

**IMAGINATION OF INDIAN NATIONALISM IN
ANDHRA: AN UNDERSTANDING OF IDEAS OF
UNNAVA LAKSHMINARAYANA(1877-1958)**

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ABSTRACT

After studying the ideas present in the Telugu novel Malapalli written by Unnava Lakshminarayana, a social reformer and nationalist from Telugu speaking region of India. I propose in this article that the novel projects the nationalist ideology of Unnava Lakshminarayana; Unnava imagined Indian nationalism by creating sovereign, superior inner domain- Hindu Civilization- and synthesizing that with the economy and polity of Western Civilization; while creating superior inner domain, he accommodated colonial critiques of Indian society and his imagination of future Indian political system is not mere emulation of one of the modular forms of the West but it involved a process of selection of institutions after checking their compatibility to the newly imagined sovereign, superior inner domain.

Key words: Colonial critiques of Indian society, social reform, imagination of nationalism, new ideas in Telugu literature.

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Introduction

The social reform in colonial India is a cultural enterprise of the English educated Indians. It has two distinct phases with change and continuity. Continuity in both these phases is that both are 'responses' to the colonial critiques of Indian society. The change is that in the first phase of reform, the Indian reformers replicated the same process with which the western societies achieved so called modernity. In doing so they sought the help of the colonial Indian government.¹ In the second phase of social reform, the Indians asserted sovereignty over the issues pertaining to Indian culture and society and did not allow entry to the interference of colonial government. In other words Indians thought Indian culture and society are the spheres of their own action and no *other* are allowed entry to interfere into these spheres. However, the need for change in these spheres is not disputed but the pattern of change took a shift from that of replicating the western modernity to emulating the essence of western modernity.² Partha Chatterjee argues that it was from the second phase of the social reform that the Indian nationalism emerged as the Indians established sovereign space over the Indian cultural and social issues even when the power was still in the hands of the colonial government.³

The present work is a study of ideas of Unnava Lakshminarayana (1877-1958)⁴ from his much popular Telugu novel *Malapalli* (village of an outcaste-mala). Different scholars have understood the theme of the novel in different ways. Majorly, there are two understandings of the novel. One understanding is that it has the Bolshevik ideas and Unnava Lakshminarayana was the first author to introduce them in Telugu language. Authors like Bangore⁵ and Anumandla Bhumaiah would come under this category. Anumandla Bhumaiah went to an extent to state that Unnava was the forerunner to Srirangam Srinivasarao (popularly known as Sri. Sri.)⁶ and the father of 'Progressive Poetry' in Telugu language.⁷ The other is that the ideas in the novel are not exactly the Bolshevik but more nearer to the Gandhian and Unnava was a Gandhian. K. V. Ramana Reddy is prominent in this category.⁸ But after careful study of the novel, I argue that fitting this novel to either of these two categories is an outcome of a partial understanding of it and I propose in this article that the novel projects the nationalist ideology of Unnava Lakshminarayana. Synthesizing the best of Indian and Western Civilizations had been the nationalist project of Unnava and what is specific with his ideology is that his imagination of India in political aspects is not merely an imitation of the West which is an addition to the current

understanding of Indian nationalism.⁹

The novel *Malapalli* was written by Unnava Lakshminarayana during his jail life at Vellore in between the second half of 1921 and the first half of 1922. He was detained for his role in the Palnadu Forest Uprising¹⁰ during the Non-Cooperation Movement(1920-22). The novel has four parts. The first, second and third parts were published in 1923 and they were proscribed by the colonial government in the same year on grounds that the author attacked all the colonial government's institutions; preached the Bolshevik ideas; called for the union of labour against the capitalists and called for strikes. However, the ban was lifted in 1928 after arriving at an agreement with the author who accepted to remove the objected passages from the novel. It was in 1935 that the revised novel along with the unpublished fourth part was published by Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao (1867-1938), the founder of the *Andhra Patrika* and *Amrutanjan*. Again, the revised novel was proscribed in 1936 by the Madras Government and the ban was revoked by the new government formed by C.Rajagopalachari after 1937 elections.¹¹ Before detailing with Unnava's nationalist project, let me first briefly summarize the story he chose for stating his nationalist ideology.

Malapalli- Story Outline

The story of *Malapalli* revolves around Ramadasu and his family in Mangalapuram village. He is a *Mala Dasari* by caste. *Dasaris* are deemed as Brahmins (higher caste in Hindu caste hierarchy) among the *Malas*- so called untouchable caste. They came into existence in the course of spread of Sri Ramanuja's *advaita*¹² philosophy among the *Malas*. Ramadasu has some land, cattle and a house thus has a decent livelihood. His wife is Malakshmi, a house-maker. They have three sons and a daughter namely Venkatadasu, Sangadasu, Jyoti and Rangadasu. Venkatadasu is their elder son. He looks after the cultivation of their fields in which he is being helped by Appadasu, son of Ramadasu's sister, Subbalakshmi. Besides helping Venkatadasu, Appadasu is also studying. Jyoti and Appadasu love each other since their childhood and their romance is described as spiritual rather than physical.

Sangadasu, the younger son of Ramadasu, works as a supervisor for Chowdarayya, a big landlord in the village. Though Sangadasu does not pursue higher education, he acquired deep

understanding of society. On the one hand, he leads the Harijan Movement with an objective to scale up the social status of lower castes and on the other hand, he leads the Labour Movement with an objective that they should get fair wages. It is these progressive ideas of Sangadasu that attracted Ramanaidu who makes friendship with him. Ramanaidu is the son of Chowdarayya. He is well-educated and does not want to do a job in the government. Kamalamma is his wife and they have a son named Sahu.

One day all the landlords of the village called on presided over by Chowdarayya and decided to change the mode of payment to labour from kind to cash. Sangadasu is of the view that the labourers are not given adequate compensation even when they are paid in kind and the new method would only made things worse. Therefore, Sangadasu and the labourers as well, opposed the new system of payment and the labourers are suggested by Sangadasu to stop working in fields until they are paid a fair wage. After making this suggestion to the labour, Sangadasu leaves his village accompanied by Ramanaidu to attend a *Harijan* Conference at Vijayawada. On their way, they halt at Guntur for dinner. While they are dining together, the head of their village see them and informs that to Chowdarayya.¹³

After the end of the conference, Ramanaidu goes to his mother-in-law's village and Sangadasu returns to Mangalapuram. Suspecting that there is a role for Sangadasu behind labour strike and that he is misleading his son, Chowdarayya gets angry with him and gets him to be beaten on his head and Sangadasu succumbs to his injuries.

Though everyone knows the cause of Sangadasu's death, the case is suppressed through the use of bribery. The parents of Sangadasu get resigned to their fate and therefore do not complain against Chowdarayya. A temple—*Sanga-Mandiram*—is built at *Malapalli*, the place where *Malas* live, in memory of Sangadasu. *Sanga-Mandiram* works as a library as well as a school and Appadasu is appointed there for teaching.

For several months after killing Sangadasu, Chowdarayya does not come out of his house. As the workers do not agree with his decision that payment of wages in cash, they stop working in his fields. He has to give advances to labourers on old mode of payment to renew work in his field.

He takes these evidences of increasing dominance of the lower castes in the village and blames the family of Ramadasu as the reason. Therefore, he files a fake case against Ramadasu and strips him off all his property. This severely enrages Venkatadasu who leaves his home to become Takkella Jaggadu—a non-violent bandit. He prepares a force to conduct non-violent robbery from the houses of the rich. There are certain rules for his force such as keeping secrecy about their passage from one place to other, not killing anyone in the course of their robbery, not approaching prostitutes and not drinking alcohol.

As the instances of robberies increase, the government meets the problem with a measure of arresting those lower castes which are also known as ‘criminal’ castes and sending them either to jails or to Settlements. Thus, Ramadasu and his family— except Appadasu— are sent to Undavalli Missionary Settlement. Appadasu becomes mad after he is separated from his uncle’s family particularly Jyoti.

The Settlements are intended to bring about good behaviour among its members. Besides that, the Missionary Settlements are also expected to bring conversions to Christianity. Although the members of the Settlement are provided work, they are not paid fair wages. The officials often used to send them for theft and take a share in the booty. Even though the authorities know what is happening in their Settlement, they just overlook them.

Paul is a subordinate official at the Undavalli Settlement to which Ramadasu and his family are sent. He has an eye on Jyoti. Several times he states his desire but Ramadasu refuses it. There is Christian preaching daily in the morning in the Settlement to which all its members are supposed to attend. But Ramadasu and some other members of the Settlement feel this as a religious imposition and start a parallel Hindu preaching session at their huts. All these reasons culminate in filing a fake case against Ramadasu and his wife and they are sentenced in jail. But Jyoti is deliberately left out from this sentence.

On the other hand, Chowdarayya’s wrong deeds destroy his family. His daughter-in-law, Kamamma, wife of Ramanaidu, elopes with Mohan Rao, a cousin of Ramanaidu, who is doing the Law at Madras. His grand son— Sahu— dies of jaundice. He loses his wife as well. All these

happenings bring in him a realization of what he has done and he dies in repentance. After his death, Ramanaidu and his brother, Venkataiah, decides to donate all their property to *Sanga-Mandiram* and start collecting funds for building up a Harijan University.

When Ramdasu and his wife are sent to Nidadavolu jail, Ramanaidu tries to save Jyoti from the Settlement as Paul is looking to get her. In the course of his efforts, he is arrested on the charge of being the leader of the Labour Movement. Therefore, he entrusts this task to Venkataiah. Meanwhile, Jyoti commits suicide by jumping into the Krishna River to save her chastity from Paul when he tries to rape her. This incident hurts Appadasu who commits suicide by jumping into the Krishna on the very following day.

The government's efforts at detaining Takkella Jaggadu/Venkatadasu gets success and Venkatadasu who is wounded and physically handicapped is given the same jail where his parents are kept. He is given an opportunity to be with his parents. But his mother, Malakshmi, dies unable to see the state of her son. Soon after, he also dies of pain from the wounds. This is the time when the Non-Cooperation Movement led by Gandhi comes to an end and a period of truce follows. But this period of truce is also established as a period of struggle which culminated in achieving independence for India. Ramadasu, Ramanaidu and others who has been sentenced are now released. By this time the construction of the Harijan University at Mangalapuram is finished and is inaugurated by Ramadasu. The story ends with the reinstatement of Ramadasu's house to him where he leads his remaining life by weaving.

Unnava's Imagination of India

The major challenges before Unnava Lakshminarayana in imagining India were to tackle the colonial claim that Indian civilization was backward, to forge unity among disparate communities in India and to show that they (Indians) could rule themselves within the structures of the Modern State. Projecting India to be superior to the West and discovering an alternative ideology to fight against colonial rule in India had been the objectives of his imagination. It was around these parameters that Unnava's nationalist ideology took shape and this has been the theme of the novel *Malapalli*.

In the novel, Unnava based Indian nation on the spiritual heritage and uniqueness of newly

constituted Hindu Civilization. The superiority of Hindu religion is claimed over Christianity for two reasons. One is for its accommodation of plurality of worship. “Like other religions—Islam and Christianity—Hinduism does not have a single way of worship for people of different age groups and tastes. Hinduism is a hub of plural ways of worship and, a Hindu devotee can choose the way he likes.”¹⁴ The other is that the Hinduism contain not only that all other religions did but it has something more than them.¹⁵ For instance, Unnava said that the Hindu religion does not cause pain to the people of other religions, does not look for conversions but cares its own subscribers.¹⁶ This is because, he says, Hinduism recognizes that there are different ways to God and there is truth in other religions too.¹⁷ It implies an understanding that the Hindu religion has nothing to learn from the other Civilizations.¹⁸

Issue of Caste

Uniqueness of Hindu religion and society is seen in the *Varna* system. Unnava thought *Varna* has been an essential feature of Indian society and traced its origin back to the classification of professions in early India. He explained the process how the *Varna* system became inherited by saying that the early Indian state took certain measures such as imposing restrictions on mixing up of professions. He recognized that there are inequalities in Indian society and said they are not just because of the classification of professions but the nature of the profession and the decline of certain professions in the course of time also added to the problem. If the nature of professions is thought the reason for disparities in income, the demise of certain professions is seen as the reason for those who have been practising them to become poor. Additionally, the prohibition of mixing up of professions is understood as a process that eventually led over a period of time to economic hierarchy as well as spiritual hierarchy of purity and pollution.¹⁹

Classification of professions by the ancient Indian State, in Unnava’s understanding, was an arrangement made to stabilize the professions. He thought that they were made to let the professions prosper which was done for the stabilization of exchequer of the State. He justified the interference of early Indian State in social matters through the classification of professions by saying that it was done for the welfare of Indian society and not for its destruction.

Unnava understood the *Varna*/caste system was also intended for the development of Indian

society at that context but, he said, the bad consequences of the system particularly for certain castes were not anticipated. In view of the problem with the system, he thought it should be reformed in accordance with the then context and this reform is related to the improvement of the condition of lower castes. Improving the condition of lower-castes meant for Unnava the improvement of their economic condition as he thought it was the reason for their placing at the bottom of the society. He thought that the lower castes would not enjoy the political and social rights even if given unless their economic condition is improved. Therefore, he thought, they should be provided with an opportunity of improving their condition. To this effect, he came up with four measures. One is that the upper castes should be paternalistic towards the lower castes and they should agree to distribute surplus cultivable lands, government lands, and forest lands among the lower castes. Second is that the lower castes should revive their traditional professions. The third measure is a call for providing education to the lower castes. Unnava viewed education as an effective tool for empowering the lower castes therefore he suggested that the upper castes should take up the responsibility of educating the lower castes by establishing schools for them and the lower castes should send their children for general as well as vocational education. The fourth measure is affirmative action. Unnava suggests that the lower castes should be given reservations for sometime in the employment of at least the lower-strata posts of various departments.

In addition to the measures affecting the economic condition of the lower castes, Unnava also envisaged a program of acculturation of lower castes to emulate the upper-caste status. It is a program, he thinks, that would imbibe them with self-respect and dignity. It involves practices such as refrain from taking alcohol which, for him, has been an obstacle to their social dignity and economic improvement; the lower castes should call one another with suffixes of respectful words; and finally the lower castes should be given due rights in enjoying public facilities such as wells, tanks and temples. He also made a suggestion that common dinners should be popularized among the various castes so that the caste differences can be erased at some date in future.²⁰

Unnava thought that all this programme of bringing changes required in Indian social system should be brought about by Indians on their own and not through involving the colonial state. He

asserted it as the space for Indians to work for themselves. For instance, he held a view regarding the Non-Brahmin Movement that “certain measures adopted by these associations—the Justice Party approaching the colonial state for reservations in legislative assemblies— might yield them short term benefits but they would be a threat to the Hindu society in the long run. Therefore, the caste associations should learn ways of reorganising the Hindu society and adopt measures for the development of their respective castes which should be compatible as well as conducive to the development of the mainstream.”²¹

Presence of Bolshevik Ideas

In addition to looking at the problem of inequalities in Indian society from the perspective of caste differences, Unnava also made an attempt to look at it from the perspective of class. This is obvious from his ideas about how the class divisions came about India, which he discusses in *Malapalli*, similar to the Marxist idea of the Primitive Communism. He says that “there was no private property and the people were living with fraternity at the beginning. Wealth was thought of as common property and equally shared among the people and by the village associations. They did not have money and exchange was made in kind. There was no competition among people. And it was as if they were living in heaven on earth. In such a context, religion emerged and from that the differences between the rich and the poor. In course of time, religion became a tool for the rich to exploit the poor. The rich occupied all the villages, fields and countries and usurped money from the people. This eventually led to the concentration of wealth with a few and the bulk of the society became poor. The tendency of rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer has been perpetuated by the principle of heredity. If the labourers are producing goods by doing cultivation and their handicrafts, the rich are exploiting them and leaving less except for their sustenance. The laws of the government are also favourable to the rich.”²²

Despite his ideas of class division, Unnava did not incline towards class struggle.²³ He has an understanding that the rich and poor are interdependent and they are complimentary groups of a society where one cannot sustain in the absence of the other. He said the landlords should recognize this fact and they are to be generous to the labourers to give them a fair payment. In this context, he talks of the mode of payment to the labourers. He thought that the payment in kind is better than cash. This is because the prices of goods would tend to increase and the value

of their income would be fluctuating. Besides suggesting that the labour payment should be in kind, he also suggested that they should be paid their due share in the total profit of the production.²⁴ If the labourers are paid their due share they can use it to support themselves when there is no work and if they want to get educated. If they are not paid due share of the total profit, he says, wealth in society would be in the hands of only a few of the society. In such cases, it did not appear wrong to Unnava that labourers resorted to strike for fair wages. Indeed, it was an effective strategy to get their objectives achieved. But that method should be adopted only after trying out negotiations.²⁵

Unnava's Model of Political System for India

Unnava imagined a democratic state for future India. In adopting this form for India he made a critique of various forms of Western Government, a critique which he did under the influence of the Bolshevik ideology as well as in search of a suitable state for newly imagined Indian nation at cultural level. At first he took the governments of USA and France under his scrutiny and arrived at the conclusion that attempts had been made there to establish democratic government by applying the principle of majority opinion failed and in reality they were run on the principle of majority opinion among the rich. He critically evaluated the condition in Italy and said there had been a struggle between the capitalist and proletariat classes which finally ended in compromise. Then he took the Bolshevik state and applauded the basic principle which governed its government that 'every human being is entrusted to enjoy all the wealth of the Universe on the condition of working.' But he had reservations about the way the Bolshevik government was organized and expressed doubts about its sustenance.²⁶ He did not want the Russian model for India because he held a view that if class struggle happened and the wealth has been distributed equally among the people, most of the people would become lazy and they would not incline to work. Eventually, the same old situation of concentration of wealth with a few would resume.²⁷

He did not want a capitalist state either for India, since he did not want a social condition where one class dominates the other. But he wanted a liberal democratic state which could provide a social condition where everyone would have an opportunity to raise his/her economic status by employing hard work.²⁸ He wanted a state which gives an equal priority to all classes. As he thought these qualities were present with the government of England, he praised its approach in addressing the issue of class struggle that accommodating the changes in the world politics

within their old form of government and avoiding any threat to their traditions. Unnava wanted to fashion this approach of the English State and establish a liberal democratic state for India.²⁹ Therefore, Unnava wanted to continue all the institutions of colonial Indian administration with some modifications except the administration of jails which he wanted to summarily dissolve because of its inhuman character.³⁰

Conclusion

Understanding ideas present in the novel *Malapalli* as related to either Gandhian or Bolshevik would lead to its partial understanding. It is true that there are some ideas similar to Bolshevism like identifying class division between the landlords and the tenants but, as already noted, Unnava did not give priority to class struggle. It is also true that there are similarities between the ideas of Unnava and Gandhi and particularly those related to imagination of Indian nation based on superiority of Indian civilization at spiritual level, recognizing the caste as an essential feature of Indian society and in the suggestion of upper caste/class to be paternalistic towards the lower castes/class and should take up the acculturation process. But there are also significant differences between Gandhi and Unnava Lakshminarayana. Unlike Gandhi, Unnava evolved his nationalist ideology within the Post-Enlightenment rationalist thought and sought a 'liberal democratic state' for India as against Gandhi's 'popular sovereignty'. Thus, synthesizing the best of his contemporary Civilizations had been the project of Unnava's nationalist ideology in order to project newly imagined India to be superior to the West and an alternative to the colonial rule in India. The presence of Bolshevik and Gandhian ideas in the novel is all part of his project. Therefore the novel *Malapalli* should be seen as a statement of Unnava's nationalist ideology.

References:

- ¹ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, (2004), From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India, Orient Longman, New Delhi, pp.145-6.
- ² Ibid, pp.157-8.
- ³ Partha Chatterjee, (1993), The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories, Princeton University Press, Princeton, , pp.3-13.
- ⁴ Unnava Lakshminarayana is a famous social reformer and nationalist from present Andhra Pradesh who followed Gandhian nationalism. He was a social reformer to begin with who carried out the

widow re-marriages of Kandukuri Viresalingam's project of social reform in Guntur district of present Andhra Pradesh. He left Kandukuri Viresalingam in the wake of rising tide of nationalism in the Telugu speaking region during the Swadeshi Movement(1905-7) and became nationalist. However he continued to be social reformer alongside being nationalist. He was one of the founders of *Andhra Mahasabha* and with the support of Jonnavittula Gurunatham, he prepared the *Visalandhra* Map in 1913. Apart from *Malapalli*, Unnava had many works to his credit. Among them noted are three books titled *India Rajyatantram*, (Indian science of government) *Akbaru Caritra* (Biography of the Mughal emperor Akbar) and *Bipin Chandrapaluni Vyakyanamulu* (Interpretations of Bipin Chandrapal) which were published in 1907.

- ⁵ Bangorey,(1979) *Malapalli Navalapai Prabutva Nishedhalu*,(Telugu Book-Government prohibition of the novel *Malapalli*) Vijayawada.
- ⁶ Srirangam Srinivas(1910-1983) popularly known as Sri.Sri. is a famous Telugu writer whose writings are based on Marxian theory. He is said to be the first writer in Telugu language to use Marxian theory in his writings. His popular works are *Mahaprasthanam*, *Khadgasrushti* etc...
- ⁷ Anumandla Bhumayya, *Malapalli Abhyudaya Mahakavyam*, (Malapalli-great progressive writing) Warangal, 1993.
- ⁸ Ramana Reddy, K.V. (1979), *Unnava Racanalu Konni*, (Some of Unnava writings) Kavali.
- ⁹ Parha Chatterjee has argued in his celebrated work *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (pp. 3-13) that the Indian intellectuals imagined India in inner-social and cultural- domain and outer-political and economic- domains. Inner domain was based in Indian Civilization and imagined as superior and alternative to the colonial state. It was thought as a domain of their action where they sought to make it suitable for modern conditions by themselves and where the colonial Indian State was not allowed entry. In the outer domain the superiority of the West was accepted and *emulated* one of the modular forms of the West. But this article offers that Unnava's imagination of Indian nation in outer domain is not *merely* an emulation of one of the modular forms of the West.
- ¹⁰ Palnadu is a region in present day Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. Palnadu uprising happened in this region during the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22), against the unjust forest laws.
- ¹¹ For more details on the ban of *Malapalli* see Bangore: *Malapalli Navalapai Prabhutva Nishedhalu*, (Government prohibition of the novel *Malapalli*).
- ¹² Advaita philosophy is propounded by Ramanuja, a bhakti saint. It says that atma (soul) and paramatma(great soul) are one and same and in fact soul is once a part of great soul. If soul reaches great soul one can attain salvation.

- ¹³ Common dinner among different castes particularly the lower and upper was not common in those days. It was seen as an offence to the *Varna* system. Therefore, Unnava encouraged common dining of all castes so that caste inequalities could be erased gradually. See Darsi Chenhayya, (1961) *Na Divyasmritulu*, Vijayawada, pp. 19-20.
- ¹⁴ Unnava Lakshminarayana, ((1964 (first published in 1922)) *Malapalli*, Machilipatnam, , pp.149-50.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 321.
- ¹⁶ Unnava Lakshminarayana,(1907a,) *Akbaru Caritra*, (Akbar's biography) Machilipatnam, p.114.
- ¹⁷ Unnava, *Malapalli*, p.318.
- ¹⁸ Unnava did not think India is for the Hindus only. He recognized that India has been a land of many religions such as the Hinduism, the Islam, the Zoroastrianism, the Buddhism and the Christianity and said that they had their own traditions and worldviews but lived in co-existence. He held a view that the Hindu civilization has the feature of accommodating other religions given with a condition that they would not interfere with internal matters of other religions. The binding force, he says, which brings them together is Indian nationalism. Unnava Lakshminarayana , *Jonnattivtula Gurunatham*, (1907b) *India Rajyatantram*, Machilipatnam, p.138.
- ¹⁹ For instance Unnava explains in a context in the novel the reason why the *Madigas*- shoe makers- have been given the lower position in Indian society that
- The profession of *Madigas* is making shoes which entailed them to associate with sheaths of dry skin. They are made to live at the outskirts of the village due to the bad smell come out from dry sheaths. Their association with such work yielded them the bottom place on the scale of purity and pollution and they thus became untouchables.
- Unnava, *Malapalli*, pp.29-30.
- ²⁰ Darsi Chenhayya, *Na Divyasmritulu*, pp 19-20.
- ²¹ Unnava, *Malapalli*, pp.144-5.
- ²² *Ibid*, pp. 369-71.
- ²³ *Ibid*, p. 155.
- ²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 107-14.
- ²⁵ *Ibid*, p.118.
- ²⁶ Unnava explained in detail the government in Bolshevik Russia and acclaimed it as wonderful system of village government which is akin to the ancient Indian village system. But he expressed doubts whether people Russian people would be accustomed to give away their surplus to the Government, a process, he said, that was done by the use of force. *Ibid*, pp.152-5.

²⁷ Ibid, p.353.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, p.155.

³⁰ Ibid, p.543.

