihar and Gujrat.

4Sh. Balwant Mahashabde a college fellow of Deendayal, had contacts with R.S.S. He permanently settled at Vileparle in Mumbai.


Mahesh Chander Sharma, op.cit., p. 30.

Nehru-Liaqat Pact, also called Delhi Pact, made on April 8, 1950, following the state of tension that had arisen between India and Pakistan in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) after economic relations between the two countries had been severed in December 1949. An estimated 1,000,000 people - Hindus from East Pakistan and Muslims from West Bengal - crossed the borders during 1950. In spite of the opposition of his colleague Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, concluded a Pact with Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, whereby refugees were allowed to return unmolested to dispose of their property, abducted women and looted property were to be returned, forced conversions were unrecognised, and minority rights were confirmed. Minority commissions were established to implement these terms, and confidence was, in fact, restored for a time.


Mahesh Chander Sharma, op.cit.,p. 70.


Mahesh Chander Sharma, op.cit.,p. 97.
In 1965 a dispute arose over the India-Pakistan boundary line towards the western end of the Rann of Kutch. Fighting broke out in April and ended only when Great Britain intervened to secure a cease-fire. On June 30, 1965 at 12.40 P.M. an agreement between India and Pakistan was signed at New Delhi. This agreement has been called a cease-fire agreement. It was also related to the settlement of the future boundary of the Kutch-Sindh area. It prescribed the method of arbitration for the settlement of boundary dispute. According to the agreement the dispute was referred to an international tribunal. Deendayal Upadhyaya was against the pact and described it as an act of great betrayal with the interests of India. For details see, Deendayal Upadhyaya, “The Great Betrayal,” Organiser, 18, No. 48 (July 11, 1965), 2-15. Also see, Deendayal Upadhyaya, “Delhi Chalo,” Organiser, 18, No. 52 (Aug., 8, 1965), 1-2.

For details see, Deendayal Upadhyaya, “Throw Out the Kutch Pact,” Organizer, 18, No. 52 (Aug. 8, 1965), 1-2.

Ibid.


Sunder Singh Bhandari, “Unique Blend of Thinker and Leader,” in Destination, op. cit., p. 75.


Mahesh Chander Sharma, Deendayal Upadhyaya: Kartritva Evam Vichar, op. cit.


54 "Deendayal Upadhyaya's Integral Humanism: Basic Documents, Interpretations, Contextualization & Comparisons" Manthan, 12, Nos. 7-9 (July-Sept., 1991).

55 Manthan, 1, No. 4 (March, 1979).


58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.