A NEW SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORDER

A 'social order' refers to an ascertainable pattern of regular structure, process, or change occurring in and resulting from human interaction. This broader conception embraces regularities of what are often called pathology or disorganization; the break up of stable interaction may itself be orderly, i.e., it may take specific forms under given conditions.\(^1\) Social order cannot be defined in the absence of 'pathology' or of disorganization, for there are no such situations. Specific pathologies may exhibit a regular order.... Furthermore, while modifications of attitudes or social structures may diminish disorganizations it is known that every society has disparate conceptions of the desirable or weak articulation of norms and values in some spheres of life. In short, we are learning to predict the conditions under which various types of disorder will occur and their relations to social order.\(^2\) Thus a social order pertains to

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2. Ibid.
reconstruction of a society. It examines the defects of a society. It deals with the national deficiencies and weaknesses in several fields and tries to build a new society. It envisages a new government and a new relationship between the individual and society; and the individual and the state.

As a clear thinker, Hardekar Manjappa undertook a broad survey of Indian history of about ten thousand years. He divides the periods of Indian history into:

1. Early India.
2. Revolution in Thought.
3. Subject India.
4. Freedom Struggle, and
5. Free India.

1. **EARLY INDIA**

India's greatness and glory are unique. No other country can claim to have cherished and continued in tact an older civilization than India's. The rich abundance of her antiquities reveal to us most of the earliest things relating to man. King Bhāvya is described as a ruler of 'Shindha Desha' in Rigveda
(1-126-1), a work composed earlier than about six thousand years ago. It is no small thrill, indeed, to know that the Sindhu plain was known as the Sindhu Desha even in those early days.

Zenda Vesta, a very ancient religious work of the Parsies refers to the present Punjab as 'Hapta-Hindu Desh'. As it is estimated by Manjappa the Punjab was called 'Hindu Desh' or 'Sindhu Desh' before the advent of the Aryans. Only as the Aryans extended their suzerainty to the south that the country came to be called Aryavarta, Bharata, Bharatakhand. Manjappa, thus opined, that the old nomenclature of 'Hindu Desh' or Sindhu Desh had come by long usage to denote the entire country stretching to the far South Sea.

We know nature is subject to change and transformation consequent upon the interplay of the four elements— earth, water, air and fire. Earth rises on seas and is itself submerged by seas. Hills and hillocks show where there were valleys and themselves sink low into valleys. Similarly man is amenable to the transforming forces arising from the interplay and

intermixing of people, and his transformation for the betterment of the world is only irresistible. And such fusion is brought about by wars whereafter the victor and the vanquished have to live together and, in doing so, enrich each other and together contribute to the enrichment of the entire humanity. Wars, that way, despite their ghastly costs, contribute to human progress. The chapter of human progress opens with wars and it is they that mark the glorious periods of a country.

A question may be raised at this juncture, as to when India was first invaded and by whom? This is yet to be established. In Manjappa's opinion, Aryans were the first to invade India. The ancient relics unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjadaro reveal that the original inhabitants were highly civilized and advanced citizens, even earlier than five thousand years ago. The Aryans unlike the original inhabitants were believers in sacrificial performance and sought to establish their superiority over the non-Aryans. Rigvedic hymns substantiate this fact. Many great men have left on record their findings in this regard.

In his Presidential remark of the Congress Session held at Belgaum, in 1924; Gandhiji opined, that the Aryan invasion and occupation of India was a blow to the original inhabitants as severe and crushing as was the British occupation of India. They were reduced to very miserable conditions and condemned as untouchables. That accounts for India's present serfdom.

Nehru writes in his book Letters From Father To His Daughter as follows:

"In those days the people who lived in India were called Dravidians..... These Dravidians were invaded by the Aryans from the north. There must have been enormous numbers of these Aryan peoples in Central Asia and, not finding there enough food for all, they spread out to other countries. They went in large numbers to Persia and even to Greece and further west. They also came to India in crowds over the mountains near Kashmir.... The Aryans were strong fighting people and they drove the Dravidians before them. Wave after wave of the Aryans must have come to India from the north-west. Perhaps at first the Dravidians stopped them but when more and more came they could not be stopped. For long, the Aryans remained in the north, only in Afghanistan and the Punjab. Then they came further down to what are now called the United Province, where we live. They went on spreading till they came to the Vindhya mountains in Central India. It was difficult to cross these as there were thick forests. So for a long time the Aryans remained on the northern side of the Vindhya mountains. Many of them managed to cross them and went
to the south but crowds could not go, and so the south remained chiefly Dravidian.5

Following the Aryan invasion of India, there were many wars fought in India, and Daśarājna was the first and the greatest war ever fought; as traced by Manjappa, from Rigveda (Chapter VII, hymn 18), recorded by sage Brāhadvāja. According to Manjappa the Aryan intruders were ever in the ascendancy and never suffered defeat.

Manjappa estimated that after Daśarājna war, the second great war was fought between Rama and Ravana. The Aryan king Rama of Ayodhya, of the Surya Vamsa fought the war against the Dravidian king Ravana of Lanka.6 In the first victory, according to Manjappa, the Aryans' supremacy was spread only in the north-India. But after the second victory over Dravidians, Aryans were in a position to spread their supremacy and culture even in South India. Thus Manjappa opined that Rama could be claimed as the first emperor of India. He

6. G.S. Halappa (Ed.), Rāṣṭradharmadrashtār Hardekar Manjappā, p.277
further said, under Rama's sovereign rule both the Aryans and the Dravidians came and moved together as one people and the entire north and south emerged for the first time as one nation. According to some learned scholars, this unification of the entire country from the Sindhu river to the South sea, as a result of the war fought between Rama and Ravana, took place about three thousand years B.C. A question may be raised at this juncture as to why Dravidians were defeated in the war? It was Manjappa's view that though Dravidians were in no way inferior in valour and arms to the Aryans, the latter's imperialistic aspirations, organizational acumen and political keenness served to render themselves a formidable foe to the Dravidians who suffered defeat every time a war took place between them.

As it was explained by Manjappa, the third great war, unlike the earlier wars, was a civil war; a fight between Kouravas and Pāndaivas, the off-springs of the same lunar dynasty. This war was fought in 1310 B.C., as it was traced by C.V. Vaidya, a famous

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
researcher in history. The number of famous warriors and intellectuals who died in this war was a death blow to the next generation who suffered a great setback in their progress as a result of the war.

2. **REVOLUTION IN THOUGHT**

A nation's era of progress is marked by great wars. This is evident from the ten incarnations referred to in the Hindu mythology. The first eight incarnations rose from a state of war between Aryans and Dravidians in this country. Parashurama's descent was all for the complete destruction of the Kshatriya race. Rāmayana and Mahābhārata wars made way to the rise of Rama and Krishna. This order of divine descent is seen to have leased after the Mahābhārata war. Its horrors should have struck the leading might of the country and developed an aversion to war and its violence. There was a complete change in the people's outlook and thinking which resulted in universal rejection of arms and weapons. Victories of peace came to be preferred to victories of war. That accounted for the complete absence of wars in the country for about three thousand years thereafter,^9^ opined Manjappa.

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The bitterness of war and its violence shook the master-minds in the country into due awareness of the right and abiding values of life. They condemned wars outright and averted them when and where they were impending. They turned to truth and non-violence and impressed the common populace into similar thinking and attitudes. The best of every religion and culture in the country was appreciated and adopted to form a new philosophy of life conducive to the betterment of life, both material and spiritual. This gave rise to, says Manjappa, Upanishads and Agamas reflecting the new thinking and outlook. Further, he opined, as early as the sixth century B.C. Mahavira, a hero of the Aryan Kshatriya race and an embodiment of the new spirit, dealt a death blow to the sacrificial rites and turned people to non-violence. ¹⁰ Thus according to Manjappa, Mahavira was a great rebel against Vedic religion.

Then in 550 B.C., came Bhagavan Buddha, who also hailed from an Aryan Kshatriya race. As Manjappa observed, "Buddha was up with all the fury of his convictions against sacrificial rites involving violence, rigidity of caste system, the denial of equal rights to women with

¹⁰ Ibid, p.15.
men in religious practices. The old order, unable to stand the fury of his attack, shook to its roots like never before in the past to receive a new and wholesome orientation at the Buddha's hands. Buddha's non-violence was unique and unlike any revealed to the world by men of divine descent." 

Thus according to Manjappa, many of the kings accepted wholeheartedly Buddha's new religion, and the royal assent extended their help to spread it in the country far and wide. The exemplary emperor Ashoka adopted Buddhism which, with his royal assent and patronage, spread and gained a supreme and unassailable position for over a thousand years after Buddha. It is only later, says Manjappa, that Vedic religion once again raised its ugly head to deal a crushing blow to Buddhism which, in consequence, became a dead thing of the past in the country. But it found a thriving ground in Burma, China, Japan and other countries, and had its votaries numbering round about eighty crores.

At a time when the country was being beaten into newer and newer shapes by waves of such revolutionary

11. Ibid.
feeling and thinking, foreign invasions had continued to be a regular plague, wrote Manjappa. General Skylask was sent from his king Darius of Iran to invade India in 500 B.C., when Darshak was ruling. It is Skylask who conquered the north-west region from Punjab to Sindh and annexed it to Iran. But that area did not remain for a long time under his suzerainty.

Then Alexander (Sikandar) of Greece was the next reputed hero to invade India in 327 B.C. As is opined by Manjappa, India and Europe got to know each other from this invasion. At the outset, the invading Alexander was not allowed a free advance into the country. Ashvaka with a large army tried to hold Sikandar back from advancing across the Sindhu, but he died in his attempt. The routed hero, however, took his chance again in the next year. He (Sikandar) crossed the river Sindhu without any let or hindrance and attacked Taxasila and Punjab.

There were petty kingdoms in Punjab at the time of Sikandar's invasion. King Ambi of Taxasila and

the neighbour king Porus were enemies. That is why, Ambi sided with the invading foreigner and helped Sikandar with an army of 5000 Soldiers. Even then, Porus won the applause and appreciation of Sikandar for his patriotism and valour and was even restored to his lost kingdom. Further Sikandar's magnanimity mounted even higher, when he reconciled the two inveterate foes. But within a few years of Sikandar's return to his native country, the other kingdoms that were conquered by him became free.

After that Seleukas, Sikandar's brave general, sought to cross the Sindhu and found his kingdom. But he was put to rout by the valiant Chandragupta who even wrested his kingdoms—Kabul, Kandahar and Baluchistan—and annexed them to his own empire. The helpless Seleukas had to seek his friendship which he did by giving his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta.\(^\text{14}\)

This was of great significance, according to Manjappa, because for the first time a marital relationship took place between Hindus and Europeans. Then there were also invasions by the Hunas, Kushanas, Shakas and Yevanas (Greeks) on India. But Vikramaditya and other kings of

Shalivahana race rose almost as equals to the foreign invasions. They fought the invaders valiantly and drove them back to their home countries. And in the course of a few centuries, these aliens got mixed with the Hindus. "It was claimed", notes Manjappa, "that India was at the peak of her glory for about 2000 years from 1500 B.C. to 600 A.D. It was during this period that great seers and philosophers preached and popularised their great doctrines of immense good to the entire humanity. It was during this period again that great warriors enhanced the greatness of the country and that India gained considerably in international name and fame. And it was during such glorious periods that Hindu sovereignty and culture were established in Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Phillippines and Formosa..."15

3. SUBJECT INDIA:

Gautam, the Buddha, was the first genius who presented to a world beset with ignorance and irreligion a new way through life, which lies through knowledge and compassion. The next luminary to follow Buddha five hundred years after with the same message of knowledge

and kindliness was Jesus Christ who ascended the Cross for the redemption of man. Prophet Mohammad was the next world force to walk the earth five hundred years later with scripture and sword to propound and propagate Islam, and to establish Islamic sovereignty in the world. His forceful teachings drew to him a large following spreading in the West as far as Portugal, and China in the East. Islam has, at present, about twenty crores of votaries in different parts of the world, most of them being Muslim countries.

The Muslims invaded India for the first time in the beginning of the eighth century A.D., and for eight hundred years, the invasions were repeated now and then. Manjappa notes with sorrow that: "The inhuman cruelty and violence perpetrated during the invasions were untenable. The history of India relating to the period of Muslim invasions had the tinge of indelible blood". 16

For the first time, Mohammed Kasim, a brave dashing youth invaded Sindh with an army of six thousand soldiers in 772 A.D., and defeated Dahar, a Hindu king

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who was then ruling over Shindh province. After Kasim's invasion, a terrible invasion came from Ghazani Mohammed. He invaded India for seventeen times between 1001 A.D., and 1030 A.D. The invasions were of a uniquely terrific nature and every time the invader returned to his home­land with a rich loot of India's huge mass of wealth. But the wealth of India's religion and culture, says Manjappa, was left untouched to thrive as ever. However, this happy state of affairs did not continue for a long time. With the invasion of Ghori Mohammed (Shahabuddin), the Hindus were not left free to develop their own religion and culture. Manjappa stated that India was reduced to slavery of dependence upon the master's sweet will in all walks of life.\(^{17}\)

At the out-set, Shahabuddin, however was not allowed an easy entry into the country. Prithviraj, a brave patriot, with many other Hindu princes got prepared to drive back the invader. But Jayachand, the prince of Kanoj, nursing a personal grudge against Prithviraj, did not participate in the war. In the fierce fight that followed, Shahabuddin was defeated. He was made a captive and presented before Prithviraj who was moved to

\(^{17}\) G.S. Halappa (Ed.), op. cit., p.282.
compassion for the victim, and left him to go bake alive to his country.

Jayachand, quite discomposed at Prithviraja's victory, grew more intent on working his ruin. He wrote a letter to Shabuddhin mentioning that he would help by all means if he (Shabuddhin) attacked Prithviraj once again. Vengeful Shahabuddhin was quick to seize the opportunity and marched against Prithviraj the following year with an overwhelming force of one lack and twenty thousand soldiers. Unfortunately Prithviraj was defeated and killed in the battle. Manjappa thus notes with sorrow: "The tragic event tolled the knell of India's parting freedom. It was Prithviraja's magnanimity that previously let Shabuddhin return alive that cost him his precious life and his country, with its highly prized freedom". And treason was not let go unpunished. Shabuddhin fell on Jayachand also and killed him.

Then was witnessed the harassment by the voluptuous Phirojshaha of the Khilji dynasty. History records a fact that bears to all ages a thrill of horror. The brave queen Padmini of Chittor and about thirteen

thousand ladies entered the consecrated fire to save themselves from the voluptuous Muslims. And this molestation of Hindus by the Muslim rulers from Taimur to Aurangzeb continued, estimated Manjappa, in all its terror to make the body-politic drift to deterioration on all fronts. Further Manjappa noted: "There was social, moral, religious and spiritual deterioration. Living in peace and in love became impossible. Kings were set against kings, caste against caste and culture against culture. Envy, enmity and intolerance rained terror and destruction. Love and loyalty to country and religion ceased to be inspiring forces. This sorry state of affairs only served to favour foreign invasions". Thus Alberuni records the state of things of that time as follows:

"The whole country was divided into a number of states often at war among themselves. The leading kingdoms were Kashmir, Sindh, Malwa and Kanauj. Caste existed and distinctions between the various castes prevailed. Early marriage was common and women who lost their husbands were condemned to perpetual widowhood. The Hindu worshipped a multitude of gods, but this was confined to the vulgar and the ignorant. The educated Hindus believed God to be one, eternal without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty; all-wise, loving, giving life, ruling preserving".20

"Speaking of the administration of justice, Alberuni writes that written plaints were generally filed in which the case against the defendant or accused was stated. Oral complaints were also received. Oaths were administered and cases were decided according to the deposition of witnesses. The criminal law was extremely mild like the spirit of Christianity. The customs and manners of the Hindus were based upon the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness. Equality of man in the eye of the law was not known. The Brahmanas were exempted from capital punishment. If a Brahmana committed murder, the punishment for the crime was expiation which consisted in fasting, prayer and charity. Theft was punished according to the value of the stolen property and in certain cases mutilation of limbs was permitted. The king took one-sixth of the produce of the fields, and labourers, artisans and trading classes, all paid taxes on their incomes. Only Brahmanas were exempt from payment of taxes. Idol worship was universally prevalent and there were numerous temples all over the country. The cruel practice of 'Sati' was common and widow-remarriage was strictly forbidden. 21

Such was the India which Alberuni saw in the tenth century. The heart had gone out of Hinduism, and superstition, greed and ignorance had taken the place of learning, piety and philanthropy. There was no political unity and often powerful princes sided with foreigners against their own kinsmen and jeopardised, by their selfish actions, the common interests of their mother-land. Society was far from compact and the various component groups, dominated by the influence of

caste, followed their own line of action and often acted in antagonism to one another, forgetful of the injury they did to the common cause. The disintegrating tendencies worked with full force and the disorganized princes and peoples of Hindusthan had to surrender their lands and liberty to the foreign invaders, who swept across our plains with overwhelming might, and diverted the course of our ancient civilization into a different channel.22

In the 12th century Shri Basaveshvara, a great revolutionary after Buddha, appeared in time for cleansing society of all these evil things. Worship of manifold gods, and classification of people into high and low on the score of birth and occupation was fearlessly attacked by Basaveshvara. As a result opined Manjappa, society was cured of its social and religious evils, and was reset on a healthier and more wholesome substratum. The movement however in course of time, says Manjappa, lost its original vigour and force and failed to make much headway.

Meanwhile, the Muslim occupation of India spread like wild fire even to the far south. But their fearful

dash into the south in the 14th century was checked, in the opinion of Manjappa, by heroes of Karnataka who gave the dashing Muslims a strong united front. He further said, that this great occasion served as a strong stimulus for the founding of the Vijayanagar Empire, but for which the south, like the north, should have been Muslim-occupied and suffered the Muslim terrors and iniquities. The Vijayanagar Empire with its shining glow of victory over the Muslim invaders was an example, later in the 17th century, to the Marathas who were inspired to the heights of heroism and sacrifice to defend their country and religion against Muslim assaults. With valiant Shivaji in their midst, the Hindus could hold their heads high. The Marathas marched to the north with their national flag held aloft, and their defiant march cowed the Muslims and thenceforth their assaults ceased, 23 opined Manjappa.

Then in the 16th century Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, emerged in the Punjab. Like the Kannadigas and the Marathas, he raised a formidable force against Muslim aggression. According to Manjappa, the Sikh warriors like Tejbahaddur, Guru Govind Singh, Ranajit Singh, and others stopped Muslim aggrandisement

23. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., p.28.
and the spread of Islam in the country, and strove successfully to assert and establish their supremacy in the north. They fought like Mohammed, the prophet, with sword and scriptures in their hands.

Later the French, the Portuguese, the English and other Europeans who were in the country for trade saw the political chaos and disunity among the native princes and thought of exploiting the favourable conditions to establish their rule in the country. And they succeeded in their ambitious designs. It was, however, the English who driving out the other nationals, were the sole sovereigns of India, according Manjappa. Ultimately the Hindus and the Muslims had to remain under the control of the Englishmen. Prof. Seeley thus rightly remarked that "not by the prowess of their arms did the British win; but we (Indians) for our treason lost our freedom".

4. FREEDOM STRUGGLE:

The British who came to India as traders, found themselves as rulers early, according to Manjappa. The

24. Ibid.
country's chaotic conditions made them its sovereign rulers. Gaining more and more ground, after the Plassey Battle in 1757, the East India Company's rule secured a permanent footing.

A hundred years thence in the year 1857, the first battle for freedom broke out. History records it as General Nana's Rebellion (the so-called Sepoy Mutiny). This proved abortive, though both Hindus and Muslims participated in the movement, identifying themselves fully with its cause. Mostly sponsored by the Indian soldiers, the movement lacked the sympathies and support of the entire people and failed in its attempt to regain India's lost freedom. Writing on this rebellion, Sir John Seeley has opined in his book *The Expansion of England* as follows:

"We could subdue the mutiny of 1857, formidable as it was, because it spread through only a part of the army, because the people did not actively sympathise with it, and because it was possible to find native Indian races who would fight on our side. But the moment a mutiny is but threatened, which shall be no mere mutiny, but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end, as all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving of our empire...."

27. Ibid.
After this war of independence, the British Government took over the Government of India from the East India Company. As is observed by Manjappa, the change of Government brought with it some reformations in the governance of the country. In the year 1858, Queen Victoria of England proclaimed the British Government's policy in relation to India in unequivocal terms:

"We hereby announce to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honorable East India company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no agression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessings of God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the rights and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy
the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge. We know, and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state, and we will that generally in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usage, and customs of India. We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty".29

But this promise by the Proclamation was never kept up. That led to the Indian struggle against the British, which gained in strength and proportions day by day. Thus Manjappa observed rightly the efforts of Indians as follows:

On December 31, 1600 A.D. the East Indian Company, a union of 215 Britishers coming to India as traders found things favouring to become her sovereign ruler; that later in 1858 the Company relinquished its sovereignty in favour of the British Government, and that on December 28, 1885 A.D., seventy-five leading Indians intent on regaining India's lost freedom met together to found the 'Indian National Congress' which, an insignificant force to start with, has now attracted lakhs of Indians to its fold, and its efforts to drive the British out are unique and superbly thrilling events in the history of the world....30

Western education through the medium of English and through it, to an acquaintance with western political ideas and aspirations was also a contributary cause to the emergence of the Indian National Congress. According to Manjappa Hindus, Muslims, Parsies, Christians and people of other religions who had western education joined the Congress and planned and worked for the good of the country.31

The concerted effort of different races and communities for the country's freedom through the National Congress was viewed with grave concern and anxiety by the British, and the then Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin apprehended it as fatal to the British rule itself. Considering it absolutely essential to

30. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., p.32.
31. Ibid.
deal with the growing Hindu-Muslim unity to ensure British interests in the country the Viceroy observed thus:

"India consists of two nations—the Hindu and the Muslim. The Hindu nation has a population of nineteen crores. Muslim nation is having five crores. Hindus worship myriads of Gods, but Muslims worship only one God. The Hindu temples have idols installed in them. On the other hand, the idols offend the Muslims who on their very sight get enraged and break them. Hindus worship the cow as a goddess, whereas Muslims kill her. The Hindu Community suffers from caste distinctions; on the other hand, the Muslim community knows no such distinctions. The Hindus bow to every victor—invader whoever he may be. But the Muslims are too conscious of their past glories of sovereignty over India from Himalaya to Kanyakumari." 32

Due to the British policy of alienating the Muslims a little while after the emergence of the Indian National Congress, the Muslims began to break away from the Congress. At last there emerged in 1906 the 'All India Muslim League'—a separate political Muslim organisation.33

In 1905 a war broke out between Russia and Japan. Russia, though a big country, was defeated. Valiant

32. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., pp.33-34.
33. Ibid, p.34.
Japan, though small, was victorious. Japan's victory was a great lesson to Indians. The victory generated in them a faith in Asia's ability to defeat the European countries. "This lent", opined Manjappa, "India's impetus". And there was witnessed the growing national consciousness among the Indians; specially it was more marked in Bengal.

Curzon, the then Viceroy considered these factors carefully. He also knew that Bengal was one of the first provinces to be governed by the British, and having become the capital of provinces, was probably the most politically conscious area of India. "Curzon proposed that the province of Bengal was too large to be administered with ease and economy. He therefore set about to partition it without regard to culture linguistic homogeneity, or feelings of the people..."  

It is clear from the manner in which the partition of Bengal was planned, worked out and actually enforced and also from the speeches delivered by Lord Curzon in its support that the real motive was to divide

34. Ibid.
the people on the basis of religion and to create dis-
union and enmity between the Hindus and the Muslims
in pursuance of the imperialistic policy of divide and
rule. Manjappa says: "The partition made the Muslims
pro-British and the Hindus anti-British." Surendranath
Bannerjee, a loyal patriot, with the power of his moving
elocution, worked up the feelings of the Bengalees into
a new awakening.

Tilak made his own contribution to the develop-
ment of a new consciousness. He condemned the craven
policy of the Congress and contended that the Congress
should not hesitate to resort to violent means and
methods. This led to the rise of extremism in India.
Among the persons responsible for the birth of extremism
in India, Lala Lajpat Rai of the Punjab, Bal Gangadhar
Tilak of Maharashtra, Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal were
the foremost. They became the famous trio 'Lal-Bal-Pal'.
It is these people, according to Manjappa, who roused
the country to an unprecedented political consciousness.

36. G.N. Singh, Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and
National Development, p.149.
37. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., p.35.
38. N.S. Bose, The Indian Awakening and Bengal,
The Indian National Congress session held in Calcutta in 1906 under the presidency of Naoroji pledged itself to violence in its struggle. The president declared: 'self-government was the only solvent of the evils from which the country suffered and the people should be united and make determined efforts to win it'. 39 This declaration, says Manjappa, was the first of its kind in the history of India's independence struggle. In a year or two after the 1906 Congress Session, the leaders of the extremist block, Lala Lajpat Rai, Balagangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal worked their will upon the middle class people who in response worked themselves up into earnest enthusiasm about the freedom movement. It was by this violent group again, says Manjappa, that Indians were first roused to bitter dissatisfaction with the British Government. Just at this time an underground association of the revolutionaries was formed in Bengal. Similar associations of young men came up all over the country with the object of threatening the British into retreat by killing their officers with country bombs. No less a person than Shri Aurobindo himself was one such extremist in those days. Thus the national consciousness among the people of the nation developed to alarming

proportions and Tilak raised his moving voice, "Swaraj is my birth right, and I shall have it". The extremist block gaining in strength and number day by day, captured the Indian National Congress. Then onwards, the Congress was viewed by the British with grave misgivings. The Government adopted severe measures to put down the Congress. Tilak's fiery article under the caption 'The Country's misfortune' published in Kesari, was put down for treason. He was tried, found guilty, and was sentenced to transportation for six years in 1908 and was put in Mandale jail. Thus the Government went on suppressing the activities of the extremist through repressive measures.

At the same time, the British, however, took due note of this growing national consciousness and, wanting to calm it down, were making awards of conciliatory concessions to India, stated Manjappa. He further noted that the Indian Council Act of 1861 was made more conciliatory by a further concession of rights in 1892. And then, while suppressing the activities of the extremists, in due appreciation of the new political consciousness growing in the country from 1905, the 1892 Reforms were further extended for the next award in 1909 called as the 'Morley-Minto Reforms'. This award—
signified the dawn of democracy in the country and its
credit should go to the extremists in the Congress.
Lord Curzon, the author of the partition of Bengal,
claimed that the partition was permanent and could not
be undone because of the hard glue used in the making
of it. All the same, observes Manjappa, the British
Government in due appreciation of the nation-wide
discontent among the people, repealed the partition
of Bengal in 1911.40

In the first great war of Europe (1914-1918),
Indians helped the British with men, money and other
materials. The British won the war and were duly
impressed by India's contribution to its victory. Thus
Manjappa says, the Indians themselves became well aware
of the heroic stuff of their being, and their national
consciousness received an added impetus. In pursuance
of its decennial awards to India the British Government
made its 1919 award more liberal than the earlier one
and in due regard to its avowed policy of wider and
wider powers and more and more rights to Indians,
announced the 'Montague-Chelmsford Reforms'. Tilak,
fearing the widening rift in the Indian Community as
fatal to the country, tried to reconcile the Hindus and

the Muslims. And in 1916, a peace pact called the 'Lucknow Pact' was signed by the Congress and the League. It was to counteract this strategic move of Tilak that in the 1919 award, Muslims were favoured with special concessions. With the death of Tilak in 1920, Gandhiji assumed the leadership of the Congress.

With his assumption of the reigns of Indian politics, Gandhiji, metamorphosed the entire country with his creed of non-violence. Manjappa observes that with the weapon of non-violence, he proved a fountain-head of inspiration of a new kind to India's freedom fighters. More than that he fought out the curse of untouchability in the Hindu community, commended hand-spinning and hand-weaving and other cottage industries as contributing to the wealth and better living of the people. And he also brought home to his countrymen the many grave flaws and errors in the moral, social and educational matters. Under the pressure of Gandhiji's dynamic activities, says Manjappa, legal provision was made in the form of an Act in 1935 for further liberalising the Indian reforms. This Act of 1935 which provided for the 'Provincial Autonomy' was implemented in 1937.

41. Ibid.
42. Ibid, p.290.
Further, with a thumping majority the Congress party came to power in the seven Provinces.

But Gandhiji's creed and individual character failed in making an impact on the Muslims in the country, complained Manjappa. He spoke out to his countrymen his conviction that without Hindu-Muslim unity, Indian independence was but a mirage. That is why he even identified and associated himself with the 'Khilafat Movement', that was led by the Muslims. Gandhiji worked for its objectives and aspirations, considering it as a national issue. He further observed fast for twenty-one days to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. But all his efforts were in vain. Most of the Muslims charmed by Jinnah's influence, states Manjappa, refused to be converted to the Gandhian way of thinking. They even showed daily a growing disposition to drift away from the Hindus. And the Muslim League's Session, held at Lahore in 1940, adopted a resolution to the effect that all those areas in the country which were predominantly Muslim, should be grouped together to form a separate country to be called Pakistan.\(^4\) Thus the poisonous seed of a separate country within India planted by Lord Dufferin fifty years

\(^4\) Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., p.40.
ago did sprout, says Manjappa, and grew into a huge tree. Gandhi who had twenty years ago that Hindu-Muslim unity was an essential requisite for India's independence, was now quite disillusioned. He realised that until there was foreign domination in India, Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible.

When the war broke out in Europe for the second time in the century in 1939, the Congress at the instance of Gandhi relinquished office in the provinces and conducted its campaign of non-cooperation with the British rulers. According to Manjappa this only favoured the interests of the Muslim League and the British rulers. 44 Then in 1942, the Indian National Congress, by passing a resolution in its session, asked the British Government to 'Quit India'. When the British Government understood the intention and plans of the leaders of the Congress, it immediately arrested the leaders of the Congress party including Gandhi and put them in jails. A country-wide dissatisfaction followed, writes Manjappa, and the whole country was up with rage to wrest their freedom from the reluctant British. 45 During all this Subhas Chandra Bose, evading

44. Ibid, p.41.
45. Ibid.
even the vigilant British Government, crossed India's borders and reached Japan, which was Britain's enemy for a vantage ground against the British. There he organized an Indian army known as the 'Azad Hind Fouz', and marched with it against the British in India. But things proved, notes Manjappa, too hostile for his daring dash. In 1945, Germany and Japan met with a crushing defeat and Subhas Chandra Bose's soldiers became British prisoners. 46

As in politics, so in religion, observed Manjappa, there had been for the last fifty years frequent frictions between the Hindus and the Muslims, between untouchables and high caste people, and between different sub-castes. 47 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and other great reformers were pioneers in the abolition of caste distinctions and the social dependence of women. Later, Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj worked fearlessly for reformation of the Hindu Society. 48 In the same way Gandhiji and Madan Mohan Malaviya worked for the abolition of untouchability. Sometimes they even faced a lot of trouble from the orthodox Hindus in their struggle.

46. Ibid, p.42.
47. E.S. Halappa (Ed.), op.cit., p.297.
against untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the untouchables exerted his utmost for the amelioration of the people of his community. Social injustices meted out to them in the name of religion came to be gradually mitigated. The untouchables woke up to a due sense of self-respect. Thus, in the opinion of Manjappa, the whole gamut of Indian life——political, religious and social——underwent a complete revolution. 49

5. FREE INDIA:

It is evident from this survey that for the last thousand years and more, India has been passing through a process of transformation——political, social, religious and cultural. It is very important, says Manjappa, that we should know our past. It is our past, he further says, that makes our present which, in its turn, determines our future. To know our past is to come into light that lights our future. Swami Vivekananda has rightly observed thus in his book, "My Master": "Indians should strive to acquaint themselves with their past glory. That serves to make their future glorious". 50

49. Ibid.
50. Swami Vivekananda, My Master, (Kannada Version), Shri Ramakrishna-Shram, Mysore, 1949, pp. 8-9.
Even the reputed German scholar, Max Muller has said the same thing. If a nation fails to know its past history and literature and to be proud of them, its very soul shall perish. Further he opined, "...history has to teach us before all and everything, is our own antecedents, our own descent." We can know better from the records of reputed foreign writers as to what heights of glory and greatness India once rose and shone. Count Jonsert Jarna opines in his book *The Theogony of the Hindus* as follows:

"In point of religion and ancestry, no nation of the world can compete with India. It was there that the best of culture emerged and spread in the west to Ethiopia and Egypt, in the east to Siam, China and Japan, in the south to Ceylon, Java and Sumatra and in the north to Iran, Chaldea and as far as Greece and Rome."  


"India is the source of fountain of the whole world. From there flowed to the west, politics, religion literature and other fine arts. India built up a huge empire comprising Iran, Arabastan, Egypt and other countries in the sunless north polar regions. The empire is now all extinct with its least trace."  

The learned scholar Max-Muller records in his book, *India—What Can It Teach Us?* as follows:

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India".  

It can be gathered from the writings of these scholars that Indians in the past were supremely excellent in all works of life. This glorious period of India's history lasted till the 8th century A.D.

It is necessary to know why India, being one of the greatest nations of the world, should be reduced to such a miserable condition. According to Manjappa,

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54. F. Max Muller, op. cit., p.6.
a nation not having essential comforts and conveniences is unhappy. And this unhappiness breeds a disposition to seek and possess them. That being achieved, the individuals in the nation find themselves disposed to count no sacrifice too great for the common good of the nation. A nation of such individuals as count their individual gains in terms of national gains is ever progressing and prospering.55

Manjappa further stated that the Hindus during their career of supremacy as sovereign lords of several countries of the world for thousands of years were a people inspired to great heights of individual suffering and sacrifice for the nation's good. "The Aryan Invaders," writes Manjappa, "when they first settled in India, were accomplished in the art of such supreme living".56

It was by the enterprising spirit and strength of community life that the Aryans triumphed over the Dravidians and others in the country and built a huge empire stretching as far as the south and east of the Asian continent. In course of time due to the inter-mixing of the Aryans and the Dravidians by marriage, a

56. Ibid, p.50.
new mixed race cropped up in the country and with that, distinctions of high and low among the Hindus. Differences of caste and trade divided the Hindus into divisions and subdivisions which proved fatal to the integrity of the country. Bhagavan Buddha applied himself with love and labour to reunite the disintegrated country. To Manjappa, he was the one and the solitary figure to have applied himself to the great task of preaching the message of subordination of individual good to the general good in the interests of the country's integrity.

In about ten centuries after Buddha, the community consciousness disappeared, making room for the selfish play of individual interests. According to Manjappa, "The associate life of Buddha's time and the corporate life of Vedas" time were no more, and the nation sank deeper and deeper to ignoble depths. Different ideologies, sects and parties raised their ugly heads in the country. The age-long disposition to corporate living had quite vanished. The country witnessed a craze for a life of isolation and segregation. Wrong and erroneous notions of pride and prestige possessed

58. Ibid.
the people. *Lesser the contact with the rest of the community the greater was the honour that went with it.
Aggressive individual living in place of corporate living of the past became the absorbing fashion of the day. That is how the Muslim invaders, whose very breath of life was corporate living, could bear the Hindus of all their precious possessions and reduce them to penury. 59

Manjappa further said that the corporate living of Vedic and associate living of Buddhistic times perished, and isolated living of Puranic days became once more the craze of the day and led to the disintegration of the country in a thousand ways; and in the end to its ultimate ruin. The Indian history of the last 1200 years tells the tragic tale of foul treachery to one's own people at the integration of aggressive selfishness born of isolated living. He (Manjappa) also said in 1946, it was only in the last twenty-five years that we could see the rise and growth of national-mindedness in the country. In a huge procession held in Bombay on 23-1-1946, on the occasion of the 50th birth anniversary of Subhas Chandra Bose, many brave patriots succumbed to British bullets. A meeting was held

on 24-1-1946 just to pay homage to the great martyrs under the presidentship of Devendranath Mukherji, Mayor of Calcutta and a top leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. He declared in his Presidential speech: "I have communicated to the Bombay Government by a telegram that the citizens of Calcutta are holding themselves ready to go to Bombay and die to defend India's honour. I am constrained to serve the British and the Indian Government with this warning: — India is one and whole— undivided and indivisible. If one part of it is hurt, the rest of it gets hurt the very moment. India makes no difference between province and province, between community and community, and between religion and religion".  

This was a powerful expression which was typical of the national consciousness of the individual citizen of India. This national consciousness was the same as the corporate and associate living of the Vedic and Buddhistic times respectively. Because India turned her back upon such a dynamic consciousness that she became a victim of foreign domination. The advent of the machine in the last century failed to make its impact on India because of its subjection to foreign

60. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., p. 53.
Manjappa, India, dependent on a foreign power, could not join this economic race and had to suffer the hardship of utter privation and poverty. But the time for India to emerge victorious even from the depths of her present hardships and to become one of the world's powers was near at hand. Further he wrote: "India's intrinsic strength lies in her racial composition. She is a nation composed of different races with their unique civilization and culture. The original Dravidians, the Dravidians, the Mongoleans, the Aryans, the Shakas, the Kushānas and the Hūnas have all gone to make the Hindu people too closely knit to admit of division and disruption against any force, however formidable. Added to it, the present Hindu civilization is an amalgamation of all the then prevalent civilizations in the country".  

Thus Mr. Risley, a famous writer has rightly observed: "A new generation has sprung up in India by cross breed of Scythian and Dravidian in the South, of Dravidian and Mongolean in Bengal, of Aryan and Scythians in the north; and of Aryans and Dravidians in the central

61. Ibid, pp. 54-55.
India. This amalgamation of races by marriage into a homogeneous whole has led to a harmonious composition of different modes of dress, language and religious practice and worship of God. Thus the Hindu culture, being a synthesis of a variety of cultures, has tended to make the Hindus tolerant of all religions other than their own.\textsuperscript{62} In the same way, Pandit Mahamahopadhyya Haraprasad Shastri, a distinguished conservative of Bengal observed as follows: "The Brahmins of Bengal are mostly of non-Aryan origin. They are either Mongoleans or Dravidians".\textsuperscript{63} The present day Vedic priests professing to be Aryans are of the Dravidian blood. Except in their observance of the Aryans' caste system and sacrificial performance, they are not Aryans in all their thinking and doing.

Manjappa further stated, 'The enmity arising out of racial differences between the Aryans on the one hand and the Dravidians and the rest on the other decreased day by day to disappear ultimately. And the Aryan invaders gradually shed their feeling of being aliens in the country. After a lapse of about one thousand years since they settled in India, they no longer

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\textsuperscript{63} G.S. Halappa (Ed.), op. cit., p.298.
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felt as foreigners in the land. They became one with
the original inhabitants. The Brahmins and the non-
Brahmins are not as antagonistic to each other as they
were a quarter of a century before. Nor is the sense
of high and low among the caste Hindus so definitely
developed. And in the free India of tomorrow,
visualised Manjappa, Hindus could not be as divided
and weak as they are today.

Ninety percent of the followers of both
Christianity and Muslim religion, according to Manjappa,
originated from the Hindu blood. Further he said,
Christians identified themselves with Hindus in respect
of name, language, clothing and other things. They
looked upon India as their mother-land and thus at her
service.

At the same time, Muslims were striving hard
to have a separate state of their own, different from
and independent of the Hindus' state. "But in the very
near future", wrote Manjappa, "When India hopes to be
free, the Muslims have to live together with the Hindus
as one people. Their sense of separateness cannot
prevail any longer. It is bound to go, now that the

64. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., p.55.
economic age has set-in in place of religions. It is no matter what a man's caste is, his dress is, his religion is. His state and status in society are determined by his economic efficiency. Man everywhere and on every front is moving in a free and forceful air of freedom. Religious vanity is disfavoured and rejected. Distinction of caste as high and low on the score of birth, classification of labour as noble and ignoble, condemning women as slave to man and the poor as vassals to the rich can be no longer stand justified. The present drift is towards self-respect and self-defence in an organised society. This was Manjappa's vision of Hindu-Muslim unity in India. But unfortunately it did not materialise.

The Muslim animus against the Hindus was to be attributed to a certain extent to the Hindus also. The native communalism of the Hindus served to alienate the Muslims and to provoke them to have a separate Islamic state, opined Manjappa. The reputed historian, Sardesai says in his book *Muslim Riyasat* as follows:

"Despite the Muslim invasions for a thousand years no appreciable change in the way of Hindu life is noticeable. The present British domination has fared no better. Many Hindu old ways still persist. That Hindus and Muslims, though living together for such a

long time, could maintain or separate
distinguishable entity is an unique event
in the history of the world...."66

Why the Muslims had a notion of separate Muslim
state, was finely summed up by Navabjada Liyakhat
Alikhan, in the Muslim League Conference held at
Tinnavelli, ".....A majority of Muslims are Hindu
converts. But the Hindus for the last 800 years have
treated them as aliens in all social and cultural
matters".67

The communalism of the Hindus and the fanaticism
of the Muslims had tended to keep the two communities
ever apart. Both had now realised the error of their
thinking and doing; Rajaul Karim, a reputed writer, has
rightly observed in his book Pakistan Examined: "It is
a sheer madness to think of a separate Muslim state in
any part of the country. Hindus and Muslims are and
should remain one people".68

Louis Fisher, an American journalist, speaking
about Mahatma Gandhiji's mind as revealed to him in his

66. Ibid, p.57
68. Rajaul Karim, Pakistan Examined, p.6.
interview with the Mahatma in 1942 has rightly observed in his book *A Week With Gandhi*: "Every Muslim of India, on tracing back his lineage, is sure to find in all of it a Hindu name. Every Muslim is a Hindu initiated into Islam.\(^69\)

Manjappa thus hoped that the Hindu-Muslim antipathy would be sure to go in free India. The original Dravidians of India being initiated to the Aryan faith became Aryans and practiced the teachings of the Vedas. In the same way Hindus and Muslims would be one people, prophesied Manjappa. Though subsequent events have not confirmed his prophecy, who could have said at that time that it was an impossibility?

Then he turned his attention to the possibility of a synthesis between the Indian and Western cultures. Like most Indians with progressive views, he was keenly aware of the difficulties it would encounter in practice. The problem, as he saw it, was one of assimilating what could and should be assimilated. He was an outspoken critic of those who merely aped the outward forms of western civilization. He distinguished

between imitating a superficial habit and understanding and assimilating an idea. He ridiculed at many Indians who are Westernised in dress only but deeper down remain untouched by the spirit of western modernism. In particular, he advocated the assimilation of the Western techniques of industrial and commercial organization, the Western capacity to carry on trustworthy business on a joint stock basis, and the Western skill in organizing and operating public and political institutions on sound lines. Manjappa was very particular that Indians should develop among them that spirit of national pride, associated life and dutifulness which are really great qualities found in the English people. He regretted that Indians had not assimilated these valuable things.

Lastly, Manjappa did consider, though briefly, the various political systems and which among them free India would choose. He distinguished three types of political systems: Constitutional monarchy, the American System of democracy, and the Russian System of dictatorship. He argued that free India would be influenced by them. Further, he said that when India becomes free the British influence may continue for sometime and there

70. Manjappa Hardekar, op. cit., Passim. 60-62.
are strong indications of this. But in their own interest, the Indians should not adopt British type of constitutional monarchy. Similarly Russian System of dictatorship should not be encouraged in India. Only alternative Manjappa could suggest was the American model of democracy to India. He argued that even in France and the U.S.A. there is no perfect or ideal democracy. There are certain defects. Even then, said Manjappa, it guaranteed individual liberty and promoted the welfare of all. Thus he believed that it would be better for India to follow the American model, after purging it of such defects as economic inequality.\footnote{Ibid, p.64.}

Since the present Indian Constitution does contain at least some, though not all the features of American Democracy, Manjappa should be deemed to have seen the problem with some insight of his own.

Manjappa rightly foresaid in his last publication, \textit{Awakened India} (1946): "In the strength of her realization of political, social and economic equality, India shall rise in the very near future to full dimensions of her greatness and glory".\footnote{Ibid.} His dream came true when India attained her independence on 15th August 1947 and the government of free India striving for
political, social and economic equality for reducing inequality among the people in the society.

To conclude, as a clear thinker and with a remarkable insight into history, Manjappa has made a survey of Indian history of about ten thousand years. He divides Indian history, into ancient India, the period of revolution in thought, subject India, the age of freedom struggle and free India. At the outset, in ancient India he claims that India's greatness and glory were unique. No other country could claim to have cherished and contained in fact an older civilization than India's.

In the second stage he states, a nation's era of progress is marked by great wars and mentions Ramayana and Mahabharata as examples. But after three thousand years of these wars, Manjappa observes, there was a complete change in the people's outlook and thinking, which resulted in an universal rejection of arms and weapons. Victories of peace were preferred to victories of war. The bitterness of war and its violence shook the master minds in the country into due awareness of right and more abiding values of life. They condemned war outright and averted them when and
where they were impending. They turned to truth and non-violence and impressed the common populace into similar thinking and attitudes. The best of every religion and culture in the country was appreciated and adopted to form a new philosophy of life conducive to the betterment of life, both material and spiritual. This gave rise to, says Manjappa, Upanishads and Agamas reflecting this new thinking and outlook. Further, in the 6th century B.C. Mahavira a hero of the Aryan Kshatriya race and an embodiment of the new spirit, dealt a death blow to the sacrificial rites and turned people to non-violence and became a great rebel against Vedic tradition. This was followed and continued by Buddha. To Manjappa, Buddha was up with all the fury of his convictions against sacrificial rites involving violence, rigidity of caste system, the denial of equal rights to women with men in religious practices etc. The old order, unable to stand the fury of his attack, shook to its roots like never before in the past to receive a new and whole-some orientation at the Buddha's hand. Buddha's non-violence was unique and unlike any revealed to the world by men of divine descent. Many kings, therefore, supported and became ardent followers of Buddhism. This stage Manjappa describes as the stage of revolution in thought.
At a time when the country was being beaten into newer and newer shapes by waves of such revolutionary feeling and thinking, says Manjappa, foreign invasions had continued to be a regular plague. The first invasion on India was in 327 B.C. from Alexander of Greece. Then this was followed by Hūnas, Kushanas, Shākas and Yevanas (Greeks). But among all these invasions Muslims invasion of the 8th century, states Manjappa, were abhorring. They continued to occur for over eight hundred years. This was followed by the European invasions. The British who came purely as traders made the best use of the political chaos and disunity among the native princes, and established their rule over the country. The English people who driving out the other Europeans from India, became the sovereign rulers of India. Ultimately the Hindus and the Muslims had to remain under the control of Englishmen. Thus India entered, according to Manjappa, the stage of subject India.

Efforts for gaining freedom from the British are supposed to have been made in 1857 known as the first war of independence, though it failed in its goal. Then in 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded. Through this organization, leaders like Gokhale, Tilak
and Gandhiji started fought for freedom. At the same time, Manjappa opines, the Indians were not only fighting for freedom against the British but also fighting against social evils like communalism, untouchability, and for the upliftment of women. These problems were stressed earlier by social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekanand, the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and so on. It is a well-known thing that Gandhiji worked for the eradication of untouchability, upliftment of women by giving them equal rights etc. In this way, estimates Manjappa, freedom movement and the religious and social movements went hand in hand which brought about a great revolution in India. This phase in India's chequered history is described by Manjappa as the age of freedom struggle.

Manjappa, by a careful observation and analysis of the incidents up to and including the Second World War, prophesied that India was destined to gain independence from the British. He expressed the hope to this effect in the last paragraph of his book Ecchatta Hindusthana. He further says in the same book that in free India Hindu-Muslim antipathy would surely disappear and they would live like one people. This fond hope of his did not materialise. But who could have said at that time
that it was almost an impossibility? Though the country was partitioned on the eve of independence, the Muslims continue to constitute the major minor community in India even today. Even then attempts are being made to establish religious toleration, mutual respect and political accommodation and the common political allegiance to a secular state. Secularism which has been the accepted creed of free India keeps the doors open for such an unity so ardently hoped for Manjappa, Gandhiji and such other broad-minded individuals.

Manjappa has also stated in his Ecchatta Hindusthana though it is natural for free India to be influenced by the British political system but ultimately it would be desirable to adopt the American system of democracy. Though he was aware of the defects of the American political system he advocated that India should follow the American political system with necessary modifications. Since the present constitution of India does contain some features of American constitutionalism, Manjappa should be considered to have seen the problem with a deep political and constitutional insight.

According to Manjappa true democracy consists in people themselves holding the reins of government in their hands and ruling in the best interests of all the
people. He criticized some aspects of democracy in England and America. He stated for example, in England and America the workers are clad in towern cloths. Whereas the owners of factories roll in gold and wealth. This is not true democracy. Manjappa, speaking about the presidential elections in America, asks, will it be true democracy if some one wins over the press with the help of money to his side and gets elected as president? He was too very critical of the economic disparity in American society. If 90% of national wealth is in the hands of ten people and the remaining 10% dispersed in the hands of ninety people, it is not the essence of true democracy. No doubt, therefore, he was scathing critic of both autocracy and pseudo-democracy. His concept of democracy minus its defects would be a more suitable political arrangement for free India than the constitutional monarchy of England or the Soviet dictatorial type of government. It is revealing enough that this vision of a new political and social order has been by and large adopted in the new constitution of India. We have today a constitution which has heavily drawn from the English and the American political systems. This speaks volumes for Manjappa's political acumen. No wonder he prophesied that awakened India i.e., free India would attain unity in the political,
economic and religious fields and would reach great heights of progress.

Manjappa had, therefore, a vision of his own and hoped that once India attains freedom, it will be possible for her to launch on a new path to real freedom and progress ushering in a new social and political order. His idea of a new social and political order was not in the form of a complete transformation independent of its historical roots. He never thought in terms of a nation drifting away from its historical moorings. He was very much influenced by the transformation that took place in the minds of Indians during what he calls the revolution in thought period of Indian history that led to the adoption of the creed of peace and non-violence abhorring war and violence. Manjappa upholds this as the most enduring of the values and morals that Indian history has held out for us. The new social and political order of new India should be based on this important value, inherited from our own history. It should be a secular, egalitarian order based on justice — social, political and economic for all Indians. Manjappa visualised that the new order based on secularism, with the practice of religious all along, which is an unique element of Indian life would pave the way for Hindu-Muslim unity. So
Manjappa's concept of a new social and political order was a broad-based, liberal, egalitarian and tolerant social, political and economic structure with opportunities for one and all to develop their mind, body and soul fully. To him this was also the goal of Independence. The new constitution of India has provided for most of these elements with the hope of ushering in that new social and political order. It is unfortunate that Manjappa did not live to witness the change. Destiny willed it otherwise.