

Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya's Integral Humanism Swarajya and Surajya

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Abstract: In India, the current government of Bhartiya Janta Party is following the path laid down by Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya through his philosophy of Integral Humanism during 1960s. He was of the opinion that problems of mankind can be solved by adopting integrated holistic approach. Paper throws light on his concept of Integral humanism, Swarajya and Surajya.

Keywords: akhand bharat, antyodya, deendayal upadhyaya, democracy, dharma, dharma rajya, integral humanism, nationalism, swaraj.

1. Introduction

Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, was a profound philosopher and has been the source of ideological guidance and moral inspiration for the ruling Bhartiya Janta Party in India. He was one of the rare thinkers of modern India who could carve out an alternative roadmap for the overall development with a truly Indian model of thinking. He was of the view that whatever is ours should be molded in accordance with time and all the knowledge from abroad should be molded as per country's requirements [1]. It is important to analyze his views as the programmes and policies of the government of India are being guided by the philosophy of Integral Humanism propounded by Upadhyaya.

2. Views of Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya's thoughts can be assimilated into his philosophy of Integral Humanism. However, for the sake of understanding, these have been divided into three sections. The first – 'Vyashthi to Parmeshti' talks about the integration of man, family, society, world & God, the second – 'Swarajya' talks about independence and the third 'Surajya' about good governance.

A. Vyashthi to Parmeshti (Man to God)

1) Integral Man and holistic happiness

Man is a composite of body, mind, intellect and spirit. All 4 need satisfaction in order to derive happiness. Harm is caused when only one facet of man's personality is considered. While talking about democracy, west considered man as a political animal, without any thought for his food. Result was capitalism and exploitation of workers. Reaction came from Marx, who talked about bread, treating man as an economic being with no other requirement. Man even lost his freedom. Today, man is

being described as scientific man. COVID-19 pandemic shows the harm caused by directionless science. Result of being inclined to one side by ignoring other aspects have led to discontent and failure, instead of providing happiness. Holistic happiness is possible by the fulfilment of four fold aspirations related to body, mind, intellect and soul, predicated on sensuous pleasure, mental satisfaction, peace & knowledge and realization of self [2].

2) Holistic view of life

For fulfilment of needs of man, for satisfaction of his desires and holistic development in mind, 4 purusharthas (objectives) in the form of action have been considered – dharma, artha(wealth), kaama (desires) and moksha (liberation). All 4 complement each other and cannot be achieved in isolation. Fulfilment of artha (wealth) and kaama (desires) on the basis of dharma is considered as development of humanity and the living of such a life is provides moksha (liberation).

B. Dharma

Dharma is not religion, as is commonly understood due to its faulty English translation. Soni tells that 'Dharma' means the basic principle of integration of the four powers– man, society, universe and God. It is the Dharma that upholds, sustains and nourishes. It leads to complete development. There is no synonym of the word Dharma in English. When we say, putra (son) dharma, sevak (servant) dharma, swami (owner) dharma etc. here 'dharma' refers to 'duty'; and when we say raj (rule) dharma, the English translation of 'dharma' is 'law'. Alien (paraayee) woman is mother, alien money is soil, also has been considered as 'dharma', here English translation becomes 'ethics'; but when we say dharma of fire, water, air, earth etc, its English translation is 'nature'. But when moksha (liberation) dharma is said, it denotes the way of worship for attainment of God, in fact here 'dharma' means 'religion'. In this way, we can say that dharma is related to complete existence. And this type of dharma is the fountain of feelings, thoughts and values and Dharma has been regarded with utmost importance in Indian Social life. [3] Dharma helps intellect to decide which activities should be undertaken. It forms basis for deciding right & wrong. Indian society is Dhrampradhaan, where everything revolves around dharma. Everything according to dharma is desirable and anything against dharma i.e. adharma is sinful. How dharma guides can be seen through India's response of

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lockdown during COVID-19, Chief Economic Advisor Subramanian tells – “India’s response stemmed from humane principle advocated eloquently in the Mahabharata that ‘saving a life that is in jeopardy is the origin of dharma.’”[4]

1) *Integrated spiral*

The Indian thought process depicted by Integral-spiral views man, family, nation, universe and humanity related to each other and not different from each other. It is the growing level of consciousness. When a child is born, he is ‘I’, as he can think only about himself. As he grows, he starts thinking about his family also. He feels that his own interests and his family’s interests are synonymous. Similarly, as he grows further, he thinks about his nation and sees it as his own, same as himself and his family. In a similar way, he starts feeling that the whole of universe is his own. This way there is no conflict between the individual, his family, nation, and universe and ultimately this is the way to realize God when he thinks everything as his own.

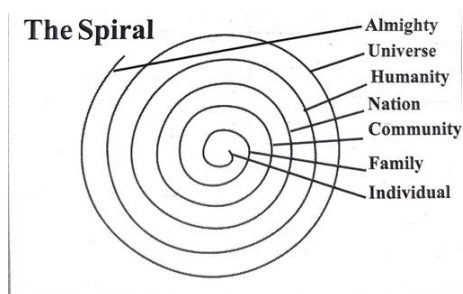


Fig. 1. Integral Spiral [5]

During an interview on December 16, 2019, RSS Chief, Dr Mohan Bhagwat told-“Western thought is incomplete and has not been able to answer the question-Why one man exploits other? Why should a person take care of the other person?” Thereafter, he provided the reason-“Our traditional thought is based on dharma. We believe in relationships, we have faith in relationship between soul and God, because of which we have intimate mutual relationship with other people as well as other organisms [6].

Talking during COVID -19, Ram Madhav says-“Healthcare and the economy are under stress. Countries are turning inwards, closing borders, to protect their people.” Citing failure of this narrow nationalism he further writes-“Nationalism of the closed kind won’t work. Donald Trump’s ‘America first’ nationalism didn’t work. He had to turn to China, India and South Korea for supplies.”[7]. this experience is failure of Western model, wherein West views humanity and nations independently. Ram Madhav continues-“Coronavirus disease has taught us a different lesson, a lesson of interdependence. The pandemic is global. The battle to combat it too must be global. We depend on each other for our healthcare equipment, services, transportation facilities, and finally the vaccines, as and when they are invented. India has imported masks and testing kits from some countries, while exporting critical drugs such as hydroxychloroquine to many countries, including United State. Global supply have become critical not only for healthcare products, but also for food and other supplies” [8] So

it is clear that the Indian model which does not differentiate between its national priorities and humanity. The ancient Indian belief of ‘Vasudaiv Kutumbukam’ i.e. ‘World is one family’ and the Integral human spiral relationship are same. This thought helped India motivate itself to look around and work for brothers and sisters across the globe.

C. *Swarajya*

Upadhyaya tells that during the freedom movement two way approach was undertaken. First was the reformist approach. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the leaders of the freedom movement had realised that freedom will not come easily despite the efforts and hardships and will take its time. So it was important to try and reform the existing system under British. He says-“In the first one, we demanded as increasing role in the administration and more privileges.” In this kind, the focus of agitation was the outcomes that could be derived from the alien rule of British. It was an aim for ‘Surajya’. Second approach was aimed at driving away the British and establishing Indian rule i.e. ‘Swarajya.’ Bal Gangadhar Tilak declared-“Swaraj is my birthright.” Later, Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose and other prominent Congress leaders worked for the aim of achieving Swaraj. Upadhyaya says that a self-rule in which there are difficulties is still more appropriate than a good rule which is foreign. [9]

1) *Akhand Bharat*

Upadhyaya tells that Akhand Bharat signifies not only geographical unity of the country but also the Indian outlook towards life, which sees unity in diversity. He does not see Akhand Bharat as just a slogan for Bhartiya Jana Sangh instead considers it the very basis of its outlook and ideology. He considers partition as a grave error and says-“The sundering of India’s unity on August 15, 1947 and the monstrous loss of life and property to people are results of our loss of unity” [10]. He feels that the desire to see India reunited has once again gained strength and reasons that our national life and national consciousness since time immemorial has always strived for unity and has also generally tasted success in the endeavour.

Uttaram yatsamudrasya himaadraishchaiva dakshinam|

Varsham tadbhaaratam naam bharti yatra santatih||

(From the north to the south, from the Himalayas to the sea, this land is known as Bharat and Bharati its progeny). Unity of India is prevalent in all the sects and religious beliefs that have originated in India. Upadhyaya tells that, Lord Shiva had carried lifeless body of his wife Sati and roamed throughout India and now the shaktipeeths which are the places where limbs of Sati fell are segregated throughout India. Sati’s reincarnation Parvati lived and meditated at Kanyakumari for marrying Shiva who lived in Kailash Mountains in Himalayas. In fact marriage of Parvati and Shiva is seen as meeting of North and South.

Further there are twelve temples dedicated to the Surya, the sun deity, ashta (eight) Vinayak temples to Lord Ganesha, 51 peeths (seats of worship) of the Shakt sect and countless pilgrimage of Vaishnavites. Even the gurus and acharyas of the Buddhist, Jain and Sikh sects are not restricted to one place but have a nationwide outlook and every part of India is sacred to

them. Adi Shankara integrated various sects together and established four sacred places in the four corners of the country- Badrinath in Himalayas in north, Rameshwaram touching Indian Ocean in south Lord Jagannath in East and Dwarka in the West coast. Further, every three years Kumbhs are organised at Hardwar, Prayag, Ujjain and Nasik in which people from all over the country participate and take holy dip in the rivers of respective cities.

Upadhyaya notes that those who wrote shastras (scriptures) and those who scripted our policies and creators have been doing so, conscious of the unity of the entire nation. Whatever be the outward diversities apparent on the surface, our basic outlook towards life is same. It is this way that the world view was created. From conception to the lighting of pyre when the body passes away, the same set of practices have been suggested for all Hindus. The water of Ganga is a liberating force for all the Hindus and after death, it is in the Ganga that our ashes are immersed. The homage to Indian unity has been evident in politics too and Ashwamedha and Rajasuiya yajnas [11].

In Puranas, Bharatavarsh has been considered as the integration of land, people and culture. This integrity is nation. Akhand Bharat is one form of this national unity. Upadhyaya says- "The fundamental concepts of one country, one nation and one culture Jana Sangh has adopted are encapsulated in the term Akhand Bharat." He continues- "From Attock to Cuttock, Kutch to Kamrup and Kashmir to Kanyakumari, the sentiment of regarding every particle of the country as not only pure and pristine, but an embodiment of a soul is interwoven in the concept of Akhand Bharat." Regarding diversity in India, he says- "The traditions that arose in this holy land of Bharat since the dawn of time and are present today may differ on the surface due to the variance of location and the passage of time." Then he talks about unity in diversity- "But their basic unity, which is a fact of our life, is perceived and felt by everyone who worships Akhand Bharat." Discussing this unity, he eulogizes- "The feelings of mutuality, respect and devotion arising thereof are present in the hearts and minds of all those who live and are part of our country. They are a part of its joys and sorrows. The endeavours of the sons born prior to partition of India in the creation of centres and institutions are woven together by a single bond of unity." All our facets of life depict unity- "Our Dharma, economics, politics, literature, art, philosophy, history, Puranas, the Smritis and legal codes and traditions of worship may exhibit outward differences but their fundamental outlook and vision is one." This perception of unity of our culture he says is essential for upholding Akhand Bharat [12]. In 2019, the BJP government nullified Article 370 which gave special status to Jammu & Kashmir. Sanjay Dixit says- "A problem of separatist sentiment that had taken such a heavy toll on the resources of the country and given leeway to the implacable enemy, Pakistan, was cremated in a brilliant flash of constitutional brilliance." [13]. This was an act showing importance of the concept of Akhand Bharat for BJP.

2) *Geo-cultural nationalism*

According to Upadhyaya, nation is the basis and State and country are some of its institutions amongst various other

institutions which serve it [14]. Upadhyaya tells that the nation is created through the interplay of three factors- land, people and culture. He examines how the lifeless land becomes a live entity. He says- "It is because of people and culture that inanimate land is infused with consciousness. It is through land and culture that a mortal man attains immortality and he settles down despite changing nature of life." [15]

Another important feature of a nation is the mother-son relationship between the country and its people, in other words, the feeling of motherland. Upadhyaya says- "From a long a ceaseless process, generation after generation takes on a special characteristic to appear as the 'people' (jan). It is this fundamental nature which becomes the life purpose of the 'people'. It is these 'people' who for their nourishment, become related to some section of land. Their relationship with that piece of land is like that of a mother and son... it is this motherland which augments their nutrition in every way. This means that this section of land does not merely remain a piece of land but is present in the form of the living power of the mother... It is difficult to imagine one without other. A mother's existence is meaningless without a son... If this son in the form of society is not there, then who will accept the challenges to protect every inch of the land? This is the heat of love for the land, which infuses life. The mutual relationship between the 'people' (jan) and 'land' (bhoomi) is like that of a son and mother." Upadhyaya thinks if such a relation is absent, it would be similar to a colony where communities have utilitarian relationship with those lands like that in South Africa and Australia. [16]

Former MP, Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma tells that this concept of 'Bharat Mata' is nothing but geo-cultural nationalism. Here 'Bharat' denotes land and 'Mata' denotes culture. [17] During an interview on January 4, 2020, former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, Sh. Shanta Kumar explained that after defeating Ravan and winning the gold studded Lanka, Shri Ram says to Lakshman -

Api swarnamayi lanka na me Lakshman rochate|
janani janmabhoomishch swargaadapi gasriyasi||

(Even the heavenly Lanka does not interest me, Lakshman; for mother and motherland are truly greater than even heavens). He remarks- "This is nothing but cultural nationalism". [18]

So we can also say that the issue of Ram Mandir at Ayodhya is also part of BJP's cultural nationalism, wherein Lord Ram connects India to its culture as well as nation.

D. *Surajya*

The three points that depict the self-rule (Swaraj) are:-

1. State should be run by those people who are a part of nation.
2. Such a State should be run for the welfare of the nation, that is, the policies framed should be beneficial for the nation.
3. In such a State, the ability to achieve the welfare of the nation should be our own, that is, without self-capability, it is wrong to even imagine self-rule [19].

In other words, he wants to say that Swaraj is not possible without Suraj.

1) *Democracy & Dharma Rajya*

Upadhyaya says that democracy, nation and party can only be successful when it reaches common people. He values common people -“The voice of the people is the voice of God.” He adds-“Let us worship them”[20]. Dr Mahesh Sharma notes that Upadhyaya used to say that the regulatory authority of the democracy is voter and not any parliament, party or the government. He insisted on making voters informed [21].

Upadhyaya says Dharma is the template for the protection, enhancement and glory of the nation that comes into being through the association of land, people and culture. Dharma is as important to a nation as is to an individual. By adhering to dharma, a nation brings about welfare of its territory, people and culture. The worship of land, pilgrimage, reverence of the mother, social order, yajna, yoga and many other elements are interwoven into our Dharma. This Dharma, by being the regulator of relationship between one individual and the collective, of one set of collectives with another and between the inanimate with the conscious makes their mutual relationship with each other cordial. It is Dharma alone which permeates our life. The State cannot function by disregarding Dharma. State came into existence to protect nation, but this function cannot be performed without Dharma. A State based on Dharma will provide welfare to people. Such a State of Dharma has been termed as Dharma Rajya by Upadhyaya.

Dharma leads to selfless patriotism. The ruler of a Dharma Rajya does not have right to eat until the last man is fed. So, it can be said that the policy of Dharma is fundamentally a policy for the people since the sentiments Dharma provides are the sentiments which see people as whole, not separate. The relationship between the people and public institutions and among different segments created on various bases is just like the body and its various bases is just like the body and its various organs. Neither body nor organs can be ignored. Dharma is a unifying factor from cultural point of view. Experiencing the oneness of life is the speciality of Indian culture and the code of conduct that has emanated from this is Dharma which safeguards the whole and at the same time looks after the development of individual. Socialism and democracy failed in this aspect, but the Indian culture looks after the development of both individual and society in an equal way and avoids one sided approach. [22]

During his famous lectures on Integral Humanism, Upadhyaya clarified that Dharma Rajya does not mean theocratic state [23]. In contrast, Upadhyaya suggests that it is the responsibility of the State to maintain an atmosphere in which every individual can follow the religion of his choice and live in peace. However, Upadhyaya understands that freedom has limits, such that one's freedom should not intrude on the other person's freedom. He says-“Where another person's freedom is likely to be encroached upon, my freedom ends.” In this way, he wants that freedom of both parties is ensured. He says Dharam Rajya ensures such freedom and is therefore not a theocratic State. [24]

Upadhyaya thinks that although it is correct to oppose theocratic State but does not think that it was necessary to adopt the word Secular State because hindi translation of Secular is

‘ni dharama’ i.e. without dharma or ‘dharma nirpeksha’ which means indifferent to dharma. Since dharma is not confined to religion and dharma is a basic force for our existence, Upadhyaya opposes the terminology of Secular State. He says-“A State can neither be without Dharma nor can it be indifferent to Dharma State.” [25] So he finds the concept of Dharmnirpekshita contradictory to the concept of State, which is there to maintain law. Upadhyaya clarifies the role of Dharma in democracy. He says-“Let us understand very clearly that ‘Dharma’ is eternal. Therefore, it is not enough to say, while defining democracy, that it is the Government of the people. It has to be government for the good of the people. What constitutes the good of the people? It is ‘Dharma’ i.e. a ‘Dhrama Rajya.’ In the definition of Democracy viz. ‘Government of the people, by the people and for the people’, ‘of’ stands for independence, ‘by’ stands for democracy and ‘for’ indicates ‘Dharma’ Therefore, the true democracy is only where there is freedom as well as ‘Dharma’, ‘Dharma Rajya’ encompasses all these concepts.”[26]

2) *Fulfillment of basic necessities: Food, clothes, shelter, education and health*

Upadhyaya says – food, clothing, housing, education and medicine (health) are the five requirements of every individual that ought to be fulfilled. If these facilities are not available to any one section of the society, then the society's standard of living will be considered negative [27]. He further thinks that this is one of the criterions for a state to be called-“Dharam Rajya”. [28]

India is progressing towards these goals:-

- Pradhan Matri Aavaas Yojna was started in 2015 to provide home to everyone by 2022[29], One Nation One Ration card scheme was started on 2020 to ensure food grains to beneficiaries across nation[30]
- India has started Aayushman Bharat to achieve a vision of Universal health Coverage in 2017. [31]
- Right to Education Act (RTE) came into force in 2010 making education a fundamental right of every child and provides modalities for free and compulsory education for children between 6 and 14 in India [32].

3) *Economic democracy (Right to work)*

If a vote for everyone is the touch-stone of political democracy, work for everyone is a measure of economic democracy. This right to work does not mean slave labour as in communist countries. Work should not only give a means of livelihood to a person but it should be of the choice of that person. If for doing that work the worker does not get a proper share in the national income, he would, be considered unemployed. From this point of view a minimum wage, a just system of distribution and some sort of social security are necessary [33]. Pradhan Mantri MUDRA Yojana (PMMY) is a scheme launched by the Hon'ble Prime Minister on April 8, 2015 for providing loans up to 10 lakh to the non-corporate, non-farm small/micro enterprises. [34] This will help in generating self-employment and also provide employment to others.

4) *Ideal relationship between Individual and society*

Upadhyaya says that both man & society are interrelated and

society is higher manifestation of an individual.

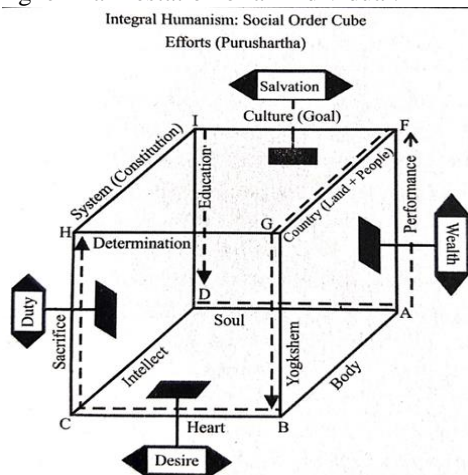


Fig. 2. Integral Humanism- Social Order Cube [35]

Face ABCD represents the individual and face FGHI represents society.

- **Education:** It is duty of society to educate a person and make him capable of using his skills for not only earning his livelihood but performing to his potential.
- **Performance:** Based upon the education gained, the individual performs certain actions and these actions are for the society. It is duty of man towards society.
- **Yogakshem (Remuneration):** Society reciprocates the action performed by the individual and provides appropriate payment/ facilities for the work done. It is duty of society towards man.
- **Sacrifice:** Saving something from whatever one earns from the society for betterment of society and future generations. This is an action performed by man towards society.

In this way there is a balance between needs and requirements of a man and society. Both fulfill each other's needs and function successfully. This thought is based upon cooperation and not on conflict. Such a society is self-dependent and provides social security. Proper education, work and remuneration are ensured. Both society and individual understand their duties and derive satisfaction while performing the duties.

5) Antyodya

Deendayal Ji in his economic policy always emphasized on the welfare of the poorest of the poor. The last man in the society was at the centre of his economic ideas. He said, 'The success of economic planning and economic progress will not be measured through those who are at the top of the society's ladder, but through the people at the lowest rung of the society.' Antyodya means the welfare of the people in the bottom of the pyramid [36]. During an interview on January 4, 2020, Former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, Sh Shanta Kumar informed that his government had set up a separate Ministry for Antyodya which was successful in uplifting of poor. He further suggested that in order to remove disparity, steps should be taken to move people above poverty line and even CSR funds and recruitment rules may be modified for this. Mahatma

Gandhi's thoughts, Upadhyaya's Integral Humanism and Vivekananda's Daridra Narayan (God in poor) are same and aimed to remove poverty and economic disparity. [37]. Indian government is progressing towards this criteria of inclusive development and Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana is a step in the direction. It has an integrated approach to bring about comprehensive financial inclusion and provide banking services to all households in the country. Guinness World Records has also recognised the achievements and certified that the "Most bank accounts opened in one week as part of the Financial Inclusion Campaign is 18,096,130 and was achieved by the Department of Financial Services, Government of India"[38].

3. Conclusion

In these turbulent times, where all other Western philosophies have not been able to solve the problems of mankind, the integral holistic view propagated by Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya can show the path. The philosophy of Integral Humanism shows integration of man, family, society, nation, universe and God. Further, Swarajya and Surajya are essential for the progress of people of a country. Both are interrelated. Akhand Bharat has been a concept based on geo-cultural nationalism and unites and integrates India. For Surajya, fulfilment of basic human needs of food, clothing, shelter, health and education are important. Antyodya has been adopted as the criteria for development of a country, which is the status of the person standing last in the queue. Upadhyaya also provides a sustainable model for development of society and individual. Government of India is trying to follow the course shown by Upadhyaya through various policies and programmes.

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