

# **The Resurgent India**

**A Monthly National Review**

December 2018



***“Let us all work for the Greatness of India.”***

*- The Mother*

Year 9

Issue 9

The Resurgent India English monthly published and printed by Smt. Suman Sharma on behalf of The Resurgent India Trust Published at C/o J. N. Socketed Cement Pipes Pvt. Ltd., Village Bhamraula Post Bagwara, Kichha Road, Rudrapur (U.S Nagar)  
**email:** sadlecjnn@gmail.com, info@resurgentindia.org, URL :  
www.resurgentindia.org

**Printed at :** Priyanka Printing Press, Hotel Krish Building, Janta Inter College Road, Udham Nagar, Rudrapur, Uttarakhand

**Editor : Ms. Garima Sharma,** B-45, Batra Colony, Village Bharatpur, P.O. Kaushal Ganj, Bilaspur Distt. Rampur (U.P)

# THE RESURGENT INDIA

A Monthly National Review

December 2018



## SUCCESSFUL FUTURE

(Full of Promise and Joyful Surprises)

*Botanical name: Gaillardia Pulchella*

*Common name: Indian blanket, Blanket flower, Fire-wheels*

Year 9

Issue 9

# CONTENTS

<b>Assembly Elections Results 2018:</b>	
<b>The Election Debacle .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Vote Share Distribution: .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Results That Do Not Explain the Failure .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>A False Development Narrative .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>The Greatness of India and Its Culture (36) ...</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>6. Indian Polity .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>V. The True Nature of the Indian Polity and     the Basic Points of Difference Between the     Ancient Indian and the European Polity .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>D. The Rule of the Dharma and the Progression of the Four         Traditional Ages (Yugas) of Indian Society .....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>E. The Function of the Political Sovereign and the System         of a Complex Communal Freedom and Self-determination</i>	<i>24</i>
<b>History of India – The Vedic Age (36) .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>XV. The Veda in the Eyes of the European and     Indian Historians .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>A. The Persistent Indian Tradition of a Secret     Meaning and a Mystic Wisdom Concealed in     the Riks of the Veda .....</b>	<b>31</b>

## **A Declaration**

We do not fight against any creed, any religion.

We do not fight against any form of government.

We do not fight against any social class.

We do not fight against any nation or civilisation.

We are fighting division, unconsciousness, ignorance, inertia and falsehood.

We are endeavouring to establish upon earth union, knowledge, consciousness, Truth, and we fight whatever opposes the advent of this new creation of Light, Peace, Truth and Love.

— The Mother

(Collected works of the Mother, Vol. 13, pp. 124-25)

## ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS RESULTS 2018: THE ELECTION DEBACLE

The results of the recently concluded assembly elections in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Telangana and Mizoram, though not unexpected, have delivered a wake-up call for the ruling dispensation. The details of the election results show that the BJP has actually done well in the face of expected disenchantment and anti-incumbency (of the two fifteen year-old state governments and one five year-old government in Rajasthan).

There is also no doubt that NOTA played a major role in BJP's defeat, especially in Madhya Pradesh. Even though absolute NOTA vote shares have come down from 2013 elections in all states, yet NOTA and independent votes in BJP constituencies and strongholds shows that NOTA has, to an extent, undercut the party's votes. The party also lost across demographics, ranging from urban to rural areas, thereby seemingly reflecting discontent with the government's economic policies and farmer distress, and with the development paradigm in general.

### VOTE SHARE DISTRIBUTION:

#### Madhya Pradesh:

Party	2018 vote share (%)	2013 vote share (%)
BJP	41	44.9
Congress	40.9	36.4
BSP	5	6.3
Others	13.10	12.4

Source: The Wire

### **Rajasthan:**

Party	2018 vote share (%)	2013 vote share (%)
BJP	38.8	46.79
Congress +	39.8	34.27
BSP	4	3.52
Others	17.4	15.42

Source: The Wire

### **Chhattisgarh:**

Party	2018 vote share (%)	2013 vote share (%)
BJP	33	41.41
Congress	43	40.71
BSP	4	4.34
JCC	8	-
Others	13	13.54

Source: The Wire

### **Telangana:**

Party	2018 vote share (%)	2014 vote share (%)
TRS	46.9	34.3
TDP	3.5	14.7
Congress	28.4	25.2
BJP	7	7.1
AIMIM	2.7	3.8
Others	11.5	14.9

Source: The Wire

**Mizoram:**

Party	2018 vote share (%)	2013 vote share (%)
Congress	30.2	44.6
MNF	37.6	28.7
BJP	8	0.4
Others	24.2	26.3

Source: The Wire

The fact is that despite its relatively fine – better-than-expected – performance in comparison to the Congress party after more than a decade of incumbency in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, the BJP has materially suffered substantial losses compared to its own 2013 performance in these states. It has also fallen in the people’s minds, to some extent, from the high ideals from which it had started off in 2014.

**Rajasthan (Seat share): (Majority mark: 100)**

Party	2018	2013	Change (+/-)
Congress	100	21	+79
BJP	73	163	-90
Others	20	13	+7
BSP	6	3	+3

Source: Times of India

**Madhya Pradesh (Seat share): (Majority mark: 116)**

Party	2018	2013	Change (+/-)
Congress	114	58	+56
BJP	109	165	-56
Others	5	3	+2
BSP	2	4	-2

Source: Times of India

**Chhattisgarh (Seat share): (Majority mark: 46)**

Party	2018	2013	Change (+/-)
Congress	68	39	+29
BJP	15	49	-34
Others	0	1	-1
BSP +	7	1	+6

Source: Times of India

**Telangana (Seat share): (Majority mark: 60)**

Party	2018	2014	Change (+/-)
TRS	88	63	+25
Congress +	21	21	-
AIMIM	7	7	-
Others	2	5	-3
BJP	1	5	-4
TDP	-	15	-15
YSRCP	-	3	-3

Source: Times of India

### Mizoram (Seat share): (Majority mark: 21)

Party	2018	2013	Change (+/-)
MNF	26	5	+21
Others	8	0	+8
Congress	5	34	-29
BJP	1	0	+1
MPC	-	1	-1

Source: Times of India

From the above results, it is clear that while the BJP lost 48% of the seats it had won in 2013 across Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, the Congress gained 137% from its 2013 tally. The overall vote share of the Congress, however, increased by much less – 6% in Rajasthan, 5% in Madhya Pradesh and by 3% in Chhattisgarh (IndiaSpend 2018).

### RESULTS THAT DO NOT EXPLAIN THE FAILURE

In the current assembly elections, it is clear that the ruling party's well-calculated move of challenging the Supreme Court order diluting the stringent provisions of the SC/ST Atrocities Act, not only did not pay off, but also backfired. The intention to retain the SC-ST votes was motivated by the fact that, over the years, BJP had gradually succeeded in consolidating these communities behind it. While the SC support for BJP had doubled from 12 per cent in 2009 to 24 per cent in 2014 elections, the ST support had gone up from 19% to 38% between 2009 and 2014 elections (Tiwari 2018).

Understandably, the party wanted to retain these groups in the three states – Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh – where these groups constitute more than 30%

of the population. But its seat tally declined immensely, contrary to calculations, from 71 in 2013 to 31 in 2018 in SC seats and from 57 in 2013 to 28 in 2018 in ST seats (Tiwari 2018).

The incumbent BJP in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh has lost at least a third of its seats across the SC/ST constituencies. Across the three states, the BJP lost 120 of the 180 seats reserved for SCs and STs, while in 2013 it had won 77% of these seats. The Congress, on the other hand, won 62% of these seats up from the 23% it had won in 2013 (IndiaSpend 2018).

In Chhattisgarh, where the SC-ST seats account for about 43% of the total seats, the BJP won only 4 (down from 11 in 2013) of the 29 ST seats, while the Congress won 24, and in the 10 SC seats, while BJP won only 2 (down from 9 in 2013), Congress won 6.

In Madhya Pradesh, the BJP won 16 of the 47 ST seats (losing 15 it had won in 2013), while the Congress won 29 seats (gaining from the 15 seats it had won in 2013). In case of the 35 SC seats, while the BJP won 17 (11 down since 2013), the Congress won 18 (a marked improvement from 4 it had won in 2013).

In Rajasthan, out of the 25 ST seats, the BJP won 10 while the Congress won 13. The BJP is down 8 seats from 2013 while the Congress is up by 6 seats. Out of the 34 SC seats, the BJP won 11. It had won 32 of these seats in 2013. After losing all SC seats in 2013, the Congress won 21 this time.

The party's poor showing in SC-ST seats across the three states shows not only rural distress, but is also a lesson in the fact that calculations can carry one only so far. The numerous steps taken for the welfare of the Dalits has not yielded desired effects – not because they were ineffective, but because the BJP's

overtly calculative strategy combined with a sense of power and complacency failed. Yes, it challenged the Court ruling amending the Atrocities Act, yet the SC-ST groups were not satisfied, because of the crackdowns during Bharat Bandh and initial uncertainty on the part of the government in challenging the ruling. At the same time, the upper castes and OBCs felt they were utterly betrayed. ***The entire episode and the government's inability to take a stand had a negative impact from both SC-ST and upper caste-OBC voter groups.***

***At the same time, the experiment of Hindu consolidation cutting across caste lines that was started during the UP elections of 2017 was apparently damaged by the government's complacency. Its support of the Act and its inability to retain the SC-STs has dealt a blow to this incipient nationalistic consolidation, which could have meant a lot more than mere vote banks. It is correct that the government may have lost because it was seen to have defected from this Hindutva cause. The divisions fostered over the politics over the Atrocities Act were harmful.***

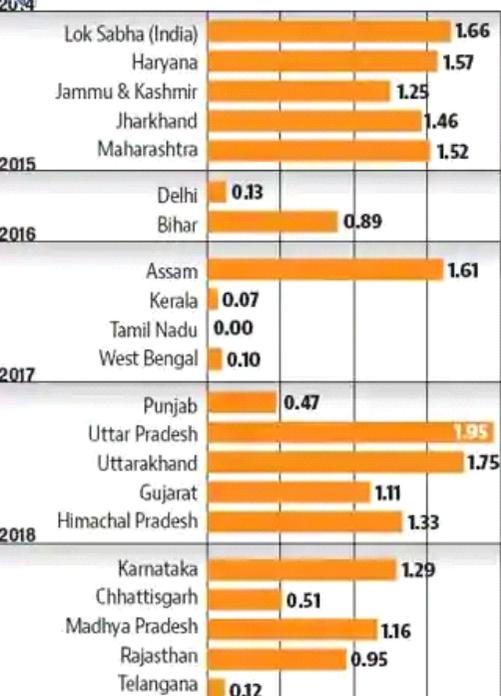
Thus, even the upper caste, OBCs and urban voters ditched their traditional party of choice. In Madhya Pradesh, about 30 per cent upper caste and 41 per cent OBCs voted for the Congress, making a big dent in the traditional vote bank of the BJP, all thanks to the support for the Atrocities Act. ***The BJP supported it purely for political expediency, knowing that its facetious support will not bring welfare to the real condition of the SC-ST groups. That it diverted from the Hindutva nationalistic cause in taking this whole issue for granted, was even worse.***

In a state like Madhya Pradesh, the fact that Congress lagged behind the BJP in terms of vote share and did not do so

well despite such a strong wave of anti-incumbency shows that the people still do not prefer the party. Likewise in Rajasthan. In both states, it was more of a vote against the BJP than in favour of the Congress. In Chhattisgarh, the dynamic is such that even a slight vote swing can result in a very high swing in seats.

There is another factor to be considered viz. in the first-past-the-post election system like ours, the seat share to vote share ratio works in such a way that even less votes can translate into higher seat share if there is unity of the opposition or if some voters strategically vote to oust a party.

## BJP'S SEAT SHARE TO VOTE SHARE RATIO



Source: Hindustan Times 2018

In UP in 2017, when the opposition unity was in disarray, BJP's seat share to vote share ratio was very high. In the current assembly elections, it is clear that the vote share of BJP is almost the same as that of Congress and the latter has not gained much from the last election in terms of vote share viz. the popular support base of the BJP remains largely undented, but because some voters chose to vote strategically for independents, BJP's seat share suffered even though the vote share was viable.

The fact that most of those who may have earlier voted for BJP – including SC-ST voters – chose to go for NOTA also dealt a blow to the party. In the close fight, the BJP seems to have lost to NOTA or independents in many of its strongholds where it was expecting to win, even as Congress has also lost many of the constituencies held by it earlier. However, in absolute terms, the share of NOTA was less in these elections as compared to 2013. In Rajasthan, the NOTA share fell from 1.91% to 1.3%; in Madhya Pradesh, it fell from 1.9% to 1.4% and in Chhattisgarh, it fell from 3.07% to 2% (ET Bureau 2018).

The rate of NOTA was particularly high among the ST voters across all three states – 2% in Chhattisgarh, 1.4% in Madhya Pradesh and 1.3% in Rajasthan – exceeding even the vote share difference between the BJP and the Congress (The Indian Express 2018). The fallout over the SC-ST Atrocities Act also played out in prompting the upper caste constituencies to vote against the BJP. For instance, in Madhya Pradesh, the trend was clear. The BJP lost 12 seats where the NOTA margin was more than margin of loss. In Chambal region, where Thakur voters are believed to have voted against the BJP for backing the SC atrocity legislation. Bundelkhand and Malwa regions too drew the highest number of NOTA votes.

---

In at least 11 seats where the Congress won, NOTA got more

votes than the winning margin — Biaora, Damoh, Gunnor, Gwalior, Jabalpur, Jobat, Mandhata, Nepanagar, Rajnagar, Raipur and Suwasra. NOTA also polled more votes than the victory margin in Bina and Kolaras, where BJP candidates won (Upreti 2018).

Yet, these figures where the vote was proven to be against the BJP and not so much in favour of the Congress, are cold comfort – ***at the end of the day the performance of a party and a government that was supposed to have become the vanguard of Indian nationalism and had started its term by making repeated references to India's spiritual heritage, has been dismal. This should be the deeper lens from which the BJP's defeat needs to be viewed.***

Narrowly, to derive comfort from the sense that its vote share was higher than the Congress or that droves of disenchanting upper-caste voters voted for NOTA (None of The Above) is not the best way of introspection or explanation.

## **A FALSE DEVELOPMENT NARRATIVE**

***The election results underscore that the vote was against the BJP rather than being in favour of the Congress. This is substantiated by the fact that the Congress could not even cross the majority mark in Madhya Pradesh and was not able to gain all that much from the 15-year old anti-incumbency sentiment in Madhya Pradesh and of the strong anti-incumbency in Rajasthan.*** It is clear that the discontent among the people – both material and psychological – was due to the disease spun by the development narrative.

In these elections, the BJP was not only faced with so-called rural distress and farmers' anger, but also supposedly anger of business and trader classes at steps like demonetization, lack of

jobs and the implementation of the GST. This was natural – the well-intentioned and near-revolutionary policies such as these will clearly not be vote-getters. ***The populist and utilitarian mindset rebels against steps that are designed to shake up the existing system. We will discuss in another article, the same thing happened in China, where Xi Jinping is drawing flak for taking near revolutionary and nationalist economic steps.***

The intentions of the government may have been sound – it supposedly created a lot more in terms of rural infrastructure and assets than previous governments and ensured affordable medicines, low interest rates and low inflation, but this was too short a time for them to bear fruition. These steps and policies were vilified because of the temporary income and business stagnation and job lay-offs that followed the shocks of demonetization and the GST. The set back from the government's stand on SC/ST Atrocities Act further cemented the upper-caste ill-will.

One after another, Mr. Modi undertook great overhauls and got the stagnant government machinery working. He implemented policies that were already present on paper but required courage to implement in a polity that goes for polls nearly every year in some state or the other. He also made more efficient the earlier government's policies on Aadhar and welfare distribution.

Yet, the failure was due to two factors. First, four years is too short a time to consolidate the longer term gains from these clearly longer term policies. And second, by rigidly following an endless development pathway and seeming to repose utter faith in the bogey of development, the government soon, unbeknownst to itself, began to go against the tide. In the case of the SC/ST Atrocities Act, the government had a historic

opportunity to correct the misuse of the Act and yet chose to maintain facetious appearances only.

Similarly, to talk about development is okay up to a certain point. But to indiscriminately and complacently – even arbitrarily, since many businesses suffered as a result of cash crunch unleashed not so much by demonetization and GST as by government choosing to divert money to populist welfare schemes in such trying times – is unacceptable. The government not only lost the popular good will by taking things for granted, but also betrayed the need of the hour by talking about the meaningless paradigm of development.

***Development is an illusion since in the present times of inevitable material and vital crisis – and utter moral degradation – facing us, no welfare is actually possible. And four years should be enough to realize that.***

The results show, not any particular pattern of voting, but a psychological wave of discontent against a party that was seen to have slid into complacency and deviated from its core ideals. The theories that are doing the rounds hold little water due to their inconsistencies. It is being said that farm distress was a major cause of the failure of the incumbents in states like Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

It was voted in, primarily, not simply to deliver roads and houses, but also because it rejuvenated the national psyche and channelized the popular outrage against an earlier materialistic system that had completely engulfed the nation and fallen into fatigue.

In 2014 general elections and in 2016 and 2017 assembly elections, there was support for the BJP from both forward and backward castes. But when the BJP fails to distinguish itself

sharply from the Congress – as Atal Bihari Vajpayee’s BJP had failed to do – the purpose is defeated. ***Thus, contrary to what many secular analyses are imagining, the failure is not because of Hindutva and nationalism, but because of a lack of it. These elections are, thus, a timely reminder to the party about not losing steam or calculatedly promoting its own narrow selfish interest which, in truth, is self-defeating.***

What is now being dismissed as rhetoric and empty charisma in PM Modi’s speeches by his own fatigued supporters is nothing but a reflection of the complacency – and some deviation from the goal – that the BJP government seems to have slipped into.

***Yet it is extremely significant to understand that the push and the fire behind Mr. Modi’s words has never been simply rhetoric: it meant something and has had a powerful impact on the national psyche, because behind all professions and words, the nation was the object, and this spirit never failed to sway.***

Despite all the losses due to drastic, but needed, steps in economic sphere, this impulse of identification with the national spirit saved the day in the Uttar Pradesh elections of 2017. The moment the ruling dispensation’s basic identification with the national spirit began to cease and as it began to descend into and be engulfed by the materiality of vapid policies and electoral calculations, its electoral campaigns were bound to acquire superficiality. This reflects in the state of the nation and the people today and in their diluted zeal towards the government.

The national unification – based on the foundations of Hindutva and Indian spirituality – is irreversible. But vapid economics of selfishness – as preached by think-tank like NITI

Aayog – and social redistribution or corporate well-being, serve no purpose, unless it has its basis in the need of the hour for the country. You can promise the masses the sky and give them all possible social benefits, yet, it is not necessary that you will win the next election, since there is no end to this vital and material greed. Here, more is always less, and a government which diverts from the national and spiritual purpose and gullibly believes that there is any kind of permanency in material things is falling into a trap of illusion and failure. There are no guarantees of even something as basic as votes.

If these material benefits alone – and their supposed help in clinging onto power – are the sole objects of the government of the day, then any party will do and the experts of the Congress will be as good as the BJP. As a matter of fact, all indicators of economic growth were reasonable during the UPA government and social schemes like MNREGA and others were doing fine, there was less rural distress and agricultural sector was performing, as were the businesses. Yet, the outrage against the Congress in 2014 was about “intangible” issues like corruption, which did not pinch a person’s everyday utilitarian or selfish interest individually – which means that despite the basic infrastructure of material benefits being in place, it was a movement or uprising of discontent in the national psyche which voted the Congress out. As the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government in 2004 – despite all excellent performances – simply because it had ceased to grow, had lapsed into complacency and had distanced itself from the national cause. Thus, no matter how materially successful a government is, selfishness, we hope, has ceased to be a successful short-cut to political power.

It is the Divine movement that decides the destiny of nations and the working of this movement has become more

visible than ever in today's times, all over the world. Scaling the heights of selfishness and utilitarianism, we are now facing a crisis – environmental and technological – which threatens destruction in a short space of time. The criterion is simple – being in harmony with this divine movement will decide who gets the crown.

With the kind of governments that are retaining or coming to power world over, we see the clear-cut destruction of the excesses of the old liberal-capitalist order. The Modi government in India came to power as a part of this larger movement. Hence, it is easy to see and draw comparisons between utterly different political systems like Brazil, India, China, Turkey, United States, eastern Europe and some parts of Western Europe (like the current France). It is not simply popular discontent, but a common convergence on nationalism (in both Leftist and Rightist governments). What moves governments is now beginning to be decided by intuitive movements, rather than blind materialism of the '90s liberal order.

This means that the nature of political power itself has changed. Political power – slowly and gradually – is ceasing to be a stooge of calculations and manipulations. And the elections nearly everywhere, including in India in these five states – Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Telangana and Mizoram – may be looked upon as a testimony to this reality.

### **Bibliography**

*ET Bureau. 2018. Economic Times. December 15. Accessed December 20, 2018.*

*<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/did-nota-play-a-decisive-role-in-the-recent-assembly-elections/articleshow/67109885.cms>.*

*Hindustan Times*. 2018. Hindustan Times. December 30. Accessed December 30, 2018.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/from-invincible-to-vulnerable-bjp-s-seat-share-to-vote-share-ratio/story-Y8sNL9bHhGVQCyVjwuqcwO.html>.

*IndiaSpend*. 2018. Scroll.in. December 13. Accessed December 28, 2018.

<https://scroll.in/article/905569/elections-2018-bjp-lost-48-of-the-seats-it-had-won-in-2013-congress-gained-137>.

*The Indian Express*. 2018. The Indian Express. December 21. Accessed December 27, 2018.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/assembly-elections-in-three-states-nota-votes-follow-a-pattern-high-in-tribal-seats-5503065/>.

*Tiwari, Amitabh*. 2018. *Swarajya*. December 19. Accessed December 30, 2018.

<https://swarajyamag.com/politics/caste-concerns-why-bjp-must-clear-up-the-muddle>.

*Upreti, Deepak K*. 2018. *The Daily Pioneer*. December 14. Accessed December 26, 2018.

<https://www.dailypioneer.com/2018/page1/dismayed-at-sc-st-act—upper-castes-opt-nota.html>.

# THE GREATNESS OF INDIA AND ITS CULTURE (36)

## 6. INDIAN POLITY

### V. THE TRUE NATURE OF THE INDIAN POLITY AND THE BASIC POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANCIENT INDIAN AND THE EUROPEAN POLITY

#### *D. The Rule of the Dharma and the Progression of the Four Traditional Ages (Yugas) of Indian Society*

“The right order of human life as of the universe is preserved according to the ancient Indian idea by each individual being following faithfully his swadharma, the true law and norm of his nature and the nature of his kind and by the group being, the organic collective life, doing likewise. The family, clan, caste, class, social, religious, industrial or other community, nation, people are all organic group beings that evolve their own dharma and to follow it is the condition of their preservation, healthy continuity, sound action. There is also the dharma of the position, the function, the particular relation with others, as there is too the dharma imposed by the condition, environment, age, *yugadharma*, the universal religious or ethical dharma, and all these acting on the natural dharma, the action according to the Swabhava, create the body of the Law. The ancient theory supposed that in an entirely right and sound condition of man, individual and collective, – a condition typified by the legendary Golden Age, Satya Yuga, Age of Truth, – there is no need of any political government or State or artificial construction of society, because all then live freely according to the truth of their enlightened self and God-inhabited being and therefore

spontaneously according to the inner divine Dharma. The self-determining individual and self-determining community living according to the right and free law of his and its being is therefore the ideal. But in the actual condition of humanity, its ignorant and devious nature subject to perversions and violations of the true individual and the true social dharma, there has to be superimposed on the natural life of society a State, a sovereign power, a king or governing body, whose business is not to interfere unduly with the life of the society, which must be allowed to function for the most part according to its natural law and custom and spontaneous development, but to superintend and assist its right process and see that the Dharma is observed and in vigour and, negatively, to punish and repress and, as far as may be, prevent offences against the Dharma. A more advanced stage of corruption of the Dharma is marked by the necessity of the appearance of the legislator and the formal government of the whole of life by external or written law and code and rule; but to determine it – apart from external administrative detail – was not the function of the political sovereign, who was only its administrator, but of the socio-religious creator, the Rishi, or the Brahminic recorder and interpreter. And the Law itself written or unwritten was always not a thing to be new created or fabricated by a political and legislative authority, but a thing already existent and only to be interpreted and stated as it was or as it grew naturally out of pre-existing law and principle in the communal life and consciousness. The last and worst state of the society growing out of this increasing artificiality and convention must be a period of anarchy and conflict and dissolution of the dharma, – Kali Yuga, – which must precede through a red-grey evening of cataclysm and struggle a recovery and a new self-expression of the spirit in the human being.”<sup>1</sup>

### ***E. The Function of the Political Sovereign and the System of a Complex Communal Freedom and Self-determination***

“The main function of the political sovereign, the king and council and the other ruling members of the body politic, was therefore to serve and assist the maintenance of the sound law of life of the society: the sovereign was the guardian and administrator of the Dharma. The function of society itself included the right satisfaction of the vital, economic and other needs of the human being and of his hedonistic claim to pleasure and enjoyment, but according to their right law and measure of satisfaction and subject and subordinated to the ethical and social and religious dharma. All the members and groups of the socio-political body had their Dharma determined for them by their nature, their position, their relation to the whole body and must be assured and maintained in the free and right exercise of it, must be left to their own natural and self-determined functioning within their own bounds, but at the same time restrained from any transgression, encroachment or deviation from their right working and true limits. That was the office of the supreme political authority, the sovereign in his Council aided by the public assemblies. It was not the business of the state authority to interfere with or encroach upon the free functioning of the caste, religious community, guild, village, township or the organic custom of the region or province or to abrogate their rights, for these were inherent because necessary to the sound exercise of the social Dharma. All that it was called upon to do was to coordinate, to exercise a general and supreme control, to defend the life of the community against external attack or internal disruption, to repress crime and disorder, to assist, promote and regulate in its larger lines the economic and

industrial welfare, to see to the provision of facilities, and to use for these purposes the powers that passed beyond the scope of the others.

Thus in effect the Indian polity was the system of a very complex communal freedom and self-determination, each group unit of the community having its own natural existence and administering its own proper life and business, set off from the rest by a natural demarcation of its field and limits, but connected with the whole by well-understood relations, each a co-partner with the others in the powers and duties of the communal existence, executing its own laws and rules, administering within its own proper limits, joining with the others in the discussion and the regulation of matters of a mutual or common interest and represented in some way and to the degree of its importance in the general assemblies of the kingdom or empire. The State, sovereign or supreme political authority was an instrument of coordination and of a general control and efficiency and exercised a supreme but not an absolute authority; for in all its rights and powers it was limited by the Law and by the will of the people and in all its internal functions only a co-partner with the other members of the socio-political body.

**This was the theory and principle and the actual constitution of the Indian polity, a complex of communal freedom and self-determination with a supreme coordinating authority,** a sovereign person and body, armed with efficient powers, position and prestige, but limited to its proper rights and functions, at once controlling and controlled by the rest, admitting them as its active co-partners in all branches, sharing the regulation and administration of the communal existence, and all alike, the sovereign, the people and all its constituent

communities, bound to the maintenance and restrained by the yoke of the Dharma. Moreover the economic and political aspects of the communal life were only a part of the Dharma and a part not at all separate but inextricably united with all the rest, the religious, the ethical, the higher cultural aim of the social existence. The ethical law coloured the political and economic and was imposed on every action of the king and his ministers, the council and assemblies, the individual, the constituent groups of the society; ethical and cultural considerations counted in the use of the vote and the qualifications for minister, official and councillor; a high character and training was expected from all who held authority in the affairs of the Aryan people. The religious spirit and the reminders of religion were the head and the background of the whole life of king and people. The life of the society was regarded not so much as an aim in itself in spite of the necessary specialisation of parts of its system, but in all its parts and the whole as a great framework and training ground for the education of the human mind and soul and its development through the natural to the spiritual existence.”<sup>2</sup>

“THE SOCIO-POLITICAL evolution of Indian civilisation, as far as one can judge from the available records, passed through **four historical stages, first the simple Aryan community, then a long period of transition in which the national life was proceeding through a considerable variety of experimental formations in political structure and synthesis, thirdly, the definite formation of the monarchical state coordinating all the complex elements of the communal life of the people into regional and imperial unities, and last the era of decline in which there was an internal arrest and stagnation and an imposition of new cultures and systems from western Asia and Europe.** The distinguishing character of the first three periods is a remarkable solidity and stability in all the formations and a sound

and vital and powerful evolution of the life of the people rendered slow and leisurely by this fundamental conservative stability of the system but all the more sure in its building and living and complete in its structure. And **even in the decline this solidity opposes a strong resistance to the process of demolition. The structure breaks up at the top under foreign pressure, but preserves for a long time its basis, keeps, wherever it can maintain itself against invasion, much of its characteristic system and is even towards the end capable of attempts at revival of its form and its spirit.** And now too though the whole political system has disappeared and its last surviving elements have been ground out of existence, the peculiar social mind and temperament which created it remains even in the present social stagnation, weakness, perversion and disintegration and may yet in spite of immediate tendencies and appearances, once it is free to work again at its own will and after its own manner, proceed not along the Western line of evolution, but to a new creation out of its own spirit which may perhaps lead at the call of the demand now vaguely beginning to appear in the advanced thought of the race towards the inception of the third stage of communal living and a spiritual basis of human society. In any case **the long stability of its constructions and the greatness of the life they sheltered is certainly no sign of incapacity, but rather of a remarkable political instinct and capacity in the cultural mind of India.**

**The one principle permanent at the base of construction throughout all the building and extension and rebuilding of the Indian polity was the principle of an organically self-determining communal life, – self-determining not only in the mass and by means of the machinery of the vote and a representative body erected on the surface, representative only of the political mind of a part of the nation, which is all that the modern system has**

**been able to manage, but in every pulse of its life and in each separate member of its existence.** A free synthetic communal order was its character, and the condition of liberty it aimed at was not so much an individual as a communal freedom. In the beginning the problem was simple enough as only two kinds of communal unit had to be considered, the village and the clan, tribe or small regional people. The free organic life of the first was founded on the system of the self-governing village community and it was done with such sufficiency and solidity that it lasted down almost to our own days resisting all the wear and tear of time and the inroad of other systems and was only recently steam-rolled out of existence by the ruthless and lifeless machinery of the British bureaucratic system. The whole people living in its villages mostly on agriculture formed in the total a single religious, social, military and political body governing itself in its assembly, *samiti*, under the leadership of the king, as yet without any clear separation of functions or class division of labour.

It was the inadequacy of this system for all but the simplest form of agricultural and pastoral life and all but the small people living within a very limited area that compelled the problem of the evolution of a more complex communal system and a modified and more intricate application of the fundamental Indian principle. The agricultural and pastoral life common at first to all the members of the Aryan community, *kṣatriya*, remained always the large basis, but it developed an increasingly rich superstructure of commerce and industry and numerous arts and crafts and a smaller superstructure of specialised military and political and religious and learned occupations and functions. The village community remained throughout the stable unit, the firm grain or indestructible atom of the social body, but there grew up a group life of tens and hundreds of

villages, each under its head and needing its administrative organisation, and these, as the clan grew into a large people by conquest or coalition with others, became constituents of a kingdom or a confederated republican nation, and these again the circles, *maṅḡala*, of larger kingdoms and finally of one or more great empires. The test of the Indian genius for socio-political construction lay in the successful application of its principle of a communal self-determined freedom and order to suit this growing development and new order of circumstances.”<sup>3</sup>

“At the height of its evolution and in the great days of Indian civilisation we find an admirable political system efficient in the highest degree and very perfectly combining communal self-government with stability and order. The State carried on its work administrative, judicial, financial and protective without destroying or encroaching on the rights and free activities of the people and its constituent bodies in the same departments. The royal courts in capital and country were the supreme judicial authority coordinating the administration of justice throughout the kingdom, but they did not unduly interfere with the judicial powers entrusted to their own courts by the village and urban communes and, even, the regal system associated with itself the guild, caste and family courts, working as an ample means of arbitration and only insisted on its own exclusive control of the more serious criminal offences. A similar respect was shown to the administrative and financial powers of the village and urban communes. The king’s governors and officials in town and country existed side by side with the civic governors and officials and the communal heads and officers appointed by the people and its assemblies. The State did not interfere with the religious liberty or the established economic and social life of the nation; it confined itself to the maintenance of social order and the provision of a needed supervision, support, coordination and

facilities for the rich and powerful functioning of all the national activities. It understood too always and magnificently fulfilled its opportunities as a source of splendid and munificent stimulation to the architecture, art, culture, scholarship, literature already created by the communal mind of India. In the person of the monarch it was the dignified and powerful head and in the system of his administration the supreme instrument – neither an arbitrary autocracy or bureaucracy, nor a machine oppressing or replacing life – of a great and stable civilisation and a free and living people.”<sup>4</sup>

***References:***

- 1. Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo, Vol.20, pp.403-04, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, Pondicherry.**
- 2. *Ibid*, pp. 404-06**
- 3. *Ibid*, pp. 407-09**
- 4. *Ibid*, pp. 423-24**

## HISTORY OF INDIA – THE VEDIC AGE (36)

### XV. THE VEDA IN THE EYES OF THE EUROPEAN AND INDIAN HISTORIANS

#### A. THE PERSISTENT INDIAN TRADITION OF A SECRET MEANING AND A MYSTIC WISDOM CONCEALED IN THE RIKS OF THE VEDA

“In ancient times the Veda was revered as a sacred book of wisdom, a great mass of inspired poetry, the work of Rishis, seers and sages, who received in their illumined minds rather than mentally constructed a great universal, eternal and impersonal Truth which they embodied in Mantras, revealed verses of power, not of an ordinary but of a divine inspiration and source. The name given to these sages was Kavi, which afterwards came to mean any poet, but at the time had the sense of a seer of truth, – the Veda itself describes them as *kavayah satyaśrutah*, ‘seers who are hearers of the Truth’ and the Veda itself was called, *śruti*, a word which came to mean ‘revealed Scripture’. The seers of the Upanishad had the same idea about the Veda and frequently appealed to its authority for the truths they themselves announced and these too afterwards came to be regarded as Sruti, revealed Scripture, and were included in the sacred Canon.

This tradition persevered in the Brahmanas and continued to maintain itself in spite of the efforts of the ritualistic commentators, Yajnikas, to explain everything as myth and rite and the division made by the Pandits distinguishing the section of works, Karmakanda, and the section of Knowledge, Jnanakanda, identifying the former with the hymns and the latter with the Upanishads. This drowning of the parts of Knowledge by the parts of ceremonial works was strongly criticised in one of the Upanishads and in the Gita, but both look on the Veda as

a Book of Knowledge. Even, the Sruti including both Veda and Upanishad was regarded as the supreme authority for spiritual knowledge and infallible.

Is this all legend and moonshine, or a groundless and even nonsensical tradition? Or is it the fact that there is only a scanty element of higher ideas in some later hymns which started this theory? Did the writers of the Upanishads foist upon the Riks a meaning which was not there but read into it by their imagination or a fanciful interpretation? Modern European scholarship insists on having it so. And it has persuaded the mind of modern India. In favour of this view is the fact that the Rishis of the Veda were not only seers but singers and priests of sacrifice, that their chants were written to be sung at public sacrifices and refer constantly to the customary ritual and seem to call for the outward objects of these ceremonies, wealth, prosperity, victory over enemies. Sayana, the great commentator, gives us a ritualistic and where necessary a tentatively mythical or historical sense to the Riks, very rarely does he put forward any higher meaning though sometimes he lets a higher sense come through or puts it as an alternative as if in despair of finding out some ritualistic or mythical interpretation. But still he does not reject the spiritual authority of the Veda or deny that there is a higher truth contained in the Riks. This last development was left to our own times and popularised by occidental scholars.

The European scholars took up the ritualistic tradition, but for the rest they dropped Sayana overboard and went on to make their own etymological explanation of the words, or build up their own conjectural meanings of the Vedic verses and gave a new presentation often arbitrary and imaginative. What they sought for in the Veda was the early history of India, its society, institutions, customs, a civilisation-picture of the times. They invented the theory based on the difference of languages of an Aryan invasion from the north, an invasion of a Dravidian India

of which the Indians themselves had no memory or tradition and of which there is no record in their epic or classical literature. The Vedic religion was in this account only a worship of Nature-Gods full of solar myths and consecrated by sacrifices and a sacrificial liturgy primitive enough in its ideas and contents, and it is these barbaric prayers that are the much vaunted, haloed and apotheosized Veda.

There can be no doubt that in the beginning there was a worship of the Powers of the physical world, the Sun, Moon, Heaven and Earth, Wind, Rain and Storm etc., the Sacred Rivers and a number of Gods who presided over the workings of Nature. That was the general aspect of the ancient worship in Greece, Rome, India and among other ancient peoples. But in all these countries these gods began to assume a higher, a psychological function; Pallas Athene who may have been originally a Dawn-Goddess springing in flames from the head of Zeus, the Sky-God, Dyaus of the Veda, has in classical Greece a higher function and was identified by the Romans with their Minerva, the Goddess of learning and wisdom; similarly, Saraswati, a River Goddess, becomes in India the goddess of wisdom, learning and the arts and crafts: all the Greek deities have undergone a change in this direction – Apollo, the Sun-God, has become a god of poetry and prophecy, Hephaestus the Fire-God a divine smith, god of labour. In India the process was arrested half-way, and the Vedic Gods developed their psychological functions but retained more fixedly their external character and for higher purposes gave place to a new pantheon. They had to give precedence to Puranic deities who developed out of the early company but assumed larger cosmic functions, Vishnu, Rudra, Brahma, – developing from the Vedic Brihaspati, or Brahmanaspati, – Shiva, Lakshmi, Durga. Thus in India the change in the gods was less complete, the earlier deities became the inferior divinities of the Puranic pantheon and this was largely due to the survival of the Rig-veda in which their psychological

and their external functions co-existed and are both given a powerful emphasis; there was no such early literary record to maintain the original features of the Gods of Greece and Rome.

This change was evidently due to a cultural development in these early peoples who became progressively more mentalised and less engrossed in the physical life as they advanced in civilisation and needed to read into their religion and their deities finer and subtler aspects which would support their more highly mentalised concepts and interests and find for them a true spiritual being or some celestial figure as their support and sanction. But the largest part in determining and deepening this inward turn must be attributed to the Mystics who had an enormous influence on these early civilisations; there was indeed almost everywhere an age of the Mysteries in which men of a deeper knowledge and self-knowledge established their practices, significant rites, symbols, secret lore within or on the border of the more primitive exterior religions. This took different forms in different countries; in Greece there were the Orphic and Eleusinian Mysteries, in Egypt and Chaldea the priests and their occult lore and magic, in Persia the Magi, in India the Rishis. The preoccupation of the Mystics was with self-knowledge and a profounder world-knowledge; they found out that in man there was a deeper self and inner being behind the surface of the outward physical man, which it was his highest business to discover and know. "Know thyself" was their great precept, just as in India to know the Self, the Atman became the great spiritual need, the highest thing for the human being. They found also a Truth, a Reality behind the outward aspects of the universe and to discover, follow, realise this Truth was their great aspiration. They discovered secrets and powers of Nature which were not those of the physical world but which could bring occult mastery over the physical world and physical things and to systematise this occult knowledge and power was also one of their strong preoccupations. But all this could only be safely

done by a difficult and careful training, discipline, purification of the nature; it could not be done by the ordinary man. **If men entered into these things without a severe test and training it would be dangerous to themselves and others; this knowledge, these powers could be misused, misinterpreted, turned from truth to falsehood, from good to evil. A strict secrecy was therefore maintained, the knowledge handed down behind a veil from master to disciple. A veil of symbols was created behind which these mysteries could shelter,** formulas of speech also which could be understood by the initiated but were either not known by others or were taken by them in an outward sense which carefully covered their true meaning and secret. This was the substance of Mysticism everywhere.

It has been the tradition in India from the earliest times that the Rishis, the poet-seers of the Veda, were men of this type, men with a great spiritual and occult knowledge not shared by ordinary human beings, men who handed down this knowledge and their powers by a secret initiation to their descendant and chosen disciples. It is a gratuitous assumption to suppose that this tradition was wholly unfounded, a superstition that arose suddenly or slowly formed in a void, with nothing whatever to support it; some foundation there must have been however small or however swelled by legend and the accretions of centuries. But if it is true, then inevitably the poet-seers must have expressed something of their secret knowledge, their mystic lore in their writings and such an element must be present, however well-concealed by an occult language or behind a technique of symbols, and if it is there it must be to some extent discoverable. It is true that an antique language, obsolete words, – Yaska counts more than four hundred of which he did not know the meaning, – and often a difficult and out-of-date diction helped to obscure their meaning; the loss of the sense of their symbols, the glossary of which they kept to themselves, made them unintelligible to later generations; **even in the time**

**of the Upanishads the spiritual seekers of the age had to resort to initiation and meditation to penetrate into their secret knowledge**, while the scholars afterwards were at sea and had to resort to conjecture and to concentrate on a mental interpretation or to explain by myths, by the legends of the Brahmanas themselves often symbolic and obscure. But still to make this discovery will be the sole way of getting at the true sense and the true value of the Veda. We must take seriously the hint of Yaska, accept the Rishi's description of the Veda's contents as 'seer-wisdoms, seer-words', and look for whatever clue we can find to this ancient wisdom. Otherwise the Veda must remain for ever a sealed book; **grammarians, etymologists, scholastic conjectures will not open to us the sealed chamber.**

For it is a fact that the tradition of a secret meaning and a mystic wisdom couched in the Riks of the ancient Veda was as old as the Veda itself. The Vedic Rishis believed that their Mantras were inspired from higher hidden planes of consciousness and contained this secret knowledge. The words of the Veda could only be known in their true meaning by one who was himself a seer or mystic; from others the verses withheld their hidden knowledge. In one of Vamadeva's hymns in the fourth Mandala (IV.3.16) the Rishi describes himself as one illumined expressing through his thought and speech words of guidance, 'secret words' – *nīnyā vacāmsi* – 'seer-wisdoms that utter their inner meaning to the seer' – *kāvyāni kavaye nivacanā*. The Rishi Dirghatamas speaks of the Riks, the Mantras of the Veda, as existing 'in a supreme ether, imperishable and immutable in which all the gods are seated', and he adds 'one who knows not That what shall he do with the Rik?' (I.164.39) He further alludes to four planes from which the speech issues, three of them hidden in the secrecy while the fourth is human, and from there comes the ordinary word; but the word and thought of the Veda belongs to the higher planes (I.164.46). Elsewhere in the Riks the Vedic Word is described (X.71) as that which is supreme and

the topmost height of speech, the best and the most faultless. It is something that is hidden in secrecy and from there comes out and is manifested. It has entered into the truth-seers, the Rishis, and it is found by following the track of their speech. But all cannot enter into its secret meaning. Those who do not know the inner sense are as men who seeing see not, hearing hear not, only to one here and there the Word desiring him like a beautifully robed wife to a husband lays open her body. Others unable to drink steadily of the milk of the Word, the Vedic cow, move with it as with one that gives no milk, to him the Word is a tree without flowers or fruits. This is quite clear and precise; **it results from it beyond doubt that even then while the Rig-veda was being written the Riks were regarded as having a secret sense which was not open to all.** There was an occult and spiritual knowledge in the sacred hymns and by this knowledge alone, it is said, one can know the truth and rise to a higher existence. This belief was not a later tradition but held, probably, by all and evidently by some of the greatest Rishis such as Dirghatamas and Vamadeva.

The tradition, then, was there and it was prolonged after the Vedic times. Yaska speaks of several schools of interpretation of the Veda. There was a sacrificial or ritualistic interpretation, the historical or rather mythological explanation, an explanation by the grammarians and etymologists, by the logicians, a spiritual interpretation. **Yaska himself declares that there is a triple knowledge and therefore a triple meaning of the Vedic hymns, a sacrificial or ritualistic knowledge, a knowledge of the gods and finally a spiritual knowledge; but the last is the true sense and when one gets it the others drop or are cut away. It is this spiritual sense that saves and the rest is outward and subordinate.** He says further that 'the Rishis saw the truth, the true law of things, directly by an inner vision'; afterwards the knowledge and the inner sense of the Veda were almost lost and the Rishis who still knew had to save it by handing it down

through initiation to disciples and at a last stage outward and mental means had to be used for finding the sense such as Nirukta and other Vedangas. But even then, he says, **‘the true sense of the Veda can be recovered directly by meditation and tapasya’, those who can use these means need no outward aids for this knowledge. This also is sufficiently clear and positive.**

The tradition of a mystic element in the Veda as a source of Indian civilisation, its religion, its philosophy, its culture is more in consonance with historical fact than the European scouting of this idea. The nineteenth-century European scholarship writing in a period of materialistic rationalism regarded the history of the race as a development out of primitive barbarism or semi-barbarism, a crude social life and religion and a mass of superstitions, by the growth of outward civilised institutions, manners and habits through the development of intellect and reason, art, philosophy and science and a clearer and sounder, more matter-of-fact intelligence. The ancient idea about the Veda could not fit into this picture; it was regarded as rather a part of ancient superstitious ideas and a primitive error. But we can now form a more accurate idea of the development of the race. The ancient more primitive civilisations held in themselves the elements of the later growth but their early wise men were not scientists and philosophers or men of high intellectual reason but mystics and even mystery-men, occultists, religious seekers; they were seekers after a veiled truth behind things and not of an outward knowledge. The scientists and philosophers came afterwards; they were preceded by the mystics and often like Pythagoras and Plato were to some extent mystics themselves or drew many of their ideas from the mystics. In India philosophy grew out of the seeking of the mystics and retained and developed their spiritual aims and kept something of their methods in later Indian spiritual discipline and Yoga. The Vedic tradition, the fact of a mystical element in the Veda fits in perfectly with this historical

truth and takes its place in the history of Indian culture. **The tradition of the Veda as the bed-rock of Indian civilisation – not merely a barbaric sacrificial liturgy – is more than a tradition, it is an actual fact of history.”<sup>1</sup>**

In the light of Sri Aurobindo’s interpretation of the Veda it is clear that in approaching it, “...we are in the presence of a great scripture of the mystics with a double significance, one exoteric the other esoteric, the symbols themselves have a meaning which makes them a part of the esoteric significance, an element in the secret teaching and knowledge. The whole of the Rig-veda, a small number of hymns perhaps excepted, becomes in its inner sense such a Scripture. At the same time the exoteric sense need not be merely a mask; the Riks may have been regarded by their authors as words of power, powerful not only for internal but for external things. A purely spiritual scripture would concern itself with only spiritual significances, but **the ancient mystics were also what we would call occultists, men who believed that by inner means outer as well as inner results could be produced, that thought and words could be so used as to bring about realisations of every kind, – in the phrase common in the Veda itself, – both the human and the divine.”<sup>2</sup>**

The Modern historians are only able to approach the human part and that too mostly with a warped perception resulting from their inability to look at things through anything other than the glasses of the alien mentality of the modern scientific materialistic minds.

### **References:**

- 1. Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo, Vol.16, pp.3-10, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust, Pondicherry.**
- 2. Ibid, pp. 10-11**

## INDIA OF THE AGES

*“India of the ages is not dead nor has she spoken her last creative word; she lives and has still something to do for herself and the human peoples. And that which must seek now to awake is not an anglicised oriental people, docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the Occident’s success and failure, but still the ancient immemorable Shakti recovering her deepest self, lifting her head higher towards the supreme source of light and strength and turning to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma.”*

– Sri Aurobindo

(Collected Works of Sri Aurobindo, Vol. 20: p. 444)