

MARXVAD AUR RAMRAJYA.
CONTESTATION, CONVERGENCE AND MICRO-PHENOMENA OF
GOVERNANCE OF POLITY AND ECONOMICS

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Abstract. Karpatriji, who authored *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*, adheres to the ancient Indian political philosophy tradition. It includes governance as an annealed part of the *troika*, philosophy, politics, and economics. Genesis of *Hindu* political philosophy owes to *Kautilya* and *Shukracharya* to show the Indian integration of the milieu of the three disciplines in unison, *i.e. Neeti-shastra*. *Chanakya*, also known as *Kautilya*, offers a doctrine of the *mandala*, known as spheres of influence, in foreign policy; *mandala* philosophy finds resonance and tacit presence in the book *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya* amongst discussed subject matter. Karpatriji illustrated the embeddedness of *dharmic* phenomena¹ in the governance framework of *Ramrajya* and presents a thesis on *Dharmic* perspectives in the post-modern world. The book is a magnum opus on a comparative view of Marxism and *Dharmic* proposition on governance, having veracity of themes and topics discussed in the work. It details Marxism not as a standalone *Vad* or alternative view on social theory, but instead depicts Marxism founded on a well-developed foundation of Western philosophy, classical Greek philosophy, and Western political thoughts of his time.

Vad can remain a theory in the *Dharmic* tradition until subject to rigorous testing and validating outcomes through distinct stages of showing a *Siddhanta* or - a doctrine. In *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*², Karpatriji begins with a background of the idea. The author then shows the principal argument of the opponent, called *Purvapaksa*; later dismantling the proposition through logic, using established notions and new notions, to support or add to the established concepts, and eventually instituting the *Siddhanta*, the alternative view accepted by the *Purvapaksin*. The work reinforces the method of *Purvapaksa* and offers a detailed exhibition of the development processes of an argument within *Siddhanta*. The contestation and convergence of *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya* happened so distantly. *Ramrajya* says that just governance must fulfill the micro-phenomena of ethics and

virtues; *Sukracharya* explains in *Neetisaar* that *Ram* the epitome of ethics, intrinsic worth, and integrity like no other king in the past nor would bear in the future.

Ram told *Laxman*, “A king must not exhibit any atrocity on its citizens, thinking about personal selfish happiness of prosperity; else the victims may destroy the unruly king and his kingdom”. It finds a subtle micro-resonance with the collective virtue of the labour class in the Marxist philosophy of uniting and raising the voice against capitalist injustice and exploitation.

This paper aims to examine the following from *Karpatriji's* work *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*. It also includes a political philosophy analysis in European and Indian contexts -

- *Purvapaksa* doctrine, a methodological tool relevant in the post-modern world;
- A brief comparative epistemological analysis of *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*.
- Micro phenomena of governance in contestation and convergence of *Ramrajya*, Marxist-Economics, and the philosophy of Karl Marx.

Keywords: (post)modernity, political philosophy, Economy, Europe, India

INTRODUCTION

Marxvad Aur Ramrajya is a treatise on *Hindu* political philosophy which also integrates ancient *Sanskrit* literature (Macdonell 2016) and vernacular texts - *Ramcharit Manas* (Vedalankar 2017). *Marxvad aur Ramrajya* - first published in 1956, in the era of Marxist ideology - made waves all over in response to an age when, in post-independent India, Marxist economics shaped the discourse and policy implementation. *Karpatriji* also looked at Western ideas thoughts and philosophers, especially the European Enlightenment era (1680 -the 1780s). An era of a scientific surge and rationality in Europe led to a belief in the ability of humans to challenge and reject traditionalism, obscurantism, and the authority of the church in socio-political life. *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya* offers a valid argument in favour of *Marxvad*, a coherent socialist European theory; shows that the work of Marx is of genuine pedigree, innovative, seminal, and

academic prowess in the field of political philosophy and history of Europe. Karpatriji analyses what *Marxvād* must visualize in the history of ancient Western philosophy (Masih 2017), the Darwinian theory of evolution, and post-Newtonian Europe. E.H. Carr states that Marx 'imposed himself on history, with all the sheer force of a unique and dominant idea' (Claeys 2018, 243).

Marxism integrated with Confucianism, socialism, and later capitalism in a totalitarian China yielded positive economic indicators³, alienated abject poverty, and uplifted middle-class people. Whereas in the rest of the world, the Marxist economic model is dwindling thick and fast. The question arises of the circumstances and the degree to which Marxism works. Marxism works only in a particular timeline of a nation⁴ or society. Marxists may argue that they implemented Marxism in letter and its spirit within these nations. Marxist scholars have addressed such challenges, especially for new readers of contemporary capitalism (Athreya et al. 2011). The Marxist economic model has, thus, these two polarities in the post-modern world; like any other profound ideology, Marxism needs specific conducive and critical ground to affect in practice, such as the form of governance. Democracy has quite different representations and institutions within the developing, developed, and underdeveloped nations, from Eastern Europe to Western Europe and Nordic and Scandinavian countries to the Americas to Africa. It is not a uniform model right from the type of democratic institutions, and their functioning to the fundamental notion of their respective democratic functioning, viz, presidential form to parliamentary and quasi-monarchic democratic profiles. Marxism, the dominant idea, lacked a micro response to the hyperlocal civilizational milieu of India. Micro phenomena of the Indian system of *Purusbartha*; *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama*, and *Moksha*, find *Marxvād* contrasting in the light of *Hindu* political philosophy and its post-modern avatar of Karpatriji's *Ramrajya*.

CONVERSING THE CONTRAST

It is so ironic that the significant portions of the manuscript of the book *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya* were authored in jail, as do Marxist literature, either in jail or in dire situations and in hostile conditions. Marxist history and Marxist works of literature written in Europe and in the USSR inside prisons. While living in an inhuman and anti-human environment, Maxim Gorki's 'Mother' is a classic example of the era. Indian thinkers like Bhagat Singh, Gandhi, Savarkar, Nehru, and others have found the seclusion of their stays in jail to profound creativity and joy of writing. A scientific discovery like Newton's was published around the unfortunate plague tragedy in the UK; Einstein and other scientists of the Nazi regime also found shelter in other parts of Europe and the USA and contributed to science. It continues astonishingly and it would be proper to mention that German scientists produced seminal work before World War II and won Nobel prizes. Marx also did not find solace from his plagued life until he died in 1883, from his trying years in European countries before reaching Paris and eventually settling in the United Kingdom. Marx remained besieged financially and socially until his death. Karpatriji compiled the work while coming in and out of jail and remained discreet. The result is a journey of a saint, author, and utmost revolutionary passion for putting forward the *Purvapaksa* to assemble his *Uttarapaksa* of governance, i.e., *Ramrajya*. The analyses compellingly remind the confrontation between Marx and Hegel. The manuscript can be partially inconsistent due to Karpatriji's frequent arrest and release and other social commitments, like organisation building and speaking engagements. He also founded *Ramrajya Parishad*, a political outfit, in response to the upheaval of Marxism in the socio-political and economic landscape of post-independent India.

The paper does not aim to analyse *Marxvad* based on anti-theistic political philosophy, but instead on the governance of polity and economics and the foundational philosophy behind *Marxvad*.

MICRO PHENOMENA IN HINDU POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Veda is one large corpus. the *Vedic scholar Veda Vyasa*, for better understanding, classified it into four *Veda*⁵ and further sub-divided it into *Sambhitas*, *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas*, and *Upanishads* to promote learning (Wilson 2021). *Bhartiya Darsan* has begun out of one source, i.e., *Veda*. Chronologies of *Veda* and *Sanskrit* texts are always a matter of ongoing research. However, governance and the roles and accounts of the micro-phenomena are apportioned in texts: e.g., *Krishna* deals with individual duty, *Dharma* in politics, and *Gita in warfare*. The epics of *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, and other *Sanskrit* texts, *Panchatantra*, *Dashakumarcharitra*, and *Dhanurveda*, are especially rich in the subject matter of politics. *Yukti-Kalpa-Taru*, by King *Bhoja*, also gives an account of the micro-level phenomena in a royal court.

The two political philosophies in *Sanskrit* texts, *Arthashastra* of *Chanakya* and *Shukra-neeti*, or *Neetisaar* of *Sukracharya*, deal with the following macro-level phenomena: duties of princes, functions of the crown prince and other state-officials, characteristics of friends and allies. *Neeti-shastra* offers the art of understanding micro-level phenomena as a study of applied psychology in political science. Theoretical knowledge and perspective of the micro-phenomena of Indian political philosophy may offer deliberations in times of crisis. Politics in Aristotelian logic may have an equivalence to "*Neeti*" and "*Shastra*" in the Indian context. It forms ethics, morality, and science of politics at every level, i.e., Macro, Meso, and Micro levels of political functioning and statecraft. The Indian political philosophy derived from *Vedic* and *Upanishadic* wisdom and adapted to the changing times. The micro-level phenomena are indebted to the more extensive spiritual pursuit of self-realization, the non-embodied self. It has utmost importance in India's philosophical systems; individual rights and duties, called *Dharma*, are offered as a solution for decision-making in times of crisis and challenges. The individual is at the centre of ancient Indian deliberations, whether aims for social, political, economic, or the goal of spiritual knowledge. The individual-level perspective of Indian political

philosophy may offer habituated roles and the idea of individual freedom. It helps us move away from the silos of notions of just personal freedom instead of accepting the rights and duties and individual freedom, an all-inclusive solution in the post-modern world.

Karl Marx was the integrator of the social-political and non-religious philosophy in Europe. Political science scholars may disagree that Marx has anything to do with religion; we must not forget that disputing religious beliefs offered a churning in Europe. Religious reforms surfaced in this context in continental Europe and later in the United Kingdom. *Marxvad* delves into various macro phenomena like union and socialism of materialistic well-being in a Marxist welfare state but lacks a leader's micro attributes; whereas *Ramrajya* offers details and thematic representation of the leader, who would voice and execute the governance and policy in a welfare state (Valmiki 2014).

The Marxist welfare state and Karpatriji's *Ramrajya* model [\[vi\]](#) have contrasting welfare state ideals, not discussed here in detail as the paper is restricted to the micro-phenomena.

PURVAPAKSA DOCTRINE

The *Purvapaksa* doctrine can have different notions of *Adhikarna*; for this paper, the etymology and purport of the word “*adhikarana, adhikaraṇa, ādhikaraṇa*”, in *Purvapaksa*, is understood in the *Mimamsa* school of philosophy. *Adhikarana* is a five-fold exegesis of biblical interpretational context⁶. *Purvapaksa* enumeration begins with *Visaya-Vakya*, with a noting of the scriptural subject matter under discussion; the second fold *Samsaya* - devising the raised doubt into a structure, making sense of *visaya-vakya* and emanating the specious interpretation of the opponent. This forms the foundation for the next fold, *Purvapaksa*, which is to exhibit the *elenchus* of the opposing school. The refutation of the former position and demonstration of reasoned elucidation of interpretation finally manifests as the

alternative view and meteorically into a *Siddhanta*, called the *Uttarapaksa*. The couched attribute of *Purvapaksa* doctrine results in the final fold, *Nirnaya*, a culmination of the process, argument of the conclusion reached and accepted by both the *Paksha*.

PROFIT INTENT, PROFIT-MAKING AND PROFITEERING IN POLITY

A scholar of *Vedic* canon, G.C Pandey suggests that the *Vedic* view is not confined only to socio-economic centrality. Rather than a *Samskaric*-based system (Pandey 2019,231), economics and socialism emerged out of the *Samskaric* attributes of *Purusba*. *Purushsukta* of *Rigveda* emphasises the subject matter, *i.e.*, *Purusa*, the combined consciousness of *Isvara* and Humans (Sinha 1999): the evolution of the *Hindu* political philosophy of *Vedic* centrality of *Samskaric* notion into a *Neeti* combined *Hindu*, *Dharma-Sutras* and *Dharma-shastras* (Hiltebeitel 2011), *Smriti-shastras*, *Arthashastra* and *Neeti-shastras* (Sarkar 1918, 489). *Vedic* corpus states that the fair price of the raw material may well be in accordance and checked for an unaccounted increase in the business owner's wealth. The wage agreement alludes to after consultation between the worker and the owner - *mulyen yab karma karoti sa britakah* [*Marx. Aur Ram.*, pp 453 ,Yag. Smriti, Mita. Vya. 183].

Marx put forth the diminishing contours of profit and profiteering and claimed that intrinsically capitalists would exploit labor due to profiteering. The causal effect of profiteering and exploitation and strange entanglement between workers and owners. Profit intent is inherently embedded in a private entity; unlike government-run institutions, the government can print and regulate currency, and its default nature would remain in the social welfare of the people. *Marxvad* hardly finds any coherence between the 'welfare state' and the government's aim to stay focused on the 'welfare of the citizens'. '*Kalyankarirajya*' of Karpatriji, contrasts with the Marxist economic order. Karpatriji advocates for the *shastra-dharma* - audited governance which includes citizens' participation,

cooperation, and interest in day-to-day governance. *Ramrajya*, a synthesis of ideas on polity, economy, and philosophy (suggested in *Sanskrit* texts: *Manusmriti*, *Arthashastra*, *Naradsmriti*, *Brihaspatismriti*, *Gunaratnamkatyansmriti*, *Padmapuran*, *Sukraneetisaar* and *Yagyavalkyasmriti*).

Karpatriji reasoned for our limitation of senses for the principle of reality. In the book, he mentions *samkhyā* - a materialistic *darshan* in Indian thought on the issue of things and the perception of reality (Ishwarkrishna 2011, 44). Kautilya, in *Arthashastra*, is for payment of salary linked to the "weaver's skill set", and increments and rewards are offered for excellence and meritocracy of the worker.

Kautilya mentions the outcome of the assigned work and wage decided beforehand by the owner and the worker. The extra job is done either to please the owner, in ignorance, or for another reason. It is futile and condemned as a non-ethical practice, not encouraged in the worker-owner relationship. Eighteen heads of dispute were enumerated (Kaundinayan 2018). Manu suggests the grievance redressal mechanisms of such legal conflicts, which include the issue of non-payment of wages, are of utmost priority to the daily duties of the king. The king must address and find justice for the parties involved.

MARX, MARXISM AND MARX-PHILOSOPHY DIDACTIC

On the idea of who leads whom: the proponent and whether a person's surroundings sprout the seed in a person are early signs of questions invariably raised for people of exceptional intellect, those who have left indelible impressions on society. Marx is one of those who left the world with an ineradicable mark in the nineteenth century and continued to the twenty-first century. However, researchers raised that Marxism, in recent times, does not offer an alternative⁷ to liberal capitalism (Goel 2015, 114). Marx was born on 05 May 1818 in the catholic city of Rhineland near the French border. The resident city was copious, but the revolutionary flavour

was sweeping into the educated citizens of the town. Marx's father, a Rabbi, converted to a protestant just a year before the birth of Marx, in 1817. During the 1830s, the socialist fervour and schemes must have impacted the formative years of the young Karl Marx (Claeys 2018, 13). Marx was acting at his age and on the impressions of the surroundings of immediate society. He read classics like Homer and Ovid in his school days. He also had a school principal who sympathised with Rousseau and Kant, and he heard the stories of the French Revolution of 1789.

The French Revolution was a modern praxis of European enlightenment, formed on two principles: liberty and egalitarian - a society based on fraternity. or commune. The influence of those profound epoch events manifested in his first writings and works. Marx insisted that choosing a profession must be catalyzed via "the welfare of humanity and our perfection; the happiest person is 'the man who has made the greatest number of people happy'" (Claeys 2018,14). The profound statement of a seventeen-year-old is probably a glimpse of the 'non-empirical self' or intrinsic happiness while doing good for others, self-enhancement, and satisfaction.

Marx conferred his doctorate and dissertation on "The difference between the Democritean and Epicurean philosophy of Nature". The influence of Epicurean philosophy is felt along with the later Hegelian idea of self-consciousness, termed as 'the highest divinity'. Hegel's absolute idealism, which is grounded in pure concepts, is devoid of any dualism of mind and nature. The amalgamation of European Enlightenment, Epicureanism⁸ and Marx's confrontation with Hegelian absolute idealism and this collision eventually influenced Karl Marx's *Bourgeois society*.

Ironically, *Marxvad* emerged out of a disagreement with Hegelian materialism and Hegel's critique of Indian philosophy stating that "real philosophy" begins only in Greece, and also the attempt to eliminate Indian thoughts from the historiography of philosophy (Halbfass 1990).

The Hegelian approach of steering the *Uttarapaksa*, negating the Indian philosophy without setting the *Purvapaksa*, in this case, Indian

philosophy stands defeated and untrue. In contrast, *Adi-Shankaracharya* established his *Uttarapaksa*, *Vedanta*. He first epistemologically formed the *Purvapaksa* for *Samkhya* and other concurrent philosophies of that time in India and founded the school of *Vedanta* (Larson 2018, vii).

CONCLUSION

In the post-modern world, *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*, a comparative work, witnesses as a treatise on the study of *Purvapaksa* doctrine and micro phenomena of social and political philosophy. *Purvapaksa* doctrine inheritably considers that authors explicitly make their respective viewpoints, irrespective of their standpoint beforehand. The foreseen challenge could be whether the readers would accept such a pragmatic approach in the post-modern world. Let the well-informed reader exercise their post-reading views on *Purvapaksa* and *Uttarapaksa*. The literature on Marxism also illustrates that Marx and different schools of Marxism do not converse in a singularity of thoughts as ‘Marxism’. The utopian critique of Marx’s philosophy in the European context does not stand firm; however, the utopian characteristics of Marxism do appear when seen in contrast with both ancient *Hindu* political philosophy and Karpatriji’s *Ramrajya* model of governance. *Ramrajya* and its philosophy of governance of polity and economics is not parallel to Western capitalism. Meritocracy, transparency of governance and the leader under scrutiny from public life are factors micro-phenomena that find resonance with the *Hindu* political philosophy of *Kautilya*, *Shukracharya* and Karpatriji’s doctrine of *Ramrajyain*. Gram-Swaraj⁹ (Kakati 2021) and *Antodaya* -Integral Humanism (Upadhyaya 2018) integrated into a *Ramrajya* model can be foreseen. It may not be possible to achieve the governance model of *Ramrajya* without incorporating technology in the governance of polity and economics in the twenty-first century.

The future world, its sheer size and scale, and the advent of

disruptive technology may offer a more effective functioning and adaptation of the governance model of Karpatriji's *Ramrajya*. The *Ramrajya* governance may need interdisciplinary research with ancient *Hindu* political philosophy in the age of artificial intelligence and machine learning. The impact of *Marxvad* in Europe and the global south was undoubtedly profound and stayed foundational even in cases of ethics in European polity, if not in economic policy, though fading in Latin America. *Marxvad*, although had a global appeal, was an endogenous phenomenon in Europe. *Marxvad* lacks a micro response to the hyperlocal micro phenomena of the Indian socio-economical system of *Purushartha*. *Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha* hence paving the way forward for the post-modern avatar of *Ramrajya*. The doctrine of governance in Karpatriji's pivotal work, *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*, may reach the standing of either the ancient *Ramrajya* or the level of acceptability to that of *Vedanta* in Indian philosophy. *Ramrajya* doctrine of Karpatriji must accommodate the post-modern myth and realities to be an effective governance model in ethics.

In conclusion, Marxism of Marx and *Ramrajya* of Karpatriji represent a coherent theory of ideas in Western and Eastern development of thoughts and represent the endogenous phenomena of Europe and India, respectively.

NOTES

1. Karpatriji, in another work (Maharaj 4), *Vichar Piyush*, reasoned the intricate tri-partite relationship, the state, king, and the citizens. Micro-phenomenon of King's individual relation to the institutions of the state and his ministers, based on a democratic process. King performs his state duties in consultation and is a humble catalyst of harmony between his cabinet and the Army, as stated in Atharvaveda – *sabhyah sabham mein pahi ye cha sabhyah sabhasadah* [Atharvaveda 19.55.5].
2. The edition of the book used for this research paper (Maharaj, *Marxvad Aur Ramrajya*).
3. Quality of Life: India vs. China (Sen), though economic indicators a decade ago and understanding of the quality of life and subjective well-being has undergone a paradigm shift (e.g., climate crisis, post covid-19 world order).

4. Venezuela and Cuba, these two nations, both saw steep rise and fall of Latin nations, the success and decline of Marxist economics.
5. Chapter 3, *Visnu Puran* divided Veda into four portions, by *Vyasa* in every *Dravara* age.
6. Source: Srimatham. *Mīmāṃsā* - The Study of Hindu Exegesis.
7. Claim of historical analysis, Marxism, an alternative to liberal capitalism – “It is, or at least should be, obvious that as a political approach, Marxism has failed as a historical alternative to liberal capitalism.... after the rapid demise of the Soviet Union in 1991” – *Tom Rockmore teaches Philosophy*, Duquesne University, Pennsylvania (*Karl Marx Most Influential Philosopher of the Modern World 113-114*).
8. Konstan, David, "Epicurus", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/epicurus/>. Epicureanism - the philosophy of atomistic materialism: societies evolve due to naturalistic laws and human endeavours, free from any fear and punishment, would unleash human potential.
9. Gram Swaraj -its relevance in present the present context.

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