



जाहिदुल दीवान

प्रखर राष्ट्रवादी चिंतक, शोधकर्ता एवं अध्यापक डॉ. जाहिदुल दीवान का जन्म असम राज्य के बरपेटा जनपद के बनबहार गांव में सन् 1985 में हुआ था। अल्पसंख्यक किसान परिवार में पले-बढ़े डॉ. जाहिदुल दीवान ने अपनी मेहनत व संघर्षों के बलबूते पर अब तक पोस्ट-डॉक्टरेट तक की शिक्षा हासिल की है। चार भाषाओं के जानकार डॉ. जाहिदुल दीवान की कई पुस्तकें भी प्रकाशित हो चुकी हैं। आपकी प्रकाशित पुस्तकों में- इक्कीसवीं सदी में मध्यकाल का पुनर्पाठ (2018), प्रवासी साहित्य और भारतीय संस्कृति (2019), लोक परंपरा और भारतीय संस्कृति (2019), अनुवाद और तुलनात्मक अध्ययन: एक भारतीय दृष्टि (2019), भारतीय साहित्य चिंतन (2020), भारतीय संस्कृति का नया दौर (2020), विविध भाषा विमर्श (2020), हिंदी प्रवासी साहित्य में स्वदेश (2020), A Study Of Indian Languages And Culture (2020), Discovering India Through Language, Literature and Culture (2020), साहित्यिक विमर्श एवं नई सांस्कृतिक चुनौतियाँ (2020), व्यावहारिक अनुवाद: एक अध्ययन (2021) आदि प्रमुख रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। आपकी 'गुरु नानक' (2020) शीर्षक एक अनूदित पुस्तक भी प्रकाशित हो चुकी है। आप 'एकेडमिक जगत' (द्विभाषिक मासिक पत्रिका) के प्रकाशक एवं प्रधान संपादक भी हैं। आपने कई संस्थाओं की भी स्थापना की है जिनमें शोधसंवाद-रिसर्च फोरम (शोध संस्था), एकेडमिक पॉलिटिकल विंग (राजनैतिक विचार-मंच) आदि प्रमुख रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। संप्रति आप अध्यापन एवं शोधकार्यों से जुड़े हुए हैं।

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जाहिदुल दीवान



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जाहिदुल दीवान

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30. Sylvain Lévi : a French thinker who traced the Roots of Hinduism across South East Asia	Prof. Sushant Kumar Mishra	190
31. Hindutva and Sanatana Dharma: Reminiscing the Glorious Tradition	Dr. Rajeev Kumar	199
32. Ideas on Nationalism: Contextualizing Bharat's Anticolonial Struggle- -in Indigenous Paradigms	Dr. Kanwar Chanderdeep Singh	209
33. Understanding Nationalism in Contemporary India: Changing Dynamics	Prof. Keshav Mishra	219
34. National and Nationalism in India: Contextualizing Culture and Tradition-in Contemporary India	Prof. Tapan R. Mohanty	224
35. Investigating Savarkar's Definition of Hindu	Prof. Sanjay Srivastava	232
36. Indian nationalism and its Roots: the Debates Ignited by VD Savarkar	Subh Kirti Divyanshu Tripathi	236
37. Contribution of Veer Savarkar in the Freedom Movement of India	Prashant Tripathi	240

Ideas on Nationalism: Contextualizing Bharat's Anticolonial Struggle in Indigenous Paradigms

Dr. Kanwar Chanderdeep Singh
Associate Professor, Department of History
Central University of Himachal Pradesh
Dehra

Fundamentally, there has always been a problem of developing a satisfactory and commonly accepted definition of the concept, nationalism. This remained true for the Asia-Pacific, African and Euro-American geo-political regions where at some point in the past (20th century in Asia and Africa; 18th and 19th centuries in Euro-America) the wave of nationalisms have swept their national histories markedly changing their course. There are quite differential opinions while defining nationalism especially when there are some who equate it with sentiment and others with ideology. There are cultural aspects and then there are political overtones both floating around the basic premises developed and popularized by the western intellectuals since Rousseau, Herder, Fichte, Korais and Mazzini (Hutchinson and Smith, 2012: 4). Modern nationalism as an ideology or national sentiment developed, primarily, in the second half of the 18th century (and onwards) in western Europe and northern America as a resultant interplay of various socio-psychological and politico-economic forces. In Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, it took little more than a century to develop into a force challenging the European colonial hegemony as well as piggybacking on the ethno-racial sentiments drawing succour from distant historical glorious antecedents. The social and political developments since two and a half centuries in the two hemispheres thus have incrementally contributed towards the development and spread of idea of nation (-state) and notion of nationalism.

Hans Kohn has differentiated the nationalisms of Asia and Europe as organic eastern forms of nationalism vis à vis civic and rational western forms (Kohn, 1955). In Bharat, and so in some parts of Africa later, there originated two parallel and often crisscrossing streams of nationalism.

**DALITS IN
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA**

**Benudhar Patra
Mrs. Kanta Singhania**

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	v
1. Situating Untouchability and Subordinates in Early India – <i>Benudhar Patra</i>	1
2. Subjugation of Women as Presented in Early Literary Traditions of Punjab – <i>G.C. Chauhan</i>	23
3. Untouchables in Ancient Indian Society : A Historical Perspective – <i>Amandeep Kaur</i>	33
4. Dalits of North-Western India : Cultural Subordination and Dalit Challenge – <i>Priti Nath</i>	40
5. Working Dalit Woman under the Colonial Rule in India – <i>Kanta Singhania</i>	55
6. Impact of Male Emigration on the Scheduled Caste Women in the Villages of Punjab: A Sociological Study – <i>Manoj Kumar</i>	64
7. Politics of Marginality : Dalit Christians in Punjab – <i>Emanual Nahar</i>	80
8. Socio-Economic Status of Dalits and Levels of Development in Punjab : An Inter-District Analysis – <i>Ripudaman Singh</i>	90
9. Hindu Nationalism and Dalits : An Analysis – <i>Kanwar Chanderdeep Singh</i>	102
10. Dalits in Punjab: Present Socio-Economic Perspective – <i>Jasneet Kaur</i>	115
11. Status of Dalit Women : Tradition, Sanskritisation and Globalisation – <i>Harshdeep Kaur</i>	127
12. Equity in Education: A Case Study of Scheduled	135

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Hindu Nationalism and Dalits : An Analysis

Kanwar Chanderdeep Singh

The last decade of nineteenth century and early decades of twentieth century was a time of transition throughout India as lower castes assertion *vis a vis* Brahminical domination on one side and Hindu nationalism initiated by the Arya Samaj on the other were making rapid strides. The *dalit* movement, roughly initiated by Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra was gathering storm in India under different leaders like E.V Ramaswamy Naicker in the form of Justice Party, SNDP under Narayan Guru, in western and central India under B. R. Ambedkar from 1920 onwards and in Punjab in the name of Ad Dharmi under Mangoo Ram¹. These different strands of *dalit* social politics was reflection to the strength that weaker limb of the Hindu society was gaining with an aim to play a decisive role in the regional and national affairs.

The phenomenon called Hindu nationalism under the Arya Samaj, the Hindu *Mahasabha* ultimately under the RSS was also experiencing rapid crystallization in the similar fashion as the *dalit's* one. The idea of forging a Pan-Hindu identity with revivalist moorings formed the inner core of this movement. To carve a Hindu *Rashtra*, therefore, was to bring along different strands of Hindu society together. The caste was a social issue and so comes within the self proclaimed

ambit of the Hindu Nationalists or *Sangh Parivar's* concern. In this paper, I am endeavouring to bring forth the caste ideology of the *Sangh Parivar*, or the RSS to be exact, and relative reaction of the critics and admirers of this world view.

The ideal Hindu *Rashtra* is a casteless society in which all the Hindus are one, united as a kind of cultural brotherhood.² However, the RSS's view of casteless society, was supplemented by a defence of caste based *dharmic* quality of *Varna System*.³ The upper caste Brahminical character of the *Hindutva* movement relied on an organic view of society. The ideology of RSS shows the Brahminical leanings of their organization and even tries to establish commonness between Hinduism and Brahmanism. A RSS commentator, Ram Swaroop, of Deendyal Research Institution, New Delhi⁴ argued that Brahmins were at the forefront of the anti colonial movement and anti Brahminism was a construct of the British and the missionaries. So when they attacked Brahmins, their target was unmistakably Hinduism⁵. The *Sangh* do not recognize caste distinctions and therefore in a reflection of this ideal, in *shakhas* and camps all the *swayamsevaks* are required to live together and perform all the tasks whilst in that environment⁶. The praise of Mahatma Gandhi that RSS earned during formers' visit of Wardha camp which he approved as a perfect picture of Hindu solidarity,⁷ came handy. The RSS chronicles also mentions an incident regarding the first *Sangh* camp, where some upper caste *swayamsevaks* hesitated to sit along with *mahars* (a lower caste of Maharashtra, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar belonged to this caste) for meals. Hedgewar refused to the separate arrangement for sitting and persuaded them by saying that their practice is to sit together. So they have to sit accordingly. After some reluctance those very people during the next course of meal apologized to Hedgewar and sat with those *mahar brethren*⁸. The critics of *Sangh*, however, are skeptical of this incident but still one thing becomes clear with this incident and the

HISTORY

PERSPECTIVES I

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M RAJIVLOCHAN

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DEVI SIROHI

ANJU SURI

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11. **Devi Sirohi** 134
Identity of Dalit Women in Contemporary India
12. **Kamlesh Narwana** 145
Community and School Linkages: A Study of Village Education Committees in Haryana, India
13. **K. Chanderdeep Singh** 166
Forging Fortunes: The Politics of the Akalis and the Hindu Nationalists in Punjab
14. **Manpreet Kaur** 195
The Medical Evangelist Edith Brown in Punjab
15. **Vinay Kumar** 211
Some Megh leaders of Jalandhar in the Bhargava Camp and its neighbourhood
16. **Navdip Kaur** 225
Partition of Punjab and Migration: A Historiographical Critique
17. **Sarita Gondwal** 238
Role of Khap Panchayat in Honour Killings in Haryana
18. **Contributors** 245

Forging Fortunes: The Politics of the Akalis and the Hindu Nationalists in Punjab

K. Chanderdeep Singh

The two exclusive nationalisms need not be contrary to each other. The politics is a thread which binds different versions of nationalism with their puritanical moorings. The dialectic between the Hindu and the Sikh nationalism in Punjab shows how the different antagonising tendencies could still engage themselves in mutually productive political and social enterprise without compromising on basic tenets but diluting ultra postures. The Hindu ideologues have over the time, developed an account of Hindu essence, a doctrine of multiplicity which put forth anticipatory inclusivism of other religions and religio-political systems within the Hinduism. Thus the cultural identities within the transitional society like India in general and Punjab in particular display a competitive dynamism wherein primordial sentiments of region, religion, language and ethos in spite of their fundamentally being central to a communal identity often relegated to background when pragmatic politics inhabits central stage. The exclusive reliance on these sentiments for survival for a particular group therefore become increasingly diminishing. The Akali Dal-Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP earlier Jana Sangh) relations in Punjab proves the point.

Long before the present times it was believed that the coalition structure in competitive politics is not designed to last long and will crumble sooner than later. Political theorists many a times had made *a priori* assumptions that coalition politics was an antithesis both to nation building and effective administration (Narain & Sharma, 1971, pp. 579, 583). The inter- and intra- party rivalries, ultra parochial loyalties and excessive reliance on social-communal issues, they believed, would restrict the growth of political maturity. The lack of common political ideology, in spite of the presence of common political foe would not help in development of long term consensual politics. The Punjab experience however betrays the above assertions. The beginning of

Hindu and Sikh socio-political alliance in the form of Akali-RSS *jathas* in the pre-independence era against the Muslim League's militia, The National Guards; in the post independence times, the fraternal support of Akalis to the RSS during the hard times of Gandhi's assassination; the forging of first successful alliance in 1967 legislative assembly elections; the common pain experienced during the Emergency from 1975 to 1977; tasting first national political triumph in the form of Janata coalition and more recently the post 1997 phase, presents a mature political accommodation. In the journey of this alliance.

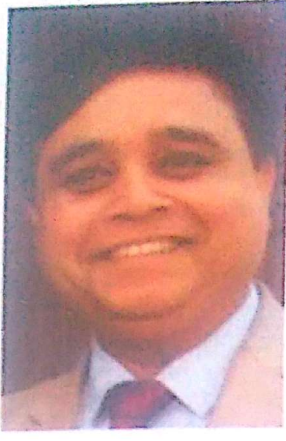
The old and not so old ethno-religious revivalist movements both in India as well as elsewhere in the world depicted some unwelcome trends. Very often the socio-political elites of varied communities embark upon fragmenting the society on one or the other of primordial identities. In the Indian context, the lingering North-Eastern problem, Kashmir issue, Dravid-Aryan, Hindi-Tamil controversy and consequent threatening postures of southern states and our very own erstwhile Punjab problem exemplify the civil ethnic strife. Out of India, in Pakistan, Punjabi-Sindhi-Blauch-Pathan quadrangular struggle (in spite of the common Islamic bond), erstwhile split of Soviet Republic, deadly Chechen crisis, Han non-Han and particularly Muslim conflict in Northern China, ethnic cleansing in African republics like Nigeria, Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda and very recent in Indonesia, told us of the power of ethno-politics to fragment. Clifford Geertz insightfully argues when he says that integrative revolution does not do away with ethnocentrism; it merely modernizes it (Geertz, 1963, p. 154). In short Geertz' argument shows that in spite of divisive tendencies and presence of fissiparous elements sometimes primordial groupings may be using more modernity than the so called secular groups of the civil society and secondly, the ethnic politics may serve as an engine of political development. So the secular-communal divide in the ground politics is often blurred and non-communal issues particularly, economic lead the way.



पंडित दीनदयाल उपाध्याय

एकात्म मानव दर्शन—विविध आयाम

संपादक : मनोज कुमार सक्सेना



आचार्य मनोज कुमार सक्सेना हिमाचल प्रदेश केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय, धर्मशाला के शिक्षा स्कूल के अधिष्ठाता तथा अध्यापक शिक्षा विभाग के अध्यक्ष हैं। उन्होंने वाणिज्य निष्णात तथा शिक्षा निष्णात की उपाधि तथा शिक्षा विषय में विद्यावाचस्पति की उपाधि महात्मा ज्योतिबा फुले विश्वविद्यालय, बरेली (उत्तर प्रदेश) प्राप्त की है। वे अध्यापक शिक्षक के रूप में गत 20 वर्षों से विभिन्न संस्थानों में कार्यरत रहे हैं। शिक्षा में सूचना एवं संप्रेषण तकनीकी, जनजातीय शिक्षा, पर्यावरण शिक्षा तथा अध्यापक शिक्षा उनकी रुचि तथा विशेषज्ञता के क्षेत्रों में सम्मिलित हैं। उनके दिशा निर्देशन में पांच शोधार्थियों ने अपनी विद्यावाचस्पति की उपाधि प्राप्त की है तथा वर्तमान में छह शोधार्थी अपना शोध कार्य कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने भारतीय सामाजिक विज्ञान अनुसंधान परिषद् द्वारा वित्त पोषित एक राष्ट्रीय शोध परियोजना (2014) 'अनुसूचित जनजातियों की शैक्षणिक अवस्था : प्राप्तियां और चुनौतियां' को हिमाचल प्रदेश के शोध निर्देशक के रूप में पूर्ण किया है। उन्होंने भारतीय सामाजिक विज्ञान अनुसंधान परिषद् द्वारा वित्त पोषित एक और प्रमुख शोध परियोजना (2017) को पूर्ण किया है। वर्तमान में एशिया के कॉमनवेल्थ एजुकेशनल मीडिया सेंटर, नई दिल्ली द्वारा वित्त पोषित मुक्त शैक्षिक स्रोत के विकास हेतु एक परियोजना पर वे अभी कार्यरत हैं। वे हिमाचल प्रदेश केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय, धर्मशाला की कार्यकारिणी परिषद् तथा अकादमिक परिषद् के सदस्य तथा शिक्षा स्कूल के स्कूल बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष तथा अध्यापक शिक्षा विभाग की पाठ्य समिति के अध्यक्ष भी हैं।

उनके द्वारा अब तक 5 पुस्तकें तथा 75 शोधपत्र विभिन्न राष्ट्रीय तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर के जर्नलों में प्रकाशित किए गए हैं। उन्होंने भारत में तथा भारत के बाहर विभिन्न सेमिनारों में लगभग 72 शोध पत्रों को प्रस्तुत तथा उनमें अपना योगदान दिया है। उन्होंने भारत के विभिन्न प्रदेशों में बहुत सी राष्ट्रीय सेमिनारों में मुख्य वक्ता के रूप में अपना उद्बोधन दिया है। वे एम.एड., बी. एड. तथा डी.एड. कार्यक्रमों को मान्यता देने के लिए अध्यापक शिक्षा परिषद् की विजिटिंग दल के सदस्य हैं। उन्होंने शैक्षिक तथा सामाजिक कार्यों से थाईलैंड तथा नेपाल देशों की यात्रा की है।

इन अकादमिक कार्यों के अतिरिक्त उन्हें भारत के महामहिम राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 1988 में राष्ट्रपति स्काउट से अलंकृत किया गया। वहे रोटरी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय के रोटरी युवा नेतृत्व पुरस्कार 1989 से सम्मानित हैं।



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19. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay: Skill Oriented Education 210
Prof. Manoj Kumar Saxena & Dr. Rakesh Rai
20. Deendayal Upadhyaya's Life and Mission 226
—Dr. Suresh Kumar Soni
21. Relevance of Philosophy of Pandit
Deen Dayal Upadhyay in Current Scenario 236
—Dr. Vishal Sood
22. Political Philosophy of Deendayal Upadhyaya:
Contemporaneity and Discourse 241
—Dr. Kanwar Chanderdeep Singh
23. Integral Humanism: Only Hope of Future:
A Sociological Analysis 252
—Dr. Mohinder Slariya

Political Philosophy of Deendayal Upadhyaya: Contemporaneity and Discourse

Dr Kanwar Chanderdeep Singh

The idea and ideation of Hindu nationalism has manifested itself in multifarious domains of body politic of India since its inception in the pre-independence era. The philosophy of Hindutva though espoused by VD Savarkar has constantly been rationalized and restructured by various other ideologues without compromising on its essentials and fundamentals. Among all others, the contribution of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya stands exceptional because of the sheer element of contemporaneity in its discourse. The political avatars of Hindutva way, namely Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) and erstwhile Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS) proved the case in point because the former has out rightly declared the incorporation of the thoughts of Integral Humanism in its policies and programs and the political configuration and eventful existence of latter could not have been possible but for Deendayal Upadhyaya. Therefore this paper for the sake of concision attempts to delineate some of major points in the political philosophy of a man whose journey from a humble *swayamsevak* to an institution in him and whose beacon stature has brought *Hindutva* from the periphery of politics to centre stage. It is also glanced whether the contemporary political scenario and its associated ailments have found a solution in his philosophy.

Introduction

“Deendayal Upadhyaya is to the Bhartiya Janta Party what Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was to Congress” viewed R. Balashankar, a former editor of the *Organiser*, the mouthpiece of