

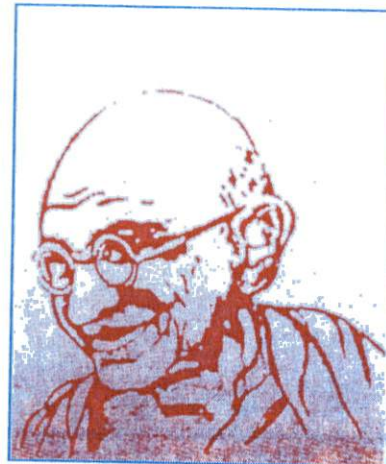
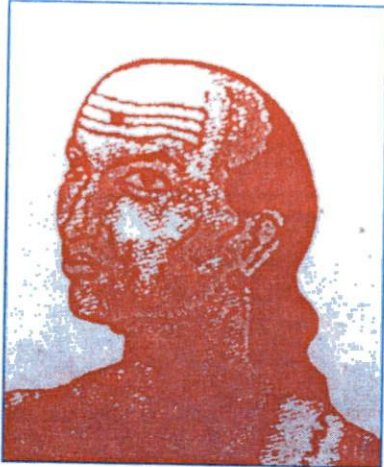


**POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]**

Course II

Paper - Indian Political Thought

853



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 4

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

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ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulanandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು 'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು 'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಜ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these *five mantras* should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course II**

Block

4

Introduction

Unit 10

Raja Ram Mohan Roy

1 to 8

Unit 11

Dayananda Saraswati

9 to 18

Unit 12

Swami Vivekananda

19 to 28

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Block - IV Introduction

This block contains three units. Unit 10 deals with Rajaram Mohan Roy's life history and his views on social and political system. Unit 11 deals with Dayananda Saraswathi and his views on State and Government, Law and Justice and Swadeshi movements and Social Reforms including his contribution to Society. Unit 12 deals with the life history of Swami Vivekananda and his views on Hinduism, patriotism and Nationalism, Social reform and Political Ideas.

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Structure

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10.0 Objectives

This unit is designed with an objective to familiarize you about the life of Mohan Roy and his views on Religion. After going through this unit you should be able to understand;

- * Roy's political and social ideas
- * His views on Religion

10.1 A brief life history of Mohan Roy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) who is regarded as the promulgator of the Modern Age in Indian history and specially in Bengal, was contemporary of Hegel (1770-1831) and was seventeen years old when the French revolution began. His father was a Vaishnava and his mother was a Sakta. Roy had studied Persian and Arabic at Patna. His study of Islamic metaphysics and sociology made him critical of some of the Hindu religious practices. At Benaras, he studied the ancient Indian scriptures in Sanskrit. He had a deep quest of religious truth and also embarked upon a study of the Lamaist Buddhism of Tibet. He had a critical mind and massive intellect and was a religious encyclopaedia. However his personal approach to these theological issues and metaphysics failed to generate most among the heart any devout who believed in orthodox Hinduism. Due to his critical intellectualism and social rationalism, he became one of the path finders of the Bengal renaissance. The renaissance in Bengal was indeed a creative and complex movement, and it included persons like Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Thakur, Ishwar Chandra Gupta (1809-1858), Madhusudan Datta, Akshay Kumar Datta (1820-1886), Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar (1820-1903), Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894), Rabindranath Tagore, Yogi Aurobindo and several others. But Ram Mohan Roy was the earliest spokesman of the Bengal renaissance, and as a religious and social leader he appeared as a gigantic, almost extraordinary personality.

In 1803, Ram Mohan went to Murshidabad after the death of his father. In 1809, he was appointed to the post of a Sheristadar, but in 1814, he gave up his service of the East India company. In 1815, he came to Calcutta and in 1816, he started the Atmiya Sabha Spiritual Society. In Calcutta, he also came in contact with Christian missionaries of the Unitarian School. In 1818, he began his celebrated crusade for the abolition of Sutte (Sati), and on December 4, 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the then British Governor General of India, made Sutte illegal by Regulation XVII in the year 1829, hence, may be taken as an important landmark in the social history of India. Ram Mohan Roy certainly won great

renown by his crusade to free Hindu women from the dark practice of Suttee. It must, however, be noted that along with the European Sanskritist, H.H. Wilson, Ram Mohan was opposed to any legal enactment for the immediate suppression of Suttee. He favoured that the practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police. But Lord Bentinck passed the Regulation with full confidence while Charles Metcalfe hesitatingly concurred with Bentinck with regard to suffer his the life of Roy was an eventful and socially valuable one.

10.2 Mohan Roy's views on Religion

In 1827, formed the British India Unitarian Association, and on August 20, 1828, he founded the Brahma Samaj or the Congregation of the Absolute. The formal opening of the Brahma Samaj was made on January 23, 1830.

On November 15, 1830. He wanted to be present in England to counteract the possible nullification of the Act against Suttee due to the influence of orthodox Brahmin propaganda. In England, he met distinguished persons. Bentham hailed him as a collaborator in the service of humanity. He also made friendship with Lord Brougham who was opposed to slavery and advocated popular education. While he was in England, the first Reform Act was passed and he hailed it as the victory of liberty, justice and right over oppression, injustice and wrong.

Ram Mohan denounced social evils and abuses, and declared himself in open opposition to orthodoxy, but he believed that the radical way to get rid of social maladies was to spread rationalism. Thus, his approach is comparable to that of the French encyclopaedist, Diderot. But unlike some of the encyclopaedists Ram Mohan was not a materialist. He also repudiated the theory of ethical sensualism and accepted ethical institution. Infact in the strict reuse of Religion Ram Mohan was an outsider. His approach to religion and his understanding of theology was therefore national and humanistic.

10.3 Social Ideas of Ram Mohan Roy

Social Indian of Ram Mohan grad out of his theory of personal and political Freedom. Like Locke, Grotius and Thomas Paine, Ram Mohan accepted the immutable sanctity of natural rights. He believed not only in the natural rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of property but also championed the moral rights of the individual. His theory of rights, however,

was constructed in the prevailing Indian framework of common social good. Thus, although an exponent of the individualist theory of rights and freedom, he also advocated state legislation for social reform and for educational reconstruction. Hence to the concept of natural right he added the notions of social utility and human welfare.

Ram Mohan Roy, like Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, had a passionate attachment to the concept of liberty. He urged the necessity of personal freedom and in his private conversations also referred to the ideal of national emancipation. Liberty is a priceless possession of the human being and hence, Ram Mohan was a magnificent champion of personal freedom.

When in 1821, autocracy was restored in Naples after an abortive rising, Roy felt perturbed. In a letter to J.S. Buckingham, the editor of the Calcutta Journal, written on August 11, 1821, Ram Mohan expressed his belief in the eventual restoration of the liberty. While he was going to Europe, during the course of his voyage he was in a French steamer and expressed the wish that he would have preferred to go to England on the steamer of the free French nation. It is said that he actually went to that other steamer and showed honour to the French flag. Although at that time France was under the restored Bourbon Monarchy, he was exhilarated to contemplate the ideas of the glorious French Revolution liberty, equality and fraternity. The Revolution of 1830, in France, gladdened his heart and he was pleased that the monarchy of Charles X had been overthrown. When King Fredinand VII had been completed to grant a constitution in 1821, Ram Mohan Roy gave a public dinner in celebration of that event.

But at the same time Ram Mohan Ray also recognized the blessings of British rule in India. He expected future benefits also arising out of the British connection. He appreciated the advantages of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation. In his article written in the name of his pandit, Shiva Prasad Sharma and published on November 15, 1823 In the Brahamanical Magazine Ram Mohan Ray stated among other objects, in our solemn devotion we frequently offer up our humble thanks to God, for the blessings of British rule in India and sincerely pray, that it may continue in its beneficent operation for centuries to come. It is a little surprising that a man who is being hailed by an admiring section of his countrymen as the maker of modern India, and the man who was so much interested in the political independence of Naples and Greece, should have contemplated the centuries long

political rule of India by the British. But not to mistake, Ram Mohan Roy loved his country, he was a profound religious scholar and a mighty social reformer.

10.4 Mohan Roy's views on political system

Roys views on polity can be gathered from the experiences that he has had during the long years of his association with several socio political events during British rule in India and is more legalistic than political in nature.

Ram Mohan Roy has opposed to the appointment of immature persons to the civil services as he regarded it as a means to emancipate a society. Hence he suggested twenty two years as the minimum age limit for appointment to the covenanted service. And in his evidence before the Select for appointment to the covenanted service. In his evidence before the Select Committee, he pointed out that the lack of a common linguistic vehicle of communication between the administrators of justice and the persons among whom it was administered, was an obstacle to fair justice being dispensed. Furthermore, there was his apprehension that there was no public press to report on the proceedings of the court. He, further, said that under the name of panchyat, the principle of trial by jury, with certain modifications, had been well understood in India, and he pleaded that jurors might be selected from retired judicial officers and retired pleaders. He favored the formation of Indian code of criminal law which would be based on principles common to, and acknowledged by, all the different sections of the people of the land. It should be simple, precise and clear. In the various suggestions that he made for putting judicial administration on a stable basis, he was guided by the sole consideration of the interests of the governors and the governed.

Ram Mohan was also a champion of rights. A Jury Act had been passed in 1827. This Act introduced religious discrimination into the structure of the judiciary, because Hindus and Muslims could not sit on the jury when a Christian was being tried. A petition was written on August 17, 1829 against that Act, for being presented to both houses of the Parliament. It was signed by both Hindus and Muslims. Ram Mohan Roy was associated with this petition movement. To Ram Mohan, a political system was expected to be in the first instance, dispense justice irrespective of those involved. It was 'rule of law' he said, that perfected a political system as against a system which was obligated to any section of the society. Ensuring personal safety and political freedom was the obligation of a political system political system by its outlook he said could bring about social re-form. A conservative system therefore provides

no room for change he opined. The structure of a political system in his words was a design desires of common good. Thus his view on political system is solidly grounded on the personal freedom and common good.

10.5 contribution of Mohan Roy.

Humanism and Universal Religion being his favorites, Roy stressed the need for freedom and rights. Ram Mohan was a great humanist and believed in co operation, tolerance and fellowship. He wanted that the traditional shackles that had so long imprisoned the mind and soul should be unloosened and man may be made free to build a society based on tolerance, sympathy and reason. He was also the exponent of cosmopolitanism and stood for brotherhood and independence. Ram Mohan had begun with a study of comparative religion but, later came to visualize the necessity of a universal religion. But even the concept of a universal religion was not the final embodiment of his thought. Finally, he formulated the scheme of a fundamental spiritual synthesis stressing the unity of religious experience based on the worship of a monotheistic God. Thus, he carried forward the traditions of social and spiritual synthesis stressed by Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Tukaram and other saints.

Ram Mohan Roy was an emancipated man and hence he believed in universalism and regarded humanity as one family with the different nations and tribes as its branches. In his famous letter written to the French foreign minister in 1832, he suggested the establishment of a Congress for the settlement of political and commercial disputes. It is possible that Ram Mohan knew about the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance of 1815 and the Concert of Europe, and was contemplating an extension of their activities. He was a great humanitarian and universalist, and like David Hume, he also subscribed to the doctrine of universal sympathy and genuinely adhered to the creed of wide toleration and love of the human kind.

Ram Mohan was a scholar who had the unique distinction of being familiar with Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. He was a towering intellect and was versatile. He had read the Upanishads, the Old Testament and the Koran in the original. In his freedom from sacerdotalism and in the range of his knowledge, he was a remarkable figure. He had the boldness to visualize the importance of the English language in the modern world. In 1816-17, he founded an English school which was the first English school in Calcutta financed completely by Indians. Under his inspiration, the Hindu College came into being in 1822-23. It was at first called the Mahapathshala, or Anglo Indian College. He believed in the

Occidentalists as opposed to the Orientalist school of education. He was aware of the literary subtleties and dialectics of Sanskrit wisdom but he eagerly wanted an incorporation of the scientific knowledge of the West India.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

- 2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Write a note on Roy's views on religion.

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2. Discuss Roy's Social ideas.

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3. Explain Roy's views on Political System.

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10.6 Let us sum up

Ram Mohan was a remarkable figure with foresight and vision . He was a dedicated spirit with a deep love for man and God. He was bold sincere and honest and had the courage

to preach his convictions. He was interested in the emancipation of women and was the earliest feminist in modern India who revolted against the subjugation of women. He was also a social reformer. He fought for the freedom of the press. The Swiss economist, Sismondi, hailed him as the teacher of the union of morality and religion.

Ram Mohan Ray was a modern man and he substantively symbolized the renascent spirit of New India. Ever since foreign conquerors came into India, there has been present in the country the problem of cultural synthesis. Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya and Jayasi were the exponents of his synthesis. The advent of the British rule in India made the question of culture conflict more pressing.

Ram Mohan Roy was a many side genius. He was a prophet of universalism, a keen and ardent champion of liberty in all its phases and a political agitator for the freedom of the press and the right of the tenants. He is, thus, one of the leaders in the evolution of modern political thought in India. He was also a great scholar of comparative religions, and was a founder of Bengali prose literature and Bengali journalism.

10.7 Key words

Visionary	-	utopian
Universalism	-	That which is accepted in the entire Universe
Monotheism	-	Belief in one religion
Ardent	-	fervent
Orthodox	-	conservative

10.8 Some useful books.

V.P. Varma	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
R.C. Gupta	-	Great Political Thinkers (East & West)
Dr. Bali	-	Modern Indian Thought
Shiv Lal	-	Indian Political Thought

10.9 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 10.2
2. See section 10.3
3. See section 10.4

Unit-11 Dayananda Saraswati

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction (Life and works)
- 11.2 Dayananda's views on state and Government
- 11.3 Dayananda's views on Law and justice
- 11.4 Dayananda's ideas about Swadeshi movements and social Reforms
- 11.5 Contributions of Dayananda Swarathi
- 11.6 Let us sum up
- 11.7 Key words
- 11.8 Some useful books
- 11.9 Answers to check your progress exercises

11.0 Objectives

This unit is designed with an objective to familiarize you about Dayananda Swaraswathi's life and his views on Government, Law and justice. After reading this unit you should be able to understand;

- * Dayanands's ideas on State and Government
- * His ideas on Law and justice, and
- * His ideas on Swadeshi movement and social reforms.

11.1 Introduction (Life and works)

Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) was born at Morvi in Kathiawar (Gujarat) and belonged to the Samavedi Brahman Cast. At the age of twenty one he fled from home to escape the bondage of married life. From 1845 to 1860 he wandered in different places in search of knowledge, light and immortality. In 1860 he began the studies of Panini and Patanjali under Swami Virajananda Saraswati (1778-1868) at Mathura. He studied there for two and a half years. In 1864 he began public preaching. On November 17, 1869, he engaged in a mighty disputation with leaders of Hindu theology and orthodoxy at Kashi. On April 10, 1875, the first Arya Samaj was established at Bombay, and in 1877 the constitution of the Arya Samaj was finalized at Lahore. The Maharana of Udaipur accepted his discipleship.

He died on October 30, 1883) possibly as a result of poisoning. Swami Dayananda Saraswati has been a vital force in the present Indian renaissance movement. Temperamentally he was a born fighter against injustice, and said The world is fettered by the chain forged by superstition and ignorance. I have come to snap asunder that chain and to set slaves at liberty he said, He was an arch rebel who had refused to submit to the authoritarian traditional dictates of his Saivite father in the field of religious conscience. He refused to yield to the temptations and frowns of the leaders of Hindu orthodoxy. He continued his denunciations of the evils of Christianity although the British imperialism was in its triumphant ascendancy in India in those days. He stood for the sanctity and supremacy of the individual in quest of perfect truth and was a great ethical idealist. He was an ascetic a puritan and a heroic fighter for what he considered to be truth. He declared the purpose of my life is the pursuit of truth in thought, speech and deed and laid it down as the fourth principle of the Arya Samaj. We should always be ready to accept truth and to renounce untruth. A vast Vedic idealism

dominated his personality and the manifold social, educational and religious activities to which Dayananda directed his attention, demanded almost inexhaustible energy and we find him preparing himself for his main work in life for nearly forty years. He thus, brought tremendous devotion, unsurpassed eloquence and irrepressible energy to the cause of the regeneration of the Hindu community and India. By a pure and unblemished life of God devotion, he had amassed an amazing store of creative energy which he utilized for the uplift of the nation. He was a Yogi and hence death had lost all terrors for him, and his equanimity and spirit of surrender to God in the face of approaching death indicate the inward conquests he had been making throughout his life. His physical strength was Herculean and his encyclopedic learning in the fields of grammar, philosophy, religion and Hindu legal and sociological literature reminds one of Samkara Ramanuja and Sayanacharaya.

11.2 Dayanand's views on State and Government

Dayananda was a Vedic scholar, a dialectician and a social reformer. Although he has not given us any systematic work in the field of political philosophy, he is entitled to consideration in the history of Indian political theory for two reasons. He prepared the foundations of India's political independence. His commentaries on the Vedas written in Sanskrit and translated by his assistants in Hindi, his crusade for the down trodden people and women, and his stress on education gave a new vitality and strength to the Indian people. As a champion of social justice he taught the rehabilitation of the socially and economically down trodden. He sang the glories of Swarajya in the days when the British imperialism was firmly entrenched in this country. He founded a powerful organization like the Arya Samaj which carried on important social and educational work in Northern India. It gave to the country numerous fighters for the cause of independence. Although not a political organization, the Arya Samaj inculcated the sentiments of patriotism and throughout Northern India it spread the message of strength, power and freedom. Dayananda not only taught the supremacy of the Vedic heritage and Swarajya, he also fostered the rise of Indian nationalism by the impetus he gave to the vernacular movement.

Dayananda's political philosophy represents a synthesis of the ideas of the Manusmriti and the Vedas. From the Manusmriti he adopts the conception of a monarchy thoroughly rooted in obedience to Dharma. Manu had championed the notion of a conquering monarch who rules in conformity with Dharma and with the help and co-operation of the ministers. In the

Vedas, there are references to assemblies and the election of the king. Dayananda stresses the element of election. The king, he interprets to be a president of the assembly. According to him the wisest and the most learned among the members of an assembly was to be elected the king or the president.

He accepted the Vedas to be the fountain of scientific and metaphysical knowledge. It is one of the prime concepts of Vedic culture that political authority Kshatra should be aided by Brahma spiritual and moral authority. Hence Dayananda put the primacy on moral renaissance. He could never sanction any isolation of political considerations from moral considerations. He always pleaded for the guidance of the political rulers by spiritual leaders.

Dayananda was a democrat. His attachment to the concept of democracy is proved in two ways. First, the organizational structure of the Arya Samaj founded by him was based on election. From the bottom to the top, the persons who were to function either as office bearers or as members of some boards or councils were elected. The introduction of the principle of election was a revolutionary step in the Hindu religious system. Secondly, Dayananda supported the resort to the democratic principle of election in the various bodies recognized by him as legitimate organs of government in the sketch of an ideal polity outlined by him. He defined the structure and functions of three bodies the Dharmayyasabha, the Vidyaryasabha and the Rajaryasabha. These bodies were to adhere to the concept of checks and balances.

Village Administration Dayananda visualized a political system which will have the essence of democratic idealism although the external mechanism of it may, sometimes, be monarchical. He strongly pleads for the counteraction of a vast commonwealth with the village as the unit although Dayananda advocated the principle of due violence and was never on principle attached to the concept of absolute non violence, unlike Gandhi.

Dayananda advocated national patriotism but in his own life he seems to be an anarchist accepting the authority, only of God and not of any temporal power. He, however, never contemplated the destruction of the state. Nor did he visualize a political system characterized by the absence of coercion. Thus, his ideas about state and government are touched with a pinch of spiritualism.

11.3 Dayananda's views on Law and justice

Dayananda advocated national patriotism but in his own life he seems to be an anarchist accepting the authority, only of God and not of any temporal power. He, however, never contemplated the destruction of the state. Nor did he visualize a political system characterized by the absence of coercion. But as a Sannyasin, in his own personal life, we find that he regards God as the suzerain. This idea is remotely parallel to the conception of the natural law school in medieval Europe which interpreted natural law as being superior to the authority of the reigning monarch. When a choice will have to be made between obedience to the laws of God and the laws of the political superior, Dayananda would be categorical in his adherence to the former because he accepted the universal sovereignty of God and was unequivocal in his supreme loyalty to it. He said, "Let all understand, that we are the subjects to the Lord of the Universe the kind of kings. He is the true king and we are all His humble servants. May we in this world, through His mercy, be privileged to occupy kingly and other high offices and may he make us the means of advancing His Eternal Justice".

Dayananda had even extended the arrangement envisaged by Manu and says that there is to be a controller of ten thousand villages and a Rajasabha of one lakh villages. Manu does not formulate these two latter categories. Dayananda had visualised that the problems relating to one lakh villages were to be communicated to the Raja Sabha. He conceives of there being a Maharaja Sabha to exercise jurisdiction in a universal chakravarti political system. It is apparent that Dayananda has tried to extend the administrative arrangements conceived of by Manu in two ways. First, he stresses that problems of importance were to be daily communicated by those at the lower levels to those at the higher layers. Secondly, the amendment or explanation proposed by Dayananda is that he conceives of there being a controller of ten thousand villages as well as a Raja Sabha of one lac villages. Manu had written, evidently, in the context of a limited knowledge of India's geography. Dayananda flourished in a different age and tried to add two additional administrative categories which are not stated in the Manusmriti. Thus, his views on Law and Justice are more of theology in content than secular.

11.4 Dayananda's ideas about Swadeshi movements and social reforms

Dayananda was an advocate of the Vedic Varnashrama Dharma but he bitterly criticized the iniquities associated with the caste system as practiced in India. There were tremendous

evils associated with the criterion of birth as the determinant of one's caste. Hence Dayananda advocated that one's Varna was to be determined in accordance with one's psychological dispositions, qualities and actions. This idea of Dayananda was revolutionary indeed. It seemed to be a death blow to the traditional notion of superiority conferred by birth. His own criterion of Varna, on the other hand was democratic indeed. According to Dayananda the theory of the four Varnas to be based on a psychological and occupational criterion may provide a good solution to many social and functional conflicts. The criterion of Varna be belongingness and not birth but the psychological capacity to perform a particular function. In the social life of India, Dayananda's, democratic idealism thus showed by his placing merit in place of birth as opposed to caste.

Dayananda indirectly also prepared the foundations of an independent political life. He stressed the values of character building, moral education purity and chastity. He embodied these values in his own personal life and hence his teachings caught the imagination of people. Throughout Northern India, Dayananda's personality and character have left indelible marks on the lives and thought of people.

He preached the glories of Vedic Swarajya with great fervour and deep involvement. He wanted the freedom of the country, but he could not at that time openly condemn the British imperialistic power. Hence he was content with stressing the theory of Swarajya. Swarajya as conceived in the Vedic literature signified a regime of peace, prosperity, freedom and abundance. It could be maintained only by a sense of organic and mutual co operation and unity. By inculcating the theory of Swarajya, Dayananda was preparing the foundations of future independence, because he provided a concept round which people could organize themselves and could concentrate their energies upon its realization.

11.5 Contribution of Dayananda Swarathi

Being a bold prophet and a social reformer of a very high order, Dayananda was a mystic who believed that in the highest state of Asamprajnata. Samadhi, the human ego could realize the trans cosmic and immanent Godhead. In contrast with the Kantian and Spencerian agnosticism, he preached a fullness of faith in God to be attained by a holy living. The highest reality is not a metaphysical unknowable but is to be felt and perceived in a transcendental vision. Hence Dayananda's instance was on Yoga. He was a devotee and a theist and an uncompromising monotheist. He repudiated the Advaita Vendantic distinction between the

absolute of metaphysics and God of theology impersonal and personal God. Dayananda was a realist like the Nyaya philosophers. Metaphysically considered, he accepts God and soul as spirritual substance. According to Dayananda there are three kinds of eternal substances. God, Soul and prakriti constitute the eternal entities he believed in the cosmological argument for theism. He also believed on the basis of the Rigvedic authorities and refuted the Semitic conception of one single cosmic creation as unsatisfying to the logical intellect because it could not explain moral differences. Dayananda dismissed the Vedantic theories which regard the sould, as either one in essence with Brahaman, or only partially different from Brahman. He advocated the eternal difference of soul and God, and pointed out that even in the state of emancipation the soul retained its distinctin from Brahman, due to its possessing the powers of the internal organs. He believed in a theory of return from mukti perhaps a new contribution to eschatological thought. His Traitavada posing the indelpendent reality of God, Soul and Prakrit, however, is difficult to defend. But there is great force in his refutation of the Samkarite theory of illusionism. It is to be noted that even Ramanuja and Madhva have condemned the Samkarite monism which is much lauded in Europe and India. In modern Europe and America, we find a growing reaction against Hegelian idealism and an assertion of realism. Even in modern monism we find an attempt to do away with the trend of the negation of the empiric phenomena which we get in the older idealistic philosophies, and there is an increasing stress on concrete dynamic monism as in certain neo Hegelians. These modern developments can be used to substantiate Dayananda's criticism of mayavada.

Dayananda was a prophet of perfect Vedism. He proclaimed the revelatory character of the four Vedic Samhitas, and wanted to solve the problems of life in accordance with Vedic canons. He said that the Vedas contained eternal pure and pristine knowledge given to humanity at the primordial hour of creation. He claimed to find in the ancient code of Vedic wisdom the words of God himself and hence justified his rocklike faith in the Vedas. Dayananda categorically stated that the Vedas contained both spiritual metaphysical knowledge and the secretes of scientific physical knowledge.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain Dayananda Saraswathi's views on State and Government.

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2. Discuss Dayananda's views on Law and Justice.

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3. Write a note on Dayananda's Contributions.

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11.6 Let us sum up

Dayananda was not a political philosopher in the technical sense of the term. He has not written any systematic work in the field of political theory. But he gave expression to political ideas in course of his writings and sometimes in private conversations. In both of his famous books Satyarthaprakasha and the Rigvedadibhasyabhumika- there is one chapter each devoted to discussions of political ideas. Dayananda had been considerably influenced by the political ideas of the Manusmriti. During the period of his public life (1864-1883), India was under

the iron rule of British imperialism. At the time that he left his ancestral home in 1845, the Punjab, Sind and parts of Central India were independent, but the failure of the freedom movement of 1857 tightened the rule of the British. Furthermore, the Christian civilization was making inroads upon the old culture of the country and the Christian missionaries were spreading their activities. Even the renowned exponent of Brahmosim and social reform, Keshav Chandra Sen, was under Christian influence in his proclamation of New Dispensation. At such a time Dayananda appeared as the aggressive exponent of Hindu revivalism. Dayananda was an actionist, not a mere speculative thinker, and his Vedism was meant to provide a necessary inspiring tone to the manifestation of the energy of our country. He was indeed an aggressive champion of militant Hinduism. But the militancy manifested by Dayananda and the Arya Samaj was partly a counterpoise to the domineering attitudes of the two Semitic Churches in India Islam and Christianity. Like Ranade, Gandhi and Vivekananda, Dayananda felt that religion has been the savior of India in some of her great trials. Indian thinkers have always emphasized inner greatness as a prerequisite for outer hegemony. Hence in spite of numerous alien impacts and invasions, Indian philosophers urged that the internal torch should be kept burning. Dayananda ardently pleaded for the revival of the past Vedic religious idealism. But this idealism was bound to call a halt to all kinds of dull worships of old fetishes and to the crude absorption in the drudgeries of a dependent life. Hence Dayananda taught valiantly against unreasoning superstitions and orthodoxy, and wanted to enshrine a life of reason and truth.

Dayananda adhered to the slogan famous in the nineteenth century that good government, howsoever good, is no substitute for self government. After the death of Swami Dayananda, the Arya Samaj continued the propaganda in favour of the superiority of the old Vedic culture.

Dayananda not only taught the supremacy of the Vedic heritage and Swarajya, he also fostered the rise of Indian nationalism by the impetus he gave to the vernacular movement.

11.7 Key words

Vernacular - native

Valiant - brave

Repudiate - reject

Refute - disprove
Illusion - deception

11.8 Some useful books.

V.P. Varma	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
R.C. Gupta	-	Great Political Thinkers (East & West)
Dr. Bali	-	Modern Indian Thought
Shiv lal	-	Indian Political Thought

11.9 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 11.2
2. See section 11.3
3. See section 11.4

Unit-12 Swami Vivekananda

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 A brief life history of Swami Vivekananda
- 12.2 Swami Vivekananda and Hinduism
- 12.3 Swami Vivekananda's views on patriotism and Nationalism
- 12.4 Swami Vivekananda's Political ideas
- 12.5 Swami Vivekanand views on Social Reform
- 12.6 Contributions of Swami Vivekananda
- 12.7 Let us sum up
- 12.8 Key words.
- 12.9 Some useful books
- 12.10 Answers to check your progress exercises

12.0 Objectives

This unit is designed with an objective to familiarize you about the Swami Vivekananda's life and his contributions to the society. After going through this you should be able to understand;

- * Swami Vivekananda's life and works
- * His views on Hinduism and Nationalism and
- * His ideas on political and social systems

12.1 A brief life history of Swami Vivekananda

Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) was a comprehensive personality. Although of athletic muscular build, he had a mystic consciousness like Plotinus and Spinoza attuned with the absolute of the monistic idealists. But simultaneously he was great intellectual at home in the secrets of metaphysical Vedantism, European philosophy and elements of modern science and had a burning enthusiasm for the alleviation of human suffering. The person who could perform the colossal feat of finishing the first eleven volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica out of a total of twenty had also a passionate urge to experience directly the ecstatic absorption with the subject objectless asamprajnata beatific supernal state. The late Brajendra Nath Seal testifies to the deep and restless passion of Vivekananda to apprehend the highest truth from his early young days. Although the Swami was a revered teacher of the monistic Vedanta, still the devotional mood characteristic of the great Vedantic Acharya, like Madhva and Vallabha was also prominent in his person. The world knows him as a gigantic mind who employed his stupendous will power and energy to bring about a regeneration of India. This monk, social angriest and humanist philanthropist wanted, as he said, to fall on the society like an avalanche. He preached both monistic asceticism and social service. His intellectual vision was immensely clear and he could easily penetrate into the currents and cross currents that were manifested in the history of India. Before his vigorous mind almost everything from the Rigveda to Kalidasa and Kant and Spencer was clear and luminous. He claimed to have realized the supracosmic truth but still he worked with the strength of a lion. The Swami was able to achieve miracles in a short lifetime only thirty nine years.

12.2 Swami Vivekananda and Hinduism

The Swami made a distinct and notable contribution to world religion his championship of Hinduism as a universal gospel of ethical humanism and spiritual idealism. Hinduism had been the subject of intense misrepresentation at the hands of Christian missionaries who suffered from imperialism complex and were actuated with a sense of burden to civilize the black men and brown men by clearing the road for the economic exploitation of Asia and Africa as can be seen from a study of the rise of modern new imperialism from 1870. But Hinduism was, to Vivekananda, a comprehensive gospel which could shelter within its bosom the profound philosophic intellect by its Nyaya, Samkhya and Vedanta, could offer to the psychologist its vast store of psychic wisdom of the Vedanta, could inspire the devotee with the enchanted hymns of the Samaveda and the devotional songs of Tulsidas or of the Alvaras and Nayanars saints of the South, orthodox dogmas and primitive ceremonialism which, unfortunately, the European critic is very keen in observing, but it signified to him a body of moral and spiritual injunctions and primordial super temporal laws for the uplift of humanity Yoga Sutra.

To him Hinduism was the mother of religions and this can be, to some extent, demonstrated historically. The ancient Vedic religion influenced Buddhism, and the latter was possibly a potent factor in the rise of Christianity. Vivekananda was a representative of entire Hinduism from the Vedas to Vaisnavism. He defined religion as the vital and moral force which gives strength to a person or to a nation. In thundering words, he said, Strength is life, weakness is death.

12.3 Swami Vivekananda's views on Patriotism and Nationalism

Vivekananda believed that there is one all dominating principle manifesting itself in the life of each nation. Religion for example, had been the momentous guiding principle in India's history. He said In each nation, as in music, there is a main note, a central theme, upon which all others turn. Each nation has a theme everything else is secondary. India's theme is religion. Social reform and everything else are secondary. He, hence worked to build the foundations of a religious theory of nationalism which was later advocated by Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo. Vivekananda was the passionate advocate of the religious theory of nationalism because religion, he stated, had to be made the backbone of the national life. He felt that the future greatness of the nation could be built only on the foundations of it's the

past greatness. To be unimndful of the past was tantamount to the negation of the very being of the nation. It meant almost the repudiation of its existence. Hence, Indian natinalism had to be built on the stable foundation of the past historical heritage. In the past, the creativity of India expressed itself mainly and dominantly in the sphere of religion. Religion in India had been a creative force of integration and stability and if and when the political authority had become loose and weak, it imparted even to that a force of rehabilitation. Hence Vivekananda declared that the national life should be organized on the basis of the religious ideal. Spirituality or religion meant, according to him, the realization of the eternal principles and was never to be identified with social dogmas, ecclesiastical formulations and obsolete customs. Religion had been the persistent basis of Indian life and all reforms must come through religion to be able to obtain the adherence of the masses. Thus, spiritual or religious theory of nationalism may be regarded as the first contribution of Vivekananda to political theory.

A second contribution of Vivekananda to political theory is his concept of freedom. He had a comprehensive theory of freedom. The whole universe, he said, in its constant motion represented the dominant quest for freedom. He regarded the light of liberty as the only condition of growth.

A third contribution of Vivekananda is his concept of strenght and fearlessness which, in terms of political philosophy, can be called theory of resistance. Vivekananda was an ardent patriot and had tremendous love for the country. He was the embodiment of emotional patriotism. He had established almost a sense of identity consciousness with the country, its peoples and its historic ideals. He did not, however, openly advocate the cause of India's political emancipation.

Vivekananda upheld that a strong and lasting nationalism could be built in India only on a religious basis. But he cannot be charged with sectarianism or communalism. Religion signified, to him, the eternal principles of moral and spiritual advancement. He had the bold vision to foresee that a mechanical nationalism busy with the apportionment of spoils cannot be lasting. An organic growth of the nation necessitates the cultivation by the people of the virtues of charity, chastity, love, sacrifice and abnegation. A person of universal tolerance like Vivekananda, could never have sanctioned the tyranny on any religious sects or community. He believed in individual growth and not in social or religious imposition. The religious basis of nationalism thus advocated by Vivekananda is almost similar to the concept of nationalism,

advocated by Pal and Aurobindo.

12.4 Swami Vivekananda's Political ideas

Vivekananda was a spiritualist, a great creator and an inspired worker for the moral and social amelioration of India. If Ram Mohan Roy, Keshva Chandra Sen, and Gokhale believed in England Mission to India, Vivekananda, like Dayananda and Gandhi, believed in India's message to the West. In the course of his spiritual and philosophical development, Vivekananda jumped from innate faith to sceptical agnosticism and latter is said to have attained the realization of the Absolute in Nirvikalpa Samadhi which is considered the state of super consciousness. Modern post Cartesian western thought is mainly occupied with the subtle questions of dialectical ontology and epistemology. Swami Vivekananda was a philosopher in the sense of the word darshanika. It was his very deep sincerity which made him live according to the truths he had found out. Sometimes he was the serene monk spreading the pacifying and ennobling creed of the Vedanta. But he did not remain absorbed in philosophical and mystical realizations. In his temperament one does notice a deep aspiration for the Absolute, but there is also a burning zeal for the redemption of sin, sorrow and suffering. As a great patriot he felt remorse for the coming like a bombshell on the evils of society. He pleaded for the liberalization of the rigidity of caste rules. Throughout his life he had the thinking attitude of a stoic philosopher but he never gave up his crusade for the betterment of the conditions of the fallen, the sinner, the suppressed and the poverty stricken.

He had eloquently preached the practice of Karmayoga and this gospel also underwent the process of a political metamorphosis and the succeeding generations interpreted selfless social and political service for the motherland as an example of Karmayoga. Vivekananda did not openly challenge the moral foundations of British imperialism but his very being and personality busy with the reassertion of things Indian was, indirectly, the explicit symbol of the neutralization of the foreign yoke. Secondly, Vivekananda has given us some ideas regarding the evolution of Indian society. He also gave for the eloquently his views regarding the solution of some of the pressing problems of the day. Hence his ideas have to be studied and discussed for getting a systematic picture of the evolution of social and political thought in modern India.

12.5 Swami Vivekanand views on Social Reforms

Vivekananda was inspired by the ideal of social harmony and synthesis embodied in the theory of varna system of ancient India; hence, earnestly wanted that the caste system should be ennobled. The basic point is not to impose a system of dull uniformity on society but to help everybody in attaining the status of a true Brahman. He however, denounced priestcraft in vigorous terms because it perpetrated social tyranny and disregarded masses. Thus, although an outspoken missionary of India's cultural greatness, Vivekananda was an iconoclastic crusader against prevailing social conservatism.

He condemned the old orthodox Brahmanical doctrine of *adhikaravada*. This doctrine propounds the exclusion of the Shudras or the masses from benefit of the Vedic knowledge. Samakara also adhered to this undemocratic dogma. But Vivekananda heroically championed the concept of spiritual equality. He stated that all men are equal and equally entitled to spiritual wisdom and gnosis of the highest type. His democratic spiritualism was indeed a radical step. Even the Upanishads sanction some kind of *adhikaravada* which is a plea for spiritual aristocracy. But Vivekananda wanted that the highest truth should be broadcast without any compromise. He said thus you will confer the greatest blessing on the masses, unshackle their bondages and uplift the whole nation.

Once Swami Vivekananda declared. I am a socialist not because I think it is a perfect system, but half a loaf is better than no bread. He can be considered a socialist in two senses. First, he had the historical vision to realize that in Indian history there has been the dominance of the two upper castes the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. While the latter perpetrated political and economic exploitation of the poor sections, the former enchained the masses with new complicated ceremonies and rituals. He outspokenly denounced cast oppressions and as a believer in the atman and Brahman refused to recognize any social barrier between man and man. His creed of spiritual perfection, by necessary implication, sanctions the belief that all souls, howsoever imperfectly, are advancing in their own way to redeem their spiritual birthright of eternal light, knowledge and immortality. Between real spiritual souls it was a sin to erect any kind of barrier or wall of superiority and social hierarchy.

Vivekananda denounced untouchability. He ridiculed the meaningless cult of the kitchen and the cooking pot. He wanted, instead the positive cultivation of the religious spirit of self

realization, self abnegation and good of the community.

In the modern world there is a struggle between the upholders of the antagonistic rights of different groups and sections. Society, therefore, is gradually becoming the theatre of a war for the assertion of the contrary concepts of right. But Vivekananda was an advocate of duties. He wanted that all individuals and groups should be loyal in the discharge of their obligations. The glory of the human being consists not in self assertion but in self immolation for the realization of universal good. Hence although Vivekananda was himself a monk and a sannyasin, he accorded the highest place also to the householder who performed his duties in a selfless spirit of detachment.

Vivekananda also stood for universalism. For him patriotism was a pure and sacred concept but he also taught the divinity of man. That is the secret of the great appeal of his message. He stated that behind all differences of creed, colour and sex, there lay the real man. Like Tagore, Vivekananda also believed in the concept of the Universal man. A deep and intimate vision of the universal man was essential for the realization of universal brotherhood. At a time when the world was convulsed with scepticism, nihilism and materialism, as an Advaitist, Vivekananda stood for the resuscitation of the universal religious spirit. For him the awakening and liberation of India was to be a stage for the realization of universal love and brotherhood.

Vivekananda was a social realist. The mature philosophical disquisitions on gnosis, contemplation and spiritual realization represented one dominant side of his personality. He certainly wanted the materialistic and dynamic West to imbibe the spiritual teachings of the Yoga and the Vedanta. He did want them to cultivate an introspective and subjective psychology. But his message to his own countrymen was realistic and pragmatic. His experiences during his travels in India and the West revealed to him the imperative necessity of strength and fearlessness for straightening the backbone of a nation subjected to misery, frustration and political tragedies for over a thousand years. He was intensely conscious of the miseries of India's millions. It is indeed a revolutionary statement from the mouth of a sannyasin when he utters. It is mockery to offer relation to a starving man. It is a revolutionary statement from the pen of a Vedantist that India is a country where millions of people live on flowers of the mohua plant, and a million or so of Sadhus and a hundred million or so of Brahmans suck the blood out of these poor people. Thus it is clear that this mighty champion

of the superiority of the spiritual metaphysics of the Hindus was unyielding in his fervent and eloquent appeal for the elevation of the masses because the nation lives in the cottage. As a social revolutionary, Vivekananda denounced in unmeasured terms the evils of caste and held the Brahman priesthood responsible for suppression of the lower classes by having created this maya of caste distinctions.

12.6 Contributions of Swami Vivekananda

The deep social realism of Vivekananda is also revealed in his statement that India's political slavery of a thousand years is rooted in the suppression of the masses. The social tyrants and aristocratic despot of this country exploited the millions of masses. They held the latter in disgust and contempt and humiliated them so much that they almost lost their humanity. With such degradation of the life blood of the nation, India could not stand as a match for the foreign invader. The masses are the backbone of the country because they produce all wealth and food. When they are rejected and humiliated, how shall they contribute to the growth of national energy. For any rejuvenation of the country, it was extremely essential to take positive and constructive steps for raising the masses up. The millions and millions of Indian people were to be saved from the four evils of, (i) priestcraft, (ii) poverty, (iii) tyranny, and (iv) ignorance. This was a formidable problem and, necessarily, demanded great sacrifice on the part of educated Indians. Vivekananda, hence, declared. I hold every man a traitor, who having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them.

He mercilessly denounced the sophistication, the arrogance and the wickedness of the upper classes of Indian society.

Vivekananda was one of the first thinkers in India to offer a sociologically realistic interpretation of Indian history.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain Vivekananda's views on Hinduism.

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2. Write a note on Vivekananda's views on political ideas.

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3. How he wanted to bring about social reforms?

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12.7 Let us sum up

If at all India looks back to name a politico spiritual leader who had the potential to up root a society to bring in a wholesale change then it would here become non other than Swamy vivekanand. Despite the fact that he has had enough engagements he tirelessly brought on to himself the job of rebuilding India and also worked towards it.

12.8 Key words

crusade	-	battle
Denounce	-	censure
Dharshanika	-	visionary
Propound	-	propose
Skepticism	-	distrust

12.9 Some useful books.

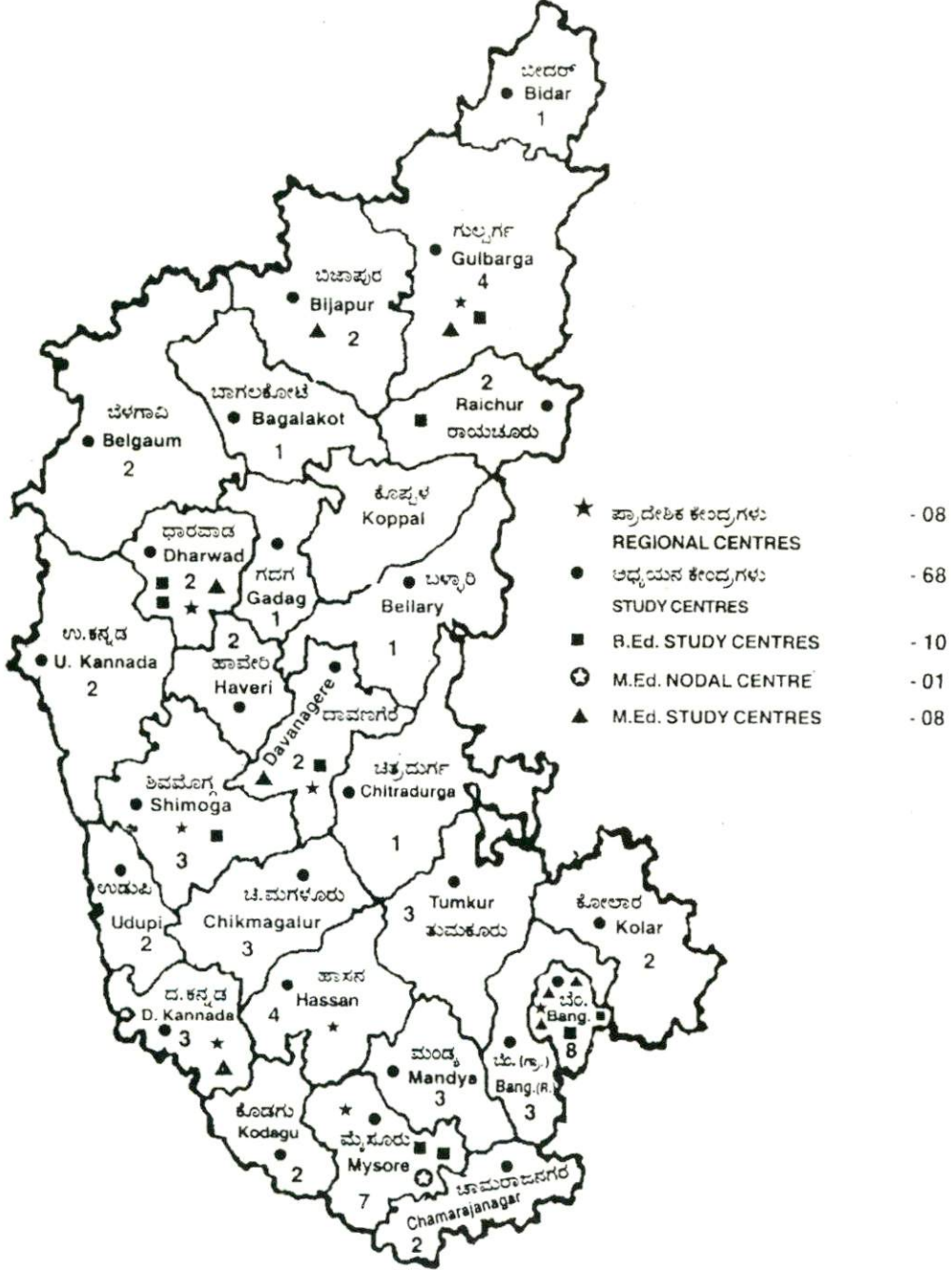
V.P. Varma	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
R.C. Gupta	-	Great Political Thinkers (East & West)
Dr. Bali	-	Modern Indian Thought
Shiv lal	-	Indian Political Thought

12.10 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 12.2
2. See section 12.4
3. See section 12.5

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ನಮೂದಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)

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