CHAPTER IV
THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF DAYANANDA SARASWATI
The principle of the Political Philosophy of Swami Dayananda Saraswati can be discussed under the following heads:

(i) Ideas about Enlightened Monarchy
(ii) Dayananda in Democracy
(iii) Village administration
(iv) Concept of Ahimsa
(v) Superiority of Divine Law
(vi) Vedic universalism and
(vii) Swadeshi Movement.

(i) Ideas about Enlightened Monarchy:

Political philosophy of Swami Dayananda was based on Manusmriti and Vedas. He adopts the conception of Monarchy through Dharma of the Manusmriti. Manu was the champion of the notion of a conquering monarch who rules in conformity with dharma with the help and co-operation of the ministers. His view or ideal has resemblance to eighteenth century ideal of Philosophical kingship practised by Joshep II of Austria and Prussia. In the Vedas there are references to assemblies and the election of the King, and Dayananda stresses the element of election. The king was president of the assembly or council. According to Swami Dayananda the wisest and most learned among the members of an assembly was to be elected the King or the President. Dayananda accepted the Vedas to be fund of Scientific and metaphysical knowledge. The prime concepts of the vedic culture that political authority-Kshatriya should be aided by Brahman’s morale and spiritual authority. The primary on morale renaissance started and he could never sanction and isolation of political considerations. He always pleaded for the guidance of the political rulers by spiritual leaders. So, he was a nationalist based on secularistic and materialistic considerations.
(ii) Dayananda in Democracy:

Swami Dayananda was a true democrat. He accepted the concept of democracy in two ways. Firstly the Arya Samaj structure was well organised and founded by him and based on election. From top to bottom, the persons who were to function either as office bearers as members of some boards or councils were elected. The introduction of election in Hindu society was a like revolutionary, because it will be a hurt to the upper Brahmin class of Hindu traditional sentiments. But Arya Samaj a socio-religious body, and authority was exercised of election. Lastly Dayananda strongly supported the resort to the democratic principle of election in the various bodies recognised by him as legitimate organs of government in the sketch of an ideal polity outlined by him. He defined the structure and functions of three bodies - the Dharmaryashaba, the Vidyasabha and the Rajyaryasabha. The bodies are checks and balance of the power.

(iii) Village Administration:

He explained a political system which will have the essence of ideal democratism although the external mechanism of it may, sometimes, be monarchial. He strongly pleads for the construction of a vast common wealth with the village as the unit. It is regarded that he was earlier than M.K. Gandhi. Swamiji was very regretted at the decline of the village polity and economy on the basis of the Manusmriti, he advocated the idea of making the villages integrally connected with the mechanical administration.

According to Dayananda, there should be some such arrangement and strict orders to that effect issued, that whatever irregularities or happenings take place in the village it should be daily reported through secret service by the village headmen to the officer of the ten villages and officer of the ten villages to the officer of the twenty villages to his immediate boss, the officers of a hundred village, the officer of a hundred villages to the Governor of a hundred thousand villages. Thus the heads of each circle with their respective councils should post the higher authorities and councils in turn to the highest Chakravati raja and his assembly which rules over the whole world.
Regarding the views of Swami Dayananda, the administrative setup, every village has complete autonomy in its local administration and is internally free. It forms an organic part of the body-politic of the whole century. The first primary administrative and political unit of Swami Dayananda’s state is village with its council. That is the primary unit of his government machinery. Then several larger units like thana, tahsil and zila with the state above them all. The pyramid of the government with the broadest possible base. People themselves makes laws which by their own consent are binding on them. This means the surrendering of their individual will for the sake of common weal.

(iv) The concept of Ahimsa (Modifications):

Swami Dayananda was a mystic and a Sanyasin; he followed on the basis of the Manusmriti and moral authorities in the Vedas in political matters. He was not throughly adopted to the concepts of non-violence. He even sanctioned penalties to the criminals. Although Dayananda advocated the principle of due-violence and was never on principle attached to the concept of absolute non-violence, unlike M.K. Gandhi, nevertheless in his personal life he followed (adhered) to non-violence because he was a Sannyasin. In the vedic hymns, we prayed God for help in defeating those who violate law the Lord of justice. Many occasions he forgave wicked men who tried to injure him physically and so on. He said that the demonstration of supreme forgiveness that he pardoned the person who had administered to him fatal poison. Although Dayananda was a realist and hence he thought that no society or polity could be built on absolute adherence to the creed to the Ahimsa.

(v) Superiority of Divine Law:

Swami Dayananda was of a true national patriotism. He never contemplated the destruction of the state. He did not visualise a political system characterised by the absence of coercion. We find that he has regarded God as the feudal Lord (suzerainty). Swami had choice to be made obedience to the laws of God and laws of the political superiority and he would be categorical in his adherence to the former because he accepted the universal, Sovereignty of God and was non-dubious in his Supreme loyalty to it. He said “let all understand”.

We are the subjects to the Lord of the Universe—the King of Kings. He is the true king and we are all his humble servants. May we in this world through. His mercy be privileged to occupy kingly and other high offices and may the make us the means of advancing his eternal justice.

(vi) **Vedic Universalism**

Swami Dayananda believes in the literal revival of Vedicism in modern India. He was not based on geographical horizon of the country. He was proud of himself because he was born in Aryavarta and lived there. He did not believe in anybody bondage. We find traces of humanitarian universalism in his works.

He also established philanthropic association, the paropakarini Sabha. It has three fold duties to perform and propagation throughout India. Dayananda was a champion of the concept brotherhood. But his internationalism visualizes any idea in political federation of the state of the work. Dayananda felt the supreme urgency of the emancipation of the depressed and fallen sections of Indian Society, but he was intensely keen upon the spread of the pure faith of the *Vedas* in the world.

(vii) **Swadeshi Movement**

Swami Dayananda was the first forceful advocate of the Swadeshi movement. He laid great stress on it as a means for the reconstruction of India’s economy as also its Social and political unity. Swami Dayananda launched Swadeshi movement on 14 August, 1879 at Lahore, but Indian National Congress formally passed a resolution in the year 1908 for
boycotting British goods and using Indian Articles only. Dayananda had raised his voice in favour of Swadeshi. He was pained to see that the people of India took pride using articles of foreign manufacture and in wearing European dress and in copying western style of life. He appreciated the spirit of Patriotism of the British who even after living in this country for hundred years, did not give up their own type of dress and continued to love things of their own country. According to the Swami Dayananda the western (European) people devote their body, their soul and wealth to the well-being and progress of their nation, they allow into their officers and courts only European shoes and clothes and not Indian shoes and clothes. This one point is sufficient to show how patriotic they are, they respect their costumes and culture of their own country more than they respect the men proof other countries. These Europeans are living in this country for a little more than a hundred years, yet they think that forsaking the ways of their country is bad enough (Indians). Many of you have copied their ways. This shows that they are wise and you are foolish. They always help the trade of their country. These qualification and deeds have contributed to their advancement, Swami Dayananda Saraswati was a staunch supporter of Swadeshi and fully realized the economic implications of the use of foreign goods by Indians. He wanted to strengthen the economy of the country by advocating the cause of Swadeshi goods. By his example, by his writings and by his lectures he encouraged and preached the use of Indian made articles. The Maharaja of Jodhpur accepted his advice of using Swadeshi clothes. And some fifty years before the Swadeshi movement launched by Gandhiji, the whole of Jodhpur was clothed in Swadeshi clothes.

According to Swami Dayananda the term Swadeshi had Significance. It not only implied the use of Indian made articles but also the use of one Indian language, Arya Bhasa (Hindi) by all the countrymen.
The Philanthropic Association - The Paropakarini Sabha and its activities:

Besides Arya Samaj, Swami Dayananda also established a philanthropic association—the Paropakarini Sabha in 1880 at Meerut in Uttar Pradesh. In this association Swamiji was very closely related to Mr. Olcott, the Chairman of the theosophical society and the Arya Samaj. The twenty three trustees run the committee. They run the missions for teachings of Vedas in many places, i.e. Farukhabad, Mainpuri, Meerut, Muzaffarpur, Dehradun and Agra. They also went to Kashi, to Prayag for ‘Vedic-Yantralaya. There are three fold duties to perform (i) to send missionaries and to establish missions in all parts of the world for teachings the vedic Dharma to people and to preach that truth should be adhered to and untruth renounced (ii) to spread the knowledge contained in the Vedas and Vedangas (iii) to give protection and true education to the orphans and indigent inhabitants of India.

Swami felt the supreme urgency of the emancipation of the depressed and fallen sections of Indian Society, but he was also intensely keen upon the spread of the pure faith of the Vedas in the world. He was a great champion of the concept of world brotherhood. His internationalism did not visualize any idea of the political federation of the nation of the world. It was only the romantic internationalism of a preacher and prophet who dreamt of the dawn of a day when the entire world adhere to the teachings of the Vedas.

Implication of Dayananda teaching in Pol. Science:

The President :- According to Swami Dayananda whosoever, among the members of the assembly be the most excellent as regards qualification, character and temperament should be made the president of the state. He should be beloved of all, impartail and just consumer of the wicked and mightiest of the mighty.
The learned people should elect that man as their president who is impartial in every learned and courteous and friend of all and let the whole world be free from enemies.

In the democracy the people should see that their country is administered by a single person. No single individual should be allowed to be vested with power of government.

The president and other government officers should never act against the will of the people. The absolute monarch intoxicated with power ruins the subjects and eats them up. There should be no absolute and unrestricted power in a president.

In sovereignty of Parliament the president should do nothing without the approval of the members of parliament. None should override the decision of triumvirate, the body of ten or three respectively.

The parliament should be under president, the president under the parliament, the president and parliament both under people and the people under the president and the Parliament. There can be no rule without the ruled and no ruled without the ruler. All should be independent in their own sphere but inter-dependent in the matters of common interest.

The King:

Swami Dayananda has placed the Raja or the king should be pure in mind, right in conduct, keeping the company of the good, acting in perfect accordance with the laws of morality, and helped by the advice of the best persons, and who is wise; is able to strictly enforce law and does justice.
The king should be learned man considers him to be a judge, or proper person to inflict punishment, who is veracious, who acts after consideration, who is wise and who is a learned king-president in securing success in virtue, wealthy and pleasure.

The King who well administers justice, promotes the cause of religions, wealth and the enjoyment of life. But the king who sits on the judgement seat and who is voluptuous malicious mean, and low minded, is ruined by religious justice itself.

If the king is unrighteous the state will be ruined. The justice is very aweful and majestic. It can be upheld by the ignorant unrighteous, for he who is unassisted with the advice of sages, who is unlearned, untrained, sensuous, a block-head is never able to inflict punishment or enforce law with justice.

The view of the king will remain as the dispenser of justice and the governor of all; it is representative and surety of the duties of the four classes of the people and their four institutions (manu-vii. 17). He rules all the people and is the protector of all subjects. The law of retributive justice wakes where the people sleep. Hence wise men regard the law or punishment as virtue of religion. When the law is enforced with proper consideration it delights all the people; but when it is executed without consideration, it ruins the king from all sides.

They become unmindful of their duties. People enjoy peace and happiness where the genius of justice like a terrible person of black colour and red eyes stalks among the people to destroy crimes, and where the administrators of justice or inflictor of punishment is impartial and learned.
Appointment of the chief officers:

According to Swami Dayananda that the persons thoroughly verse in the Vedas and other scriptures, perfectly learned in their subjects, virtues, masters of senses polite in manners, should be appointed in the four officers of (1) The command of armies and authority over all the commandants of corps, (2) The head of the criminal and judicial affairs, (3) Supreme power over all and (4) royal authority; that is to say the commander-in-chief, chief administrator, chief justice, and king should be most learned in all departments of knowledge. (Manu XII, 100, 100-115).

Council:

Swami Dayananda has specified that a council cannot be constituted of those men who meet by thousands, who are destitute of the knowledge a of the Vedas, the training of the students, veracity and other virtues of unbiuousness and right thinking and who are Brahmin by birth but live like the Sudras.

The decision or judgement of the council of at least ten learned person, or in their absence of three learned persons, should not be transgressed and controverted by any one (Manu xii, 110).

The decision of the assembly constituted of three person versed in the Rig, Yajur and Sama- Vedas should not be transgressed by anyone. And even the decision of a point law by one clergymen or Sanyasi who knows all the Vedas is the foremost of all the regenerates, should be considered to be the best law; for the opinion formed by an assembly of million and trillions of ignorant men should not be accepted.
The member of the council should be learned in the four *Vedas*; logic, Nirukta or Vedic companion, law and other scriptures. It will be a properly constituted council when it contains no fewer than ten learned persons.

The ignorant people should not be taken into the above three councils, educational, spiritual, and judicial, or administrative; but on the contrary, they should ever be constituted of learned land righteous persons.

**Member of council or member of parliament:**

Dayananda’s views if a man distinctively qualified in all the branches of knowledge, a sanyasi of a very high calibre gives a ruling on a certain subject, it should be regarded as lawful and binding and the decision of millions of ignorant people should never be accepted. A mere collection of thousands of responsible, uneducated and ignorant masses cannot be called an assembly. Therefore, the membership should be open only to learned and meritorious persons, (Manu vii 43). With a firm resolution, he should carefully shun the ten evils arising from the love of pleasure and eight vices springing from anger, from whose snares it is hard for a man to get out. He should also help others out of them.

**Members’ Qualification:**

In his estimate, a man well-versed in all branches of knowledge a Sanyasi of a very high order gives his ruling, on a certain subject it is regarded as lawful. The decision of the millions of ignorant people need not be accepted. The meeting of thousands of uneducated and ignorant masses is not an assembly in the true sense. The membership of Parliament or Assembly must be open to the learned and meritorious persons.
Distribution of Portfolios:

Everybody should be entrusted to the work for which he is competent.

Comment:

The idea that "the will of the people is the will of God is not at all a western concept. It has come down from the ancient vedic times in the forms of mantras and prayers. Essential qualities for membership are sharp intelligence, excellent character, proficiency in expression. Eloquent expression enables them to get a seat in the assembly.

The duties of a Sabha/legislator are (to the Mandala of the *Rig Veda*). To keep welfare of the people, to discuss this problem in detail and to arrive at conclusion. This should become the motto of the united nations.

From the vedic Sukta it is clear that every community, class must be loyal to the new king at the time of his accession to the throne. There are positive evidences to prove that along with the monarchical form, there was also the republican the two forms giving together in the India of the past.

The Inter-relation between People, Ruler and Assemblies:

Swami Dayananda thinks that the ruler or king presides over and supervises the work of the assembly. It is the assembly and not the ruler of king that legislates and executes the laws. The king is just the president and nothing more. He is elected by people directly or through their assemblies. In the words of Manu, king is mere Pratibha or trustee of dharma. In reality, the governmental authority has its roots in the people. It may also be mentioned here that Swami Dayananda considered king only one part of the machinery of government, that is why he has used such expressions as Rajadi Rajapurush and Rajadi Pradhana Purush (Rq.3.32.17) which mean state officials beginning with raja. According to Dayananda raja is one of the State Officials and he is not the sole sovereign.
There is no doubt that Dayananda believed the ruler to be a trustee of political authority vested in him. This concept of kingship as a trust is also found in number on works of ancient Indian Polity. That is why the king was particularly enjoined to regard his own happiness as indissolubly connected with that of his subjects (Arthava-1,19). He was also enjoined to note that the treasury was not his private or personal property. It was held by him as a public trust and was to be utilized for public purposes alone. If a king misappropriated public founds and diverted them to his personal use, he would be guilty of sin and be condemned to hell.

Sabha and Samiti were the two assemblies during the vedic age that functioned as constitutional checks on the Raja. A raja of the vedic times could hardly maintain his position and authority if Sabha and Samiti were not in agreement with him. In the state of Dayananda assemblies occupied the same position that they did in the vedic age. He was fascinated by the idea of Sabhas and Samitis working as powerful checks on the ruler. But while following his vedic traditions, he has gone a step further and his entrusted entire administration of the state in the hands of assemblies and councils and has reduced the position of the raja to a mere president of the assembly who is not to do anything of his own accord without the approval of their bodies representing the will of the people.

Evils of society i.e., the king or his ministers who indulge in the tens evils born of the love of pleasure loses virtue and wealth that is rule, riches and other resources. He who indulges in the eight evils arising from hot temper loses even his body.

The ten evils arising from the love of pleasure are (1) hunting or sport; (2) gambling chowper (drafts) and the like plays (3) Sleeping by day, (4) listening to love talks, scandals or talking ill of others; (5) Excess with women (6) the uses of intoxicants-wine, opium, bhang or hemp leaf, drink ganja or hemp leaf smoking, opium smoking, and the like stimulants; (7) singing (8) playing on musical instruments (9) dancing or witnessing dance, attending balls and (10) useless strolling to and fro.
The eight evils occurred from wrath or hot temper are (1) back biting (2) adultery or rape i.e., outraging anybody’s wife with force, (3) malice or hatred, (4) jealousy that is not to bear to see other’s prosperity, (5) fault finding-to show good qualities as faults and faults as good qualities, (6) squandering that is to waste money and other valuables in unrighteous work (7) to speak harshly and (8) to punish people without faults severely or call them names. (Manu-VII-52).

The king or countries should carefully relinquish avarice which in the opinion of the learned the root of evils that befalls a man and that are produced from love of pleasure and outburst of hot temper.

The great evils among the vices occurred from love of pleasure are - (1) alchoholism or the use of intoxicants, (2) gambling or playing with dice, (3) keeping too much company of women, (4) hunting. These form are the most wicked evils habits?

On the other hand, Swami Dayananda explained the evils causing the love of pleasure and hot temper. Three are great evils causing great pain, namely, (1) to punish people without faults, (2) to use harsh language and (3) to spend money illegally.

The rule in this case is that it is better to die than to indulge in vicious habits. If a vicious person dives long, he will commit more sins and going to deeper depths of misery, suffer more pain. But if a person not addicted to any evil habit dies, he will have enjoyed pleasure.

Therefore, the king in special and the people in general should not be addicted to hunting, drinking, and other vicious habits, but on the contrary, leaving vicious and sensuous pleasures and attaining righteous merits, disposition and methods of work, they should do good works.
Ministers:

In Swami Dayananda Saraswati’s opinion the ministers or ministers of council must be indigenous national of the country, fearless experts, of unerring aims, of respectable families and well tried.

He discussed that the kings should appoint seven or eight ministers he should appoint other ministers, upright, prudent, of decisive character, of great resources, very able to secure the required objects and well tried by experience. But they are born in his territory and country, and good knowledge and truthful and skilful. On the other hand, he should know the Vedas and other scriptures, brave and courageous of purpose never to be frustrated of good family, well educated, eminent and virtuous.

For without special assistance even an easy act is hard to be performed by a single man. Such being cases, how can the great work of government to be done by individual person.

Co-operation between the ruler and the minister: - The ruler must consult the ministers before taking any important administrative measure. Consultation with the ministers must be secret. After having pleasingly disposed of the inter view-seekers, the Raja should hold consultation with the Prime Minister in a very secret places for not disturbance.

The ruler and the ministers must work harmoniously. Where the ruler keeps the ministers pleased and gives them appropriate departments and where the ministers please the ruler by accepting there, their harmony gives them strength enough to destroy the enemies. The ministers must obey and serve the ruler humbly.
Therefore, it is a very bad plan to make one person king and to entrust the affairs of government to the discretion of a single individual (Manu VII-54,55). And he engaged in service as many officers and men, active, powerful, very igneous and choicest, as are required for the efficient performance of state functions.

Subjects of Deliberation:

Swami Dayananda emphasises that the president or king should daily consult expert learned ministers on government affairs. Such as (1) peace to be made with some one, (2) war (3) the establishment of order- to utilise the peaceful time for the defence of the country. (4) prosperity- to attack an evil enemy in organisation of army. (5) to establish order in acquired provinces and make them free from disturbance and danger, such duties should ever engage his serious thoughts.

The President should take carefully the opinion and grounds there of councilors of an state affair, first separately and then collectively and decided on a measure according to the votes of majority for the benefit of himself and others. (Manu- VII-57).

Foreign and Home Policies:

Swami Dayananda was a political philosopher. He was not a political leader. The sixth chapter of his Satyarth Prakash Serves of political philosophy. But he knows draw- backs of democracy. He pointed out for Foreign policy- The President or the King appoints that person as his ambassador or diplomat who comes from a distinguished family, is of righteous intents and purpose and of good conduct, virtuous at heart able to foreshadow the course of great events to come, thoroughly familiar with all scriptures and expert in his work of diplomacy.
The ambassador should be very zealous in the discharge of
government work, love his work, be sincere, pure at heart, dexterous in
work, of retentive memory, not forgetting thing of long part, acting in
accordance with the requirements of the countries and times handsome
interpret and eloquent (Manu-VII-46 to 62).

About home he declares appointment of the Home Minister who should
be brave, bold, strong, virtuous, men of good family, at the post of
important work; devoted his work, very ablest at administration, expert to
solve any problem, known to any internal affairs of the home department
and to govern the states peacefully and harmoniously.

Diplomacy:

While giving his views on diplomacy, war and international relations,
Dayananda has generally followed Manusmriti and has quoted it
extensively. He recognised the fact that states are sovereign and their
relations with neighbouring and other states are very important for the
existence and welfare. And further giving this view that, it is very essential,
therefore, that the president should constantly consult his ministerial staff
on the following six points. (1) with whom to be in peace. (2) with whom to
be in opposition. (3) with whom to be neutral, while protecting his own
country, foreign attack and waiting for an opportunity. (4) to attack the
wicked enemy when he finds himself strong enough. (5) to preserve vital
resources e.g. the army, the state treasury, etc.; (6) to restore peace and
order in the subjugate countries.

Official Responsibilities:

Swami Dayananda explained that the responsibility or duties of the
Prime Minister- he should see that the justice is upheld in the infliction of
punishment, and that no unjust punishment is inflicted. All governments
treasury and executive works should be under him and the state council
should regulate all works. He should vest to ambassador or foreign
minister for power making, peace or alliance with any country or declaring
war. They should create union, in disunion and divide and disunite among
enemies.
The president, all ministers or councillors, the ambassador and other minister should ascertain the designs of the hostile king and his people, and take such measures carefully as to run into no risk or bring on trouble upon their country.

He should fix his residence in the country picturesque and enriched with forest, wealth and grain; in the middle of which he should make a series of fortification manned with arches, built of earth, surrounded with a ditch of water and forest on all sides, garrisoned with the army all round, and protected by mountains around. In their centre he should make his town, which should be surrounded by a rampart.

And they should be plentifully supplied with weapons and missiles, money, and provisions, conveyances, etc. and learned Brahmins also teach and preach machines of various kinds of appliances.

Revenue:

According to Swami Dayananda the king should receive his annual tribute through virtuous collector of revenue; and the president- king and other chief officers and the whole council should all act in conformity with the precept of the Vedas.

He further says that; they should appoint various inspecting officers of the government work. Their duties were to see that all the employees of the government services in different offices worked and discharged their duties in accordance with the rules and regulations of the states. And they will honour them if they work properly and conscientiously and punish them justly if they act in opposition to orders.
They spread the light of the *Vedas* at all times; it is treasure of kinds. The king and council should have regard him who comes from the Gurukul (University) after having finished study of the *Vedas* and other languages during the studentship. The learned scholars should be properly honoured.

Again he (Swami Dayananda) mentions that, they will promote the cause of knowledge in his kingdom and contribute for welfare of the people. Whenever a king devotes to the protection of the people and is challenged to fight by another person, equal interior or superior to him; he calling to his mind the duties of the warrior class, should never desist from joining in battle him and should fight with great skill so as to obtain a victory. (Manu-VII 80-82).

The king who fights in battle with all their might, without from and turning their back, with the view to kill the enemy, obtains happiness. They should not reside from combat. However, to vanquish the enemy, it is right to conceal one’s self from him, for, one should make such manoeuvre and adopt such means as to defeat him.

*Laws of Chivalry*:

Swami Dayananda Saraswati-classified the Laws of chivalry in this manner - (1) warriors, keeping before their mind the laws of chivalry or the rules of virtuous men, should not strike in battle such a person as stands here and there, as is cowardly, as joins the palms in submission, as has the hair loosened, as sits, as says ‘I am the refugee’, (2) as sleeps, as is Swooned, as is naked, as if without arms, as is a spectator of fight, as is a companion of the enemy (3) as smarting under the pain of wounds, as is miserable as is extremely wounded; as is timid or terrified, as run away.
Like such persons they should be taken prisoners, and put them in a jail. They should be properly supplied with food and cloths. If they wounded they should be provided medicines and treatment. They should be kept for fit and healthy. They should not hurt others like, women, children, the old, the sick or otherwise afflicted and their children should be maintained like one’s own. Their woman should also be maintained and regarded as one’s sisters and daughters whom never to look at with eye of lust. When they are well established, those persons not suspected to take up arms again, should be honourably set at liberty and sent to their respective homes or countries. But those who are thought to cause disturbance of peace, should be always kept in confinement.

The share of the slain in battle should be given to their wives and children. Their widowed wives and destitute children should be maintained at the expense of the state. When the children became to attain maturity they should be provided with employment according to their fitness. He who loves prosperity, honour, success, felicity and progress of his kingdom, should never break the rulers of war.

Duties of Rulers:

At numerous places, Swami Dayananda holds that the people are to choose and accept the rules. The King and the state council should aspire (1) to get what is not possessed, (2) to preserve with care what is acquired, (3) to augment the acquisition, (4) to apply the increase of wealth to the promotion of knowledge and religion, to give it to students and Preachers of the vedic path, and to support the helpless orphans and destitute therewith. (Manu VII 99). He described that the aspiration of military class should be four fold in the war.
The king should strive to gain by punishment what is not obtained to preserve that is obtained by constant inspection, to augment what is preserved by interest and other legal modes of increase, and spend the increase of wealth always in the way. Dayananda's views were the king should never treat anybody with guide, but should act with sincerity in his dealings with all and beings ever on his guard, detect the fraud of others to avert his danger there form.

He should not able to open his weakness or vulnerable points; to the enemy. He should conceal his parts attachable by the foe as the tortoise hides its limbs from danger.

Policy:

He further discussed the policy where the president or king desirous of success reduces to subjection all fellows, robbers, thieves in the country by four stages (1) amnesty, (2) presents, (3) division and if there means fail to secure their submission let them be brought under subjection by 4 force of arms.

The king who thoughtlessly weakens his people from fondness for pleasure is soon ruined before his death with his relatives and deprived of his kingdom. And the king should destroy robbers and thieves and protect the kingdom.

The Ideal Ruler:

The chief executive Raja and Sabhadhyaksha is to be chosen by the learned, who are members of three state assemblies. He is to be chosen by them from among themselves viz, who himself is a member or the three assemblies. The person to be chosen is to be highly qualified and admitted by one who is most excellent in qualities, deeds and temperament. How the members of the assemblies are appointed is not clear in the works of Dayananda, but there is no doubt that the ruler or raja (king) is to be chosen and his electors are the members of the three assemblies.
Dayananda has given much emphasis on Education and training of the persons who are to be Sabasads (members) and who have to choose the ruler (Raja). The elected ruler himself should be thoroughly educated and trained and should had a disciplined life. Kautilya prescribed through training to his prince of rajarshi, but Kautilya’s prince of ruler was not chosen or elected as Swami Dayananda says. It is true that Dayananda also considers or desirable that the ruler should belong to a noble or Kshatriya family. But it should be forgotten that the status of a person or family, according to Dayananda it is to be determined on the basis of merits, deeds and temperament and not on birth. It is but natural that children inherit the qualities of their parents. So, it can be expected that a person found to be deserving to hold the highest post in the state may belong to a noble Kshatriya family that had acquired this status on the basis of merits alone. Dayananda could not think of a chief executive in the state to be hereditary. This Raja or Sabhadhyaksha is chosen by the learned with the consent of the people.

Swami Dayananda View Regarding Women Administrators:

Swami Dayananda expressed in *Yajur Veda Bhashya XIII*. 17 where he pointed the officers of the state should deploy their wives also in performance of those functions of the state which are entrusted to them. The main officers should dispense justice among the women. In war the Rani (Queen) should do the functions as commander-in-chief in absence of the warriors to fight valiantly. Further he mentioned, all man the valiant warriors should always honour the Rani (Ruler) who has through knowledge of military science and is an expert in the use of arms (Rg6, 75, 15). But this does not imply that the women should perform the duties of the office of their husbands even if they do not have the requisite ability. Again he mentioned that the women belonging to the ruling class (raja kula) is fit to rule who possesses qualities like patience as the mother earth. If raja is educated in the rajaniti i.e. science of Government, similarly his wife (rani) should also be trained in Rajaniti.
Those women alone are fit to be rani who through observation of
celibacy acquire knowledge and skills of various types and who can
harness the forces of nature to advantage.

**Administration or Management:**

The king or officer should make a government office in midst of two,
three, five and a hundred villages, to place into it officers, required,
property qualified to carry on the government affairs.

To conduct the state affairs efficiently, a government office should
be made in two, three, five or hundred villages. The officer incharge of one
village is to report to the officer of ten villages, the latter to that of twenty
villages and so forth. The office of ten thousand villages is to report on his
province to state council, who are responsible to the universal Sovereign
Assembly.

Two presidents of each ten thousand villages should be appointed
that one of them should be superintendent of the house department,
consisting of the judiciary and other executive branches and the other should
vigilantly make tours and to inspect the work of government servants.

They should check whether it will be going smoothly or not-large towns
have a beautiful, high and spacious building, brilliant as the moon for
deliberative body, where learned persons, who have had all kinds of
experience in knowledge should sit to consider those measures which
promote the interests of the ruler and the ruled, and to investigate the laws
and principles of knowledge.
Emissaries of foreign countries and detectives should be placed under the chief inspecting officer. The king should secretly learn the merits and demerits, of all the subjects in the kingdom by means of the detective police constituted of different castes. Delinquents should be punished and persons of merits be honoured-Manu. VII 114-122

Peace Officers (Administration):

Regarding peace, the king should appoint such persons, for protection of the people should be virtuous, well trained, learned and of good family and rogues, thieves, robbers and other peace breakers may be severe from their nefarious work by engaging them in the government service and placing them under the above officers, thus turning those evil men into guardian of peace to protect the people. If a government servant takes bribe from plaintiffs and defendants to do injustice and partiality and defeats the end of law, the king should forfeite (confiscate) all his property, give him condign punishment, and expel him to such a country as never to come back. It he is not punishment, his evil example will induce others to take to corruption. But the dead punishment will save them from evil practice.

The government servants should receive so much land or money from the government monthly, annually, from time to time, or once for all so as to maintain them respectively for to enable them to acquire affluence. If they are old, should also receive the money of their previous allowance. It should be borne in mind that their sustenance allowance last as long as they live, but not after their death. Their children should receive due consideration and be provided according to their worth. Their minors and widows should also receive allowance for maintenance from the government according to the merit and in proportion so the length of their service. If they turn wicked, they should forfeit.
Taxation:

The highest duty of kings is protection of the people. The king who receives tributes as laid down in the 7th chapter of Manu’s code or as fixed by the governing assembly, acquires merit and enjoys happiness but suffers pain by acting in contravention.

The king or state council imposing tax upon the people in the kingdom should take it into consideration that the officers and other government servants as well as subjects enjoy the blessings of ease and comfort.

If coin be taken for tax, care should be taken that the people do not suffer from want of food. In short, the amount of taxes should be as small as possible, such as the milk sucked by the calf of a cow or the blood by a leech. Taxes are also levied on roads and voyages.

Military Tactics:

Swami Dayananda divided military tactics into peace, war, attack defence, manoeuvres and alliance. Each is sub-divided into two kinds. For instance peace with the enemy or with another for his resistance, the division of army into wings or corps company. In war the laws of chivalry should be enforced such as not to strike by standard in a fight, wounded soldiers, sleepers, refugees and company. The vanquished enemy should be honoured in the court and if advisable, reinstated in his dominions, which in case of his death should be well treated with regard to food and medicine and dismissed on the conclusion of peace (Manu-VII.160-176).

Invasion of war:

He emphasises that when a king marches against his enemy, he should properly arrange for the protection of his own dominions; take his army, carriages, transport beasts, weapons, missiles and other arms in complete order; and set spies and scouts secretly to bring him information of the hostile country which he proceeds to invade. Securing for the routes, namely by land, by water-seas or rivers, by sky, he should take his chariots, cavalry and others in land; cross water by boats and ships on other, go by sky by balloons and other conveyances.
He should be on his guard in his conversation with the persons in the secret service of the enemy, and the apparent friendship with him, secretly informing the enemy, of his plans; the person who is an enemy at heart, but a friend in appearance, should be regarded as a great enemy.

And he should train all government servants in the military art, learn it himself and teach it to his other subjects viz, these how to fight well and direct others to fight.

**Defence of the country:**

Swami Dayananda considered war an unavoidable necessity for the state. In his commentary on the *Vedas*, he has given expression to his views on war and army which deserve detailed treatment.

According to Dayananda the raja should not shirk from making war. Making war on his enemy is a normal function of the ruler. His giving views are that the Raja should make all necessary preparations for the victory in war. To conquering enemies in the battle for sake of his people, he should make the righteous fearless and inspire awe and fear in the hearts of the wicked, without controlling or winning victory the king cannot rule the people and cannot make them happy (*Yajur-VII.53*).

When the king finds his forces jubilant, strong and ready for action, and the army of the enemy weak and unready he should proceed to engage with him. When reduced in strength and transport, he should carefully and gradually pacify enemy and stay at home. When the king considers the enemy to be very powerful, he should double his forces or divide them into two corps to achieve his end.

When he knows that the enemies will soon invade him, he should at once, seek alliance with some virtuous and powerful monarch.
If he detects faults in the actions of his ally, he should unhesitatingly and bravely engage in fighting with him. He should not be hostile to a virtuous king; but on the contrary he should be ever on good terms with him. The aforesaid plans are to be adopted to vanquish a wicked powerful king.

The warriors who are eager to kill each other and give the bravest possible fight into the battlefield and never turn their backs, get happiness. But sometimes, it is also desirable to effect a strategic withdrawal in order to gain victory. The battle has to be won any how. It is not proper to foolishly ruin oneself like a lion who is anger rushes directly into the mouth of firearms and perishes.

The king, specially the sovereign president, should try as to keep the ally, neutral power and enemy under power, and should not allow them out of his negligence, to act contrary to his interest. They will follow political wisdom or government policy.

League of nations- There should be an all round assembly where head of states should sit together for discussing matters of the world.

Peace of God- The people being the subjects of God are his humble servants. They should pray to God to give them the power of administration and they should be instrumental in propagating God's law.

**Judiciary:**

Swami Dayananda discussed that judiciary were under as follows- The judiciary procedure, (Manu.VII-3-19) consists in deciding 18 kinds of disputes, viz debt, deposits, sale, partnerships, wages, gifts, agreements, transgression, adultery, inheritance and gambling. That court is dead where
justice is killed by inquiry. Cases should be argued by pleaders and barristers before judges on the evidence of witness, (Manu-VIII 68-91) who should be of unimpeachable character. Evidence given from covetousness, madness, terror, friendship, lust, ignorance, resentment and childishness, is invalid. Fine is imposed according to the circumstances of the criminal, that a king is fined a thousand times than an ordinary man. Punishment should be inflicted on the genitals, belly, tongue, hands, legs, eyes, nose, ears, body and property. It should not be spared from the respect of persons such as Brahmins, relations, the father, preceptor and company, when found guilty. Adultery is punished with death, a woman to be torn in pieces by dogs and man to be burnt to ashes on a hot iron bed. The extreme severity of punishment presents the commission of crimes. To tell truth, not iota of this severe, punishment will fall to the lot of any. If light punishment be inflicted, crime will increase mostly. Being meted to all the people, it is heavier and so severe, and that one manner of punishment is small and mild.

The king should daily inspect offices, army and Treasury, so that all goes on well to promote the happiness of the people.

This sentences of the prevalent with the ancient Aryans system of government is in consequence of the former being taken from Manu the great law-giver of Indian antiquity.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

2. Supra Section-A in connection with Ethics also his life sketch at the latter period.
3. Dr. V.P. Verma, Modern Indian political thought, pp 50-51.
4. Santa Malhotra, Political Thought of Swami Dayananda, pp 41-60.
5. Durga Prasad (tr) op. cit, chapter VI and Viswanath Vidhyalankar, Saral Satyartha Prakash, chapter, 6th chapter (Hindi); The Republican Ideal of Ancient India by H.H Tr. Param charya of Kanchi in Bhavan's journal August, 1983 may be discussed.
7. His teaching has a great relevance for our time.
8. See foot note 5.
10. See foot note 5, pp. 147-48.
11. See foot notes 5.
12. There are good points in Swami Dayananda's view in the modern context.
13. He established his views on the basis of Yajurveda and Manu.