CHAPTER VI

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S NATIONALISM VIS-À-VIS

WESTERN NATIONALISM
Nationalism is one of the most dominant forces of the modern world. So immense is the persuasive force of nationalism that it has dominated almost all spheres of thought and action of the people world over. Without any second thought modern men indulge in so much of its adulation that it has assumed the status of universally accepted faith. Charlton J.H. Hayes has therefore rightly observed, "So much is nationalism a common place in the modes of thoughts and actions of the civilized population of the contemporary world that most men take nationalism for granted. Without serious reflection they imagine it to be the most natural thing in the universe and assume it that it must always have existed." (1)

Nationalism, as a philosophy, appeals so much to the modern mind that the contemporary man almost accepts it as a new religion and expresses its unqualified allegiance and uncompromising adherence to it so much so that it far surpasses its adherence to any other religion. Hence Dr. Radhakrishnan has observed, "Nationalism is a political religion which stirrs the hearts and wills of men and rouses them to service and self-sacrifice in a way that no purely religious movements have done in recent time." (2) It is further pointed out, "Nationalism

(1) Charlton J.H. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, P.289
(2) Dr. Radhakrishnan, Recovery of Faith, P.51
has become a kind of secular religion along side other religious faiths, but in our day it has sometimes actually replaced supernatural religion." (3) Arnold Toynbee has characterised it as "the real if unavowed religion of post-modern Western society." (4)

I. BACK-DROP :-

Nationalism as a political concept evolved in the West on a vexed and complicated backdrop. It has evolved through different periods and different phases and the course of its evolution has been sometimes zigzag and some times contradictory. As William Ebenstein writes, "Complex in its origin, it has developed along many and often contradictory lines." (5)

During the medieval period people were not conscious of anything like nationalism or nation-state. Society was altogether feudalistic and hierarchical. This feudal system of society hindered the development of centralised system of government. At that time human loyalties did not go beyond the frontiers of locality - the village or city. Sabine in support of the fact writes, "Medieval society in its effective political organisation was almost wholly local." (6)

(3) Palmer & Perkins, International Relations, P. 18
(4) Arnold Toynbee, Civilization on Trial, P. 225
(5) William Ebenstein, Today's Isms, P. 122
(6) Sabine, A History of Political Theory, P. 312
With the erosion of the authority of the feudal lords or the kings, the Christian Church emerged as another symbol of authority. However the Pope who assumed the role of the head of the Holy Roman Empire, exercised his authority so arbitrarily that it hindered the growth of nationalism. As Prof. Dunning has observed, "The Holy Roman Empire and the universal church exercised authority over the European state and acted as a stumbling block to the rise of Nation-states." (7)

Yet the Renaissance, the Reformation and geographical discoveries, which marked the end of medieval period as much as the supremacy of the Church, were responsible for the establishment of the strong national monarchies. Renaissance taught the people not to accept anything blindly. The Protestant Reformation Movement freed the European states from the control of arbitrary Papal authority. Strong national monarchies were established in Europe and this gave rise to the spirit of national unity. The feudal order of the society and authority collapsed making way for a new order of national society. Strong monarchies were established first in England and then in France. Industrial development, spread of trade and commerce and growth of a large middle class in big territorial states were also responsible for the growth of nationalism. As it is said, "A prosperous and articulate middle class, whose commercial and intellectual element

(7) W.A. Dunning, A History of Political Theories (from Rousseau to Spencer), P.90
combined in the development of nationalist ideology, encouraged the development of nationalism in order to maintain their power and influence." (8)

In these European states with strong monarchies, vernaculars developed and Latin lost the pride of place. Different languages of different peoples came into existence that promoted a sense of affinity among the people, who spoke it. Common language served as an important unifying force. In the words of Ramsay Muir "......in very many cases unity of language and the community of ideas which it brings, have proved the main binding force in a nation." (9) Prof. Dunning has also observed, "A more acceptable criterion of identity as a nation was found in language. On the basis of sameness of speech........ nations were distinguishable as nature itself has divided them, quite without reference to the will of men." (10)

Gradually the racial characteristics of the European people became very prominent that gave a positive push to the rise of nationalism. People, living in a particular physical boundary developed certain racial characteristics which differentiated them from other groups of people that helped in the growth of nationalism. To quote Hayes, "........ an imaginary belief in blood relationship, that is, in race has been effective force in building and

(8) W.Friedmann, Introduction to World Politics, P.31
(9) Ramsay Muir, British History, Book-1 PP.5-6
(10) W.A.Dunning, A History of Political Theories, (from Rousseau to Spencer), P.312
cementing nationalism." (11) Prof. Dunning has also pointed out, "All through the history of political theory we have seen distinctions of race presented as the causes and sufficient explanations and distinctions in institutions and power. The Greeks, the Romans the Teutons all left copious records of their conviction that their national unity was due to the qualities inherent in a peculiarly gifted blood." (12)

Side by side with language and race, religion also came to play its role in the growth of nationalism in Europe. Though during the medieval period, the Catholic Church and Catholicism prevented the growth and development of nationalism, in later ages, when protestantism emerged and Reformation overtook Christianity, religion become one of the most adhesive forces to hold its followers together and instil in them the sense of nationality. Emphasising on the force of religion in the formation of a nation, Schleicher has rightly pointed out, "the unity of nation is weakened or strengthened by the religious similarities or differences among its people." (13)

Geographical factor also helped in the growth and development of nationalism. Geographical situation united a particular group and kept it separate from the other groups. Geographical homogeneity that developed similarity of interest and outlook among the people of a

(11) Charlton, J.H.Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, P.155
(12) W.A.Dunning, A History of Political Theories, (from Rousseau to Spencer), PP.311-12
(13) Schleicher, International Relation, P.56
particular geographical boundary, promoted a sense of nationalism among them. Justifying the influence of geography in the formation of a nation Ramsay Muir has pointed out, "Undoubtedly the most clearly marked nations have enjoyed a geographical unity and have owned their nationhood in part to this fact." (14) Prof. Dunning has further pointed out, "The course of theory on the relation between nation and geography is clearly analogous to that of the relation of nation to race. Through Bodin and Montesquieu as we have seen, the determination of nationhood by geographical situs was made an important feature of scientific politics." (15)

Thus different factors like language, race, religion and geography in course of time came to help the growth of nationalism in Europe. R.G. Gettell has, therefore, significantly observed, "As population became stationary and common interest developed, it became increasingly evident that new states would in general follow geographic and ethnic lines. Bonds of nationality and language strengthened by national boundaries, grouped the feudal fragments into more and more permanent combinations: and France, Spain, England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Russia and later Germany and Italy arose." (16)

The French Revolution of 1789 is the greatest landmark in the history of development of nationalism.

(14) Ramsay Muir, British History, Book-1, PP. 3-4
(15) Prof. Dunning, A History of Political Theories (from Rousseau to Spencer), P. 316
(16) R.G. Gettell, Political Science, P. 89
It not only sounded the death-knell of feudalism; it also established a strong national government in France. It provided a fillip to the development of nationalism in Europe with democratic concept of liberty and equality of man. Prof. Schuman has rightly observed, "It is not without significance that nationalism has flowered most luxuriantly in the period since the French Revolution..." Arnold Toynbee has also remarked, "From about French revolution we have been in the period of nationalistic internacine." It is also pointed out, "French Revolution was particularly fruitful for the evolution of nationalism." William Ebenstein has also observed, "Since the French Revolution, nationalism has been one of the driving forces of domestic, imperial and international politics." 

Rise of Napoleon in the European politics, further galvanised the feeling of nationalism among the European states. All European peoples thought in terms of unity of the country as a defense against Napoleon that led to the promotion of nationalism. So it has been pointed out, "Out of the gigantic afflorescence of patriotism in Napoleonic France, out of the military impact of Napoleonic France upon Europe, was born a nationalistic awakening." 

(17) F.L.Schuman, International Politcs, P.430
(19) Palmer and Perkins, International Relations, P.24
(20) William Ebenstein, Modern Political Thought, P.635
(21) F.L.Schuman, International Politcs, P.431
It is also remarked, "... Napolonic war was particularly fruitful for the evolution of nationalism." (22)

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 was another milestone in the history of development of Western nationalism. Different states, whose nationalist sentiment was wounded by the settlement, branded it 'unjust' and rebelled against it. They upheld the cause of 'one nation one state'. Prof. Dunning in this connection has observed, "In the negotiation at Vienna the doctrine that nationality should be the basis of independent statehood came strongly to the front in providing for the future of Poland, Italy and Germany." (23)

Since then the theory of 'one nation one state' dominated the European politics that gave further impetus to the movement of nationalism in Europe. As Hans J. Morgenthau has pointed out, "The nation needs a state. 'One nation one state' is thus the political postulate of nationalism..." (24)

The tide of nationalism drew further inspiration from the writings of John Stuart Mill and Pichon. Slowly but steadily with democratic consciousness growing among the people, monarchies declined and democracy gained ground. With the spread of democracy, the spirit of nationalism got further momentum and in 19th century democracy and nationalism became almost the two inseparable concepts.

(22) Palmer & Perkins, International Relations, P.24
(23) W.A.Dunning, A History of Political Theories, (from Rousseau to Spencer) P.294
(24) Hans J.Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, P.160
Consequently this century witnessed many national movements, culminating in the unification of Germany and Italy. Hence Prof. Dunning has befittingly pointed out, "These movements (Nationalist Movements) were the concomitant of the steady growth of democratic ideas in all phases of social and political life." (25) Subsequently the principle of 'one nationality one state' assumed a terrible dimension after the first world war and the 'principle of self determination' came to the forefront of European politics. It was argued that each nationality had the birth right to have a separate independent state of its own. Prof. Dunning has pointed out, "The doctrine that nationality and political independence were inseparable, was basic in all the revolutionary agitation of the time." (26) This 'principle of self-determination' was nothing but an outcome of oneness among the people of each nationality. As a result different new states emerged in Europe. It has been rightly observed, "A tremendous explosion of nationalism in 1918 and 1919 led to the political fragmentation of Central Europe in the name of self-determination." (27)

Thus evolved through different phases and ages, nationalism that has become by far the greatest dynamic force in the history of the world to shape the course of human destiny in 20th century. Though it has brought about two world wars, causing wide massacre and untold

(25) W.A.Dunning, A History of Political Theories, (from Rousseau to Spencer), P.336
(26) Ibid, P.330
(27) F.L.Schuman, International Politics, P.115
devastation world over, still people of the world have tremendous cravings for nationalism. John H. Randall has therefore rightly remarked, "Nationalism is still almost the one idea for which masses of man will still die." (28)

III. INDIAN NATIONALISM

The political rottenness of India enabled the British to establish their foothold in this land and subsequently they made India their stronghold. If we analyse British Indian history, we find that the establishment of British rule in India on a systematic basis began with Anglo-French Wars (1740-1763) in South India, the Battle of Plassy and Buxer and the grant of Diwani rights by Shah Alam. The introduction of military force of British imperialism, harnessed with all the powers of diplomacy, state-craft and advanced military apparatus, appeared like a cataclysmic element in Indian polity and gradually the major portions of India came under the territorial possession of the East India Company.

India in the long run became a happy hunting ground for British, the profit seekers. As India was yoked to British plough for the development of the British, the socio-political and economic life of India reached the lowest ebb. Interests of India were made subservient to the British interest at all levels.

(28) John H. Randall, Nations and Nationalism, P. 250
As it is said, "Indian economy and social development were completely subordinated to British economy and social development ......When British was developing in to the leading developed capitalist country of the world, India was being under developed in to becoming the leading backward colonial country of the world. In fact the two processes were interdependent in terms of cause and effect." (29)

The grand Indian civilization and culture that dazzled the Eastern horizon for centuries, lost their lustre and India succumbed to British imperialism by the cruel joke of her fate. Such political dominance of the British over the country and their economic preponderance, coupled with their so called notion of superiority of Western civilization and culture, enabled them to give a rude shock to the old Indian order, that was crumbling fast all over the country.

It was indeed a dark age, considered from all angles and nothing of great importance was produced at that time. All indigenous arts and crafts declined. There was no place for reason in religion, which was flooded by meaningless ceremonies and rites. Superstitions and dogmas were all powerful. People were pessimistic and found no hope in the future. They became fatalists. Their vision became narrow. There was complete prostration in

(29) Bipin Chandra, Amles Tripathy, Barun Dey, Freedom Struggle, PP. 16-17
socio-political and economic life of India. As H.G. Rawlinson writes, "General condition of India in 18th century was perhaps the unhappiest in the chequered history of the country." (30) Aurobindo himself has pointed out, "The 18th and early 19th centuries in India were periods of political decline, defeat and anarchy, which practically killed the creative spirit in religion and art. India began to imitate Europe and forgot her own achievements." (31) Agriculture, Industry and trade were utterly ruined under the British imperial policy. Politically it was an age of decay and dissolution. Economically it was a period of ruination. Culturally it was a time of stagnation. Poverty and starvation were the common phenomena in the society. The imperial power invested huge capital in India and made enormous profit. The British looked upon India as a place where capital could hope to maintain a heaven. But paradoxically enough, the Indian masses were rotting in poverty and starvation. Thus a great predicament, surrounded India in 18th and early 19th century.

However, after age-long hardship and suffering there came a signal for change in Indian history in 19th century. There occurred great mental ferment in India, leading to a great Renaissance in Indian thought. The mind searched for inner meaning of Indian culture and the

(30) H.G. Rawlinson, India - A Short Cultural History, P.249
(31) Sri Aurobindo, The Renaissance in India, P.60
lost values of Aryan religion. It too felt enamoured of the values and utilities of the science of the West. A galaxy of leaders of men, social workers and reformers appeared on the scene to reach the avowed goal of renaissance. There also started a series of socio-religious reform movement to renovate the society and religion. The vision of a new India emerged out of such movement, the vision of a united, free, liberated nation.

All sorts of lethargy and stagnation began to disappear. India became vibrant with tremendous energy. Throughout India, nationalism became the dominating urge and demand for national identity became too vibrant to be subdued. It is said, "The intellectual life of Indian people began to undergo revolutionary changes, influenced by such ideas as democracy and sovereignty of the people, rationalism and humanism. These new ideas helped Indians not only to take a critical look at their own society, economy and government but also to understand the true nature of British imperialism in India." (32)

Such nationalistic urge knit the people together and led to the emergence of a common national outlook. It served to awaken among the Indians a keen desire for national freedom. As F.L. Schuman writes "...slowly and painfully the literati imbibed the Western ideas of nationalism and put forward demands for Swaraj (Selfrule) with increasing urgency and frequency." (33)

(32) Bipin Chandra Pal, Freedom Struggle, P.26
(33) F.L. Schuman, International Politics, P.560
Of the greatest forces in making India rena­scent Ram Krishna Movement, led by Swami Vivekananda, a foremost leader, who gave India spiritual leadership, stands out as the most dominant. With his charming personality, unlimited physical energy, tremendous mental capacity, deep spiritual vision and boundless sense of duty, Swami Vivekananda appeared on the Indian scene as the messiah of new age. He was the symbol of rena­scent spirit and sources of strength for India's avowed goal. He undertook a lot of cultural and humanitarian work in Bengal, whose impact was subsequently felt all over India. By his fiery speeches and writings in India he awakened Indian spirit in the realms of philosophy, religion and culture and political consciousness came as an inevitable consequence. (34)

Swami Vivekananda, a product of both Eastern and Western culture, was as much a product of such Indian renaissance as one of its architects. As a consequence, his nationalistic ideas or nationalism exhibit certain traits that are identical with that of Western concept of national­ism.

(34) V.P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, P.4
resemblances between the two. Western nationalism during its early stage emanated from emphasis on certain values and movements that determined too the nationalistic fervour and nationalistic ideology of Swami Vivekananda. These values and movements that are common to Western concepts of nationalism and Swami Vivekananda's nationalism are (1) Indebtedness to Renaissance (2) Emphasis on the spirit of self determination.

(1) INDEBTEDNESS TO RENAISSANCE:

"Renaissance" it is said, "is the rebirth or revival of classical learning........ to dispel some of the mis-conceptions long prevalent about the period ." (35)

It is a movement that sought to "Understand the ancient to "breathe fresh life" and to emulate the ancient masters." (36)

It fostered in man a scientific spirit to question the prevailing superstitions and dogmas of the medieval period.

"Medieval period was obviously dark; disorderly, confused and chaotic: unsatisfactory and dirty primarily ecclesiastical and superstitious." (37) But Renaissance held at a discount blind faith, unsupported by scientific inquiry and investigation. It brought about a general transformation of mind from medievalism to modern. It was an intellectual awakening, dawn of a neo-consciousness.

(35) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol-19, P.123
(36) Will Durant, Story of the Civilization, Vol-X, P.4121
(37) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol-19, P.122
As it is said, "Renaissance was reaction against medieval ignorance and it was a pointer to a newer vision. It was a spirit of enquiry, which opened unlimited vistas of newness in the realm of thought and action." (38)

Renaissance thus revolutionised the whole system of human thought. Art, literature, architecture, politics—everything underwent a spectacular change. Above all changes, political change was most remarkable that affected the whole of European society. As Prof. Sabine has written, "Thus changes of political thought and practice reflected changes in the whole fabric of European society, which were everywhere similar." (39)

With the growth of political consciousness, people became much aware of their rights and liberty. It is said, "...... individualism emerged in renewed strength rights of the individual became the essential feature of the new era." (40)

Out of political consciousness and consciousness of individual right, there emerged a sense of nationalism among the people that inspired them for national unity.

Thus Renaissance led not only to revival of interest in classical culture and breathed a fresh life in the heart of the people and instilled in them a sense of pride for the past glory and greatness of the people.

(38) M.N. Das, World History, P. 324
(39) Sabine, A History of Political Theory, P. 311
(40) Story of the Civilization, Vol-X, P. 4130
of the ancient world; it fostered in them a sense of national identity. Hence nationalism emerged as a direct and necessary concomitant of Renaissance. Accordingly Western nationalism may be considered as a byproduct of Renaissance.

Renaissance prepared the ground for Religious Reformation in Europe. With the new spirit of enquiry, engendered by Renaissance, there arose a burning desire for religious reforms. No more, were the people ready to tolerate undesirable and unwarranted supremacy of the priests, who exploited the society in many ways and lived the life of worldly comforts.

The corruption and scandal of the bishops and clergies, and financial abuses of the Church became matters of deep concern even for the people, all over Europe. In the words of Ramsay Muir, "A great part of Europe was full of explosives only waiting for a spark. The spark came from Martin Luther, a friar Professor of Wittenberg in Saxony of Germany." (41) The spirit of reformation did not confine itself to Germany. Soon it spread to other parts of Europe like wild fire which ultimately put an end to an epoch of Papal supremacy that existed in Medieval Europe. Thus Renaissance that led to Religious Reformation also put an end to medieval feudalistic order and Papal supremacy giving rise to a new creative spirit of the age.

(41) Ramsay Muir, British History, Book-III, P.143
As Papal authority was set aside, and feudal order of the society crumbled, a sense of nationalism which was unknown to medieval people cropped up in Europe. On the fertile ashes of feudalism the plant of nationalism took a luxuriant growth and different conducive factors like ethnic, linguistic, religious and territorial bonds, that gave people a sense of unity, also stimulated their sense of nationalism. It was natural under such situation, on the part of the European peoples to cling to a national government. Since they also desired peace and security of life, immediately they looked upon their kings as the symbol of national spirit. The kings also captured the nationalistic aspirations of the people and extended their royal support and sympathy to them. Prof. Dunning writes, "The throttling grip of ecclesistical authority on the intellectual life was relaxed. In every way the princes and monarches gave sympathy and support to the intelligent and progressive middle class against the stagnating clergy and nobility." It is also written, "Politically the tendency to form a large homogenous states with a strong central government was over coming the tendency to disintegration, inherent in feudalism." (43)

As a result strong national monarchies were established in Europe. Several nation-states like England

(42) W.A. Dunning, A History of Political Theories, (from Roussseau to Spencer), P. 47
(43) Story of the Civilization, Vol.-XI, P. 4141
France, Spain, Portugal and Switzerland emerged before the end of 15th century. Use of gun power, rise of national taxation and setting up of standing armies strengthened these nation-states. Industry, trade and commerce developed in Europe, which ultimately gave rise to rivalry, competition and jealousy among the nation states. As Ramsay Muir writes, "It (16th century) was a period of profound and rapid change. It saw the break up of the religious unity of Latin Christiandom; It saw the emergence of powerful nation states and the beginning of acute rivalries between them; it saw ....... and an extension of European rivalries and of European civilization in to these new fields." (44)

Thus Renaissance and Reformation freed the European people from Papal Supremacy and laid the foundation of nationalism in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Hence Western nationalism emerged as a by-product of Renaissance and religious Reformation.

India, a land and a people with a hoary past and rich culture, the land of the Vedas, Vedantas and the Upanishads, as indicated earlier in this chapter, relapsed into obscurity and oblivion and particularly so with the advent of the British. Becoming an appendage of the British empire, it not only lost its political identity but also its traditional vitality, its urge for growth and development, faith in its pristine values of its own culture.

(44) R.G. Gettell, Political Science, P.65
and heritage, and started imitating the West and took solace in, identifying itself as the jewel in the crown of the British empire. However in the 19th century and particularly with the advent of intellectual giants, like Raja Ram mohan Roy and Dayananda Saraswati in the Indian scene, was set in motion a movement for the revival of interest in Indias ancient culture and heritage and an attempt to rebuild India on its own image and bestow on it a sense of national identity and project it in the world as a force to be reckoned with. Thus started a new phase in national history with a passion for national revival or rebirth, what the Westerners call 'Renaissance'.

As the Renaissance and Reformation ushered in a new era - an era of nationalism in the West so also Indian Renaissance and Religious Reformation Movement of 19th century inaugurated the age of nationalism in India. V.P. Varma has written, "As the Italian Renaissance and German reformation provided intellectual foundation of European nationalism so also the teaching of various reformers and religious leaders in India, gave rise to the desire for an autonomous and self determinate political existence in the country". (45) Indian Renaissance stirred the Indian soul to its very depth. It brought about striking changes in the realm of religion, society and culture with a demand for national regeneration. There arose a sense of self-consciousness among

(45) V.P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, P.4
the people of India. The soul of India began to unfold itself and break the shackles of the dead past. It can be said without any exaggeration that modern India owes everything to Indian Renaissance. The spirit of Renaissance gathered new strength and affected almost all aspects of life - social, political, economic and religious. As in the West so also in India it whipped up nationalistic sentiment. It has been befittingly observed, "....the life-breath of nation moved as a subordinate under-current in the religious movement of Bengal and Pubjab, in the political aspiration of Moharastra and the literary activity of Bengal." (46)

It is an acknowledged fact that this Indian Renaissance is an outcome of Western influence. Though it is difficult to decide when exactly did India come in contact with the West and came under its sway, it is but a foregone conclusion that ever since Vascoda Gama came to Asian shores in 1498, there began a new Epoch in Asian History, that K.M.Panikkar significantly termed as "The Vascoda Gama Epoch in Asian History (1498-1945)". (47) Since then some ports of India were opened to Western traders, colonialists and invaders, the agents of Western influence. Hence it is clear that in 16th century India witnessed the emergence of some new forces of Western character to influence Indian society.

(46) Sri Aurobindo, The Renaissance in India, P.60
(47) K.M.Panikkar, Asia and Western Dominance, P.353
However, it was only in 18th and early 19th century that India came in direct contact with the advanced phases of Western rationalistic and scientific thought currents. Contact with the West widened the mental outlook of the Indians to a considerable extent. They began to assimilate the Western ideas and values in every sphere of their life and enrich them. Regarding the Western influence on Indian minds Hans Kohn writes, "The rising generations assimilated European teachings with astounding receptivity. They quickly became nationalists, democrats and socialists. Cavour, Mazzini and Mill became their teachers and heroes. A more intimate acquaintance with European culture had been attained and it was no longer accepted uncritically .... Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy and others played their part." (48) That apart, the untiring efforts of the well-known educationists like David Hare, dedicated missionaries like Carey and able administrator like Macaulay brought about radical change in the political, social and religious outlook of Indians. The contact with Europe, U.S.A. and Japan revealed to Indians, a panorama of immense possibilities in every walk of life and roused the Indian intelligentsia to a creative spirit. With the introduction of Western learning in India, a new spirit of intellectual quest was generated and it applied itself to religious, social, economic and political problems, paving the path for a

(48) Hans Kohn, A History of Nationalism in the East, P. 118
greater intellectual renaissance in 19th century.

Yet the Indian Renaissance in the land of Sana-tana Dharma commenced with religious reformers. Hence the leadership of Indian Renaissance was taken over by religious and spiritual leaders of the soil like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramkrishna Parama-hansa, Swami Vivekananda and later on Aurobindo Ghose. Raja Ram Mohan Roy who is acclaimed as the father of Indian Renaissance, was a religious reformer as well as the harbinger of Renaissance on Indian soil. He commenced his mission of national revival or rebirth by an appeal to the spiritual gems contained in the Upanishads and Vedantas. Whether as a religious reformer or as a social reformer or an advocate of Western system of education in India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was not only pioneer in the sphere of Indian Renaissance in the sense of cultural revival of India; he was a pioneer too, in the sense of also national revival. As it is rightly said, "Ram Mohan was longing to see his country in the same position of eminence and efficiency in the family of nations as European had achieved." (49) Hence he laid the foundation of Indian nationalism and unity of the nation. A.R. Desai has rightly observed,"Raja Ram Mohan Roy inaugurated a new era for the Indian people by proclaiming the principles of individual freedom, national unity,

(49) The Cultural Heritage of India, Edited by Haridas Bhattacharyya, Vol-IV, P. 620
solidarity and collaboration and the democratisation of all social institutions and social relations." (50) It is further said about Raja Ram Mohan Roy, "His attempt was to establish our people on the full consciousness of their own cultural personality to make them comprehend the reality of all that was unique... in their civilization and simultaneously make them approach other civilization in the spirit of sympathetic co-operation." (51)

Dayananda Saraswati another stalwart of Indian Renaissance was of course primarily a religious and spiritual leader. He wanted to revitalise the nation by purging Hinduism of all its ugly accretions and aberrations. He felt a burning passion at the core of his heart to project India, as a land of great people and rich culture. His harping on the wisdom of the Vedas was not a mere sign of Hindu revivalism. On the basis of such pride Indian may regenerate itself and assume the status as a great nation in future. Appreciating the role of Dayananda in the national regeneration Romain Rolland has rightly said, "... how great an uplifter of the people! He was in fact the most vigorous force of the immediate and present action in India at the moment of the rebirth and the re-awakening of the national consciousness. He was one of the most ardent prophets of reconstruction and of national organisation." (52)

(50) A.R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, P. 290
(51) R.N. Tagore, "Inaugurator of Modern Age in India"
Ram Mohan Roy: The Man and his work, Cal, Ram Mohan Centenary Committee, 1933, Pp. 4-5
(52) Romain Rolland, The Life of Ramkrishna, PP. 157-58
Thus Dayananda Saraswati's primary purpose was not only to infuse among the Hindus a sense of pride about her own religion but also to instil in them a sense of pride for their heritage and thereby enthuse them to think in terms of national unity of the country.

Among all the spiritual leaders, who sought to quicken the forces of Indian Renaissance, Swami Vivekananda was very prominent. Ramkrishna Paramahansa, the great theologian of the then Bengal was his spiritual preceptor. He is acknowledged as a man of profound spiritual realisation and deep religious vision. He had tremendous influence on the spiritual and moral regeneration of Bengal. Swami Vivekananda was much influenced by him. Apart from it, he derived much of his inspiration from Indian Renaissance, that shaped his mind to a great extent. Right since the early teens, of Swami Vivekananda the country was in a ferment, brought about by the aforesaid spiritual leaders and their reforming societies. The pulse of the nation had begun to beat quickly in unison with the new ideas, engendered by the Renaissance. In the domain of spirituality, religion, politics and literature, there were great upheavals that influenced and inspired him to the core. Hence it is said, "Although Swamiji was a true genius, yet his mind was being shaped to a great extent by the inspiration which he was drawing unconsciously from this Renaissance." (53)

(53) Marmohan Ganguly, Swami Vivekananda - A Study, P.24
As a product of Indian Renaissance, Swami Vivekananda's heart and mind bubbled with tremendous zeal and enthusiasm to precipitate the renascent spirit of India further. He was a great intellectual and an orator of high order. He had deep penetration both in Vedantic scriptures and European philosophy. With such prolific mind, he employed his intellect and energy to bring about national regeneration of India. As it is said, "He was a pilgrim of the city of God and warrior to the cause of the suppressed." (54)

Swami Vivekananda's historic role at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, prepared the ground for propagation of Hinduism and popularisation of Hindu philosophy in Western hemisphere that stimulated the pride of Indian people and instilled in them a sense of nationalism. The great savant Sri Aurobindo has observed, "The going forth of Vivekananda, marked by the Master as the heroic soul destined to take the world between his two hands and change it, was the first visible sign to the world that India was awake not only to survive but to conquer the world....." (55)

B.C. Pal also writes that the effect of Vivekananda's American Mission was more visible and wide in India than in Europe or America. It quickened the self-

(54) V.P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, P. 102
(55) Quoted in Swami Vivekananda, Religion and National Integration, P. 3
consciousness of Indian people far more than it was able to establish any real and abiding intellectual and moral relations between India and the Christian dom. (56)

After his historic return from the West, Swami Vivekananda's whirl-wind tour from Colombo to Almora and his fiery speeches at various places, quickened the force of Renaissance and nationalism on Indian soil. The whole aim of his tour and speeches was to stimulate the pride of Indians in their own religion, culture and civilization that promoted a sense of nationalism among them. He deplored the decadence of the mighty Indian culture under the influence of the West and stood for the radical reforms in the socio-religious and economic life of India.

Swami Vivekananda deplored that in spite of India's superior intellect and dexterity she has become a back-ward nation in the world. All other Aryan nations, in spite of their national vices, were more advanced than India. But India he felt will rise again, and occupy her right position in the hierarchy of nations if she abandons her age-long sleep and awakes to life. Lethargy, stagnation or indolence are the only cause of her national down fall. As he said, "Can you aduce any reason why India should lie in the ebb-tide of Aryan nations? Is she inferior in intellect? Is she inferior

(56) B.C. Pal, Indian Nationalism, P.44
in dexterity? Can you look at her art, at her mathematics, at her philosophy and answer yes? All that is needed is that she should dehypnotise herself and wake up from her age-long sleep to take her true rank in the hierarchy of nations......(57)

Swami Vivekananda wanted to raise the individual from the abyss of degeneration. Man had divinity in him. By teaching him his worth and power, Swami Vivekananda sought to establish him as a divine being. As he said, "You are the pure one; awake and arise, O mighty one, .......think not that you are weak and miserable. Almighty, arise and awake and manifest your own nature. It is not fitting that you are weak." (58) He also said, "You are the children of God.....immortal. You divinity on earth - sinners! It is a sin to call a man so, ..... come up O' lion, shake off the delusions." (59)

By reminding them of their spiritual worth Swami Vivekananda infused in them strong self-confidence. This spiritual consciousness, he instilled in their mind, indirectly paved the path for a democratic consciousness, leading to national regeneration.

Swami Vivekananda's concept of strength and fearlessness provided a new force to the national life of India. He treated strength and fearlessness as the

(58) Ibid, Vol-II, P.304
(59) Ibid, Vol-I, P.11
very essence of every religion. As he said, "The essence of religion is strength. The religion that does not infuse strength into heart is not a religion, whether it is the Upanishad, the Gita or the Bhagabat. Strength is greater than religion. Nothing is greater than strength." (60)

When Swami Vivekananda preached the gospel of strength and fearlessness to a politically prostrate country like India, it served as a galvanic shock of strength for the country. As it is said, "...it served as the best antidote to tyranny and oppression." (61) He did not think of challenging the British imperialism face to face. But his speeches and writings inspired the people to the very core of their mind against the British. The people took a critical look towards the British and ultimately turned hostile to foreign yoke.

Beside pointing out all vices and anomalies of our national life, attempting to raise his countrymen from the abyss of lethargy and stagnation, elevating man to the pedestal of Divinity, reconciling Western science with our religion, promoting the principle of religious tolerance among the people of various faiths and sects of his country for social solidarity, synthesising Western materialism with our spiritualism as inevitable condition of life, and above all high lighting his concept

(61) V.P.Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, P.110
of strength and fearlessness he at the same time accelerated the spirit of Indian Renaissance to a considerable height and fostered a sense of nationalism among the people. His clarion call to his countrymen for national regeneration also galvanised the feelings of nationalism in India.

Stimulating the pride of his people in their hoary past and rich culture, Swami Vivekananda wanted to unite them for rebuilding their country with fresh zeal and energy without succumbing to any discomfort and despair. As he said, "This national ship of ours, ye children of the immortals, my countrymen, has been playing for ages, carrying civilization and enriching the whole world with its inestimable treasures. For scores of shining centuries, this national ship of our has been ferrying across the ocean of life and has taken millions of souls to the other shore, beyond all misery. But today it may have sprung a leak and got damaged through your own fault or whatever cause it matters not ....would you go about cursing it and quarrelling among yourselves! Would you not unite together and put your best efforts to stop the holes? Let us all gladly give our heart's blood to do it; and if we fail in our attempt, let us all sink and die together with blessings and not curses on our lips." He offered himself as the vanguard of such drive and said,

"I will borrow the lantern of the Athenian sage and follow you, my brother through the cities and villages, plains and hills, and forests to show you the way to reach the goal." (63)

Swami Vivekananda wanted to awake people in every sphere of the society so as to give it the dimension of a mass movement and make the scattered forces of Indian nationalism unified and strong. With this end in view he gave his clarion call, "Let new India arise in your place. Let her arise out of the peasant's cottage, grasping the plough; out of the huts of the fisher man, the cobbler, and the sweeper. Let her spring from the grocer's shop. Let her emanate from the factory from marts and from markets. Let her emerge from the groves and forests, from hills and mountains." (64)

Swami Vivekananda made earnest appeal to his countrymen to work hard for national regeneration. Indolence and lassitude, as he said, are the greatest setbacks in the way of national regeneration. As he said, "Let us all work hard my brethren; this is no time for sleep. On our works depends the coming of new India of the future. She is there ready, waiting. She is only sleeping. Arise and awake and see her seated here, on her eternal throne, rejuvenated, more glorious than she ever was - this motherland of ours." (65)

(64) Ibid, Vol-VII, pp. 327-28
(65) Ibid, Vol-III, p. 154
Again he said, "My faith is in the younger generation, the modern generation, out of them will come my workers. They work out the whole problem like lions. I have formulated the idea and have given my life to it. They will spread from centre to centre until we have covered whole of India." (66)

For Swami Vivekananda, sacrifice at the altar of Motherland is a holy duty that every Indian, he said, should bear in his mind. To arouse this spirit of sacrifice for the cause of their motherland, he said, "...... forget not that thy marriage, thy wealth, thy life are not for sense pleasure, are not for thy individual personal happiness; forget not that thou art born as a sacrifice to the Mother's altar." (67) He also said, "Work unto death. I am with you, when I am gone, my spirit will work with you .... wealth, fame, enjoyment are only of a few days. It is better to die on the field of duty for the Motherland than to die like a worm. Advance." (68)

Thus Swami Vivekananda not only influenced the reascent spirit of 19th century; he aroused the spirit of nationalism among the people. Hence it is rightly pointed out, "Swami Vivekananda's words, touching upon every facet of our national life, with their freshness and vigour provided answers to question that agitated both

(67) Ibid, Vol-IV, P.479
(68) Ibid, Vol-V, P.114
the individual and the society." (69) His dedication to the cause of national regeneration, in fact, deserves special mention. It is a great causal factor for the rise of modern Indian nationalism. Though he died young, it is said, "Hindu Renaissance and Reformation became self-conscious and adolescent with him." As in the West, the architects of Renaissance and Reformation became the harbingers of Western nationalism, Swami Vivekananda, an architect of Indian Renaissance as much as a product of it, became a prophet of Indian nationalism. Hence Romain Rolland has rightly remarked, "From his ashes, like those of the phoenix of old, has sprung anew the conscience of India - the magic bird - faith in her unity and in the Great Message, brooded over from Vedic times by the dreaming spirit of his ancient race - the message for which it must render account to the rest of mankind." (70)

Thus Swami Vivekananda's nationalism was a byproduct of his Renaissance spirit in the Indian context as was Western nationalism, in the context of Italian or Western Renaissance.

(69) Swami Budhananda, Swami Vivekananda - His Call to the Nation, P.3
(70) Romain Rolland, The Life of Swami Vivekananda, P.7
During the 19th as well as the earlier part of 20th century the principle of national self-determination developed in European politics and nationalism of the West took a different turn. National self-determination implies the right of people to determine the size and nature of the sovereign state to which they would belong and the form of government under which they would live. On the basis of this principle it was argued that each set of people has the exclusive right to lead a separate independent political life of its own. The people who feel that they have a common peculiar social heritage, shall develop itself into a nation. The principle declares that it is the birth right of each community of people to have a separate independent state of its own on the ground of a particular cultural homogeneity or affinity.

This principle of national self-determination that evolved out of the gregarious instinct of man, is purely psychological. It is a strong sentiment of man that is thoroughly instinctive. This concept that every nationality should have intrinsic right to be a self-governing state, dominated European politics right since the time of Congress of Vienna of 1815. This principle
of one nation one state was given further impetus during the First World War and the idea of self-determination of the nations came to the forefront of European politics.

The propounders of this principle put forth their argument that to group together, the people of different nationalities into a single state, will lead to lack of patriotic feelings and internal dissensions, which would tell upon national integration in the long run. It is further contended that a nationality, spread over several states, can never be happy and contented and that such a nationality is like a dismembered social organism. So state must be identified with nationality.

Of course, Lord Acton and several other hold contrary views. According to Lord Acton, "the theory of nationality is more absurd and more criminal than the theory of socialism." He held that identification of state with nationality must lead to political absolutism. In his view the multinational state is, "one of the chief instruments of civilization." Zimmern writes, "In the long run the theory of national state will go the way of Henery VIII's and Luther's theory of national Church." Bernard Joseph holds that, "One nationality one state is a dangerous principle and constitutes a chief obstacle

(71) Quoted in William Ebenstein, Modern Political Thought, P.635
(72) Ibid, P.636
(73) Quoted in William Ebenstein, Great Political Thinkers, P.521
to world progress.' He argues that, "Nationality" and "State" are two different conceptions and that nationality can continue to exist even after the state had been destroyed. Hence he argues that either a single state should include more than one nationality or a nationality is spread over several states. National and state loyalty are two different things and according to Joseph they can exist side by side with each other, for all that nationality requires, is freedom for cultural and social life and a certain measure of group autonomy, particularly in communal matters. He believes that "the only hope of order in peace in world affairs is to be sought in the ultimate recognition of the principle that several nationalities may live together in harmony and co-operation within a state, each at the same time following its own national life." (74)

However domination of one nation over another is considered politically inexpedient, morally wrong, and logically unsound. (75) Woodrow Wilson declared, "That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid the little along with the great and powerful." (76)

(74) Bernard Joseph, Nationality, P.331
(75) H.J.Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P.222
(76) Address to the Senate, January 22, 1917 (By the American President Woodrow Wilson)
This principle was highly democratic. John Stuart Mill who upheld the cause of democracy, also lent his unwa­vering support in favour of this principle. As he writes, "It is in general a necessary condition of free institution that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities." Prof. Laski is also of opinion, "Unity and independence were inevitable corollaries of this view, and it could be inferred as thinkers so different as Hegel and Mazzini inferred that the 'Nation-State' was the ultimate unit in human organisation and accordingly, the ultimate unit in human allegiance."(78)

Swami Vivekananda, an adorer of variety of world cultures like the Western advocates of nationalism championed the cause on the ground of national self-determination of every people. He acknowledged the principle of structuring of nations on the ground of their peculiarities that constitute their national heritage and believed in deep commit­ment of each nation to her heritage, that ensures its survival. As he said, "...... each nation has its own peculiarity and individuality, with which it is born. Each represents, as it were, one peculiar note .... and this is the very life, its vitality. In it is the back-bone, the foundation and the bedrock of

(77) J.S. Mill, Representative Government, P.2
(78) H.J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P.222
He called this national peculiarity as national ideal. Different nations have different such ideals - social, political, military, commercial or spiritual. No nation can prosper if it neglects its own ideals. As he said, "No nation can rise, can become great, can work at all without enthusiastically coming under the banner of one of these great ideals....."

Swami Vivekananda also held that imposition of hegemony by one people over others is very bad. Domination of one state over another is a political blunder, sure sign of bloody conflicts that invariably threatens world peace. This imposition of hegemony is a crime too against humanity. The principle of national self-determination, on the otherhand, establishes equality of all states. It ensures individual right and liberty and world cultures. Oppression and exploitation of the subject nation comes to an end. The course of human liberty takes a glorious and progressive turn. Thus Swami Vivekananda who is an ardent champion of equality of all states, adoration of world cultures and individual rights and liberties, supported the cause of this principle with full heart. This principle as he felt upholds the dignity

(80) Ibid, Vol-III, P.315
of variety of world cultures along with individual right and liberties, which are safeguarded most only in an independent sovereign state.

However since Swami Vivekananda was not a political philosopher in the traditional sense of the term he supported the cause more indirectly in a spiritual way than directly in a political way. He endeavoured to inspire and awaken the nation through spirituality. To him no nation can awake to life if its members do not awake. A nation is strong if the fibres of the nation - the individual - are strong enough and spirituality is the source of all strength for the individual and nation. Hence his exhortation to man and nation is: "Man is man so long as he is struggling to rise above nature and this nature is both internal and external .......And if we read the history of nations between the lines, we shall always find that the rise of a nation comes with an increase in the number of such men; and the fall begins when this pursuit after the infinite, however vain the utilitarian may call it, has ceased."(81) At another place, he said, "All healthy social changes are the manifestation of the spiritual forces working within and if these are strong as well as adjusted, society

(81) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-II, PP. 64-65
will arrange itself accordingly. Each individual has to work out his own salvation: there is no other way and so also with nations."(82)

By war and conquest, a nation, according to Swami Vivekananda can not survive for all times as the glory of war and conquest is short-lived. The strength of such a nation is sure to be short-lived. Spiritual power is the perennial power to uphold the nation for ever. In support of the truth of this fact Prof. Laski has also remarked, "The spiritual life of Europe belongs not to Caesar and Napoleon, but to Christ; the civilization of the East has been more influenced by Buddha than by Ghengis Khan or Akbar. It is that truth we have to learn, if we are to survive."(83)

Thus though not a politician or a statesman yet as a great spiritual leader and a humanist Swami Vivekananda was an advocate of the principle of national self-determination. His moral support to the cause of national self-determination, went a long way in securing national self-determination for Indian people. Hence this principle of self-determination is a common meeting ground for Western nationalism and nationalism of Swami Vivekananda. Like Western nationalists, Swami Vivekananda put much

(82) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-V, PP.415-16
(83) H.J.Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P.289
emphasis on it and made it the bed-rock of his nationalism.

(D) DIFFERENCE:-

Though Western nationalism in its early phase emphasised on humanitarian and democratic ideology, in course of time, it acquired totalitarian tendency. As a result colonialism, imperialism, racism and war became the inevitable phenomena of the day. As it is said, "European nationalism tended to ally itself with parochialism, intolerance, bigotry, persecution of minorities, racism and finally imperialism and aggression - the recoil of Pan-German, Hungarian imperialism, Japanese militarism and finally Fascism."(84) It is also said, "Now we know that nationalism far from always promoting democracy and liberty, often places these blessings in jeopardy; that it has provoked an occasion to be wholly compatible with autocracy and totalitarianism."(85) Thus there began the age of so called totalitarian nationalism in Europe. The totalitarian tendency of Western nationalism goes against the very grain of Swami Vivekananda's concept of nationalism and exhibits some sharp difference with the latter.

(84) William Ebenstein, Modern Political Thought, P. 635
(85) Palmar & Perkins, International Relations, P. 24
So far as nationalism is concerned, spirituality and religion have played a very vital role. Therefore H.J.Laski has aptly observed, "Broadly speaking, in fact, the idea of nationalism is essentially spiritual in character. It implies the sense of a special unity which marks off those who share in it from the rest of mankind." (86)

The religious character of nationalism can be traced to early times, when the functions of religion was one of the training its adherents to patriotic docility. Yahveh, as the God of Israel, represented the national consciousness, the hopes and aspirations of Israel. Every Greek village had its special tree or spring or shrine, devoted to the worship of some God or hero, who specially protected its people. In Japan religion is used for the consolidation of the state. Mohammed is the founder of a faith and a nation.

The cause of religion was also upheld for promoting social peace and security, leading to national solidarity. It was held that the king must be loyal to a religion and at the same time he must also try to make his subjects loyal to that religion. In so doing it was felt, the king would achieve social

(86) H.J.Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P.219
peace and solidarity. As Dante has said, "... ... ... if
the prince follows the true religion without sham or
make believe, he will be able to turn the hearts of
his subjects to his religion without using violence or
punishment. In so doing, he will avoid hard feelings,
troubles and civil war......" (87)

However such religious or spiritual
nationalism of the West did not survive long. It could
not stand the test of time as the Western concept of
religion is very narrow, estranged from Catholicity and universality, and is not applicable to
all classes and condition of man. Besides as the
West made gigantic strides in the field of science
and technology, spiritual or religious nationalism ceased to hold its influence upon the people. The
whole Europe is now under the heels of the mighty
aggress of materialistic nationalism instead of
being under the influence of spiritual nationalism.
In the West politics is considered as the real reli-
gion and nationalism, the profoundest faith. The
Westerners divorce religion from politics and
nationalism. However where as in the Western world,
religion has long since ceased to be a force influenc-
ing nationalism, in the East, and specially in India

(87) Quoted in William Ebenstein, The Great Political
Thinkers, P. 354.
it is still a force to be reckoned with. As Jawaharlal Nehru has observed, "In Europe there had been a fierce conflict between science and traditional religion and the cosmology of Christianity did not fit it at all with scientific theories. Science did not produce the sense of conflict in India and Indian philosophy could easily accept it without doing any vital injury to its basic conceptions." (88)

Like the erstwhile spiritual nationalism of the West, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism has spiritual tone. As a matter of fact he developed his theory of nationalism on the basis of religion and spiritualism. As he has observed, "the main spring of the strength of every race lies in its spirituality and the death of that race begins the day that spirituality wanes and materialism gains the ground." (89)

Swami Vivekananda's principal aim was to divert the Indian mind from Western areligious, secular and materialistic civilization and awaken spiritualism among the people in order to lay the foundation of spiritual nationalism in India. To convince the people he said, "Inspite of the sparkle and glitter of the Western civilization, inspite of its polish and its marvellous manifestation of power, it

(88) Nehru, India Today and Tomorrow, P.13
(89) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-II, PP.64-65
is all vain. It is vanity of vanities. God alone
lives. The soul alone lives. Spiritualism alone lives.
Hold on to that."(90) To him spiritual unity or con-
cord is the only perpetual bond that binds and keeps
all men together. Spiritualism, he felt is the very
life-force of the Indians. He knew that politics and
other things like social regeneration, commercialism etc.
would not hold together the Indians and keep them
unified. "All these will roll off like water from a
duck's back."(91) So he sought to make nationalism
subservient to religion. Before solidifying Indian
nationalism he wanted to establish the Catholicity and
universality of ancient Hindu religion. On the world
scenario he proved that Hinduism is beyond all dogmas,
sects and creeds. It is the religion of the whole man-
kind. All other religious sects lost their luster
and became very dim before the radiant Catholicity and
universality of old Hinduism. With Swami Vivekananda,
championing the cause of Hinduism, it regained its glory,
that was lost for centuries under the Western influence.
India became vibrant with new force and vitality, a sense
of its identity or recovery of its sense of identity.
Nationalistic aspiration got fillip from his pronounce-
ments. As it has been observed, "Vivekananda's appea-
rance on the world scenario was the first sign of the

(91) Ibid, Vol-III, P. 149
awakening of India from the stupor in to which it has fallen before and after the British conquest, in to a consciousness of its identity as a nation and its importance in the comity of nations." (92)

In developing his theory of nationalism, Swami Vivekananda, like Hegel, believed that there is one all-dominating principle manifesting itself in the life of each nation. Religion for example, has been the momentous guiding principle in India's history. As he said, "In each nation as in music there is a main note, a central theme, upon which all others turn. Each nation has a theme, everything else are secondary." (93) Hence he worked hard to build the foundation of a religious theory of nationalism, which was later advocated by Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo. Swami Vivekananda was the passionate advocate of the religious theory of nationalism, because, religion, he stated, had to be made the backbone of the national life. He felt that 'Out of that faith and consciousness of past greatness we must build an India yet greater than what she had been.' (94) The future greatness of the nation could be built on the foundation of its past greatness - the greatness of the pristine Hindu faith. He called upon the people to

(92) Nationalistic and Religious Lectures of Swami Vivekananda, P.VII
(93) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Part-I, P. 140
(94) Ibid, Vol-III, P. 286
return to those days of the old, and build the country. As he said, "You are Vedantists, you are very orthodox. You are great Hindus and very orthodox. What I want to do is to make you more orthodox. The more orthodox the more sensible. Go back to your old orthodoxy, for in those days every sound that came from these books, every pulsation, was out of a strong, steady and sincere heart; every note was true."(95) The orthodoxy that Swami Vivekananda here harps on, is not superstitious belief, but strict adherence to religious precepts and principles in building up a mighty nation. Hence Mon Mohan Ganguly has rightly pointed out that Swami Vivekananda was marked by a unison of conservatism and progress - marching forward not forgetting the past.(96)

For Swami Vivekananda to be forgetful of one's hoary past and neglectful of our religious and spiritual heritage was tantamount to negation of the very being of the nation. It meant almost the repudiation of its existence. Hence Indian nationalism had to be built on the stable foundation of its religious and spiritual cultural heritage. In the past the creativity of India, expressed itself mainly and dominantly in the sphere of religion. Religion in India had been a creative force of integration and

(95) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-III, P.346
stability and if and when the political authority had become loose and weak it imparted even to that a force of rehabilitation. Therefore Swami Vivekananda declared that the national life should be organised on the basis of religious ideals. Spirituality or religion meant, according to him, the realisation of the eternal principle and was never to be identified with social dogmas, ecclesiastical formulation and obsolete customs. Such religion had been the basis of Indian life and all progress towards unification, and integration of the nation must come through religion, to be able to attain the adherence of the masses.

Swami Vivekananda not only spiritualised nationalism, he also identified deity-hood with motherland to make nationalism more effective and bind the people to the motherland perpetually by the silken thread of love of divinity. He always referred to India as the divine mother in all his speeches and writings that appealed to all nationalist leaders. Therefore Prof. V.P. Varma has rightly observed, "Swami Vivekananda's soul, like that of Bankim, was lit with luminous vision of mother India as a deity and this conception of India as the visible expression of the divine mother, has been the basic concept in the writings and utterances of the early Bengal Nationalists and terrorists."
Hence nationalism as postulated by Swami Vivekananda is spiritual and religious, less political but deeply rooted in religion and spirituality of the past. It is the result of deliberate effort to enthrone nationalism on the pedestal of great cultural heritage of the country. It is said about Indian nationalism, "It has had more social and cultural over-tones and has been less predominantly a political creed. A traditional cultural type of nationalism, linked with religion and social attitudes of the past, has existed in India and is still a major force. Perhaps Indian nationalism is the result of conscious effort to adopt Western nationalism to the Indian scene without departing too far from tradition of the past." (98)

It goes greatly to the credit of Swami Vivekananda to champion the cause of such spiritual and religious basis of nationalism and particularly Indian nationalism.

Thus, as in case of Western nationalism of the past, religion and spirituality is a special trait with Swami Vivekananda's nationalism. Though the West has swerved from the traditional path of her spiritual nationalism India still adheres to it with all sincerity.

(98) Palmer & Perkins, International Relations, P. 448
The most striking difference between the Western and Swami Vivekananda's theory of nationalism is that whereas the Western concept of nationalism is devoid of moral tone, nationalism of the latter is deeply steeped in it. The history of the West has come to a stage when the moral man, the complete man is more and more giving way and making room for a political and commercial man, the man of a limited purpose. This process aided by the wonderful progress of science, is assuming gigantic dimension, upsetting moral balance and obscuring the human side of man under the powerful impulse of self-interest. Lack of moral balance and loss of human value has not only penetrated into the social fibre; it has infested too the political sphere, and nationalism as the most dominant urge in the political sphere, has also come under its sway. As a consequence Western nationalism has become completely secular, completely shorn of any moral or spiritual content. Deploiring this trend R.N. Tagore has observed, "This nationalism is cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age and eating in to its moral vitality." \(^{(99)}\)

\(^{(99)}\) R.N. Tagore, Nationalism, P.9
Western nationalism is not only devoid of moral tone; lack of such moral tone has made it highly materialist in nature. This materialistic nationalism of the West is now gaining ground in the whole world. Equity, propriety and fairness in politics are becoming more and more the thing of the past. In the words of R.N. Tagore, "We can well imagine what a moral havoc it is causing in a world where whole people are furiously organising themselves for gaining wealth and power." Tagore has branded such Western nationalism as 'organised self-interest of a whole people - an organised power for exploitation.' It is least human and least spiritual. It is based upon the principle of 'end justifies the means'. 'Machiavelism' is its sole method. It is least concerned with ethics, justice and fairplay. In the name of nationalism and national right many heinous crimes are being committed against humanity. Therefore Vladimir Solovyer, a Russian philosopher has condemned nationalism and said, "It destroys a nation, for it makes it the enemy of mankind."  

Very often, people of Western nations have become so amoral that they identify good with what serves the interest of their own nations. They

(100) R. N. Tagore, Nationalism, P. 9
(101) Ibid, P. 8
(102) Quoted in Hans Kohn, Prophets and People, P. 205
least bother about the interest of the people of other nations or of mankind as a whole. Such narrow nationalism according to Bertrand Russell is a positive menace to the happiness of the whole mankind. As he has observed, "And group feeling produces a limited and often harmful kind of morality. Men come to identify the good with what serves the interest of their own group, and the bad with what works against those interests, even if it should happen to be in the interest of the mankind as a whole. This group morality is very much in evidence during war and is taken for granted in man's ordinary thoughts. Although almost all Englishmen consider the defeat of Germany, desirable for the good of world, yet nevertheless, most of them honour a German for fighting for his country, because it has not occurred to them that his actions ought to be guided by a morality higher than that of the group. (103)

However Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is characterised by a deep moral and spiritual aspiration. He asked his countrymen to be moral and unselfish. This moral power according to him is the highest power in the possession of mankind. He therefore called upon his countrymen, "Be moral, be brave, be a heart-whole-man, strictly moral, brave unto

(103) Bertrand Russell, Political Ideals, P.80
desperation. Don't bother your head with religious theorems. Cowards only sin, bravemen never, no, not even in the mind." (104) He further insisted, "The brave are always moral, try to be brave, try to be sympathising." (105) His sole aim was to lay the moral foundation of the character of his people and his nation. Strength of character, he felt to be the key to all types of success in life and laid stress on the formation of strong moral character. Hence in his theory of nationalism he emphasises on morality and character. Besides, he identified immorality with selfishness. As he has observed, "That which is selfish is immoral and that which is unselfish is moral." (106)

Condemning selfishness he observed, "...selfishness is the great curse of the world; that we are selfish and that there in is the curse. There should be no motive for selfishness." (107)

Swami Vivekananda was very much impressed by the moral tone of the Japanese nationalism. He attributed Japan's success in every sphere to her moral power. Hence he called upon his countrymen to follow Japan in constituting the moral rectitude as the corner-stone of their national life. As he said, "If you catch the social morality and the political

(104) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-I, P.110
(105) Ibid, Vol-V, P.3
(106) Ibid, Vol-I, P.110
(107) Ibid, Vol-III, P.520
morality of the Japanese, you will be as great as they are. The Japanese are ready to sacrifice everything for their country and they have become great people. But you are not." (108)

For vitalising the moral and righteous stamina of the people against all the evils of Western nationalism, Swami Vivekananda laid much stress on truth, morality and chastity of the people of all nations for their happy and peaceful co-existence in this world. He held that whole human society must be based on the bed-rock of truth. It is the most unshakable base for all times. However formidable the evil force might be, it will give way before this omnipotent force of truth. People all over the world should know how to hold truth in high esteem and extoll its force in cementing human relation. As he said, "Society has to pay homage to truth. Societies should be moulded on truth. The society is great where the highest truth becomes practical. It is my opinion. If society is not fit for the truth, make it so; and the sooner the better." (109) He further said that people all over the world should express their adherence and allegiance to truth at all costs. "Everything can be sacrificed for the sake of truth, but truth can not be sacrificed for any thing." (110)

(110) Ibid, Vol-V, P.410
Truth makes man discern what is just and proper amidst all evils and superstitions. It makes man very strong both spiritually and intellectually and puts him above all superstitions. (111) So we must not be reluctant to die for the cause of truth: "To accomplish anything," said Swami Vivekananda, "We must be willing to die for truth." (112) Upholding the chastity of a nation he also said that chastity is the life-current of a nation. The moment this current ceases to flow there comes about a state of stagnation in national life, followed by fall of the nation. History abounds in such phenomena. As he said, "Do you not find in history that the first death sign of a nation has been unchastity? When that has entered, the end of race is in sight." (113)

Thus as against the Western concept of nationalism which is deeply amoral, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is based on moral foundation.

(111) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-VIII, P. 186
(112) Ibid, Vol-VIII, P. 45
(113) Ibid, Vol-II, P. 111
Towards the middle of 18th century, Industrial Revolution took place in Europe, that revolutionised the whole system of production in the West. As a result competition and rivalry in the spheres of production and distribution developed among the European nations. As Prof. Laski has observed, "The English who manufactures motor cars must compete against the American, engaged in a similar effort; the Lancashire Cotton mill spins against India, and France, America, Germany and Japan. No nation could now consume all that it produces. It is compelled to find markets for its surplus goods." At the same time the European countries demanded huge raw materials to feed their industries. Germany openly declared, "If Germans can not obtain sources of raw materials, must starve." So declared others like Italy and Japan to justify their cause. There began a hunt for colonies. European politics underwent tremendous change. It assumed the shape of colonialism. In the words of Prof. Laski, "It is not insignificant that there is no powerful nation in modern Europe which has not won or lost a colonial

(114) H.J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P. 223
(115) Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, P. 108
dominion. In every case that has involved either temporary or lasting tutelage for the area concerned."

Industrial Revolution that gave rise to rivalry, and competition in the sphere of production, distribution and procurement of raw materials, also stimulated jealousy and hatred among the nations of Europe. There emerged very powerful nations in Europe. These powerful nations embarked upon an expansionist design. War and aggression became the common phenomena. As it is said, "The late 19th and early 20th centuries brought about growing rivalries among the great powers - rivalries for trade for industry for military and naval supremacy, for allies and for colonies, in the great imperial scramble." (117) Analysing the international situation, Jeremy Bentham also believed that "Competition for colonies was at the root of all international conflict and war." Emancipate your colonies was his advice to the government and "international conflict and war would disappear." (116)

Nationalism was thus transformed into colonialism. International good-will, co-operation, and brotherhood began to disappear. Each nation was guided by its naked self-interest. Hence Tagore has

(116) H.J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P. 219
(117) Palmar & Perkins, International Relations, P. 25
(118) Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, P. 37
observed, "This commercialism with all its barbarity of ugly decoration, is a terrible menace to all humanity; because it is setting up the ideal of power.... It is making the cult of self-seeking exult in its naked shamelessness." (119)

This colonialism sowed the seeds of fear, greed, suspicion and unashamed diplomacy. Mutual distrust and suspicion among the states of Europe shattered international life. As R.N. Tagore has further observed, "After centuries of civilization, nations fearing each other like the prowling wild beasts of the night time; shutting their doors of hospitality; combining only for purpose of aggression or defence, hiding in their holes their trade secrets, state secrets, secrets of their armaments: making peace offerings to each other's braking dogs with the meat which does not belong to them; holding down fallen races which struggle to stand upon their feet; with their right hands dispensing religion to weaker peoples while robbing them with their left." (120)

Now fear and suspicion gripped the whole of Europe. Each nation suspected the other and casting its nets of espionage into the slimy bottom of the other, fishing for their secrets, the treacherous

(119) R.N. Tagore, Nationalism, P. 78
(120) Ibid, P. 51
secrets which brew in the oozy depth of diplomacy. As a result, kidnapping, murder, treachery, and other ugly crimes increased by leaps and bounds in the international sphere. International morality reached the degree of ludicrousness. Witnessing the precarious condition of internationalism in the West, Bertrand Russell observed, "So long as hatred, suspicion, and fear dominate the feeling of man towards each other, so long as we can not hope to escape from the tyranny of violence and brute force, man must learn to be conscious of the common interests of mankind in which all are at one, rather than of those supposed interests in which the nations are divided." (121)

But Swami Vivekananda is quite opposed to this commercial and colonial nationalism of the West. His nationalism is a reaction against foreign rules and colonialism and all that the term implied. (122) The colonialistic and imperialistic nationalism of the West met scathing attack from the preachings of Swami Vivekananda though he did not develop any theory of nationalism in defiance of the West.

Swami Vivekananda's ruthless criticism against Western colonial exploitation fell upon the European society like a bomb-shell and its effect was

(121) Bertrand Russell, Political Ideals, PP. 88-89
(122) Palmer & Perkins, International Relations, P. 448
felt in India in terms of political consciousness and national awakening. His severe condemnation of the British as the "throat-cutter," "blood-sucker," etc weakened the roots of British colonialism in India and also made the Indian people rise against the British. He pointed out that the British had been prosperous in all ages by exploiting other races. In the past she achieved her prosperity by cutting the throats of his fellowmen in Spain and in modern time she achieved her prosperity by keeping her feet on the neck of millions of poor, innocent Asiatics. But India would never relish her prosperity by cutting the throats and sucking the blood of her breathren. (123)

Swami Vivekananda vehemently denounced the Western policy of 'White man's burden.' To him it is but a principle to deceive the world opinion as the crafty Jackal behaves in his community to deceive others. He asserted, "No good can be done when the main idea is blood-sucking." (124) People of India produced five times their total consumption. But they were being robbed off by the British colonial policy and were left half-starved. The older regime was far better for them because there was scope for justice and liberty. It did not seek to take away every thing they had. It was

(124) Ibid, Vol-VIII, P.475
less predatory than the British regime and people lived with some comforts. (125) As Swami Vivekananda writes, "There never was a time in the world's history, when there was so much robbery, high-handedness, tyranny of the strong over the weak...." (126)

Swami Vivekananda said that the terrible famines that engulfed India from time to time was the deliberate creation of the British colonial policy. Excessive exploitation of Indian economy by the British was the root cause of such famines. There occurred no such famine in India before. He has said, "There never is a famine in native state. The terrible famine that have occurred, is the inevitable consequence of the British rule." (127)

Interest of the people of India was not the concern of the British. On the contrary the Britishers let loose reign of terror to hush down the voice of the Indian masses. As Swami Vivekananda said, "For few words of innocent criticism men are being hurried to transportation for life. Others imprisoned without any trial and no body knows when his head will be off." Again he said, "English soldiers were killing our men,

(125) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-III, P.475
(126) Swami Vivekananda - Studies in Soviet Union, Published on 150th Birth Anniversary of Sri Ramkrishna, P.120
(128) Ibid, P.476
outraging our women..... we are in terrible gloom."

The British carried on ruthless exploitation on Indian people. Turning down all appeals and prayers they indulged in comfort and merriments. The misery and hardship that Indians suffered, did not touch their heart. Swami Vivekananda writes, "They ground down poor people for their own wealth. They heard not the voice of distress. They ate from gold and silver, when the Indians cried for bread." (130)

Criticing the colonial and commercial nationalism of the West Swami Vivekananda even went to the extent of saying that the Western nations are governed by a handful of Shylocks. Their democracy he said is a misnomer. Their parliament, their constitution are but farce. (131) Since Shylock, as Shakespeare described, knows not love, nor friendship, nor society nor man but money and only money - the be all and end all of life - it is a great tragedy for mankind.

Apart from criticing the Western colonial exploitation Swami Vivekananda developed his theory of nationalism for the redemption of suffering

(130) Ibid, Vol-VII, P.279
(131) Ibid, Vol-III, P.158
mankind - the down-trodden masses of the world. To beard the lion of colonialism, that emerged from the den of Europe, Swami Vivekananda urged the subject people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to have enormous strength and fearlessness. To infuse that sort of strength and fearlessness in to the mind of the suffering mankind, he said, "The earth is enjoyed by the heroes...... Be hero. Always say 'I have no fear'. Tell this to everybody. 'Have no fear.' Fear is death, fear is sin, fear is hell, fear is unrighteousness, fear is wrong life." (132) He further said, "No need of looking behind. Forward! We want infinite energy, infinite zeal, infinite courage, infinite patience, then only will great things be achieved." (133) In addition to his fervent call for resistance against injustice and oppression he talked about a more basic concept i.e. 'strength and fearlessness,' for struggle that gave a rude shock to Western colonialism. He frequently preached that strength is life, weakness is misery and fearlessness is the medicine for world diseases. His gospel of 'strength and fearlessness' stimulated the politically prostrate nations to a mystical height and the suffering nations gathered enormous strength to

(133) Ibid, Vol-VI, PP. 383-84
(134) Ibid, Vol-II, P. 201
wage war against the Western barbaric policy of colonialism.

The Western colonialism afflicted Swami Vivekananda so much that he advocated the theory of nationalism as a solution of the international problems of jealousy, hatred, fear and suspicion, that were emanations of colonialism and divided the world in to several enemy camps. He delivered to the whole world in place of colonialism the Vedantic message of universal brotherhood, goodwill, co-operation and peaceful co-existence of all nations. He was almost one with Bertrand Russell when the latter said,"... international co-operation is vital to the progress of civilization. All our economic problems, all the questions of securing the rights of labour, all the hopes of freedom at home and humanity abroad, rest upon the creation of international goodwill."(135)

His whole aim was to solidify the world in to a single whole or one family, of one mankind with no place for colonial domination of one part over the other. In the Parliament of Religions therefore he fervently declared: "Upon the banner of every religion, will soon be written, 'Help not fight', 'Assimilation not destruction'. Harmony and peace and not dissension."

(135) Bertrand Russell, Political Ideals, P.88
(136) Nationalistic and Religious Lectures of Swami Vivekananda, P.11
Hence, as opposed to Western nationalism which is characterised by colonialism, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is marked by its anticolonial nature.

NON-EXPLOITATIVE NATURE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S NATIONALISM

As discussed in the earlier section of this chapter, Industrial Revolution in Europe brought about a turning point in the history of Western nationalism in 18th century. Invention of different machines accelerated the process of production and there sprang up numerous industries all over Europe by leaps and bounds. The great industrial powers like Britain, Germany and France, producing huge quantity of goods flooded their home market with goods far beyond their national needs. Inspite of the fact that population of these countries grew at a phenomenal rate and standard of living of the people marked an upward swing the quantum of such goods far exceeded the consumption needs of these industrialised nations. As it is said, "Population in the industrial states doubled, trebled and quadrupled. Standard of living ascended dizzily. Home market soon became glutted inspite of increasing populations and rising living standards."

Farmers and manufactures turned abroad for an outlet. The great markets of the Orient and

(137) F.L. Schuman, International Politics, P. 515
cheap labour of these colonies by exporting capital to these land and shutting all doors of industrial projects in them and exploited the natural resources of these lands and their environment. That apart, the colonial powers also incurred huge expenditure for maintaining army, police and prison, which were charged upon the colonial people. As a result ruthless exploitation, brutality, misery, poverty, degradation and racial arrogance became the common phenomena in the colonies.

The colonial and imperial powers, while ruthlessly exploiting the colonial people and the imperial economy, paid little attention for improving the condition of the people over whom they were self-appointed trustees. Leonard Woolf says that in the year 1924, out of an estimated revenue of two million pounds, the Kenya government spent £ 44,000 on prisons and £ 37,000 on education. The whole policy pursued by the government was to favour some 10,000 Europeans at the expense of 25,000 Africans and 36,000 Asians. All the desirable land was reserved for them and the natives were on the road that led to their economic slavery.

Conditions in South and East Africa show that the fate of the native populace became much worse when entrusted to the white settlers on the spot than when it was in the hands of the colonial office in the mother country.

(140) Leonard Woolf, Imperialism and Civilization, P.86
Latin America became spheres of keen competition among the rival national groups and entrepreneurs and exporters. Hence arose competition for colonies and semi-colonies for the disposal of the surplus goods. Soon these nations were also faced with the problem of raw materials to feed their industries. The rich natural resources of Africa, Asia and Latin America allured the hungry eyes of European industrialists. The backward areas of the earth, rich in resources, in labour power, in consumptive capacity soon became happy hunting grounds for the profit seekers of the West. There poured forth deluge of ships, inundating Asia, Africa and Latin American states for disposal of surplus goods and capital and for purchase of raw materials. (138)

There began the age of colonialistic and imperialistic exploitation of the new world. "This establishment of political control over the newly occupied regions seemed a necessary step to foster commerce and promote economic exploitation. Each European state was determined to monopolise for itself and for its subjects as many of the new opportunities as possible." (139)

The colonial powers not only exploited their colonies for dumping their surplus industrial products at a throw away price; they also exploited the

(138) F.L. Schuman, International Politics, p. 538
(139) Ibid, p. 513
When we turn our attention from Africa to India, we find that the condition under the British were not very much better, although Great Britain was a better master than most other imperial powers. The economic exploitation and drainage of the wealth from this country went on apace without much let or hindrance. It is said, "The reason why the British first entered India, and the primary reason they have remained there was not to benefit India, but to benefit Great Britain." (141) Inspite of more than 175 years of British rule in India the average wage of the Indian labour was at the end, about six annas a day. The appalling poverty of the masses was still the most hideous fact that struck attention of an observer. In the words of Mohatma Gandhi: "The government established by law in British-India, is carried on for the exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence which the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye." Besides poverty, there was ignorance of the worst kind, 87% of the people having been illiterate in 1940. Public health was very poor with a high rate of mortality and high birth rate. A disproportionately large percentage of the revenue of the country was spent on an expensive army and an equally expensive civil service

(141) Parker T., Moon, Imperialism and World Politics, P.290
(142) M.K. Gandhi, Speeches, P.753
and a host of pensioners, with the result that nation-building departments such as education and public health were obliged to live a hand-to-mouth existence.

By controlling currency and the military budget and to some extent the tariff and fiscal policy of the country, England was able to favour her own people at the expense of the poverty-stricken masses of India. The indigenous cottage industries of India, which provided a living to many thousands and gave them opportunity for the expression of their personalities in creative work were practically wiped out under the stress of imperial competition.

Thus exploitation and brutality characterised Western nationalism at its colonialistic stage. Hence, Bertrand Russell has rightly observed, "Exploiting what are called inferior races has become one of the main objects of European state craft." (143) R.N. Tagore has also condemned this exploitative character of Western nationalism and has said, "It is carnivorous and canibalistic in its tendencies. It feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole nature." (144) Bertrand Russell has condemned such exploitative tendency of Western nationalism as a crime against humanity. (145)

(143) Bertrand Russell, Political Ideals, P.84
(144) R.N. Tagore, Nationalism, P.36
(145) Bertrand Russell, Political Ideals, P.84
Swami Vivekananda’s nationalism on the other hand, sought to make human society free from exploitation. His theory of nationalism envisages a society where there is abundant liberty and right of the individual, equality of opportunity for all and there is no trace of exploitation of any kind. He felt upset to see the British colonial exploitation and oppression, that were rampant in India. Poverty and starvation that hit people all around him, shocked him very much. Out of sheer agony he said, "The British have sucked the last drop of our blood for their own pleasure. They have carried away with them millions of our money, while our people starved by villages and provinces." (146) He further said,'They, who sucked the life-blood of the people, whose very power was built on their poverty, treated the poor as slaves...... Their wives and daughters are dishonoured and their properties are robbed.'(147)

Ruination of India under the British economic system became a constant source of anxiety for Swami Vivekananda. Indian industries, art and craft failed to keep pace with those of the British and began to disappear. Millions of men were thrown out of employment and finding no other means of

(147) Ibid, Vol-VIII, P.330
livelihood, succumbed to slavery. It gave Swami Vivekananda much pain and anguish to express "Machines are making things cheap. One may become rich but thousands are becoming poorer and poorer and the whole mass of human beings are made slaves." (148)

Misery and hardship of the labouring class in India knew no bounds. They worked hard but did not get fair wages to make both ends meet under the socio-economic system, created by the British and lived a life of drudgery. Swami Vivekananda writes, "The peasants and the weavers and the rests who have been conquered by the foreigners..... have been working silently without even getting the remuneration of their labour." (149)

Amidst the exploitation and oppression of the colonial power, Indians forgot their individuality, their manliness, their importance as human beings. They lost their reason and conscience in the colossal grip of starvation. Finding no hope for survival, as Swami Vivekananda says, they served as the drawers of water and hewers of wood. (150) His faith in western democracy and civilization crumbled to witness that they were noting but commercial selfishness and struggle for privilege. (151)

(149) Ibid, Vol-VII, P.358
(150) Lectures From Colombo to Almora, P.95
(151) Complete Works of Sister Nivedita, P.201
Swami Vivekananda after having observed the country-wide phenomena of British exploitation, resolved solemnly to awake India against such exploitation by promoting a spirit of fearlessness as cult of resistance in his theory of nationalism. As he felt without strength and fearlessness we can neither preserve our individual existence nor can we fight for the vindication of our rights. Character develops through resistance to evils and resistance comes through fearlessness. This fearlessness is the best antidote to tyranny and exploitation of the foreigner. Hence he said, "It is true that fear is the sure cause of degeneration ...... The moment you fear you are no body. It is fear that is great cause of misery in the world..... It is fear that is the cause of our woes and it is the fearlessness that brings heaven in a moment. Therefore arise and awake and stop not till the goal is achieved." (152)

Explaining his concept of strength and fearlessness, Swami Vivekananda also said that fearlessness is a powerful force in man that can very effectively resist death. By firmly denying man can negate the power of poison. As he said, "Have faith in yourself. All power is in you, be conscious and bring it out, say 'I can do every thing.' Even the poison of a snake is

powerless if you can firmly deny it.\textsuperscript{(153)} In one of his letters to Alasingh he wrote, "If you are really my children, you will fear nothing, you will be like lions. We must rouse India and the whole world.....My children must be ready to jump in to the fire, if needed to accomplish their work."\textsuperscript{(154)}

Swami Vivekananda's theory of non-exploitative nationalism also envisages a new social order in which there shall be elimination of special privileges and provision for equal opportunities for all. This concept of equality is based upon the great Vendantic truth of equality of Soul and Divinity of all human beings. As he said, "Look upon all as your equal, cleanse your self of the primal sin of inequality. We are all equal..... Equality is the sign of the free."\textsuperscript{(155)} To him inequality is the curse of human society. Whenever this inequality is eliminated more and more light and progress pours forth in to the society.\textsuperscript{(156)} He further held that some people, through their natural aptitude and superior ability may be able to accumulate more wealth than others, but it does not mean that on account of this power to acquire more wealth, they shall be allowed to exploit and ride roughshod over those who cannot acquire so much wealth.\textsuperscript{(157)} To him this goes

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{(153)} Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-VI, P.274
\item \textsuperscript{(154)} Ibid, Vol-V, PP.61-62
\item \textsuperscript{(155)} Ibid, Vol-VIII, P.18
\item \textsuperscript{(156)} Ibid, Vol-I, P.423
\item \textsuperscript{(157)} Ibid, Vol-I, P.435
\end{itemize}
against the canons of natural and moral law.

Swami Vivekananda not only advocated equality of all men and elimination of special privileges, for liberation of mankind from the jaws of western exploitation; he also advocated freedom of man. His call for freedom had tremendous influence upon the exploited mankind. He said that the whole universe in its constant motion represents the dominant quest for freedom. In a London lecture he said, "What is this universe? In freedom it rises, in freedom it rests." Freedom is the condition of human beings in which they attain their bestselves. It is in this condition that the individual has free exercise of mind that leads to the unfoldment of all faculties, latent in him. It is the condition of growth, both spiritual and moral. Therefore he said, "Life is but tremendous assertion of freedom." (159)

In fact, Swami Vivekananda, as a nationalist, was a true spokesman of the exploited section of mankind, who visualised a new life beyond the dark horizon of slavery under foreign powers. He awakened the Indian masses against the British exploitation. He felt that colonial domination is the root of all oppression and misery of the Indian masses. It has

(158) Quoted in V.P. Varma, Modern Indian Political Thought, P.117
(159) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-V, P.287
been befittingly observed, that Swami Vivekananda saw in colonial domination not only the manifestation of national oppression in general; he saw in it the cause of monstrous poverty also and sensed the need for fighting against it.\(^{(160)}\) Hence nonexploitative nature of Swami Vivekananda's nationalism marked it out from Western nationalism.

(5) DENUNCIATION OF WAR

Western nationalism is aggressive and beligerent in nature. When the Western capitalist world embarked upon an imperial design, Western nationalism became aggressive. This aggressive nature of Western nationalism has been condemned by R.N. Tagore, who has remarked, "The truth is that the spirit of conflict and conquest is the origin and is the centre of Western nation; .......... It is like the pack of predatory creatures that must have its victims, with all hearts, it can not bear to see its hunting grounds converted in to cultivated fields. In fact these nations are fighting among themselves for extension of their victim."\(^{(161)}\) Prof. Laski has also observed, "War indeed seems to have been the chief factor in building modern nations."\(^{(162)}\)

\(^{(160)}\) Swami Vivekananda, Studies in Soviet Union, Published on 150th birth anniversary of Sri Ramkrishna, P.116

\(^{(161)}\) R.N. Tagore, Nationalism, P.12

\(^{(162)}\) H.J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P.220
The Western capitalistic nations assumed expansionist policy in the interest of their capital. To succeed in their mission they resorted to war and brutality. Prof. Schuman writes, "There is scarcely a single colony of any of the great power which was not own through bloodshed."\(^{(163)}\) The capitalist powers in Europe took war as the instrument of their empire building. They thought war as the legal right of an imperial power. They not only fought wars to win empires in the backward parts of the globe; they also fought among themselves in the event of any conflict of interest. As Prof. Schuman further writes, "The most obvious results of the competitive quest for empire is war — war first between the imperial states and the backward peoples and then war among the imperial states themselves."\(^{(164)}\)

The capitalist nations of Europe used their sovereign power as a weapon to safeguard the interest of their capital by diplomacy and war. This sovereign power as a matter of fact aggravated the aggressive nature of Western capitalistic nationalism. Prof. Laski writes, "The state in a capitalistic society needs to remain sovereign in order to protect the interest of capitalism. In the last resort, these interests have to be protected by war, which

\(^{(163)}\) F.L. Schuman, International Politics, P.539 
\(^{(164)}\) Ibid, P.539
is the supreme expression of sovereignty in international relations. The Western capitalistic nations even considered it as the sovereign right of every sovereign community to settle their mutual disputes by means of war. As Palmer & Perkins have remarked, "... war was considered to be a legitimate procedure for settling quarrels between sovereign states." (166) Deploring such trend Arnold Toynbee has also observed, "...... we have been in the period of nationalistic ...... warfare, reinforced... by the combined drive of energies, generated by the recently released forces of Democracy, Industrialism and Sovereignty." (167)

A critical survey of the history of Western nationalism reveals the fact that of all the capitalistic states of Europe, Italy of Mussolini and Germany of Hitler were the greatest innovators of aggressive nationalism. They introduced the cult of war and aggression for their own prosperity and progress at the expense of other nations. Fascism and Nazism their brain children were merely the different forms of aggressive nationalism of the West. Aggressive nationalists like Mussolini and Hitler followed the Hegelian philosophy and glorification of war. They

(165) H.J.Laski, The State in Theory and Practice, P.229
(166) Palmer and Perkins, International Relations, P.187
(167) Arnold J.Toynbee, A Study of History, PP.552-53
(Abridgment of Vols. I to VI, by D.C.Somervell)
flouted international goodwill and considered war as natural, eternal and immutable. They extolled the philosophy that the world gives its glittering prizes to those who have sharp swords and stout hearts. They did not realise that "the glamour of war is unreal as the bought affection of the prostitute, that exists only in the inexperience of those who have not known its deadly furies." (168)

Fascism as a nationalist doctrine of the West is an enemy of internationalism. 'International peace', it proclaims, 'is a coward's dream'. 'Imperialism', said Mussolini, 'is eternal and immutable law of life.' Glorifying war he further said, "War alone brings up to their highest tension all human energies and put this stamp of nobility upon the peoples, who have the courage to meet it." In order to popularise the creed of war and aggression among the people of Italy he declared, "War is to man what maternity is to woman." He created war hysteria and kept Italy in permanent state of war. He declared, 'We are forty millions squeezed into our narrow but adorable peninsula.' In order that the people of this "adorable peninsula" may have elbow-room, Abyssinia was annexed in 1936 after a most brutal war-fare. War was used to divert people's attention from the internal

(168) H.J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, P. 289
troubles. Fascism deliberately chose an internal policy whose external manifestation was war. It believed neither in the possibility nor in the utility of world peace. It advocated the cause of violence and falsehood and rejected all the accepted moral norms.

Similarly Nazism, it is said, "...glorified revolutionary violence," (169) and held force and violence as the essential features of Nation-hood. The Nazis stressed on the doctrine of 'Might is Right' and 'End justifies the means'. Nazism preached the glory of victorious sword. In the words of Hitler, "He who would live must fight. He who does not wish to fight in this world, has not the right to exist. Such a thing may sound harsh but that is how the matter stands." Dr. Krieck, the Head Master of the Mannheim public school said, "The task of the University is not to teach objective science, but militant, the warlike, the heroic." It was held that war is the climax of human achievement, the last phase of development in the history of mankind, the father of all things, and the most simple affirmation of life. Suppression of war was considered as the suppression of human nature. It was further held in Germany that mothers must exhaust themselves in order to give life...

(169) Sabine, A History of Political Theory, P. 752
to children and fathers must fight on the battle field in order to secure the future for their sons. The Nazis also claimed that there is no higher or finer privilege for a woman than that of sending her children to war.

Both Italy and Germany - the two great fascist countries, embarked upon a policy of intensive rearmament and militarisation of the country. They spent huge sums of money on armaments even at the expense of food. Aggressive foreign policy of the fascist countries is a necessary corollary of the internal rule of terror. It is not surprising therefore that the fascist policies were bound ultimately to bring about the catastrophe of Second World War. Fascism involves denial of the rule of law in international relations and believes in the principle that 'Might creates right.' It is evident from the politics adopted by Italy, and Germany during the years preceding the Second World War. Prof. Laski rightly writes, "Fascism is power, built upon terror and organised and maintained by the fear of terror and hopes to which conquest gives rise. .... It is the state of war, in which material law is permanent..... it survives in war ..... it is successful in war."

(170) H.J. Laski, Reflections of Revolution of Our Time, P.96
(171) Ibid, P.92
Hans Kohn too, condemning the fascist nationalism, has also written "Nationalism in its fascist period assumed far beyond anything - an absolutist and extremist self-assertiveness, glorifying war between nations and races as the supreme and final meaning of life and history. Eventually this type of nationalism culminated in World War-II." (172)

Thus Western nationalism has brought to the world the terrible wars and vast devastation in its train. In the name of national right, national honour, national policy millions of life and billions of treasures have been wasted in war. Hayes, therefore has rightly said that this "Nationalism paved the way of statesmen, prepared the mind of the peoples for world wars," (173) and has condemned nationalism as "a curse." (174)

But in Swami Vivekananda's theory of nationalism, there is no place for conquest and conflict, war and aggression. Instead of glorification of force and violence, war and aggression, Swami Vivekananda a humanist, whose love for man constituted the very essence of his philosophy of life and theory of nationalism, abhorred the cult of war and aggression, force and violence and condemned as perfectly useless

(172) Hans Kohn, Nationalism and Internationalism in 19th and 20th Centuries, P.210
(173) Charlton J.H.Hayes, Nationalism, P.247
(174) Ibid, P.248
the attempt to govern mankind with the sword. The very centres of Europe, he felt, from which such ideas of force and violence sprang up, shall crumble to pieces, shall crumble to dust within fifty years if she does not change her position and shift her ground. (175) He further felt that the whole of the Western world, because of its faith on force and violence, war and aggression, is almost on a volcano, which may burst tommorrow, reducing all to pieces. Hence territorial gain or material aggrandisement were not the goal of Swami Vivekananda's nationalism. Instead, spiritual integration of the universe was the objective of his nationalism. According to him this spiritual integration or spiritual oneness of the whole universe is the eternal grand design, enshrined in the Vedas and the whole world will be benefitted, if it is put in to practice. This he felt, will enkindle not only new life among the Indians but also mankind as a whole. As he said, "It is the one great life-giving idea, which the world wants from us to day and which the mute masses of India want for their uplifting, for none can regenerate this land of ours without the practical application and effective operation of this ideal of the oneness of things." (176)

(175) Lectures From Colombo to Almora, P.60
Unlike Mussolini and Hitler, the two great fascist nationalists, who sought to temper their nationalism by military conquest, Swami Vivekananda endeavoured to leaven his nationalism by religious and spiritual conquest. The fascists called upon the people for territorial expansion and identified it with the law of life. But Swami Vivekananda who sought for spiritual salvation of mankind emphasised on spiritual expansion and identified it with the law of life. While at London Swami Vivekananda was asked by a lady, "What have you Hindus done? You have never conquered a single nation." From it Swami Vivekananda came to realise that the West considered conquest to be "the greatest glory that one man can have over another."(177) However much this passion for conquest may be esteemed in the West, he did not consider it an ideal to be considered by Indians. India's greatness in the past did not consist in military conquest. Rather it consisted in the very lack of it. It is of course true that Swami Vivekananda said, "We must conquer the world or die. There is no other alternative. The sign of life is expansion; we must go out and expand, show life or degrade, fester and die. There is no other alternative. Take either of these, either live or die."(178) He further said,

(178) Lectures From Colombo to Almora, P.227
"India must conquer the world and nothing less than that is my ideal. You have to expand or perish. This is the law of life." (179). However such conquest shall be spiritual rather than military in nature. India in the past believed in the conquest of the world through the means of religion and spirituality. She should try to adhere to her cultural heritage of spiritual rather than military conquest. Such conquest may culminate in the conquest of the whole world. As he said, "This (spiritual conquest of the world) is the great ideal before us and every one must be ready for it - the conquest of the whole world. Let foreigners come and flood the land with their armies, never mind. Up, India conquer the world with your spirituality. Ay, as has been declared on this soil first, love must conquer hatred, hatred can not conquer itself. Materialism and all its miseries can never be conquered by materialism. Armies, when they attempt to conquer, armies only multiply and make brutes of humanity. Spirituality must conquer the world." (180)

Referring to the past history of India, he said, "There have been great conquering races in the world. We also have been great conquerors. The story of our conquest has been described by that noble Emperor of India - Ashok, as the conquest of religion and nationalistic and religious lectures of Swami Vivekananda, P.73

(179) Nationalistic and Religious Lectures of Swami Vivekananda, P.73

spirituality. Once more the world must be conquered by India. This is the dream of my life and I wish that each one of you have the same dream in your mind and stop not till you have realised the dream. *(181)* Again he said, "We must go out, we must conquer the world through our spirituality and philosophy. The only condition of our national life of awakened and vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought." *(182)*

Believing in the grand ideal of conquest by peace instead of war and love instead of hatred Swami Vivekananda called upon his people, "Wisdom and philosophy do not want to be carried on the floods of blood, wisdom and philosophy do not march upon bleeding human bodies. Do not march with violence but reach the people all over the world on the wings of peace and love." *(183)*

Swami Vivekananda believed that where as gift of political knowledge can be made with the blast of trumpets and march of cohorts and the gifts of secular knowledge can be made with fire and sword spiritual knowledge can be gifted away only in silence like the dew drops that fall unseen and unheard, yet quicken the process of blossoming of masses of rose buds. This has

*(182)* Ibid, Vol-III, P. 277
*(183)* Ibid, Vol-III, P. 273
been the process of India's diffusion of spiritual knowledge in the past. Very emphatically he declared, "We have never preached our thoughts with fire and sword. If there is one word in the English language to represent the gift of India to the world, if there is one word in English language to depress the effect which the literature of India produces upon mankind, it is this one word 'fascination'.

The sole purpose behind the spiritual integration of the world, as envisaged in the theory of Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is to make people realise world over, the grand Vedantic ideal of 'Unity of Existence' i.e. there is but one and only one soul. This realisation will lead to the dawn of a new era - an era of universal love or brotherhood. As he has said, "This infinite oneness of soul is the eternal sanction for all morality, for through that only love or brotherhood of all living being can be established." Explaining this Vedantic philosophy of oneness of soul Swami Vivekananda went a step ahead of universal brotherhood and preached love for man not as one's own brother as in Christianity but as one's own-self. "Brotherhood" he said, "should be superseded by universal selfhood."

(184) Lectures From Colombo to Almora, P.217
(185) Ibid, P.8
(186) Nationalistic and Religious Lectures of Swami Vivekananda,P.39
'not universal brotherhood but self-hood is our motto.'

In order to make people realise world-over, the value and importance of love against the vicious effects of Western cult of force and violence, he said, "Life itself is considered beautiful and worth-living only on account of love. Without love life would not remain for a moment." Very emphatically he preached that love is life and hatred is death. All nations like all individuals survive in love and die when they begin to hate other races. Love is life force of both individual and nation. It is permanent, it is everlasting, it is the only fitting thing to survive. In it lies the strength, the longevity of life. Hatred, force, violence and brutality are but poisons that vitiate the society, kill the individual and nation."

According to Swami Vivekananda all wars and aggression, waged by Western world that has flooded the earth with blood, can be averted permanently only through the realisation of the supreme Vedantic ideal of 'Unity of Soul'. When people all over, realise it, they will be bound by the silken thread of love or brotherhood. All differences of race, religion, culture etc. which are the sources of jealousy, hatred and ill-feeling, causing all bloodshed and wars, will vanish fast.

(188) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-IV, P. 222
(189) Ibid, Vol-III, P. 80
(190) Ibid, Vol-IV, P. 366
(191) Ibid, Vol-IV, P. 180
Peace and progress of perennial nature will pour in to the earth. Whole mankind will live in supreme peace as one family. As he intuitively said, "I am sure the day will come, when all differences will vanish and that oneness to which, we are all subjected, will become manifest, leading to a world of eternal peace, progress and brotherhood." (192)

Thus Swami Vivekananda's theory of nationalism has no place for war and aggression, force and violence like that of the Western nationalism. Instead, spiritual integration and universal brotherhood, peace and progress characterised his theory of nationalism. Humanism and universalism formed the basis of such nationalism. As it has been observed, "His humanism is unique, for which he is best known all over the world, that inspired man to make him strive for ideals of good, truth, and justice and fostered in man abhorrence for any suffering." (193)

(6) CRITIC OF CAPITALISTIC GREED:

Western nationalism is based on greed for wealth and power. Material gain or self-aggrandisement is the guiding principle of Western

(192) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-II, P.188
(193) Swami Vivekananda - Studies in Soviet Union, Published on 150th birth anniversary of Ramkrishna, P.209
nationalism. The propensity to acquire more and more wealth is the very characteristic of Western nation. Condemning this Western greed for wealth R.N. Tagore has said, "And because its genesis is greed of wealth and power it can never come to any other end but to a violent death." (194)

A critical survey of the history of Western nationalism reveals the truth of the fact that this greed for wealth and power of the Western nations has given rise to capitalism, colonialism, imperialism and jingoism or chauvinism in the long run, that have posed severe threats to world order. Western greed for money led the people of the West to accumulate wealth more and more and it assumed the form of capitalism. This capitalism enjoyed its hey-day when liberal principles, based on "Laissez Faire" theory was preponderant in European circle. State interference in the domain of individual's liberty was considered unjust, improper and imprudent. Institution of property was much respected and right to property was ensured in the state constitutions. Property or wealth was valued more than life itself. (195)

The capitalist class, obviously the ruling class in Europe began to exercise their authority always in the interest of their capital rather than

(194) R.N. Tagore, Nationalism, P.51
(195) H.J. Laski, Communism, P.118
in the interest of the non-capitalist class. They consequently monopolised all the privileges and opportunities of the society. As a result, society came to be divided into two antagonistic sections of people—Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat—the exploiter and the exploited. There started severe conflict between these two classes. Prof. Laski writes, "They (the capitalist) identify their own good with their own preservation. Attacks upon them they will punish as sedition. Education, justice, religious teachings are tempered to serve their interest. This is not, it should be insisted a conscious effort on their part to exclude members of the non-possessing class from a share in social benefit; it is simply the natural reaction to the material environment. But the class excluded from the privileges of possession naturally, also desires a share in them. Hence arises in every society a struggle between the classes for its control." (196)

Capitalism for its further growth spread its tentacles for exploiting the under-developed peoples of the other parts of the globe. Industrial Revolution in 18th century Europe, added further strength for such move by the capitalist countries. As industries developed and home markets become glutted with, commodities

(196) H.J. Laski, Communism, P. 63
produced, they made frantic search for markets in the under-developed countries of the world. As a result hunt for colonies, empire building became a common phenomena in European politics. Backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America became the favourite hunting grounds of European profit seeking capitalists. Thus colonialism and imperialism evolved out of Western greed for wealth and power and Western nations entered upon a new phase of territorial gain or self-aggrandisement. Prof. Schuman has rightly remarked, "Contemporary colonialism or imperialism is a phenomena of Western civilization in the age of capitalism, Bourgeois individualism, planless economy and demagogic politics."(197)

But Swami Vivekananda abhors capitalism in toto. He showers vengeance on Western capitalistic economy. As he said, "The present merchantile civilization must die with all its pretentions and humbug."(198) To him Western administration is nothing but a mechanism of treachery. All that we hear about their constitution, government, freedom, liberty and right, are but mockery, that seeks no real welfare of the people. As he said, "The wealth and power of a country are in the hands of a few men, who do not work but manipulate the work of

(197) F. L. Schuman, International Politics, P. 539
(198) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-VI, P. 144
millions of human beings. By this power they can deluge the whole earth with blood. Religion and all things are under their feet; they rule and stand supreme. The Western world is governed by a handful of Shylocks. All the things that you hear about constitutional government, freedom, liberty and parliaments are but jokes."

Condemning this Western capitalist system of administration, again he said, "They, that have money have kept the government of the land under their thumb, are robbing the people and sending them as soldiers to fight and be slain on foreign shores so that in case of victory, their coffers may be full of gold brought by the blood of the subject people on the field of battle." (200)

In a capitalistic state masses are ignored, only a few powerful men run the machinery of the state. Majority rule is only a false slogan. Majority is surrendered to the will of the few powerful capitalists. Swami Vivekananda condemned it saying, "I have seen your Parliament, your Senate, your vote, majority, ballot; it is the same thing everywhere my friend. The powerful man in every country are moving society whatever way they like, and the rest are only like a flock of sheep." (201) To Swami Vivekananda glamour of

(200) Ibid, Vol-V, P.462
(201) Ibid, Vol-V, P.461
commercial and material prosperity is ephemeral. It will fade away and fall very soon. He said, "The West is groaning under the tyranny of the Shylock." He warned that Europe, the centre of manifestation of material energy will crumble into dust within a short time, if she is not mindful to change her life."(202)

In capitalist system of economy property is valued more than life. Property enjoys precedence over life as capitalism is concerned only with accumulation of property. Security of property is ensured first in such a state but security of life comes next. As Prof. Laski has observed the criminal law of capitalist countries is more "severe upon offences against property than upon offences against the person, because capitalism is more tender to the interest of property than those of human life."(203) But to Swami Vivekananda life is more significant than money. Spirit is superior to matter. Hence in his theory of nationalism, he has always sought to uphold the interests of life instead of the interest of property. His entire theory of nationalism centres round the divinity of human life and the soul. Life is the subject matter of his whole philosophy. He bothered most for man and least for money. Therefore repeatedly he has said, "Men are more valuable

(202) Swami Vivekananda, On India and Her Problems, P. 39
(203) H.J. Laski, Communism, P. 118
than all the wealth of the world."(204)

As against capitalism, Swami Vivekananda upheld socialistic values. To him socialism is the only panacea for all ills in the society. He declared that he was a socialist because half a loaf is better than no bread.(205) His deep socialistic realism is revealed in his statement that India's political slavery of a thousand years is rooted in the suppression of the masses. They held the latter in contempt and humiliated them so much that they almost lost their manhood.(206)

The masses, he held, to be the back-bone of the country because they produce wealth of the nation. When they are rejected and humiliated how shall they contribute to the growth of the national energy? Hence he said, "The one thing that is at the root of all evils in India, is the condition of the poor masses."(207) For any rejuvenation of the country, felt Swami Vivekananda, it was absolutely essential to take steps for raising the masses up. To Swami Vivekananda it was a formidable problem and, necessarily, demanded great sacrifice on the part of the educated Indians. Hence he declared, "I call him a traitor, who having been educated, nursed in luxury by the heart's blood of the downtrodden millions of toiling poor never even takes a thought for

(204) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-V, P. 83
(205) Ibid, Vol-VI, P. 381
(206) Ibid, Vol-VIII, P. 307
(207) Ibid, Vol-V, P. 45
(208) Ibid, Vol-IV, P. 362
Swami Vivekananda mercilessly denounced the sophistication, the arrogance and wickedness of the upper classes of Indian society. They, he felt, have been responsible for exploiting the millions of the masses throughout India’s history. They, he felt in the 19th century began to co-operate with the British imperialism and helped in strengthening the foundations of foreign political and economic system, because, that system, in its turn, permitted them to practise their own oppression on their less fortunate brethren. Hence he poured forth all his suppressed venom and deep resentment against the so-called upper classes who perpetrated all sorts of tyranny on the poor, defenceless masses in strong terms: “You the upper classes of India, do you think that you are alive? You are but mummies ten thousand years old. It is among you whom your ancestors despised as walking carrion and it is you who are the real walking corpses... In this world of Maya, you are the real illusions, the mystery, the real mirage in the desert... you are the upper classes of India! You are a nightmare... you are the void, the unsubstantial nonentities of the future. Denizens of the dreamland, why are you loitering any longer? ....... why do you not quickly reduce...”

yourselves in to dust and disappear in the air?"  (210)

Swami Vivekananda's experience during his travels in India and the West revealed to him the imperative necessity of strength and fearlessness for straightening the back-bone of nation, subjected to misery, frustration, and political tragedies for over a thousand years. It is indeed a revolutionary statement from the mouth of a Sannyasi when he uttered that it is mockery to offer religion to a starving man. It also sounds revolutionary when emerges from the mouth of an Indian Vendattist that India is a "country where millions of people live on flowers of the Mohua plant and million or so of Sadhus and hundred million or so of Brahmans suck the blood out of these poor people."

As a social revolutionary Swami Vivekananda denounced in unmeasured terms the oppression of upper class and held the Brahmin priesthood responsible for suppression of the lower classes in India. As he said, "The West is groaning under the tyranny of the priests."  (213) Speaking about the upper castes of India he said, "..... Brahmans .... have thrown the country in to ruin. Intent all the while on theft and wickedness, they pose as preachers of religion. They will take gifts from the people and at the same

(211) The Life of Swami Vivekananda by his Western and Eastern Disciples, Vol-IV, P. 177
(212) Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol-VI, P. 254
(213) Ibid, Vol-III, P. 158
time cry, 'Don't touch me!' (214) Hence he made fervent and eloquent appeal for the elevation of the poor masses because "the nation lies in the peasant's cottage." (215)

In the system of Marx, technology and economics which represent the substructure are more important than the superstructure of politics; in a sense they are regarded as the determinants of political conditions. (216) Marx fully realised the importance of capital, but Swami Vivekananda emphasised on the social and economic value of money and the economic causation of historical action to the same degree as the economic determinists and historical materialists do. But after his return from the West he realised the value of social organisation, and used to say that if he collected three million rupees, the salvation of Indian masses could be effected. The experiences of the materialist West even revealed to this spiritual aspirant the social significance of the demand for the conquest of hunger and poverty. He once said, "Material civilization, nay, even luxury, is necessary to create work for the poor. Bread! Bread! I do not believe in God, who can not give me bread here, giving me eternal bliss in heaven!"

Pooh! India is to be raised, the poor are to be fed, education is to be spread........ More bread, more opportunity for everybody."(217)

Swami Vivekananda the great humanist not only voiced his concern for the poor and down-trodden masses of India; his concern was for the down-trodden mankind as a whole. He thought redemption of the whole mankind. He intuitively felt the emergence of new type of a political system that would gradually envelope the whole world. As early as 1893 he prophesised that the next great political upheaval which is to bring about a new epoch will come from Russia or China. (218) He also said elsewhere, "......this raising of the Sudras will take place first in Russia and then in China. India will rise next and will play a vital role in shaping the future world."(219)

Apart from the scheme of Socialism, Swami Vivekananda's theory of nationalism also high-lights the grand principle of sacrifice and renunciation as a remedy against the evils of Western greed for wealth and capitalism. This sacrifice or renunciation is not only the very watch-word of Vedic philosophy but also of Swami Vivekananda's philosophy of nationalism that stands in contrast with the materialistic nationalism of the West.

(218) Swami Vivekananda, Proletariat! Win Equal Rights,
(219) Quoted in B.N.Datta, Swami Vivekananda - P.V
Patriot Prophet, p.335
Dispassion for wealth is the highest spiritual realisation upon which Indian philosophy is based. For Swami Vivekananda, such dispassion for wealth or renunciation is the very soul of our national life. It also forms the core of our national character. It is this unique feature of our national life that has brought distinction to us over other nations.

According to Swami Vivekananda, vairagya or renunciation as opposed to Western greed for wealth, is the most cardinal feature of all religions. Without renunciation there can not be any true religion or morality. He said, "Vairagya or renunciation is the beginning of religion. How can religion or morality begin without renunciation? The Alpha and Omega is renunciation. "Give up" says the Veda "Give up". That is the one way, "Give up". (220) Again he said, "Give up"! that is the watch-word of Indian religion. According to him immortality can not be achieved without renunciation. It is through renunciation only that immortality can be achieved. (222)

It is through this power of renunciation that the nations attain vitality. In it lies all strength of a nation. He says, "What makes our nation survive and the other die? Should love survive or hatred,

(221) Ibid, Vol-III, P.148
(222) Ibid, Vol-III, P.343
should enjoyment survive or renunciation .... in the struggle of life .......... renunciation, giving up .... love, these are fittest things to survive. Giving up ........ makes a nation survive."(223)

India, all through her history, has adhered to this principle of renunciation and have survived in the midst of all her national catastrophe. As he has said, "This big gigantic race which had to grapple with some of the greatest problems of misfortunes, dangers and vicissitudes such as never fell upon the head of any other nation of the world, survives because it has taken the side of renunciation ......(224) Renunciation he felt is the national ideal of India. It is the very essence of her literature, culture and civilization. It is the very philosophy of her life, the message that she has delivered to the world from time immemorial. As he said, "Renunciation is the flag, the banner of India, floating over the world, the one undying thought, which India sends again and again as a warning to dying races, a warning to all tyranny, as a warning to wickedness in the world."(225)

Different nations, said Swami Vivekananda, have different themes, some have politics and others have military. But the theme of India's national life is

(223) Lectures From Colombo to Almora, P. 109
(224) Ibid, P. 109
spirituality and renunciation. India subordinates everything to it. Glory, fame, wealth and enjoyments—all these are not her concern. As he writes, "....here is a nation, whose great theme of life is spirituality and renunciation, whose one watch-word is that this world is all vanity and delusion of three days, and everything else, whether science or knowledge, enjoyment or power, or wealth or name or fame, must be subordinated to that one theme."(226)

Emphasizing on India's capacity for renunciation and charity in opposition to Western greed for wealth and power Swami Vivekananda said, "So long there is a piece of bread in the home of the beggar, he will give half of it. Such a phenomenon can be observed only in India."(227) Stressing on the need of charity as a power of sustaining nationhood he said, "No civilization can begin to lift up its head until we love charitably upon one another; and the first step towards that much-needed charity, is to look charitably and kindly upon ....others."(228)

Thus socialism - the panacea for all social ills, coupled with renunciation, as advocated by Swami Vivekananda, shall serve as an effective check to Western capitalistic greed.

(227) Lectures From Colombo to Almora, P. 69
(228) Ibid, P. 90
To sum up, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism like Western nationalism was a product of Renaissance and Reformation. The only difference being whereas Western nationalism was a product of Renaissance and Reformation in the West, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism emerged out of the impact on him of Indian Renaissance and Reform movements of 19th century. Like Western concept of nationalism, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is based on the principle of self-determination. But his concept of nationalism differs radically from the Western concept of nationalism. In the first place whereas the Western concept of nationalism is purely secular in tone, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is religious and spiritual in character. Besides, whereas Western nationalism is mainly concerned with material advancement of the nation, devoid of moral tone, Swami Vivekananda's nationalism is deeply moralistic and is characterised by deep moral aspiration. That apart, whereas Western nationalism, has flourished on colonialistic and imperialistic exploitation of the economically under-developed parts of the world, Swami Vivekananda was a critic of colonialistic and imperialistic exploitation. Above all where as Western nationalism is aggressive and belligerent in nature and is based on capitalistic greed, Swami Vivekananda denounced them. He tried to leaven his nationalism by religious and spiritual conquest and emancipation of the poor and the down-trodden.