
Early Literary Contribution of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay: A Study Socio-Economic & Cultural Contribution

Dr. Dinesh Kumar Sharma

Asstt. Professor, Govt. College, Dhaliara Distt. Kangra (HP)

Abstract

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay was among the socio-economic and political thinkers of India during twentieth century. Rising from a humble rural background and difficult conditions Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay was a true statesman, a polished politician, an awoken journalist, a wise organiser and had a command over literary authorship. He did not like the pro-communism and pro-western policies of development. He thinks that India is and its people were different from West and USSR and had their own socio-economic needs and thinking. He tried to create something different from those two ideologies. With that spirit he wrote many books and his political talks etc. also were published in 1968 as Political Diary. His main focus was to develop the India according to Indian values and needs. Largely his literature was revolved around the strengthening on India, Unification of India, raising of Nationalism, inclusive growth, respect for humanity, end of Hindi-Muslim religion oriented disbelief based problems, and agro based development with provision for food for all. He was General Secretary and rose to the post of President in Jan Sangh, the present day BJP and his spirit of making India as Vishav Guru or World Leader is inculcated in the cadres of BJP an political offshoot of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) a largest volunteer based Socio-Cultural Organisation of the India and Globe. This research paper is an attempt to study the literary contribution through three books of the Pt. Upadhyay and throw the light on his views and subject matter of these three contributions.

Key Words: *Nationalism, Akhand Bharat, Plans, Performance, Prospectus, Devaluation, Arthneeti.*

Introduction

“हमारी राष्ट्रियता का आधार भारतमाता है, केवल भारत ही नहीं. एक माता शब्द हटा दीजिए तो भारत केवल जमीन का टुकड़ा मात्र रह जायेगा-”.

-पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्यायजी

Rising from a moderate rural family background and in very difficult conditions Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay was a true statesman, a polished politician, a awoken journalist, and

a wise organiser. He lived a very short life (25 September 1916-11 February 1968). He dedicated his whole life for 'Rashtra Nirman' (Nation building) with exemplary dedication, classy intelligence and his matchless organisational skills and capabilities.

During his student life he earned respect & blessing of teachers and won many prizes and awards at different stages. After selection, despite being a coveted civil servant, he joined RSS to serve the country and countrymen. He served as a Pracharak in the Sangh, and later asked to lead the Jana Sangh a political party (Modern day Bhartiya Janata Party- BJP).

The conditions in Pre Independence era were not better and that disturbed Pt. Deendyal Upadhyay too much. He saw the goondaism and misbehaviour by Muslims and Britishers in India especially the women. He felt the helplessness of the Indian society especially the Hindus and wanted to work for their pride and upliftment. As depicted by Pt. Deendyal Upadhyay, our society was so weak and degenerate, devoid of power and steeped in selfishness that everyone was busy in his personal benefits and was even assumed to think beyond ownself. He saw the destruction and future miserability of Indian society in general. Due to these facts, Pt. Deendyal Upadhyay chose to serve the country in place of doing job. He wanted to be the part and provide his services for the upliftment of the country to make her virile, valiant, strong and prosperous. According to him, the only way to strengthen their country was to organise the society in accordance with the ideas and principles favourable to India. For the purpose he joined the RSS and wanted to work as Aajeevan Pracharak or whole timer. Later, when Shyama Prasad Mukherjee started Jan Sangh, he was given the responsibility of Mahamatri or General Secretary and had worked under the presidentship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukharjee.

Bharatiya Jan Sangh was founded in 1951 by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, wherein Deendyal Upadhyaya was appointed as the first General Secretary. He continued to hold this position until the 14th Cabinet session in December 1967. His immense intelligence and perfectionism impressed Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee so much that he was honored with a famous statement "If I had two Deendayals, I could transform the political face of India".

Through Jana Sangh, he gave a political tinge to cultural nationalism and gave the country a political philosophy which swears by the motherland. His prolific writing during the freedom struggle and his leadership qualities during the tumultuous days of unification of

India, particularly Kashmir and during the Goa Liberation movement will always be remembered.

He had very short span of life but before he leaving for heaven he had provided the country an intrinsically country based indigenous system of governance that was distinct from the ones that ruled the mindset of the then rulers and kept them away from the realities of the Indian nation. His philosophy is the essence of all the virtues of Indian values and ethics, culture, needs, environment, and development etc and its all-out progress and growth. BJP has officially and originally adopted this philosophy.

The scholarly works, opinion, thinking and rendering the social services by Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay has filled the gaps in many socio-economic-political fields in post-independence era. His was a people and motherland oriented philosophy that is responsible for the solution of large public needs and problems with full respect to nationalism. For the last four years many of his views and suggestions are converted in to the schemes and part of the major initiatives of the government. These policies may be applied to foreign land also. His integral humanism presents before us well organized body of philosophy which is inspired by ancient knowledge traditions of our culture.

Overall, Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay was not only a visionary personality but also a staunch nationalist with his own firm views on socio-economic-political aspects. Some of his ideas were Ekam Manavvad (Integral Humanism), Swadeshi (Country Produced) and Akhand Bharat (Undivided India). He was a Journalist, a Politician, a Thinker, a Philosopher and so on. Upadhyay had a broader opinion about the human. He did not see the human being as machine of economic slave or animal. He expressed that human is full of emotions and has four types of needs Viz. Materialistic, Psychological, Intellectual and Spiritual. Upadhyay propounded the Integral Humanism and it was seen widely as the criticism both to Capitalism and Communism. This philosophy had provided an alternative base for making public policies and political action.

Definitions

Following are the definitions of some of the concepts and terms used in this research paper:

Arthneeti: Policy of Economic development being adopted or to adopt by the policy makers of the government.

Akhand Bharat: This is a term used to depict the undivided India. Akhand Bharat is an idea of India which stretches from as far as Afghanistan in the North West to Nepal in the North, Bangladesh to the East. The term refers to undivided India before the British came in and played "Divide and Rule" policy.

Integral Humanism: The philosophy of integral humanism, like Gandhism, opposes unbridled consumerism, since such an ideology is alien to Indian culture. This traditional culture stresses putting restraints on one's desires and advocates spiritual contentment rather than ruthless pursuit of material wealth.

Rashtra Jeevan: It is a way of Life of people of a country.

Disha: Disha means the Direction.

Economic Plans: It depicts the Indian long run economic development plans up the 2017 i.e. five year plans.

Manav Dharma: Manav Dharam or religion of humanity is a way of life where one loves and respect the existence all living beings of this universe.

Swadeshi: Everything that is produced in own country is called as Swadeshi. In other words this term implies the localisation of production and production processes. The main aim of advocacy of Swadeshi was to enlarge the scope of employment opportunities and prosperity of country.

Cooperative Farming: Cooperative Farming is a concept where all the farmers of the village work and produce together. Whatever is produced is distributed among the members on equal basis. Contribution and needs of Individual person or family is totally ignored in such a system. This is the one of the feature of Communism or socialism.

Communism: Communism a system of where the ownership rights of means of production and final production lies with the public. Public works together, produced together and whole production is distributed between all the people on equal sharing irrespective of their contribution in production.

Literature Review

Following literature from books, journals and other sources is consulted and reviewed for the purpose of present study:

Upadhyay, D. (1968) in his political dairy told that Muslims in India were not exogenous. He further admitted that till India and Pakistan were not united again each one think as Hindu and Muslim. It was assumed very dangerous. Partition and secularism cannot go side by side.

Bhiskar, C.P. (1991) in his book, "Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay: Ideology & Perception" Part V: Concept of Rashtra, explained that fortunately he ad spent 10 days with Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay in Indore in 1960 in a camp. He said that he had many talks with Upadhyay on number of issues along with principles and policies of Bhartiya Jan Sangh and the chain of events in the post independence period. He found that his ideology and views on different socio-political issues were super and practice. He observed very good command of Updhyay on literature and creativity.

Mahurkar, U. (2014) in his book, "Centre Stage: Inside the Model of Narendra Modi Governance" elaborated that the Model of Narendra Modi governance and development is largely influenced by the thoughts and views of Pt. Deendyal Upadhyay.

Dharamsenan, S. & Kumar, K.S. (2016) explained in their research paper, "Integral Humanism: A Political Philosophy Rooted in Indian Culture" that political philosophies in the modern era are rooted in the uprising against theocratic Papal States. Most of these modern political philosophies are quite dogmatic, as they emerged as a reaction to political, social and economic situations/circumstances that existed/prevalled in European continent at the time, and hence, have promoted social strife and conflict.

Singh, V.V., (2016) in his research paper, "An Analysis of Central Government Schemes for Youth & Poor Peoples" elobated that in a historic move, the NDA Government has unveiled a pro-Poor Pradhan mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Shramev Jayate Karyakram, Mission Housing for all, Micro Units Development and Refinance Agency Bank (MUDRA Bank), and various schemes for pro-Youth My Gov Online Platform, Make in India, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushal Yojana and many more. Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, is an ambitious scheme for comprehensive financial inclusion launched by the Honorable Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi on 28th August, 2014. The study was based on secondary sources collected from published articles, various journals, newspapers, reports, books, and official websites. The paper revealed those schemes that were fully helpful to poor people and youth in getting directly

the government schemes. The study concludes that, these scheme has created an impressive result in the in the life of poor people and youth.

Vinay Sahasrabuddhe (2016) asserted in his article “With Focus on Vikas, Deendayal Upadhyaya Went Beyond Public vs Private” that the philosophy of Integral Humanism propounded on the subject of practicability of Public and Private sector in actual development of society. The philosophy of Integral Humanism propounded by Upadhyay is based on the circumstances and conditions prevailed in the India in fifties and sixties of the 20th century. During the period both capitalism and communism was tested by many countries of the world and many limitations were found in these economic systems. The Jan Sangh under the leadership of Upadhyay took the middle path although there was a controversy of choosing private or public sector for development was prevailed. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya studied it deeply and propounded a theory that had an integrated, comprehensive view of human life as its base.

Dhawan, N.B. (2017) published a research paper titled, “From ‘fire-brand’ to ‘water-brand’: The caste politics of Uma Bharati”. The paper used a case study of Uma Bharati, a woman political leader, to argue that despite appropriating multiple-axis thinking to mask casteism inherent in their ideology, Hindutva politics essentially lays bare its brahmanical allegiance and lineage, with its larger agenda to redefine India as a Hindu *Rashtra* or nation. The paper pointed out the significance of the ruling BharatiyaJanata Party (BJP) in granting this responsibility to a 'radical' who had strategically deployed her caste identity to gain power in Hindutva politics. The BJP had compelled her, as part of promotion of casteless society and Akhand Bharat, to change focus from the controversial issue of caste to that of cleaning the Ganga, which is a symbol of national and Hindu religious interest.

Soni, S.K. (2017) asserted in his research paper titled, “Deendayal Upadhyaya: Man, Mission and Message” that Deendayal Upadhyay was a simple person, a committed worker, an organizer par excellence, and a vibrant thinker. Though he got much reputation in his life but he did not receive attention from public in general and academia in particular like that of other leaders and thinkers of India.

Subramanian, C. (2018) explained in his research paper, “Deendayal Upadhyay: Visualizing New India’s Transformation” , that ideas are more powerful than weapons. The burgeoning ideas from the past, hitherto, made human to lead a comfortable and painless life in the modern era. Ideas and ideologies viz., Capitalism, Communism, Fabians

and liberalism have made drastic changes for the better life of human civilization. However, ideologies such as Nazism, fascism made turbulent impact upon human community causing untold sufferings.

Kumar, R.V.M. (2018), in his research paper, "INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY OF INDIA: A STUDY ON IDEAS OF DEEN DAYAL UPADHYAY" explained about the Pt. Deendayal Upadyay that the philosophical outlook of Upadhyaya embedded fascinating views on the harmonious relationship between human beings and nature. His writings reflect the deep spiritual relationship between culture and natural forms in India. The paper proposed that an attempt to document the ecological dimension of Upadhyay is useful in the context of his growing reputation as original nationalist thinkers in the contemporary India.

Noted Early Literary Contributions of Pt. DeenDyal Uadhyay

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay wrote the drama "Chandragupta Maurya" and authored the biography of Great Shankaracharya. He translated the biography of RSS founder Dr. Hedgewar from Marathi to Hindi. His renowned literary authorships include Samrat Chandragupta (1946), Jagatguru Sankaracharya (1947), Akhand Bharat Kyon? (1952), Bharatiya Arthniti: Vikas Ki Disha (1958), The Two Plans: Promises, Performances, Prospects (1958), Rashtra Jivan Ki Samasyayen (1960), Devaluation: A Great Fall (1966), Political Diary (1968), Rashtra Chintan, Integral Humanism, and Rashtra Jivan Ki Disha. These Contributions are shown in the following table no. 1.

Table 1: The literary contributions and associations of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay

Sr. No.	Name Scholarly Work	Year of Publication	Field
1	Samrat Chandragupta	1946	Drama
2	Jagatguru Shankaracharya	1947	Biography
3	Akhand Bharat Kyon?	1952	Unification of India
4	BhartiyArthneeti: Vikas Ki Disha	1958	Economic Development
5	Two Plans: Promises, Performance, Prospectus	1958	Evaluation of Economic Plans
6	Rashtra Jivan Ki Samasyayen	1960	Socio-Economic-Political Problems
7	Devaluation: A Great Fall	1966	Currency Devaluation
8	Political Diary	1968	Speeches and Writings

9	Rashtra Dharam	Monthly Journal	Patrika
10	Paanchjany	Weekly	Patrika
11	Swadesh	Daily	Patra
12	RashtraChintan	-----	Socio-Economic Problems
13	Integral Humanism	1965	Speeches and Writings
14	Rashtra Jivan Ki Disha	1971	Speeches and Writings

Samrat Chandargupta

Indian History is very amazing and it sees very powerful Kings and Kingdoms, Cultural Heritage, Attacks on Nationalism and struggles. About 2500 years back Indian Kings were attacking each other and India as a cultural nation was become very weak. In that time great Guru the VishnuGupt of Chankya or Koutilya prepare a small boy named Chander Gupt to be the next powerful king of India. Chandargupt struggled a lot and finally overpower the Nand King and became the King of Magdha whose Capital city was Patliputra, present day Patna in Bihar. He was accessible to all his subjects and thus a very popular king. Under his leadership the India whose boundaries were spread very far after the conquering of Gandhar in Afghanistan, Paras, Chinese Turkistan and Kustan. These areas were ruled through the zonaladministration fromTaksh Shila and Koushambi in NorthIndia, Mahisur or Mysore in South, Ujjain in Central and East from Patliputra itself. That was a golden period in Indian History.PtDeendyal Upadhyay chose to popularise these characters of Chankya and Chandergupt Mourya through the Drama SamratChandergupta. The whole drama book was divided in to the fourteen parts namely १ .वैभवशाली राज्य व बिलासी राजा (Prosperous Nation and luxurious and extravagant king), २ .देशप्रेम या राजद्रोह (Patriotism or Treason) , ३ .चाणक्य की चिंता(Tension of Chankya), ४. गुरु व शिष्य की प्रथम भेंट (First meeting of Teacher & Taught), ५. आचार्य चाणक्य मगध में (Teacher Chankya in Magadh), ६. संघर्ष का संकल्प (Oath of Struggle), ७. भारतीय पराक्रम व अल्लेक्सजेंदर का अंत) Indian might and the end of Alexander ८. भविष्य की योजना (Future Plan), ९. सम्राट चंद्रगुप्त की जय (Triumph of King Chandergupt), १०. अभिषेक की तैयारी (Preparation of Crowning), ११ .सैल्युकश का दुस्साहस (Misadventure of Salucus), १२. सशक्त भारत (Powerful India),१३ .शब्दभेदी बाण

(Rhetorical arrow), १४ .भारत यूनान का दामाद बना (India becomes the son in law of Greece). This was a beautiful writing of the Upadhyay as it depicted the role of Mental Power (मेधा) of Chankya and Physical Power (भुजा शक्ति) of Chandargupta. He wanted this creation to spread the message of Nationalism. It is noteworthy that Upadhyay completed this Drama book in only 16 hours at a stretch.

Jagatguru Shankaracharya

This was a biography of Shri Jagad Guru Shankaracharya, great religious reformer of India. The Ashoka had increased the reach of Buddhism and spread it even to the eastern Asian nations along with India. According to the Puranas the Gautam Buddha was the ninth incarnation of Lord Vishnu but with the passage of time there were ideological conflicts between Hindus and Budhas. In this particular book, Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay analysed a tohow Aday Shankaracharya saw the danger of division and hatredness among the different sections of society on the basis of religion and worship. He thinks that only Hindu can made this country undivided. Shri Shankaracharya met this challenge of Buddhism in the larger interest of the nation. Through this book Upadhyay praised the Shri Shankaracharya for re-establishment of Vedic Dharma all over India and his ability to bring the change in keeping with time without sacrificing the Indian traditions. Deendayal elaborated that he was always exploring as to how the changes had been brought about Hindus in the past and who were instrumental in bringing these changes. He further explained that Adya Shankaracharya was a shining example of the harmonious tendency in Hindu Dharma. He said that eternal values of life are concerned, it was accepted and insisted upon in Hindu Dharma that in order to bring about fullness in our lives we should not hesitate to change with times the means to the attainment of such fullness. He wrote that Adya Guru Shri Shankaracharya brought new changes while protecting the ancient values. He passed a message for Indians that external form of Hindu Dharma underwent a change but its inner form remained unchanged. It was the Guru Shankaracharya who established For Dhams, religious Seats, to made India unified religiously. Through this book Upadhyay wrote that Shri Shankracharya must be given credit for the confluence of Karma, Bhakti and Jynana (Action, devotion and knowledge) which was brought about in that time.

Akhand Bharat Kyun?

The writing of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay was published in the shape of book in 1952 by the Jan Sangh unit of Uttar Pradesh. This book is a reflection of thoughts of Upadhyay regarding his mentality and thinking of Nation and countrymen. According to this book, Akhand Bharat is the ambition of crores of countrymen of India. He wrote that pain of Partition was still in the hearts of public in India. The India was at that time had seen the crores of Hindu people crossed over to Indian side due to the partition on India. He accused the Muslims especially Jinnah and Muslim league who help the Britishers to divide India. In 1947 the India was divided in to two separate sovereign nations by British rulers. That day was marked as black day in history. But it was also the reality that the national of these two countries had common ancestors. The thought of Akhand Bharat so important for Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay as it become the basic view point of Jan Sangh. According to him, "Akhand Bharat is more a cultural concept than territorial it is true that the achievement of this ideal is only possible through the unity of hearts of the people of India. But unity is never created or promoted by political patchwork. Unity manifests itself in equality. No section of the society can demand a price for unity and if it degenerates into such an attitude, no price can inculcate a feeling of oneness in that section. The moment you think in terms of winning communities on the basis of paying them price in form of political power, you sow the seeds of separation." Panditji was of the opinion that history written with a torrent of blood could not be expressed with lines of Ink. Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay saw the adoption of concept of Akhand Bharat necessary for the inculcation of Nationalism among the people of India. This book showed the socio-cultural and spiritual uniformity of India right from the Vedic period to till date. So, through this book Upadhyay was succeeded to pass the message of unification of India in the larger interest of country and public.

Conclusion:

Initially the views and writings of Upadhyay were largely influenced with the thoughts of Golwalkar but the writings and speeches of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya in his later years, one may find a clear departure from Golwalkar's perceptions of India, a shift of emphasis so very fundamental that his vision of future India is not that of Hindu India. In his later

stage, as General Secretary of Jan Sangha, he wrote many other noted books like, *BhartiyArthneeti*, *Two Plans*, *Rashtra Jivan*, *Devaluation*, *Political Diary*, *Rashtra Chintan*, *Integral Humanism* and *Rashtra Jivankidisha*. All his literature belongs to Indian Values, Indian Life, Indian Culture, Indian Ethics and Indian Nationalism.

References

- Agrawal, Arvind Kumar. "Towards an integrated theoretical framework for transnational social work." *Transnational Social Work and Social Welfare* (2016): 24.
- B.N. PanditdeendayalUpadhyaya *Ideology and Perception: Politics for Nation's Sake*. New Delhi: Suruchiprakashan, 1989.
- Bharathi, K. S. *The Political Thought of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya*. Vol. 23. Concept Publishing Company, 1998.
- BharatiyaJanata Party, B. J. P. "Resolutions passed at Kozhikode (Kerala)-Ma. Amit Shah." 2016.
- Bhishkar, C. P. *Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay Ideology & Preception-Part-5: Concept of The Rashtra*. Vol. 5. Suruchi Prakashan, 1991.
- Falk, N. A. "Hindu Nationalism: A Reader." *International Journal of Hindu Studies*. Princeton 12.2 (2008): 220-222.
- Dasgupta, Surendranath. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Deodhar, V.N. *Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and Perception: A Profile*. Suruchi Prakashan, New Delhi: 1989.
- Dharmasenan, S., and K. Sambath Kumar. "Integral Humanism: A Political Philosophy Rooted on Indian Culture." (2016).
- Gain, Surendra Prasad. *Economic Ideas of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya*. Deep and Deep Publications, 1999.
- Kelkar, B.K. *Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Ideology and Perception: Political Thought*. Suruchi Prakashan, New Delhi: 1988.
- Mahurkar, U. (2014) "Centre Stage: Inside the Model of NarendraModi Governance" Random House Publishing India, Gurgaon (Haryana), (2014).
- Nene, V.V. *Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Ideology and Perception _II Integral humanism*. SuruchiPrakashan, Delhi, 1965.
- Rawat, Brijesh, and Ruchira Prasad. "Impact of Integral Humanism on Economic Wellness." *Global Journal of Enterprise Information System* 10.1 (2018).
- Subramanian, C. "DEENDAYAL UPADHYAY: VISUALIZING NEW INDIA'S TRANSFORMATION." 2018.
- Sharma, J.N. *Encyclopaedia of Eminent Thinkers: The Political Thoughts of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay*, Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 2009.
- Sharma, M.C. *Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya*. Publications Division Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, 2017.
- Singh, S. J. B. and Sharma, G.D. "A Review Paper on Integral Humanism: Comparison of Deen Dayaal Upadhyay and His Counterparts." *International Journal of in Multidisciplinary and Academic Research (SSIJMAR)*(2016).

Webliography:

<https://www.dilsedeshi.com/biography/deendayal-upadhyaya-biography-in-hindi/>

<http://library.bjp.org/jspui/handle/123456789/440>

<https://www.jivaniitihashindi.com/pandit-deen-dayal-upadhyay-biography>

<https://jodhpurnationaluniversity.com/pandit-deendayal-upadhyay-biography-jayanti-thoughts-essay-and-cause-of-death/amp/>

<https://www.iloveindia.com/indian-heroes/deendayal-upadhyaya.html>

<https://www.bqprime.com/politics/with-a-focus-on-vikas-deendayal-went-beyond-public-vs-private-deendayal-upadhyaya-bjp-jana-sangh-rss-modi>

https://deendayalupadhyay.org/about_pandit.html

<https://deendayalupadhyay.org/journalist.html>

<https://deendayalupadhyay.org/literary.html>

<https://deendayalupadhyay.org/rss.html>

<https://arisebharat.com/2018/02/11/pandit-deendayal-upadhyay-the-embodiment-of-bharatiya-nationalism/>

<https://www.exoticindiaart.com/book/details/deen-dayal-upadhyay-s-thought-for-nation-mzc173/>

https://deendayalupadhyay.org/Rastra%20Chintan_book.html

<https://thewire.in/politics/for-deendayal-upadhyaya-india-needed-dharma-rajya-not-hindutva>