

Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies(CPPIS)



Contemporary INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Edited by Desh Raj Sirswal

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About the Book

Contemporary Indian Philosophy is related to contemporary Indian thinkers. It is neither easy nor impossible to translate into action all noble goals set forth by the eminent thinkers and scholars, but we might try to discuss and propagate their ideas. In this session all papers submitted electronically and selected abstracts have been published on a website especially develop for this session. In this volume we included some papers from this session and also from open sources and contributors include teachers, research scholars and students etc. This volume is divided into two parts. First part contains papers on Swami Vivekananda and second part contains papers of B. G. Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Saheed Bhagat Singh and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar etc. It is the general intention of the Centre to produce informative as well as positive literature to inspire and motivate the students and the general readers.

Contemporary Indian Philosophy

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**Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (CPPIS),
Milestone Education Society (Regd.), Pehowa (Kurukshetra)-136128
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Editor:

Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal, Assistant Professor (Philosophy), P. G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh

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Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal

FOREWORD

It is indeed a matter of pleasure to write a foreword to Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal's endeavor of collaborating and editing the views on Contemporary Indian Philosophy. The roots of Contemporary Indian thought lies deep in the Classical philosophical tradition of the same. It would not be out of place to mention that any new idea must have its own identity and must be appreciated for its unique existence but at the same time its context and historical connotations must be taken into consideration before the idea is put to the different interpretations. Any book is of course a journey and a venture into the world of idea and its extension as understood by different thinkers. Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda, Tagore and many others of our Contemporary Thinkers have tried to interpret the Classical Philosophical tradition by unfolding its most practical aspects. Be it then the Neo-Vedanta of Swami Vivekananda or Humanism of Tagore or the concept of Evolution in Aurobindo's thought. Precisely, the attempt by these Contemporary thinkers has been to provide us with the best of tradition by shedding the worst as done by Ambedkar.

We are passing through the eye-opening scientific discoveries and industrial developments leading us to be materialistically better placed than ever. But, this development has another side to itself when humanity is encountered by terrorism, massacre and outrageous undignified acts leaving us no space to call ourselves as humans enough. The present social situation just leaves our hearts throbbing with pain and anxiety to ponder and rethink about the direction where we are leading ourselves as individuals and as society. Even though we have accepted the cliché of 'world as a flat', yet the hearts have not melted and accepted enough the existence and relevance of the other to make this world a better place to live. Humanity is missing and humans are at loss of their identity. In such a scenario we must attend to the ideals of our past by reading them in the present context.

It is a common saying that a man who holds a pen is at war. The statement actually reflects the very idea and worth of writing and putting forth views. I am very hopeful that this is just a beginning of Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal's voyage to the universe of philosophical ideas. I also congratulate his co-fellows who could contribute and join him in his ideas and thoughts to give a formal shape to what is the need of the time. I have known the editor as a person of great enthusiasm in learning and knowing newer dimensions of life and disciplines of knowledge. I wish him all success and congratulate him for providing the readers with the issues worth taken note of.

Dr. Shivani Sharma
Associate Professor &
Chairperson,
Department of Philosophy
Panjab University, Chandigarh.

PREFACE

The 150th Birth Anniversary of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) will be celebrated all over the world during this year. The year long world-wide celebration of 150th birth anniversary of Swami Vivekananda was formally inaugurated by the President of India at Swamiji's Ancestral House on 18th January, 2013. His short speech was very inspiring, he made a significant remark after quoting the great historian A.L.Basham , “Swami Vivekananda was very relevant during his times, is more relevant now and will remain relevant as long as the human civilization will last.” It’s true that in the 19th century Mother India gave the birth to some bright stars, of course, not in the sky, but on her soil. They were luminaries in their respective fields. Rabindranath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, Raja Rammohan Roy, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Mahatma Gandhi, Lokmanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Swami Vivekananda and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose are some of the most revered personalities of that century. In this regard the *Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (CSPPIS)*, Pehowa (Kurukshetra) organized the First Session of Society for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (SPPIS) Haryana and devoted it to contemporary Indian philosophers with the following objectives:

- To create awareness for philosophical and literary ideas of Contemporary Indian Philosophers among teachers and students.
- Make the people aware about importance of contemporary Indian philosophy and philosophers.
- To critically evaluate contemporary Indian philosophy with its popular trends.
- To promote study and research related to modern Indian philosophy and philosophers.
- To evaluate the basic trends of contemporary philosophy with reference to world philosophy.

We did a survey and made a list of important thinkers for evaluation and discussion. These are Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), Devendernath Tagore (1817-1905), Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) , Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886), Annie Besant (1847-1933), Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), Narayana Guru (1857-1928), Rabindernath Tagore (1861-1941) , Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), Brajendra Nath Seal (1864-1938), Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1949), Bhagwan Das (1869-1958), Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950), Swami Rama Tirth (1873-1906), Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938), Krishna Chandra Bhattacharya (1875-1949), D.D.Kosambi (1876-1947), Raman Mahrishi (1879-1950), R.D.Ranade (1886-1957), Manabendra Nath Roy (1887-1954), Surendranath Dasgupta (1887-1952), Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888-1975), Bhim Rao Ambedkar (1891-1956), Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986), Vinova Bhava (1895-1982), N.V.Banarjee (1897-1982), Bhagat Singh (1907-1931), Rahul Sankrityayan (1893-1963), T.R.V.Murti (b.1902), Kalidas Bhattacharya (1911-1984), T.M.P. Mahadevan (1911-1983), Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (1918-1993) , Ajit Kumar Sinha(1923-1988), Osho (Acharya Rajneesh) (1931-1990),Daya Krishana (1924-2007), Jitendra Nath Mohanty, K.Sachichidananda Murti, P.T.Raju (b.1903), Yashdev Shalya, N.K.Devaraja, J.N.Sinha, R.Balasubramaniam and so many other thinkers who are developing this tradition.

In the last decades, a number of monographs on the history of Indian philosophy have been published. Of the books by Indian authors, the following are worthy of notice, first and foremost:

the two volume *Indian Philosophy* by Dr .Sarvepalli Radhakrishanan, the former President of the Republic of Indian, *A History of Indian Philosophy* by Surendrantha Dasgupta; Suryanarayana Sastry's *Short History of Indian Materialism* in Sanskrit; Hiriyantha's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*; *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* by S.Chatterjee and D. Datta; *A History of Indian Philosophy* by Ram Mohan Roy and many more treatises on contemporary Indian philosophy too. The common feature of these works is that they are all written from the positions of idealist interpretation of history and are limited to the ancient, medieval and modern periods of the history of Indian philosophy. The situation is the same in the works of the Western historians of philosophy, where the whole of the history of Indian philosophy is essentially reduced to the history of the three unorthodox and six orthodox systems. Our attempt was to make a critical evaluation of all philosophers with their main issues or trends of philosophical speculations in contemporary times whether they are academicians or non-academicians.

It is neither easy nor impossible to translate into action all noble goals set forth by the eminent thinkers and scholars, but we might try to discuss and propagate their ideas. In this session all papers submitted electronically and selected abstracts have been published on a website especially develop for this session. In this volume we included some papers from this session and also from open sources and contributors include teachers, research scholars and students etc. This volume is divided into two parts. First part contains papers on Swami Vivekananda and second part contains papers of B. G. Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Saheed Bhagat Singh and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar etc. It is the general intention of the Centre to produce informative as well as positive literature to inspire and motivate the students and the general readers.

12th January 2016

Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal

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1. THE ETHICS OF WORK: A STUDY OF THE KARMA-YOGA OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Rita Roy Chowdhury

A man becomes good by good deeds and bad by bad deeds...¹

The doctrine of karma is of great significance in Indian philosophy and may be considered as the basis of its practical ethics relating work or karma with liberation (cessation of suffering).

The word 'karma' can be defined in common parlance as action or activity. Etymologically derived from the Sanskrit word 'kri' 'to do' all action is 'karma'. Yoga has been defined in the Patanjali *Yoga Sutra*² as 'chitta vritti nirodha', where 'chittam' means mind, 'vritts' changability or fluctuation of thoughts and 'nirodha' is the act of restraining or withdrawing its extrovert tendency. It is an exercise through which the ever-drifting mind can be contained and its attention fixed on the duties (dharma) it requires to perform. The 'nirodha' of the 'chittavritti' cannot be forcibly executed through external sanctions like law, coercion or fear; on the contrary it must evolve from within. The process through which this is done is 'yoga' and a person thus attaining control over his thoughts is a yogi. Swami Vivekananda intended every individual become a yogi by taking cognizance of the three qualities- Svatta, rajas, tamas or the three 'gunas' that make up the human personality. 'Svatta , rajas and tamas, these gunas born of *Prakriti*, bind in the body , O mighty –armed , the imperishable dweller in the body'³ Whatsoever an individual seeks or desires to achieve, the goal towards which his activities are directed is related to the guna which predominates in him. Of these 'Svatta' is the essence; it is always there and by the purity of its nature illuminates. '...it binds by attachment to happiness and attachment to knowledge' (*tatra sattvaṃ nirmalatvāt prakāśakam anāmayam sukhasaṅgena badhnāti jñānasāṅgena cānagha*).⁴

Rajas has passion as its nature; it is the child of desirous longing and attachment. 'Know that passion consists in being enamoured, and is produced from craving and attachment. That, O son of Kuntī! binds down the embodied (self) with the bond of action' (*rajo rāgātmaṃ viddhi tṛṣṇāsaṅgasamudbhavam tan nibadhnāti kaunteya karmasaṅgena dehinam*)⁵. Tamas born of ignorance is the deluder of all embodied beings. It binds by negligence, indolence, and sleep (*tamas tv ajñānaṃ viddhi mohanaṃ sarvadehinām pramādālasyanidrābhis tan nibadhnāti bhārata*).⁶

The dominance of Svatta leads to knowledge of right and wrong, good and bad. The dominance of rajas inclines the mind towards power and objects of the sense. It creates the vibration that manifests into dynamic work force or karmic energy.

The characteristic of the tamasic is self- contained, withdrawn, a state of inertia dominated by ignorance it is forever coveting, never decisive about the means or the end. When inertia occupies the mind and overpowers rajas or the energy then the mind becomes incapable of removing the veil of darkness or tamas from the mind and is rendered lazy and inactive.⁷ This state of the mind said Swamiji can be overcome by means of the tremendous will- power which is latent in every individual, through deliberation and right knowledge.

'The goal of mankind is knowledge because knowledge alone can guide the choice of our actions. An ignorant person is unable to take the proper decision or exert proper volition.

Ignorance leads to inaction, lack of self-confidence and courage to do what he thinks is the right action or karma. It creates a state of confusion resulting in a stagnation of thought and action. 'As a fire is covered by smoke, a mirror by dust and the embryo by the amnion, so is this enveloped by that'.⁸ Swamiji believed that knowledge is inherent in man, because he is a part of the indestructible Brahman. Knowledge is a renewal, a rediscovery, a restoration; it is not made, but is at this present, as it hath ever been and as shall ever be.

Ignorance has two powers, viz the power of concealment and the power of projection⁹. Consequently it throws a canopy over the mind concealing the real nature of the pleasures of this world constantly alluring it towards them. The mind desires and thirsts for them, unable to realize their transitory status. This leads to pain, as Gautama the Buddha pointed out in explaining the cause of sorrow. We cling to the objects of the world, the Upādāna, and crave to enjoy the objects of this world Tr̥ṣṇa. This is due to ignorance. Hence ignorance is the root cause of all suffering. Only knowledge can help man to remove this craving and the act of acquiring knowledge is karma because it requires tremendous will-power to remove the veil of wrong impressions. Only through concentration upon one's inner self, through the continuous and deliberate introspection, an individual can discover the immense potentialities with which he is endowed. Its importance in this present century cannot be overlooked. On the contrary, positive ideas as this can assist the modern society to realize how superstition, prejudice and self-interest are immersing it towards destruction. For a nation to prosper and progress scientific and technological skill is necessary but not sufficient; it requires the knowledge of right and wrong. The individual who has been able to overcome his tamasic tendency (here I use it to mean mental and physical weakness, inertia), from whom it has been entirely removed is all-knowing, because he can relate himself with the infinite self.¹⁰ Swamiji's call to all responsible citizens was to uplift the downtrodden, the backward the weak by gifting them knowledge. Helping man spiritually is the highest help that can be given to him and knowledge is the only thing that can destroy the ills of poverty from this society forever. If a society is not disciplined by correct knowledge, by value education, if it lacks the inner power to create its own path towards its goal, then it will remain forever in sorrow.

Swami Vivekananda was not any ordinary religious leader but a social reformer with a vision far ahead of his time. Analyzing the nature of the work done he was convinced that all work is by nature composed of good and evil. Our activities if they are positive or good will create a positive vibration or effect on society; correspondingly, any negative act will generate damaging effects. It is however important for appreciating the relevance of karma –yoga, that karma be understood in a wide sense as including the intention, the means and end of action. Thus when Swamiji referred to karma he indicated those actions which an individual thinks are best under a given circumstance. It does not include actions that are carried out under compulsion. He made it plain that there is in every individual a tremendous motivating force or will power that influences our deliberations. It is the energy through which the mind determines its course of action. Good and bad, misery and happiness are all running towards the individual and clinging around him remarked Swamiji. However, as he has the power of drawing in anything, so he has the power of throwing it out.¹¹ This power when it enables the mind to disentangle the web of external attractions, keeping them restrained, may be termed 'positive karma'. It results from knowledge which determines the will to choose that which is the right path. On the contrary, when the mind is unable to overcome the desire for the trifles of this world is the karma of attachment that projects the image of a distorted world and stems from ignorance.

Swamiji believed that only when an individual directly experiences the pleasures of this world by participating in them he can realize their transitory nature. The application of effort, of will power, of the ability to judge, will help him to overcome the desire for such objects which result in sorrow and subsequently lead him to search for inner calm and renunciation. The poverty and pollution which is threatening the present civilization is the effect of negative karma arising from ignorance. “The majority of us cannot see beyond a few steps- just a little narrow circle- that is our world. We have not the patience to look beyond ... that is our weakness, our powerlessness”¹² This limitation may be regarded as one of the most important cause of environmental pollution –both social and natural.

The nation has to rise above this depressing situation and this can be done when the will is strong, powered by knowledge and able to discern the right from the wrong. Then only will the nation be able to hold its head high, the mind will be without fear, knowledge will be free and the world will not be broken into into fragments by narrow domestic walls; Where words will come out from the depth of truth; Where tireless striving will stretch its arms towards perfection; Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit; but emerge as a part of the Universal Being.¹³

The only way to reach this end is through karma which Swamiji accepted as the universal law. He emphasised that work or karma brings out the power of the mind which is already there, to wake up the soul¹⁴ from its slumber. The underlying philosophy is that activity is inherent in nature and consequently as members of the natural world we must partake in the huge karma-yoga. This will maintain the harmony of nature in accordance with the cosmic law or ‘Rta’.

Karma –yoga is the basis of Swamiji’s practical ethics, as it is of Indian philosophy in general. The message is that no one can get anything unless he earns it and we are responsible for what we are and what we want to be.

Thus this paper concludes with the intention of furthering global peace, harmony, prosperity and this can be done if each and every member of the global community thinks positively about oneself and others. When every member realise that he is a store house of energy which can be directed by his will power, that whatever we wish ourselves to be we have the power to make ourselves then only will we sustain. Swamiji therefore very clearly stated that that it is a sign of weakness to rely on fate, on destiny; if you are to rely on anything or anybody he must do so on his own conviction to achieve. If any individual has the knowledge to pursue his end systematically, logically with cleverness and as a science, he will be able to do it. Thus work, positive selfless work, can take us from darkness to light, from delusion to bliss. ‘*asato ma sadgamaya tamaso ma jyotirgamaya mrtiyorma amrtam gamaya*’¹⁵

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अस्याज्ञानस्यावरणविक्षेपनामकमस्ति शक्तिद्वयम् ॥ ५१ ॥
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12. Ibid 8, p. 33
13. This is a shadow of Rabindra Nath Tagore's poem 'where the mind is without fear'
14. Ibid 8, p. 31
15. *Brhadaranyaka Upanishad* — I.iii.28

2. FOUR YOGAS AND THE UNIQUENESS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S PHILOSOPHY

Reni Pal

Contemporary Indian philosophy has arisen in awareness of the need to blend the forces of tradition with those of modernity. The contemporary Indian philosophers are of the opinion that philosophy is to be treated like an attitude – an attitude towards life. Humanism has always been the most emphatic point for contemporary Indian philosophers. One of the trend-setters on this particular point of humanism is Swami Vivekananda, a stalwart of 19th and 20th century Indian philosophy.

In the philosophy of Swami Vivekananda the concept of *yoga* plays a dominant role. In Yoga Philosophy, 'yoga' means the cessation of mental functions or modifications (*Cittavrttinirodha*). The word 'yoga' itself is highly ambiguous. In the narrower sense it means 'union' while in the wider sense it means 'marga' or 'discipline'. Vivekananda incorporated both these meanings in the word 'yoga' with a comprehensive outlook.

Yoga philosophy prescribes four spiritual paths to attain knowledge of the self: *karma-yoga*, the path of selfless action; *jnana-yoga*, the path of knowledge and discrimination; *bhakti-yoga*, the path of devotion; and *raja-yoga*, the path of concentration and meditation. In classical philosophy it has been said that all the four kinds of yogas are incompatible with each other. But according to Vivekananda, they are all consistent with and complementary to each other. He sought to establish *Jnana-Karma-Bhakti Samuccaya*.

Each seeker is called upon to decide which *yoga* best corresponds to his or her natural disposition. Vivekananda gives perfect liberty to the individual for choosing and pursuing the course that he likes best. *Karma-yoga* is advised for the active, *jnana-yoga* for the rational, *bhakti-yoga* for the devotional, and *raja-yoga* for the strong-willed. The goal of all four *yogas* is freedom from the assumed bondage of the soul and realization of our true identity.

Karma Yoga:

In Indian philosophy '*karma*' means performance of sacrifices or particular kind of actions leading to salvation. Swami Vivekananda refers '*karma*' in wider sense, not in technical or philosophical sense. According to him, *karma* means actions which lead to formation of character, which lead to the rise of a 'Real Man'. *Karma marga* is entirely based on performing our duties. All duties lead to selflessness. *Karma Yoga* is the way or path by which human will power is expressed through actions for the attainment of spiritual development.

A *Karma Yogin* performs his actions being motivated by pure love. In performing his actions he remains completely unattached and seeks no personal rewards. Attachment comes only when we expect a return after performing an action. Vivekananda adopted the principle of "work for work's sake" from Buddha who, after attaining *Nirvana*, kept on working throughout his life. Vivekananda was very much inspired by the concept of *Niskama Karma* as told by *Gita*. *Niskama Karma* refers to the actions done not motivated by the thought of enjoying the fruits of the work. We have to do good for its own sake, not for the sake of its good results. Either we have to give up all fruits of work by our will power (in case of a person who does not believe in

the existence of God) or we have to give up the fruits of work unto God (in case of a person who believes in the existence of God). Thus the non-attachment emerges.

“Attachment is the sense of identification with anything as ‘mine’. With the idea of possession comes selfishness, and selfishness brings misery”¹. Actually whatever we do possess, we always tend to label it as ‘mine’. This type of narrow mentality causes selfishness, bondage and misery. Non-attachment which consists in being unselfish leads to self-abnegation. Self-abnegation makes a man ready to sacrifice himself for others.

Vivekananda said that we should not avoid or abandon work. According to *karma yoga* man has to keep on working as well as he can. Man should be like a lotus leaf in the water. This type of non-attached attitude is called *Vairagya*. *Vairagya* is possible due to ‘*Nivritti*’ which means going away from the thought of ‘I and mine’. *Nivritti* produces unselfishness, non-attachment and freedom or liberation. But ‘*Pravritti*’ which means revolving towards the thought of ‘I and mine’ produces selfishness, attachment and bondage. A *karma yogin* should follow the path of ‘*Nivritti*’ to attain liberation.

A *karma-yogin* remains calm in the midst of activity and finds solitude in the midst of intense activity. By practising good actions constantly and repeatedly one will reach a state where he becomes indifferent of his own good and incapable of doing harm to others. This is the basic theme of *karma yoga*.

Jnana Yoga:

Jnana Yoga is the path of knowledge. The darkness of ignorance can only be dispelled by the light of knowledge. Our bondage is due to this ignorance. According to Vivekananda, ignorance occurs due to our inability to distinguish between the real and the unreal.

Vivekananda’s entire sympathy was with ‘*Jnana*’. He says that all our actions are necessary to produce the spark of knowledge. According to *Jnana Yoga*, knowledge has two aspects – fire and light. The fire burns all the impurities of our mind, and knowledge enlightens our inner consciousness simultaneously. Self-knowledge does not come by itself, it requires renunciation of all desires – both earthly and heavenly. Ignorance can only be eradicated by attaining this self-knowledge.

The method of *jnana yoga* is to persuade the seeker that his or her sole identity is the self. Self-knowledge can not be gained merely through study or listening lectures by wise teachers. We have to meditate upon the truths that we have learnt. This requires the constant practice of concentration. By hearing about the Self, reading about the Self, thinking about the Self, and meditating on the Self, the mind gradually realizes that the Self is the only reality in this universe and that all else is unreal. Self-knowledge, according to *jnana-yoga*, is true liberation.

The *jnana yoga* requires two methods – renunciation and concentration. First we have to renounce all selfishness in that we can have control over our body, mind and senses. It is ‘*Vairagya*’. It directs the seeker completely to the longing to know the Brahman being impelled by nothing else.

Renunciation paves the way for concentration. The entire energy of the seeker should be accumulated and concentrated in the direction of knowledge. When the concentration becomes

more intense, the seeker begins to attain the state of samadhi where there remains no distinction between the self and the Brahman. At this stage the self can realize its oneness with Brahman and can realize the perfect unity.

Real Man is one – the infinite, omnipresent Spirit and the apparent man which we experience is only a limitation of the Real Man. The body is not the Real Man, neither is the mind, for the body and mind are continuously changing. It is the spirit beyond, which alone can live for ever. On the one hand, there is the Absolute which is beyond time, space and causation; without any trace of plurality. On the other hand, there is the world of plurality which includes everything that exists – the material world as well as the mental and spiritual world. This plurality is the expression or manifestation of the Absolute.

Knowing is a kind of becoming. Knowing an object i.e., *Brahman* means being identical with the object, i.e., *Brahman*. It is the essence of *jnana yoga*.

Bhakti Yoga:

Bhakti Yoga is the way of realizing God through intense love. *Karma marga* and *Bhakti marga* are not opposed to each other. We can have unselfishness only by love which can make our duties pleasant. “*Bhakti Yoga* is a real, genuine search after the Lord, a search beginning, continuing and ending in love.”²

According to Swami Vivekananda, devotion or love is natural to man. So *bhakti marga* is the easiest way to realize God. This *marga* does not require any special capacity or aptitude like other three margas. Generally the object of our love is mere worldly things or persons which are transitory, perishable and finally unreal. In this sense, love is not pure love but attachment. In stead of finite and limited love we should extend our love to the extent of infinitude. This love is the universal love, love for all. Universal love becomes possible only through love of God. God is the generalized universal whole and all things in the Universe are parts of Him. If we love that sum total, we love everything. Thus the power to love all comes only to one who loves God first.

Vivekananda mentioned some steps through which a seeker of *bhakti marga* can realize the Supreme. Because only the *Brahman* as Absolute is too much of an abstraction for a common person to be loved and worshipped. So the *Bhakta*, the seeker of *bhakti marga*, chooses the relative aspect of *Brahman*, that is Iswara or God as his object of love and worship. In the first stage, we worship certain images or idols of Gods and Goddesses or prophets. In the second stage, prayers of God, chanting hymns, repeating God’s name for several times, singing the songs glorifying God take prominent place. In the third stage, the prayer of God becomes transcendental. In the place of chanting hymns a silent meditation takes place. At this stage, the devotee starts to think God as the only existent being in his or her world. The fourth stage is the final stage where the distinction between the lover and the beloved, between the worshipper and the worshipped, between the devotee and the God vanishes. At this stage, the devotee becomes almost one with the Supreme. It is a divine and unique feeling of essential oneness.

Bhakti Yoga is divided into two parts – *Gauni* or *Apara bhakti* or preparatory stage and *Para Bhakti* or the Supreme stage. *Gauni bhakti* is the devotion of the devotee based on external aids, i.e., symbolical or mythological aids. Rituals, *mantras*, images, God-men, natural powers like the Sun, the Air, the Sky etc. – all these are the various symbols or *Pratikas* which man worship as

the contemplation of the Universal Being, *Iswara*. This stage purifies the soul of an individual and prepares the mind of an individual for renunciation without which attaining *Para Bhakti* is impossible.

Para Bhakti or Supreme Devotion means spontaneous loving devotion of a devotee. When all our lower worldly desires drop off and we start to worship God in a real sense, for the sake of God Himself the stage of *Para Bhakti* begins. In *Para Bhakti* man continues to love God irrespective of any response from Him. Devotion takes on its higher forms of expression at this supreme stage.

No one can attain the stage of *Para Bhakti* without renunciation. Renunciation is that *Vairagya* or non-attachment for all things that are not God. The person endowed with *Para Bhakti* rises above all forms, rituals and symbols. Between such higher love (*Para Bhakti*) and higher knowledge (*Jnana*), there is no difference. In the highest state of *Para Bhakti* the lover loses himself in the Beloved and attains to the state of Non-duality.

According to Vivekananda, *Para Bhakti* has three important features which may be termed as the three angles of the triangle of love. Firstly, love knows no bargaining. The true *Bhakta* loves God without expecting or seeking any return. Secondly, love knows no fear. When the devotee completely surrenders himself to God there is no place for fear. Thirdly, love knows no rival, for the devotee learns to love the highest Ideal in itself.

Raja Yoga:

Swami Vivekananda regarded *Raja yoga* or Patanjali's yoga as a science. The practice of this yoga enables us to realize God and have direct religious experience. Here the main emphasis is on concentration and meditation.

“Raja Yoga is the way to the realisation of immortality by controlling the mind and the body.”³. It involves certain yogic exercises of the psycho-physical nature. Concentration or meditation which directs us to direct spiritual devotion is the final stage of *Raja Yoga*. But this concentration is not possible for an individual without he has complete control over his mind and body. To control the body and the mind, a direct and forceful method is to be adopted. Raja yoga indicates this method of physical and mental discipline.

According to Vivekananda, *Raja yoga* is the surest and quickest method of attaining salvation. So it is called *Raja yoga*, i.e., the king of all *yogas*. But he was aware that this method is not for the weak people. *Raja yoga* requires immense faith in oneself as well as huge physical and mental strength. It is the monism alone which gives us immeasurable strength, according to Vivekananda.

Raja yoga is divided into eight steps – *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Asana*, *Pranayama*, *Pratyahara*, *Dharana*, *Dhyana* and *Samadhi*. The first five steps are the external aids to yoga (*bahiranga sadhana*) while the last three disciplines are said to be internal to yoga (*antaranga sadhana*).

The first discipline *Yama* or absolute restraint consists in (a) *ahimsa* (non-killing) or abstention from all kinds of injury to any life, (b) *satya* or truthfulness in thought and speech, (c) *asteya* or

non-stealing, (d) *brahmacharya* or continence or control of the carnal desires and passions, and (e) *aparigraha* or non-acceptance of unnecessary gifts from other people. These are to be practised by all aspirants irrespective of time, place or status. So they are called absolute.

The second discipline is *Niyama* or culture or relative restraints. It consists in the cultivation of the following good habits: (a) *sauca* or purification of the body by washing and taking pure food (*bahya* or external purification), and purification of the mind by cultivating good sentiments and emotions (*abhyantara* or internal purification); (b) *santosa* or the habit of being content with what comes of itself without undue exertion; (c) *tapas* or austerity or penance which consists in the habit of enduring cold and heat etc. and observing austere vows; (d) *svadhyaya* or the regular habit of scriptural study and (e) *Isvarapranidhana* or meditation of and resignation to God. They are called relative in the sense that according to time, place and circumstance there can be variations in the practices.

Asana is a discipline of the body and consists in the adoption of firm, steady and comfortable postures that is conducive to meditation. If the body is not completely free from diseases and other disturbing influences, it is very difficult to attain concentration.

The next step is *Pranayama* which is the regulation of breath. It consists in inhalation or filling (*Puraka*), exhalation or emptying (*Rechaka*) and retention of the vital breath (*Kumbhaka*), i.e., suspension of breath without taking in or throwing out air. Hence by practising the control of breath, the yogin can suspend breathing for a long time and thereby prolong the state of concentration.

Pratyahara consists in withdrawing the senses from their respective external objects and keeping them under the control of the mind. When all our organs – five organs of knowledge and five organs of action are under perfect control, one will experience a sense of blessedness.

Dharana or attention is a mental discipline which consists in holding or fixing the mind (*citta*) on the desired object. It is the state where the abstracted mind is kept steadily on an object within the body or outside.

Dhyana or meditation is the next step. When *Dharana* becomes steady and the mind does not go to any other object, that state of mind is called *Dhyana*. It is the steadfast contemplation of the object without any break or disturbance.

Samadhi or concentration is the final step in the practice of *yoga*. In it the mind is so deeply absorbed in the object of contemplation that it loses itself in the object and has no awareness of itself.

In this connection, it is worth mentioning that Swamiji's contribution in contemporary philosophy claims to have a uniqueness. He was not an academic philosopher. His philosophy started as a reaction to contemporary socio-religious and economic conditions prevalent among the masses of Indian society.

The greatest contribution made by Swamiji to the modern philosophy was his religious explanations. He tried to define religion with the aid of scientific awareness. He included religion

in the realm of science by holding the view that the religion is also a science – science of consciousness. According to him, religion is the spiritual enlightenment or upliftment in human society. The great conception of “Universal Religion of Swamiji frees religion from the hold of superstition, dogmatism, intolerance and makes religion the pursuit of Supreme Freedom, Supreme Knowledge and Supreme Happiness.

Secondly, Vivekananda’s concept of ‘potential divinity of the soul’ gives a new ennobling concept of man. Such a concept of him prevents the degradation of man from violence and crime of modern society, divinizes human relationships and makes life meaningful as well as worth living. He has laid the foundation of “spiritual humanism” which is now manifesting itself all over the world. He combined humanism with humanitarianism with great ease. He strongly believed that without the spiritual reform of the individual there can not be any social or political or economic reform of our society.

Thirdly, Swamiji has given a new theory of ethics and new principle of morality based on the intrinsic purity and oneness of the *Atman*. The prevalent morality was based on fear – fear of the police, fear of God’s punishment, fear of karma, and so on. But Vivekananda has given a new idea that we should be pure because purity is our real nature. We should love and serve our neighbours and all fellow men because we are all one in the Supreme Spirit known as *Paramatman* or *Brahman*.

Swami Vivekananda’s philosophy has a unique relevance for the modern world. The practical aspects of his teachings reflect in renunciation and service. His philosophy enhances the spiritual evolution of mankind as well as guides humanity along diverse paths to the attainment of freedom, peace and love.

Notes:

1. Tapasyananda, S. (2003). *The Four Yogas of Swami Vivekananda*. Mayavati: Advaita Ashrama, p. 23
2. Bodhasarananda, S. (1971). *Teachings of Swami Vivekananda*. Mayavati: Advaita Ashrama, p.7
3. Lal, B. K. (1999). *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., p.35

3. SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S RESPONSE TOWARDS RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

Pradeepkumar Mane

Present paper deals with Swami Vivekananda's conception of fanaticism and his reaction towards it. As a commentator on various religious traditions he has presented his views on the origin, causes and effects of fanaticism on human world. I through this paper want to examine his views critically in the light of contemporary situation.

Fanaticism is a very general concept. It is an activity in which particular person or agent holds particular viewpoint/s and very strictly and passionately follows that view. He in this process rejects others views and very unsympathetic towards them. Even he is not ready to acknowledge others views. He is filled with excessive and misguided enthusiasm. Though fanaticism is of many kinds I am strictly focusing myself to religious fanaticism around which my topic revolves. Religious fanaticism is an ideology and way of religious practice in which person following that practice proposes one religion or religious practice strictly and rejects the other kinds of religions and practices. He is very orthodox, rigid and conservative in his ideas and ideologies and gives no scope for others to enter in his area. In all, religious fanaticism is an ideology which proposes that one's own version of religion is the only truth. This fanaticism is involved at two levels i.e. at intellectual and practical level. In intellectual level fanatic doesn't recognize other's intellectual views and at practical level he is unsympathetic towards other's religious practices. In a philosophical sense it is a closed system.

Swami Vivekananda on fanaticism:

As a religious preacher Vivekananda has commented on fanaticism, its nature and its influence on human world. Vivekananda as a proponent of universal religion not only commented on but also harshly criticized it as one of the worst evils. For him religion was not theoretical analysis of truth, reality and the world but it is a way of realization of the truth. It is the way of salvation of individuals and one of the basic social organizations of the human society. For him the goal of religion is to manifest the divinity present in man. While proposing religion as a way of life he not only accepts religious liberalism but also proposes religious pluralism. He considers religion as an open system in which various people according to their nature and tendencies follow various ways and try to realize their goal of life. Though he has given many definitions of religions but still his conception of religion can be summed up in one definition i.e. 'True religion is always transcendental'. It transcends all notions of traditions, cultures, customs and human senses.

Giving his own analogy every traditional religion i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity etc. is like a page in the vast book of religion (which he considers true religion) and as a human being we have to read its (book's) entire pages. Means here he is suggesting to transcend all traditional religions like Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity etc. For him religion is not talking and believing but it is being and becoming. One should realize the nature of the reality through an experience. If we analyze his conception of religion we see that he proposes a kind of religion which is tolerant, sympathetic, open, critical and universal in nature. Vivekananda proposes this kind of religion that is why at many times commented on fanaticism, he considers it as a most hard barrier in the development of individuals and society.

Fanaticism: Biggest hurdle for the religious world

Vivekananda defines fanaticism as a tendency in which person holds particular religious position which is very strong, energetic, passionate and unsympathetic towards other religions. Fanaticism is destructive in nature and it always wants to bring sudden changes. While describing these qualities he harshly criticizes it as a way of religious theory and practice. He criticizes fanaticism as one sided ideology which is orthodox and violent in nature. Fanaticism due to this harms individuals, societies and is responsible for destruction of civilizations. He criticizes that as a revolutionary form of ideology it tries to change society rapidly but it fails in its goal. In this process fanaticism not only harms individuals but societies also because it is unable to find root causes of its problems and so becomes unable to get right of it.

While explaining fanaticism he gives two reasons for the emergence of it. He considers ignorance and bad faith are two chief reasons of the emergence of fanaticism. We see that he is critical of any kind of ignorance and about spiritual and religious kind of ignorance he is very much critical. He considers ignorance as a chief cause of all miseries. Ignorance gives us mistaken view of the world and we act and misguide our behavior. And while doing this we are unaware of our conceptions and activities which are on the wrong way. This ignorance creates bad faith which is the second reason for the emergence of fanaticism. Though he is always praiseful for faith which he considers as the most important tool for realization still he is critical about bad faith which he distinguishes from good faith. 'Faith is not belief but it is the grasp of the ultimate, an illumination'. He considers faith as a means to realize ultimate reality which can not be grasped by reason.

Since reason is limited in nature and it can only grasp things which are already known. Reasoning is the comparison between certain facts which we have already perceived. Reason cannot go beyond perception where the realization of religion which can only be grasped through inspiration lies. And this inspiration emerges from faith. So he considers following faith because it can lead us towards the realization of reality. But while doing this he made distinction between good and bad faith. Bad faith according to him is accepting anything without having a realization of it. So he argues that the bad faith is the chief reason for degeneration of individuals and society. He argues this, "In true religion there is no faith of belief in the sense of blind faith. To believe blindly is to degenerate the human soul. Be an atheist if you want but don't believe in anything unquestioningly. You not only hurt yourself thereby but you injure society".

Here we can see how he is making clear-cut distinction between good faith and bad faith. Here he proposes to judge bad faith from good faith with reason. Here we can see fanaticism as bad faith which can be scrutinized with the reason. When he is proposing reason as tool for judging good and bad faith he seems to trying to bring rationalization of religion. While talking about human ways of understanding the world he considers instinct, reason and inspiration as ways of it. He explains this that instinct is the basic and reason as modification of it. Inspiration which goes beyond reason is the modification of the reason. He says that the world of religion belongs to inspiration and further says that due to limited capacity of reason it becomes inadequate tool of realization of religion. But while dealing with this kind of fanatic activities he suggests using reason as a criterion for judging the difference between fanaticism and non fanaticism.

Here we can examine Vivekananda's viewpoint that reason can be used for judging inspiration. And ask a question that how if reason is lower to inspiration can it judge inspiration? A particular fanatic may come and say that his way is based on inspiration and can justify that reason is unable to justify it. Here, Vivekananda's interpretation of reason as a judging criterion for inspiration becomes inadequate. Inspiration may be subjective in nature where it is not possible to judge it. Definitely reason can be used for judging fanatical activities but according to Vivekananda it is lower than inspiration so it becomes impossible to judge it. Reason as a limited tool of investigation then becomes unable to make critique of inspiration. In inspiration there is a danger of subjectivity which may harm religious world. And here fanatics can justify their ways and practices. Definitely rationalization in religion is demand of time because it gives scope to create atmosphere of liberalism. If this happens tendency of fanaticism can be critically investigated. In fanaticism dogmatism is the chief guiding force of behavior. In it person or agent accepts particular axiom/s and never criticize of question its validity or correctness. He blindly follows it. Due to this blind practice it leads to violent behavior which is morally incorrect.

In the worlds of religious liberalism and pluralism one can follow his ways and ideologies but they shouldn't harm others. Fanatic doesn't do this and that is why today these kinds of tendencies are giving birth to fundamentalism, terrorism, and communalism and so on. While making critique of fanaticism Vivekananda says, "It is a mistake to think that fanaticism can make for the progress of mankind. On the contrary it is a retarding element creating hatred and anger ad causing people to fight with each other and making them unsympathetic."

Fanaticism brings instability to social structure, damages religious and spiritual environment and corrupts morality. In this way Vivekananda not only explains emergence of fanaticism but also discuss about its influence on human world. After knowing about Vivekananda's views on fanaticism we can see how his opinions can be seen in today's world.

Is his Philosophy relevant today?

1. First of all Vivekananda suggest culture of religious tolerance and acceptance. He by following religious liberalism and pluralism considers religion as an open system. Though he is a strict proponent of Advait Vedanta his philosophy of religious pluralism is not inconsistent with his views. Even the base for religious pluralism is Advait Vedanta. He wants that kind of religion in which all views, practices are accepted. Traditional religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity etc. are part of it but his conception of true religion surpass these forms. Even when we investigate we find that he says that he would be happy to see as many kind of religions as many individuals. This kind of religious liberalism is called as spiritual democracy by Betrice Bruteaus in the article "Facing fanaticism: Vivekananda's spiritual democracy.' In this way Vivekananda's conception of religion as an open system is very relevant in today's world. As today there are various religions but what is needed is this kind of openness which is found in Vivekananda's religion. The culture of tolerance and acceptance is the need of the time.

2. Vivekananda suggests that in this kind of religious openness what works is love. Though reason can help us to crate harmony in religions but the bond of love is the strongest in all bonds. Today if we analyze this we see that he is right when he says that love the lubricant in the machine of the multidimensional world where different parts of it have friction with each other. Different religions, cultures, ideologies are like different parts of the

machine which is the world. When these different parts come together there is bound to friction but he says that this friction can be reduced with lubricant which is love. Even in today's age we see that there are various laws to protect good things but these laws are unable to convert human beings to be moral. What is required is psychological kind of revolution. Here Vivekananda's thought is useful to tackle the problem of fanaticism. Today whole world see the problems of terrorism, communalism and many other kinds of intolerant violent activities and here his conception of 'love as lubricant' can be used to make it as a better place.

3. His one more interesting remedy for fanaticism is that he considers it as one of the psychological and psychological disorders. And suggest that who is affected by it should take good food, take a rest and see a doctor if required. "In ninety cases out of hundred fanatics must have bad livers or they are dyspeptics or some way diseased. By degree even physicians will find that fanaticism is kind of disease"

But to our surprise today religious fanaticism is considered as a kind of a mental disorder. In 2000 psychologist Robert Lifton Jay has described this as a psychological disorder called as 'functional megalomania' in which person creates delusions of own status in it. If this is a case fanaticism not only requires moral, spiritual kind of treatment but also requires medications and psychological treatments also.

Conclusion:

Swami Vivekananda by following religious liberalism, pluralism makes the critique of fanaticism. He harshly criticizes it because it is worst weapon for the destruction of human civilization. Even he suggests psychological kind of revolution. If we consider philosophy as a means of critique of human activities and want to change human behavior in the light of it certainly Vivekananda's philosophy can help us to form this kind of critique and can guide our human practices like religion. In the words of Vivekananda it can be said that if religion is a way of life it should be realized not only discussed.

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4. SWAMI VIVEKANANDA PHILOSOPHIES EASTS IN THE WEST

Pradyumna Anil Purohit & Harshal Gupta

Philosophy travels, and it travels through pen and vocal cords. It travelled in East with Lord Buddha and Swami Vivekananda took it to the West. We would like to highlight through this paper the message which Vivekananda spread. He walked as a missionary in the west, holding the flag of Hindu religion at Parliament of Religion in Chicago (1893). How he philosophises the eastern ocean of knowledge and learning into an alien land with objective philosophy of past in a modern way? The philosophy of Vedanta through which he conquered the Western elite minds which modernity still speaks of. He was an integrationist of East and West. Through this paper we would be analyzing the practicality how difficult discourse it was for Vedanta into the western philosophical thought of binary opposition? The debate of how nature is representation of supernatural consciousness of different religion, faith. We would throw light on his mission of spiritual foundation in the West along with his goal to reach masses that have to manifest what potential has been hidden within. At last how he will be regarded as the prophet of modern age and generations (present and upcoming)? (Vivekananda, My India - The India Eternal, p. 205).¹ Vivekananda raised the Hindu (*sanatan dharma*) flag high in the era of enlightenment (Kant, 1784).²

Why Vivekananda is Vivekananda? Who would have heard of him, if he would not have glorified Vedas and Upanishad's teachings in west to masses? Is it true with Vivekananda only? What would have happened to Buddha similarly? What is the origin or impulse (Sandel, p. 20)³ or spark to philosophy? It lies everywhere, all around us, we live in that space but to realize it through self reflexivity (Uppal, Indian Society, p. 2)⁴ materialises philosophy. But who hear that self reflexive voice? Yes the individual being only. But, then how the world will know about the great findings of universe? Let us say after *nirvana*, Buddha is silent and he speaks nothing, because he knows everything in a way. Why would he detach his knowledge and share with world? (Vivekananda, CWSV1, p. 91) Why will he preach?

We were problematizing a simple (though we made it complex enough) *Hindi* proverb "*gyan baantne se badhta hai*". The discussion started with an assumption that we have a glass filled with juice (knowledge), now we pour it into other four glasses and our juice container is close to emptiness. Now here, did the 'juice' increased in the container? No, it didn't. Why we share our knowledge? It is detachment of our self experienced and manifested truths. Why should I need to tell the world my hard earned knowledge or acquired tasty juice? Firstly, Utilitarianism will say of course it maximizes happiness both quantitatively and qualitatively hence Jeremy Bentham and enlightened utilitarian (Sandel, p. 61) John Stuart Mill both stands firm in justification. As the juice is divided so quantity is less but its quality increases as it gets appreciated by many. All in all it is increasing the happiness of the system irrespective of qualitative and quantitative indices. Secondly, whether the taste or findings were accepted by people i.e. can they associate themselves in binary opposition such as good or bad and right or wrong. In totality it gives us a value judgement. Thirdly, the essence of proverb i.e. by means of exchange of something you learn more, you got to know why it is appreciated and why it is criticised. One can have totally different reasoning while detaching the physical or abstract resources.

All the three theories stand justified at their own place but why Buddha and Vivekananda or any missionary needs to do it? Vivekananda answers it as "for one's own salvation and for the

welfare of the world”⁵. “They alone live who live for others, the rest are more dead than alive” (Vivekananda, CWSV4, p. 301). He says who are we to decide what is good or bad, evil or devil we need not to be judgemental. The world travels from lower truth to higher truth so do the consciousness of the human mind. Vivekananda speaks as we don’t have any jurisdiction on decision making or categorizing something as good or bad which in case is binary oppositional in nature.

One who teaches or preaches religion is called missionary. Buddha travels as missionary, so do Vivekananda with a mission to colonize the minds. Buddha had a message for east whereas Vivekananda for the west (Vivekananda, CWSV9, p. 611). After the travelling of various places in Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong, China and Japan, he decided to move off to the west to preach what his ‘Master’⁶ would like him to do. From the mystic command of High (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 28), he chalks out the plan to establish himself and give try in America if not, to target England. He has a mission planned (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 25). But as it appears as from tiring lecture tours and enlightened press which was reporting both in America and India make him uncomfortable, he called himself not as a missionary but a servant who need to rest in Himalayas (Vivekananda, CWSV7, p. 270). On some grounds Vivekananda has reached America but was he representing Hindu faith? Indeed he has no formal invitation at the ‘World Parliament of Religions’ but still he boarded the ship with a confidence that he can make it to his goal. It was with help of local intellectuals⁷ and few generous people who gave him refuge. Despite economic hardship of sustainability he continued to detach knowledge of his part, before the congress actually took place. “People often say that motivation doesn’t last. Well, neither does bathing – that’s why we recommend it daily.”⁸ He motivated himself which he believed to be noble task of Indian enlightenment.

As a sincere traveller he was constantly making reference and interpretation of ‘here and there’ as travelogue people like Ibn Battuta, Al Biruni, Francois Bernier or Jean Baptiste Tavernier’, Marco Polo and others would have done. Most of Vivekananda has been known to the world by publication of his letters⁹. But the massive impact factor was only generated after the conclusion of ‘Congress’. He became glorified in length and breadth to his home and alien land.

11th September in contemporary world, has two other major incidences to declare the date infamous; Salvador Allende’s assassination (Uppal, Democratic Politics, pp. 3-4) and the most infamous incident of 9/11 in political timeline of democracy. But we talk here of the year 1893 at a majestic hall filled with representatives of world religions *summum bonnum* at Chicago. His appearance and first words ‘Sisters and Brothers of America’ (Vivekananda, CWSV1, p. 7) booked hearts of Americans. As far as we notice the public gathering this phrase was a gift of Vivekananda to whole of India as they internalized ‘Sisters and Brothers’ similarly as Shakespeare’s ‘lend me your ears’.¹⁰

There were many delegates as a part of healthy debate many criticized other religions; fighting for the supremacy of religious belief of another. With Vivekananda’s deliberation all this conflicts were put to end as he always walked on a middle path, still holding the ‘Hindu flag’. He remarked on few points towards Christianity and Buddhism (Vivekananda, CWSV1, pp. 23-24). As he was making prominence as a Hindu as some modern scholars¹¹ quote it so as he was boasting ‘*Bhagwad Geeta, the Vedas and Upanishads*’ at the congress. Later we find in few letters¹² that he was disappointed because he was known as Hindu messenger; reason might be he felt like not only glorifying Hinduism but religious spiritualism which his master taught him.

In this self disappointment he somehow tried to preach the moral, ‘when we start believing that only one book, or one ideology or one approach has all the answers, we are doomed. This is not the question of good in every holy book or ideological treatise, but human beings must have the humility to admit that no one can really have all the answers and that too always.’ We can only get better and better approximations of the truth, but may never quite get there.

Vivekananda always refers to inner powers or strength to overcome every mental and physical hurdle. What he talks about is the manifestation of ‘divinity and perfection’ (Vivekananda, CWSV4, p. 297). It was quite a difficult discourse of Vedanta to fit that philosophy into the western framework, but he succeeds as he tries to mathematically integrate it point by point to calculate the length of line.

We accidentally discovered one day in a India Today photograph the caption lines of Bodyplus capsules as “Strength is life, Weakness is Death” (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 379), for some body building championship. Further search of previous year’s championship gave us “Muscles of Iron and nerves of Steel” (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 151). Youth that was his firm belief can make the change (Vivekananda, CWSV3, p. 192). Feminist may call it masculinity and at few places he has been criticized as misogynist. But at last with careful observation we see that his regard for the women welfare was much different from Dayananda Saraswati. He was broader with the American exposure. His message to the youth was to hold the infinite power within themselves and hidden potentiality (Vivekananda, CWSV1, p. 105).

Was it West which made its mark on our society, the dreams of good education came to be known as the barristers by professionals like Gandhi, Nehru and others and the America return intellectuals like Ambedkar and Vivekananda? It was Columbia University influence of Ambedkar to march ahead for the rights of minority. Similarly, when our ‘Swami’ saw conditions of women in America he was impressed to a great extent. He kept man making education as panacea to all problems (Ganguli, 2008). He had a vision far more broad than any other visionary. It accounts for the reason that why he was considered modern, to say with full confidence one cannot understand *Gita* until one plays football, he mended the link of physical attribute of biceps with understanding (Vivekananda, CWSV3, p. 207)¹³; strength in the strict sense of mental and physical both.

Did Vivekananda taught anything new to the world? No, he didn’t. It was the same age old philosophy in new clothes with better explanations and modern outlook. His belief on self and interrogative power made him a true seeker and a Vedic scientist. With confidence on his own Hindu faith, he questioned it with context of modernity, the existing lifestyle, he wanted reforms to age old stereotypical messages of scriptures, as amendments are not possible into the religious authorities, and he derives the way of interpretation; exactly as the modern juries interpret the codified statutes violating the law of nature. He doesn’t deny the value of scriptures, he stress that one should rely on them until one is not intellectually sound enough to work without them (Vivekananda, CWSV7, p. 15)¹⁴, let say few days back some people were criticizing in our college that ‘Gandhi never went to temples’. True. But why should he go? He himself was the embodiment of truth and consciousness and the scientist who experimented the truth, and came out with universal findings. Do he really need to go to temple or needs support from scriptures. No, is the answer, Gandhi was capable enough to do without scriptures.

He went to the west with the mission to spread Vedanta and Indian way of philosophizing and theorizing religion. What he brings back? Application of modern scientific disciplines; he stressed on the integration of east and west (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 406), we the donor of universal spiritual religion and accepting the industrial and other mechanical modern sciences. He wanted spiritual foundation in west (Vivekananda, CWSV3, p. 141) and bread earning modern education with specialized skills to root out poverty. In his opinion it is better to become an atheist (Vivekananda, CWSV3, p. 9) if one's religion is making him/her starve. No one is perfect, it is by the sharing and exchanging of culture and knowledge, we become more enlightened. How this task is to be done? West and World already had enough blood on history before modern 'World Wars', in form of crusades.

It was about this very fact eating out the religious consciousness and peace. In a speech at Parliament of Religions that 'religion is not crying need of India' (Vivekananda, CWSV1, p. 23), Indians beg for bread not for Christianity was his bold statement. India has enough of religion, but no self sufficiency as a nation. He talks of assimilation of minds not acculturation, to develop the harmony of east and west. We can take the words to a great extent in current geopolitical scenario where the distinctions are of North-South. When on the question of religious conversion, he said that they aspire for liberty, let them have it by Christianity; if stereotypical Hindu culture is orthodox we need to reform and liberalize it. He asserts that those reformers who crushed religion and tried to bring reforms failed (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 356), the new awakening was required keeping religion into private sphere, which modern thinkers of secularism speaks off. He meant the secularization but not extinguishing the religion. He talks to crush superstitions and cowardly expressions of human beings.

When he propounds the Vedanta there is a subtle shift, as Vedas impression on the western elites is ritualistic, he induces the knowledge part and scientifically justifies Vedanta philosophy as Indian one. The questioners of caste system always came from self consciousness and surroundings. He tried to solve with reasoning which is quite basic and elementary. He makes out with the careful reading of Vedas that caste system was not hereditary in nature (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 356). He travels to China and Japan and there he finds nothing of this sort. Further he keeps on making the distinction between caste and religion. He calls Buddha and Rammohan Roy as failure as they thought that caste is a religious institution, which Vivekananda calls, is a crystallized social institution. Both of them tried to bring down religion and caste but failed (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 32). Here he makes a remarkable approach and answer to the caste system as 'it has been institutionalized by dogmas of religious faith with an intention of gaining power over the other.' He negates that caste is hereditary; also specifically mentions that division of labour was essential but the way contemporary values are assigned to them, were not at all tolerable. We infer that the crystallization is to be done by nature (Vivekananda, CWSV8, p. 249), but it is our duty to separate caste from religious influences.

As a modern thinker Vivekananda way before Gandhi, said that we should always remember that real India is in cottage and no one is concerned about that, when we can reach the poorest of the poor, door by door we can do marvelous work. The idea was same as feeling for the miserable (Vivekananda, CWSV5, p. 27) with compassion and helping the downtrodden with whatever extra resources one may possesses. Similar later reflection in Gandhiji's Talisman which is printed on cover page of every Indian school text book teaching that 'we need to take care of last person of the society' any work or action should be taken keeping that person in mind. John

Rawls also making the same point in sophisticated Harvard language through his book 'A Theory of Justice' in 1971, with his idea of difference principle, he reinstates the same message, which in contemporary world has already created a sensation in public policy makers and intellectuals.

Vivekananda chants with modification to age old sayings like 'mother is godlike', 'guests are godlike' etc. He says, forget all and serve the destitute considering God in them. He says chant the new *mantras* like let 'poor be your God' and the 'fool or ignorant be your God' (Vivekananda, CWSV6, p. 307).

Are Vivekananda's views modern? How we take the basic elements of modernity into him? And more cautiously how we can say him the prophet of modern age?¹⁵ Prophet is the word which we say he was. Indeed as equal as Christ and Buddha and others. Prophet not only of a particular God or religion, not of pro-founder of any specialized sect or religion, he was the prophet of 'Holy Land' which we call India. He was prophet of religions' *summum bonnum*, the prophet of mankind as a whole. His ideas were of universal appeal. Indeed he was quite successful in selling, gifting, donating or whatever terminology one may use to define his success at 'World Parliament of Religions' and in other western countries including Scandinavia.

Notes and References:

1. "I have gone through Swami Vivekananda's works very thoroughly, and after having gone through them, the love that I had for my country became a thousand-fold. . . . His writings need no introduction from anybody. They make their own irresistible appeal."
2. "If it is now asked whether we at present live in an enlightened age, the answer is: No, but we do live in an age of enlightenment. As things are at present, we still have a long way to go before men as a whole can be in a position of using their own understanding confidently and well in religious matters, without outside guidance."
3. "Feeling the force of confusion, and the pressure to sort it out, is the impulse to philosophy."
4. "This is the ability to reflect upon yourself, to turn back your gaze (which is usually directed outward) back towards yourself. But this self-inspection must be critical – i.e., it should be quick to criticize and slow to praise oneself."
5. vkReuks eks{kkFkZa txn fgrk,k p
6. Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa.
7. Prof. John Henry Wright, Asst. Prof. of Ancient Languages at Ohio State University.
8. Ziglar, Zig (1975). *See You at the Top*. Gretna: Pelican Pub. Co.
9. *Letters of Swami Vivekananda*. (2000). Calcutta, West Bengal, India: Advaita Ashram.
10. *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 2, Line 73.

11. Prof. Raghuram Raju, Dept. of Philosophy, Hyderabad University.
12. *Letters of Swami Vivekananda*. (2000). Calcutta, West Bengal, India: Advaita Ashram.
13. "You will be nearer to Heaven through football than through the study of the Gita. These are bold words; but I have to say them, for I love you. I know where the shoe pinches. I have gained a little experience. You will understand the Gita better with your biceps, your muscles, a little stronger."
14. "Obey the scriptures until you are strong enough to do without them; then go beyond them."
15. Marie Louise Burke, *Swami Vivekananda Prophet of the Modern Age*, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture.

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5. KARMA AS THE MAIN WAY IN GITA: REVISITING TILAK'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PHILOSOPHY

Shubhra Jyoti Das

The central stream of classically looking at The *Gītā* flows along the banks of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*. Among the classical commentators, Advaitins have resorted to *Jñāna mārga* and *Vaiṣṇavas* have taken the way of *Bhakti* or devotion. This is seen even up to last classical *Vaiṣṇavas* like Chaitanya. But *Gītā* also includes *Karma* as a way toward liberation along with *Bhakti* and *Jñāna*. Thus, in modern times, Bal Gangadhar Tilak came up with an interpretation based on the way of *Karma*. Tilak argues that in the cultural history of India, the period of *Jñāna – Bhakti* is a very small one¹. According to him, the *Gītā*, by and large, inspires a life of activity and engagement. Interpretation based only on *Jñāna* or *Bhakti* is not only partial but also misleading at times. There is no doubt that Tilak's project of bringing *Karma* to centre was not only an eye-opener but also probably first of its kind in contemporary context. But his position and interpretation is not free from objections.

The main problem here is – Can we substitute *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* by *Karma* and create another pole after moving from the first two poles created by the classical commentators. There is no doubt that we have *slokas* in Geeta which prefer the way of Karma more than the way of *Jñāna*. In the second *sloka* of the fifth chapter, Sri Krishna categorically says that both performance of action and renunciation of action lead one to the same goal. Yet the performance of action is superior to the renunciation of the same². This kind of *sloka* must have inspired Tilak to come up with an exclusive karma – based interpretation of the same.

But there are *slokas* like the thirty eighth one of the fourth chapter which declares that there is nothing as purifying as knowledge in this world. Perfected in Yoga, in course of time, one wins it in one's own self.³ This *sloka* gives clear superiority to *Jñāna* as a purifying factor. There is an implication that Karma, which is seen as the tool for *chittashuddhi*, probably culminates in knowledge for perfect purification. It seems that karma is not the sole factor and rather an inferior tool for elevation.

The same thing can be said regarding some slokas pertaining to *Bhakti* or devotion as well. The first few *slokas* undoubtedly prescribe desireless action as the tool for emancipation but later resort to surrender and devotion for those who cannot uphold the lofty ideal of *Nishkama Karma* in itself. Thus it reads, "If you cannot make even these repeated efforts, devote yourself wholly to My works. Even by doing works for my sake you will achieve perfection"⁴ One close examination is required into the legitimacy of the shift from one triangle to the other and placing of one or the other path on the top. But before that we need to look at tilak's contribution to Global Philosophy through his Gita Rahasya first.

There is a general charge on Indian Philosophy that in a roundabout way it promotes escapism. Since spiritual attainments are rated to be the highest, this country and its culture faces the charges of promoting some kind of 'other – worldly' Philosophy. This charge has been substantiated by the works of the classical commentators on *Prasthanatraya* i. e. on the *Upanisads*, *Brahma sutras* and the *Bhagavad Geeta*. All of them have opted for either *Jñāna* or *Bhakti* as the main theme and have treated the other two as players of supporting roles.

Here comes the radical contribution of Tilak. He showed that according to *Geeta*, by work also man can attain the same state as can be attained by prayer or meditation. His work can be seen as an eye – opener because for the first time in the contemporary context karma based approach was taken up by a commentator. He himself writes, “From the reference to the opinions of the earlier commentators on the *Geeta*, made in the beginning of the third chapter of Shankara Bhasya in favour of Karma Yoga. These commentaries are not now available; therefore there is no reason why this book of mine should not be called the first comparative exposition in support of right action”⁵ The very attempt to write such commentary indicates the sound ground for replying those objections.

Tilak's commentary showed to the whole world that Indian Philosophy is very much rooted in the ground realities of life. It addresses the social issues like justice and equality as meticulously as it deals with the transcendental part. Larger section of humanity looks for a absolute dissolution of the problems of life. Tilak's work showed that this dissolution can be brought about by means of day to day activities of our life. This work showed that Indian culture has its proper worldly and materialistic foundations as well. This opens the possibility of a healthy work – culture in this world within the ambit of a spiritual culture which promises global peace. For every human being who aspires inner poise or *Nishreyasa*, this commentary opens up a dual possibility of both *Abhyudaya* or External prosperity and *Nishreyasa*. Minimum material comfort, which is a must for spiritual growth, comes as a by – product in Tilak's scheme of thought. Rather it promises surplus growth of the society, of the community and that of the nation.

The eight chapters in the first manuscript book were headed by him as ‘*purvardha*’ (earlier half). The second manuscript book has been headed ‘*uttarardha*’ first part, (first part of the latter half) and the third manuscript book has been headed, ‘*uttarardha*’, second part’ (second part of the later half). From this it would appear that it was his original intention to publish the book in two parts. Out of these, the manuscript book containing the first eight chapters was written within about a month, and these chapters are of extreme importance. From this the readers will get a clear idea about the thorough preparedness and the unimpeded flow of writing of the *Lokamanya*. Tearing off pages from the manuscript or adding new pages was not permissible under the jail regulations. But there are to be found memoranda on the inner sides of the covers of the second and third manuscript books that permission had been granted to him to insert pages containing new matter, which had suggested itself to him after further consideration. The first three manuscript books seem to have been each written within the space of one month and the last manuscript book was written within only fifteen days. The principal subject matter was written on the right-hand pages only and the subject matter to be added to the opposite page was written on the blank back of the previous page.⁶

The Volume I of the book has been divided into XIII Chapters. So far as the subject- matter of the book is concerned, it has been explained in the Chapter I that the book is concerned with the method of finding out the import of a work – the deadlock arising from mutually conflicting Ethical principles and the resulting confusion as to one's duty. Chapter II explains the desire to know the Right Action and the importance of *MahaBharata* from this point of view. It deals with such doctrines as Non-violence, Forgiveness, Truth and Falsehood and so on. Chapter III deals with science of Right Action by placing Yoga at the centre of every action. Chapter IV discusses the Materialistic Theory of Happiness by contrasting philanthropy from unselfish deeds, meritorious deeds from pleasurable things, etc. Chapter V considers Happiness and Unhappiness

in details. Chapter VI goes into the consideration of the Intuitionist School and the issues concerning the Body and the Atman. Chapter VII is an attempt to develop *Kapila-Sankhya* philosophy or the consideration of the mutable and the immutable. Chapter VIII is the discussion on theories of the construction and destruction of the cosmos. Chapter IX is a study of the nature and the status of the Absolute Self. Chapter X is devoted to the study of effect of Karma and the Freedom of Will. Finally, Renunciation and Karma Yoga, the state of a Perfect and Worldly Affairs and the path to Devotion have been discussed in the Chapters XI, XII and XIII

The *Sri Bhadavadagita-Rahasya*, VoL. II⁷, recapitulates the basic arguments and the conclusion arrived at from the Volume I of the book . It begins with Chapter XIV entitled as *Gitadhyaya-Samgati*, taking into account the methodological issues. Chapter XV is *Upasamhara* or the resume or the summary. In addition to all the, there are seven appendices which are very comprehensive and illuminating.

The *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha Quarterly* has presented a summary of the speech of Mr. Tilak on *Gita Rahasya* in the following words:

“The Karma Yoga which I preach, is not a new theory; neither was the discovery of the Law of Karma made as recently as today. The knowledge of the Law is so ancient that even Shri Krishna, the great teacher, was not the one who first propounded it. It must be remembered that Karma-Yoga (in actual action and in unselfish meditative life) has been the sacred heritage of India from times immemorial. Compliance with this universal law leads to the realization of the most cherished ideas of man. Such was the doctrine taught by seers, who never intended that the goal of life should be pure meditation or pure *bhakti* alone. No one can expect providence to protect one who is sitting with folded arms and throws his burden on others. God does not help the indolent. You must be doing all that you can to lift yourself up, and then only may you rely on the almighty to help you. You should not however, presume that you have to toil that you yourself might reap the fruit of your labour. That cannot always be the case. Let us then try our utmost and leave the generations to come to enjoy that fruit. Remember, it is not you who had planted the mango-trees the fruit where of you have tested. Let the advantage now go to our children and their descendants. It is only given to us to toil and work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those that come after us. Action alone must be guiding principle, action disinterested and well thought out. It does not matter who the sovereign is. It is enough if we have full liberty to elevate ourselves in the best possible manner. This is called immutable Dharma, and Karma-Yoga is nothing but the method, which leads to the attainment of *Dharma* or material and spiritual glory. God has declared His will. He has willed that self can be exalted only through its own efforts. Everything lies in your hands. *Karma-Yoga* does not look upon this world as nothing; it requires only that your motives should be untainted by selfish interest and passion. This is the true view of practical Vedanta, the key to which is apt to be lost in sophistry.⁸

We have no doubt about excellence of *Gita Rahasya* as a karma treatise. But still we need to look at certain points closely. In his preface Tilak says, “I must at the outset make it clear that I do not also say that there is no exposition at all in the Bhagavad Gita of the path of obtaining release. Nay I too have shown in this book, that according to the Philosophy of Gita, it is the primary duty of every human being in this world, to acquire the knowledge of pure form of Parameswara, and thereby to cleanse out and purify his own reason as far as possible. But that is not the principal subject matter of the Gita.”⁹ But I think this position is not acceptable. *Karma, Jñāna*

and *Bhakti* are all three ways to reach the supreme. Attainment of the release is the central theme of Gita and not simply performance of karma. *Nishkama* Karma is a means to the attainment of that end. This seems to be an overstressing of the point.

Apart from that, one needs to note that it is very hard to categorically distinguish between *Jñāna*, *Karma* and *Bhakti*. Because all the practices in *Jñānamarga* and *Bhaktimārga* can also be treated as karma only since they are also some or the other form nothing but acts. Actions can range from physical to oral and then to mental. The problem then is how do we distinguish between Karma, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*. This can or will have to be done in terms of the subtlety of the actions performed. Or at the best we can say that Karma, when used as a terminology of *Geeta*, should denote only the gross tangible activities or that set of acts which carries more percentage of it. If this equation is accepted, then it becomes difficult for the readers to readily accept that *Geeta* centrally preaches only karma yoga in spite of the argument that in the face of dejection, Arjuna was inspired to engage in act through *Geeta* and thus the whole of *Geeta* can be put as 'Fight'. It is more sensible to accept the fact that the kind of activity which Arjuna was asked to engage, due his station and position in life, belongs to the 'Karma' category and not to *Jñāna* or the category of *Bhakti*.

But, as a matter of fact, *Geeta* does not prescribe '*Karma*' in general to everybody for his or her upliftment. *Geeta* presents a 'fusion of horizons' as far as these ways are concerned and the dominance of Karma or *Jñāna* or *Bhakti* depends more on the constitution of individual or can be more precisely called as subjective. *Jñāna* will dominate the intellectuals, *bhakti* will dominate the emotional people and the rest will resort to the karma way. And therefore it is not at all healthy to create a pole of Karma after coming out of the poles of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*.

Apart from that when we read the twelfth chapter i. e. *Bhakti Yoga*, we find Krishna asking to mix karma with Bhakti for the mediocre aspirants who find it hard to practice '*Abhyasa Yoga*'. This again indicates that subjectivity or individual specific constitution of the seeker finally decides the nature of the path. It could well be a mixed path.

Thus we end up by saying that Tilak has, in his own way, contributed radically to the understanding and interpretation of the *Geeta*. But while appreciating, we need to be constructively critical in order to avoid repetition of fallacies which we have committed with other commentators.

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2. The Bhagavad Geeta, Gitapress, Gorakhpur, 2004, p.70
3. Sankara, The Bhagavad geeta, tr. A. G. Krishna Warriar, Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1983, p.176
4. Sankara, The Bhagavad geeta, tr. A. G. Krishna Warriar, Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1983, p. 391
5. Tilak, B.G., *Gita Rahasya*, Kesari Press, Poona, 2000, p. XXVII
6. Tilak, B.G., *Gita Rahasya*, Kesari Press, Poona, 2000, p.xxviii-xxix.
7. Tilak, B.G., *Sri Bhavadagita-Rahasya*, Vol. II, Poona, 1936
8. Ibid. p xxvi-xxvii.
9. Ibid, p xx

6. MATTER AND MIND: A TRUE RECONCILIATION OF SRI AUROBINDO

Nishikant Patoa

The cardinal principle of Sri Aurobindo's integral advaitism is the affirmation of the reality of the world as well as of the Absolute, of Matter as well as of Spirit. This integral metaphysical exposition of Sri Aurobindo appears to us first time in his magnum opus, *The Life Divine* when he says, "The affirmation of divine life upon earth and an immortal sense in mortal existence can have no base unless we recognise not only eternal Spirit as the inhabitant of this bodily mansion, the wearer of this mutable robe, but accept Matter of which it is made, as a fit and noble material out of which He weaves constantly His garbs, builds recurrently the unending series of His mansions."¹ In this paragraph, the sense of realisation that, "The affirmation of divine life upon earth" which is the very aim of his *Integral Yoga*, does not make any sense, if we do not recognize the two inevitable premises:

First, that there is a belief that the Spirit or the Absolute resides in this bodily mansion (Matter), and Secondly, that this body or Matter is considered as fit and noble material for the habitation of the Spirit and "out of which He(spirit) weaves constantly His garbs, builds recurrently the unending series of His mansion." So here Matter is not only considered as spiritual mansion, but also this is the substance out of which He waves constantly the whole creation and builds the "unending series" from Matter to Spirit. It must be pointed out that the idea of evolution also, we find from this paragraph at the beginning of *The Life Divine*. In fact, we may consider in a sense, this as the abstract of his entire philosophy.

The materialist denies the existence of the Spirit or anything mental or spiritual. It regards matter or physical existence as the fundamental reality and so life, mind etc., are nothing but the products of matter. Consciousness is only an epiphenomenon of material organism. "The entire dependence of consciousness on the physical organism, it is added, is also indicated by the fact that it is always seen associated with it and is never found apart from it."² Sri Aurobindo thinks the task of materialist i.e., to deny spirit or consciousness is easy for arriving at "a more readily convincing simplicity of statement, a real Monism, the Monism of Matter or else of Force"³ The most powerful element of materialism is the Agnosticism which admits, "the unknowable behind all manifestation, extends the limits of unknowable until it comprehends all that is merely unknown."⁴ The premise on which the view of the materialistic agnosticism grounded is that sense experience is the sole means of valid knowledge and that reason cannot go beyond the facts of the sense-data. So reason, "if it goes in any way beyond the data of the senses, must be pronounced to be a false knowledge."⁵

But, according to Sri Aurobindo, by accepting only the faculty of sensation materialist ignores or denies those noble and useful faculties by which a *sadhaka* can intuit and realize those inner planes of existence in the form of consciousness which are other than this material existence. Even in the world of Matter there are physical realities which are suprasensible and there are also senses which are supraphysical or subtle organs (*sukhma indriya*) which "can bring us into contact with other realities, supraphysical and belonging to another world included, that is to say, in an organization of conscious experiences that are dependent on some other principle than the gross Matter of which our suns and earths seem to be made."⁶

On the other hand, idealism in general holds that consciousness or spirit, not matter, is the ground of all beings. The aim of man is to reach or ascend to the Transcendent by rejecting the world and the life. The main lacuna of idealism is that it fails to give any meaning to life and to the world. For them, the phenomenal world is merely an illusion or an appearance of the ultimate Reality.

Thus, the materialist denies the existence of the Spirit and the ascetic or the idealist denies the existence of matter, and as such Sri Aurobindo calls these two distinct views of reality as “the Materialist Denial” and “the Refusal of the Ascetics”. According to Sri Aurobindo, each of these views based upon a partial truth and considers this partial view as the whole truth. So, Sri Aurobindo negates both of the views of their negations and affirms the reality of matter and of Spirit as an integral truth of reality. Hence, it is to be concluded that, the core of Sri Aurobindo’s integral advaitism lies in the fact of “Negation of two Negations”. The Matter and the Spirit, Sri Aurobindo considers, as the lowest and the highest terms of existence. Matter is nothing but the manifestation of Spirit. Sri Aurobindo shows in his evolutionary discourse that, “The Being through its manifestation in the universe take the shape of involution from where the evolution starts in the form of Matter at the first (nethermost) stage and Spirit the last or the summit of the evolutionary process.”⁷ And the ascending terms that serve as the intermediaries between Matter and Spirit, for their reconciliation, are Life, Mind, Supermind and the grades that links the mind. So, the evolution of Matter is possible only because there has been an involution of the Spirit into the Matter. “The Vedantist in his enthusiasm for the ascent of the human consciousness, “as prof. S.K. Maitra remarks, “into the divine forgets this fundamental fact. He forgets the mainspring of all evolution- the descent of the Spirit into the minutest particle of Matter.”⁸

In Bergson’s theory of evolution, we find the dualism of matter and Spirit. He directly refers to the difference between Spirit and matter in his book “Matter and Memory.” But Sri Aurobindo envisages that Matter seems opposed to Spirit only so far as the actual and outer formulation of Matter is concerned. Spirit is consciousness, cit; and Matter is unconsciousness, acit. But, unconsciousness need not be and is not the absolute negation or utter absence of consciousness; it is only an involved or involute consciousness. It is Inconscient. The Inconscient which appears to be a void of impenetrable darkness is really a fathomless zero that includes the whole infinity within its fold. Thus creation,

“At first was laid a strange anomalous base,
A void, a chipper of some secret whole,
Where zero held infinity in its sum
And All and Nothing were a single term,
An eternal negative, a matrix Nought”⁹

The Rig Veda also reveals the secret of the beginning of the creation in the same way,

“Darkness there was: at first concealed in darkness this
All was indiscriminated chaos.

All that existed then was void and formless: by the great power of Warmth was born that unit.”¹⁰

Thus, Matter is not devoid of consciousness as the materialists think it to be.

Lloyd Morgan in his theory of evolution regards life as a regrouping of physico-chemical events with no new kinds of relatedness of its constituents and also no new kinds of relatedness expressed in integration. According to Sri Aurobindo, Matter is the starting point evolution; it is there merely a physico-chemical entity. But it undergoes a change, the first of its kind, a transmutation when it is taken up by life, when it becomes the basis of life and receptacle of a living organism, then vitalized Matter behaves differently from physico-chemical Matter. A further and greater is brought about in Matter when it is taken up by the mind and it answer to the vibrations of mental organism, this mentalised Matter has yet a third norm of behavior, and a stage will come when Matter will undergo another, more radical and crucial change. It will be taken up by a higher than mind and suffused with a light, a spiritual consciousness will emerge and with it a spiritualized Matter. “When Matter first emerges it becomes the dominant principle, it seems to be and is within its own field the basis of all things, and the end of all things, but Matter itself is found to be a result of something that is not Matter. It is seen that the creative Energy in Matter is a movement of the Spirit. Matter is a form of Spirit, a habitation of Spirit.”¹¹ Thus, Spirit involves in all creations as we find in Hegel’s theory of evolution also. But Hegel is wrong in identifying Spirit with reason. It ties consciousness for ever to one particular stage of it viz., reason. For Sri Aurobindo, a truly spiritual evolution must transcend reason.

Evolution, which means the return movement of consciousness, as Sri Aurobindo observes, in its apparent and outward aspect, of two processes, or rather two parallel lines in a single process. First there is the sublimation, that is to say, the lower purifies and modifies itself into the higher. “Now this sublimation,” as Nolini Kanta Gupta says, “is not simply a process refinement or elimination, something in the nature of our old Indian *nivrtti* or *pratyahara*, or what Plotinus called epistrophe (a turning back, withdrawal or re-absorption).”¹² It includes integration also, which prof. S.K.Maitra calls “The Principle of Solidarity.” It means, when a higher principle emerges, it descend into the lower ones causing a transformation of them. Thus when matter yields Life, Matter is not destroyed, it means life has appeared in Matter exits in through Matter and thereby has attained a new mode and constitution, for it is not merely a bundle of chemical or mechanical reaction, it is instinct with life, it has become organic Matter.

In Einstein’s relativity theory we find that Matter can be converted into Energy. They are interchangeable: $E=mc^2$. He shows that mass of any body (matter) depends upon speed (energy) with which the body is moving. Energy thus supports matter and matter embodies energy. But modern physics is unable to explain, what is the nature of this energy, which has caused this energy, how has this energy come in matter. Sri Aurobindo discovers that this Energy or force is a consciousness and that Matter, too, is a form of consciousness, just as the Mind is a form of consciousness, and the vital and the Superconscient are other forms of consciousness. The different forms of energy in the world such as Material energy, vital energy, mental energy and the like are nothing but the manifestation of the fundamental spiritual energy of the pure Spirit in its dynamic form. This force or energy of the consciousness is the Becoming aspect of the Being which descends in the creation. By this affirmation of Consciousness with force Sri Aurobindo avoids Absolute idealism. Thus, Sri Aurobindo holds, “the two are one: Spirit is the soul and reality of that which we sense as Matter; Matter is a form and body of that which we realize as Spirit.”¹³ Matter is a form of the force of *Sat-Chit-Ananda*. In the lowest form of Matter the

Absolute is present as indwelling principle-as the Gita puts it, a dweller within the heart. As *Setasvatara Upanishad* says, “Within man he dwells, and within all other beings. He projects the universe, maintains it into Himself”¹⁴. *Mundaka Upanishad* also explicates , “By energism of Consciousness Brahman is massed; from that Matter is born and from Matter Life and mind and the worlds.”¹⁵ We find the similar exposition in *The Taittiriya Upanishad* also when Brighu came to his father Varuna and asked him, Lord, teach me the *Brahman*,” he was told, “energise the conscious- energy in you; for the energy is *Brahman*.” Brighu in this approach energized his consciousness and found out that Matter is *Brahman*, “*Annam brahmeti vyajanat*” So, Sri Aurobindo’s outlook which is integral, explicates that, the Spirit or *Brahman* is One and that One is not completed without “All this is *Brahman (sarvam khalu idam Brahman)*” Thus, Sri Aurobindo regards the ideal aim of *The Life Divine* in his epic *Savitri* as,

“The Spirit shall look out through Matter’s gaze

And Matter shall reveal through Spirit’s face

Then man and Superman shall be at one

And all the earth becomes a single life.”¹⁶

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7. A STUDY OF ECONOMIC IDEAS OF MAHATMA GANDHI AND JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Merina Islam

Indian history during the first half of the 20th century is inconceivable without acknowledging the dynamic role of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. They stood apart from the rest of their contemporaries as the two leading figures of Indian Nationalism. They wanted to see India free from the foreign rule. They were complementary and supplementary to each other in many respects. Gandhi could not do without the support of the young, dynamic, highly educated new leader, while Nehru was in need of a wise teacher who thought in the traditional Indian way, having unique ability to organize the masses. They contributed immensely not only for the promotion of the cause of Indian Nationalism but were also deeply involved in evolving comprehensive models of social reconstruction and economic development to be taken up in the country, immediately after the attainment of independence. On the economic front, both Gandhi and Nehru stood for the establishment of a system which would free society from the curse of poverty and exploitation and provide equal opportunities to all its members. Both shared the same dream of classless and casteless society. However the two thinkers also had differences on a numbers of issues. The present paper seeks to explore the convergences and divergences between the economic philosophies of these two personalities.

The basic ideas of Gandhi in economics as well as politics were drawn from ancient Indian philosophy of life. Indian philosophy has always preached that man's life is for spiritual evolution and not only for physical satisfaction. Born and brought up in the tradition of Indian philosophy and spiritualism, Gandhi, an ardent follower of Gita, developed an economic theory, which was in the line with Indian spiritualism.

He insisted that the objective of human conduct should be moral and spiritual development. He had no faith in an economics which is devoid of morality and which disregards moral values. To quote him, "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard and an economics that inculcates mammon worship and enables the strong to a mass wealth at the expense of the weak is a false and dismal science."¹

Gandhi did not receive any formal training in economics nor did he study much economics on his own. His economic ideas were shaped by his own practical experiences and intensive readings of John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy, Gita and his political and moral principles such as Swaraj, *Sarvodaya*, truth, non-violence and the like. Based on these wider social principles and teachings of different personalities, Gandhi developed his economic ideas, which if brought together would give a picture of the economic system that he visualized.

The most important principle which influenced Gandhi, and which later became the guiding spirit of all his ideas, was the principle of *Sarvodaya* the good of all. The principle originated out of his reading of Ruskin's *Unto This Last* which held that the good of individual is contained in the good of all.

His economic ideas were also derived from his experiences of Indian social life of his time. He was very much perturbed by the abject poverty of his countrymen. He said, "According to me the economic constitution of India, and for that matter of the world, should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words, everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet."² He scratched his brain to the

maximum to find out the solution. But he wanted a solution which may lead to spiritual progress and not an opposite retrogression. Thus he wanted economic progress but not at the cost of spiritual values.

Central to the Gandhian model of development was the rejection of classical capitalism and western obsession with material progress which he felt had accentuated the gulf between the elite and the masses and led to the spiritual impoverishment of mankind.

Nehru born of a rich and aristocratic family and educated in a western country had a scientific approach to India's political, social and economic problems which differs from Gandhi in many respects. In a letter to Gandhi on January 11, 1928 Nehru wrote : "Reading many of your articles in *Young India* - *Your Autobiography* etc., -I have often felt how very different my ideas were from yours. And I have felt that you were very hasty in your judgments, or rather having arrived at certain conclusions you were over-eager to justify them by any scrap of evidence you might get.... You misjudge greatly if I think, the civilization of the West' and attach too great importance to it's many failings... I certainly disagree with this viewpoint." ³

Nehru was a realist, while Gandhi was an idealist. Nehru represented the modern scientific outlook and had the vision of building India through the application of science and technology. Gandhi was opposed to the ideal of multiplication of wants and animal appetites. He advocated the ideal of plain living and high thinking. According to him, "independent India can only discharge her duty towards groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life... high thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship". ⁴

Nehru regarded poverty as the worst enemy of mankind. In his attitude towards poverty, he was not ready to make any compromise. Gandhi while thinking about the poor used the term *Daridranarayan*, the 'lord of the poor' or 'God that resides in the poor'. Nehru could not appreciate such Gandhian terminology which appeared to him as the 'glorification of poverty'. Expressing his view on this particular aspect Nehru said, "God was especially the Lord of the poor : they were His chosen people. That, I suppose, is the usual religious attitude everywhere. I could not appreciate it, for poverty seemed to me a hateful thing, to be fought and rooted out and not to be encouraged in any way." ⁵ Talking about Gandhi, Nehru said, "He is not enamored of ever-increasing standards of living, and the growth of luxury at the cost of spiritual and moral values. He does not favour the soft life; for him the straightway is the hard way, and the love of luxury leads to crookedness and loss of virtue." ⁶

Gandhi was not blind to the problem of poverty in India. He was, on the other hand very much alive to it. The difference between Nehru and Gandhi was that while Nehru's outlook on life and society was very modern, Gandhi's was deeply religious. Gandhi hated poverty as much as he hated the excess of wealth.

However, Gandhi disliked the Socialism and Communism of the western type because, according to him, they believed in the essential selfishness of human nature. He, on the other hand, wanted to base his concept of socialism and communism on non-violence and on the harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, landlord and tenants. The most important and yet the most controversial point as regards the economic ideas of Gandhi is the theory of trusteeship. This theory has created an ideological difference between Gandhi and Nehru.

Gandhi was against capitalism and yet he was not against capitalists. He wanted to create an economic system in which one will have enough for himself and nothing more than that. Surplus amount should be given to the community and that is called trusteeship. Gandhi wanted the handful of the rich to be the trustees of the poor and to be charitable. Once Gandhi addressing a deputation by big zamindars said, "I shall be no party to dispossessing propertied classes of their private property without just cause. My objective is to reach your hearts and convert you so that you may hold all your private property in trust for your tenants and use it primarily for their welfare. But supposing that there is an attempt unjustly to deprive you of your property you will find me fighting for your side".⁷ To Nehru, Gandhi's theory of trusteeship appeared unreasonable as an individual given unchecked power and wealth could not be expected to use it entirely for the public good. Differing with Gandhi, Nehru said, "I confess that I have always been wholly unable to understand how any person can reasonably expect this to happen, or imagine' that therein lies the solution of the social problems."⁸

According to Fiim 'Even Plato's philosopher-Kings could hardly have borne this burden worthily.'⁹ The theory would only perpetuate the snobbery of birth, position and economic power and the consequences would be disastrous. Gandhi suggested to the princes to grant autonomy to their subjects and regard themselves as the trustees for the people over whom they ruled. Reacting to this suggestion, Nehru wrote, "If there is anything in this idea of trusteeship, why should we object to the claim" of the British government that they are trustees for the Government of India ? Except for the fact that they are foreigners in India, I see no difference. There are almost equally marked differences as regards the colour of the skin, racial origin and culture between various peoples in India."¹⁰ Nehru had always been thinking of 'the economic framework of society' under Socialism. In 1936, he said, "The Congress today stands for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic state, not for socialism. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure. I hope the logic of events will lead to socialism, for that seems to me the only remedy for economic ills." Nehru favoured the development of "a socialist order... with a controlled production and distribution of wealth for the public good."¹² He aimed at some practical ways to deal with class interests.

At an intellectual level, both Marx and Russian experiments impressed Nehru. He confessed that "*the theory and philosophy of Marxism* lightened up many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me."¹³ But at the same time he found that there was plenty of dogma in official communism in Russia and he disapproved of this. Nehru analysed communism in the intellectual and pragmatic way. Though the practical side of communism as he saw in Russia, attracted him greatly, yet he was able to see unsavoury features of the system. The reasons were his background, personality makeup, impact of Gandhian philosophy of purity of means and his abhorrence of violence. He was dissatisfied with the violent methods advocated by the Communists. He found the answer to the question of methods for social revolution in Gandhian philosophy of "Ends and Means".

The result of the peculiar situation, in which Nehru was placed, was that his socialism got diluted. He asserted that democratic method was the only method of the attainment of a socialistic state as also of building it up on a firm foundation.

Nehru introduced socialism as model of development which is based on mixed ideology. Nehru's democratic socialism emphasises 'mixed economy', because he allowed both public and private

sector to co-exist. He preferred selective nationalisation of key industries and left the rest for private enterprise.

Nehru visualized rapid economic growth through the instrument of economic planning. Even before independence Nehru advocated planned economic development of India. His faith in planning was mainly due to the success of economic planning in Russia. In a letter to his daughter Nehru wrote, "The second wonder that the Soviets performed was to transform great parts of this area out of all recognition by prodigious schemes of planning. There is no instance in recorded history of such rapid advance of a people... The most notable advances have been in education and in industry. By vast Five Year's Plans the industrialization of Russia has been pushed on at a feverish pace and enormous factories have been put up."¹⁴

Gandhi was shocked at the vast gulf that stretched between the rich and the poor, in their ways of living and their opportunities of growth and one of the principle causes for the vast difference between the rich and the poor seemed to him the capitalist individualist civilization of the west as embodied in the big machine. From this standpoint Gandhi tended to reject the idea of large scale industrialization based on modern machinery.

Gandhi condemned industrialization because it accentuates materialism and spreads moral corruption. He said, "Indeed the west has had a surfeit of industrialization and exploitation. The fact is that this civilization is all evil... I have no quarrel with steamship and telegraphs. They may stay, if they can without the support of materialism and all its commutates."¹⁵

He remarked, "I would prize every invention of science made for the benefit of all."¹⁶ Every machine that helps every individual has a definite place in society.¹ However, he made it clear that he would not tolerate such machines which might result in the displacement of labour and the centralization of wealth. Thus, he said, "I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine, but I know that it is criminal to displace hand labour by the introduction of power driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes."¹⁷ He observed, "Today machinery helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this construction of thing that I am fighting with all my might."¹⁸ He looked back with yearning to the days of the old autonomous and more-or-less self contained village community where there had been an automatic balance between production, distribution, and consumption; where political or economic power was spread out and not concentrated as it is today; where a kind of simple democracy prevailed; where the gulf between the rich and the poor was not so marked; where the evil of great cities were absent and people lived in contact with the life-giving soil and breathed the pure air of the open spaces."¹⁹

Gandhi emphasised the values of simple village life in order to create a new social order based on truth and non-violence. His belief that India lived in villages led him to propound the concept of village *Swaraj* which among other things, envisaged village self-sufficiency. To quote him, "My idea of self sufficiency is that villages must be self-sufficient in regard to food, cloth and other basic necessities... though our aim is complete self-sufficiency, we shall have to get from outside the village what we cannot produce in the village; we shall have to produce more of what we can in" order thereby to obtain in exchange what we are unable to produce."²⁰

Gandhi wanted to make every village self supporting for its food and clothing through Khadi. He conceived Khadi as *a universal industry*. Khadi ensures the proper utilisation of human labour. Khadi would supply *work to millions of villages*. According to Gandhi, spinning must be *a compulsory objective of every able-bodied man*. He conceived spinning as an emblem of non-violence or a doctrine that had its roots in the purest ahimsa. In addition to Khadi he mentioned some village-industries like hand-grinding, tanning, hand pounding, soap-making, oil-pressing etc. To quote him, “It is my claim that (by reviving Khadi and other village industries) we shall have evolved so far that we shall remodel national life in keeping with the ideal of simplicity and domesticity implanted in the bosom of the masses. We will not then be dragged into an imperialism which is built upon exploitation of the weaker races of the earth, and the acceptance of a giddy materialistic civilization protected by naval and air forces that have made peaceful living almost impossible.”²¹

Gandhi opted for decentralization of economic power. In line with this reasoning for Gandhi the advocacy of cottage and small-scale industries for all-round development of rural areas assumes great significance. Gandhi believed that decentralization of economic power could fruitfully serve the interest of community by bringing about rapid development of industries.

Gandhi’s two years stay at the Inner Temple in London merely provided him with legal training and he returned to India in 1891 with his Indian outlook unaffected by the British culture. He represented the true spirit of India unaffected by the western influences and he was able to identify himself with the boor masses of the country.²²

On the other hand Nehru was not a blind follower of Gandhi. His passion for clarity and logic often clashed with the Mahatma’s intuitive and pragmatic approach, British culture had profound effect on Nehru whereas Gandhi remained unaffected by it. Nehru’s seven years stay at Harrow, Cambridge and London made him ‘a queer mixture of East and West’ and even in his own country, sometimes, he had an exiles feelings.²³

Nehru realised the inevitability of the impact of modern civilisation and advancement of science and technology in building a modern India with an element of compromise with India’s cultural heritage. He was a link between the minority of westernized Indians at the top and the vast masses below.²⁴ In the field of economic policy, Nehru did not believe in a dogmatic approach. He believed that India will have to evolve its own economic policy to solve its problems.

Coming to economics he said: “All books on economics written in America, England, Russia or China may help us, but will not suit us in the final analysis because we have got to take into consideration of the conditions of our country. And with the help of others, no doubt, find out, first of all, what our problems are and then seek their solution. Of course, we are doing that. It will not do if we were to get hold on some problems in some other country and may be, a solution of another country and try to apply it to the problem here, which may be different.”²⁵ Nehru was always greatly concerned over the magnitude of poverty in India and economic and social deprivation and exploitation of the poor and weaker sections of the Indian society. He was very keen that the problems of poverty and inequality should be effectively tackled with speed in order to improve the condition and quality of life of the poor and the weak and to restore their human dignity.

He traced India's economic backwardness and poverty to Britain's domination over India. During the period when England was going through the period of advancing industrialization, India underwent a process of "passive industrialization" in course of which India-became a great producer of raw material to feed the factories of England and a huge market to consume the goods made in these factories. In consequence, the burden on the Mand grew and with it unemployment and poverty, and there was a progressive ruralization of India. He also did not fail to notice that of the so-called westernization in India has actually, for the time being strengthened feudalism, and instead of solving any of our problems, has simply intensified them."²⁶ Nehru stressed that the only solution lay in the utilization of modern science and technology for accelerating the pace of industrialization on which depended also the prospects of agricultural development and the dismantling of the colonial economic structure.

In contrast to Gandhi, Nehru was fully conscious that industrialization- setting up of basic industries and big industries in addition to the cottage and small industries was fundamental to the rapid progress of the country.

He said, "I am all for tractors and big machinery, and I am convinced that the rapid industrialization of India is essential to relieve the pressure on land, to combat poverty and raise standards of livings, for defence and a variety of "other purposes."²⁷

Emphasizing the need of industrial development Nehru said, "It can hardly be challenged that, in the context of the modern world, no country Can be politically and economically independent... unless it is highly industrialized and has developed its power resources to the utmost. Nor can it achieve or maintain high standards of living and liquidate poverty without the aid of modern, technology in almost every sphere of life."²⁸

According to him the material prosperity brought about by the industrial age made cultural and spiritual progress far easier for large number. Nehru argued that emphasis on Khadi, hand-spinning and hand-weaving, which was Gandhiji's special favourite, was an intensification of individualism in production, and was thus a throw-back to the pre-industrial age. As a solution of any vital present-day problem it could not be taken seriously, and it produced a mentality which might become an obstacle to growth in the right direction.²⁹" He did recognise that Khadi served certain useful purpose in (India but only as a transitional affair and added that, "the main drive in future will have to be a complete overhauling of the agrarian system and the growth of industry."³⁰

However, it is observed that while there were differences of emphasis among the two leaders, but it would not be proper to overemphasize the divergencies between the economic ideas of Gandhi and Nehru.

While Gandhi emphasised the value of developing agriculture and small industries, he also recognised the need to develop heavy industries as and when required. He even came to accept the necessity of many kinds of heavy- industries and large-scale key industries and public utilities, provided they were state-owned and did not interfere with some kinds of cottage industries which he considered as essential.³¹ similarly, while Nehru emphasized the value of developing heavy industries, he also recognised the need to develop agriculture and small industries.

On September 29, 1939 in a letter to Krishna Kripalani, Nehru said, “I am personally a believer in the development of large-scale industries. Nevertheless I have wholeheartedly supported the Khadi movement as well as the wider village industries movement for political, social and economic reasons. In my mind there was no essential conflict between the two, although there might occasionally be conflict in regard to certain aspects or developments of both. In this matter I do not represent Gandhiji’s viewpoint to any large extent, but in practice so far, there has not been any marked conflict between the two view points. Therefore, I feel, that it is inevitable and desirable to encourage the use and development of big machine and thus to industrialize India. I am convinced at the same time that no amount of industrialization in this way will do away with the necessity of developing cottage industries on a large scale in India, and this not merely as feeders but as independent units. I do not know what science may achieve in the course of the next generation or two but as far as I can see cottage industries will be essential for India in addition to large scale industries, which should be encouraged in every way. The problem, therefore, becomes one of coordination between the two.”³²

Thus it is observed that, despite certain differences, there were basic similarities in the economic goals of Gandhi and Nehru. Both were equally concerned with eradicating poverty, providing employment to more and more people and making the country self-reliant in the economic field. Both wanted the means of production, distribution and exchange to be under social control and the profit motive and acquisitive tendency among individuals to be kept under check. Problem, therefore, becomes one of coordination between the two.³² Thus it is observed that, despite certain differences, there were basic similarities in the economic goals of Gandhi and Nehru. Both were equally concerned with eradicating poverty, providing employment to more and more people and making the country self-reliant in the economic field. Both wanted the means of production, distribution and exchange to be under social control and the profit motive and acquisitive tendency among individuals to be kept under check.

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8. SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF SAHEED BHAGAT SINGH

Manju Chauhan

Shaheed Bhagat Singh was born on 28th September, 1907 in a Sikh family in village Khatkar Kalan in Nawan Shahar district (Now known as Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar) of Punjab. He was son of Sardar Kishan Singh and Vidyavati¹. Bhagat Singh was arrested on throwing bombs in Central Assembly along with Sukhdev and Rajguru and awarded death sentence also because they killed the Assistant Superintendent Saunders to avenge Lalaji's death after Lathi Charge during the protest against Simon Commission. He and his associates was hanged in the early hours of 23rd March, 1931². This made him "Shaheed- the martyred one". He was not only a revolutionary but was a thinker too. Due to his extra-ordinary activities other than revolutions made him "The Legend".

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Bhagat Singh, after joining Hindustan Republic Association (HRA) started political work, but after the establishment of Navjawan Bharat Sabha (NBS) in April 1926, socialist ideas among the revolutionaries started to grow. Sohan Singh Josh and Lala Chabil Das (his Principal at College) have a considerable role in Bhagat Singh's socialist ideas³. He had expressed his views on a number of issues like religion and liberation, struggle, communalism, satyagaha and strikes participation of student in politics etc. in different papers and magazines like *Kirtia* and *Shardhanand* etc.

THE IDEA OF TERROR

Terror is the word about which lots of misinterpretations were spread, Bhagat Singh claims that nobody had tried to understand the real meaning of "Terror". They have accepted it as a crime. So, the work 'Terror' was being abused. This was defined as a crime or illegal act so the common people got confused and took self defence also as 'Terror'. Bhagat Singh suggests that self defence or violence for the protection of the nation should not be called as 'Terror' instead it should be called the use of power.

The Arab people defend their right to self-defence through terror in a powerful poem which is written by Surian poet Nazir Qabbani⁴.

"We are accused of terrorism

if we refuse to die

with Israel's bulldozers

tearing our land tearing our history...

We are accused of terrorism

if we refuse to be effacted

If we throw a stone

at the glass of the Security Council

after the Caesar of Caesars
grabbed it for his own
We are accused of terrorism
if we refuse to negotiate with the wolf
We are accused of terrorism.
If we defended our land
and the honour of dust
if we revolted against
the rape of people, our rape
If we defended the...
last stars in our sky

If this was a sin
how beautiful is terrorism
I am with terrorism
as long as the new world order
wants to slaughter my offspring
and send them to dogs
For all this I raise my voice high:
I am with terrorism...’’⁵

Due to this, the use power in form of courage, martyrdom, soldier’s duty, the ability to operate arms, fearlessness, bravery, and to put down the heads of tyrants were started to be considered as terror⁶. The prominent persons like Chhatrapati Shivaji, Maharaja Ranjit Singh etc., had become the victims of hatred of people. So, the common people have started giving up violent actions to remain wise. Bhagat criticizes this by saying that the purpose of use of power decides it is terror or not. The quotation “End justifies the means’’⁷ satisfies the thinker’s mind to understand the difference between the ‘terror’ and a moral action. So, it is obvious the will of the doer and the results of his action decide that if it is terror or not.

BOMB PHILOSOPHY

“The Philosophy of Bomb’’ was the major document of Hindustan Socialist Republic Association (HSRA). It was written by Bhagwati Charan Vohra in January, 1930 as a reply to Gandhi’s article, ‘The Cult of Bomb’ published in *Young India* on 2nd January, 1930. The bomb

philosophy was also published in *Young India* and threw light on the limitations of Gandhian non-violence⁸. Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries believed that revolution was the only way to get independence. This doesn't mean to fight openly and kill one another in anger, proud and enthusiasm.

In his views, our social systems also should be free from the foreign social system's influence. For this, he criticizes Gandhi's 'Gospel of love and self-imposed suffering' with some questions, "Will he let the world know how many enemies of India he has been able to turn into friends ?, How many O'Dwyers, Readings and Irwins has he been able to convert into friends of India? If none, how can India be expected to share his "growing faith" that he will be able to persuade or compel England to agree to Indian Independence through practice of non-violence."⁹

He further explains that Bombs were thrown to make the deaf hear. This (The Philosophy of Bomb) was the bomb of the revolutionary ideas of Bhagat Singh to awake the young Indians and turn their mind towards the independence. He hoped, "Like other countries, the terrorism will take the shape of the revolution, the country will get independence socially, politically and economically."¹⁰

VIEWS ON COMMUNALISM

Bhagat Singh's article on communalism was published in June 1928 through 'Kirti'. This was for definite solution for the problem of communal works.¹¹ India's condition was very pitiable. The wars based on religion and fought among the different religious communities were termed as communal wars.

Bhagat Singh realized that in such conditions India's future was very dull. He considered the communal leaders responsible for the wars because they could not stop the wars. At the same time, the people who persuaded nationalism and independence were escaping from the situation. Next, he criticizes the newspapers which were supposed to teach, to increase communication, to remove communalism, to aware and to shape a united nationalism. But, they were doing the reverse.

To improve the situation, Bhagat Singh suggested improving the economic condition. For this, he argued that it was necessary to remove the foreign government to improve the economic condition. So, he suggested people to unite and put an end to discrimination and to take the government to the native hands. The awareness among the young Indians is the beautiful way to check the communal wars. He suggested in the end, if religions should be separated from the politics, then we can unite. We think India's true well-wishers will think about our views and save the nation from the self-damaging elements (Communal Leaders).¹²

VIEWS ON UNTOUCHABILITY AND CASTE SYSTEM

Barrister Jinnah's article published in 1923 to transfer the Dalit population (who were called untouchables) to Hindu-Muslim missionary institutions had sparked off a fierce debate.¹³

Bhagat Singh in his article "The Problem of Untouchability" criticized the philosophical spiritual rationale of untouchability as a major problem. In the nation of 30 crore people, 6 crore were called untouchables. This is very embarrassing that such things exist in 20th Century also. He criticizes the social orthodox elements and hierarchical system that treats inhumanly those

sections which were necessary for basic services to the society. So, he suggested to the untouchables, “You are backbone of this country - organise yourself, the problem of untouchability will find no solution”.¹⁴

He appreciates the demands for equal opportunities and equal treatment in walks of life. He has shown that we need to abolish the evils of untouchability and caste system as the worst form of deprivation, discrimination, exploitation and inequality in India.

ATHEISM

Bhagat Singh with his Arya Samajist background was very religious in the beginning but he turned into a complete atheist in 1926. He tried to grasp to the complexity of religion, society and politics with the Marxist understanding in then existing Indian context.¹⁵

Bhagat Singh denied the existence of God. In 1926, he had become a declared atheist. In October, 1930 he had written an article “Why I am an Atheist” to clarify his views about Atheism. He defines the Atheism as critical investigation and experiment of the facts. And the religion, on the other hand is a set of believes on the supernatural power. He concludes that a man needs a lot of confidence to declare himself as “Atheist” because then he has to believe in his own capabilities and should full of confidence. He called the religion as drugs because it has addicted the thinking of people.

He criticized the scholars and thinkers who were not struggling against the mysterious problem but had proven their weakness in the name of motionless faiths. He invokes the criticism, challenge and investigating the truth. In his views, faith is good but blind faith is worthless. He had faith that there is no such supernatural power which directs and sustains the nature. He believes in nature and not in God.

CONCLUSION

Bhagat Singh’s extra ordinary activities have made him “The Legend”. He had given true definition of terror and differentiated terror and the self-confidence. He had given the philosophy of Bomb as it was the only way to get independence. He had criticized the communalism and suggested to aware the people to put an end to communalism. He had strongly opposed the evils of untouchability and caste system. He was an Atheist and doesn’t believe in God’s existence even in his last days of life. So, it is clear that Bhagat Singh at such an early age had developed his thinking scientifically. He had made the ‘Jail’, a library and laboratory through his experiments.¹⁶ His social philosophy gives us a new way to think about the social problems as well as to solve them. Only the need is to understand and apply them accordingly. Bhagat Singh’s social ideas are still worthwhile in the society.

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9. BHAGAT SINGH AS A SUREFOOTED REVOLUTIONARY AND HIS VENDURE: A FOSTER-SON OF COLONIALISM

Sheena Krishnan Ulamparambath

“My life has already been committed to a noble case – the case of the freedom of India. For that, reason comforts and worldly desires have no attraction in my life. You must be remembering that.... when I was quite young, Bapuji (grandfather) had declared that I was being pledged for the service of the country. I am, therefore, honouring the pledge of that time. I hope you will excuse me.”¹

A letter written by Bhagat Singh to his father, when his father had arranged his marriage, is quoted above. Bhagat Singh objected to the arrangement and left his home by leaving this letter for his father, which clearly validates his ardent patriotism and deep love for the nation. Bhagat Singh was gripped by patriotic fervor. He was also very sensitive to the plight of the two women in the house who lived without their husbands, the dead Swarn Singh's widow, and the exiled Ajit Singh's wife, and, hence, determined not to let same happen to any girl, who, might marry him.² Hence, in this paper, an attempt is made to explore various causes that nourished Bhagat Singh's growth as a patriot. Among various factors, his family background stands at the top. Bhagat Singh's ancestors were actually the adventurous migrants, who, originally came from the village of Khatkar Kalan in the Jullundur district 27 K.M. from Phagwara and it was from there, they migrated to and settled in the village of Banga in the Lyllapur District, now in West Pakistan.³ He came from a patriotic Jat Sikh family, some of whom had participated in movements supporting the independence of India and others, who, had served in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army. His grandfather, Arjun Singh was not only a scholar and doctor but also an ardent follower of Swami Dayananda Saraswati's Arya Samaj. Being a nationalist, religious reformer and social worker, he actively participated in the social and religious movements in the nineteenth century, which would carry a heavy influence on Singh. Unlike many Sikhs, Bhagat Singh did not attend Khalsa High School in Lahore, because his grandfather did not approve of the school officials' loyalty to the British authorities.http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagat_Singh - cite_note-SanyalYadav2006-19 Instead, his father enrolled him in Dayanand Anglo Vedic High School, an Arya Samajist school. In 1893, Arjun Singh became one of the delegates to the Congress Session held at Lahore. He was man of conviction, who always opposed dogmatism and rigid traditionalism. His father, Kishan Singh too was a social worker, who had organized extensive relief works in different parts of the country. Bhagat Singh's father as well as father's brothers, Ajit Singh and Swaran Singh founded a party namely Bharat Mata Society in the year 1906. Later they became the members of the Ghadar Party, led by Kartar Singh Sarabha Grewal and Har Dayal. Kishan Singh joined Arya Samaj as well as the Indian National Congress and consequently; he had faced 42 political trials, remained in jail for two years and was an internee for another too. Ajit Singh with the blessings of Lala Lajpat Rai, launched extremist movement in the Punjab. The government reports regarding the activities of Ajit Singh reads, “Ajit Singh during the last two months has held a constant series of meetings and has openly advocated sedition. He clearly ought to be stopped at once.”⁴ Report continues, “Agitator Ajit Singh and others have urged the people to rise, attack the English and be free.”⁵ His seditious speeches led to the outbreak of violent riots at Lahore and Rawalpindi in 1907, which the then Lieutenant Governor described “as exceedingly serious and exceedingly dangerous and as urgently demanding a remedy.”⁶ Lala Lajpat Rai also was amazed to see the overwhelmed agitating

attitude of the people that was created due to the frequent political meetings called by Ajit Singh in which, he urged the people to resist the government actively. On the Radio, Ajit Singh usually began with the famous couplet of Bahadur Shah, the Mughal Emperor:

Gazion mein boo rahgi jab talak Imman ki.

Tabto London Tak Chelegi teg Hindustani ki.

Maja Ayega jab hamara raj dekhenge

Ke apni hi zamin horgi apna asaman hoga

Shahidon ki chitaon per language her baras Meley

Wattan par marane walon ka yahi

Baqi nishan hoga.

The translation of the above lines is given:

So long as our soldiers of freedom

Have faith and confidence in themselves

The sword of Hindustan will continue

To penetrate the heart of London itself.

There will be sheer joy when we attain *swaraj*

And when the land and the sky of India will be ours

Annual fairs will be held at the cremation grounds of martyrs.⁷

We can say that the influence of Ajit Singh on Bhagat Singh was the greatest because he did all such seditious adventurous activities at a time when raising even a finger against the British was considered as a passage to death. The influence of Swaran Singh, a nationalist, on Bhagat Singh could not be underestimated. He published anti British literature and organized agitation against the colonization Bill. He too was arrested on a charge of sedition and was tried and imprisoned. Ajith Singh was forced to flee to Persia because of pending cases against him while, Swaran Singh died when he was only 23 in 1910 at his home after releasing from Borstle Jail, Lahore. It is from the above discussions it is assumed that his family background occupied with many fearless patriots and freedom fighters might have converted Bhagat Singh a revolutionary terrorist.

The impact of Kartar Singh Sarabha's heroism and sacrifice, one of the heroes of Ghadar movement, on Bhagat Singh can be clearly understood from the fact that when Bhagat Singh was arrested; a photograph of Kartar Singh Sarabh was recovered from him. It is learnt that he always

carried Sarabha's photo in his pocket, might be to derive motivation from it. Moreover, he used to show the photo to his mother and say that Sarabha is his hero, friend and companion and at home, he used to recite the couplet, a favorite with Kartar Singh Sarabha.⁸

Seva desh di jindariye bari aukhi

Gallan karnian dher sukhalian ne

Jinhan desh sevawich pair paya

Unhan lakh musibtan jhallian ne.

The translation in English is given below:

Serve one's motherland in the real sense is extremely very tuff,

It is very easy to talk about it,

O! My little soul!

Those, who, wishes to take the task of patriotism

Had to undergo countless torments and agonies.⁹

An important factor in his intellectual and political growth was his access of the Dwarka Dass Library, Lahore, from where, he had started acquiring Marxist literature in the mid-1920s. He was clearly groping for a comprehensive philosophy of human liberation. This led him to Marxism and the Ghadar revolutionaries of the Punjab. Bhagat Singh wrote regularly in their organ, *Kirti* (Punjabi), on subjects as varied as 'Communalism and its Solution', 'Problem of Untouchability', 'Religion and Our Freedom Struggle' etc.¹⁰ The trials, convictions and arrests of the Ghadrates left a deep imprint on the minds of young elements in northern India, especially on Punjabis. "It was their example of sacrifice which was followed by Bhagat Singh and his comrades through the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Hindustan Republican Association. Among the major influences on Bhagat Singh, the greatest was that of the Ghadar movement."¹¹

The revolutionary terrorists were severely suppressed during the First World War and most of its leaders were put in jail or absconding. When non-cooperation movement was launched on the urging of Gandhi, C.R. Das and other leaders and most of the revolutionary terrorists either joined the movement or suspended their own activities in order to give the Gandhian mass movement a golden chance. However, sudden suspension of the non-cooperation movement shattered the high hopes and inspiration and many youngsters and they questioned the very basic strategy of the national leadership and its emphasis on non-violence and demanded for alternatives. They were not happy with the ideas of the *swarajists*. They believed that only violent methods would bring freedom to India. Thus, revolutionary terrorism again became attractive and active under the activities of Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Surya Sen, Jatin Das, Chandrasekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Shiv Varma, Bhagwati Charan Vohra and Jaidev Kapur. They enthusiastically participated in the non-cooperation movement. Thus, two separate strands of revolutionary terrorism developed one in Punjab, U.P. and Bihar and other in Bihar.¹²

In April 1919, as a boy of 12, he visited the Jallianwala Bagh, where, the British police had massacred hundreds of unarmed Indians, and came back with blood soaked earth. In 1921, at the age of 14, he told his grandfather about the preparations being made by the railway men to go on strike. At age of 13, Singh began to follow Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement. At this point, he had openly defied the British and had followed Gandhi's wishes by burning his government-school books and any British-imported clothing. Following Gandhi's withdrawal of the movement after the violent murders of the police officers by villagers from Chauri Chaura, Uttar Pradesh, Singh, disgruntled with Gandhi's nonviolence action, joined the Young Revolutionary Movement and began advocating a violent movement against the British. Already at 15, Bhagat Singh even debated with his father regarding Gandhi's decision to withdraw the non-cooperation movement. The same year, on February 4, Mahant Narain Dass had killed more than 140 devout Sikhs in collaboration with the British at Gurudwara Nankana Sahib. When Akali workers protested this massacre, Bhagat Singh was at the forefront of welcoming the protestors in his village. Bhagat Singh joined National College Lahore at the age of 15. Around this time, he learned Punjabi language and the Gurumukhi script. This may seem strange today, given that he was born a Sikh. However, his grandfather, Arjun Singh, was a staunch Arya Samajist, who, emphasized learning Sanskrit. Therefore, young Bhagat Singh learnt Sanskrit, in addition to Urdu, English and Hindi.¹³ He proved to be good reader and writer in both Hindi and Punjabi. In 1923, Bhagat famously won an essay competition set by the Punjab Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. This grabbed the attention of members of the Punjab Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, including its General Secretary Professor Bhim Sen Vidyalankar. At this age, he quoted famous Punjabi literature and discussed the Problems of the Punjab. He read a lot of poetry and literature, which was written by Punjabi writers and his favourite poet, was Allama Iqbal from Sialkot.

The frustrated young leaders, like Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chatterjea and Sachindranath Sanyal, whose, *Bandi Jiwan* served as a textbook to the revolutionary movement, met at Kanpur in October 1924 and founded the Hindustan Republican Association (or Army). It aimed to organize armed revolution to overthrow the colonial rule and establish in its place a Federal Republic of the United States of India, whose, basic principle would be adult franchise.¹⁴

Bhagat Singh came to Kanpur in 1923, after writing to his father that he would not marry, joined the paper as well as Hindustan Republican Association. Bhagat Singh started writing in the *Pratap* under the pen name Balwant. He worked during flood relief, and did duty as headmaster in a school. He wrote, in Hindi, an essay on the Language Problem in Punjab, and won a prize for this essay competition. In 1924-25, he wrote two essays in *Matwala*: one on 'Loving the World' (*Vishwa Prem*) and another on the youth (*Yuvak*). When six Babbar Akali revolutionaries were executed in 1926, his article, 'Blood Drops on Holi Day' (*Holi ke Din Rakt ke Chhinte*) was published with the byline, 'A Punjabi Youth.' In his celebrated essay, 'Why I am an Atheist', written in 1930, Bhagat Singh says that this was the time he was being radicalized, and the end of 1926, still short of 19, he was already an atheist.

Before armed struggle could be waged, propaganda had to be organized on a large scale, men had to be recruited and trained and arms had to be produced, Bhagat Singh thought. All these required money. The most important action of HRA was the Kakori Robbery, on 9 August 1925, ten men held up the 8-Down train at Kakori, an obscure village near Lucknow, and looted

its official railway cash. The Government reaction was quick and hard. It arrested a large number of young men and tried them in the Kakori Conspiracy Case.¹⁵

In his teenage years, Bhagat Singh started studying at the National College in Lahore, but ran away from home to avoid early marriage, and became a member of the organization, Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Youth Society of India). Bhagat Singh was already something of a veteran in running organizations. He had been central to the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, formed in 1926 on the pattern of youth organizations in Italy, inspired by Mazzini and Garibaldi. In the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Singh and his fellow revolutionaries grew popular amongst the youth. He also joined the Hindustan Republican Association through introduction by his history teacher, Professor Vidyalkar, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagat_Singh - cite_note-23 which had prominent leaders like Ram Prasad Bismil, Chandrashekhar Azad and Ashfaqulla Khan. It is believed that he went to Kanpur with the aim of freeing Kakori train robbery prisoners from the jail, but returned to Lahore for unknown reasons. On the day of *Dassera* in October 1926, a bomb was blasted in Lahore, and Bhagat Singh was arrested for his alleged involvement in this *Dassera* Bomb Case in 29 May 1927, and was released on a bail of Rs.60, 000 after about five weeks of his arrest. He kept on writing for the edited Urdu and Punjabi newspapers published from Amritsar. In September 1928, a meeting of various revolutionaries from across India was called at Delhi under the banner of the Kirti Kissan Party. Bhagat Singh was the secretary of the meet. His later revolutionary activities were carried out as a leader of this association.

A number of factors contributed to the shaping of Bhagat Singh's socio-political thought. First of all, his family environment, then, Gandhi's decision to suddenly suspend the non-cooperation movement, disappointed many a youth of India. Most of the future revolutionaries, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Surya Sen, Jatin Das, Chandra Sekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev Singh, Siv Verma, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Jasidev Kapur and a host of others had actively participated in the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi's slogan 'Swaraj in one year' had inspired them with the spirit of nationalism. Their high hopes that Gandhi's first all – India movement had risen, however, got temporarily frustrated.

The period of his revolutionary activities began from the time he left Lahore and went to Kanpur. Bhagat Singh got busy in building his contacts with other like-minded revolutionaries. At Kanpur he stayed with Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and came to know Batukeshwar Dutt¹⁶ We can say that both the strands developed under the influences of varied social forces. The main was the upsurge of working class trade unionism after the war. They identified revolutionary potential of the new class and wished to harness it to the nationalist revolution. The revolutionaries in northern India were the first to emerge out of the mood of frustration and reorganized under the leadership of the old veterans. A real breakthrough in terms of revolutionary struggle, goals, aims and objectives, targets, future plan, methodology and ideology of revolution etc. was inaugurated by Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Bhagat Singh himself declared once that the "the real revolutionary armies are in the villages and in factories."¹⁷

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10 डॉ. अम्बेडकर का सामाजिक-चिन्तन एवं मानवाधिकार देशराज सिरसवाल

भूमिका

भारतीय संविधान के निर्माता डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर सिर्फ दलितों के ही नेता नहीं हैं। वह एक ऐसे राष्ट्रपुरुष हैं। जिन्होंने समूचे देश के सम्बन्ध में, भारत के इतिहास के सम्बन्ध में, एवं समाज परिवर्तन पर महत्वपूर्ण वैचारिक योगदान दिया है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर एक विद्वान, लेखक, राजनीतिज्ञ, समाज-सुधारक, कानून विशेषज्ञ, शिक्षा-शास्त्री और नवसमालोचक के रूप में नई पीढ़ी के सामने उदय हुए हैं। हम सभी उन पौधों को सींच पाए हैं जो डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने लगाए थे। जो शिक्षा अंधविश्वास, भाग्यवाद, संकीर्णवाद, प्रतिक्रियावाद जैसी कुरीतियों को ध्वस्त करती हैं, वह ग्रहण करने योग्य हैं। उनके सपनों को पूरा करने के लिए हमें कठोर संकल्प, ईमानदारी और प्रभावपूर्ण ढंग से काम करना होगा, तभी हम सही मायने में इन विचारकों को सच्ची श्रद्धांजलि दे सकते हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख में मात्र उनके चिंतन का अंश भर रेखांकित किया गया है जिसमें उनके विचारों से परिचय एवं मानवाधिकार के बारे में एक निरपेक्ष चिंतन दिया गया है और वर्तमान समय की जातीय समस्याओं, मानवाधिकार के परस्पर सम्बन्ध को दर्शाया गया है।

अम्बेडकर : व्यक्तित्व एवं विचार

आधुनिक युग में अम्बेडकर का चिन्तन अमानवीय, अनैतिक एवं अन्यायपूर्ण सामाजिक व्यवस्था के प्रति विद्रोह एवं विरोध का सबसे सशक्त स्वर माना जाता है। बाल्यकाल से ही कठोर अनुभवों से गुजरते हुए अम्बेडकर को अनेक सामाजिक बुराईयों एवं विडम्बनाओं के साथ अपनी जीवन नियति से साक्षात्कार हुआ था। गहन अध्ययन एवं उच्च शिक्षा के आधार पर उन्होंने सामाजिक अशुभ-के प्रति अपनी आलोचनात्मक दृष्टि को एक विवेक-सम्मत एवं तार्किक आधार प्रदान किया। डॉ. अम्बेडकर अपने पिता के अलावा गौतम बुद्ध, ज्योतिबा फुले और कबीर से प्रभावित थे, जिन्हें अम्बेडकर के तीन गुरु भी कहा जाता है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने पाश्चात्य स्वतन्त्रता और मानवतावादी सम्बन्धी विचारों का ज्ञान प्रो. जॉन डेवी, जॉन स्टूअर्ट मिल, एडमण्ड बुके और प्रो. हारोल्ड लॉस्की इत्यादि विचारकों से लिया। जिसका प्रमाण उनकी लिखितों और भाषणों में प्रयोग उद्धरणों से लगाया जा सकता है। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि डॉ. अम्बेडकर को पश्चिम ने उनके “हथियार” और पूर्व ने “आत्म-बल” दिया, जिसके आधार पर सामाजिक समानता और सामाजिक न्याय के लिए उन्होंने संघर्ष किया।¹

डॉ. अम्बेडकर आधुनिक भारत के महान चिंतक दार्शनिक, अर्थशास्त्री विधिवेता, शोषितों के मुक्ति-नायक, संघर्षशील सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता और संविधान निर्माता थे। वे स्वतन्त्रता-समानता-बन्धुत्व के क्रान्तिकारी आदर्शों को भारतीय समाज में स्थापित करना चाहते थे। जो भी प्रथा, परम्परा, विचारधारा, कानून या धार्मिक मान्यता इन मूल्यों आदर्शों को प्राप्त करने में बाधा रही है, वे उनके प्रबल आलोचक रहे। उन्होंने जातिप्रथा-छूआछूत और पूंजीवादी-सामन्ती विचारधारा की तमाम शोषणपरक प्रणालियों की इसी आधार पर आलोचना करके बहुआयामी व वस्तुपरक विश्लेषण किया।

उनका विश्वास था कि अगर वे अपने संघर्ष में कामयाब हो जाते हैं तो यह किसी विशेष समुदाय के हित में नहीं होगा। बल्कि सभी भारतीयों के लिए एक वरदान बनेगा। वे चाहते थे कि बहुजन परम्परागत सामाजिक स्थिति पर अपनी मजबूत स्थिति बनाये। उनके आदर्श स्वतन्त्रता, समानता और भाईचारा थे।

“आज उदारीकरण, भूमंडलीकरण व निजीकरण की नीतियों से समाज में असमानता की खाई गहरी हुई है जबकि उनके सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, आर्थिक व धार्मिक चिन्तन का केन्द्रिय तत्व समानता है जिसकी बुनियाद पर ही कोई वास्तविक लोकतंत्र बन सकता है। लोकतान्त्रिक पद्धतियों की जगह तानाशाही व राजशाही की प्रवृत्तियां बढ़ रही हैं। राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति को बड़े पूंजी शहों को भेंट किया जा रहा है। राज्य अपनी कल्याणकारी भूमिका से पल्ला झाड़ रहा है। श्रमिकों, महिलाओं, वंचितों, पिछड़ों, अल्पसंख्यकों, दलितों पर उत्पीड़न बढ़ रहा है और उनके अधिकार छीने जा रहे हैं। अधिकांश राजनीतिक नेता व पार्टियां मुनाफाखोर पूंजीपतियों व शोषकों के एजेन्ट की तरह काम कर रही हैं। ऐसे में समाज परिवर्तन के इच्छुकों के लिए डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के प्रेरणादायी संघर्षशील जीवन व क्रान्तिकारी विचारों से दोस्ती निहायत प्रासंगिक है।”²

संविधान के बारे में वे कहते हैं, “शरीर के पहरावे के लिए बनाये गये सूट की तरह, संविधान भी देश के योग्य होना चाहिए। जिस तरह कमजोर शरीर वाले व्यक्ति के कपड़े मेरे लिए ठीक नहीं हैं, उसी तरह देश के लिए वह कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंच सकता। लोकतंत्र का अर्थ है बहुजन का राज। इसलिए इस देश में या तो हिन्दुओं का राज रहेगा या फिर इस बहुमत का जिसमें अछूत, आदिवासी और कम जनसंख्या वाले हैं, उनके प्रति क्या नीति अपनाई जायेगी, यह महत्वपूर्ण है।” (पृ. 35)³ “यह कहने से बात नहीं बनती कि हर पुरानी बात सोने के बराबर होती है। लकीर के फकीर बनके काम नहीं चलता कि जो बाप-दादा करते आये हैं, वह सब औलाद को भी करना चाहिए। सोचने का यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है। परिस्थिति के बदलने के साथ-साथ विचार भी बदलने चाहिए यह जरूरी है।” (पृ. 30)

डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने अपने ग्रंथ ‘वु वर दि सुदराज’ कि भूमिका में लिखा है, “ऐतिहासिक सच की खोज करने के लिए मैं पवित्र धर्म ग्रन्थों का अनुवाद करना चाहता हूँ। इससे हिन्दुओं के पता चल सकेगा कि उनके समाज, देश के पतन और विनाश का कारण बना है - इन धर्मों के सिद्धान्त। दूसरी बात यह है कि भवभूति के कथनानुसार काल अनंत है और धरती अपार है, कभी न कभी कोई ऐसा इन्सान पैदा होगा, जो मैं कुछ कह रहा हूँ, उस पर विचार करेगा। इस ग्रंथ को उन्होंने आधुनिक भारत के सबसे उत्तम पुरुष ज्योतिबा फुले को समर्पित किया है। “जिन लोगों की जन-आन्दोलनों में रूचि है, उन्हें केवल धार्मिक दृष्टिकोण अपनाना छोड़ देना चाहिए। उन्हें भारत के लोगों के प्रति सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण ही अपनाना होगा।” वे कहते हैं, “हमें किसी का आर्शीवाद नहीं चाहिए। हम अपनी हिम्मत, बुद्धि तथा कार्य योग्यता के बल पर अपने देश तथा अपने लिये पूरी लगन के साथ काम करेंगे। जो भी जागृत है, संघर्ष करता है, उसे अंत में स्थायी न्याय मिल सकता है।”

‘पूना-एक्ट’ में चाहे दलितों को ‘फिरकू फैसले’ से कम सहूलतें मिली, पर इससे भारत के इतिहास में अछूतों को वोट का अधिकार, केन्द्रीय और प्रान्तीय विधान-सभाओं में अपने प्रतिनिधि भेजने, पुलिस भर्ती, शैक्षिक-सुविधाएं और नौकरियों में आरक्षित स्थान प्राप्त हुआ। सदियों से पछिड़े, लताड़े, अछूतों, गुलाम अपने दुख-दर्द की कहानी सुनाने योग्य हुए। यह एक बिना खून-खराबे के ऐसा इंकलाब था, जो अकेले डॉ. अम्बेडकर की योग्यता, लगन, त्याग, मेहनत और संघर्ष के कारण ही हुआ था, जिनके कारण अछूतों की आजादी की शुरुआत हुई। गांधी अछूतों के धर्म परिवर्तन करके उनके मुसलमान या इसाई बनने के लिए तो तैयार थे, पर अछूतों के अलग अधिकारों के लिए सहमत नहीं हुए।⁴

“गांधी के मरणव्रत के कारण सारा देश हिल गया और गांधी जी की जान बचाने के लिए चारों तरफ से मेरे ऊपर दबाव डाला गया। जान बचाने का एक ही उपाय था कि गांधी की इच्छा के अनुसार प्रधानमंत्री के फैसले में सुधार किया जाए। इस तरह मैं बड़े धर्म-संकट में फंस गया था। एक तो देश के बहुत किमती जीवन को बचाने का सवाल था और दूसरी तरफ हजारों सालों से पीड़ित, सति, अछूत जनता के अधिकारों की बलि देना। इस समय मैं ऐसी नाजुक स्थिति में था, शायद ही कोई ओर दूसरा व्यक्ति हो। अगर मैं गांधी जी के प्राण नहीं बचाता तो मुझे देश की शांति भंग करने वाला और मानवता का दुश्मन कहा जाता और मेरे साथ अछूतों को भी इस इल्जाम का भागी बनना पड़ता। अन्त में, मैंने बड़े दुखी मन से गांधी जी की शर्तों पर समझौता स्वीकार किया, जो ‘पूना-एक्ट’ के नाम से मशहूर है।”⁵

जातिवाद एवं मानवाधिकार

सामाजिक सुरक्षा की भावना मानव को उसके अधिकार मिलने की स्थिति में आती है। मानवाधिकारों से अभिप्राय, इंसान के जीवन (प्राण), स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा गरिमा से सम्बन्धित ऐसे अधिकारों से है, जो भारतीय संविधान द्वारा या अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रसंविधाओं द्वारा मान्य है और जिनको भारत के न्यायालयों में लागू किया जाता है। दूसरे शब्दों में सम्मानजनक जीवन जीने के लिए जरूरी अधिकारों को मानव अधिकार कहते हैं। लेकिन अगर हम भारतीय समाज की वर्तमान स्थिति देखते हैं, तो पाते हैं कि मानवाधिकारों का उल्लंघन होना, यहां पर आम बात है।

आजाद भारत के सत्तासीन नेता व चिन्तक यही मानते रहे हैं कि आर्थिक विकास व शिक्षा के प्रचार-प्रसार के साथ-साथ जाति प्रथा व छुआ-छूत जैसी गली-सड़ी परम्पराओं का स्वतः ही अन्त हो जायेगा, लेकिन उनकी यह सोच अब तक सही साबित नहीं हुई है। इन बुराईयों के विरुद्ध ठोस कदम न उठाने से उनको मिटाने का संकल्प

केवल एक सद्‌इच्छा बनकर रह गया, बल्कि आजादी के बाद अपनाई गई आर्थिक-सामाजिक नीतियों से हुए असमान विकास व पूर्वाग्रहपूर्ण शिक्षा ने इसे और मजबूत किया। धीरे-धीरे जाति-प्रथा ने स्वयं को राजनीतिक इकाई के तौर पर संगठित कर लिया। जाति-प्रथा के विरुद्ध सामाजिक अभियान न चलाने के कारण ही समाज में व्याप्त जातिगत दुराग्रह-पूर्वाग्रहप्रस्त संस्कारों, विचारों, मान्यताओं, रिवाजों व कर्मकाण्डों ने सामाजिक-सार्वजनिक जीवन को किस तरह प्रभावित किया है।⁶ इसका ज्वलंत प्रमाण हमें वर्तमान में लिखित दलित साहित्य में मिलता है।

अनुसूचित जाति या दलित, जो भी कह लीजिए इनकी समस्याओं की प्रकृति सामाजिक है। सामाजिक समस्या का निदान राजनीतिक, प्रशासनिक एवं आर्थिक उपायों से नहीं निकाला जा सकता है। केन्द्र में कल्याण मंत्रालय, गृह मंत्रालय और सभी राज्यों में कल्याण विभागों की स्थापना की गई है। इनका मूल काम है दलित की समस्याओं का हल निकालना। स्वाधीनता मिलने से आज तक इन माध्यमों से इतना धन व्यय किया गया है कि आज यह समस्या नहीं रहनी चाहिए थी परन्तु समस्या है।⁷ इनके धन से तथाकथित स्वर्णों और कुछ राजनीतिक और प्रशासनिक दलितों को तो फायदा पहुंचा, जबकि वास्तविक जरूरतमंद तो इन समस्याओं से अब भी जूझ रहे हैं और इन कल्याणकारी योजनाओं की पहुंच से बहुत दूर हैं।

अनुसूचित जाति/जनजाति (अत्याचार निवारण) अधिनियम (जेम 'बीमकनसमक ङैजमध्ज्त्पइम ;त्तमअमदजपवद वी ।जजतवबपजपमे)। बज 1989) का मुख्य उद्देश्य उक्त जातियों को, तथाकथित उच्च जातियों के अत्याचारों से मुक्त करवाना है। पीड़ित पक्ष, निशुल्क कानूनी सहायता का पात्र है। दोषी को जुर्माना सहित 6 माह से पांच वर्ष तक की कैद हो सकती है। इन मामलों के लिए प्रदेश में विशेष अदालतों की व्यवस्था की गई है। कोई लोकसेवक जो अनुसूचित जाति अथवा जनजाति से सम्बन्धित न हो तथा अधिनियम के अनुसार कर्तव्य पालन न करे तो 6 माह से एक वर्ष तक कैदसहित जुर्माना हो सकता है। दोषी द्वारा, जिस चल या अचल सम्पत्ति का इस्तेमाल, अत्याचार करने में किया हो वह जब्त हो सकती है। अदालत, उस व्यक्ति को दो वर्ष के लिए निर्दिष्ट क्षेत्र से निष्काशित रहने के लिए आदेश दे सकती है, जहां उस व्यक्ति द्वारा कोई अत्याचार करने का अंदेशा हो।⁸ लेकिन वास्तविकता इसके बिल्कुल विपरित रहती है क्योंकि इस एक्ट की कार्यवाही होने से पहले ही समझौते या सामाजिक दबाव या प्रशासनिक दावपेंच व सूचना का, पीड़ित को अभाव होने के कारण यह सब कागजी कार्यवाही रह जाता है। सामूहिक बलात्कार के दोषी छूट जाते हैं, सामूहिक अग्निकाण्ड, नर-संहार के दोषी सरेआम घूमते हैं और सरकार व प्रशासन चुप्पी बांधे रखता है।

पूरे देश की जनसंख्या में प्रतिशत के हिसाब से अनुसूचित जातियों की सबसे अधिक जनसंख्या पंजाब में (26.87%), हिमाचल प्रदेश में (24.62%), पश्चिम बंगाल में (21.99%), उत्तर प्रदेश में (21.16%), हरियाणा में (19.07%), तमिलनाडू में (18.35%), राजस्थान में (17.03%), त्रिपुरा में (15.12%) है। जबकि अन्य राज्यों में जनसंख्या का प्रतिशत 15 से कम है।⁹

महिला उत्पीड़न एक आम समस्या है, बड़े घर की औरतों का उत्पीड़न घर की चाहर दिवारी के अन्दर तक सीमित होता है। दलित महिलाओं के साथ अन्दर बाहर हर जगह उत्पीड़न होता है। घर में घर के लोगों द्वारा और बाहर समाज द्वारा क्योंकि वे खेतों, खलिहानों में काम करती हैं। इन कार्यस्थलों पर उनका शोषण होता है। ईंट के भट्टों पर उनके साथ बलात्कार की घटनाएं प्रायः प्रतिवेदित होती हैं लेकिन तथाकथित उच्च वर्ग की प्रभावी पंचायतों व जातीय नेताओं की मिली-भगत से पीड़ित महिला के परिवार पर दबाव बनाया जाता है और कई बार तो उनकी हत्या तक कर दी जाती है। दूसरा न्याय प्रक्रिया की लम्बी अवधि के होने के कारण पीड़ित लोग मानसिक रूप से और आर्थिक रूप से प्रताड़ित होते हैं। दुर्भाग्य है कि शासन-व्यवस्था अभी तक केवल अपने वादों पर खड़ी है। जब तक उनको सामाजिक समस्याओं से छुटकारा नहीं मिलेगा तब तक वे दलित ही रहेंगे। उनकी बहु-बेटियों के साथ दुराचार होता रहेगा।

जातिगत साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा देने वाले नेताओं ने, संगठनों ने व राजनीतिक दलों ने कभी जातिवाद के खिलाफ अभियान नहीं चलाया। हाँ, उनके लिए जटिल स्थिति अवश्य रही है कि उनको जातियों में बंटा हुआ, एक के ऊपर एक उच्च जाति वाला समाज भी चाहिए और साम्प्रदायिकता की राजनीति को बढ़ावा देने के लिए सभी जातियों को एक समुदाय की पहचान देने वाला मंच भी चाहिए। इसी बात को इस तरह भी कह सकते हैं कि साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियों को सामाजिक रूप से जातियों में विभाजित समाज चाहिए और राजनीतिक दृष्टि से सभी एक झण्डे के तले भी।¹⁰

वास्तविकता तो यह भी है कि दलितों को अपना वोट देने की भी स्वतन्त्रता नहीं है, क्योंकि अपनी गुजर बसर के लिए जिन लोगों के घरों में या खेतों में वे काम करते हैं, वे लोग उन्हें काम छोड़वाने और अन्य तरीकों से दबाये रखते हैं। यदि वे लोग अपने मनमाने ढंग से वोट दे भी देते हैं तो उनको मारा-पीटा जाता है घरों में तोड़फोड़ की जाती है। राजनीतिज्ञ और प्रशासन यह कहकर पल्ला झाड़ लेता है कि यह दो गुटों की भिडन्त मात्र है। दूसरा पहलू यह भी है कि उम्मीदवार तो आपसी साठ गाँठ से सम्बन्ध मजबूत कर लेते हैं, लेकिन इसमें पिसते बेचारे दलित ही हैं।

भारतीय संविधान द्वारा प्रत्येक नागरिक को निम्नलिखित मूल अधिकार दिये गये हैं, जिन्हें मानव-अधिकारों में शामिल किया गया है- समानता का अधिकार, स्वतन्त्रता का अधिकार, जीवन व व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता का अधिकार, दोष सिद्धि के विरुद्ध अधिकार और शोषण के विरुद्ध अधिकार।

इसी प्रकार अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भी मानवाधिकारों को मान्यता दी गई है। जैसे 1948 में मानवाधिकारों की सार्वभौमिक घोषणा (न्दपअमर्तेस कमबसंतंजपवद वी भनउंद त्पहीजेए 1948) और 1993 में मानव अधिकारों की वियना घोषणा (टपमदं कमबसंतंजपवद वी भनउंद त्पहीजे) इन घोषणाओं में मूल अधिकारों से सम्बन्धित अधिकारों का वर्णन है। उदाहरण के तौर पर महिलाओं एवं बालिकाओं का शोषण के विरुद्ध अधिकार, अल्पसंख्यकों का सांस्कृतिक-धार्मिक एवं भाषा सम्बन्धी अधिकार, शरण पाने का अधिकार, जातीयता के भेदभाव को खत्म करना आदि।¹¹ आज की वास्तविक स्थिति यह है कि जो भी लोग मानवाधिकार के लिए संघर्ष करते हैं, वह भी असुरक्षित रहते हैं तथा उन पर झूठी कार्यवाहियां या प्रशासनिक दबाव डाला जाता है, जिनके परिणामस्वरूप न्याय-प्रक्रिया का पहला चरण ही टूट जाता है।

मानवाधिकारियों की सुरक्षा के लिए मानवाधिकार आयोग का गठन राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर किया गया है। लेकिन उपरोक्त वर्णित तथ्य मानवाधिकार की जांच का विषय नहीं बनती है क्योंकि वे अनुसूचित- जाति की हैं या दलितों से सम्बन्धित हैं। असमानता, भेदभाव, स्वाभिमान का शोषण, स्वाधीनता की लूट, बलात्कार, छूआछूत जैसे अपराध क्या मानवाधिकारों का हनन नहीं है? इस वस्तुस्थिति का वर्णन करने का हमारा अभिप्राय है कि इन समस्याओं का सही विश्लेषण करते हुए आवश्यक कदम उठाये गये ताकि हम सही रूप में मानवतावादी, धर्म-निरपेक्षतावादी इत्यादि शब्दों को अपने देश व समाज के साथ लगाने में गर्व महसूस करें। यह कहा जा सकता है कि दलित एवं अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों की समस्याओं को सामाजिक समस्याओं की तरह ही प्रस्तुत किया जाए न कि उन्हें राजनीतिक एवं आर्थिक मुखौटा पहनाया जाए। न्याय-प्रक्रिया में निरपेक्षता, शिक्षा की स्वायत्तता एवं उपरोक्त विषयों पर ईमानदारी से चिन्तन करने पर ही इन समस्याओं का सही हल खोजा जा सकता है।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर का दर्शन समाज को समस्त अशुभ एवं अभिशाप से मुक्त कर स्वाधीनता, समानता और भ्रातृत्व पर आधारित समाज रचना के लिए प्रेरित करता है। विचार और व्यवहार दोनों ही स्तरों पर अम्बेडकर असमानता, अस्पृश्यता, अशिक्षा, अंधविश्वास, अन्याय, अनैतिकता जैसे सामाजिक अशुभों एवं अभिशापों से लोहा लेते हैं एवं एक मानवीय, नैतिक एवं न्यायप्रिय समाज के निर्माण का आह्वान करते हैं। अम्बेडकर एक ऐसे समाज के स्वप्न दृष्टा थे, जिसमें मनुष्य अपने विवेक से अंधविश्वासों का खण्डन करता है, समाज और प्रकृति के प्रति वैज्ञानिक एवं विवेकसम्मत दृष्टिकोण अपनाता है और धर्मशास्त्रों में क्या लिखा है, इसकी चिन्ता न करके मानवीय नैतिकता एवं न्याय के आदर्शों के अनुरूप व्यवहार करता है।

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11 गांधी रचित 'हिंद स्वराज्य' पुस्तक का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन

आचार्य शीलक राम

1857 ई० के पश्चात् का भारत में मूढ़ताओं, नादानियों, बचपने एवं विश्वासघात का एक लंबा इतिहास मौजूद है। उच्च कोटि को कहे जाने वाले नेता मूल्यहीन साबित हुए, कुटनीतिज्ञ कहे जाने वाले अतुलनीय महान लोग देश के लिए विनाशकारी सिद्ध हुए, महापुरुष कहे जाने वाले लोग विश्वासघाती व तुष्टीकरण के अवतार कहलाने लगे, नीति व आचरण का झंडा दुनिया में बुलंद करने देश के कर्णधारों ने दुनिया के मानचित्र पर भारत की जमकर मिट्टीपलीत करवाई, अहिंसा व सत्य के नाम पर लाखों लोगों को मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया, राष्ट्रपिता-चाचा-ताऊ कहलाने वालों ने देश को शुरू से अंत तक बेवकूफियों के भंवर में फंसाए रखा, विश्वगुरु व सोने की चिड़िया को अनपढ़ व अपाहित बनाने के अनेक कुचक्र रचने के रिकार्ड कायम किए गए, देश का धन लूटकर विदेशी बैंकों में जमा करवाकर भ्रष्टाचार की सारी सीमाएं तोड़ दी गई तथा सौ (100) वर्ष में वे घोटाले व कुकृत्य किए जो 1235 वर्ष की भारत की गुलामी के दौरान विदेशी आक्रांता भी नहीं कर पाए थे। भारतीयता को दुषित, कलंकित एवं विनष्ट करने हेतु इन दुष्टों व भ्रष्टासुरों ने कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ रखी है। इसी क्रम में सन् 1909 ई० में लिखी गांधी की पुस्तक 'हिंद स्वराज्य' भी उल्लेखनीय है। गांधी को मानने वाले न तो इस पुस्तक व इसकी विचारधारा का विरोध कर रहे हैं, न समर्थन कर रहे हैं तथा न ही दोनों कार्य एक साथ कर रहे हैं लेकिन गांधी के नाम का सहारा लेकर देश को बेवकूफ खूब बनाया जा रहा है। देखिए कुछ नमूने जो गांधी की पुस्तक 'हिंद स्वराज्य' से उद्धृत किए गए हैं -

1. "रेल या अस्पतालों का नारा करने का ध्येय मेरे मन में नहीं है, अगर ये उनका कुदरती नारा हो तो मैं जरूर उसका स्वागत करूंगा। रेल या अस्पताल दोनों में से एक भी ऊंची और बिल्कुल शुद्ध संस्कृति की सूचक नहीं है। ज्यादा से ज्यादा इतना कह सकते हैं कि यह एक ऐसी बुराई है, जो टाली नहीं जा सकती।" (हिंद स्वराज्य के बारे में, पृ० 26)

गांधी पूरा जीवन रेलों में यात्रा करके अपनी विचारधारा का प्रचार करते रहे तथा उन्हीं रेलों को पानी पी-पीकर गलियां भी देते रहे। एक महापुरुष कहे जाने वाले व्यक्ति के जीवन में इस प्रकार का विरोधाभास किसी भी दृष्टिकोण से सही नहीं कहा जा सकता। कसूर रेलों का न होकर रेल में यात्रा करने वालों की मानसिकता का है और गांधी भी उनमें से एक है। अरे! तकनीकी साधनों का सदुपयोग करके संतुलित तरक्की से आगे बढ़ते जाओ - यही तो सही विकास का मूल मंत्र है।

2. "अगर मेरे विचार गलत साबित हों, तो उन्हें पकड़ रखने का मेरा आग्रह नहीं है।" (प्रस्तावना, पृ० 29)

लेकिन क्या गांधी के शिष्य ऐसा कर रहे हैं? वे तो गलत-सही का विचार किए बगैर आंखें व बुद्धि को बंद करके गांधी का समर्थन करने की बातें किया करते हैं, हालांकि ऐसा वे स्वयं भी नहीं करते हैं। जब गांधी स्वयं यह कह रहे हैं कि गलत सिद्ध होने वाले मेरे विचारों को स्वीकार न करो तो फिर गांधीवादी क्यों देश को गड्ढों में धकेल रहे हैं? उदाहरण के लिए देश की रक्षा, देश की एकता व आतंकवाद पर रोकथाम लगाने में गांधी की खोखली अहिंसा व प्रेम की नीति सफल नहीं हुई तो अब इसे गांधीवाद के अनुसार त्याग क्यों नहीं दिया जाता है। गांधीवादियों में ऐसी हिम्मत?

3. "जिसे आप सही जागृति मानते हैं वह तो बंग-भंग से हुई, जिसके लिए हम लार्ड कर्जन के आभारी हैं।" (पृ० 7)

देश से प्रेम करने वालों से गांधी को इतना द्वेष क्यों है कि वे बंग-भंग की उल्टी व्याख्या करके लार्ड कर्जन की प्रशंसा करने से अपने आपको नहीं रोक पा रहे हैं? क्रांतिकारियों ने जो कुर्बानियां दी थी उनका कोई महत्व नहीं है क्या? गर्म दल वालों की हर समय निंदा करना कहां की समझदारी है? भारतवासियों में जागृति पाश्चात्य प्रभाव से स्वीकार करना परले दर्जे की मूर्खता है।

4. "ये जो दो दल हुए हैं वह देश के लिए अच्छी निशानी नहीं है --- ऐसे दल लंबे अरसे तक चलेंगे नहीं।" (पृ० 69)

दो दल होना या अलग-अलग होकर कोई भी आन्दोलन चलाना यदि सही नहीं है तो फिर तानाशाही (एकदलीय) ही सही हो सकती है । एक-दलीय व्यवस्था में उस दल-विशेष की मनमानी ही चलती है । वहां पर स्वतंत्रता को कोई स्थान नहीं होता है । गांधी की मानें तो हिटलर की व्यवस्था ही सही हो सकती है क्योंकि वहां पर एक दल की व्यवस्था ही होती है । लोकतांत्रिक कहा जानेवाला कोई भी व्यक्ति एकदलीय व्यवस्था का समर्थन नहीं कर सकता । मैं ही केवल सही हूँ, बाकी सब गलत है - गांधी जी की इस सोच ने भारत को काफी नुकसान किया है ।

5. “हम मांगते हैं उतना अंग्रेज हमें दे दें, तो फिर उन्हें निकाल देने की जरूरत आप समझते हैं? --- अगर वे धन बाहर न ले जाएं, नम्र बन जाएं और हमें बड़े ओहदे दें, तो उनके रहने में आपको कुछ हर्ज है?” (पृ० 10-11)

किसी न किसी प्रकार से अंग्रेज, अंग्रेजी व अंग्रेजियत का समर्थन करना गांधी की अपनी विशेषता है । अपने दुश्मनों से प्रेम करने की गांधी जी की सोच ने पूरे जीवन में एक भी दुश्मन का दिल परिवर्तित नहीं किया । दुष्ट व्यक्ति केवल दुष्टता की भाषा ही समझते हैं, प्रेम की नहीं । पिछले 65 वर्ष से पाकिस्तान के प्रति गांधीवादी सोच ने पाकिस्तान को कितना बदला है? जो जिस प्रकार से समझता हो उसे उसी प्रकार से समझाने में ही समझदारी है । सब व्यक्तियों से एक ही भाषा में बातें करना मूर्खता व अल्पज्ञता की पहचान है । हम उन व्यक्तियों को अपने देश में रहने की आज्ञा क्यों दे जो 200 वर्ष से इसको लूटते आए हैं? गांधी ने अपने घर में कितने लोगों को पनाह दी हुई थी? या किसी व्यक्ति द्वारा जबरन गांधी के घर पर अधिकार कर लेने पर क्या गांधी का फिर भी यही उत्तर होता?

6. “हिंदुस्तान अंग्रेजों ने लिया सो बात नहीं है, बल्कि हमने उन्हें दिया है । हिंदुस्तान में वे अपने बल से नहीं टिके हैं, बल्कि हमने उन्हें टिका रखा है ।” (पृ० 21)

गांधी यह एक तरफा बात कर रहे हैं । ठीक है कि कुछ हमारे ही भाइयों ने अंग्रेजों का साथ देकर राष्ट्र के साथ गद्दारी की थी लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ निकालना कि हमने ही उनको टिकाकर रखा हुआ है यह पूरी तरह से सही नहीं है । भारत में अंग्रेजों का विरोध भी तो हो रहा था । लेकिन गांधी वहां पर बेवजह अपने भोथरे अस्त्रों अहिंसा, सत्यादि को घुसेड़ देते हैं । और थोड़ी देर के लिए उनकी बात सच भी मान ली जाए तो क्या अब भी उनको यहां टिकाए रखना जरूरी है? कोई हमारा शोषण क्यों करे? कोई हम पर हिंसा क्यों करे? किसी पर हिंसा करना गलत है तो उससे भी अधिक गलत दूसरों की हिंसा को सहन करना है ।

7. “हिंदुस्तान को रेलों ने, वकीलों ने और डॉक्टरों ने कंगाल बना दिया है । यह एक ऐसी हालत है कि अगर हम समय पर नहीं संभलेंगे, तो चारों ओर से घिरकर बर्बाद हो जाएंगे ।” (पृ० 27) “मनुष्य रेलगाड़ी का प्रयोग करके भगवान् को भूल गया ।” (पृ० 31)

क्या जब रेलें नहीं थी तो सभी लोग भगवान् को याद करते थे? रेल से भगवान् को याद करना या उसे भूल जाने का क्या संबंध है? कौन से शास्त्र में लिखा है यह कि रेल भगवान् को भूला देती है? रेलों में पूरे जीवन घूमते रहे तथा उन्हीं की निंदा भी करते रहे - यह है हमारे राष्ट्रपिता की सोच । नास्तिक व्यक्ति रेल की खोज से पूर्व भी खूब थे तथा आस्तिक व्यक्ति आज भी खूब हैं । आज से पांच हजार वर्ष पूर्व चार्वाक भी नास्तिक ही थे। उस समय तो रेलगाड़ियाँ नहीं थी । गांधीवादी ही जाने कि इस तरह की उथली बातों में कितनी गहराई है ?

8. “जब अंग्रेज हिंदुस्तान में नहीं थे तब हम एक राष्ट्र थे, हमारे विचार एक थे, हमारा रहन-सहन एक था । तभी तो अंग्रेजों ने यहां एक राज्य कायम किया । भेद तो हमारे बीच बाद में उन्होंने पैदा किए ।” (पृ० 29)

यहां पता नहीं गांधी क्यों अंग्रेजों के विरोध में बोलने को विवश हो गए? गांधी, गांधीवादी व उनके सहयोगी तो यही मानते थे कि भारत एक राष्ट्र कभी नहीं था । अंग्रेजों ने ही हमें राष्ट्र होना सिखलाया । हम तो जाहिल व गंवार थे शुरू से ही । वैसे शायद पता तो गांधी को भी या कि दोषी कौन है, आजादी अहिंसा से नहीं मिल सकती तथा अंग्रेज दुष्ट प्रवृत्ति के हैं लेकिन राजनीतिक कारणों से गांधी ने कभी भी सच्चाई को स्वीकार करने की हिम्मत नहीं दिखलाई । काश! सत्य के मसीहा कहे जाने वाले सत्य को स्वीकार कर लेते ।

9. “गाय की रक्षा करने का यही एक उपाय है कि मुझे अपने मुसलमान भाई के सामने हाथ जोड़ने चाहिए और उसे देश की खातिर गाय की रक्षा हेतु समझाना चाहिए। अगर रह न माने तो मुझे गाय को मरने देना चाहिए, क्योंकि वह मेरे बस बी बात नहीं। अगर मुझे गाय पर अत्यंत दया आती हो तो अपनी जान दे देनी चाहिए, लेकिन मुसलमान की जान नहीं लेनी चाहिए। यही धार्मिक कानून है, ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ।” (पृ० 33)

इस्लामी तुष्टीकरण की इससे बड़ी मिशाल और कौन सी हो सकती है - पाठक विचार करें? मुसलमानों को खुश करने के लिए गांधी किसी भी अत्याचार को (हिंदुओं पर करने हेतु तत्पर हो सकते हैं। हिंदुओं के साथ कितना भी घृणित कुकर्म क्यों न हो रहा हो, गांधी कुकर्म करने वाले को अहिंसा व सत्य का एक शब्द भी न बोलेंगे लेकिन मुसलमानों पर यदि अत्याचार न भी हो रहा हो तो भी गांधी हिंदुओं को अहिंसा, भाईचारे व प्रेम का पाठ पढ़ा देंगे। कैसी मानसिकता को लेकर गांधी यह सब करते थे - मनोवैज्ञानिक जानें, योगाचार्य जानें या स्वयं गांधी ही जानें।

गांधी को मुसलमानों द्वारा गाय का वध भी स्वीकार्य है लेकिन हिंदुओं द्वारा अपनी रक्षा करना मात्र भी स्वीकार्य नहीं है - यह कैसी नैतिकता व धार्मिकता है गांधी की? गांधी जी धार्मिक कानून इसी को स्वीकार करते हैं। लेकिन विचारणीय यह है कि ऐसे तो किसी देश का शासन चल ही नहीं सकता। किसी भी विचारधारा कोई है तथा किसी की विचारधारा कोई। गोखले कुछ कहेंगे, नौरोजी कुछ कहेंगे, नेहरू कुछ कहेंगे। सुभाष कुछ कहेंगे तथा सावरकर कुछ कहेंगे। लेकिन केवल गांधी की ही क्यों सुनी जाए - सुभाष व सावरकर की क्यों नहीं?

10. “अस्पताल पाप की जड़ है। उनकी बदौलत लोग शरीर का जतन कम करते हैं, और अनीति को बढ़ाते हैं।” (पृ० 41)

इससे अधिक मूढ़तापूर्ण सोच और क्या हो सकती है कि दुनिया से चिकित्सक व चिकित्सालय ही समाप्त हो जाएं। कोई भी समझदार व्यक्ति इस सोच का क्या समर्थन कर सकता है? लेकिन लोगों की जीवनशैली देखिए कि इतनी अव्यावहारिक सोच के होते हुए भी सामान्य व्यक्ति क्या बड़े-बड़े चिंतक भी गांधी का विरोध नहीं करते हैं। अपनी बाहरी व भीतरी आंखें बंद करके स्वार्थवश व अज्ञानवश-लोग इस तरह मूढ़ दुनिया में कहीं नहीं मिलेंगे। पाप तो जहां अस्पताल नहीं है वहां भी होते हैं। इनका अस्पतालों के होने या न होने से कोई संबंध कैसे हो सकता है? व्यक्ति पूरी तरह से प्राकृतिक नहीं हो सकता; थोड़ी-बहुत कृत्रिमता तो जरूरी होती ही है। बिमारियां न हों यह अच्छा है परंतु दुर्घटनाओं में शरीर को चोट तो लग ही सकती है, ऐसे अवसर पर अस्पताल न होंगे तो चिकित्सा कैसे हो सकेगी? गांधी का यह अतिवाद खतरनाक व अव्यवहारिक है। क्या गांधीवादी भी कोई इस पर अब चल रहा है? दिन-रात गांधी की रट लगाने वाले अस्पतालों में पड़े रहते हैं।

11. “हमारी अपनी गुलामी मिट जाए तो हिंदुस्तान की गुलामी मिट गई ऐसा मान लेना चाहिए। - हम अपने ऊपर राज्य करें वही स्वराज्य है, और वह स्वराज्य हमारे हथेली में है।” (पृ० 47)

राष्ट्र की आजादी हेतु यह गांधी की बहुत बड़ी तथा न पूरी होने वाली शर्त है। यह शर्त पूरी हो नहीं हो सकती तथा देश आजाद नहीं हो सकेगा। सामान्यजन से महान योगी और वह भी एकदम से बनने की असंभव आशा गांधी क्यों लगाए हुए हैं? और फिर क्या गांधी ने स्वयं इस ‘स्वराज्य’ की प्राप्ति कर ली थी? उनके जीवन पर ध्यान देने से ऐसा कोई भी संकेत नहीं मिलता है। गांधी उन कार्यों को करने हेतु उत्तेजित करते हैं जिनसे व्यक्ति का अहम् खूब पोषित होता हो। यदि उनकी ‘स्वराज्य’ की अवधारणा को मान लिया जाए तो फिर गांधी ने देश की आजादी हेतु ‘भारत छोड़ो’ आदि आन्दोलन क्यों चलाए? हरेक व्यक्ति को अपने राज्य की प्राप्ति स्वयं ही करनी है। वास्तव में गांधी के विचार अव्यवहारिक तो थे ही, इसके साथ ही वे अस्थिर एवं पल-पल परिवर्तनशील भी थे। वे कब क्या कह दें- किसी को क्या गांधी को स्वयं पर ही भरोसा नहीं था। इस तरह की विचारधारा के प्राधान्य के कारण हम आज दुनिया के सर्वाधिक भ्रष्ट, गरीब व स्वयं के राष्ट्र के साथ घात करने वाले बन गए हैं।

12. “खून करके जो लोग राज करेंगे, वे प्रजा को सुखी नहीं बना सकेंगे। धींगरा ने जो खून किया है उससे या जो खून हिंदुस्तान में हुए हैं उनसे देश को फायदा हुआ है, ऐसा अगर कोई मानता है तो यह बड़ी भूल करता है।” (पृ० 51)

यह बात गांधी जी केरल भारतीयों पर लागू करते हैं - ईसाईयों व मुसलमानों पर नहीं। अंग्रेजों व मुसलमान हमलावरों ने भारत में जो रक्तपात किया तथा देश में तबाही मचाई, उसकी मिशाल दुनिया में कहीं नहीं

मिलती । गांधी को भगत सिंह, बिस्मिल, धीगरा व सुभाष द्वारा फँलायी जा रही हिंसा व रक्तपात तो दिखलाए पड़ते हैं लेकिन अंग्रेजों व मुसलमानों द्वारा प्रायोजित आतंक, उपद्रव, रक्तपात, नर-संहार व खून दिखलाए नहीं पड़ते । कैसे महात्मा थे गांधी जी? उनकी अंतरात्मा की आवाज भी अद्भूत थी जो सदैव भारत के विरोधियों के षड्यंत्रों में भी भारत का कल्याण तलाश करने को तत्पर रहती थी । देशद्राहियों को मारने-काटने में कोई पाप नहीं है । उस समय गर्म दल वालों द्वारा देश की आजादी हेतु जो आन्दोलन चलाए जा रहे थे यदि गांधी उनमें बाधा न डालते तो आज भारत की तस्वीर इतनी भ्रष्ट, कुरूप एवं विश्वासघातपूर्ण न होती । गांधी को आदर्श मानने वाले ही लूट रहे हैं देश को । अधिकांश ऐसे नेताओं पर भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप लगे हैं । लेकिन न्याय-व्यवस्था की कमजोरियों का लाभ उठाकर वे पूरे देश का मजाक उड़ा रहे हैं ।

13. “आपके लिए अच्छा रास्ता तो यही है कि जब मौका मिले तब आप उस आदमी के भीतर से चोरी का बीज ही निकाल दें ।”(पृ० 56)

मात्र कह देने से तो कुछ हासिल नहीं होता है । क्या गांधी कर पाए इसको? गांधी अपने पूरे जीवन क्या एक भी व्यक्ति के मन से चोरी, जारी, हिंसादि के विचारों को निकाल पाने में सफल हो पाए थे? ऐसा कोई उदाहरण आजादी से पूर्व तथा आजादी के पश्चात् के भारतीय इतिहास में नहीं मिलता । हां, यह प्रमाण जरूर मिलते हैं कि उनके कई उद्योगपति अनुयायियों ने अपनी दौलत को हजारों गुना कर लिया है । यह कृत्य उन्होंने लोगों का खून चूसकर, देश के साथ गद्दारी करके तथा चोरी करके ही किया है । जब गांधी जी ही चोरी के विचार को किसी के मन से नहीं निकाल पाए तो अन्यो व्यक्तियों की क्या ताकत कि वे इस कृत्य में सफल हो पाएं । उपदेश देना एक बात है तथा उन पर चलकर सफलता प्राप्त करना बिल्कुल अन्य बात है । फिर हर बिमारी का एक ही ईलाज नहीं होता है । स्थूल बुद्धि व दुर्बुद्धि व्यक्ति जूतों की भाषा समझते हैं, अहिंसा व सत्य की नहीं । गांधी तो पाकिस्तान का मन भी नहीं बदल पाए फिर वे किस तरह से इस प्रकार के दावे कर रहे हैं? कुछ भी कहकर उसे अंतरात्मा की आवाज सिद्ध कर देना गांधी की आदत थी ।

14. “सत्याग्रह का उदाहरण - दया धर्म का मूल है, पापमूल अभिमान ।”(पृ० 59)

“शरीर बल का प्रयोग करना, गोला-बारुद काम में लाना, हमारे सत्याग्रह कानून के खिलाफ है ।” (पृ० 63)

“सत्याग्रह के लिए जो हिम्मत और बहादुरी चाहिए, वह तोप का बल रखने वाले पास हो ही नहीं सकती --- वे (गर्मदल वाले) खुद जब अंग्रेजों को मारकर राज्य करेंगे तब आपसे और हमसे जबरन कानून मनवाना चाहेंगे ।” (पृ० 64)

लेकिन यहाँ तुलसी ने यह तो कहीं भी नहीं कहा है कि जब दुष्ट, आततायी व आतंकवादी आप व आपके राष्ट्र को हानि पहुंचाएँ तो भी दया को नहीं छोड़ना चाहिए । गांधी बातें तो कर रहे हैं महर्षि पतंजलि रचित ‘योगसूत्र’ की तथा उस प्रकार की साधना से वे कतई शून्य थे। इस विरोधाभास व धालमेल ने सारा गुड़-गोबर कर दिया । विश्वविजेता पहलवान का हाथ यदि किसी सामान्य व्यक्ति से मिलवा दिया जाए तो जो परिणाम निकलेगा, वह सबके सामने है। अहिंसा, सत्य, अचौर्य, अनशन व उपवास की जो दुर्गति भारत में हो चुकी है या हो रही है, उसकी मिशाल विश्व में कहीं भी न मिलेगी । यदि सत्याग्रह व अहिंसा तथा तोप के बल का सही प्रयोग गांधी जी करते तो शायद भारत आज की तरह बदनाम न होता । गर्म दल वालों पर गांधी जी ने जो अंग्रेजों की तरह क्रूर होने का आरोप लगाया है वह नर्म दल वालों के संबंध में सत्य सिद्ध हो रहा है । आजादी के बाद नरम दल वाले ही सत्ता में रहे हैं तथा जो लूट-खसोट उन्होंने इस देश में मचाई है वह अतुलनीय है।

15. “जहाँ हुक्म मानने वालों ने सत्याग्रह करना सीखा है वहाँ राजा का तुल्म उसकी तीन गज की तलवार से आगे नहीं जा सकता।” (पृ० 65)

गांधी की यह पंक्तियाँ एक बार नहीं अपितु अनेकों बार गलत सिद्ध हो चुकी हैं । और किसी की बात रहने दो तथा गांधी का ही उदाहरण ले लो । गांधी तो हुक्म मानकर सत्याग्रह करने वालों में थे फिर भी अंग्रेजों व मुसलमानों के जुल्म के अनेक बार वे शिकार हुए । जब गांधी जैसा सत्याग्रही ही सच्चा सात्याही न हो सका तो अन्य सामान्यजन कैसे सत्याग्रही हो पाएँगे-यह या तो स्वयं गांधी जाने या उनके गुरु टाल्लस्टाय आदि जानें । इसी तरह की सोच ने भारत का काफी हिस्सा चीन को दे दिया तथा कश्मीर का काफी हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है । 1948, 1962 व 1971 में भारती गाँधी की सत्य, अहिंसा, सत्याग्रह व अनशन की नीतियों के दुष्परिणाम बुरी तरह से भुगत चुका है तथा भुगत भी रहा है । काश! भारत में गांधी की यह पुस्तक ‘हिंद स्वराज्य’ लिखी ही न जाती ।

16. “सत्याग्रही को संतान पैदा करने की इच्छा नहीं होनी चाहिए।” (पृ० 67)

यदि यह सत्य है तो आज तक सच्चा सत्याग्रही कोई हुआ ही नहीं है तथा स्वयं गांधी भी सच्च सत्याग्रही नहीं थे । गांधी की कई संतानें थीं । फिर संतान पैदा करने तथा सत्याग्रही होने या न होने में संबंध हो भी कैसे सकता है । यह कुतर्क तो उस बूढ़ी औरत के कुतर्क की तरह है जो उसके गांव वालों के साथ झगड़ा होने के कारण उस गांव को छोड़कर चली गई थी तथा सूर्योदय होने पर कह रही थी कि अब गांव वाले उनके वहां सूर्योदय न होने से पछता रहे होंगे क्योंकि जिस मुर्गे की बांग से सूर्योदय होता था वह तो वह अपने साथ ले आई है ।

17. “गरीबी को अपनाने की भी जरूरत है । पैसे का लोभ और सत्याग्रह का सेवन-पालन कभी नहीं चल सकते ।” (पृ० 67)

गांधी के इस गरीबी के सिद्धांत ने भी भारत में बखेड़ा खड़ा किया है । उनके अनुयायियों तथा अन्य भारतीयों ने इस गरीबी के सिद्धांत को जबरदस्ती अपनाने की कोशिश की जिससे कि उन्हें काफी कुछ दमन करना पड़ा । उस दमन का बदला अब गांधीवादी बड़े-बड़े घोटाले करके ले रहे हैं । हर दिन लाखों करोड़ का घोटाला किया जाना साधारण सी बात हो गई है । यहां तक कि उनके नेता 70 लाख के घोटाले को घोटाला नहीं मानते तथा कहते हैं कि यदि 70 करोड़ का गोलमाल होता तो घोटाला कहा जाता । 70 लाख का घोटाला कोई घोटाला नहीं है । ‘मध्यम पथ’ की सीख यदि गांधी जी देते तो बात ही कुछ और होती ।

18. “उस आदमी ने सच्ची शिक्षा पाई है, जिसकी बुद्धि, शुद्ध, शांत व न्यायदर्शी है । उसने सच्ची शिक्षा पाई है जिसका मन कुदरती कानूनों से भरा हुआ है और इंद्रियां उसके वश में हैं, जिनके मन की भावनाएं बिल्कुल शुद्ध हैं ।” (पृ० 70)

इस दृष्टिकोण से तो गांधी भी सच्ची शिक्षा नहीं पा सके थे। इस कसौटी पर कोई भी व्यक्ति खरा नहीं उतर सकता, स्वयं गांधी भी नहीं । गांधी इस प्रकार की अतिवादी एवं अव्यवहारिक बातें करके भारत को एक ऐसा ढोंग व पाखंड का रोग दे गए हैं जिसकी चिकित्सा आज भी नहीं हुई है तथा पूरा भारत इसकी गिरफ्त में है। गांधी जीवन के अंतिम वर्षों में भी अपनी इन्द्रियों पर काबू पाने में सफल नहीं हो पाए थे - जीवन के शुरू व मध्य में तो वे सदैव असफल रहे ही थे ।

19. “जिस शिक्षा को अंग्रेजों ने टुकरा दिया वह हमारा शृंगार बनती है, यह जानने लायक है ।”(पृ० 72) हमारी कांग्रेस का कारोबार भी अंग्रेजी में चलता है । अगर ऐसा लंबे समय तक चला, तो मेरा मानना है कि आने वाली पीढ़ी हमारा तिरस्कार करेगी और उसका शाप हमारी आत्मा को लगेगा ।”(पृ० 73)

यह शाप भारत की आत्मा को लग चुका है । भारत पर अंग्रेजी भाषा पूरी तरह से सवार है । कांग्रेस, जिसको गांधी जीवन भर खुराक-पानी देते रहे थे उसने अंग्रेजी भाषा, अंग्रेजी व्यवहार, अंग्रेजी कानून व अंग्रेजी शिक्षा को भारत पर इस तरह से लाद दिया है कि समस्त भारतीय संस्कृति, इसका दर्शन-शास्त्र, इसके जीवन-मूल्य व भारत राष्ट्र खतरे में पड़ चुका है । गांधी व गांधी की कांग्रेस इस पाप हेतु पूरी तरह से जिम्मेवार है । भारतीय शास्त्रों की मनमानी व्याख्याएं गांधी के सामने भी हो रही थीं, भारत को उस समय भी सपेरो का देश पश्चिमी विद्वान कह रहे थे तथा गांधी के समय भी अधिकांश भारत के कानून भारत को लंबे समय तक गुलाम रखने की मानसिकता के कारण निर्मित किए गए थे । आज स्वयं गांधी की शिक्षाओं के कारण अनेक प्रकार के व्यर्थ के बखेड़े खड़े हो गए हैं - जिनका कोई समाधान निकलता दिखलाई नहीं पड़ रहा है ।

20. “सारे हिंदुस्तान के लिए जो भाषा चाहिए, वह तो हिंदी तो होनी चाहिए उसे उर्दू या नागरी में लिखने की छूट होनी चाहिए ।”(पृ० 74)

होना तो पता नहीं क्या-क्या चाहिए, लेकिन हो तो नहीं रहा है। कह तो सब देते हैं लेकिन करता कोई ही नहीं । गांधी जी का भारतीय राजनीति पर इतना प्रभाव था कि वे जो चाहे वह करवा सकते थे । गांधी जी यदि सच्चे हृदय एवं पूरे संकल्प से हिंदी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनवाने का संकल्प करते तो हिंदी अवश्य ही भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा बन जाती । जो व्यक्ति हिंदी की बात भी अंग्रेजी में उठाएगा वह हिंदी का क्या भला करेगा? किसी भी तरह से अंग्रेज खुश रहें, मुसलमान खुश रहें तथा उनकी अनाप-शनाप मांगें मानी जाती रहें - यही दर्शन-शास्त्र है गांधी का । गांधीवादी आजादी के बाद राष्ट्रभाषा हिंदी के सब से बड़े विरोधी सिद्ध हुए हैं । पूरे भारत का अंग्रेजी करण करने में वे सब प्राणपय से जुटे हुए हैं । अंग्रेजी का भूत सवार हो गया है पूरे भारत पर । हर विभाग में

अंग्रेजी भाषा में काम होता है। युवा-वर्ग इस भाषा व इसकी संस्कृति के दुष्प्रभाववश अपनी जमीन से उखड़ता जा रहा है। जीवन-मूल्यों का नाश सा हो चुका है।

21. “यंत्र आज की सभ्यता की मुख्य निशानी है और वह महापाप है ऐसा मैं तो साफ देख सकता हूँ।” (पृ. 76) “यंत्र का गुण तो मुझे एक भी याद नहीं आता, जबकि उसके अवगुणों से मैं पूरी किताब लिख सकता हूँ।” (पृ. 79)

गांधी की यह बहुत बड़ी कमी है। विकासरूपी गाड़ी में बैठकर गांधी सदैव पीछे ही देखते हैं, आगे नहीं। लेकिन गांधी को यह पता नहीं है कि गाड़ी में यात्रा करते समय पीछे सिर्फ धूल ही होती है। विकास करने वाले आगे देखते हैं। पीछे को आधारभूमि बनाकर आगे देखना विकास चाहने वालों का प्रधान गुण होता है। बुराई यंत्रों में नहीं है अपितु यंत्रों का प्रयोग करने वाले व्यक्तियों के चित्त में है। चित्त में रूपांतरण ही प्रमुख है, यंत्र नहीं। यंत्र तो बेचारे निर्जीव हैं, उन्हें पाप व मुण्य से क्या लेना-देना। गांधी को यह तथ्य समझ में क्यों नहीं आ सका? यंत्र का प्रयोग हम संतुलित विकास हेतु भी तो कर सकते हैं। ‘यंत्र-विरोध’ गांधी के दर्शन-शास्त्र का एक और पिछड़ा हुआ पहलू है। गांधी द्वारा कही गई बातों को कोई भी गांधीवादी मान भी नहीं रहा तथा उनका विरोध करने वालों को वे देशद्रोही की संज्ञा देने लगते हैं।

22. “अंग्रेजी राज्य को यहां टिकाए रखने वाले ये धनवान लोग ही हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में ही उनका स्वार्थ सधेगा। अगर वे देश का भला करना चाहते हों तो खुद अपना काम धीरे-धीरे कम कर सकते हैं। वे खुद पुराने, प्रौढ़, पवित्र चरखे देश के हजारों घरों में दाखिल कर सकते हैं और लोगों से बुना हुआ कपड़ा लेकर उन्हें बेच सकते हैं।” (पृ. 77)

गांधी के शिष्य बिड़ला आदि भी इस काम को नहीं कर सके तो अन्य उद्योगपति इसे क्यों करने लगे? गांधी की बातें सच्चे मायनों में ‘यूटोपिया’ हैं। ये कभी भी पूरी नहीं हो सकती। लोगों के मध्य इनका जिक्र करने या आदर्श के रूप में ये भलि व अच्छी लगती हैं लेकिन जीवन-निर्माण या सृजनात्मकता हेतु इनका कोई भी मूल्य नहीं है। इस तरह की शिक्षाओं के कारण ही हम बाहर से कुछ तथा भीतर से कुछ हो गए हैं। हमारा जीवन पाखंड के सिवाय कुछ भी नहीं रह गया है। आप आबादी को कम नहीं कर रहे हैं तथा चर्खा कातने को देश को विवश करते हैं तो ऐसे में सारा देश चौबीस घंटे चर्खा ही कातता रहे तो भी सारे देशवासियों का तन नहीं ढकेगा। अंग्रेज देश का शोषण करते रहे तथा अब जो सत्ता में है वे शोषण कर रहे हैं तथा हम आराम से बैठकर चरखा चलाते रहेंगे। चरखा भी तो यंत्र ही है।

23. “मैं गर्म दल वालों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि ---- स्वराज्य आपकी कोशिशों से मिलने वाला नहीं है। स्वराज्य तो सबको अपने लिए पाना चाहिए। दूसरे लोग जो स्वराज्य दिला दें वह स्वराज्य नहीं, बल्कि परराज्य है।” (पृ. 80)

गांधी की ऐसी ही शिक्षाओं ने देश को देर से आजाद होने में पूरी मदद की। यह इस प्रकार की बातें अंग्रेज राज को बचाने हेतु काफी समय तक सहारे का काम करती रही थीं। अरे पहले बाहरी स्वराज्य को तो पा लो, भीतरी स्वराज्य फिर पा लेंगे। इस संबंध में एक और बात है कि गांधी जरूरत व अवसरानुसार शब्दों को तोड़-मरोड़कर कुछ का कुछ अर्थ निकालते रहे। पहले स्वराज्य का अर्थ ‘भीतरी राज्य’ था लेकिन जब गर्म दल की क्रांतिकारी गतिविधियों से देश को आजादी देना अंग्रेजों की विवशता हो गई तो गांधी जी झूठा श्रेय लेने के चक्कर में स्वराज का अर्थ ‘बाहरी सत्ता’ करने लगे। इस अवसरवाद में वे माहिर थे। गांधी ने गर्म दल वालों द्वारा अर्जित किए जाने वाले स्वराज्य को ‘परराज’ तक की संज्ञा दे डाली। शायद अपने हाथ से प्रसिद्धि को खिसकते देखकर उन्होंने यह सब किया होगा। योग, ध्यान, साधना व स्वराज की बातें तभी भलि तरह संभव होती लगती हैं जब हमारा बाहरी जीवन समृद्ध व मजबूत हो। देश हाहाकार कर रहा है, सभ्यता व संस्कृति खतरे में है, अंग्रेजों ने शोषण व अत्याचार की सारी सीमाएं तोड़ दी हैं और गांधी हैं कि भीतरी ‘स्वराज्य’ की रट लगा रहे हैं।

24. “सच्चा स्वतंत्रता सेनानी वह होगा जो अंग्रेजी का उपयोग लाचारी में ही करेगा। अपनी वकालत छोड़ देगा तथा घर पर चर्खा चलाएगा। डॉक्टर अपनी डॉक्टरी छोड़ देगा तथा चर्खे से अपना गुजारा करेगा। धनी अपना धन चरखे चलवाने पर खर्च करेगा। जो अंग्रेज का कसूर नहीं निकालेगा तथा यह सोचेगा कि हमारा कसूर दूर होते ही अंग्रेज स्वयं ही इस देश को छोड़े देंगे।” (पृ. 85-86)

आततायी को आततायी के रूप में न देखने से भारत ने विनाश की जो लीला सैकड़ों वर्षों से देखी है वह काफी पीड़ादायी है। तथ्य को सही रूप में देखने से हम पलायन क्यों करते हैं? विदेशी हमलावर हमारे देश में आए तथा उस पर अधिकार कर लिया - इसमें हमारी कमी थी परंतु उन विदेशी हमलावरों को बेकसूर बतलाना परले दर्जे की मूढ़ता है। कमी दोनों की ही होती है हमला सहन करने वाले की भी तथा हमलावर की भी। एक अन्य बात यह कि हमारे सुधरते ही हमलावर कैसे सुधरेगा? गांधी ने विस्तार से इस बारे में कुछ नहीं बतलाया है। यह सिद्धांत यदि सत्य होता तो पूरी दुनिया से आतंक व उपद्रव कभी का समाप्त हो जाता। हमलावर, आतंकवादी व दुष्ट प्रकृति के व्यक्तियों से यदि उन्हीं की भाषा में बात नहीं की गई तो उनका उत्साह अत्याचार करने का और भी बढ़ जाएगा। भगवान् बुद्ध से लेकर गांधी तक तथा गांधी से लेकर अब तक इस सोच ने भारत को बर्बाद करके रख दिया है तथा सभी देश व आतंकवादी भारत को मूढ़ताओं, उपद्रव, भ्रष्टाचार व घोटालों का स्वर्ग मानते हैं। यह महारोग पता नहीं कब भारत का पीछे छोड़ेगा? भगवान् बुद्ध, गांधी, टालस्टाय व थोरो आदि कोई भी नीति-शास्त्री रत्तीभर भी कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर सका है। भारत की आजादी हेतु गांधी ने जो शर्त 'हिंद स्वराज्य' पुस्तक में रखी है उससे देश कभी भी आजाद नहीं होता तथा गांधी व उनके चेले स्वयं भी इस आजादी की कसौटी को पूरा नहीं कर पाए थे। वह सुभाष ही थे जिनकी रणनीति ने अंग्रेजी सेना की कमर को तोड़ दिया था तथा इसी वजह से अंग्रेज भारत से भागने को विवश हुए थे। गांधीवादी नीतियों से तो यह देश हजार वर्ष पश्चात् भी आजाद नहीं होता।

25. "यह पुस्तक मैंने 1909 में लिखी थी। 12 वर्ष के अनुभव के बाद भी मेरे विचार जैसे उस समय थे वे वैसे ही आज हैं" (पृ० 88)

1909 ई० में लिखी उनकी यह पुस्तक गर्म दल वालों को नीचा दिखलाने एवं अंग्रेजों की मदद करने हेतु लिखी गई लगती है। इसके 12 वर्ष पश्चात् यानि कि 1922 ई० में भी उनके विचार पूर्ववत् ही थे। गलतियों से उन्होंने कुछ भी नहीं सीखा - यह भारत का दुर्भाग्य था। विदेशी विद्वानों की विचारधारा को भारत में लागू करना वैसे भी व्यवहार्य नहीं था लेकिन गांधी प्रयोगवादी थे। उन्होंने अनेक विनाशकारी एवं घातक प्रयोग किए थे और उनका दुष्परिणाम भारत अब भी भुगत रहा है। 12 वर्ष में सब कुछ बदल जाता है लेकिन गांधी की सोच नहीं बदली। 'हिंद स्वराज्य' जैसी तिथिबाह्य पुस्तकें केवल मात्र टोटे व दरिद्रता का दर्शन-शास्त्र प्रस्तुत करती हैं।

26. "इस पुस्तक के प्रेरणास्रोत हैं विदेशी टालस्टाय (जिम ज़पदहकवउ वी लवक पे पूजीपद ल्वनएँज पे। तजएँजिम सँअमतल वी वनत ज्यउमे), थोरो (स्पमि पूजीवनज च्त्तपदबपचसमेएँ व्द जीम वनजल वी व्पअपस व्पेवइकपमदबम), रस्किन, (न्दजव जेपे सेंजएँ। श्रवल वित म्अमत), मेजिनी (वनजपमे वी डँद), प्लेटो (क्ममिदबम दँक क्मंजी वी वबतंजमे), टेलर (जिम थंसंबल वी चममक) कारपेंटर (व्पअपसप्रंजपवदएँ पजे व्नेम दँक वनतम) नौरोजी (च्वअमतजल दँक न्द.ठतपजपौ ल्सम पद प्दकपं) रचित पुस्तकें हैं न कमाल कि नीति-शास्त्र मर्मज्ञ व साक्षात् देवता की इस पुस्तक का प्रेरणास्रोत सारे के सारे विद्वान विदेशी हैं। भारत में प्रेरणा प्रदान करने वाली पुस्तकें सैकड़ों की संख्या में उस समय भी थीं तथा आज भी हैं लेकिन गांधी ने छोटकर उन्हीं पुस्तकों का चुनाव किया जो व्यक्ति को दरिद्र, अभावग्रस्त, गरीब व जंगली बनाने के सिवाय कुछ नहीं देती। या फिर यह भी सही है कि गांधी ने इन पुस्तकों में से उन्हीं बातों का चुनाव किया है जो उनकी संकीर्ण, दरिद्र व पिछड़ी सोच में फिट हो सकती हों। गांधी ने रामायण व गीता से यह सीख नहीं ली कि आततायी को तुरंत दंड देकर नष्ट कर दो अपितु श्रीराम व कृष्ण की करुणा, अहिंसा व सत्यादि की गतों को ही दोहराते रहे तथा इस प्रकार की शिक्षाओं से आजादी से पूर्व अंग्रेजों का व आजादी के पश्चात् उग्रवादियों का जो उत्साहवर्द्धन हुआ है उसका उदाहरण सारे विश्व में मिलना मुश्किल है।

27. इस पुस्तक का लेखन लंदन से अफ्रीका लौटते हुए गांधी ने रास्ते में जो संवाद लिखा, वह 'हिंद स्वराज्य' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ। प्रकाशक-नवजीवन प्रकाशन मंदिर, अहमदाबाद। अनुवादक- अमृतलाल ठाकोरदास नाणावटी (दिसंबर 2006)

उस समय गांधी के मन-मस्तिष्क में ऐसी-ऐसी योजनाएं ही तैयार होती रहती थी कि वे कैसे अपनी बातों को सच व अन्यों की बातों को झूठ सिद्ध कर सकें। गांधी में थोड़े भी विवेक-बुद्धि होते तो वे हाथ धोकर गर्म दल वालों के पीछे न पड़ते, समय-समय पर मुसलमानों पर होने वाले अत्याचारों पर बवाल न मचाते तथा हिन्दुओं पर होने वाले अत्याचारों पर मौन न साध लेते। तुष्टीकरण की महाव्याधि आज की नहीं है अपितु यह तो गांधी के समय पर ही जन्म ले चुकी थी। हिंदू निरही हैं, अत्याचार सहने के लिए हैं, उसे अत्याचार चुपचाप सहन कर लेना चाहिए तथा मुसलमान किसी भी प्रकार का अत्याचार करने को स्वतंत्र है। हिंदू मक्खी भी मारे तो पाप है लेकिन मुसलमान नर-संहार भी करे तो भी वह सही है। गांधी मुस्लिम अत्याचारों पर सदैव मौन साधे रहे तथा हिंदुओं को

ही सत्य, अहिंसा, करुणा आदि के उपदेश देते रहे। देश का दुर्भाग्य था कि इस देश को कोई सही नेता व मार्गदर्शक लंबे समय तक नहीं मिला और यदि कोई मिला भी तो उसे षड्यंत्रों में उलझाकर या गद्दारी करके मौत के मुंह में पहुंचा दिया गया । भगत सिंह, बिस्मिल, अशाफाकुल्ला, चंद्रशेखर, सुभाषचंद्र आदि तथा और भी अनेकों राष्ट्रवादियों एवं सच्चे देशभक्तों को षड्यंत्र के तहत ही मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया था । अब तो सत्य को सत्य कहना भी गुनाह समझा जाता है परंतु एक समय ऐसा भी अवश्य आएगा कि हम सत्य बोलने को आजाद होंगे । एक समय ऐसा जरूर आएगा कि जब हमें यह पूरी तरह से मालूम हो जाएगा कि 'हिंद स्वराज' जैसी पुस्तकें केवल विरोधाभासी व कालबाह्य ही नहीं हैं अपितु ये दरिद्रता, टोटे, अभाव व गरीबी की सोच को भी आगे बढ़ाने में मदद करती हैं । ऐसी पुस्तकों पर या तो प्रतिबंध लगाना चाहिए या इन्हें पढ़ने की आज्ञा उन्हीं पाठकों को होनी चाहिए जिनकी बुद्धि-लब्धि उच्चकोटि की हो । ऐसी पुस्तकें व्यक्ति, समाज व राष्ट्र को पंगू बनाती हैं । अकर्मण्यता की सीख देती हैं ऐसी पुस्तकें । कहां अनेक कुर्बानियां देने के बाद भी राष्ट्रों की आजादी स्थायी नहीं बन जाती है और यहां भारत में 'हिंद स्वराज्य' जैसी पुस्तकों से रामराज्य लाने की कोशिशें की जाती रही हैं । इस पुस्तक के नाम में 'हिंद' शब्द भी शायद गांधी ने गलती से ही डाल दिया है । गांधी को तो यहां पर 'मुस्लिम स्वराज्य' शब्द डालना चाहिए था । मुस्लिम तुष्टीकरण की सारी सीमाएं लांघ जाने वाला व्यक्ति 'हिंद स्वराज्य' की बात कर ही कैसे सकता है? स्वामी दयानंद द्वारा वर्तमान युग में सर्वप्रथम उद्घोषित 'स्वदेशी' व 'स्वभाषा' की स्थापना कब हो सकेगी ?

Contributors

Dr. Rita Roy Chowdhury, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Vivekananda College for Women, Kolkata.

Ms. Reni Pal, Assistant Professor (Philosophy), Surendranath College, Kolkata

Mr. Pradeepkumar Mane, Research Scholar (Ph.D.), Department of Philosophy, University of Pune, Poona.

Mr. Pradyumna Anil Purohit, Institute of Law, Nirma University, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.

Ms. Harshal Gupta, Institute of Law, Nirma University, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.

Mr. Shubhra Jyoti Das, Research Scholar, Centre for Philosophy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Mr. Nishikant Patoa, Research Scholar (Ph.D.), Department of Philosophy, Assam University, Silchar (Assam).

Dr. Merina Islam, Assistant Professor (Philosophy), Cachar College, Silchar (Assam).

Ms. Manju Chauhan, Student (Philosophy), B.A.Final Year, P.G.Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh.

Dr. Sheena Krishnan Ulamparambath, Assistant Professor (History), P.G.Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh.

Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal, Assistant Professor (Philosophy), P.G.Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh.

Acharya Shilak Ram, Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

About the Author



Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal is an Assistant Professor (Philosophy), P.G.Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh and Programme-Co-ordinator of Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (CPPIS), Milestone Education Society (Regd.), Pehowa (Kurukshetra). He completed his M.A. (2005) and Ph.D. (2010) in Philosophy from the Department of Philosophy, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. Being the Chief-Functionary of Society for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (SPPIS), Haryana, he developed online pages on Philosophy News, Positive Philosophy, Indian Psychology, Logic etc. He is the Editor of bi-annual interdisciplinary online journals Lokayata: Journal of Positive Philosophy and Milestone Education Review (ISSN: 2249-8389) and Milestone Education Review (The Journal of Ideas on Educational & Social Transformation: ISSN: 2278-2168). He participated through presentations in several seminars, conferences and contributed research papers in different journals on philosophy and interdisciplinary studies. Following books are in his credit: Reconsidering Classical Indian Thoughts (Ed.), Philosophy, Education and Indian Value System (2011), Positive Philosophy for Contemporary Indian Society (2011) and Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda (co-authored). Detail profile available at <http://drsirswal.webs.com>

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Pehowa(Kurukshetra)

Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies(CPPIS)

Balmiki Dharmashala, Ward No.06, Pehowa (Kurukshetra)-136128 (Haryana)

E-mail: cppiskkr@gmail.com

Website: <http://positivephilosophy.webs.com>

