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## PT. DEENDAYAL UPADHAYA'S PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN NATIONALISM



Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya

### ABSTRACT: -

**N**ationalism and its significance are not confined to the realm of politics. "It is also cultural and intellectual for the world of nation". Nationalism or the concept of nation today is much contested idea and has attracted number of intellectuals, writers, historians, philosophers, politician and political thinkers, who have been trying to define nationalism. The standard academic works that provided a theoretical exposition of the concept of nationalism deserves special mention are: Hans Kohn; *The Idea of Nationalism*, New York 1944, E. E. Schattschneider; *Nationalism, Myth and Reality*, New York 1955, E. E. Schattschneider; *Nationalism*, London 1960, K. R. Mehta; *Nationalism*, London 1967 and A. D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*; London 1971 & *Nationalism* Blackwell UK, 2003.

**KEYWORDS:** Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya's Philosophy, Indian Nationalism, politician and political thinkers.

### INTRODUCTION

Describing the outcome of this academic exercise Prof. R. I. Rothberg says that Nationalism as a concept is a "morass of misapplication" and along with 'nation' and nationality' has been used "to describe a multitude of situations, human conditions and status of mind".<sup>2</sup> What is needed is not so much a definition

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rather identifies the fundamental feature of this phenomenon. How Nationalism originated and ran its course in India. Why this is described as cultural Nationalism. How it is different to European concept of Nationalism. In this paper, an attempt has been made to identify the fundamental features and sources of all creative culture nationalism with special focus on the view of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya on Indian Nationalism.

In accepting that Nationalism is "first and foremost a state of mind" Kohn explains that this sentiment grew out of some of the oldest and most primitive feeling of man namely a love for his birthplace, a preference for his own language, custom and food, and a deep attachment to his own religion, and race. He does not deny the fact that the idea and the form of Nationalism had their roots in the history but give primacy to supreme loyalty and his supreme loyalty was accorded to the nation state.

However Kohn's claim that Nationalism is founded upon the principle of popular sovereignty and that it permeates a majority of the people claiming to be a nation, has been disputed by many scholars. Karl Marx, for instance, portrayed "Nationalism as on more than a bourgeois enthusiasm and depicted the government of a nation state as 'nothing more than a committee for administration of the consolidated affairs of the bourgeois class as a whole.'"<sup>3</sup> Sri Aurobindo associate Nationalism is religion that has come from the God; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God. What is this that has happened in Bengal? You call yourselves Nationalist, but when this happens to you,

what will you do? This thing happening daily in Bengal, because in Bengal, "Nationalism has come to the people as a religion, and it has been accepted as a religion".<sup>4</sup> Explaining the relevance of nationalism he said that "Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to crush it. Whatever weapons are brought against it, Nationalism is immortal; nationalism cannot die; because it is not human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be sent to jail."<sup>5</sup> Elaborating Indian Nationalism and movement in 1908 in the merit of the Society for the protection of Religion he said that "I spoke once before this and I said then that this movement is not a political movement and that Nationalism is not politics but a religion, a faith, I say that it is the 'Sanatan Dharam' which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the Sanatan Dharam with it moves and with it grows. When Sanatan Dharam declines, then the nation declines, and if the Sanatan Dharam were capable of perishing, with the Sanatan Dharam it would perish. The Sanatan Dharam is Nationalism."<sup>6</sup>

Source on thinkers and their definitions can be discussed but I would like to discuss recent writing to Ernest Gellner (1983) and Benedict Anderson (1983). Gellner talks about starting inversion of the common sense historical sequence between of the state and the nation. Anderson gives conception of the nation as an imagined community. Gellner's theory cannot explain the origins of Indian Nationalist sentiments. The view of Sudipta Kaviraj may be eye opener for nation-state theorists. He writes that "European power reluctantly introduced limited representative institutions, but these cannot be confused with democracy.----- to think theoretically about Indian nationalism we get limited assistances from the western social sciences" ..... Anthony D. Smith (2003) talks about two types of Nationalism as 'ethnocentric' and 'polycentric' nationalism fundamentally opposed to each other. For the ethnocentric nationalist, Smith explains "both 'power' and value in here in cultural group" which is vessel of wisdom beauty, holiness and culture."<sup>8</sup>

Annie Besant in her book "How India Fought for Freedom?" (1915) explains that Indian nationalism is product of 'national consciousness, deeply embedded in its ancient past, notably the civilization nurtured by the Aryans. The Aryan civilization is depicted as the true breeding ground of Indian nationalism\*... Besant concludes that Indian national consciousness was "not a plant of mushroom growth, but a giant of the forest with millennia behind it"<sup>9</sup> Historian Suntharalingam, (1983) in his book, Indian nationalism: A Historical Analysis' describe Besant's version as 'romantic' school of Indian Nationalism. This school of Indian historical writing started on the premise that India is the inheritor of an ancient and glorious civilization. Shri Guruji, second Sarsanghachalak of RSS. Used to describe the attributes of people to constitute a nation: "common history common traditions, common feeling of friendship and enmity, common aspirations about futures and common set of heroes, a society having these in its homeland as the progeny of that homeland constitutes a nation."<sup>10</sup>

When Cultural nationalism was vibrant, according to Guruji "our arms stretched as far as America on the one side, that was long long before Columbus discovered America! And on the other hand China, Japan, Malaya, Cambodia, Siam, Indonesia and all the south East Asian countries and right up to Siberia and Mongolia in the North. Our powerful political empire too, spread over these South- East areas and continued for 1400 years"<sup>11</sup>

According to Golwalkar, "Our leaders were not prepared to revise and correct their territorial concept of nationalism which led to the unprecedented tragedy of partition of our motherland with all its continuing and growing dangers, and the uprooting of over two crores of our brethren resulting in their indescribable miseries of desolation, distress, and dishonor. This is the price we have paid and ever now playing for their and unnatural concept of nation that we have adopted."<sup>12</sup> Guruji felt that the evolution of nation, nationhood and nationalism in India has been unique and distinct from the history of Nationalism in Europe. There has been a unique way of life of India emanating from the ancient time, which may be called civilization, Indian culture and Hindutav or Hinduism. Hindutav or Hinduism is the essence of Indian culture nationalism.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, the propounder of "Integral Humanism" was worker of RSS before joining Bharatiya Jansangh. In 1968, he became President of Jansangh and was always conscious of his cultural legacy. "Integral Humanism" is collection of his four lectures delivered at Pune and Mumbai. It is synonym of 'Bharatiya Sanskriti' stated explicitly by him. The outlook of Bharatiya Sanskriti is integral. It accepts the seeming differences among various entities and aspect of life, but it seeks at the same time to discover the unity underlying

them and takes integrated view of the whole scene. In the manifold activities of the world, Bharatiya Sanskriti sees interdependence, cooperation and concord rather than conflict contradiction and discord. Its perspective is all comprehensive, not partial; it wishes and work for the well-being of all....,"<sup>13</sup> Deedayal ji, as an interpreter and advocate of Bharatiya Culture, saw the inadequacies of the modernism and western civilization and reinterpreted the Bharatiya philosophy in the changing context and pattern of world civilization.

Deedayal ji, like Swami Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Bankim, Shri Aurobindo, and Gururji also opinion that culture and nationalism are interwoven and one cannot even think of nationalism without culture Deedayal ji associates progress and happiness with identity, and said that "it is essential that we think about our national identity, without identity there is no meaning of independence, nor can independence become the instrument of progress and happiness. As long as we are unaware of our national identity, we cannot recognize or develop all our potentialities. Under alien rule, this identity is suppressed. That is why nations wish to remain independent so that they can progress according to their natural bent and can exercise happiness in their natural bent and can exercise happiness in their Endeavour..... The natural instincts cannot be disregarded but it is possible to elevate this nature to the level of culture. The basic cause of the problems facing Bharat is the neglect of its national identity."<sup>14</sup> Deedayal ji in his speech in 1949 has said that "every nation had its own individuality and some special feature for the development of which freedom was essential. We need economic, social, culture, as well as spiritual freedom. Freedom must include self-realization, for; culture pervades every facet of our national life just as life pulsates every faced of our national life while conquering the high peaks and deep pits of difficulties and hindrances coming in the way of life. Culture is not something static. It is always in motion just like the flow of his river. With this fluidity some characteristics are associated. These characteristics of his culture through find expression in all literature are philosophy and social history. If we have acquired freedom, this flows of our culture which transcends national boundaries and binds a nation with the rest of humanity. Therefore, culture freedom is most important. Without this, our freedom will be meaningless and it will not last."<sup>15</sup>

Deedayal Ji, asserted that independence becomes meaningless unless it becomes an instrument for the expression of our culture. For him, from "national as well as human standpoint, it has become essential that we think of principles of the Bharatiya culture which is holistic in nature;"<sup>16</sup> He believed in the perennial vitality and relevance of Indian Culture. In fact, the very structure of his political thought stands on the bed-rock of our ancient wisdom and practice. Deedayal ji never accepted the view that we are a new nation or a nation in making, he, rather, worked all through his life to establish India as a nation of the immortal past. He was of the view that Bharatiya a culture is holistic and look upon life as an integrated whole. Unity and diversity, and the expression of unity in various forms, have remained the central idea of Bharatiya Culture. This become the basis of his concept of nation & nationalism and says that "when a group of person lives with a goal, a deal, a mission, and looks upon a particular piece of land as motherland, this group constitutes a nation."<sup>17</sup> Deedayal clear the ground further 'by taking up the question of 'nation, and 'nationalism'. For, he says. It is with that question that Indian future is linked, even as that future is linked with India's contribution to mankind. But the first thing to do is to remove the very many crippling misconceptions with which, in the Indian mind, 'nation' and 'nationalism' have come to be surrounded. Nation is not just a political concept, a changing construct of the mind, much less just a territorial concept. Nation is not a collection of the people that have historically lived together; nor is the people, Jana, simply a collection of human beings living in a geographical space and nor in nation just a geographical space. It is not born out of social contract be abrogated. 'Nation arises out of a deeper life force; it is self created, swayambhuha. It has a historical growth, of course, but history alone cannot explain it. Language, culture, literature, is undoubtedly the basic because they reflect something even more fundamental that gives life to a nation its Chaitier consciousness. They are attributes with cause, the western thinkers, then, believe that a nation can be created by putting together somehow those attributes. That cannot be done, for the common element of an inherent consciousness at work, which cannot be created artificially by political means. Each nation has its own unique consciousness. That is what distinguishes it from other. So long as that consciousness, the chiti, lives, that nation lives; when it dies, the nation dies. A nation dies, not by the loss of territory, or by decrease in its population; a nation dies when its consciousness ceases to exist,"<sup>18</sup> In other words "fundamental



principle of a nation is its soul of nation his 'principles and policies' of the Janasangh. 'Chiti is fundamental and is central to the nation from its very beginning. Chiti determines the direction in which the nation is to advance culturally. Whatever is in accordance with chiti is included in the culture.'<sup>20</sup> chiti is the touchstone on which each action, each attitude is tested, and determined to be acceptable or otherwise,"Chiti is the soul of the nation. It is on the foundation of this Chiti (Soul), nation arises and become stronger and virile and it is this Chiti that is manifested in the action of every great man of a nation,"<sup>21</sup>

The laws that help manifest and maintain Chiti of a nation are termed as the Dharma of that nation, hence it is this 'Dharma' that is supreme. Dharma is the repository of the nation's soul for Deeandayal Ji. He said that "if Dharma is destroyed, the nation perishes. Anyone who abandons Dharma betrays the nation."<sup>22</sup> Perspective of Dharma of Deeandayal Ji is different from religion. Religion is not Dharma. Dharma is much wider and Sanatana is nature. He argues' "Dharma is not confined to temple or mosques. Worship of God is only a part of Dharma.....Just as school's themselves do not constitute Dharma. A child may attend school regularly, and yet may remain uneducated. So also it is possible that a person may visit temple or mosque without break and yet he may not know his Dharma. To attend temple or mosque constitutes a part of religion, seet, and creed, but not necessarily Dharma. "Many misconceptions have originated from faulty English translations, and the most harmful of them is due to the confusion of Dharma with religion."<sup>23</sup>

The fundamental principles of Dharma are eternal and universal. Yet their implementation may differ according to time, place and circumstances. The political philosophy of Deeandayal Ji is dominated by nationalism. In his analysis of nationalism, Deeandayal Ji said that "Everything must have its own focal point... no one knows what is the focal point of our life is. What is it that binds us together? Every country has such a binding factor. This focal point is the nation."<sup>24</sup> .... Who constituted the life of this nation? Here we are shall have to concede that our nationality is none other than Hindu Nationality "If any outsider come into this country he shall have to move in step and adjust him with Hindu nationality. It shall have to be decided whether a person's nationalism is on the plus or minus side. It is like measuring our body temperature with a thermometer. The thermometer has a mark indicating normal temperature. It is with reference to this mark that we say whether the temperature is high or low. In the same way, Hindu nationality is the standard here. Everyone knows this, whether anybody says it in so many words or not, and that our nation hinges on Hindu nationality. This is the unifying force here since ancient times."<sup>25</sup> The perspective of cultural nationalism is extension of Hindu nationalism and its philosophical aims and objects are very much part and parcel of Deeandayal's concept of Integral Humanism.

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