

PANDIT DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA
IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION

PART VII

A PROFILE

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Author's Note

Who was Pandit Deendayal ? An ideal worker of an organisation like Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, who had girded up his loins for the regeneration of the nation. A judicious thinker, wedded to the rejuvenating mission of building up a glorious future of our beloved Bharat !

What was Deendayalji? This is a modest attempt to define it. What type of person he was - we present here the conclusions of an investigative study. This is a collection of the flashbacks of reminiscences of many of his colleagues in various vicissitudes of life and spheres of action. We have presented here these memories very briefly, sometimes limiting ourselves only to short conversations on some vital problems and crucial decisions. The persons involved are sometimes very highly placed, while at times they are just laymen. These include types varying from class IV employees to the topmost officials in the USA or UK. They would convey something unforgettable about Deendayalji. From the outlines of these memoirs will rise a profile, unassuming, absolutely non-egoistic, but highly inspiring all the same. You would be able to visualise a leader who has no duplicity of professions or actions. We would discover here a Head of the

Family, who begins to take his frugal meal, only after ensuring that everyone has had his share of meal. He is an apostle of the *Bharatiya Sanskriti* who by his example, and not by preaching, demonstrates that hard discipline can be inculcated by the Master, who has the motherly affection to massage the dead-tired feet of his children and induce them to sleep. His is a personality always far ahead of the latest paths of progress, yet always remembering the *Kulachar* and *Kuldharma* (Code of conduct) of his 'noble holy tribe', remembering human sympathy and the Herculean duties that go along with it, remembering the righteous sense of self-respect and national glory and last but not the least an indomitable endeavour to act so that the 'godly tribe' may rightly feel proud' of him for all times to come.

What is this 'Tribe'? What are its modes of conduct? Deendayal Upadhaya is a delicious fruit of the 'Wonderful Tree' of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. That is the conclusion from all the reminiscences related by the multitude of Swayamsevaks. RSS has undertaken to build up Men with character. This-character building cannot be achieved by lectures and discussions. The proper 'Sanskaras' (nurturing nice qualities) are imbibed not only through precepts, but through actual examples. It is these 'Sanskaras' that would mould the character. These 'Sanskaras' may be as subtle and as variegated" as the stars of the firmament, for example - regularity, punctuality, simple living, the observance of *Swadeshi* or a hearty rapport with all his colleagues etc. etc.

Deendayalji conscientiously endeavoured to follow the exemplary mode of conduct expected from its workers by the RSS. He never tried to impress others by his seniority of age or office. He always worked upon the concept that the office held by a person is only a medium to fulfil one's duty. Never for a moment, did he allow the feeling of harmonious unity to be forgotten. It is a common Sangh tradition to feel at home with the joys and sorrows, pleasures and pains of the houses one visits. The entire country feels today that Sangh workers are more cordial and sincere in their behaviour than those of any other institution or organisation. Their relations with,

families are of the noblest order, everlasting and full of the deepest affection. Such attitudes cannot be built in a day. Following the noble examples of his mentors Dr. Hedgewar and Shri Guruji, we find Pt. Deendayalji, through his extensive tours, also diffusing the same family spirit throughout the length and breadth of the country. His mothers, sisters, nieces as well as brothers and nephews will be found at every place in every nook and corner of Bharat, living with the perennial memory of his affection embedded in their hearts.

-V.N. Deodhar

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The Glimpses of the Man

The 'Family' of the Great Organiser

Here are some incidents connected with the family of Shri Man Singh Varma of Meerut. He was 'ordered' to be a candidate in the first General Elections of 1952, after Independence. O Yes ! It was an 'order'. In those days there was no queue of candidates for election on the party ticket (of *Jana Sangh*). There were far more chances of defeat than of victory. For such an election contest, Deendayalji and Nanaji Deshmukh 'ordered' Shri Man Singh to file his candidature. The family condition of Shri Man Singh was not at all congenial for electioneering. He had four small children and his wife was a chronic patient. This naturally limited his organisational efforts, in spite of all his will-power. Even then in deference to the 'order' of the organisation, Shri Man Singh jumped into the arena.

The campaign was at its peak. The tours were hectic and thorough going. Lectures echoed and reechoed in the city, towns and villages of the constituency. The poll was only a fortnight off, when a bolt came from the blue -- Man Singh's wife succumbed to her long drawn illness.

But, sorrow and the shock were shared and rendered bearable. Deendayalji was not a leader merely ordering "Do or Die". He was an elder brother to Shri Man Singh. When the election fever had abated, he and Nanaji searched out a suitable new match and arranged for his remarriage. This is how Man-Singhji described the

incident:

"I was worried about my small children and their health. But Deendayalji proved that the worry was shared by him. Whenever he came to our city, howsoever busy he might be, he would pay a visit to our house, may be at least for five minutes and would enquire about the children and their health.

"One particular instance I still remember vividly. When he came here to talk about my remarriage. I flatly refused. But with what an affection and well-being he made me understand the entire implications. Today, after so many years, I must confess that I did the right thing in surrendering to his wishes." During the discussions, Deendayalji had remarked, "Remember, Man Singh that nothing happens without the concurrence of God."

The second wife of Shri Man Singh Varma became almost a sister to Deendayalji. This was not a mere rituality. How heartfelt the relationship was, may be read in her own words:

"Once our door-bell rang at 1 A.M. Varmaji opened the door and saw Deendayalji standing along with four or five workers. Actually, he had been in the city for the whole day, but he had not turned up. I was awfully irritated. But I was beside myself with joy, when I saw him. However, the strains he had to bear pained me deeply. I said, "Panditji, it is 1 O' clock past mid night and you are still moving about. When will you take rest ? You have also to catch a train early in the morning."

"Panditji replied, "Why talk about the train ? Leave it. But how could you imagine that I would go away without seeing my sister ? I could not spare a minute during the day, so I thought I may at least see you before leaving the city. That is what brings me here."

"This affection brought tears to my eyes. He saw them and remarked, "Why do you shed tears ? Tell me about your health and that of the children ? You look a bit pulled down ? Any trouble ?" "What trouble can I have, when I have brothers like you and Nanaji ?"

"But he cut me short and ejaculated, "Oh ! But will you only keep talking or do you mean to entertain us with some tea and snacks ?"

"And alas! The brother, who could lovingly ask me to prepare tea at dead of the night, is no more!"

This petty incident reflects the intrinsic Image of the Man, Deendayal. The feeling of self-confidence and intrinsic faith cannot be developed in an organisation without building up family relations and sharing the joys and sorrows of these workers, who are to be the pillars of the organisational structure. After building these fraternal ties, the entire family becomes attached to the movement.

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We would now have a glance at little Annapurna, the daughter of Shri Narayan Swaroop Sharma to find how "Mama (Uncle) Deendayalji" expresses his love for her.

Calicut Session was a land-mark for Jana Sangh. Deendayalji was the President. Annapurna wanted to be present to felicitate Deendayalji at the Session. But Narayan Swaroopji did not take her there. She was upset. But, whom could she complain to ? At last, when on the festival of Vasant Panchami Deendayalji and Atalji came to the house, she filed her complaint before them. In Sharmaji's own words :

"Deendayalji came and squatted on the carpet close to Annapurna, busy with homework. She groaned, "Papa did not take me to Calicut. I am not on speaking terms with him. Tell him !" Deendayalji led her by the finger and gave his verdict, "Sharmaji, why did you not bring her to Calicut ? In future she should be a regular delegate to every *Jana Sangh* Session."

"So Annapurna was satisfied. The affinity she developed for Deendayalji and *Jana Sangh* has never dwindled."

Narayan Swaroop Sharma was in England for some time. Deendayalji visited him when he toured that area. Mrs. Sharma would also join their conversation.

Once, while engaged in a chit chat, she asked, "Deendayalji, why did you not marry?"

"Why are you putting this question? Why must one marry?"

"Who would look after you?"

"There is no need for anyone to look after me. And let us suppose such a necessity arises, then my mothers and sisters will fulfil the responsibility. I never worry about it."

"But, mothers and sisters cannot look after one, as a wife can."

This statement of Mrs. Sharma silenced Deendayalji for a while. But sometime later, all of a sudden, he remarked, "Had I married, a lot of my time would have been spent in looking after the household. Very little spare time would have been left for looking after the national responsibilities. As for looking after me, in an emergency, if even a sister like you living in London, six thousand miles away from Bharat, worries about me, why should I worry about myself? Only this much is enough for me."

Shri Narayan Swaroop Sharma adds :

"Hearty conversations like this made my family a great admirer of him. Later on, just to respect his invitation, my wife went all her way from London to attend a Jana Sangh session."

Affection as well as Hard Duty

Cordial affection and healthy family spirit are a special characteristic of Sangh Swayamsevaks. Deendayalji was an epitome of this. The experiences of some Swayamsevaks are very eloquent. This is what Shri Harish Chandra of Shahjahanpur remarks about his experience at a function :

"There was camp at about eight miles from Shahjahanpur. It was decided to send city Swayamsevaks in batches of seven to pay a visit to this camp turn by turn. Signs had been marked in chalk to guide the way. The batch, which included Harish Chandra, somehow was delayed till darkness set in. They lost their way. The stones bearing white marks were not visible. At one place these people had

to swim across a *Nallah* (Small River). It was past two in the night, when this batch ultimately found its way into the camp. But Deendayalji was wide-awake awaiting the batch. Shri Harish Chandra writes :

"He was waiting anxiously like a mother. He went to sleep only after he had looked into our sleeping arrangement after supper."

But such an affectionate leader was a very hard task-master too. Harish Chandra had a taste of it next morning. He describes : "In spite of having been awake till 2 a.m., he was, present in the regular assembly at 6 a.m. and he chided us for being late. I was also awarded a punishment of making five rounds around the *Sanghsthan* (playground)."

Sangh-work should be done by self-inspiration. Self-discipline is its soul. Comforts and special facilities can not provide an incentive. Sangh-duties are to be fulfilled with a spirit of forbearance. It should be gone through, even if it is taxing. How could a better example be set for this?

Self-discipline is a speciality of RSS. A great emphasis is laid on this aspect. It would have been a matter of great surprise, if a senior worker like Deendayalji had not set an example. 'The hierarchy is only a system, otherwise we are all swayamsevaks'- this was his concept, clear and unflinchable.... And he acted on it all his life.

A Leader who never bossed

There was *Sangh Shiksha Varg* (Officers' Training Camp) in 1960 at Kanpur. This is how Shri Prem Shankar Shukla describes an incident therein.

There is constant atmosphere of discipline at the *Sangha Sthan* or *Sangh Shiksha Varga*. But the Swayamsevaks never lost an opportunity, howsoever fleeting, for some naughtiness and relaxation. They had to stand in queue for cleaning their utensils after the mid-day meal. An oft-repeated mischief was to throw away the utensil of a companion from under the tap and replace it by one's own. It was nick-named '*Lota-Yuddha*' (the clash of lotas). One day

there was a meek *dhoti*-clad soul waiting for his turn. When he got his turn, he gently put his *lota* under the tap. A naughty Swayamsevak threw it away. The meek man laughed merrily, picked it up and again joined the queue and waited. In the afternoon assembly the same meek man was invited to deliver the *Bauddhik* (the lecture of the day) and was introduced: "Today we are fortunate to listen to the guidance of Pt. Deendayalji Upadhyaya."

The naughty swayamsevak hung his head in shame to have played a nasty trick on such a senior leader as Pt. Deendayalji. He spoke of his great shame to an '*Adhikari*' commenting that he could not even dream that Pt. Deendayalji could be so unassuming !

Not only that Kanpur swayamsevak but everyone else had the same experience with Panditji. He never wanted and never expected that, as a senior leader, any special provision should be made for him. Even after becoming a famous leader of Jana Sangh, whenever he was in Nagpur, he always stayed at the R.S.S. Karyalaya. The Cook Mangal Prasad has a memorable story to tell. He says :

"Panditji would invariably stay at the *Karyalaya* itself. He would go about all the rooms, as soon as he came - the kitchen included. Just at the door, he would affectionately ask, "*Bhai* Mangal, how goes the world with you ?" The feeling that the top-most leader of such a big All India political party calls me '*Bhai*' (brother) would send a wave of pleasure down my spine and would also surprise me. I would then ask, "Panditji, what should I cook for you ?" and he would laugh and say, "O, nothing special for me. I will partake of the general menu." Sometimes, there would be a message that Panditji would forgo his evening meal and then I would go to him in the night with a glass of milk, which he would reluctantly take after some persuasions."

The wife of his usual host in Bombay has said this : "We have so many leaders visiting our home. It is just natural to do all that is possible to entertain them well. But there is one exception - whenever Pt. Deendayalji came, I felt no strain whatsoever. On the other hand, there was some light hearted joy as if my brother or

some dear and near was coming back from a long tour."

Deendayalji presided over the 1967 session at Calicut. But even there, he could not for a moment think of posing an air of superiority. A close associate of his, Shri P. Parameswaran writes: "Deendayalji would never go to the Session-site in a car. He would walk just like other delegates and present his card to the checker at the gate. At his lodge, he would accost the washerman as, "*Bolo, Bhai !*" (Tell me, brother). The fellow would be surprised that a leader of such a stature would address him as his 'brother'. The sincere soul ! - he was beside himself with grief at Panditji's death."

His simplicity was manifest in his dress, his food and his modes of travel. Generally he travelled in the third class compartment. Besides saving in the fare, he also appreciated that the 'passenger train' provided much more time for study during the journey. He wrote many of his letters during such travels. But even during these journeys, he observed several disciplines. Two incidents illustrate this point.

Public Morals

Once Panditji was on his way to Balia from Banaras. The third class compartment was awfully crowded. Hence, his bedding was spread on a berth in the second class, although his ticket was for a third class. Thus, he was forced to travel in the second class. At the destination, he proceeded to the Ticket Inspector's cabin and enquired about the difference in the II and III class fares and requested him to accept it. The TT said, "Please, you may now leave. None cares which class you actually travelled." Panditji then approached the Station Master and handed over the difference of money to him. Then remarked the Station Master, "In my entire service of thirty years, you are the first passenger who has voluntarily come to me and paid the difference of fares !"

Panditji would say, "The illegal use of service-facilities is only a form of theft."

A worker, Suman Bhai Parekh, has a similar story to tell.

Deendayalji was proceeding to Rajkot *Sangh Shiksha Varga* in 1960. He had a first class ticket. Suman Bhai could not get a first class seat; he was sitting in a third class compartment which was quite far off. At Beawar-halt, food was brought for Deendayalji. The tiffin-carrier was to be returned to Ajmer. Suman Bhai was absorbed in reading something, when he heard somebody on the platform shouting, "Suman Bhai, Suman Bhai"...And lo ! Panditji was searching him on the platform. Suman Bhai rushed out and asked, "Panditji, why did you yourself take all this trouble ?" With a child-like laugh came the reply, "How could I devour all that food ? It would have been against the rules if you came into my compartment. But I could come here without any risk."

It was possibly a very insignificant matter in Deendayalji's eyes, an ordinary routine behaviour, but there is no doubt that workers like Sumanbhai could see a glimpse of the successful leadership. During a journey one might have to travel in whatever class for the sake of adjustment. But the standard of responsible and disciplined behaviour demands what Deendayalji did. Do we not get an unmistakable lesson that everyone of us has to keep his public behaviour above board as regards following the rules and regulations for facilities for public use ? And what a simple and unassuming way to teach it ! It is just like a flower filling the atmosphere with its fragrance without being conscious of it.

Polite but Principled

But, sometimes a leader has to assume the responsibility of teaching and warning his followers. His style, however, was very polite and peculiar. A worker of UP, Shri Shachindra Nath Bakshi, relates his experience:

It was the year 1967-68. The 'United Legislative Party' had formed the government and some ministers belonged to Jana Sangh. Some party-workers always wanted to benefit in the concerned department. It was nothing uncommon because the previous Congress Government had established almost a tradition of that sort. A worker once arrived at the *Jana Sangh* Karyalaya, in Khurshid Bagh. There

was some problem about a school in his village. The gentleman had been ousted out from its Management Committee. He was very angry and he came to suggest that the Education Department should take over the management of the school. The quarrel was, in a way, very personal. His demand was also not according to rules. Hence Bakshiji tried to make him understand that it was not likely to be acceded. But the complainant was adamant. At last the patience of Bakshiji was also exhausted. He closed rather tersely, "Look here, brother, actually you should not have come all the way to Lucknow on this account. You could have gathered a mob of a hundred or two and forcibly occupied the place. No matter, there had been a scuffle...a few heads would have been broken and the Government would have been forced to pay attention." The gentleman was very angry at this answer and he left without another word.

By chance, Deendayalji was present in the *Karyalaya*, and he could hear the conversation and the culmination from the inner room. At night, he called Bakshiji and said, "*Dada*, everybody does not put up his demand after judiciously weighing its propriety. They have their passions and prejudices. I know we cannot please all while working according to rules but *Dada*; can't we refuse with a smile or cordial words ? We are workers and we have to be shrewd. Then, why should we talk as if we are going to break our relationship ? We should not hurt anyone's feeling, as far as possible." He then explained his stand to Deendayalji and told him that the gentleman was not prepared to listen to reason, in spite of his persistent efforts and ultimately the language of fight and of show of brutal power convinced him. But Panditji remarked, "*Dada*, he was just of the age of your son. Had you talked to him only a bit more, he would have come round ?"

Bakshiji adds: "I then noted to what extent he could be patient in winning people to his views. This made me promise to him that in future I would not ride a high-horse while dealing with public or with our workers and would never use a language that may hurt."

He further adds, "Actually I had been feeling heavy-hearted,

when the gentleman left unceremoniously. I was relieved of this only after my talk with Deendayalji. I also got a direction for future course of action. Since then, I have always been very cautious that my words or my tone might not hurt anybody's feelings. That is why I do not anger anybody, even if I cannot fulfil the expectations."

There must have been so many occasions with Deendayalji to be firm on his stand. But one personal experience will illustrate this best. Deendayalji, by his upbringing, was a very devout Hindu. Thus, it was natural for him to visit Jagannath temple, when he came to Orissa.

But hardly had he entered, when the priests surrounded him and insisted that he should offer certain amounts of money at certain particular places of worship. Further, at one place, a certain priest almost tried to use force. Panditji was beside himself with rage. He left the '*Parikrama*' (going round) unfinished and came out without having a *Darshan* of Lord Jagannath.

In the evening a public meeting had been arranged for him. This was inside the temple-complex itself. He mentioned the morning-episode and added, "I went inside as a staunch Sanatani devotee, but came out as an Arya Samajist. I have been deprived of the *Darshan* of the Lord but instead of bowing down before these broker-agents of God, I have preferred to come out without *Darshan*." He felt the exploitation of *Bhaktas* at the temple-complex very much and regarded it intolerable that is why he took the decision to seek an exit out of the complex itself. After his lecture, the priests and trustees of the temple came to see him and requested him to visit the temple. But Deendayalji refused to enter it again.

Many Swayamsevaks have written their reminiscences about the gentle nature of Deendayalji. Shiv Kumar Asthana is one of them. He was all along with him during Panditji's election-campaign of the first General Election of 1952. He describes that Panditji was going from Banaras by bus to address a meeting at Ramnagar.

He was feeling tired and strained because of the incessant

touring and chain of speeches. He had a slight fever and some urinary trouble, which necessitated frequent easing. At a small halt, he informed the conductor and went to the urinal. When there was some delay, a passenger began to complain grudgingly. Shri Shiv Kumar tried to explain the cause but he continued to grumble. Panditji heard the last part of his outburst and so he expressed sorrow for causing the delay adding, "Excuse me, Sardarji ! I am a bit ill and this is what has caused the delay." The fellow-traveller was only partially pacified. By chance, Sardarji also was in the audience at Ramnagar.

At the end of Panditji's speech, he approached him with tears in his eyes and said, "I should beg to be excused for my foolishness and insolence in the morning." It was a mixed feeling of respect for the forceful, yet well-reasoned speech he had listened to as well as for the politeness of a leader of such eminence, with which the Sardarji went away as an admirer.

Deendayalji-the Organiser

Qualities like politeness, mental poise etc is to be inculcated with a great devotion for organising the masses. Deendayalji had the tact to make people follow his directions without any complaint. Once even Atal Behari Vajpai had a taste of this tact. This is how Ramdas Kalaskar reports:

"Atalji had returned after completing his tour of the Punjab. Probably he had to face some special difficulties in this tour or the workers had taxed him too much, so he was not his normal self. He announced without introduction, "That is all. All further tour programmes stand cancelled ! I will not go anywhere now." Suddenly there was a dead silence in the atmosphere. All the workers were looking at Deendayalji to see his reaction. Panditji broke the silence by saying, "OK, you first have your bath and then we would see what can be done about it." Atalji entered the bath-room. By the time he returned, Deendayalji himself had prepared Dal, vegetable and chapattis. He served with affection and persuaded him to enjoy a hearty meal. After a little bit of rest, Atalji left for his next programme of the tour without a word. Deendayalji did not have to speak a word.

Prof. Balraj Madhok had similar experience. The All India Working Committee of the *Jana Sangh* was having its meeting at Bombay in 1958-59. Deendayalji was conducting it. Discussions were going on, on some subject, when Deendayalji suggested that members should be brief in presenting their views. But when Prof Madhok's speech seemed to go on endlessly, Deendayalji asked him to conclude it. "This always happens with me!" remarked Balrajji and he sat down dissatisfied. Next day, Deendayalji, in his usual cheerful style enquired: 'Balrajji! Which area would you like to go to, for your tour?' Balrajji's anger had not yet come down. "I am not needed anywhere!" he remarked. Panditji calmly replied "Oh No! You are needed in the south. In provinces like Madras and Kerala, it is better to speak in English, and you alone can explain the role of *Jana Sangh* in English. Your tour would be very effective!" This small sentence worked magic. Prof. Madhok undertook that tour and completed it very successfully.

Building and Replenishing Worker's cadre

The definition of a 'Leader' now has deteriorated to 'someone who keeps ahead of others in gaining power and fame for himself.' But Panditji's nature was not only different, it was in a way just the opposite-neither with lust for power nor for fame. But he always wanted to bring his colleagues into lime light, whether it was to be a presidentship or a photograph. In 1964, several provincial committees had conveyed in their resolutions that Deendayalji should be elected the President of the Party. The Central Committee had also unanimously recommended Deendayalji's name. But Deendayalji politely declined the offer and proposed the name of Pt. Bachchharajji Vyas and did that much that it may be accepted.

A founder member from Gujrat and a senior worker Shri Hari Singh Gohel writes: "In a three day workshop of workers at Junagarh in 1962-63, we had Deendayalji amongst us along with All India leaders like Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee and Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari. It was decided to have a group photo after the session; Deendayalji was reluctant at first but at last acceded to the wishes

of the workers.

"Chairs were set forth. All the workers had taken their positions. I felt myself an insignificant worker and stood in a corner watching the fun, when Deendayalji saw me. Before taking his seat, he came to me, caught me by the hand and almost dragged me down to the central seat. "You are our provincial president and the focus of all Gujrat activities. In the photo also, you should be at the central place," he insisted. He always insisted that wherever his public speech was arranged, the local prominent workers should also speak. This was his way to give a lift to the various categories of the party workers and thus help build up a public image of them.

While organising the party, Panditji also trained his workers. The party worker was both a means and also an end in him. He used to say that the worker is not a lifeless material so that you can paste him like a poster wherever you like. In this connection, Shri Ramdas Kalaskar has related an incident from his own experience; the episode is as eloquent as it is touching. Shri Ramdas Kalaskar had been appointed as a whole time worker of *Jana Sangh* at Madras. Deendayalji himself had talked about this new assignment to Ramdasji. There was a meeting at Nagpur and it had been decided to send him off to Madras, but meanwhile workers from Madras communicated that the atmosphere at Madras was so vitiated that it was not advisable to send a *Maharashtrian Pracharak* there (that year the Shiv Sena agitation against South Indians was at its climax). Sensing the embarrassment of the workers of Madras, Deendayalji at once decided not to send him there. Workers from Bengal were also present there. They also had demanded a whole time worker. By then, Ramdas had not arrived, so Deendayalji said, "We would have a talk with Ramdasji, before we decide finally." A leader commented that Ramdas was a *Pracharak* and so for him Bengal and Madras were the same. But Deendayalji held that a *pracharak* was not inanimate, he was a human being and had his preferences and likes and dislikes 'In my opinion, he should have some say as to where he should be posted. If you are not prepared to grant him even

this much independence and free will, how can you hope to build an autonomous and self-dependent society?" Shri Ramdas arrived the next day. Deendayalji had a discussion with him and he was sent to Bengal with his full and spontaneous consent.

It is all Sangh work

All the above incidents and episodes seem to lead us to one conclusion-whatever office Deendayalji might be holding in *Jana Sangh*, his function everywhere can be meaningfully defined by one word, 'An Organiser'. Who can be called an Organiser? His function can be detailed thus : to collect a group of workers wedded to an ideal, to activate and properly train that group to efficiently strive for the attainment of that goal, to inculcate that group with the best of the requisite qualities and to widen that group incessantly. A successful organiser is one who builds such a strong team of workers. Panditji had accepted this responsibility as a mission in RSS and he stuck to this with undivided devotion to the end. Moreover, he never accepted the building up of *Jana Sangh* to be different from an RSS activity. He regarded it as a duty entrusted to him as a worker of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and he carried out the same with unflinching faith. This basic faith can be illustrated by a few examples.

Shri Bhanu Pratap Shukla has been the editor of 'Panchajanya' for years. Before that he had worked at the '*Rashtra Dharma Prakashan*' in several capacities starting as a sub-editor. Bhanuji had been a close observer of Panditji for several years, while Panditji was the Editor-in-chief. In addition, he had been his close associate in RSS and was fortunate to receive his guidance. As such, Bhanuji's memoirs in this respect of Panditji's undivided devotion to Sangh assume a great importance.

Panditji was present at a *Sangh Shiksha Varga* (OTC). It was as *Sangh Pracharak* that he was assigned the duty to work as Organising Secretary of Jana Sangh and later on as the General Secretary. That is why he always assumed that his entire work in these capacities was itself Sangh work. This is why he participated in the *Sangh Shiksha Vargas* every year and undertook *Bauddhik*

(main lecture of the day), *charcha* (group-discussions) etc. etc. It was always a part of the *Varga-Yojana* (plan).

Accordingly in 1952-53, he was attending one of the *Shiksha Varga*. The *charcha-satra* (discussion session) is very important in the *Varga*. Swayamsevaks ask questions without any reserve and the *Adhikaris* reply with an equal frankness.

The swayamsevaks had gathered at such a *Charcha-Satra*, when Panditji remarked at the outset, "So, you may begin my 'trial'!" For a few minutes there was dead-silence. No one spoke, nor put any question. At last, Panditji himself had to break the silence, "So, if you are not asking any questions, I would begin asking questions myself." But, before he could frame a question, a swayamsevak got up and asked, "You are a leader of the political party, Jana Sangh? How is that you are here in the RSS programme? What relation do you have with it?"

Panditji replied with a laugh, "My dear brother, it is true I am a leader of the *Jana Sangh*. But I am a *Hindu* too. Isn't it? I am proud of being a *Hindu*. Being a *Hindu* and with a feeling of pride in being so, may I not join the RSS?" Panditji's counter question rendered the questioner mute. But it was not a mere debate, so he continued to explain the entire background, "I am a swayamsevak of the Sangh and also the General Secretary of Jana Sangh. Everyone has to assume such multiple roles. Will you enlighten me if there is any contradiction between being a General Secretary and at the same time being my father's son? In the same way, without any contradiction, I am a swayamsevak of Sangh as well as the General Secretary of Jana Sangh!"

Panditji's attitude becomes crystal clear by this explanation. He never even for a moment lost sight of the fact that we are all Sangh swayamsevaks. His clear cut elucidation sets all doubts at rest.

Vanvas and Sannyas

We have used, in the preface of these memoirs, the words

Kulachar and *Kuldharma* (the code of conduct and the nobility of the Holy Tribe). The firmness and determination with which, in the above answer, Panditji declared, "I am a swayamsevak of Sangh!" is enough to define that *Kulachar*, *Kul* and *Kuldharma*.

There is another memorable incident related by Shri Madhukar Deva. Here we have his own words :

This relates to *Darbhanga Shiksha Varga*. Before his *Bauddhik*, Pandit Deendayalji 'the speaker' was introduced : "Today we are fortunate to be guided by Pandit Deendayalji Upadhayaya. He was previously a *Pracharak* of Sangh and at present he is the General Secretary of the Jana Sangh!"

The amendment that Panditji made to this introduction, before actually starting with the subject, is very very important :

"While introducing me, it was mentioned that previously I had been a Sangh pracharak. This is not correct. I am still a Sangh Pracharak." Sangh and Deendayal were one. Such straight forward pronouncement made it clear, how on the basis of a father-and-son relationship, he could participate in Sangh-activities inspite of his deep involvement with Jana Sangh.

A similar experience has been conveyed by Kapileshwar Sahu. At Mithapur, near Patna, the *Sangh Shiksha Varga* was going on. Panditji had to deliver a lecture-series on '*Sanskriti* and *Susanskritata*'. There was a question-answer session after every lecture. A swayamsevak asked, "You are in *Jana Sangh*? Why have you come to our Sangh ?"

Panditji put a counter question, "So, you are a swayamsevak of Sangh. Are you ?"

"Yes."

"Is your father the 'head' of the family ?"

"O Yes !"

"Do you follow his orders exactly ?"

"Absolutely !"

"Sangh also is a big family. So you will also obey the orders of its head. Isn't it ?"

"O Yes ! Certainly."

"So you have given the answer on my behalf. Did not Rama accept exile into the forest for fourteen years at the bid of his father ? This is-our tradition and this is also our culture. It might be exile into the forest (*Vanvas*) for Ram, for me it is *Sannyas* in the city itself."

Increase Sangh-strength

Shri Bhanu Pratap Shukla has given another instance from his life to show his attitude that even in *Jana Sangh*; he was basically doing Sangh work. It relates to the *Sangh Shiksha Varga* of 1954 at Bareilly. *Jana Sangh* had been founded recently, to be precise, three years ago. Some prominent Sangh-workers were helping *Jana Sangh*. Ordinary Swayamsevaks discussed it enthusiastically. When Panditji was holding a meeting at the *Varga*, a worker asked with great anxiety in his voice :

"Panditji, do you not feel that because of your *Jana Sangh*, Sangh is suffering a great loss ? I, for one, see as if progress has been brought to a stand-still. What is your opinion ?"

The question was somewhat unexpected. But, Panditji dealt with it himself. Panditji asked, "Brother, why are you so angered by my party ? Why so much fury ?" He was smiling when he put these counter questions.

The worker explained, "Don't you feel that if an experienced and expert worker like you had limited himself to Sangh-work only, there would have been a big expansion. If the cream of Sangh-workers is engaged in *Jana Sangh* activities, how can we say that Sangh work will not suffer miserably ?"

Panditji was quiet for a moment, but all of a sudden he asked, "Well, how many brothers are you ?"

"We are five."

"What is your eldest brother ?"

"An engineer."

"Next ?"

"I am the next-a teacher."

"Younger to you ?"

"He is still studying."

"Your father ?"

"Yes. He looks after the entire household."

Panditji laughed, when this dialogue was over.

"You got the answer. Isn't it ?"

"No, please explain", replied the baffled questioner.

"See, one of your brothers is an engineer. You are a teacher. You follow different professions. Does it improve or does it spoil your financial position ?"

"It improves."

"Then, if Sangh workers spread themselves out in various fields, will the influence of Sangh improve or will it go down ?" What he added further is very important: "Brother, wherever we may work during the day, at sun-set we come together and with our incomes we add to the family resources. If the different activities are Sangh-oriented and are mutually accommodated, they would certainly add to its total strength. How can we then say that Sangh is being weakened ? Don't we want to see our motherland prosper in every field ? Even if we work in Jana Sangh and speak a bit different language, we do not lose sight of the basic goal."

Panditji then became a bit serious and added, "But I will add one thing more. If all the Sangh brethren gathered here are of the opinion that I should do Sangh work, and what I am doing today is harming Sangh, then, of what consequence are all my efforts ? I would again start directly working for strengthening Sangh itself."

He paused a bit and then asked, "What is your decision?"

This episode is being reproduced here in detail, so that the basic Sangh-*Jana Sangh* identity may be manifest clearly.

A Leader without Ego

Here are two more instances from his life, depicting this identity of Sangh in his personality. They also prove what a deep affection he had for swayamsevaks. At Khammam near Hyderabad, there was a session of Jana Sangh. Deendayalji was to arrive to guide it. The local workers had strived hard to make the function a success. They had also planned to take out a procession in the city. Bhanu Pratap Sbukla was present here to cover the session of *Jana Sangh*. He took a round to see the route for himself. At one place, he found some workers, with Sangh black caps on their heads, erecting a gate. Shuklaji enquired, "Brothers, what are you doing here ? What is the matter ? Is some big leader coming here ?" The chief of that group of Swayamsevaks came forward and spoke out, "Don't you know ? Today this small way-side village is blessed with a rare fortune. Pandit Deendayalji is coming here !"

Shuklaji posed a question, "The same, who is a leader of the *Jana Sangh*; isn't it ?" As the worker nodded in the affirmative, Shukla teased him, "Well ! But, he is a Jana Sangh leader. If Jana Sangh workers are delighted by his visit, we can very well understand. But you people seem to be Sangh Swayamsevaks, why are you so much excited ?"

Now, the swayamsevaks understood the target of this series of questions. Their leader gave a rejoinder, "You people from UP are so much distressed by this disease of distinguishing between Sangh and *Jana Sangh*. We do not recognise any difference. On the other hand, we feel proud that a swayamsevak of ours has risen up to all-India eminence. My dear Sir, if one of our swayamsevaks achieves '*Digvijaya*' (victory in all directions), then who else should be delighted ? Would not a rousing welcome be heartily accorded by those who belong to the same family ?" The reply needs no comments.

Shri Bapurao Lele, a seasoned journalist from Delhi, has

also related a similar instance. A *Jana Sangh* meeting was going on. At noon, it became clear that lunch arrangement could not be adequately made. There could be no possibility of getting food at some hotel for 100-150 persons at such a short notice. Panditji noted that something was amiss. He enquired briefly and understood the situation. He advised, "Look here; there is no need to run to a dozen places for food-arrangements. We will all go-together to Jhandewala (*Sangh Karyalaya* at Delhi) and would share whatever is available there." And then he added, "Jhandewala is best. It keeps our minds balanced." Going to *Sangh Karyalaya* to keep the workers' minds balanced was not mere strategy but an integral aspect of Panditji's personality.

Panditji had a special position amongst the seniors of Sangh. Being a very studious exponent of the ideology and methodology of Sangh-working, his *Bauddhiks* and *Charcha-Satras* were arranged in *Shiksha Vargas*. A feature of still greater importance was the fact that he was one of the finest models of swayamsevaks who had moulded their lives so beautifully according to the principles and practices of Sangh. All the qualities which Sangh expected from its swayamsevaks, workers and organisers, were conscientiously inculcated in him. Dadarao Paramartha, one of the seniormost leaders of Sangh, generally asked one question in his *Bauddhiks*. "Swayamsevaks have come into Sangh, but how much Sangh has come into swayamsevaks?" We may visualise the answer Panditji might have given to this question. He, in his characteristic unassuming meek way would have politely answered, "I have yet to go a long way!" But what would many of the associates and colleagues of Panditji would say about him? What has the representative of us all, our present Sarsanghchalak, Poojaniya Balasaheb Deoras to say about him? While Panditji was Sah-prantpracharak, P. Balasaheb was the Sarkaryavaha. What did P. Balasaheb feel after having worked with him for so many years?

Poojaniya Balasaheb says: "Whenever Deendayalji came to Nagpur, for every one of us, including the workers in the kitchen, it

was *Anand Parva* (a gala day). I have been in contact with him for the last 30 years. But I never heard him say, 'I have done this, I did that!' etc. He was far-far away from *Atma-stuti* (self-praise). It was a rare utterance from him. On seeing him, we were strangely reminded of Dr. Hedgewar. Dr. Hedgewar was not a remarkable person at first sight, nor was he a magnetic speaker. But people were forcefully drawn towards him by the magnetic attraction of his unique devotion. Panditji possessed a similar personal magnetism."

A Prophecy

An instance, related by B.N. Jog of 'Vivek' weekly, is memorable. Deendayalji had an unflinching faith in Sangh, not merely for the 'Sanskars' that it inculcated but also in respect of its intrinsic strength. During 1966, there was a highly disturbing air of political uncertainty. What is in store next?" was the uncertainty aired everywhere. Deendayalji often visited the *Vivek Karyalaya* and, whenever he was there, a free discussion on all matters of importance would naturally arise. Jog says: "Indira Gandhi's rule had started. The Rupee had been devalued under pressure from the USA. The atmosphere was tense. In such a changed atmosphere, when one day Deendayalji came, there began a discussion on this situation itself. I asked him what we would do, if there was a condition of chaos and uncertainty in the country and the external enemies and the internal fifth-columnists and secret saboteurs tried to take an unfair advantage of this situation."

"He was quiet for sometime. But the next minute he spoke out, "Do you want to prophecy that all other measures having been rendered ineffectual, we would be clamped under a dictatorship or military rule? But why do you worry so much? Sangh is there. In such an eventuality, Sangh will bear it out with the country." We failed to share the hope and the faith expressed by Deendayalji. Perhaps a smile of disbelief and even ridicule at such a wishful thinking flashed on our faces. Deendayalji saw it and was at once serious. He added, "I have only placed the truth, the simple truth and nothing but the truth, as far as I know, before you. I have a full realisation of

the strength of Sangh. You can at least place your trust in me, in that respect." This prophecy came true after a decade and the impact of the significance of his intuitional and spontaneous expression of a seer was experienced by the whole country. During the emergency period, it was Sangh, which pulled out the entire nation out of the quag-mire of a seemingly unsurmountable impasse."

'Idam Rashtraya, Idam na Mama'

(This is offering to the Rashtra, this is not mine).

Poojaniya Balasaheb has mentioned a very important quality of Pt. Deendayalji and has in the process drawn our attention to an essential fundamental principle of the Technique of Organisation. "An ideal organiser is one", he says, "who sacrifices his all as an offering to his deity, the *Rashtra* and pronouncing "*Idam Na mama*" does not feel even the slightest ego about it." To exterminate the ego and to conquer pride and vanity are essential for such an attitude of life and these are inculcated in an individual only by a sustained effort. How Deendayalji inculcated them in his life is described by an anecdote related by Shri Vasant Anna Vaidya of Lucknow. Vaidya had known Panditji since his early childhood when he was a *Bal Swayamsevak* and Deendayalji was the *Shibir Adhikari* (Camp Commander). Vaidya had a very melodious voice and he was entrusted with leading singing of songs in his shakha. In one song, the devotion to the Motherland was expressed in a very touching manner. Vaidya noticed tears roll down Panditji's cheeks as he listened to the song. Such a sensitive heart Panditji had! "*Bharat Mata ki Jai*" was to him not only the ending of the *Sangh Prarthana*, "*The Jai and Vijay of Bharat Mata*", was what he cherished his whole life. The feeling that everything he possessed was dedicated to the Motherland was so intense in Deendayalji that we were reminded of Veer Savarkar who had exhorted to offer all his abilities at her feet, "*O Matribhoomi, my intellect (mana) is dedicated to you. My power of expression is also dedicated to you. My latest poetry is offered as a sacrifice to you. All my literary creations are offerings at your feet!*" The wave-length of Panditji's dedication was consonant with the

spirit of this exhortation of Savarkar.

Vaidya tells us the story of this 'conquest of the ego'. Panditji had come to Lakhimpur after his tour of Pilibhit. His belongings were piled in the Sangh Karyalaya. If he needed anything, Vaidya would bring it to him in no time. One day, he asked for a wooden box. Out of it, he took out only one paper and asked Vaidya to burn away all the rest. But when Vaidya had a look at the condemned papers, he was surprised to see that they were all certificates about Panditji's great academic achievements. Most of them referred to high first class in which he was placed. Vaidya could not bear the idea of burning them away. He shouted like an amazed child, "Panditji! Spare them; these are the evidences of your brilliant achievements!" Panditji's answer was as moving, as it was inspiring: "I have dedicated my entire life at the feet of the Motherland. Hence, I have no use for these certificates!"

Shri Vaidya further writes: "While putting each and every one of the certificates into the fire, I felt a pang of pain. These were certificates, after which the cream of our intelligent hankers. But Panditji's face lighted up as the certificates burnt away one by one." Here again, we are reminded of Savarkarji's ejaculations: "*Ha Swarth Jalwni amhi tharalo kritarth!*" (After burning away this entire 'mine' I have achieved fulfilment of all my desires, all my pursuits!)

A True Swayamsevak

Very few people are fortunate to fulfil this desire. Panditji was such a one. But this greatness did not come to him the easy way. In the early stages, Sangh pracharaks had to face many hardships. He bore them all with a smile and observed all the 'dos and don'ts' of Sangh unflinchingly. Simplicity, meekness, mass appeal, fortitude, patience and scores of other qualities of head and heart found their model in Panditji as the memoirs of many of his erstwhile colleagues testify.

An incident at Agra *Karyalaya* illustrates this. The summer heat was approaching its climax. A meeting of prominent workers of Sangh was scheduled. It was decided to have it on the roof. Panditji

sent two of the workers to bring *durries* (carpets). But, before they returned with *durries*, Deendayalji had picked up a broom and swept the floor clean. It may be noted that he was the 'Sah-Prant-Pracharak' then. But in an organisation of 'Swayamsevaks' the office of '*Adhikari*' (office holder) only relates to his responsibility to lead and initiate, the primary capacity being that of a volunteer only. Panditji's actions defined it well by his example. This can be true of every quality that is expected from a *swayamsevak*. '*Swayam-sevakatva*' is a way of life, which one adopts of his free will, he never forgot this even in his dream. His life abounds with illustrations of this.

Swadeshi-Within and Without

Swadeshi is not a matter of mere Propaganda with Sangh, but a universally accepted Mode of Practice. Sangh-founder Dr. Hedgewar had started his public life in the wake of a 4-point programme initiated by his mentor Lokmanya Tilak. Not only he himself was a keen follower of the cult, but he emphasised its strict observance in the Sangh movement. Poojaniya Shri Guruji was also a strict adherent of this principle. When he had gone for a dinner to the house of a well-known leader, after the meals, he was offered soap for washing his hands; it was of an imported variety. Shri Guruji declined to use it. In his *Bauddhiks* he often referred to and insisted on faithfully following the *Swadeshi* spirit. Panditji also had these *Sanskars* rooted in his character. One of his colleagues Baburao Paldhikar (now Chief Organiser, Eastern zone) was once busy shaving, when he was surprised that all of a sudden Panditji, who happened to pass by his way, picked up the soap cake he was using and threw it out of the window. Paldhikar thought that Panditji was in a mood to have a practical joke. And then, at once it flashed upon him that the soap was imported. Paldhikar writes that, that day he learnt the hard way, that strict observance of *Swadeshi* was binding for every Sangh worker and there was no compromise in this article of faith.

Swadeshi should not only be a vow but also an article of faith, this is what Deendayalji used to emphasize. A reminiscence from the diary of Shri Giriraj Kishore is worthy of special mention

here. Panditji was at that time Sah-Prant-Pracharak in Uttar Pradesh. His tour programme in Mainpuri district was being chalked out and correspondence regarding the same was going on. Dr. Purang was Mainpuri Nagar Karyavaha. He had sent a letter and the reply was being drafted by Shri Giriraj Kishore. After drafting it, he showed it to Deendayalji. Panditji went through it and then tore it up. Girirajji could not understand as to what had been wrong in his reply and he looked up in surprise. Panditji explained, "When Dr. Purang and you, both can speak and write in Hindi, why should your correspondence be in English?"

Swadeshi movement, unfortunately, had limited itself to its public concept - use of *Swadeshi* goods and boycott of imported ones. But this restricted meaning was not acceptable to Panditji. *Swadeshi* rooted in patriotism was also an economic issue and everything manufactured in India is not *Swadeshi*. Shri Babasaheb Apte has jotted down his conversation with Deendayalji in this respect; Deendayalji had argued - "I am not prepared to accept those things as *Swadeshi*, simply because they are manufactured in India while the entire profit of the industry goes to foreigners." This was the form of his '*Swadeshi-nishtha*', an unadulterated patriotic spirit. His definition of *Swadeshi* included also language, dress and etiquette etc. Jana Sangh, although it was just a political party, had an integral relationship with Bharaliya culture. The problems of our country cannot be solved by a foreign political philosophy, this faith also was a part and parcel of his *Swadeshi* concept. Not only has that, the philosophy of Integral Humanism, propounded by him also emanated from the very same *Swadeshi* spirit.

The Emphasis on Punctuality

We have been studying, however, the influence of *Sanghsanskars* in moulding his character. Simplicity, *Swadeshi* and capacity for facing difficulties are inextricably interwoven in Sangh with punctuality and regularity of all programmes decided according to an accepted schedule. According to modern terminology this is an integral part of the 'Sangh Culture'. But this family tradition in

Sangh has not been established in a day. Because of its daily implementation, lakhs of swayamsevaks have imbibed it, right from the Sarsanghchalak to an ordinary swayamsevak. A famous incident in the life of Founder-Sarsanghchalak has become an essential feature of Sangh character. Sunday morning *Ekatrit* (ground meet) was regular feature at Nagpur and on the previous night Dr. Hedgewar was at a village about fifteen miles away from Nagpur in connection with starting a *Shakha* there. The meeting continued late into the night and so the return train was missed. It was compulsory for everyone to be present at the morning parade on Sunday with punctuality. Doctorji, without losing any more time started on foot from the village and could be present at the Nagpur *Sanghsthan* (parade ground) before dawn. Poojaniya Shri Guruji also provided a similar inspiring example. He was on tour in Punjab. But heavy rains had shattered the train communications. At one place the bridge had gone down. Only the railway track was in suspension position. The train stopped at that end. The flood under the bridge was raging with unprecedented fury. The police and railway officials were dissuading attempts at crossing. The *swayamsevaks* accompanying Shri Guruji suggested that all further programmes might be cancelled. But Shri Guruji was seeing with his mind's eye the vision at the next destination. He visualised swayamsevaks and other citizens gathered at the function and their great disappointment at being denied the opportunity of seeing him. Shri Guruji adjusted his dhoti and concentrating on the track proceeded on the suspended bridge and performed the courageous miracle of going across the river in a few minutes.

Deendayalji had grown up in such a tradition of *Sanskaras*. That is why all his programmes also were implemented with regularity and punctuality. Here is an incident related by Shri Bhagwan Dev Prabhakar.

Probably this relates to February 1960. A peasants' conference had been arranged at Ailanabad. A procession was scheduled at 9 a.m. It had been announced that Pt. Deendayalji Upadhyaya would lead it. The gathering of the local farmers and

labourers had already surpassed expectations. But, the Police imposed Section 144. The workers had no experience of dealing with such eventualities. They were almost confused and began to wait Panditji's arrival with anxiety. But, his arrival was delayed for some unknown reasons. Some workers were sent on the route with a jeep. Beyond the fifth or sixth mile, they were astonished to see Panditji walking towards the destination. They came to know that the jeep bringing him failed on the way and needed a long time for the necessary repairs. But, undaunted Panditji had started walking leaving the jeep and the driver alone. Had he not done so, he could not have come five or six miles further and met the Ailanabad jeep. Panditji reached in time and the programme went on as scheduled. There are scores of such reminiscences. Once he was riding on the back seat of a worker's two-wheeler. In a small accident Panditji's foot had been badly hurt, the skin had come off and some flesh had been exposed. But Panditji did not utter a word all through the ten mile long journey. Only when the workers at the destination saw Panditji limping, they realised what had happened and the worker with the motor bike was also surprised. He meekly asked, "Panditji, when you were so hadly hurt, why did you not stop me ? We would have got it dressed then and there." Panditji replied that he would have been awfully worried. Now that they had arrived, the injury could be attended to while the preparations for the function were afoot. Panditji had borne all that unearable pain for the sake of punctuality. We can imagine what impression this, incident created on all who came to know of it.

Self-Praise Unacceptable

One of the most important principles of Sangh Traditions is shunning publicity as far as possible. The ego-conquerer Panditji had imbibed this training completely. He would do his duty but took no credit. The incident stated by Shri Bhanu Pratap Shukla relates the Khammam Conference in Andhra; "The workers were all too ready with the preparations for the procession. It had been planned to have Panditji seated beside the President of the Session on the decorated

jeep in the centre. Some workers, therefore, along with the Andhra Jana Sangh General Secretary Shri Gopalrao Thakur approached Panditji with the request. But Panditji politely yet firmly declined. Rejecting the idea, he explained, "Bhaiyaji Dani gave an example which I always remember. He reminded that the Chaprasi is always a Chaprasi. He ought not to vie with the masters for prominence. Whether he is a Chaprasi of an ordinary Tehsildar or of a Hon. Judge of the Supreme Court, it matters not. There might be some differences in the dresses of these two, but their class is essentially the same." With this explanation, Panditji enjoyed hearty laugh. The workers including Shri Thakur were a bit embarrassed. Panditji added, "Why are you looking with so much confusion towards me. A President is always a President and the Secretary is a secretary. How can the latter show himself off by sitting beside the former on the prominent seats. About me you can only announce that I am the attendant of the highest Plenipotentiary, but have you ever seen a Chaprasi dare to take a seat beside a judge?"

Deendayal: A friend to the underdog

Simplicity was a special life-value for Panditji. 'Simple living and high thinking' had been his motto throughout the life. His dress and his bearing were all too simple, yet all too natural. Once, while on tour in Gujrat, he felt thirsty at a station. Without saying anything to anybody, he proceeded to a '*Piao*' (place where water is served free) and quenched his thirst with his cupped palms, before his companions could guess his move. Not for an instant was he affected by pride that he was an All India leader of a political party and using the hands at a '*Piao*' was below his dignity.

At Lucknow, he had no mental reservation on having a haircut at the hands of a road-side barber sitting on his jute-sach with Panditji seated on a brick. It happened so because he had no time to wait in a queue at any crowded Barber-saloon. Of course, the quality of the hair-cut was 'rustic'. But when workers asked about it, Panditji laughed away with the remark, "This *Ghumma* (wandering) saloon had no customer and I had no time for a decent saloon. So we suited each

other well" What was, however, remarkable more than anything else was the glow of satisfaction on Panditji's face for having provided a poor craftsman a job ?

All Panditji's choice was usually like this. He polished his own shoes or *chappals*. But during tours, if some poor boy insisted on polishing his shoes, he would concede. Once he was proceeding to Motihari from Muzaffarpur. An officer from Motihari was his copassenger. A polish-boy was requesting the officer to have his shoes polished. The officer said, "I shall give you my shoes for polishing if you have got a cloth to rub my shoes and give them a shine." The boy had no piece of cloth and so he was dejected. Panditji not only got his shoes polished but also tore off a piece from his old towel and gave it to the boy saying; "Now you can polish Sahib's shoes also."

Such a simple soul, extremely humane, was Deendayalji, a friend of the poor !

Shri Yagyadutt Sharma has also an interesting story to relate. Panditji and Yagyadutt Sharma were going together from Delhi to some place in Madhya Pradesh. At the Delhi station itself, two beggar women entered their compartment and were closely followed by police. A constable started beating them with a stick. Panditji held him and asked him why he was beating them. The policemen said, "They steal and passengers like you are put into trouble. I am doing my duty. You please mind your own business." Panditji was very much enraged. He said, "If they are involved in a crime, it is for the court to punish them. You have no right to thrash them like this. Not only Panditji uttered these words, he firmly held the hand of the constable and prevented the inhuman treatment. Yagyaduttji adds, "We have worked together for so many years. But I had never before seen Panditji in such an angry mood. The inhuman torture of such poor souls had transformed such a meek person as Panditji into the incarnation of *Rudra* (Angry Lord) himself."

Shri Ram Shankar Agnihotri had a similar experience with him at the Satana station. Panditji saw that a poor peasant was

being cruelly tortured by a ticket collector, who evidently wanted to fleece him. Those were the blazing summer days of May-June and it was almost noon. But without caring for the scorching sun, Panditji came out and challenged the TC. At first, the TC paid no heed to what he thought to be the prattling of some extra-vocal school-master and guessed that he would be quiet very soon. But, when he came to know that the *dhoti*-clad passenger was the General Secretary of *Jana Sangh* and that he was proceeding straight to the Station Master's office, he got scared and became apologetic adding, "I am sorry. I did not know that you are Pt. Deendayal!" This further angered Deendayalji and he said, "So you do not care for the ordinary passenger. Now I will only leave you, if you formally request the poor peasant to pardon you." Petrified, the arrogant T.C. complied.

During one journey, his fellow traveller was some rich person. A beggar came in the compartment and began to beg for alms appealing in the name of the Almighty. The gentleman took out a coin from his wallet and was about to give it to the beggar, when Panditji dissuaded him. After some time, another blind beggar came singing Mira's song and approached them. Panditji said to his companion, "Please take out that coin now and give it to this beggar." The gentleman did so, but while dropping the coin into the beggar's bowl, asked, "Panditji, a short while ago, you were dissuading me from encouraging beggars. But why are you recommending now?" "That beggar", Panditji answered, was an able bodied man. He should earn his living by labour. It is a disgrace to our society, if such persons beg. On the other hand, the second beggar was trying to struggle against his unfortunate handicap and instead of begging straight way was trying to utilise his talent for singing." That was how Panditji was guided for taking decisions in his behaviour with others.

Rags are also useful

There are so many episodes relating to Panditji's simplicity. This is one which Shri Shiv Kumar Asthana of Chandausi has communicated: "A reception had been organised in honour of Panditji under the auspices of the Students Union of Chandausi College in

August 1960. When Panditji arrived from his tour, he was in strange apparel. A *kurta* of coarse *Khadi*, worn-out and with several repair-patches, a matching worn-out *dhoti* and a shoe, out of which one toe could be seen protruding itself. How could he be taken to the College in that state? So the *Nagar Karyavah* (town RSS Secretary) Shri Manoharlal brought a set of new *kurta*, *dhoti* and a pair of shoes for him. Panditji's reaction was, "What is so special about Chandausi? I have toured the whole of Uttar Pradesh with these very clothes." It required quite a long persuasion to make him agree to change and put on the new clothes.

At last he conceded and the function was successfully over. Back home, Manoharlalji was busy making tea-arrangements. Meanwhile Panditji had once again put his old clothes and the new ones were placed neatly folded for being returned. When Manoharlalji saw this, he remarked, "Panditji, why are you putting us to shame? Why did you put off the new clothes?" Panditji asked innocently, "Does it mean that they were a present to me?" We were surprised and it took another long persuasion to make him accept them.

Shri Ramdas Kalaskar has a similar experience to narrate. Deendayalji was to go abroad and suitable clothing etc. had been arranged for him. Back home after the foreign tour, he delivered all clothing etc. to *Jana Sangh* office Secretary Shri Jagadish Mathur along with all the foreign currency. "I did not need it, said he, "All my needs including lodging, boarding was looked after by our workers. I did not have to spend anything at all." He purchased nothing abroad—no novelties, presents or clothing etc. He showed no foreign 'glamour'. *Aparigrah* (non-hoarding) is one of the eleven tenets of Mahatma Gandhi. God only knows how much Gandhiji's ardent followers practise it. But it was one of the life-principles of Pandit Deendayalji.

Shri Suryanath Tiwari relates: "It pertains to Pratapgarh. Panditji was a guest of Shri Lakhanlal Chaurasia. When he went to the bathroom, he hung his under-shirt from a peg outside. It was tattered. Lakhanlalji replaced it by a new one. When Panditji came out after taking his bath, he was found searching here and there for

the tattered under-shirt. He was requested to put on the new one when he quoted a piece from the economic mandate prevalent in the Age of Buddha, "Even a piece of cloth has to pass several stages in its 'life'. At first it is a decoration, then it is used for patch work and lastly it is used to wipe shoes." He did accept the new under-shirt, but all the same emphasized the importance of utilising clothes in various stages."

Recognise the Saint

The care for the poor was not only characteristic of his personality; it was also part of his philosophy of life. This is what Shri Bhaurao Deoras, the then RSS Prant-Pracharak of Uttar Pradesh and a colleague of Deendayalji for so many years, has to say, "In our society, we find scores of examples of people whose preaching and practice differ. They do not act upon even a part of what they profess. But there was no such contradiction in the life of Pt. Deendayalji. He was my associate (*Sah-Prant-Pracharak*) while I was the *Prant-Pracharak* but I always felt that he was superior to me. Not only was he very intelligent, he was also an epitome of Sangh ideals. He always shunned positions of power and fame. A Puritan to the extreme, his simplicity was beyond words, shunning even the comforts and privileges of ordinary men." When we read these words of Bhaurao Deoras, we are reminded of Sant Tukaram:

जे का रंजले गांजले
त्यासि म्हणे जो आपुले
तेचि साधु ओलखावा
देव ते थेंचि जाणावा।।

[Those, who embrace the down-trodden and the suffering men, should be recognised as God and the saint.]

बोले तैसा चाले त्याची बंदावी पाउले।

[Those, whose precept and practice are the same, deserve to be respected.]

Pt. Deendayalji had lived the same saintly life. That is why Bhaurao called him a saint. He further writes, "I call him a saint

because this life of simplicity, even privation, did not adversely affect his mental health or personality. There are people who also live like hermits, but who are quick tempered or always find faults with others. Deendayalji never boasted about his ideals and actions.

Steadfast Equanimity

We have been told in our great books of philosophy that a saintly person is always steadfast in his decisions. He acts impartially. His behaviour is unbiased in relation with all he comes into contact with. One who deals without attachment or prejudice with all persons, rich or poor, old or young, man or woman on the highest levels of life-values, is a person of equanimity (*Samatva Bhav*). There are thousands of examples to prove this *Samatva Bhav* in Pt. Deendayal. Gita calls it '*Sthit Prajnyata*'. Such a person treats every one like himself right from a high officer to a class IV servant. He is unperturbed by victory or defeat, heat or cold, pleasure or pain, delight or grief. Bhaurao Deoras, perhaps, had this in mind when he called him "a saint".

Bhaurao Deoras relates one example. Although Panditji had been the General Secretary of *Jana Sangh* for the entire period of 1952-1967, he contested election only once in 1967. Jaunpur was his constituency. He agreed most unwillingly to a unanimous desire of all members of the party. Bhaurao writes: "During my association with him of over thirty years, I made only one suggestion against his liking and that impressed upon him the need of his contesting election from Jaunpur for the Parliament. The defeat of Shri Vajpayee in 1962 election had created a sort of vacuum in the Lok Sabha. All suggested that Panditji should seek an election to fill the gap, but Panditji was not giving his consent. He contended that being a *Pracharak*, he should abstain from elections as that would establish a wrong precedent and would affect the organisation adversely. It was only when all the co-workers unanimously resolved to request Panditji to fight that election that he agreed. He lost the election. But the very next day, he was present in the *Shiksha Varga* at Kashi. His behaviour there was very surprising. We could not believe that

he was the same Deendayalji, who had been defeated in such a strategic election. I also was surprised at the absolutely calm and unaffected bearing of the man who had been in the centre of the fray, just a day before."

The Way to look at Elections

Shri Bhaurao further tells us how the Jaunpur battle had been a contest of ideals alone as far as Deendayalji was concerned. Manik Ram Chaudhari writes, "On the night of the election result, we had assembled at the residence of the Maharaja of Jaunpur. Panditji was present along with Nanaji Deshmukh. Actually, we had staked our all in this election. So after such all-out efforts, the defeat was all the more petrifying and the disappointment was too apparent all around. Only Panditji was not disappointed. He thanked and congratulated us all for the efforts we had made and added that "The message of *Jana Sangh* has reached every home in the constituency through the personal visits of our workers." He viewed the elections as a mode of mass-education through extensive personal contacts and explanations of the policies of the party in detail. This is what we had certainly achieved and Panditji gave it primary importance, whereas the question of victory or defeat was to him only secondary." Shri Raghunath Poddar also has conveyed a similar impression. He refers to the atmosphere prevailing in Bihar, where he was working and describes how it was surcharged by the machinations of the Christian missionaries. During Panditji tour Poddar gave a detailed account of proselytization. It was also suggested that this issue should be raised in the election tour. Then the question came up as to how many seats we should contest. Poddarji was of the view that we could effectively contest eleven, whereas some others enumerated fourteen. But Panditji advised, "We should contest all the seventeen seats !" And there was perfect self-confidence in his advice. "We, accordingly, set up candidates in all the seventeen constituencies and won five seats. But most of these five seats were from areas where activities of conversion by the Christian missionaries were most conspicuous. These were all in the tribal areas. We were,

throughout the election-struggle, inspired by Panditji's words, "We should be vigilant enough to hit the nail right on the head." These words of Deendayalji were our inspiration even long after."

Shri Sumanbhai Parikh's story confirms Panditji's attitude towards elections: "Every political party should fight elections." Panditji would say, "Just as there is a compulsory question in examination papers and others have options, in the same way for political parties election is a compulsory question." But, the reasoning he put forward was even more convincing, "The masses are in the most receptive mood to grasp the ideologies and compare and contrast them. We should always avail of these opportunities offered by the elections. Moreover, under the programme of election campaigns all the resources of the party are properly pooled. The team of workers can be expanded. Even in the eventuality of a defeat, the party marches forward, the organisation gets stronger, more experienced and seasoned."

His first remark after the Jaunpur election is to be always remembered: "Our candidate has been defeated but our party is one more step forward towards victory !"

No Victory at the Cost of Idealism

He not only emphasized but laid the greatest stress on maintaining a proper 'code of conduct' during the elections - Shri Yadavrao Deshmukh, his colleague for years and a versatile journalist has two incidents to narrate in this context. During the Jaunpur election-tour, Yadavrao was a constant companion to Panditji. Panditji's speeches were not of the usual election-type. At this, Yadavrao and several others of his colleagues suggested : "Panditji ! election speeches should be rather aggressive. Without a frontal attack on the main contender, the election campaign would be colourless. The voters are not influenced by the moral and reformist approaches." At this, Deendayalji replied, "Look here, if you think that I am not able to impress the audience, I am ready to withdraw. But only for the sake of winning votes, I cannot come down to the level of impolite attacks on my adversary....And personal attacks

on our opponents, I regard absolutely immoral!"

Yadavrao relates another one, "The complexion of the Jaunpur constituency was rather odd. Population of Rajputs and the Brahmins were comparable. Deendayalji's main rival was a Rajput. He resorted to communal appeal to Rajputs. *Jana Sangh* workers were rather non-plussed. They felt that the victory that seemed just within reach was slipping out of their hands. They thought, "The Congress party is appealing to the casteism of Thakurs; then why would we not appeal to Brahmanism to counteract the pernicious move? After all everything is fair in the elections and war." But their advice did not appeal to Panditji. The supporters were a bit irritated and remarked, "If you do not personally appeal to the Brahmin sentiment, at least, for God's sake, do not forbid us to do so. Otherwise, your abstract idealism would drown us to the bottom!" At this, Panditji's face was red with anger. It was very seldom that Panditji lost his temper, but that day he was really beside himself. He declared: "A victory with the help of an appeal to casteism and at the sacrifice of ideals is worse than a defeat. We do not woo such a victory." His resolve and his facial expression made the atmosphere tense. But, in a minute Panditji was his usual calm self and presently, a smile lit up his face. He placed his hand on a worker's shoulder and said, "Dear brother, a by-election has no crucial importance in the life of a political party. But, if we resort to casteism to win an election, the ghost will haunt us again and again And then, there will be no difference between Congress and *Jana Sangh*."

Three very important by-elections had been held at that time. In one, Dr. Lohia had been elected. In another, Acharya Kripalani had been the victor. But in the third, Pandit Deendayal was defeated. A question in the subsequent press conference was, "When there is an anti-Congress wave in the country, how is it that you lost?" Panditji could have justifiably put forward as reasons of his failure, abuse of money and power by Congress. But Deendayalji, like a true sportsman, conceded that the opponent Congress candidate was an influential and sincere leader and that he had earned the

majority votes because of the life-long services rendered by him to the people of his constituency. Panditji's large-heartedness had not left him even in the contest.

These are some of the episodes relating to his election. But there is another one which testifies the straight-forwardness of his character. There are always forecasts about elections. Newspapers, workers, leaders-everyone has his own modus operandi at guessing or estimating the outcome of the election-results. Sometimes even astrologers have a say. This incident relates to the general elections of 1967. This is what Shri Jagadish Prasad Dwivedi writes: "We were indulging in gossip. Somebody suggested that we should have a *Janma-Kundali* of *Jana Sangh*. But who could do it? Because for *Janma-Kundali* the exact time of birth should be known. And who could tell it about *Jana Sangh* except Panditji! The matter was raised during the Bhopal Session. But, Panditji gave a decisive answer, "Look here! We are Karmaveers. We believe in the supremacy of actions, of making efforts and leaving the result in the hands of the Almighty. Consulting the astrologers will make us fatalists, which means inactive."

Versatile genius

There is actually no end to reminiscences about Pt. Deendayalji's gentleness, universal love, organisational capacity etc. But the study of this personality would not be complete without a reference to his superb intelligence. We have seen how he had burnt all the merit certificates, earned by him in his brilliant student life, as riddance because of his all-out devotion to nation. But how could his genius be hidden by reducing those certificates to ashes? His genius revealed itself through his original thinking, time and again and without reference to it our profile will be incomplete.

The episode relates to the *Sangh Shiksha Varga* of 1939-40 at Nagpur. Panditji also was taking part in it. Swayamsevaks from all parts of the country were participating in this training camp this year. Those days there used to be an examination at the end. In the *Bauddhik*, Panditji stood first. This was something natural because

of his extraordinary intelligence and sharp memory. He was studious by habit and would concentrate on and deeply analyse any subject. This is what the ex-Sarkaryavah and an old time colleague of Panditji, Prof. Rajendra Singh has to tell : "He was a voracious reader. In spite of his busy programmes and crowded engagement, he found time to read the latest literature. He preferred to travel by passenger trains, so as to get more time for studying during journey. He has written many of his articles and letters during his travels. He was never a student of Economics but when he decided that for the solution of many national problems, a study of Economics was essential, he studied it in depth. May I tell you how deeply ?

"Once Panditji revealed to me that he wanted to write about our National Planning. I reminded him that the Five Year Plans could be understood after only a deep study of Economics which had never been his subject. Panditji agreed but he further revealed that he had been studying for the last two-years and during this time, he had thoroughly gone through about five hundred books on the subject. This is why this aspect of his personality has been deeply imprinted on our memories."

While returning from USA, he halted in England for a few days. A press-interview was arranged for him. This was covered by the 'Manchester-Guardian' in a report by its talented reporter. The report gave an account of the impressive interview and summed up by the words: "Mr. Upadhyaya is A MAN TO WATCH"

Once he was invited to participate in a seminar of university professors. Dr. Arvind Lele relates an episode connected with it: "That day Panditji extensively quoted from the latest publications abroad. Some of the books referred had not either reached the university concerned or the professors had not read them.

At the end, referring to Panditji's contribution to the seminar, one of the senior organisers while thanking him remarked, "The only thing simple about him is his dress, otherwise he is a Masters' Master."

His genius and his extraordinary grasp over vital subjects could have been appreciated by any one who had a discussion with him on a whole spectrum of subjects-Adult Franchise, *Swadeshi*, Formation of Linguistic States etc. etc. Here is an instance of his discussion with Late Shri Baba Saheb Apte. Baba Saheb remarked, "Panditji, don't you think that it would have been better if, like the British Democracy, we should have started by giving the right of vote only to people with certain qualifications of education or property ?" Panditji dissented. He said, "The firmly established section of educated people in our country is, unfortunately, cut off from the main stream of Indian traditions and culture. This has become, as if, the equation today : The more educated a person is, the more is he alienated from Indian tradition and culture. Moreover, the majority of the people in this section have turned into exploiters of the society. Hence, in comparison with these minority elite, the mass of the majority of our society is the real representative of our country and culture. We should regard it a duty to take the fruits of Independence down to this mass and raise their living standard; this is the foundation of the Adult Franchise and it is perfectly justified."

Baba Saheb adds, "He regarded it as an injustice to connect the right to vote with the acquisition of education or property. He believed in the principle that you cannot learn to swim unless you get into-water. I retorted that getting into deep water for learning to swim is not the correct or sound principle. How can a learner go into deep water without the guidance of experts? You have at least to use an inflated swimming belt. At this Panditji replied, "There are two forces in a Democracy for guidance-one is an Independent Press and the other, an array of vigilant political parties. " I, thereupon commented, "There lies the misfortune. This function is not performed properly and adequately. Do you see any hope after looking at the election-results and the way these are achieved ? The Congress has been rarely defeated and whenever it is defeated, it is not at the hands of nationalist parties." Panditji's answer in brief was : "Our country has suffered slavery for centuries. If not today, a day is sure to arrive when voting will be done according to the life-values leading

to a democratic attitude. It would take some time." "How much time?" I asked. He said confidently, "Ten years are enough. Probably you might see that change coming even in your life time."

This dialogue took place in 1965. Can we say that Panditji's prophecy came true in 1977?

Panditji has expressed his views like this on many subjects. But here is a remarkable reminiscence by Laxman Rao Bhide about Panditji's genius: "At the Nagpur meeting, a topic was under discussion. There are always points of difference in discussions, so the then Sarkaryavah Bhaiyaji Dani and Panditji were on the opposite sides. Panditji produced one argument after another and contradicted the points of the opposite side. All were happily convinced of Panditji's power of debate, even Bhaiyaji was so. But, all of a sudden Bhaiyaji had a brain wave, "Panditji, you please now argue the other side of the picture too." Everyone was swept away by this clever move. They were surprised as to what was further in store. Shri Guruji was also there and he was also curious. Panditji accepted the challenge. He began, "But, the other side of the picture is....." and he argued the opposite case carrying equal conviction. That was like the unerring marksmanship of Arjuna who was as deft with his left hand as with his right one."

Stop Worrying about the Muslims

At one place the conversation turned to the question of Urdu as a language. Gopalji asked, "Why is *Jana Sangh* opposed to Urdu?" Deendayalji replied, "*Jana Sangh* is not opposed to any language. But if Urdu is to be recognised as an Indian language, it must first of all go under the process of Indianisation. Urdu is rooted in a foreign country. If tomorrow the Indian Christians start demanding that English also be accepted as an Indian Language, shall we accept this demand? We have experienced Partition once, because of our acceptance of an alien language and culture. Now we can no more accept any demand that has the potential of separatism and division."

Personally Deendayalji had a great liking for Urdu poetry. In spite of that, he had expressed himself against it, in the clearest

terms. His liking for Urdu couplets was never a secret. Whenever the senior leader Pitambar Das and Panditji were together, there was inevitably an Urdu *Mushaira*-session. Pitambar Dasji himself has written, "Whether we met in the drawing room or at a farewell on the platform, Panditji invariably demanded a few *Sher* (Urdu couplets). Pitambarji would recite and Panditji would bid farewell with applause. But he did not allow his personal likes and dislikes standing in the way of institutional policy-making decisions."

With reference to Urdu, we may recall a historic conversation between Shankar Prasad Jaiswal and Panditji. Jaiswalji asked, "The *Jana Sangh* is always in the dock as it does not attract Muslims. Panditji, how can we attract Muslims?" Panditji's reply was spontaneous, "Generally it is the tendency among the Muslims to support the party in power. If we are in power tomorrow, they would support us too. Hence, for the time being you may stop worrying about them." Is Panditji's answering not a synopsis of the Muslim behaviour during the past 600 to 700 years of Indian History?

So far we have tried to recollect our memory of the wonderful traits of the personality of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. His simplicity, his power to impress others by his behaviour, his unassuming style, his strict observance of the Sangh traditions and Sangh mode of conduct, all have made an indelible impression on our memory. He led *Jana Sangh* to its expansion in all directions, but took care that it may not deviate from the path of idealism and noble life-values. For this he had, sometimes, to be a strict disciplinarian. For an adherence to ideals, one has to be strict with oneself and others. We have such an instance reported from Rajasthan.

Party Image must be untarnished

Seventy seven MLAs from Rajasthan, out of a total strength of 160, formed *Samyukta Vidhayak Dal* (United Legislative Party). It included eight belonging to *Jana Sangh*. On the basis of this strength, Lal Singh of *Jana Sangh* was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly.

The 'Samvid' planned to oppose the Land-reforms, because most of its members belonged to the *Zamindar-Jagirdar* section. This note of the 'Samvid' foreboded that the image of the *Jana Sangh* too would be that of *Zamindar-Jagirdar* group. This was a question of principle and the Image of *Jana Sangh*. What would be Panditji's decision? He directed that "the members of the 'progressive *Jana Sangh*' should resign from the membership of the Reactionary Samvid." His mandate was followed by three MLAs, whereas the remaining five, including the Deputy Speaker Lal Singh, refused to be led by this order. Panditji unhesitatingly cancelled the primary membership (of the *Jana Sangh*) of the five members. Panditji had the responsibility to maintain the clean mass-oriented Image of *Jana Sangh*. For this, such an exemplary step for strict discipline was needed.

This means that along with his gentle persuasions, whenever needed, he had the unflinching capacity to enforce party-discipline. He was a magician who interwove the organisational web of the All India Party and used his mass-appeal, power of expression and mostly exemplary behaviour. We have tried to depict his invisible but immortal memory with the kaleidoscopic colours of many admirers' experiences. This is an attempt in the faith that the study of a great man may inspire us too.

"We perceive the life-portraits
Of all the saints and Mahatmas
That we may ourselves be likewise
And may make our life sublime."



APPENDIX

Appendix I

The Sacred Flow of Nationality

(The introduction to the biography of the
'Adya Shankaracharya')

The Gangetic flow of our national life has been continuing from time immemorial. Although every drop of the holy Ganga is sacred and a dip in it anywhere is capable of blessing the devotee with deliverance, still some places have come to attain a special sanctity. After leaving the top of the Himalayas, the Ganga, as if crawling on all fours like an inquisitive Divine child at Haridwar, is incomparably superb. When the Yamuna, pours its offerings of the dark Kalkoot waters into the Shiva-Swamini Ganga and the latter, following the example of Lord Neelkanth, gladly swallows it up, the confluence at Prayag becomes Tirtharaj, the king of the holy places. In the same way, every drop in the life-current of our nationality is sacred. May be any period of history, the study of the history cleanses the thought-process and fills the heart with celestial patriotism. But those periods, in our history, when our great nation-builders lived and worked, are of especial significance to our national life.

Holy places are especially important due to their being located on the banks of Ganga and every devotee longs to visit those

places. The memory of the lives and deeds of our great men, the great reverence in which they are held by the masses and the national character inspired by them constitute our rich heritage and source of strength.

Their lives and deeds, when carefully pondered upon, become sources of ever-new inspiration and energy for bettering our social life. Is there one who will not be eager to bathe in the life-giving holy flow of our national tradition at those points in our history when these great nation-builders lived? And among these great men, the place of Shrimat Adya Shankaracharya is the most eminent, as is the holy 'Prayag' on the Ganga bank.

Shrimat Shankaracharya holds a very high place amongst our nation-builders. Many scholars regard him as the Father of Modern Hinduism.

Often the priest who installs and anoints an image of a deity is referred to as the constructor of the temple. But the sculptor of the image, the mason, the carpenter and the king who financed the project have also played a vital role in the construction of the temple. It would be ingratitude to forget their contributions and this will also be an act of ignorance in understanding the laws governing the social structure. Even a superman cannot mould a nation's life merely on the strength of his physical, mental or spiritual power if he keeps away from the '*Sanskars*' (the ingrained good qualities) of national life. All great men are the visible forms of the social thinking and efforts at improvement done by the nation.

The great men are the visible fruits of the social evolution that has taken place for the earlier many years. Sometimes we are so much dazzled by their wonderful powers and deeds, their versatile genius, their lives of tireless efforts and their all-pervasive influence that we tend to forget the social life-current which made them. We stop thinking about the society that produced him. We are so awed by the explosion of a volcano that we forget to study its cause, the slow percolation of water into the depth of earth. We enjoy the scent of spring blossoms but tend to forget the creepers and their deep

lying roots.

Perhaps it is a way of shirking our own responsibility to symbolise this or that great man as the sole architect of the greatness of our society. Actually, the immense driving force a great man imparts to his followers and admirers has been inherited by him from the mainstream of the society that brought him up. The continuous and long efforts of the social ethos take on visible shape in the form of the efforts and success of these great men.

The shape is suited to the changing times. Therefore, to be able to properly appreciate a great man's achievement, it is necessary to study his circumstances and the social conditions at those times. This is also true, in particular, in the case of shrimat Shankaracharya.

The common man recognises Swami Shankaracharya as one who defeated and wiped away Buddhism from India, whereas several scholars regard him as a '*Prachchhanna Bauddha*' (disguised Buddhist). There is some truth in both the views because the millennium forming his background represents the history of the great struggle between the centrifugal Buddhism and the centripetal Hinduism. Hence we shall have to circumspect the entire panorama right from the birth of Buddhism to the age of Shankara and the various tendencies that surfaced the mainstream of Hinduism during the period.

When Buddha was born, the revolt was in the air against the rituals of Vedic performances of *Yajnyas* (sacrifices). The ritualism was so dominating that instead of paying proper attention to the inculcation of noble virtues of character, the performance of these rituals had become the basic structure of our life. Instead of striving for the emancipation of the soul and meditation for self-realisation, the outward religious rites had assumed primary importance. The masses had started to believe that they could attain *Swarga* (paradise) through these rituals.

Even Pandits with high laurels of scholastic achievements degraded themselves to the satisfaction of lower instincts. Mercy, peace, calmness and non-violence were substituted by cruelty,

selfishness, enmity and violence. Non-violence came to be regarded synonymous with cowardice. Social disparities, dissensions, distinctions held sway over unity and integrity. Varnas began to hate each other. Brahmins glorified themselves with egotism. They had no trace of renunciation, learning or capacity of harmonisation and social guidance and yet considered the leadership of the society as their monopoly. The *Kshatriyas* emulated the *Brahmin* example and abandoned their duties. Consequently there was an atmosphere of jealousy, hypocrisy and self-deception. In such a state, the society lost all its intrinsic vitality. This social dissatisfaction was discernible much before Buddha was born. It was a whisper during the *Upanishad* period, but became much louder in the *Bhagwat*, *Jain*, and *Buddha* sects.

Bhagwat Dharma presented a very mild revolt. It did not try to destroy every thing in the wave of its opposition; it did not try to kill the patient itself for eradicating the disease. It opposed the ritualism; it opposed the traditionalism, but did not lay the axe at the roots of the social structure or the authenticity of the scriptures.

Whereas Bhagwan Krishna of *Bhagwat Dharma* stopped the worship of Indra and other *Vedic* gods and started *Gover-dhan-Pooja*, all the same he showed full respect for the *Vedas* and the *Vedic* system. He discarded the rituals of *Yajnya-yaga* etc., yet he inspired Yudhishtira to perform the imperial *Rajsooya-Yajnya* and he played a prominent role in it. Actually *Bhagwat Dharma* was fighting against the distortions and degenerations; it was not revolting against the entire system. But Buddhism was not confined to this much. It not only opposed the '*himsa*' or *karma-kanda*, but the entire *Vedas* and the *Brahmins* as the roots of all evil. It tried to uproot them altogether, and in the wake, discarded all the prevailing traditions. It neglected *Sanskrit* and preached and did all publicity work in Pali. *Varna-vyavastha* was abolished and thus it broke away completely and irreversibly from the ancient *Vedic* tradition and system.

Vedic Dharma has undergone reforms and changes many times. It is a dynamic *Dharma*, full of living vitality like the Ganga; it

is not stagnant like a puddle. New ideas have always been not only permissible but cordially welcome in this *Dharma*, leading to a change and evolution. But all these reforms and changes have been correlated to and harmonised with the old religion. Every harbinger of the change, every leader of a reform movement has expressed his respect for his ancestors and paid his homage to them. At the same time every new social reformer did become a harbinger of new ideas to suit the changed times. But as the old order was not scrapped but only suitably modified, the national life was not destroyed but it evolved into a new form. No one had ever tried to completely break away from the ancient system and the age old traditions. But, Mahatma Buddha did so. And more than him, his followers snapped their ties with the ancient system of the land. Instead of seeking confirmation and citing corroborations from the *Vedas*, the limitless ocean of knowledge, they gave no place to them in their religious order. This indifference of Buddha towards all discussions about God and the *Vedas*, in the course of events, changed into open hostility to them amongst his followers. Things came to such a pass that Hinduism and Buddhism became antagonistic to each other.

Every religious reformer, prior to Buddha had derived his reforms from the old traditional *Dharma*, recasting it in a form to suit new circumstances and scrapping perversions which had crept in during the flow of time. Buddha struck away the entire old structure, for he saw nothing worth retaining. Of the new religion he became the sole originator and so the religion came to regard Buddha as the all-in-all. Buddhism became a single personality-based religion.

Before Buddha, our religious customs had developed, without any sudden upheavals, in a slow process of adjustments and adaptations. The sapling of our religious-roots assumed the gigantic size of sky-high banyan tree. Every Acharya harmonised his new ideas and interpretations with the old religion in such a way that nobody could even notice how it grew and expanded? Mahatma Buddha, however, pruned it so extensively and at such a lightening speed that it created a stir, so violent that it was as if the old tree had

fallen and by a miracle another colossal tree had supplanted it. In such a process Buddha's personality played the dominant role. As such, the new religion became a personality-oriented religion. When a tree is planted in land, it draws nutrients from the soil and it naturally grows, in the course of time, into a magnificent tree. Instead of doing that, the new tree was planted by Buddha in a flower pot. This had the advantage that it could be carried anywhere to the nook and corner of the country; it could be carried abroad. But this portability determined also its limitations. It could spread like grass but could not grow like the banyan in dimensions. All the Indian traditions and *Vedic* and *Bhagwat Dharma* are inextricably related to Bharat - its land, its mountains, rivers and forests. Buddhism severed its relations with the old traditions, scriptures and also its great men of yore. The new religion had no place for the old *Rishis* and great ancestors like Rama and Krishna in the lives of its followers.

When any people in any society develop a feeling of disrespect for its ancestors and have no particular love for the motherland, the land of their culture, the land of the brave deeds of their forefathers, then they naturally begin to cultivate anti-national feelings. When Buddhism went abroad, devoid of all those feelings of patriotism and national pride, it reacted with the people abroad on the basis of a liberal give and take. In the course of time, Bouddhas here began to harbour a feeling of alienation from their own kith and kin of India and started regarding their new co-religionists abroad as nearer and dearer to them. The foreign aggressors fully exploited this newly developed anti-national perversion.

Many of the aggressors adopted Buddhism and the Indian Buddhist missionaries regarded these aggressors as their near ones. The Buddhist monks became the fifth-column of the aggressors from Central Asia. When the foreign aggression was ultimately repelled, Buddhism as an anti-national fifth-columnist force was also wiped off from the land of its birth.

Thus it was that the eradication of Buddhism became a national duty in Bharat. Great men came up one after another and

girded up their loins to cleanse the divine land of Bharat of this scourge. Kumaril Bhatt and Shankar are well known, but there are many others who contributed their mite to this national drive. We may not even know their names, but our devotion and dedication to their idealism are there in our hearts. The efforts directed towards the annihilation of these anti-national tendencies have one special characteristic. It is their constructive attitudes and the implementation. Our great leaders did not wipe off Buddhism from this land in an antagonistic or destructive spirit. Had they done so, they would have neither succeeded in their attempts nor would they have been able to reconstruct the Indian society once again. A destructive attitude would have created only stagnation and vacuum in the national life which may have led to an organic death. Instead of this un-Indian strategy, the constructive movements directed and led by the genius of our great saints like Shankara not only eradicated the anti-national tendencies but also substituted them by broad-based national traditions and a social system based on unity and integrity. That is why instead of efforts at striking against Buddhism, we find all the genius and spiritual force directed at establishing the best tenets of our traditional Vedic system. These efforts at establishment of the national ethos eradicated the darkness of anti-nationalism. In this rekindling of nationalism, saints and *sannyasins*, poets and artists, *Puranic* writers and story tellers, *Smritikars* and *Munis*, the seers of *Darshanas* and commentators upon *Upanishads*, the priests and the *Mahantas*, the emperors performing *Ashwa-medh Yajnya* and *Digvijayi* conquerors, great political philosophers re-setting and re-establishing the socio-cultural unity of the Bharat, the sculptors, the industry promoters, the merchants - all vied with one another to unite, integrate, organise and make our nation great. All these willingly came forward to accept assignments and social responsibilities and in the process were prepared to sacrifice their all without any selfish interest of any sort. This feeling of intense patriotism did not fill the hearts of simply a minority group of idealists, scholars or enlightened individuals, but it constituted the upsurge of an entire mass-movement. That is why we find an unprecedented activity and duty-

consciousness in this age.

This extensive mass activity is discernible throughout the period from Buddha to Shankaracharya. Firstly, as a result of the awakening and extraordinary new thinking brought on by Buddha and secondly as a result of the war waged against Buddhism and the harmonization of religious reform with tradition and culture carried on by the *Vedic Dharma*, there was a rare renaissance activity, both extensive and intensive. In this period, life is not static but dynamic and life-force appears to be inspiring the people. Herein everybody was free to face the many challenges which life presented. Even as water rushes forth in several directions, when a dam gives way, so was there everywhere an ambition to achieve the maximum in every field of life. Just as after a plentiful rainfall following several years drought, the earth quenches its thirst and all becomes green, similarly spiritual force of the masses was happy and the force expressed itself in many ways.

We made rapid strides in every direction - religious, political, social, economic or educational. There were literary and art creations in all parts of Bharat. In this very period, our *Dharma-Pracharaks* (missionary saints) fanned out into the entire world with their immortal messages of peace and concord to the suffering millions to relieve them of their age-long painful experience and they unfurled their banners of victory of love, renunciation and universal brotherhood over suspicions, envy and rivalry. Through them, the spiritual supremacy of Bharat Mata was reverently accepted in all lands far and wide. They went to Jawa, Sumatra, Bali, Siam, Indo China, Cambodia, China, Japan, Iran, Misra (Egypt), Yunan (Greece) and Rome with their lamps of knowledge. While, on the one hand, this cultural empire was being built and strengthened, on the other hand, our great conquerors established vast empires, set up colonies on many foreign lands and gave a physical shape to the magnificent cultural and spiritual dream of '*Brihattar Bharat*' (The Greater India) fostered by our seers and sages. Our businessmen also travelled far and wide in ships, built in the dockyards of India, and through their

trade brought great wealth to Bharat. That was an era of peace, happiness and affluence in Bharat. Historians call it a Golden Age.

Though today all the power and glory are gone, the immortal inheritance of the age remains as the feeling of nationalism, the concept of unity and integrity of the whole of Bharat, the establishment of institutions giving a concrete form to that feeling and the planning of *Sanskars* to immortalise that sacred emotion. Actually, the concept of our nationalism has been inherited since the *Vedic* times. The *Rishis* project their inner nature on the external nature and express the reverence of the innermost recesses of their hearts in the songs:

*"Ime me Gange Yamune Saraswati Shatudri stomam sachata
parushnya.*

*Asiknya Marudvidhe vitastayarjeekiye shrinuhya Smomaya.
Gange cha Yamune chaiva, Godawari, Saraswati,
Narmade, Sindhu, Kaveri jalesmin sannidhim kuru."*

The words give a physical form to the abstract emotion of love for the nation. The picture of the motherland as the physical form of the Soul of the Nation comes vividly to the mind's eye.

The spread of Buddhism struck a blow to this concept of nationalism. It began to appear as if *Hindu Dharma* and *Hindu* nation would come to an end. A banyan tree has roots deep down in soil and so even if it is cut away several times, it grows up and flourishes again and again. It is the same with *Vedic Dharma*. Though it had been nearly destroyed, it has grown and flourished again and again. How deep the roots are, nobody can tell. The flow of the Ganga cannot be stopped by building a dam across it, because from Gangotri, there is a continuous current flowing out. However big a dam you may construct in order to stop its flow for ever, the attempt does not succeed.

The *Jahnavi* (Ganga) with its multiple streams overcomes or bypasses the dam and completes its journey to the sea. In a similar way there have been many attempts to stop the progress of *Hindu Dharma* and *Hindu Rashtra*. But every time the flow has gone

forward, carrying with it those who tried to obstruct it. The Ganga destroys the dam but rehabilitates its constituent stones within its flow and during the course of time the stones, with their corners rounded by the waters, change into *Shaligrams*, fit for worship. In the same way, *Hindu Dharma* absorbed those that tried to hinder its progress and continued its forward march. This was possible because at that time *Hindu Dharma* was so strong that it could not only progress itself but could carry many with it. And the new companions also gave up their opposition and became friendly and regarded it their fortune to earn the fraternity and love of such broad-hearted kinsmen. *Hindus* embraced them without reserve with the result that the opponents were indistinguishably assimilated, became inseparable parts and parcels of the integrated whole and won the love of the *Hindus*. Swami Shankaracharya's work is a shining example of the harmonising attitude of *Hindu dharma*; that the deathless banyan tree of *Vedic Dharma*, whose branches were cut away a thousand years back, is flourishing again is the holy fruit of this harmonising attitude.

When Bhagwan Buddha launched his revolt against the *Vedic Dharma*, it did not take the onslaught lying down. It recognised the changed times, the call of the hour and at the same time, it realised the great harm the new revolt would inflict on the life and the set-up of the country. Hence, the *Vedic Manishis* (thinkers) had before them the problem of how to make the *Vedic Dharma* adapted to the new age as well as how to make it unassailable. They understood the reasons for the revolt and also removed them. Not only that, they appreciated the good points in the Buddhist religion and adopted them willingly, so much so that Swami Shankaracharya declared Buddha as the incarnation of Lord Vishnu himself. By this time, Hinduism also was no longer a subtle philosophy or complicated ritual system, comprehensible only to a selected few. Instead, it had adapted itself to become a mass religious philosophy and practice. With all these changes brought about in Hinduism, the religion of the Land, Buddhism became redundant in Bharat. The devotion and the

morality that people used to find in Buddhism were now in the *Hindu Dharma* also; and there was something more. It had respect for the forefathers, an intense feeling of patriotism, self-respect and an indomitable spirit to preserve and make the national life most glorious in the world. By the time of Shankaracharya, Buddhism and Hinduism had come so close that when Shankaracharya declared Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu, and established Vedanta, which was so close to Buddhist *Shoonya-vaad* (the philosophy of nothingness), there was no opposition and the new doctrine of Buddha seemed superfluous and Buddhism got amalgamated with Hinduism completely and inextricably. This unification, the reason underlying it and the interpretation of this history of efforts aimed at it, make the characteristics of our national life clear. We have always laid the greatest emphasis on our perennial life-values but we have felt no hesitation whatsoever to shape the means to the needs, of new circumstances.

When an attack on the *Vedas* was launched, the first thing done was to get ready all the equipment needed for defence and for a counter-attack and to build up a line of defence. For this it was required to make the philosophy well based in logic. For this purpose, the six *Darshanas* were written. Every one of them presented the *Vedic* ideals through a special treatise well-founded on rigorous logic. Later on a harmonisation of all the six was contemplated and achieved. Big temples and *Matts* were built for mass-congregations. *Puranas* and *Agamas* were written. *Kathas* were devised to explain the subtle principles of spiritualism through stories. The wave of *Bhakti* (devotion) spread to all and submerged the masses in its tide. *Puranas* were written to illustrate in an educative and interesting way the ancient-ideals and life principles of the *Vedas*. The *puranas* retained the *Vedic* lore and added to it. The old *Garhasthya Sutras* were replaced by the *Smritis* and the *Yajnyas* were replaced by worships in the temples. The entire form of the *Hindu Dharma* under-went a change. But the soul of the *Dharma*, the essential principles remained the same. This was so because the mass-psyche still revered and loved

its ancient ideals and life-values. Only the external form had changed.

The motherland has the greatest importance in arousing and strengthening the feeling of nationality. Hence, during this period, a system was devised and a number of traditions were established to enable all the sons of the soil to have a 'darshan' of the motherland in a natural way of life. Whatever religious sect one may belong to, whatever philosophy one might be following, whatever mode of worship one might be adopting, every one had an integral picture of the motherland which he or she identified as the sacred land of his faith - and this was the Bharat Mata from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari, from *Sindhu* (Indus) to *Sindhu* (the Indian Ocean). The *Acharyas* of every one of the *Sampradayas* (religious sects) ensured that their followers should regard the whole of Bharat as their *Punya-Bhoomi* (the sacred land). Not only this, it was necessary that all men should physically see the integral unity; for this purpose every one of them was enjoined to do *Tirtha-yatra*, as an essential religious tradition. These *Tirthas* are spread throughout the length and breadth of Bharat. The twelve temples of *Surya* (Sun god), the twelve *Vinayaks* of the *Ganpatyas* (worshippers of Ganesh), the eighteen *Jyotirlingas* of the *Shaivas* (worshippers of Shiva), the fifty one *Shakti Peethas* of the *Shaktas* (worshippers of *Shakti* or Durga) and innumerable temples of Vishnu and his incarnations, Rama and Krishna in particular, were built (and consecrated) at various-places in Bharat. Any feeling of provincialism or regionalism was impossible under this system of *Tirthayatras*. The journey of *Maryada-Purushottam* Shri Rama from North to South bound the two together in an unbreakable bond of brotherhood and this emotion percolated into the thought, speech and deed of the lowest level of the individuals. The writer of *Mahabharat* too has more than once described the entire image of Bharat Mata right from one end to the other with exuberant emotion.

The *Puranas* have vaxed eloquent about the Sacredness of almost every piece of land of *Bharat* and attached special significance to making a pilgrimage to every one of them.

Whereas every one of these religious sects had a complete

picture of the whole of *Bharat* before it and every one of them besides protecting and strengthening the *Vedic* traditions was also trying its best to work for the honour and glory of *Bharat Mata*, it was also essential to harmonise and organise them into unity and mutual cooperation. That is why during this age, there was a strong movement for harmonising the different sects and religious philosophies. The greatest credit for this harmonising action goes to Shri Swami Shankaracharya. The harmonisation process fully took into account the unity and integrity of the Motherland. In this way, there was a movement for unity in all directions. Out of the places of pilgrimage of all sects, Swami Shankaracharya selected four important ones and made them great centres of adoration and faith of all sects.. Pilgrimage to Badrinath, located on the peaks of snow-capped Himalayas, has become a life ambition of the people of all sects from all the provinces. The Shaivas go to pay their homage to *Rameshwar* and the Vaishnavas go, with equally great reverence, to sprinkle Rameshwar Shiva Ling with Ganga water brought from far away Gangotri. The love and reverence with which people from all sects and all provinces accept the '*Bhat*' (cooked rice) *prasad* at the Jagannath temple and chant

***Jagannath ka Bhat
Mat poochho jaat-paat.***

(This rice is Jagannath's '*prasad*'; accept it irrespective of caste and creed), have proved to be the cementing and enlivening force of our nation.

Even the great among the *Shaktas* go to Dwarika to pay their homage and offerings to the Lord Vasudeva Krishna; similarly when the authors of *Puranas* chant-

***Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya, Kashi, Kanchi, Avantika,
Puri, Dwarawati chaiva saptaita Mokshadayikah.***

(The seven cities mentioned above have the power of deliverance or Mukti), they think on a national plane far above the petty sect-differences.

These seven sacred cities were the vital centers of all the Bharatiya spiritual and physical culture. Every one of them is connected with so many important incidents that, simply by remembering them, the entire history of our nation passes before our mental eyes like a film. Not only these places but other places of great natural beauty which strike a chord of noble and delicate emotions in our hearts or places connected with Rama and Krishna, whom we worship and places connected with other great and noble men - all such places which bring to our mind our nation's history, were elevated to the status of *Tirthas* (holy places of pilgrimage).

Fairs, festivals and pilgrimages started at those places and became an integral part of our life. The fountain-head of great faith which urges millions of people to travel and bear with hard winter of Magh (January) month to have a dip at the time of *Kumbh Mela* is deeply rooted in the people's hearts. How thankful must the entire nation be to those great ancestors who established this deep-rooted tradition? What are these *Kumbh Melas*, if not moving universities located at the four holiest of places - Haridwar, Prayag, Ujjaini and Nasik. The pilgrimages are scheduled every third year turn, by turn. Lakhs of *Sadhus* and *Sannyasins* go there and crores of pilgrims have their darshan, blessings and spiritual guidance for washing away all their sins and becoming pure once again. As the followers of all *Sampradayas* (schools of worship) come together like this every third year, it is very natural to have a climate of harmonisation in the air of Bharat for building up the essential integral unity.

In day-to-day routine also, this feeling of one nationhood should be imbibed. For this, *Sanskars* strengthening the feeling of patriotism have been prescribed. A *Hindu*, as soon as he gets up from his bed and places his feet on the ground, prays to the motherland:

*"Samudra-vasane devi parvatastanamandale Vishnupatni
namastubhyam padasparsham kshamasva me !"*

(O goddess with the seas as your cloths and the mountains as breasts, Lakshmi, consort of Vishnu, please pardon my touching

you with my feet). This is the picture of the *Akhand Bharat* and is the fountain of intense love for motherland, expressing itself as first prayer in the morning. And this is followed by the *Pratah-smarana* (morning remembrance) in which one by one the great ancestors are remembered, the devotee paying them respectful homage and longing to become like them. In this *Pratah-smarana* there is no scope for regionalism or sectarianism - it is cent-per-cent national. Even the bath and the *sandhya* (the twilight-prayers) have the same patriotic *sanskars*; for example, before we bathe in water, may be from any river, well or pond, we invite all the rivers to come into the water:

***"Gange cha Yamune chaiva Godawari Saraswati
Narmade Sindhu Kaveri jalesmin sannidhim kuru."***

Likewise we have given great importance in our lives to the seven forests, the seven mountains and the four lakes etc. at various places, all over India.

For building up unity amongst the diverse *Sampradayas*, the '*Trimurti*' concept was emphasized: Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh are the three different forms of the same Almighty *Para-Brahma* (Universal God). The *Puranas* have described Shiva and Vishnu as ardent devotees of each other. Whereas Shiva is always described as the *Bhakta* (devotee) of Vishnu and is carrying Ganga (flowing out from the toe of Vishnu) on His head, the great incarnation of Vishnu, Rama, worships Shiva at Rameshwaram, before starting his war with Ravana.

Whenever Shiva is in troubles because of a Bhasmasur or Ravan making a misuse of the boon granted by Shiva himself, Vishnu comes to his help. Ganapati and Shakti are made members of Shiva's family. Thus the *Puranas* have established relationships among the deities of all *Sampradayas* and thus have sowed the seeds of fraternity and concord in the whole of our society. Shri Shankaracharya strengthened this bond by establishing his concept of *Panchayatan* (the five gods). According to it, everybody has to worship the five deities - Vishnu, Shiva, Shakti, Ganapati and Surya. It is because of the harmonising, unifying and tolerant spirit firmly established in this

age that the *Hindus* have happily lived together with mutual respect and feelings of brotherhood and love.

We find harmonisation of *Karma*, *Bhakti* and *Jnyan* too in this age. Lord Krishna himself initiated this harmonisation process through *Gita*. This age saw a great significance and importance attached to *Shrimad Bhagavad Gita*. Swami Shankaracharya himself was the great architect of harmonisation in this age, emphasizing and synthesizing *Jnyan*, *Karma* and *Bhakti*. Only because of him the *Prasthan-Trayi* (the Three Primary Books) got such wide recognition. By the pre-eminence given by him to *Prasthan-Trayi*, he crushed the anti-Veda attitude of the Buddhists and saved the soul of Vedic learning through the teachings of the *Upanishads*, *Brahma Sutras* and *Gita*, which constitute the *Prasthan-Trayi*.

Closely following, we have the chain of great emperors, who, one after another, established vast empires uniting the entire nation politically too. From Chandragupta Maurya to Harsha and Pulkeshin there was a long line of these powerful rulers who established the rule of law with a life full of peace and plenty. Not only this, we have, as a proof of the indivisible integrity of the entire land of Bharat, even the rulers of the South coming to drive away the foreign aggressors on the North. Just as the entire human body reacts in protection when there is a blow received by any limb, we find that the Shakas and Hunas, who trampled the North during their barbarous attacks, were driven away by Shakari Vikramaditya and Yashodharman, with the help of the united armies of the South. Thus during pleasure and pain, in rejoicings and calamities, in conquests and defeats, through depression and affluence, unity expressed itself and it has bound our national life with an unbreakable bond.

Our literary men also presented the unity of the nation through their masterpieces. The epics Ramayana and Maha-bharat are the treasure houses of all traditions and culture of the land. The lives and characters of Bhagwan Rama and Krishna were established as ideals. In their lives and deeds, *Hindus* saw an expression of the emotions of their own hearts. Our literary men paid them tribute and

in so doing felt themselves blessed and also immortalised the public sentiment. In this epoch one does not find even a single poet who has not written poems on Rama or Krishna or who has not selected a topic for his poetry from Ramayana or Mahabharat. Not only this, but it is these literary men who have linked life in this era with ancient traditions. The literature of any era is a mirror to the social life in that era and it reflects the social psyche. If an author selects the characters in his writings, not from his age but from ancient times, his writings exhibit an enlivening blend of old and new and people derive happiness and strength from the harmonisation of their own feelings with the emotions of the ancient characters.

When Kalidas describes the conquests of Samudragupta like those of Raghu in his great '*Raghuvamsha*', the tradition, which binds all Bharat together, must have been immensely strengthened. Due to these great poets Sanskrit came to be equally respected throughout *Bharat*. Though provincial languages flourished, Sanskrit became our national language for give and take of thoughts, expression of emotions, and the propagation of holy '*Sanskars*' and spread of knowledge and thus all sections of society strengthened it.

Our law-givers and *Smritikars* also strengthened this feeling of national unity. Whereas Kautilya (Chanakya) entrusted Emperor Chandragupta with the responsibility of physically transforming into reality the concept of "*Prithivyaih samudra paryantaya ekra*" (this whole earth from ocean to ocean is one nation), he also set and established firmly the political and economical principles of unity, integrity and identity. The realisation of which we are, who are ours and who are not ours, is conducive to national feeling. The determination not to be conquered by aliens and to stick on to our way of life, further strengthens this nationalisation. We find this attitude exhibiting itself strongly in our Niti-literature. In the declaration of Maharshi Chanakya "*Na tvevaryasya das bhava*" (an Arya can never accept to be a slave), the dignity and self-respect of Bharat had expressed itself loudly and clearly. The concept of slavery

presupposes the absence of national feeling and in expressing contempt for slavery is implied national self-respect. We have always aspired to be our own masters and live in freedom in this Aryavarta given to us by God. This national concept has been both political as well as geographical. According to this, the masses have always felt that in Aryavarta it is Hindus who should rule. This is there in the *Manav Dharma Shastra* (2/22/23). This strong emotion has been alive from Patanjali to Medhatithi "*Akramyakramya na chiram tatra mlechchhasthataro bhawanti*" (Though they repeatedly aggress, they cannot be rulers for long). And also upto Veeral Dev : *Aryavartam yathartham punarapi kritavan Mlechchha-vichchhe-danabhih*" (The name Aryavarta of this land was made significant by completely destroying the aggressing Mlechchhas).

This sentiment has been strengthened by the philosophers of this period. Manusmriti has described the whole of Bharat and has called it *Punyabhoomi* (Holy land). Statements like भारतं नाम तद्वर्षं भारती यत्र संततिः (The name of the country is Bharat and its children are Bharatis) express the soul of Bharat country and its people. While describing the children of this Bharat Manu has said, "*Etaddesh Prasootasya sakashadagra janmanah. Swam swam charitram shiksheran prithivyam sarva manavah*" (People from all over the world should mould their characters after the great men born and brought up in this land).

Manu set down rules of social behaviour such that the people here will become models of character, worthy of being emulated by the whole world. And our entire land followed the rules so as to realise that ambition. The people placed before their eyes the ideals described by the authors of the Smritis and gave, in their lives, a high place to the unifying mould of those *Sanskars*. (*Sanskar*=the nurturing of a good quality). The result of all this was that throughout Bharat there was uniformity in ways and outlook, rules and regulations, and mutual behaviour. It is these Neetikars who instituted our '*Gram-panchayats*' which had the same form throughout Bharat. Though the administration above that level underwent changes, the

Bharatiya ethos and unity remained intact due to the *Gram-panchayat* institution.

Thus the developments in every field of life aimed at and succeeded in strengthening the national ethos. The *Hindu* people throughout Bharat became filled with the same thoughts and sense of duty and were steeped in the same life-values and culture. On this basis there arose an unbroken and single nationalist emotion. The perfectly matured and invigorated national unity forged in this age through these foresighted unrelenting efforts remained unimpaired even during the period of our political defeat. In the eighth century AD, the storm that rose from Arabia destroyed for ever in its holocaust mighty nations like Greece, Egypt, and Persia but it got repelled when it struck a small corner of India. After this, the entire country came to regard the invaders as the enemies of the land and efforts to repulse them continued unabated for almost a millennium. The very same culture continues to inspire our hearts even today. The mere pronouncement of the word '*Hindu*' kindles the same fire of identity in every drop of blood of all Hindus. We have to rekindle the same spirit of undivided integral nationality from *Sindhu* (Indus) to Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Cape Kanyakumari or Rameshwara and we shall have once again to adopt the traditions of our dedicated and dutiful forefathers for achieving this glory and self-respect for our Motherland.



Appendix II

Basic Principles

The primary duty of every free nation is to defend its freedom and consolidate it, and to give to the citizens a Government which, while guaranteeing to them all necessities of life, would enable them to live as a happy, prosperous and purposeful community. The advent of Indian independence had roused high hopes in the people. It was expected that the nation, freed after centuries from the shackles of foreign bondage, would come into its own and re-affirm itself with dignity and self-respect. It was hoped that decrepit institutions and structures would fade away and healthy, buoyant, life-giving organisations would take their place; that the masses groaning under the burdens of economic inequality and social injustice would be able to breathe freely in an atmosphere of equity and contentment. But in spite of loud proclamations and pompous plans, the hopes of the people have remained unfulfilled. In fact, over the years, corruption and mal-administration, inequity and injustice, scarcity and insecurity have grown and become more widespread. In the first flush of freedom, no doubt, some significant steps were taken towards progress. The former Princely States were integrated, a democratic Constitution for the country was adopted and foundations were laid for the industrialisation and modernisation of Indian economy. But this early enthusiasm did not last long. So much so that instead of boldly standing up to the problems of transition and trying to solve them, we appear to have become overwhelmed by them.

Malady Diagnosed

The nation seems to be drifting without any sense of direction and purpose. Both the rulers and the ruled have been caught up in a cess-pool of inertia and helplessness. This mood of cynicism and diffidence is not only unbecoming of a great nation like ours, it can be positively dangerous for its very existence. The country needs to be pulled out of this morass immediately.

The main reason for the present state of affairs is the failure of the leadership to comprehend the fundamental springs of national vitality and their attempt to impose on the people alien ideologies and life-values. In their impatience for economic progress, the leadership has been prone to ignore the nation's real self and to adopt recklessly foreign patterns. The nation has therefore been palsied.

Jana Sangh - A historic Necessity

We are heirs to the wisdom of all humanity and must profit by the experience of entire mankind. Certainly science is not the monopoly of any nation. We shall avail of it for our advancement also. But at the same time we must not forget that the stage on which we are required to act is India and in the grand human drama that is to be enacted on this stage, the Indian masses are not only actors but the audience as well. We have to ensure that they play their part well and at the same time draw satisfaction and pleasure from the performance. Therefore, while on the one hand we must bear in mind the achievements of all the world, it must be fully realised that the nation's future can be built up only on the basis of its own genius and tradition and after taking due cognizance of its present circumstances. Political independence becomes meaningful only if it is accompanied by realisation of the National Self. And only this realisation of the National Self would help open up the mainsprings of people's energies so that the nation could overcome the feeling of dependence and defeatism and experience the glow of freedom. It is out of the hard labour and cooperative effort of our teeming millions that a strong, happy and prosperous national life will emerge. It is

this joint endeavour of us all that will spell the end of ignorance and injustice and want. This great task calls for a new leadership in all walks of life. The *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* has come into being in response to this call.

Objective

The objective of the *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* is the rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of *Bharatiya Sanskriti* and *Maryada* and as a political, social and economic democracy, guaranteeing equality of opportunity and liberty of person to all its citizens so as to build up a prosperous, powerful and united nation - progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of others and to exert herself in the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace.

Bharatiya Sanskriti - Only Sound Basis

Democracy, equality, national independence and world-peace are interrelated concepts. But in the West these concepts have often clashed with one another. The ideas of socialism and one-world government have stemmed from efforts at resolving this conflict. However, they have not only failed to do so but have weakened these concepts and created new problems.

Bharatiya Sanskriti offers the philosophical substratum on the basis of which these concepts can be harmonised and cherished objectives can be realised. In the absence of such a basis, human thought and development have been stultified. The basic truths propounded by *Bharatiya Sanskriti* have validity beyond country and age. So knowledge of these truths will provide a direction not only for our own advancement, but for the world's progress as well.

Integralism

The outlook of *Bharatiya Sanskriti* is integral. It accepts the seeming differences among various entities and aspects of life, but it seeks at the same time to discover the unity underlying them - and takes an 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 works for the well-being of all. Integralism is thus its key-note.

Individual And Society

Several ideologies of the West are based on the assumption that there is an inherent conflict between the individual and society. These ideologies then take up the cause either of the one or of the other. But the fact is that there is no such inherent conflict between the two entities. The visible entity - the individual - is also the representative of the invisible society. It is through him that the society manifests itself. He is in fact the chief instrument of society and the measure of its fulfilment. Destruction or constriction of his individuality would leave the society stunted. A flower is what it is because of its petals and the worth of the petals lies in remaining with the flower and adding to its beauty. Developments of the individual and social good are not contradictory interests.

All-round Progress of The Individual

An individual is the aggregate of body, mind, intellect and soul. Any one, desirous of all-round progress of the individual, must keep in mind all these attributes of his. All of them need to be satisfied. Only then would an individual experience real happiness. This means that both, material as well as spiritual, progress are to be aimed at. The wherewithals for fulfilling these four-fold wants are material means, peace, enlightenment and a feeling of *tadatmya* (identification). It is the comprehensive nature of this aim which inspires the individual to exert for social good.

The Four Purusharthas

The four *Purusharthas* of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Moksha* have been conceived as means for the achievement of this twin objective of individual advancement and social welfare. *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kama* sustain one another and are complementary. To accept any one of them as the sole inspirer of human activity and to evaluate actions by that measure alone, would be to take a lop-sided view of things. However, *Dharma* being the means for realising *Artha* and *Kama*, it is of prime importance.

Nature of Dharma

A lot of confusion is caused by equating *Dharma* with Religion or creed. *Dharma* really means those eternal principles which sustain an entity - individual or corporate - and abiding by which, that entity can achieve material prosperity in this world and spiritual salvation in the next. The basic attributes of *Dharma* are eternal and immutable. But in the matter of a detailed spelling out of these principles, *Dharma* does vary in accordance with place and period. Nevertheless in this changing world, *Dharma* is the only factor that brings stability to society. According to Indian polity, therefore, absolute sovereignty vests in *Dharma* alone.

Nation And World Unity

Society is not just a conglomeration of individuals. It is a living entity by itself. A society which has filial devotion to its own land and a characteristic genius of its own, constitutes a nation. The genius is innate and inborn and not the product merely of geography and history. This is called '*Chiti*'. The rise and fall of nations depends very much on how far their conduct has been in conformity with their own *Chiti* (genius). But despite these variegated characteristics of theirs, different nations can play a complementary role in the building up of world unity. If any nation does not do so and impairs unity, it should be considered a perversity. To seek to do away with nations in order to build up world-unity would be like demolishing the individuality of the individual in the name of promoting corporate weal.

Genesis of Institutions (How *Chiti* Expresses Itself)

In order to manifest itself, and to help the individual exercise these four *Purusharthas*, the *Chiti* of any society gives birth to a variety of institutions such as marriage, family, property, caste, clan, community, guild, panchayat, state, etc. The State is important, but not supreme.

In the *Krita-yuga*, they say, all men were guided in their conduct towards one another by *Dharma*, so there was no State. That is our conception of the ideal state of society - Stateless and regulated entirely by *Dharma*. This is possible only when everyone

becomes selfless and *Dharma-nishtha*. But ordinarily, the institution of state is necessary to maintain order and to assure to every individual all opportunities for following his *Dharma*.

Dharma-Rajya - Our Ideal

The ideal of the Indian State has been *Dharma-Rajya*. Tolerance of and respect for all faiths and creeds are an essential feature of the Indian State. Freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed to all and the state does not discriminate against any one on grounds of religion either in the formulation of policy or in its implementation. It is a non-sectarian State and not a Theocracy.

Dharma Rajya does not recognise any individual or body as sovereign. Every individual is subject to certain obligations and regulations. Rights of the executive, of the legislature, as well as of the people, are determined and regulated by *Dharma*. Licentious conduct is not permitted. The nearest English equivalent of *Dharma Rajya* is Rule of Law. *Dharma Rajya* ensures on the one hand a curb on arbitrariness and totalitarianism and on the other it prevents democracy from degenerating into monocracy. While other concepts of State are right-oriented, the Indian concept of *Dharma Rajya* is duty-oriented. Naturally, therefore, there is no scope here for rights being trampled upon or for any hankering after unlimited rights. Also, there is no danger of dereliction of duty, of power-madness or of any conflict of rights.

Duties And Rights

In a *Dharma Rajya*, people's rights are inviolate. It is the duty of the people to guard these rights of theirs zealously because it is through the exercise of these rights that they can fulfil their *Dharma*. In fact, according to our concept, a right is an instrument which enables the individual to carry out his duties and experience a sense of being and belonging. Duty and right are thus two sides of a triangle which has *Dharma* as its base. It is the right of a soldier to be equipped with arms, for without arms he cannot fulfil his duty of defending the people. But how these arms are to be provided, and used, is a matter governed entirely by *Dharma*.

Democracy

Democracy or people's rule (*Loktantra*) is a means for upholding *Lokadhikar* (people's rights) and promoting *Lok-kartavya* (people's duty). Democracy has to be established not only in the political field but in the economic and social fields as well. In fact, democracy is indivisible. It cannot be viewed in fragments. The absence of democracy in any one sphere is bound to affect the growth of democracy in the rest. Tolerance, dignity of the individual and a feeling of identification with the demos, the people - these are the essentials of democracy. Without these, the mere paraphernalia of democracy would be purposeless. And if these essentials are there, the institutional form can vary from time to time and from country to country.

The main feature of political democracy is the right to elect representative rulers and to be elected as such. Freedom of occupation and free choice of goods are imperative for economic democracy. And social democracy arises from equality of status and opportunity. Efforts have to be made to ensure that all these rights complement one another and do not detract from the others' effect.

Freedom

For individuals as well as for nations, freedom is a natural urge. In bondage there is neither happiness nor peace. Along with political freedom economic and social emancipation is also necessary. Non-interference by the State in the natural interests of the individual and society constitutes political freedom. Economic freedom lies in *Artha* not proving an impediment, positive or negative, for man's progress. Lastly a condition in which society contributes to the individual's natural progress, rather than restricts it, is social freedom. These freedoms accrue to the individual only when the nation as such enjoys them.

Like democracy, freedom too is indivisible. Without political freedom, it is impossible to have the other two freedoms. Without economic freedom, people cannot have social freedom and to a great

extent political freedom also. And without social freedom, economic as well as political freedom will also lose substance.

Regulation of Economy

As in the realm of politics, so in economic matters, *laissez faire* belongs only to the *Krita-yuga*. It can have relevance only in such an ideal state. Ordinarily, therefore, to ensure proper production, distribution and consumption of wealth, regulation of economy (*Arthayama*) is necessary. For this purpose a variety of institutions has taken shape. On the State too a heavy responsibility rests in this regard.

But to vest the ownership and control of all means of production in the State would lead to the centralisation of economic as well as political power. This would be wrong. It must, however, be admitted that to set the process of economic development moving, to keep the economy on an even keel and for the attainment of the nation's basic objectives the State must undertake in general to plan, direct, regulate and control economic effort and in certain specific spheres and circumstances to accept the responsibility of ownership and management too.

Want of Artha And Affluence (*Abhav* and *Prabhav* of *Artha*)

For want (*Abhav*) of *Artha*, *Dharma* suffers. By its affluence (*Prabhav*) also *Dharma* may suffer. In both circumstances, economic independence is curtailed. Non-availability of adequate livelihood or lack of capital necessary to maintain production or increase it constitutes want of *Artha*. This applies both to the individual as well as the society. Attachment to wealth, forgetting the fact that wealth is but an instrument, lack of a *Dharma*-regulated desire, knowledge and capacity for enjoyment of wealth, undue influence of money and wealth, economic disparities in society, inflation and devaluation - all these, are conditions which connote an *Artha*-complex harmful to *Dharma*. Such excess undermines human energy and ultimately leads to the dissipation of wealth and prosperity.

Ownership of Property

The issue of ownership of property is important. Some hold

that an individual's right to property is absolute. There are others who consider ownership of property and particularly of means of production, as the root cause of all evil. There are thinkers who subscribe to the view that all property belongs to God and man is but a trustee for the same. As a philosophy, this concept of trusteeship is commendable. But in actual practice, the question would always remain as to what regulations and limitations should guide the trustee's conduct.

An individual or a group of individuals, with which the individual is inseparably related in regard to all his needs and activities, cannot live without property. With *Karma* (action) is associated the fruit thereof. From freedom to consume and use what one has earned stems the concept of property. Not to consume the entire earnings but to save there from is a natural tendency and a national virtue. Property gives to the individual a sense of dignity, security and satisfaction. So property cannot be done away with.

The right to property is subject to social sanction. This concept about property is a fairly complicated one and varies with time, place and object. Differences arise with the varying needs of society. Those who deny society's right to regulate property, simply wish that there should be no change in the concepts about property prevalent at a particular moment. Society has the authority and often it becomes its duty, to alter property rights. There is no such thing as an absolute and immutable right of property.

The right of property, however, will have to be recognised subject to limitations. These limitations are determined in accordance with the needs and life-values of the society and the individual. When affluence of property renders some person indolent or parasitical and its lack deprives others of their independence, it becomes imperative to regulate property.

Primarily it is the responsibility of society to provide for the rehabilitation of persons affected by changes in the prevalent concepts of property. But the principle of compensation is essential in view of the definiteness and stability it imparts.

Touchstone of A Sound Economic System

The main desideratum of a country's economic system, as of its polity, should be the all-round development of the individual. Production of wealth aims primarily at giving happiness to man. Human labour is the primary means of production. The objective of man's economic activity is to exploit natural resources in an endeavour to fulfil his requirements. That system, therefore, is the best which aids him to fulfil these requirements as also promotes his all-round welfare. A system which advances his economic good but impedes his progress in other directions cannot be considered beneficial. The focal point of interest for every economic system should be man.

The capitalist system of economy which accepts the 'economic man' as the central point of all its activities is inadequate. The selfish desire to acquire more and more profit is the motivating force in this system, with competition as its regulator. This does not conform to the Bharatiya philosophy. Socialism originated in reaction to the problems created by Capitalism. Its objectives are commendable but in its end-result it has failed to profit mankind. The reason is that the analysis of society and individual by Karl Marx, the propounder of 'scientific socialism', is basically materialistic and so inadequate. The concept of class-conflict cannot give rise to a spirit of spontaneous and permanent cooperation.

Capitalism and socialism differ in their view of property. But both lead to its centralisation and monopolization. So man is neglected under both. We need a system in which man's own initiative remains unobstructed but in which, in his relation with the rest of society, human values do not suffer. This objective can be fulfilled by a decentralised economy.

Decentralised Economy

Concentration of power is repugnant to democracy and human freedom. Subject to considerations about national unity, economic power should be decentralised both horizontally as well as vertically. The process of industrialisation in the West has led to concentration of power. The institutions of Public Limited Company,

Managing Agency, Holding Company, etc. have furthered this accumulation of wealth and power in a few hands. Most of the evils of capitalist economy owe to centralisation. Socialist system saw no evil in this centralisation. They simply sought to transfer the ownership of capital from private hands to the state. In fact, under a socialist regime both economic and political powers are concentrated in the same hands and, therefore, evils due to concentration become even more accentuated. These ills can be remedied only through decentralization. Accordingly social and economic institutions will have to be recognised. The latest inventions of science and technology favour decentralized industries. Decentralization is highly congenial to the all-round development of human personality. Small scale mechanised industries, small trades and farms that can be run and managed under individual, family or cooperative ownership should be the basis of our economy. Large units should be exception to this rule.

Criteria of Progress

It is the responsibility of society to arrange for the upkeep of every child that is born and to provide him with education which would enable him to develop his individuality even as he contributes to the well-being of society as a responsible member. It is the responsibility of society again to assure every able-bodied person employment and adequate leisure, and every person a living. Every civilised society fulfils these obligations in some form or the other. In fact, these have become the main criteria of progress. Therefore, right to a minimum living standard, education, employment and social security and welfare will have to be accepted as fundamental rights.

Integral Humanism

The individual occupies a pivotal position in our system. According to the principle of '*Yat pinde tadbrahmande*' (what is in microcosm is in macrocosm) individual is the representative and chief instrument of society. Material wealth is a means to man's happiness and not an end in itself. But a system which is based on the assumption of a mass-man and fails to take into account the

living man having an individuality characteristically his own is not adequate. Inadequate also is a system which looks just at one attribute of man and fails to take a comprehensive view of him as an organic being comprising of *Shareer, Mana, Buddhi* and *Atma*, having a number of urges requiring to be fulfilled by the *Purusharthas*. Our ideal is the integral man, who has the potential to share simultaneously innumerable individual and corporate entities. Integral Humanism is the corner-stone upon which our entire system needs to be built.

There have been a number of schools that have propounded humanism. But their thinking has been rooted in Western philosophies and so it is essentially materialistic. These thinkers have not been able to offer any philosophical explanation for the ethical nature or behaviour of man. If you deny spiritualism, then human relations and behaviour and the relationship between man and the Universe cannot be explained.

The Call

Most of the political parties in India are inspired by Western ideologies. They are linked with one or other political movement of the West and are mere replicas of the corresponding institutions there. They cannot fulfil the aspirations of Bharat. Nor can they provide any guidance for a world standing at the crossroads.

There are a few political parties which voice allegiance to *Bharatiya Sanskriti*. They miss the dynamism of *Bharatiya Sanskriti* and the eternal and enduring nature of *Bharatiya* values appears to them as evidence of a static and inflexible character.

So they try to defend decrepit instructions and practices of the past age and plead for the status quo. They fail to perceive the revolutionary element in *Bharatiya Sanskriti*. In fact, very many mal-practices prevalent in society, such as untouchability, caste-discrimination, dowry, death-feasts, neglect of women, etc. are symptoms of ill-health and degeneration. Many great men of India devoted to *Bharatiya Sanskriti* have in the past fought these evils. An analysis of very many social and economic arrangements of ours

would reveal that they are either the outcome of society's incapacity to change and adjust with the times or they are institutions which at one time served as society's shield against the foreigners or they have been thrust on us by foreigners or have been adopted by us from them in sheer imitation. Such institutions cannot be preserved in the name of *Bharatiya Sanskriti*.

Integral Humanism must necessarily make a balanced appraisal of both *Bharatiya* as well as Western ideologies. On the basis of this evaluation it seeks to show a way which would make man progress further from his present position of thought, experience and achievement.

The Western world has achieved great material progress but in the field of spiritual attainment it has not been able to make much headway. India on the other hand lags far behind in material advancement and so its spiritualism has become a hollow-sounding word. *Nayamatma balheenena labhyah* (The soul cannot be realised by the weak). There can be no spiritual salvation without material prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, that we strive for strength and material happiness, so that we may be able to build up national health and contribute to the progress of the world, instead of being a burden on it.



Appendix III

Your Vote

Who Is A Suitable Candidate ?

The programme for the next General Elections, as announced early by the Election Commission, has been confirmed by Government. Whatever the astrologers might predict, the people and the political parties have to be serious and businesslike in preparing to meet this great democratic challenge. Parties have finalised their list of candidates. While some of the older parties notably the Congress experienced much difficulty in seeking an agreeable formula to satisfy the conflicting claims of factions and communal groups, the newer parties have had to make hectic efforts to find out 'suitable' candidates, to contest the elections on their symbol. A 'suitable' candidate is a term which is better understood than defined. However, for a correct appraisal of the political health of the country and the parties, it would be desirable to discuss some of the salient qualities of such a candidate.

A suitable candidate to a man of common sense should be one who can represent the party's views in the legislature, who has been nursing his constituency and can claim to air the feelings of its people. As an individual he should be devoted to the people and as a member of the party he seeks to represent, he should be disciplined and dedicated to its cause. If he has any other qualifications, they may add to his stature but they cannot be substituted for these basic ingredients of suitability.

But in India hardly any political party worries about these things. Their only consideration is that he should be able to win. Like race-goers they have no love for a particular horse. They will bet on one which has brighter chances of winning. But they forget that in politics their association with the winner does not end after the play. They have to carry the burden all through and it is through his medium that the party will be required to act in the legislatures and in the constituency.

Most of the political parties today have no grass roots. The Congress which one day was a mass-party in real terms has now ceased to have any hold on the masses. The newer parties have yet to work hard to endear themselves to the masses. Under these circumstances appeals other than those of the party have to be made. It is for this reason that the ex-rulers are being wooed by every party. Even ministers have hesitated to oppose if any member of the ruling family is in the fray. And if they choose to go with the Congress, all other opposition candidates consider their chances of victory bleak.

Even granting that the ex-rulers have the citizen's right to participate in the elections, it must be admitted that the present state of affairs is not happy. The situation cannot be mended by ex-rulers but by the people and by the various political parties. The ex-princely order must definitely be-encouraged to take part in politics, but a ticket in the elections should not go to them by birth but by merit. People should also realise that a vote is not an instrument of expressing gratefulness to any candidate but a mandate to carry out their wishes.

Caste and communal considerations also play a great part in the selection of candidates. Congress is the worst sinner in this respect, but other parties also cannot escape the odium. This also is due to lack of a sound and solid organisation. It is no use abusing casteism. Those who do so, indirectly help it. Everybody in India belongs to some caste or community. By accusing the other party of indulging in casteism or communalism, you throw an indirect hint

and make an unconscious and subtle appeal to these sentiments in the rest of the society. Experience of the last elections shows that candidates who tried to arouse caste feeling invited the antagonism and the united opposition of the rest and thus lost badly. But still that consideration weighs heavily with political parties. If other basic qualifications are there, I would not mind to what caste the candidate belongs. He cannot be a casteless human being - at least not in India. But if the situation develops to such an extent that even Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had to forgo his candidature only because he did not belong to the caste that numerically predominated in the constituency (this happened in a UP bye-election, sometime back), it betokens a serious malady. The way out is to strengthen the party organisation, rather than accentuate appeal to caste considerations as the socialist doctor is trying to do by his promise of reserving sixty per cent seats for backward castes and classes.

Financial viability is another big factor that influences the choice of candidates. A number of people are given tickets for no other qualifications than their capacity to spend money. These people come in the field at election time and then hibernate for five years in the crowded bustees of Calcutta and Bombay. They do not come to the people to solicit their votes but to purchase them. They do not apply or qualify for the party ticket but purchase it. For them no price is too high. All that they want is to grease their way to the Parliament. For them it is a business deal. The parties, including the Congress, are so tight of finances that they are only too willing to oblige these aspirants for power and fame. The Congress has been reported to have struck a deal with some of the industrialists in Calcutta to give them some Parliamentary seats if they promise to foot the election bill of the Assembly candidates. The Swatantra Party is commonly charged as being a party of Dalal Street. The financial stringency with the parties is so great that the Ganatantra Parishad has, just on that account, decided to merge with the Swatantra Party.

All these are factors that are likely to give a wrong direction to the politics of the country. If steps are not taken to mend them,

powerful lobbies will emerge in the country's legislatures and political decisions will hardly be taken in an objective manner taking into consideration only the welfare of the people and furtherance of national interests. The parties that want to develop into major parties should be careful not to sacrifice principles for quick gains. People too have a duty and if they exercise their franchise in a judicious and intelligent manner, they can also correct the distorted view-point of the political parties.

- The voter should not complain; he should command. He should not desire; he must demand. He should not grumble and grudge; but should assess and assert. The voter should see that he votes for a principle and not for a party, that he votes for a party and not for a personality, that he votes for a person and not for the purse.
- Let him consider the cause and not the caste; go with the worthy rather than with the winner. Choose the right man and see that the man you choose wins : that will be your victory. If you simply go as a camp-follower of the man who has created an impression that he will win, you have already lost, whatever the result of the election be.
- Vote is a matter of conscience. Do not sell it. Do not destroy it.
- When you vote, take a momentous decision; please do not take it just on the spur of the moment.
- Vote is an individual right to be exercised socially. It symbolises your freedom; use it freely. If you are a democrat do not be dictated by anybody but your conscience. Political parties that stand for the people also stand on the strength of the people. If the people want that nobody should bend them, the people should lend them their strength. It is the people who are the architects of political parties and through them of their political destiny.
- Let them succeed in the great test they are faced with.

Candidate, Party and Ideology - All Count

Now that all the double member constituencies have been bifurcated, you have only one vote each for the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabha. You have to select one out of the so many in the field. It is a single act, through which you cannot satisfy competing claims and conflicting preferences. The ultimate decision depends on careful and correct assessment of a number of factors. The candidate, the party and its ideology - all have to be considered : A bad candidate cannot claim a premium just because the party he belongs to is good. An evil is an evil and, like the proverbial ill-wind, cannot blow well to any one any where. The party High Command in giving a ticket to such a man might have acted on a partisan basis or with the best of intentions; it might have committed an error of judgment. It is the duty of a responsible electorate to rectify such a mistake.

There was a time when people would vote for a lamp-post just because it bore the Congress symbol. In the first general elections such stalwarts as Acharya Narendra Deva and Acharya Kripalani were defeated by Congress nominees who bore no comparison with them. The lamp-post era is over. But there is the likelihood of the pendulum swinging to the other extreme. A gentleman recently remarked that he would prefer to vote for a milestone but not for a Congress candidate. Whether you choose the 'lamp-post' because of your faith in the Congress or the 'milestone' because of your intense disgust with the Congress, you are equally wrong. It denotes a diseased and perverse state of mind.

The Congress President is reported to have said not long back that the worst in the Congress was better than the best in the Opposition. It reminded me of Maulana Shaukat Ali who said that the lowest amongst the Muslims was, to him, better than even Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody can endorse these sentiments. The voter who votes out of reaction belongs to the same category. He allows his judgment to be clouded by morbid reaction.

Do not choose either the 'milestone' or the 'lamp-post'. They

cannot represent you. If they are in the House, it will be a reflection on your capacity to discern and decide. So elect your own representative.

You want a good man. But a good man in a bad party will not prove effective. The most valiant will not succeed with a broken or blunt weapon. The example of Rajarshi Purushottamdas Tandon is enough to illustrate my point. But which is a good party? Evidently the one that is not simply a collection of individuals but is a body corporate with a distinctive purposeful existence different from its desire to capture power. Political power should be a means rather than an end to the members of such a party. There should be devotion to a cause in the rank and file of the party. Devotion leads to dedication and discipline. Discipline does not mean simply outward conformity to certain dos and don'ts. The more you impose discipline from above, the less is the internal strength of the party. Discipline is to a party what *Dharma* is to a society.

If there is devotion and discipline, there will not be any groups and factions in the party. When party-interests are subordinated to self-interest, factionalism begins. It is a social manifestation of an egoistic and perverse mind. A faction-ridden party becomes ineffective and loses all capacity for doing well.

The third quality of a good party is that it should be wedded to certain ideals and all its policies should be framed with a view to realising these ideals. It is true that the very practical act of administration cannot be fitted into a set of formulae framed on a theoretical analysis of situations. But expediency and opportunism should not pass for realism. Realism is a virtue of the idealist, the principled man, the missionary; it is not a characteristic of the man with an easy conscience, the opportunist and the apostate. Political parties and leaders by their behaviour determine the values of political life. They set the norms. Naturally their policies should in no case violate these norms of public behaviour. Democracy is not simply elections. It requires a well-organised people, well-built parties and well-established conventions of political behaviour.

A good party with a set of good candidates must also have a good realistic programme. It is after all the programme that will require to be implemented. Good people with a bad programme or an impracticable programme will not help alleviate the sufferings of the people. On the contrary they will create more difficulties.

These three things have to be considered in an integrated manner. It may be difficult to get an ideal in every respect. But an optimum combination of the three can be found out. Well-intentioned people, guided by altruistic motives and disciplined, can to a great extent make up the deficiency of a programme if it is not based on principles that are wholly unacceptable. If the party is moving in the wrong direction, no amount of goodness and efficiency will improve matters. The direction having been decided, the pace can be speeded up only by correct and efficient handling of matters. (Dec. 4 & 11, 1961)



Appendix IV

Presidential Speech at Calicut

Fellow delegates,

You have entrusted to me this year the responsibility of party presidentship. Ours is an organisation of workers, all engrossed in building up the party with equal zeal and devotion. That you have called upon me to fulfil this particular constitutional obligation and thus honoured me, is token only of your own generosity and affection, which indeed I have been receiving in liberal measure during the past fifteen years that I have been General Secretary. It is this generous affection of you all that is going to be my mainstay hereafter too.

Conjunction of Two Eras

We are meeting today in Kerala, this land hallowed by Bhagwan *Parashuram's* *tapas*. In point of time we are at the conjunction of two eras. During the half century gone by, the country's mind has been dominated completely by the Congress and its ideology. Its leaders have been not only the framers of national policy but the arbiters of contemporary life-values as well. After independence, the reins of government also came into their hands. While this is no occasion for any elaborate stock-taking of the Congress's performance, it cannot be gainsaid that awakening of political consciousness in the common man has been the most significant contribution of this era. If this political consciousness, unpolluted by the exigencies of day-to-day politics, had been made an instrument for the country's resurgence on a positive national

basis, we would have made considerable progress by now and the country might have been spared the problems which beset it today. The new era, at whose threshold the country stands today, should be a positive manifestation of this political awakening. There are people in the country who are still chained to the age gone by. Then there are others who are ignorant of national values or have scant regard for them and so are readily influenced by foreign concepts. The country's transition into the new era, therefore, is not being smooth. It is accompanied by severe strains and struggles. It is against this background that we must analyse present problems and draw up our policy.

Search for an Alternative

Portents of the coming revolution had become visible in August-September 1965, when India's brave legions proved their valour against Pakistani aggression. The policies framed by the Congress regime in the wake of these events demonstrated only its utter incapacity to function as the instrument of the coming revolution. The result was that the people began longing all the more intensely for emancipation from Congress misrule. With the Fourth General Election, the process has started for Congress's gradual withering away. If opposition parties had been better organised then, the results would have been even more convincing. In comparison to other parties *Jana Sangh's* achievements in the election have been considerably significant. But in relation to the demands of the situation, the results left much to be desired. However, the outcome of these elections clearly proved to the people the *Jana Sangh's* potential of growing into a clear alternative to the Congress. It is this confidence created in the person which accounts for the sharp rise in the party's popularity and its organisational expansion after the elections.

Nature of Problems

Post-election problems can be classified into three categories. Firstly, there are the problems pertaining to the politics of transition. Inter-party relations, instability of coalition ministries, floor-crossing etc. are problems which fall in this category. To the

second category belong those problems which stem from our constitutional set-up but which had either not arisen as yet or had not confronted us as seriously as now. And thirdly, there are the manifold problems relating to economic, defence, home and foreign affairs which, because of the impolicies of the Congress Government, have become very grave now. Problems of the first category are of immediate topical interest and so generally evoke the maximum of public comment and debate. But they are less important than those in the other two categories. If these latter problems are not properly tackled, they can jeopardise the country's unity and interests seriously.

Conduct of Governors

The first problem which faced opposition parties after the elections was that except in Delhi and Madras, nowhere else was any single party able to secure a clear majority and so be able to form an alternative non-Congress Government by itself. Appreciating the requirements of the situation and in deference to the verdict of the electorate various non-Congress parties came together to form coalition governments in Panjab, Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala. In Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, however, in the teeth of public opposition, the Congress contrived to worm its way into office with the assistance of the State Governors. In Uttar Pradesh they could not hold on to office for long; but in Rajasthan, by taking recourse to various devious means, they have managed to increase their majority considerably.

The arbitrary conduct of the Governors in the above cases, then later in Madhya Pradesh at the time of the fall of the Mishra Government and again recently in West Bengal, Hariyana and Panjab, has lowered the prestige of this august office and weakened regard for constitutional proprieties. As Governors are the representatives of the Centre, the Central Government must own full responsibility for their actions. By declining to take the onus of their actions the Central Government has only created mistrust about its own bonafides and confirmed misgivings that they are intent on using the office of

Governor only as a facade behind which they might further their own party ends.

The demand has been voiced in some quarters that the Governor's should be an elected post. I do not think that that would solve the problem. Exceptional occasions apart, the Governor is only a constitutional head. Appointees to this post, therefore, should be men of integrity capable of exercising their discretion in a judicious manner and in whose impartiality there is general confidence. I think that it would be better if instead of selecting rejected politicians or retired civil servants for this job the Government turned its eyes to retired judges of the Supreme Court. A list may be drawn up on the basis of their dates of retirement and posts of Governors falling vacant hereafter may be filled by these judges in their order of priority. If some such convention is followed, neither the consent of the State Government concerned, nor the wishes of the Home Ministry would have any relevance.

Performance of Coalition Governments

On the administrative level, the coalition governments did present a better alternative to the Congress, but they did not offer any comprehensive set of policies and programmes in substitution of the Congress's. Actually, I think, they were not intended to. It is a matter of regret that some of the constituents of these coalitions failed to appreciate the ideological limitations under which such coalitions would necessarily have to function and tried to use these governments as instruments for the execution for their respective party policies. As the result of this partisan approach and lack of a sense of responsibility, these governments have been subject to internal strains and have had always to work under a shadow of uncertainty. It must be recorded, however, that despite all these handicaps, despite the limited resources and rights of the States and despite continuing Central machinations to topple non-Congress governments, these coalitions have during their brief term of office brought relief to the people in many matters. Of course, those who expected these governments to work miracles might have been

disappointed.

If this coalition experiment has given birth to a sense of realism and a habit of objective political appraisal, that, in itself, would be a gain. Also, the formation of these Governments has been a commendable step in the direction of eradicating political untouchability. A readiness to appreciate an opponent's view-point and a willingness on the part of different parties to work together in spite of variations of policy is an index of a democratic temperament and of the nation's basic homogeneity. Whatever be the future of these coalition governments, I wish we are able to conserve this achievement.

Parliamentary Democracy on Trial

The strains inside these coalitions and the political instability resulting from the continued efforts to topple these Governments or from their fall, have prompted many to suggest that the present cabinet form of Government be discarded in favour of the Presidential system. Shri Ashok Mehta has suggested that the system be introduced only at the State level. I really fail to understand why a distinction is sought to be made between the Centre and the States. Fact is that the systems of Government in Britain and in the USA have grown out of their history. Instead of trying merely to imitate the one or the other, let us try to evolve democratic practices suited to our own genius. Actually, during the past 50 years or so we have been working with the parliamentary system of Government. It would be more fruitful if we try to mould this to suit our changing politics. Instead of conventions relevant to the two-party democracy of the British Parliament, let us develop conventions suited to the multi-party pattern of Indian politics so that the instability of the transition period can be avoided. A convention can be accepted, for instance, that no Government would resign except on the adoption of a no-confidence vote against it by the legislature. Another convention which might be evolved in conjunction with the above one is that if a majority of the members of a legislature request the Speaker that the House be convened; a meeting of the legislature would be invariably summoned.

Problem of Floor-Crossing

Floor-crossing by legislators is another issue which has occasioned much comment in the context of the formation and fall of Governments lately. Floor crossing is no new phenomenon. Quitting the Congress on the eve of elections and rejoining it after the elections has been a familiar feature of Indian politics and the birth of several parties and the dissolution of others can be traced to this feature. Even those who may not have left the Congress have been shifting their factional loyalty within the party very frequently. As a result of all this even though, outwardly, the Congress's name has been a constant, Congress Ministries have been in a state of perpetual instability and have often fallen too. After independence Congress and Congressmen have betrayed a singular lack of idealism and direction. It is therefore that they have been inclined to behave thus. Ninety-nine per cent of those guilty of floor-crossing are either Congressmen or ex-Congressmen. As the policies and programmes of parties crystallize on the basis of well defined principles, their organisations become stronger and political enlightenment of the masses grows and enables them to exercise their vote on the basis of a party's platform, this tendency of floor-crossing will automatically decline.

It has been suggested that legislative steps be taken to check opportunistic floor-crossing. Rather than take recourse to law to control law-makers, it would be better to leave the matter to convention and the pressure of public opinion. After all, even a legislator is responsible not only to his party but to his constituency and the country as well. It would not be easy to fit all these varied obligations of his into a rigid legal scheme.

If, however, political parties could agree on a code of conduct in this regard, opportunism can be suitably checked. Also, if instead of having electors vote for individual candidates on the British pattern, we could have the Lists System in which votes are cast for the party, many of the evils of present-day politics might be obviated. Perhaps, a synthesis of both these patterns on the lines of West Germany might suit us best.

Centre-States Relations

The Congress continues to rule at the Centre while in the States we have several non-Congress Governments. This has invested the issue of Centre-States relations with considerable political importance. Our Constitution is federal in form but most of its provisions reveal a unitary bias. The political situation prevailing during the last 20 years and the existing planning and financial arrangements have made the Centre all the more powerful. In the past, as the Congress held sway at all levels, no one ever challenged the Centre's dominance or alleged misuse of authority by the Centre. The Congress High Command also exercised its influence to see that Centre-State relations remained smooth. The situation has now changed, however. Several States are now in the hands of non-Congress Governments. They wish to serve the people according to their own concept. They should be given a full opportunity to do so, and provided resources to meet their obligations.

The sovereign authority of the nation vests in the Central Government. In its dealings with the State Governments, let the Central Government show an awareness of this responsibility and act in a liberal and impartial manner. If, instead, they keep looking at things from the narrow party standpoint and try to explain away pettiness of approach by citing powers conferred on them by the Constitution, they would only be harming the country's interests. Nationalists would feel sore and frustrated while those interested in promoting disintegration and disruption would exploit the situation only to challenge and weaken the Centre's authority. The conduct of Communists in West Bengal and Kerala is a pointer. In order that Centre-States tensions should not imperil the country's unity, it is necessary that while on the one hand the structure of our Constitution is made unitary, on the other, financial and other powers presently concentrated in the Centre should be decentralised in favour of the States to enable them discharge their functions responsibly.

Wanted: Permanent Finance Commission

Financially, the States today are badly dependent on the

Centre. The Constitution so divides resources and obligations between the Centre and the States that the entire burden of Administration, Public Welfare and Development lies on the States while all the elastic and rich resources of revenue are with the Centre. Although States do get a share of Income-tax and Excise-duty on the basis of recommendations made by the Finance Commission, they have to depend very greatly on discretionary grants from the Centre. In 1951-52, 29.4 per cent of the States' expenditure came from Central resources. According to the revised figures for 1966-67, this amount has risen to 55.3 per cent. Over the same period the Centre's discretionary grants to the States have risen from 7 per cent to 19 per cent of the States' expenditure. Obviously, this state of affairs militates against the spirit of responsible government. It has to be changed. A demand is being made that the Constitution should be amended for the purpose. I think that without amending the Constitution, a flexible arrangement can be devised to meet the requirements of the changed situation. The Finance Commission, which is now appointed every five years, can be made a permanent body, and grants and loans under Article 282 given by the Central Government in its own discretion may be brought within the purview of the Commission's recommendations.

Tax-Structure needs Re-Examination

In the same context, it needs to be observed that States also should consider how fully to exploit their own revenue resources. No doubt, there is a need to lessen the tax burden and to simplify the existing machinery for tax realisation. But I must say that the present taxation policies of several State Governments bear the impress more of political slogans than of Governmental responsibility. Many revolutionary ideas are now being propounded in respect of land revenue; income-tax, sales tax, etc. It would be well if all these proposals are submitted to scientific scrutiny before a final decision is taken in their regard because these taxes have been till now important sources of revenue.

Even otherwise, there is imperative need for a Commission

to examine the entire tax structure. It was in 1953-54 that the last Taxation Enquiry Commission had been constituted. The first Plan had only been launched then. Now, three Plans have been completed. In 1951-52, the total tax revenue of the Centre and the States was Rs. 638 crores whereas the estimated tax-revenue for 1967-68 is Rs. 3599 crores. During this period land-revenue has been doubled, income tax and company tax quadrupled, sales-tax increased 9 times and excise duty 18 times. These taxes have off and on been increased on an ad hoc basis and later the increase has been made permanent. Again, there are commodities which have been subjected to excise duty, sales tax, as well as, octroi duties and terminal taxes. This has naturally increased their price. During the last 15 years there have been vast changes in the distribution of incomes. The value of the Rupee has gone down steeply; States have been reorganised and today the Plan itself is being reconsidered. Because of all these considerations, appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Commission is necessary. This Commission might consider all problems of economic development, capital formation, public welfare, the need to remove disparities and the requirements of decentralised government and in that light make recommendations about existing taxes and the tax structure.

Devaluation has harmed Economy

The country's economy has been causing anxiety since several years but lately it has deteriorated rapidly. Signs of recession had started showing in the beginning of 1965. With the cessation of foreign aid and imports during the war with Pakistan, industries whose production was dependent on imported raw materials and spare parts from abroad were seriously affected. But at that time the country was psychologically prepared to face such adversity. As a result programmes of import substitution were undertaken on a large scale and a feeling of confidence took roots that the country was all set on the way to self-sufficiency. But even before these efforts could bear fruit, the Government succumbed to foreign pressure and devalued the Rupee. Relying on the Rs. 750 crores untied foreign

loans available, it liberalised imports. This policy adversely affected the trade and industry of the country. The quantum of foreign loans increased, so did the prices, but the pace of industrial production did not grow. In some industries, production for 1966 was even less than that for 1965. The object of export promotion also was not realised. The balance of payment position on trade account for 1966-67 shows an adverse balance of Rs. 773.4 crores, which is higher than that for the preceding year. In the sphere of foreign trade the same trend still persists. Devaluation thus has done harm to our economy.

It appears, however, that in spite of this, international forces are exerting once again to impose on us yet another dose of devaluation. By threatening to resign if anything of that sort happens, Deputy Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai has given an indication of firmness. But unless those basic ills are remedied which account for an adverse balance of payment position and which compel us to approach foreign governments with a begging bowl, it may not be possible to sustain even the present value of the Rupee.

Ad-hoc-ism Will Not Do

Comprehensive measures are called for to counter the effects of growing recession and to impart dynamism to the economy. It is a matter of regret that the Government does not seem to appreciate the gravity of the situation and has made little effort to analyse it carefully. A casual consideration of problems and adoption of ad-hoc measures only to solve them will not do. The devaluation decision of June 1966 was based on the analysis that the slump in economy had been caused by paucity of imported raw materials. And in this year's budget this aspect has been ignored and drought and shortfall in agricultural production have been blamed for the economic crisis. Then, some engineering industries are sought to be kept alive with the assistance of executive orders from the Railway Department. There is no realisation of the fact that with a halt in the expansion programme of Railways these orders would only mean needless waste.

Diversionsary Tactics

When today the situation demands some revolutionary

changes in the country's economic policy, the Congress Government at the Centre is wasting much of its time and energy on issues which may be important by themselves but which are not relevant so far as the basic problems of Indian economy are concerned. Thus, the problem of privy purses, the issues raised by the Hazari Report, the proposal for nationalisation of banks and general insurance are animatedly debated and projected as if the economic development of the country hinges round these questions. Actually, these questions are not even remotely connected with our basic problems of food scarcity, falling production, growing unemployment and rising prices. And when these matters are debated over and over again, with Government giving no indication of a will to clinch these issues, one is naturally led to suspect that the real object of these discussions is only to divert public attention from the crucial problems and use these debates to exert political pressure on certain sections.

Social Controls of Banks

At the last session of Parliament, Finance Minister Shri Morarji Desai made a statement that an Enquiry Commission would be appointed to go into the problems of banking. This statement also announced a scheme for social control of banks. As the Finance Minister evidently held that the problems of banking merited a thorough examination by a Commission, I wish he had waited for the Commission's report before precipitately coming forth with his Social Control Scheme. The real problem today is of capital formation and social control is not going to help capital formation. Also, it is doubtful that this scheme would ensure optimum utilisation of the resources available with banks. There is no doubt that agriculture and small industries need capital badly. But what about the industries that are benefiting today from these resources? How will they run? Or, are they regarded as unnecessary? The proposal to have representatives of small industry and agriculture on the Board of Directors is welcome. But how are they going to be selected? Are they to be nominated? If so, the nominations are very likely to be vitiated by political

considerations. I wonder why depositors have been given no representation on the Board, besides; foreign banks have been kept outside the purview of this scheme. This would naturally injure the interests of Indian banks. It would be better if instead of launching such political schemes, the Government decided to open new banks to meet the growing demand for capital investment.

No Plan Holiday

We have been disappointed also with the Planning Commission. By suggesting that the Fourth Five Year Plan should commence from April 1, 1969, it has agreed to a Plan Holiday. The situation calls for greater endeavour and not a holiday. When conditions are difficult, well-considered, planned measures become all the more necessary. Programmes should be undertaken to remove the strains and cracks caused in the country's economy as a result of the Plans till now and in a way so as to avail of our developed potential. The present recession and large-scale educated unemployment owe to a great extent to the manner in which plans have been arbitrarily slashed or changed during the past two years. Productive schemes under the Plan have been cut while unproductive expenditure of the administration has been increasing. Such budgeting is not conducive to economic growth. Recession leads to fall in revenues and increase in administrative expenditures causes inflation. As a consequence, despite all efforts, deficit financing becomes unavoidable. In this matter, however, let us be practical and not doctrinaire. In order to utilise the potential of the unemployed and to implement quick yielding schemes, a judicious recourse to deficit financing would certainly prove profitable.

The Planning Commission should play the role of an expert and suggest short-term and long-term measures to solve the problems which face us today. Planning does not mean a mere fixation of targets in various spheres and an arithmetical dovetailing of these targets. It calls for imagination, far sight and a sense of realism-qualities, which unfortunately have been conspicuous by their absence in the preceding plans.

We must be Self-Reliant

A constant refrain heard nowadays is about paucity of resources. I do not accept that this nation lacks resources. There are adequate resources in this country - human, physical and financial. What is required is that the size and shape of the plan should be correlated to the quantum of available and potential resources. Till now our Plans have been based on foreign resources, foreign machinery, foreign technicians, foreign capital and lately, even foreign raw materials and market. Schemes are formulated to secure what we do not possess, but no attention is paid to the conservation of what we already have or to develop on that basis. Agriculture and indigenous industry have been neglected and foreign collaboration has been welcomed even when the terms of agreement are contrary to our interests and derogatory to our self-respect. Vested foreign interests in this country are today so powerful that they seek not only to influence our economic programmes, but our educational and political policies as well. If independence is to be preserved, we must become self-reliant in the economic sphere. This must be the cornerstone of our future plans.

Problems of Agriculture

Repeatedly for the past many years we are being treated to pronouncements that priority would be given to agriculture. But the Government's policies evince little regard either for the farmer's interests or the needs of agriculture. Prices of fertilisers in India are the highest in the world. Under this head, Government had given an assistance of Rs. 55 crores last year. But in this year's Central budget, this subsidy has been stopped. Foreign concerns have been permitted to set up fertilizer units here and they have been allowed to fix fertiliser prices arbitrarily. Fact is that if the farmer was enabled to meet his fuel requirements with soft coke and encouraged to use cow-dung as manure, there would be no need of any new fertiliser factories. A report of the National Council for Applied Economic Research has noted: "India burns ten Sindries every year!" But, indifferent to this indigenous potential, we continue to hanker after

foreign concerns.

The manners in which some districts have been selected for intensive cultivation betray a partisan approach. All told, the programme is not going to achieve its objective of maximum production. Also, the use of fertilizers, to the exclusion of natural manure, will gravely affect the fertility of the soil. One shudders to contemplate the possibility that a day may arrive as the result of our present myopic policies when rich abundant areas like Ludhiana and Tanjore may become barren. Let us avert such a calamity.

No doubt, some attention has been paid to irrigation, but the Government's ways of doing things are such that the general reaction of farmers could be summed up by the Hindi saying : *Ka panijab krishi sukhani* (of what avail the water provided only after the crops have failed). In the matter of inter-state river water disputes provincial loyalties have become so strong that crores of cusecs of water are allowed to go waste into the ocean rather than that the parties to the dispute relent a bit. The decision to provide power for tube-wells at the rate of 12 paise per unit is commendable, but the decision can have meaning only if power is actually made available to them.

Agriculture and Price Policy

Procurement schemes of Government have hit the farmers very badly. Kerala has proved the worst offender on this count. Here we have babus in the offices determining how much grain a particular peasant must produce and how much he should consume. And the peasant is ordered to deposit his entire surplus with the Government godowns. The prices of various crops fixed by the Centre are uneconomic. While it is essential that prices should be stabilised, it would be unjust and suicidal besides, to deny the farmer a fair and full price for his produce. The foremost object of our price policy should be to prevent a fall in the income of producers, especially primary producers. After all, it is agricultural income which sustains the economy.

It is true that rise in the price of foodgrains has caused great

difficulty to the urban population - particularly the low and fixed income groups. For these sections, essential commodities of life should be made available at fair prices. If the Madras Government can successfully implement in some cities its scheme to sell rice at a Rupee per measure, there is no reason why similar steps should not be possible in other parts of the country. Also, dearness allowance must be linked with the cost of living. It is regrettable that the Government refuses to accept this principle. This attitude of it's the cause of many a dispute and of industrial unrest. Apart from workers and employees, pensioners also must be paid dearness allowance and their pensions should be co-related with present pay scales.

Scrap Food Zones

"Food Zones and the very many restrictions imposed on the movement of various commodities are economically unsound and also against the spirit of the Constitution. These restrictions block normal channels of trade, create an artificial scarcity in the market and encourage smuggling and black-marketing. This policy militates against national integration also. If we can not think about as vital a matter as food from the national standpoint and allow our vision to be warped by narrow regional interests, national integration would become a meaningless slogan. It seems that some corrupt officials, power-hungry politicians and big businessmen who find smuggling a very lucrative trade have developed so great a vested interest in the continuance of this policy that mere logic and reasoning is not going to change it.

Need for National Approach

In the absence of a national approach to economic problems, of proper planning, concerted effort and sound leadership at the Centre, every State and section is exerting to fend for itself with total unconcern about the rest. As they say : "Every one for himself and let the Devil take the hindmost." Wittingly or unwittingly, this attitude has been encouraging provincialism. When Kerala's Chief Minister Shri E.M.S. Namboodripad advances claims that he should be allowed to use the foreign exchange earned out of exports from Kerala to buy

foodgrains from abroad for his State or when he calls for a Kerala Bandh against the Centre, it's surely a blow struck at the country's unity. Similarly, when on the plea of securing justice for Maharashtrians, the Shiv Sena agitates against any quarter being given to people from other States in the services or trades of Bombay; it is becoming blind to a basic fact, namely, that the economic interests of all sections in the country are inseparably interlinked. Unemployment and poverty in this country can be eradicated only by a combined effort.

Inter-State Disputes

In the resolution of the country's political problems also, this basic unity of the nation must never be overlooked. Today, there are border disputes between some States. These should be generally settled on the basis of principles formulated at the time of reorganisation of States. The Jana Sangh accepts that language is one of the factors which should be taken into consideration while demarcating the borders of two States, but it does not consider it the sole determinant. Language has an important place in administration, particularly in a democratic administration. Therefore, ordinarily, linguistic boundaries have crystallised into State boundaries. But there are people who would like language to be the one and exclusive factor to be taken into account. The approach of these people often smacks of a sub-national loyalty. The Jana Sangh disapproves of it.

The Mahajan Commission had been appointed to report on the Mysore-Maharashtra and Mysore-Kerala border disputes. The Commission's report should no doubt help settle the disputes. But this is possible only if there is a readiness to consider the issue dispassionately and without any sense of false prestige. The suggestions for an opinion poll cannot be accepted. Demarcation of State boundaries is the function of Parliament. Let it fulfil it.

Reorganisation of Assam

The Central leadership's handling of the issue of Assam's reorganisation has greatly complicated it. Home Minister Chavan's statement just before the General Election that Assam would be

given a federal structure was a political blunder which the Centre is finding it hard to rectify now. Unfortunately, the seeds of separatism in Assam were sown when a special place was given to Assam's Hill Tribes in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Today, we have to reap its ill-fruits. Creation of a separate Naga State for a population of just three lakhs has greatly encouraged these separatist trends. And foreign missionaries in the region have been doing their worst to incite disruptive forces. Our Assam policy ought to take cognisance of all these aspects of the problem : mere patchwork will not do.

Why Not The Hindu Nagas?

The Government has been holding prolonged negotiations with the underground Nagas, but no fruitful outcome is yet in sight. Meanwhile, it has been reported that these rebel Nagas are hobnobbing with Communist China. Outbursts of sporadic violence also have continued. Manipur particularly has seen an intensification of such activity. Obviously, the extremist section is availing of the present interlude only to prepare for a bigger revolt.

The Government of India must be extremely vigilant. It should consciously exert to isolate the rebels and deal with them sternly. It would be in place to mention here that half the population of the State comprises of *Hindu Nagas*. New Delhi's dialogue with Nagaland till now has been exclusively through the medium of the Baptist Mission. The *Hindu* tribals have never been given the recognition due to them. This must change. Their interests and rights also must be safeguarded.

No Going Back on Kashmir

Following the removal of restrictions on Mirza Afzal Beg, and Sheikh Abdullah's release in Delhi, those elements have once again become active who would like to detach Kashmir from India. All the stale arguments, long debunked and exploded, are being repeated again and proposals are being revived which have been rejected by the people as against national interest or impractical. The Central Government's support for these proposals is being canvassed on the plea that these would procure us Pakistan's

friendship. It is high time now that all these self-anointed patrons of peace and justice, as well as Pakistan itself and the international powers who keep giving us uncalled-for counsel about Kashmir were told in plain, unambiguous language that Kashmir is an indivisible part and parcel of India and, come what may, there was going to be no compromise about it. In this matter, we cannot allow any intervention even by the UNO or any agency of its.

Some people have been advocating even greater autonomy for Kashmir than it now enjoys. The proposal is rooted in separatism and runs counter to national interest and our Constitution.

We would like to state categorically that the people of India will not suffer any act which amounts to reversing the process of Kashmir's fuller integration with India. In this context, I would like to say a word about Article 370.

Though this is an internal arrangement of ours and does not in any way affect the fact that Kashmir is an integral part of India, it is certainly an exceptional provision which ought to be abrogated. Its repeal would serve a valuable psychological purpose. All speculations about Kashmir would automatically stop.

Failure of Sadiq Government

The Centre should also pay attention to the internal administration of Jammu and Kashmir State. Shri Sadiq has failed to give to the State a clean, impartial and strong-administration. The indifference, apathy and communal bias betrayed by the J&K police in its handling of the case in which a *Hindu* girl was abducted and forcibly married has impaired the faith of Kashmiri Hindus in the administration. The Hindus of the Valley complain that Union Home Minister Shri Chavan also has failed to fulfil his assurances. It is regrettable that any section should feel that they are being denied justice or that they are insecure. A Commission headed by Shri Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, has been constituted to examine the question of representation in services etc. Misgivings about discrimination on regional grounds must certainly be enquired into, but it would be against the spirit and letter

of the Constitution if the issue is looked at from the communal angle.

Vested Interests in Riots

There have been during recent month's communal disturbances in some parts of the country. These are unfortunate and deplorable. So far as Government is concerned, it must deal with all such breaches of peace and incidents of rioting sternly and impartially. But I must say that the code which regulates the administration's policy and conduct on such occasions is the one that was evolved during the British regime. It did not aim at curbing the mischievous elements or punishing the guilty. The Government would conspicuously appear to hold the scales even between the communities involved while in fact its actions only perpetuated the gulf between the communities. This code of make-believe impartiality must change and rioters, to whichever community they belong, should be punished.

There are elements in the country that have developed a vested political interest in riots. Instead of exerting to localise these incidents and suppressing them, these elements deliberately magnify and distort reports about these incidents in a manner as to suit their purpose. Whatever the incident and whatever the place of occurrence, theirs is a stereo-typed analysis and a set line of propaganda. According to them, it is the Muslims who are killed everywhere and the killers always are workers of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the RSS. Amusingly, even at places where the Jana Sangh and the RSS do not exist, journals belonging to these sections discover 'strongholds' of these organizations. Their conduct often reminds you of the technique of pick-pockets and thieves who act in a concerted manner and after a crime has been successfully committed by one of them, rush in a certain direction shouting "Thief! Thief!" and start belabouring some innocent passerby. By then, the real thief would have decamped. We have certainly to be very careful about these elements.

Language

Both patriotism as well as commonsense demand that the

country's work should be conducted in its own languages. The Central Education Ministry's decision this year to make Indian languages the media of education right up to the University level is a commendable step. The decision conforms to the recommendations of the Education Commission. The Parliamentary Committee on Education, the Education Ministers' Conference and the Conference of Vice-Chancellors also have endorsed and supported the decision. In spite of this, some Anglophiles are attacking this decision. The problems they refer to are either imaginary or affect isolated individuals or then, pertain to the transitional period only. It would be better if instead of raising this hullabaloo about problems, they exerted earnestly to solve them. After the formation of non-Congress Governments in several States, the use of regional languages at the State level has considerably increased. If the pace is maintained, within a few months the work of Government in most of these States would be conducted in the peoples' languages. I must congratulate all these Governments for giving the country's languages their due place. By pursuing this policy, they have justified their claim of being popular Governments.

The Central Government's policy in regard to the replacement of English by Hindi at the Centre has continued to create difficulties. It is a matter of regret that instead of taking positive steps in this direction, the Government by its actions has only been creating controversies and misgivings. The Jana Sangh does not support any step which restricts the right of those who do not know Hindi or deprives them of any of their rights. The Jana Sangh has, therefore, been demanding that all examinations of the UPSC should be conducted through the media of regional languages and that knowledge of any particular language should not be compulsory at the time of recruitment.

Those who want to use English during the period of transition should be permitted to do so. But the perpetual domination of English and denial to Hindi of its rightful place cannot be suffered. The Official Languages (Amendment). Bill and the Language Resolution recently

passed are steps in the wrong direction. The Centre's language policy as envisaged by this Bill will be an impediment in the way of even those State Governments which want to carry on their work in their regional languages. So long as English continues to rule in New Delhi, Tamil also will not be able to get its rightful place in Madras.

UAR Must Ponder

The foreign policy of the Government of India neither reflects public opinion nor does it protect national interest. Government's attitude towards the West Asian war, for instance, did not have the approval of the people. When Britain had bombed the Suez Canal, the people of India had protested strongly against it. We have always favoured friendship with the Arab countries. But when the Indo-Pak war broke out, we failed to get even lip sympathy from the Arab countries, even though Pakistan was obviously in the wrong. Jordan actually pleaded Pakistan's case against India. The Indian people then felt greatly disappointed with the Arabs. It was this disappointment which explains the change in their attitude during the Israel-UAR conflict. If the Arab countries sincerely desire India's friendship, they must appreciate our feelings. They must also realise that when they can have warm relations with our enemies, there is no reason why we should not have relations with Israel.

Sino-Pak Collusion

Our policy towards Communist China and Pakistan should be such as befits a self-respecting nation dealing with enemy countries that have aggressed on her soil. It is surprising that we have not yet recognised the Government of Formosa. Also, India must actively contribute to Tibet's struggle for independence. Our present attitude towards the Dalai Lama obstructs, rather than helps, fulfilment of this objective. Pakistan has virtually thrown the Tashkent agreement into the waste paper basket. It is ridiculous that our leaders should nevertheless continue to swear by it. There is an obvious shift in Soviet Russia's policy towards Pakistan. It seems that our attitude to Pakistan is determined mainly by an intention to please the Soviet leaders. We really see no other explanation for Prime

Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's uncalled-for congratulatory message to Ayub Khan in respect of the Mangla Dam. If India's policy towards Pakistan is to be formulated not on the basis of that country's own conduct but in deference to the wishes of either Soviet Russia or America, there can never be peace in this region.

China and Pakistan are preparing a concerted plan of aggression. We cannot remain indifferent to the scheme they are hatching. No doubt, there has been some increase lately in our military preparations but much more needs to be done to meet the requirements of the situation. China has made great progress in the sphere of nuclear armaments. The Government of India, however, continues to stick obtusely to its original stand. I would like to reiterate our view that India must go in for the nuclear bomb. Our failure to take this decision gravely endangers our security.

Peking-Pindi Patriots

In the context of this threat posed by China and Pakistan, we must also consider the activities of elements within the country that take ideological inspiration from them and act in concert with their designs. In West Bengal and Kerala, after securing representation in Government, the Mao Communists have been feeling greatly emboldened and have been misusing power to promote their designs. By organising the Naxalbari uprising they subverted law and order. Simultaneously they have been trying to paralyse the administration and demoralise the police.

The country must be ever watchful. People must ensure that these elements are not allowed to create a situation which could be taken advantage of by Communist China or Pakistan. Whenever and wherever these elements disturb peace or pose a threat to the country's security they should be ruthlessly suppressed. But it is necessary that these forces be checkmated on the political level also. The people of this country have an abiding faith in nationalism and democracy and they will not tolerate elements who seek to subvert these values.

However, the powers assumed by the Central Government

under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act recently passed are unjustified and unwarranted. It appears that following its defeat in the last election, the Congress Government at the Centre is anxious to give to itself all such power as might some day come handy to it to retain its stranglehold on Government.

Channelise Popular Awakening

We should also be cautious about people who see in every popular agitation the hidden hand of Communists and suggest that the agitation must be crushed. In the changing situation at present, public agitations are natural and even essential. In fact, they are the media and expressions of social awakening. It is of course necessary that these agitations should be made instruments of a constructive revolution and not allowed to become violent or adventurist. Therefore, we must actively participate in popular movements and try to guide them. Those who are keen to preserve the status quo in the economic and social spheres feel unnerved by these movements and are wont to create an atmosphere of despair and pessimism. We are sorry we cannot cooperate with them. We think these sections are trying in vain to halt the wheels of progress and avert the destiny of the country. This is not possible. While we do draw inspiration from the past, we do not regard the past as the highest pinnacle of our achievement; while we have a realistic approach to the present, we do not feel tied down even to the present; and while we do have before our eyes a vision of a great future for this country, we are not mere visionaries but are *karmayogis* resolved to translate our vision into reality.

We are pledged to the service not of any particular community or section but of the entire nation. Every countryman is blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. We shall not rest till we are able to give to every one of them a sense of pride that they are children of *Bharatmata*. We shall make Mother India *sujala suphala* (laden with fruits and overflowing with water) in the real sense of these words. As *Dashapraharana Dharini Durga* (Goddess Durga with her ten weapons) she would be able to vanquish evil; as Lakshmi

she would be able to disburse prosperity all over and as Saraswati she would dispel the gloom of ignorance and spread the radiance of knowledge all around her. With faith in ultimate victory, let us dedicate ourselves to this task.

VANDE MATARAM.

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About the compiler-author

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A journalist since his youth, Shri Deodhar began with 'Dainik Bharat' and 'Kesari' as a correspondent. Later on he became Special Representative of the daily 'Maharashtra Times' at Delhi. He was Chief Editor of 'Tarun Bharat', Pune from 1978 to February 1984. In that capacity he also toured USA on a special invitation in 1983. Now a- days he is working as the Joint Editor of 'Loksatta', Bombay. Having earned good fame as a journalist, Shri Deodhar is conversant in keeping personal contacts. He is always to the point in expression of views and along with that his loving nature, eloquence, attractive writings and above all a firm base of nationalist thoughts - all this make his personality remarkably influential.