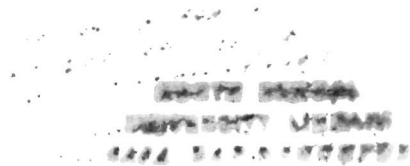


**NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM :
A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF TAGORE,
GANDHI AND NEHRU.**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS)
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University of North Bengal
1993



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P R E F A C E

The ideals of nationalism and internationalism have been the subjects of discussion of the scholars and political leaders of this country. In the Indian context, the importance and significance of these ideals were felt by the political leaders who took active part in the national freedom movement. In fact, these ideals acted as stimuli in creating a sense of oneness among the people during the black days of colonial domination. So, both from theoretical and practical aspects, the ideals of nationalism and internationalism exercised tremendous influence on the course of political development in those fateful years when the country was struggling to throw away the chains of British imperialism.

At the same time, it is important to note that there is no agreed definition of these concepts. A stereotyped, simplistic, Western version of nationalism and internationalism seems to be not only inadequate but also inapplicable in the Indian situation. The Indian context offers an example where there have been interactions between a number of factors, not to be found in a typical western situation. Since, in India, the sense of nationalism and internationalism emerged out of a long-standing struggle against an imperialist power, its

(ii)

negative aspect is of the same relevance like its positive aspect. Scholars have agreed in identifying that ours is an anti-colonial variety of nationalism and hence there have been clear interactions between the process of political movement and the emergence, growth and subsequent consolidation of the ideals of nationalism and internationalism. So, for a proper and comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon, this fact should not be lost sight of by any student engaged in such a study.

In this work, an attempt has been made to highlight the contributions of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru in the freedom struggle, especially, their contribution to the development of the concepts and ideas of nationalism and internationalism. The present study seeks to reveal the structural variations and historical transformations of nationalism both as an 'ideal' and as a 'movement'. It takes into account the existence of taking certain broad general characteristics of both the western and the non-western varieties of nationalism, as an ideal, which stood for 'unity', 'independence' and 'welfare' of the people. The study also analyses various aspects of these ideals and examines to what extent, the ideas of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru have been 'democratic', 'secular' and 'socialist' or 'egalitarian'. The study has

(iii)

also tried to ascertain the extent of influence of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru on the course of national liberation movement in Afro-Asian countries in general and India in particular.

The difficult task, for a researcher, is to acknowledge his indebtedness to all of them who took part in one way or the other, in shaping his thought process and ideas, rather, difficult to mention all of them by name. However, it is imperative to express my gratitude to them who were directly associated with this study. I must express a deep sense of gratitude to Dr. S. N. Ray, Senior-most Professor, Department of Political Science, North Bengal University, my supervisor, for his eminently scholarly, meticulous and inspiring guidance - a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. It is under his supervision that I undertook this study and it is he who provided perspective and direction which helped me in the completion of this work. I am greatly indebted to him for his contribution to this work.

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(iv)

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(J. Mishra)

Place : North Bengal University,
RajaRammohunpur,

Dated 10th May 1993.

CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I. Significance of the Study:

Nationalism:

The ideal of 'nationalism' initially emerged on the European scene in the last quarter of the 18th century. However, nationalism as an 'ideal' and as a 'movement' could not remain confined to Europe; rather, that turned to be a force behind the resurgence of the movement of nationalism in Afro-Asian countries. The ideal and the movement embraced the whole of the world by the beginning of the present century. Indian national movement ^{emerged,} in general, as a living part of the world movement and, in particular, as a part of the Afro-Asian movement against colonial rule. As a part of the Afro-Asian movement, Indian national movement took the anti-colonial and anti-racial character. It also followed, to a greater extent, the democratic, secular and egalitarian manifestations of western nationalism strengthening the cause of 'independence', 'welfare' and 'unity' of the people. Further, Indian nationalism also had its bearing on other Afro-Asian national movements.

Internationalism:

Likewise, the ideal of 'internationalism' also emerged on the European scene as a response to the advent

of the 'nation' as a unit of the world society in the first quarter of the 19th century. As an ideal, it was associated with a high level of social, cultural, political and economic integration process and, not the least, due to the impact of Industrial Revolution and scientific-technological advancement. Nationalism remained important but no less important was internationalism. It came as a composite of specific functional orders e.g. military, diplomatic, legal and moral. Institutional advancement in the shape of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation, alongwith other governmental and non-governmental organisations, emerged on the scene in the beginning of the ~~twix~~ twentieth century. Internationalism came also as an ideal of supra-national society based on the ideology of 'democracy', 'secularism', 'humanism', 'socialism' and 'communism'. The goal of 'security', 'welfare' and 'justice' of the people is the essence of internationalism.

The impact of these momentous events was manifest in the thoughts of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. Their accounts of 'nationalism' and 'internationalism' exhibited the broad general characteristics of both western and non-western varieties. In their thoughts and writings, their thrust was on 'unity', 'independence' and 'welfare' of the Indian people. They adhered to their belief in the ideology of 'democracy', 'secularism' and 'socialism' or 'egalitarianism'. All of them took into account the external impact on nationalist movement in

India and also helped others in their quest for liberation, establishment of peace and collective security, prevention of war and the establishment of international organisations and other humanitarian universalist measures through their ideas and works. They stood for the ideal of organic, supranational society based on the ideologies of democracy, secularism, humanism and welfare of the people.

In the advancement of the idea of nationalism among the people, Tagore held a unique position right from the last quarter of the 19th century. Gandhi gave to it the idea and the shape of mass-character. Nehru enriched this by providing a modern look and a pragmatic approach.

II. Objectives of the Present Study:

The proposed study seeks primarily to highlight the broad general characteristics of nationalism both in the west and in the non-western world in an effort to analyse the content of nationalism in India whose characteristics, like in other Afro-Asian countries, were anti-colonial and anti-racial in manifestation. In the light of this perspective, its basic and chief purpose will be to examine how far the thrust of Indian nationalism has been 'independence', 'welfare' and 'unity' of the people, and to what extent the ideas of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru have been 'democratic', 'secular' and 'socialist' or 'egalitarian'. Since nationalism had these

components at the time of its emergence in Europe, the proposed study will also take into account the external impact on nationalist movement in India; it would try to ascertain how far the ideas of thoughts and/Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru have been able to help others in their quest for liberation, establishment of peace and collective security, prevention of war and the establishment of international organisations and other humanitarian universalist measures.

By way of achieving this basic objective, and as a logical pre-requisite to this, the present study also seeks to reveal the structural variations and historical transformations of nationalism both as an 'ideal' and as a 'movement'. It takes into account the existence of certain broad general characteristics of both western and non-western varieties of nationalism, as an ideal, which stood for 'unity', 'independence' and 'welfare' of the people. The study attempts to establish the fact that behind the formation and growth of nationalism, there had been some amount of uniformity in both these two worlds within the nation, and the cultural elements and political elements have been combined along with social and economic elements to shape the nation in the modern plural society.

The present study further attempts to point out that nationalism which came as a progressive ideology at the time of the French Revolution had to accommodate ideologies like

'racialism', 'jingoism', 'expansionism', 'fascism' and 'nazism' which in their turn, led to the outbreak of war. Despite this development, conscious and consistent attempts were made to maintain close linkage with 'democracy', 'secularism' and 'socialism'. The idea of nationalism emerged as an historical phenomenon and was always determined by political ideas and social structure. It may be pointed out that the deviations mentioned earlier were the results of scientific and technological advancement and Industrial Revolution in the West. At a particular point of history, nationalism degenerated into 'militarism' and 'imperialism'.

Nationalism in the non-western world came from European concepts and gathered momentum, particularly after the Second World War. Western nationalism was a force behind the resurgence of the movement of nationalism in the Afro-Asian countries. Afro-Asian nationalist movement differed from the western type since it was anti-colonial, the first indication of the emerging social consciousness, exhibiting anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-racial character and manifestations.

From theoretical as well as practical perspectives, Indian nationalism can be termed as the anti-colonial variety and as such emerged as a part of global and Afro-Asian national liberation movement. As a national response, it was ^{an} anti-colonial, anti-racial and anti-imperial movement. Indian nationalism further tried to be democratic, secular socialistic or egalitarian. It tried to keep itself out of narrow, expansionist, fascist, imperialist, racial nationalism of both the East and the West.

The present study also tries to analyse this aspect and to see how far the thrust has been 'independence', 'unity' and 'welfare' of the people. It is to be noted that Indian nationalism appears to be of significant value for its adoption of peaceful method for the achievement of national independence.

The concept of national sovereignty in its ideal form and meaning is becoming outmoded. Internationalism, in the field of thought, has taken the form of idealism based on humanism, morality and international brotherhood. The realists depend, on the otherhand, on absorption of the mechanical and utilitarian aspects. The 'behaviouralists' introduced sophisticated research-tools taken from the other social sciences; however they also failed to provide satisfactory answers to all the problems. Likewise, pluralism, federalism, functionalism and neo-functionalism emerged as approaches to explain the state of affairs prevailing in the international system. Historically, the philosophy of international relations emerged with the emergence of nationalism but systematic thought did not come out. In analytical terms, the frontiers of the world have disappeared. The collapse of the colonial system, and the urge for balanced development in the North and the South are the new overtones of the international society. As an ideal it represents/^{an}'organic' and 'supranational' society based on ideologies of democracy, secularism, humanism and socialism.

In India, internationalism came as a part of a

global movement as well as response to exploitation being carried on under British colonial rule.

In a more specific sense and by way of a more detailed analysis, the objective of the present study is to highlight how Tagore's views on national 'unity' and integrity were based on secular egalitarian thinking. His social, economic, political and cultural views, to a large extent, helped nationalism to find 'national-identity' and developed national consciousness. The present study also seeks to highlight his direct involvement in national movement which provide a boost to Indians in their freedom movement.

The study further seeks to highlight Tagore's humanist, universalist and internationalist views based on liberal traditions as well as on Indian traditions. His socio-political ideas, his onslaught on 'nationalism' in the west, formed the core of his internationalism. It helped Indian to keep their nationalism out of the clutch of narrow nationalism of the west. Tagore's warning to western nationalism to amend further strengthened Indians to believe that Indian nationalism was far better than that of the western brand. His involvement in the maintenance of international peace and condemnation of war and exploitation of Afro-Asian countries further justified his relevance as internationalist.

M.K.Gandhi, comes as the most important leader of the Indian nationalist movement. His social economic and political views formed a rich treasure of nationalism.

moral interpretation of society, economy and politics based on non-violence and truth not only ensured national independence, unity, secularism and welfare of the people, but also served as a foundation of the ideal of nationalism. His ideas were basically different from those of others and could be termed 'unconventional', but very important. His insistence on the use of non-violent movement for gaining Indian independence made him a unique leader and his thought quite important.

To Gandhi, the ideal of nationalism was to serve the cause of the Indians at a critical juncture of the national movement. Gandhi believed that what was true for the individual was true for the nation and the international society. Thus, attempts have been made to estimate Gandhi's ideal of peace and non-violence and its application in international politics. His views on war and universal interdependence have also been analysed with an assessment of Gandhi's thinking on the world problems.

In India, Nehru is generally known as the harbinger of enlightened nationalism which was quite modern from the western standard. Nehru advocated nationalism based on the ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism. Nehru felt the need to focus political freedom along with economic freedom. To Nehru, secularism was a 'must' for a plural society like India which was essentially transitional in character. He was highly influenced

by Gandhi and Gandhian purity of 'means' and use of peaceful method was also accepted by Nehru. He interpreted Indian nationalism in the broader global context and also took into account Indian traditions by way of a synthetic approach.

An internationalist, Nehru's basic tenets were : anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-racialism, and Afro-Asian unity. His genuine desire for international peace, collective security, world federation formed the core of his world views. His ideology of internationalism was characterised by democracy, secularism, socialism and humanism.

With this broader perspective in view, a comparison of the important views of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru has been made both of nationalism and internationalism with an assessment of their significance and contribution.

III. Research Questions:

The present study, while analysing the major contributions of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru on the ideas of nationalism and internationalism, has attempted to answer the following relevant questions:

1. What are the basic foundations of the nationalism and internationalism and their mutual interactions ?
2. To what extent, from the Indian perspective, has the idea of nationalism been a sense of identification of the

state with the people ?

3. Is it correct to say that at a certain period of history, imperialism and nationalism had been interlocked ?

4. What are the basic characteristics of the anti-colonial variety of nationalism and what has been its general impact on the struggle for independence in India ?

5. What are the factors responsible for the emergence, growth and subsequent consolidation of the ideal of nationalism in India ?

6. What are the sociological foundations of Tagore's political thought and the socio-political and economic aspects of Tagore's concept of 'the great federation of man' in his scheme of nationalist discourse ?

7. To what extent had Gandhi's attempts at 'spiritualisation of politics' their impact on his teachings on nationalism and internationalism and their mutual relationship ?

8. On what ground did Gandhi challenge the foundations of modern civilization and how was it related to his concept of nationalism and internationalism ?

9. What are the basic postulates in Gandhi's idea that nationalism is the logical step to cosmopolitanism (internationalism) ?

10. To what extent was Nehru influenced by the concept of 'synthetic universalism' of Tagore ?

11. What are the grounds on which Nehru rejected the 'assimilative - integral religious approach' to nationalism as advocated by Dayananda, Vivekananda and Aurobindo ?

12. To what extent was Nehru's 'reconciliatory approach' to internationalism (international politics) in conformity with his ideas on nationalism ?

IV. Methodology:

The present study, historical in approach and content, is essentially based on the analytical methodology. For this, the primary research materials have been collected from original writings, speeches and correspondences of the three eminent thinkers of modern India. Extensive references have been made to personal memoirs and autobiographical notes. The study has also examined the basic foundations of the political philosophies of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. The whole range of literature on nationalism and internationalism as political ideals has been analysed for the preparation of a meaningful conceptual framework. References have also been made to the secondary sources and wherever possible cross references to other related themes have also been made. In regard to the collection of primary data, the basic source has been the archival data at the national and state levels and the libraries and institutes

catering to these eminent thinkers, as in Viswa Bharati, Varanasi, New Delhi and other places. Partial application of the comparative method has also been made in some places.

V. Overview of the Literature:

Having stated the problem of enquiry and its significance, it would be useful to recount the work done in the areas of nationalism and internationalism with special reference to the ideas of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. Available literature could be classified into six broad categories.

In the first category are included those studies which mainly deal with the various theories of nationalism. These studies give an insight into the various discussions on the evolutions of the concept of nationalism as well as its actions and interactions. The plethora of literature on nationalism reveals the different contexts in which nationalism is explained and can be comprehended.

(1)
Hayes (1931) analyses nationalism on the basis of history and is concerned exclusively with the Western world. Though this work provides valuable insight into the problem of growth of nationalism, its exclusive concern makes it culture-bound and Euro-centred. He asserts that the primitive tribalism is a small-scale nationalism and that there is no absolute anti-thesis between nationalism and internationalism. However, Hayes's

account distinguished by two characteristics, namely, (a) it stresses a chronological analysis or vertical approach, treating evolution; and (b) its area is mainly limited to the European continent. In another title (1960), he emphasises the cultural aspects of nationalism. In his words, 'common language, common historical background when these by some process of education become the object of popular emotional patriotism, the result is nationalism. Carr ⁽²⁾ (1945) has discussed three overlapping periods in the evolution of nationalism, the first terminating with the French Revolution, the second as the product of ^{the} French Revolution, and the third, from 1870 reaching its climax between the two World Wars. Another prominent work of this school is that of Seton-Watson ⁽³⁾ (1965) who points out that nationalism was the outcome of the suppression of feudalism which led to secularization and democratization in the shape of nation-state in France and England. Nationalism flourished in industrialist countries which ultimately turned to imperialism. Snyder ⁽⁴⁾ (1966) has asserted the fact that in Europe nationalism grew less and less liberal and more militarist, imperialist and intolerant.

⁽⁵⁾ Kedourie (1960), ⁽⁶⁾ Mearns (1934), ⁽⁷⁾ Kohn (1920, 1956, 1961) also belong to the historical school of nationalism. Kohn (1920) also discussed nationalism of the non-Western world. His classic elucidation that nationalism is "state of mind", 'an idea which fills man's mind', is still the starting-point of

any searching quest for nationalism. Kohn provides a more neutral and detached attitude to the understanding of nationalism. His recent work is more a history of national development. Ken Wolf⁽⁸⁾ (1976) regards Kohn as an exponent of liberal nationalism. Thus, scholars of this school, especially of political orientation, conceived nationalism as an idea.

Sociologists like A. D. Smith (1971, 1979, 1983)⁽⁹⁾ and Rupert Emerson (1970),⁽¹⁰⁾ have contributed a good deal to the discussion of nationalism by conceiving it as a movement. Emerson has been a pioneer to explain the growth of non-Western nationalism, but has^{been} consistent in exposing non-Western world's non-worthiness to be a nation. Binder⁽¹¹⁾ (1964), Kennedy⁽¹²⁾ (1971) and some others pin-pointed the case-studies of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries to unravel the mysteries surrounding the concept of nationalism with reference to the non-Western world.

Sociologists like Akzin⁽¹³⁾ (1964), Deutsch⁽¹⁴⁾ (1966), Gellner⁽¹⁵⁾ (1964) and Lerner⁽¹⁶⁾ (1964) use categories like national consciousness, social communication, social group etc. to explain the formation of nations.

F. Hertz⁽¹⁷⁾ (1966) advances a psychological explanation of the formation of the nation. Johnson⁽¹⁸⁾ (1968) attempts to establish the relationship between national consciousness and economic policies. Fishman⁽¹⁹⁾ (1968) deals with the language

problem of the developing countries.

The emphasis of Tivey's ⁽²⁰⁾ edited volume, namely, the 'Nation State' (1981), is on the possibility of transplantation of nationalism from one place to another as it is malleable as well as full of adoption and adaptation. ⁽²¹⁾ Schuman ⁽²²⁾ (1968) holds that nationalism is patriotism. Minogue ⁽²²⁾ (1965) is of the opinion that unless people are conscious of nationality and make it the prime object, they can't produce cultural nationalism. He believes that Western nations are original nations, while Afro-Asian nations are state-nations.

⁽²³⁾ Snyder (1964) makes a comprehensive survey of the case studies of nationalism. However, ⁽²⁴⁾ Hinsley (1973) believes that Snyder's classifications of the post - 1945 nationalism by regional and other secondary divergences are superficial. But the first impression that may be gained from these case studies, is that every manifestation of nationalism ⁽²⁵⁾ is sui generis. This has been supported by Kohn ⁽²⁵⁾ (1981). Nationalism in the context of ^{the} non-Western world has been explained with reference to independence, unity and welfare. ⁽²⁶⁾ ⁽²⁷⁾ Pioneering works have been done by L. Binder, ⁽²⁶⁾ and Worsley ⁽²⁷⁾ (1961).

National and colonial questions have received the ⁽²⁸⁾ attention of a galaxy of Marxist scholars. Lenin ⁽²⁸⁾ has contributed a great deal in this respect. His analysis of

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imperialism, colonialism, national and colonial questions, united anti-imperialist front, is a valuable addition to the knowledge of nationalism. Present-day problems of Afro-Asian countries have been studied from the Marxist angle by Ulyanovsky (29) (1957, 1978, 1980, 1985). Glezerman (3) (1980) adds a valuable pillar to the mansion of nationalism by analysing the very basis of the formation of nations, the process of national liberation movement and the rise of the nation-state in terms of growth of social production. However, Glezerman does not place due value to ethnicity as to the growth of the new order of production.

(31) Hinsley (1973), (32) Tivey (1981) and a host of scholars believe that it is the state which creates the nation. The state is the supreme law-giver, and the organic structure of nationalism. The state embodies essentially the same sort of appeal as the nationalism. The modern state and the nation state are co-extensive phenomena.

To some scholars, nationalism is an ideology and the major ideologies are linked to it. A. Smith (33) (1979) is of the view that democracy is linked with nationalism. In democracy the collective personality of the nation gets prominence. The right to self-determination is the supreme freedom.

(34) It is essentially secular. Ebenstein (1973) points out that the association of nationalism with socialism is an important trend. (35) Worsley (1964) thinks that nation is a sociological

category. As a result, the concept of nationalism stimulates productivity and the welfare of the people.

In the second category is considered the major writings on internationalism. Nigel Forward⁽³⁶⁾ (1971) and Deutsch⁽³⁷⁾ (in his article in Political Quarterly : 1966) point out that the state of the current theory of international relations is utopian. Columbus⁽³⁸⁾ and Wolfe (1981) point out that domestic and international variables are inter-twined too closely. They hope that the ideas of World Federation may succeed. In erecting this edifice, recommendation of the federalists and communication analysis should be meticulously examined. Johnson⁽³⁹⁾ (1980) speaks of international distributive justice based on cosmopolitanism and a revised state autonomy.

Hertz⁽⁴⁰⁾ (1959) has given a good account of the rise of nation-states based on the principles of equal, free and self-determining system. He asserts that all these are due to the international movements such as Puritan, French and Bolshevich Revolutions. His account, however, reflects the idealistic tradition in international relations. Institutional⁽⁴¹⁾ manifestation has been expressed in the writing of Nicholas.

Chan⁽⁴²⁾ (1984) rejects the arguments of the realists on the ground that they recognise no supreme international judge. Realists, he points out, resort to the threat or the use of force to preserve and protect national interests. So he argues in favour of the preservation of values for the politics

of morality and co-operation. Chan, Hertz and Hayes explain international politics in terms of idealism.

(43)
Baldwin in his article (World Politics : 1979) analyses the viewpoints of the realists in terms of the struggle for power. While explaining international society in the context of pluralism, (44) Burton (1964) rejects the claims of absolute sovereignty. He opines that sovereignty may be absolute only in case of a powerful country. (45) Eromkin (1981) argues that the demand of the world federation at the global level can be raised on the basis of collective co-existence (46) without sacrificing individual rights to the state. Parkinson (1977) furnishes a philosophical account of internationalism in historical perspective since 1648. (47) Hinsley explains the development of nationalism and internationalism, Burton points out that in the present context of atomic age, national sovereignty is not a useful concept.

The third category covers the literature on Indian nationalism. Literature concerning Indian nationalism is abundant. (48) Desai (1980) provides a pioneering work explaining the formation of Indian nationalism. He regards that Indian nationalism is a product of actions and interactions of numerous subjective and objective forces developed within the Indian society. Colonial rule sowed the seeds of nationalism in India. R. Palme (49) Dutt (1983) and Bipan Chandra (50) (1966, 1979, 1983, 1988),

emphasise the economic stresses and strains as main variables for the growth of nationalism in India. Bipan Chandra (1979) holds that Indian national movement is anti-colonial. M. N. Roy⁽⁵⁷⁾ (1942, 1971) adopts a materialistic and critical approach to analyse Indian nationalism. According to him, Indian bourgeoisie is counter-revolutionary. He firmly opposes any co-operation with Indian bourgeoisie. Roy favoured bourgeoisie democratic revolution only under the leadership of the working class.

Suntharalingam⁽⁵²⁾ (1983) examines in detail, the issues and problems of Indian nationalism by using the historical and descriptive approach. He has tried to analyse movements as well personalities and their ideologies. Suntharalingam maintains that nationalism in India was not sui generis; it was a part of a universal phenomenon that had swept the world in recent times under different circumstances. Padmasha⁽⁵³⁾ (1980) analyses Indian nationalism from the perspective of relationship between Indian National Congress and^{the} Muslims. Guha⁽⁵⁴⁾ (1983), Sen⁽⁵⁵⁾ (1982) and Choudhury⁽⁵⁶⁾ (1971) have done commendable works on the peasant and workers movements in colonial India.

Ulyanovsky⁽⁵⁷⁾ (1978, 1980, 1985) has thrown light on the sociological problems of national liberation movement. He (1985) has highlighted the agrarian problems during the British rule and explains how these problems paved the way for the rise of national sentiments. Besant⁽⁵⁸⁾ (1915) belongs to the Romantic

School, in the struggle for freedom. She believes that the beginning of national consciousness was deeply embedded in India's past and could be traced to India's rich culture, religion, etc. McCully⁽⁵⁹⁾ (1940) asserts that nationalism in India was an exotic growth implanted by foreign hands and influence. Seal⁽⁶⁰⁾ (1968) emphasises education as the important factor in the development of Indian nationalism. He is of the opinion that the hopes and fears of finding suitable employment combined with racial discrimination proved to be the potent force. Brodov⁽⁶¹⁾ (1984) provides a good picture of the development of philosophical and sociological thought in India at the time of the formation of capitalism since the 19th century. He comes to the conclusion that the strength and vitality of the progressive traditions have been responsible for opposing imperialism and promoting peace, democracy and socialism.

Research works and scholarly writings on Rabindra-
nath Tagore, comprise the fourth category. Sachin Sen⁽⁶²⁾ (1947) has set the pace of analysis of Tagore's political philosophy. He has held that Tagore was the most successful thinker in spotting out the defects of British rule. According to Sen, Rabindranath believed that India offered unity in diversity. Tagore had a vision of India at peace, growing in fullness of heart not crippled by any differences. Mukherjee⁽⁶³⁾ (1982) has examined the views of Tagore on nationalism and internationalism. He also made a comparison between Tagore and Gandhi. In Andrews title (1928) views of Rabindranath on national and

international problems can be ascertained. Andrews and Rabindranath were close mates and hence in the letters a frank and open opinions on issues could be expected.

(65)

Nepal Majumdar's work, deserves mention, though it is published in Bengali. Majumdar has written on nationalism and internationalism of Tagore.

(66)

N. J. Choudhury (1980) finds in "Gora", a famous novel of Tagore, Rabindranath's urge for national liberation and secular patriotism. While discussing Tagore's "Ghare Baire", Choudhury finds that Rabindranath was critical of the freedom movement as it was miserably conducted. (67) Sehanabis

(1983) also makes an important contribution in revealing Tagore's views on internationalism as not exclusively political, but all-embracing. Sehanabis nicely portrays the humanistic, democratic, anti-fascist and anti-colonial aspects of Tagore's political philosophy. He also holds that Tagore judges Indian

nationalism through the lense of internationalism. Dasgupta (1968) compares Rabindranath with Tolstoy and Lenin and concludes that Tagore was influenced more by Tolstoy than by

Lenin. S. Das (1987) mentions that socialistic trend implicit in Tagore becomes explicit and sharpened after his visit to Soviet Russia. He, however, informs that Tagore never became a

Marxist. Prabodh Sen (70) in his article (Paschim Banga : May 1978) discuss^{-es} the views of Tagore on Hindu - Muslim problems and

concludes that his views are relevant still in this crisis ridden socio-political environment.

The fifth category covers the literature on Gandhi. Gandhi's contribution to the cause of national liberation is so great that he has been the subject of innumerable writings. However, to the best of our knowledge, a detailed, indepth study, on Gandhi's ideas on nationalism and internationalism, is still lacking. Most of the writings, fall under either the category of biographies, or under the category of philosophical analysis of his social economic, political and moral thoughts which are only distantly related to the conceptual-framework of nationalism and internationalism. However, among those few writers who have at least peripherally discussed Gandhi's outlook and views on nationalism and internationalism, the name of Partha Chatterjee may appear, Partha Chatterjee (1980) to some extent, analyses third world nationalism and also takes account of Gandhi's ideas on nationalism and internationalism. To him, Gandhi introduced a fundamental critique of the idea of civil society which may appear, on the surface, as a critique of the modern civilisation, but Gandhi situated it at a more fundamental level. Gandhi believed that the West subordinated imperialism, politics, democracy, fascism and totalitarianism, for only one end in view i.e., economic profit. His nationalism depended on the moral individual approach ranging far beyond the post-

enlightenment thought. His belief in non-violence, moral interpretation of politics, economics, condemnation of war, urge for peace placed him as an internationalist. Bhikhu Parekh (1980) critically examined the achievements and failures of Gandhi, in providing national identity, social consciousness and political integration, the main features of nationalism in the colonial context.

(73)

Jayantenuja Bandopadhyaya (1969) provides a comparative analysis of Gandhi and Mao, appreciation of Gandhi's accent over limitation of power, according to the author, puts Gandhi on a stronger democratic base, in comparison with Mao. Gandhi's opposition to industrialisation support for decentralisation of political and economic power, reflect democratic dimension of Gandhian nationalism and internationalism.

(74)

Bhattacharyya's account of Gandhian nationalism (1969) and internationalism is written in Marxist perspective. Gandhian analysis of war, peace, imperialism has been appreciated by the author.

(75)

Dandavate (1977) compares Gandhi with Marx and appreciates Gandhi's philosophy of national reconstruction including his emphasis over decentralisation of political power and economy as the pillar of Gandhian nationalism. Jayaprakash Narayan (1955) has written books on 'Sarvodaya' showing the value of freedom equality, justice and fraternity in Gandhian

(76)

perception of Swaraj and national reconstruction.

(77)

The work of Power (1967) relates to Gandhi's evaluation in world perspective. The author observes that Gandhi was vitally concerned with the East-West Relations; was influenced by both the civilisations; criticised imperialism; favoured world federation but criticised Gandhi that his approach was anti-colonial and anti racial and that of a visionary.

(78)

Kaviraj (1988) has rejected the bourgeois thesis of nationalism and believes nationalism and socialism can not march together. To him, Gandhi was essentially the leader of the bourgeois and the same was imbued with anti-imperialist content. National movement under Gandhi exhibited a dual character and on its negative side was the inclination to suspend it. Namboodripad also regarded that though Gandhi was the most outstanding leader of Indian national movement yet he represented the interest of only bourgeois class.

(79)

Dev Dutt (1969) has analysed that, unlike Europe, Indian nationalism emerged, as a major response to the political domination of Britain Gandhi realised that social evils impeded India's march to unity. So he undertook the social work through constructive programme, in order to establish the goal of national unity. Gandhi provided all inclusive, non-sectarian, secular concept of nationalism.

Analysing the nature of Gandhian nationalism, (80)
Mulkradj Anand (1968) holds that India was beaten by centuries of feudalism and foreign conquest. Gandhi transformed this weakness into moral courage and opposed against all wrong-doing. His nationalism also worked in the interest of mankind and formed the basis of internationalism. He protested against imperialism, war and racial discrimination. Appreciating non-violence as a method of collective action. Margaret (81)
Chatterjee (1969) has held that Gandhian nationalist movement paved the way for collective action which the West should learn from Gandhi, as there existed no such method in the West.

In Gandhian view of Nation-state Chakraborty (82)
(1983) explains that Gandhi wanted that the social potentiality of nation-hood was not eclipsed by the overwhelming concern of the state. Gandhi felt the need to reduce the authority of the state and to increase the dichotomy between the nation and the state.

The sixth category covers the literature on Nehru. Recent researches of B. R. Nanda (83) (1974), Karanjia (84) (1960, 1966), Norman (85) (1965, 1966), Patil (86) (1977) and a host of other writers attract the attention of the scholars. Nanda's comparative analysis of these pillars of national movement brings light to the assessment of Nehru's idea of nationalism. Karanjia (1980) records interviews he had with Jawaharlal Nehru. The interviews bring out Nehru's views on problems both

national and international. Karanjia concludes that Nehru forced the pace of liberation of Asia and Africa and insulated the new nations from cold war alliances and divisions. Karanjia (1966) further gives a picture of Nehru's idealism, humanism, internationalism, scientific vision, deep sense of history.

V.T. Patil (1977) analyses the political ideas of Nehru along with his role in freedom movement. Patil makes an appreciative appraisal of Nehru. He remarks that Nehru's nationalism represented the hopes and aspirations and that his internationalism raised nationalism to a greater height by giving it a revolutionary dimension and socially progressive look by infusing socialistic fervour into Indian nationalism. According to Patil Nehru was a democrat. His conception of freedom was comprehensive. Nehru fought for political freedom of the country from alien rule, for political freedom of the people, as a means to an end, the end being the uplifting of the masses from poverty.

(87)

Partha Chatterjee (1986) points out that Nehru wanted to situate nationalism within state ideology. To Nehru, scientific method meant the primacy of the sphere of the economic in all social questions. As a result, his was the framework of reconstructed nationalism. Nehru wanted replacement of colonial state with a truly national state. According to Chatterjee, the idea of national state, i.e., state-nation,

dominated the political, philosophy of Nehru. Chatterjee further points out that Gandhian politics was not clear to Nehru even after association with him. So the final stage of nationalist project was launched with imperfect preparation. This was the epitaph, wonderful and yet condescending put up on the grave of Indian politics.

Tandon's ⁽⁸⁸⁾ edited book, "Nehru Your Neighbour" (1946) is an invaluable contribution to highlight Nehru's views on nationalism and internationalism. Gandhi wrote a foreward to this book and pointed out that Nehru's nationalism is equal to his internationalism. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ Dustoor in his article maintains that to Nehru Indian freedom is not an isolated case but of Asia and revolt against imperialism. Nehru consistently maintained an international outlook and proclaimed himself a citizen of the world. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Amiya Chakravorty also holds that Nehru's nationalism is an inalienable aspect of international rights. ⁽⁹¹⁾ Narendra Deva's account of socialism is superb. Jawaharlal does not belong to any orthodox school of socialism ... it is democratic socialism.

Marxist scholars analyse Nehru from a different angle. ⁽⁹²⁾ Hiren Mukherjee (1964) points out that there was nothing evasive or half-hearted in his concept of nationalism. Mukherjee compares Gandhi with Nehru. He hints that Gandhiji won over Nehru to utilise his immense popularity and hold over the youth of the country in the interest of the Congress Party

which in reality was controlled by vested interests (1964: pp. 71-75). But when testified, it appears to be ^a half-truth. The letters written between Gandhi and Nehru show that Nehru was more eager to maintain good relationship with Gandhi. Kaviraj ⁽⁹³⁾ (1988) points out Nehru carried a relentless struggle against the concept of narrow nationalism. He emphasises economic equality and equal rights in international politics.

D. N. Joshi ⁽⁹⁴⁾ (1961), Gautam Chattopadhaya ⁽⁹⁵⁾ (1973), B. K. Nagla ⁽⁹⁶⁾ (1980), V. K. Krishna Menon ⁽⁹⁷⁾ (1965), Nandlal ⁽⁹⁸⁾ (1971) and W. Range ⁽⁹⁹⁾ (1961), etc. in their respective articles point out the different aspects of Nehru's internationalism. These thinkers more or less agree that Nehru's thoughts on internationalism shine as a beacon light.

VI. CONCLUSION :

From the above analysis, there is no shadow of doubt that the classification of work done so far attempted here, is neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. As several of the studies mentioned under one or the other category, really deal with more than one aspect, classification has been made by the major emphasis of the various studies. This brief overview further highlights the fact that there exists a major gap in understanding the intricacies, actions and interactions of nationalism and internationalism with special reference to

the ideas of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. Moreover, a truly comparative perspective has not been followed in any of the works cited. Wherever comparative analysis has been attempted, it has been piecemeal. Hence, this study has been undertaken to bridge a genuine research gap in an important field of tremendous contemporary significance in so far as Indian knowledge, a detailed, in depth study of these two concepts and movements, as reflected in the writing of these three eminent Indian thinkers, has not been attempted before.

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CHAPTER - II

'Nationalism' and 'Internationalism': a Conceptual framework

Nationalism : A Conceptual Framework

INTRODUCTION:

The 'ideal' of nationalism emerged in the last quarter of the 18th century Europe and turned to be a 'movement' which covered the remaining parts of Europe. Nationalism could not remain confined only to Europe rather, it turned to be a force behind the resurgence of the movement of nationalism in Afro-Asian countries. The ideal and the movement of nationalism embraced the whole of the world by the middle of the twentieth century.

It has certain broad general characteristics, and it comes as a high level of social, political, cultural and not the least, economic integration. Historical background of the emergence, the growth of the concept in Europe and its comparison with the non-western model, with the help of philosophic, sociological and political approaches, to a greater extent, help the understanding of nationalism both as an 'ideal' and 'movement'.

The growth of the ideal during different phases has undergone changes, reflecting different connotations, namely,

'Enlighteners', and 'Romantics', 'Radicals' and 'Traditionalists', 'Populists' and 'Anti-Colonialists'. However, even then, it is revealed that the purpose this ideal served, remains more or less the same. As an ideal, it came as ideological commitment for 'independence', 'Unity' and 'welfare' of the people.

The concept reveals structural variations and its history shows several transformations, the possession of similar elements and exercise of similar potentialities and skills required similar attributes. ⁽¹⁾ One sort of uniformity is visible in its formation as well as in its growth making it a universal phenomenon.

The age of nationalism represents the first period of history with some common characteristics. Its journey started from France through the Revolution in 1789 and covered the world by mid-twentieth century. One of the chief characteristics of nationalism is its universality as it represents, to a greater extent, the first phase of universal history. We are 'identified first and foremost by our nation and in moments of crisis we swell into fervent devotion and passionate obedience to the call of duty.' ⁽²⁾

Like all historical movements, nationalism has been supported by political, intellectual and economic development of the period, and is closely related to the objective conditions of the period. This has been, and still is, the story of the nationalist movement. It is equally regulated by the subjective and objective factors. The two significant elements, disintegration of older form of social and communal life and the emergence of

analysis. A. D. Smith, a sociologist, prescribes 'poly-centric' and 'ethno-centric' formula of classification, regarded as 'one of the most useful by sights of Smith's distinction'.⁽⁷⁾ Psychologists emphasizing 'group mind' have projected two major forms : 'conscious nationalism'; 'sub-conscious - nationalism' or 'un-conscious - nationalism'. Economists took colonial or imperial classifications. L. L. Snyder has classified it on zonal basis linking it to different political ideologies : Europe - fissiparous nationalism; Africa - black nationalism; Latin America - populist nationalism ; the U.S.A. - melting-pot nationalism; the U.S.S.R. - messianic nationalism. However, without justifying the validity of his own classification, L. L. Snyder admits that 'geographical configurations of new nationalism are presented merely as a convenient framework for study.'⁽⁸⁾

Nationalism and nations form the recognised foundation of the present-day international society and organisations. However, the regional military alliances have come over the zonal economic organisations. Sub-nationalism, nationalism, regionalism and internationalism have emerged throughout the world as contemporary forces to be reckoned with. The growth of the 'world economy' is the result of interdependence of nations.

However, nationalism comes as an important force both inside and outside the state. The 'idea of nationalism, remains as cement that holds together the state : even though it is increasingly clear that the cement is mainly sand'.⁽⁹⁾ These

expressions reveal one side of the picture. The politico-economic, socio-cultural conditions and social consciousness of the period gave birth to the nation, and thereby the idea of nationalism.

The idea of nationalism has been the concern of almost all the branches of social science. The rise of the modern state, the emergence of the national communities, and of nationalist ideas, ideologies and sentiments along-with the emergence of new strata such as bureaucrats, bourgeoisie, and intelligentsia did not allow any branch of social science to afford to ignore this development. Since it has been the concern of philosophers, historians, sociologists, political scientists political leaders and many others, it would be desirable to apply an inter-disciplinary account to the study of the concept of nationalism.

A. Philosophical Analysis:

In philosophical analysis of nationalism, emphasis is given on cultural aspects, such as, language, customs, traditions, education and morality. Psychological factors, such as, race, history, national consciousness, national character, also get prominence in the reckoning. All these traits form the basis of philosophical interpretation of nationalism.

The analysis of nationalism, on the basis of religion, morality, sentimentality and consciousness, supports the belief that nation is the natural unit of the society which is 'inherent' and

makes it an organic concept. Among the many supporters of this view the names of Rousseau, Herder, Hegel and Fichte are important. In this view, the basis is man who identifies himself through his relation to his ancestors in terms of religious, psychological and moral background. It furthers the notion that each nation is different from the other and has its independent personality expressed through its character, virtue, destiny and mission. These features have been explained by Mazzini, Rousseau, Burke, Jefferson and Herder. 'Nationalism' in the broadest sense referred to the attitude which ascribes to national individuality a high place in the hierarchy of values.⁽¹⁰⁾ A nation has consciousness, a living personality - means the nation goes through process of self-realisation and self-discovery. A national awakening involves education and propaganda, restores submerged identity and fragmented solidarity. This is reflected in hatred and friendship with other countries based on the belief of the superiority of race and blood. National sentiment is expressed through ideologies and programmes for the devotion of the people to their nation and advocacy of its interests and aspirations. 'National sentiment transmits consciousness, attitudes, aspiration, loyalties in one form or the other'.⁽¹¹⁾ Apart from being regarded as 'sentiment' - 'consciousness', nationalism comes essentially as 'spiritual' and moral idea. This further inculcates among the people of feeling which is also known as 'patriotism' based on the firm conviction that the best country in the world is one in which 'you have happened to be born.'⁽¹²⁾

Psychological overtones have been the partners of old and new nationalism. 'Psychological motivations, always at work in the older nationalism, have been carried into modern nationalism in an intensified form. (13) Even to-day, symbols conducive to the strengthening of the hold of unity such as the 'battle-field', places of birth of national heroes, places of pilgrimage, the rivers and mountains, the territorial bond play important role in the creation of national sentiments. 'No single theme occurs constantly in national anthems, songs, legends, and symbolism than the reference to particular virtues, beauty and excellence of the lands and waters with which each nation has been happily endowed'. (14)

The emotional attachment is also reflected through language. Though the 'Bible' preached in one language and regarded other languages 'man-made', the growth of vernacular everywhere became responsible for the formation of modern nations. Luther's translation of the Bible into German, Webster's attempt in the U.S.A. to make English American, and partition of Pakistan into 'Bangladesh' are the glaring examples. 'There are no better means for polishing and giving perfection to a language, than for youth to be trained in the grammar of their own tongue. (15)

that

So, the view / nationality receives its impress, its character, its individuality from cultural and historical forces, became the concern of many eminent scholars. One such scholar is renowned C. J. Hayes, who holds: 'I would define nationality

as a cultural group of people who speak a common language or closely related dialects and who possess a community of historical traditions' ⁽¹⁶⁾ form the basis of cultural nationalism. To him, 'nationalism is the fusion of patriotism with a consciousness of nationality' ⁽¹⁷⁾. This definition attaches a secondary role to political, economic and geographical factors. Citing the example of Jewish or Israeli nationality without political nationality, he held that cultural nationalism might exist without political nationality. According to Kohn, ⁽¹⁸⁾ three essential traits of nationalism originated with the view, 'The idea of chosen people', 'the consciousness of national history' and 'national messianism led to the origin of nationalism in case of Israel, do not stand the test of logical analysis, because nationalism emerged at a particular stage of human development after the collapse of feudalism. Smith later on removed this discrepancy by distinguishing 'Ethnocentric' nationalism from 'poly-centric' nationalism. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Until 'people are conscious of nationality and make it the prime object of their patriotism they do not produce cultural nationalism' ⁽²⁰⁾. Mazzini, Burke, Kant and Hegel endorsed this view. However, Herder proclaimed the idea of 'folkloristic and philological background responsible for the division of the world on the basis of language, ⁽²¹⁾ making the concept potentially revolutionary.

Fichte's notion of the 'volk' and his concept of 'national self-realisation' through political struggle and the contention that the 'individual will' must be absorbed in the

organic state, along with Hegel's views of organic state and glorification of war, made Bismark, and later on, Hitler, the product of this brand of nationalism.

Within^a/nation, the fascist doctrine holds that the elite is superior to the rest, and may impose its will upon them by force. Similarly, among nations elite-nation is superior to others and is entitled to rule them. (22) Thus it turned to be a very dangerous doctrine having no regard for other nations and individuals within the state. By society, they meant 'nation' and a nation, they explain, is based on persistent biological similarities in terms of language, customs and religion; differentiate the whole group from other national groups, and define the direction and limit of its development. (23)

There is enough value in the concept of 'cultural nationalism' since both cultural and psychological factors have been assigned greater proportion explaining one important aspect of nationalism. However, when we analyse 'national culture' it is as elusive as 'national character'. Furthermore, 'National character' and 'national consciousness' are explained in terms of 'power', 'prestige' and 'domination'. (24)

B. Sociological Interpretation of Nationalism:

To claim that cultural and psychological factors played an important role in the formation of nations and in advancing the ideas of nationalism, is justified, what is not is

the denial of increasing role of social, economic and political factors in the formation of nationalism.

Scholarly interest in the study of nationalism has recently become the major concern of the historians, and the sociologists. It is only in the 1960's that mainstream sociologists have discovered the significance of the study as a subject in itself, and as a testing-ground for current sociological theory. (25) Earlier social scientists were more concerned in 'ethical', 'philosophical' and 'historical' approaches and spent more time on the thinkers like J. S. Mill, Renan, Acton and their contribution. Only after the First World War, more neutral and detached attitude came with the historians like Hayes, Kohn, elder Seton-Watson, Alfred Cobban, Louis Snyder who depended on sociological factors in their assessment. (26) But it was Emerson, Pye, and Halpern who included the study of Third World nations making the study exclusive. The burgeoning of the interdisciplinary in nationalism indicates the key position of the field and phenomenon. (27)

According to Smith, 'the nation is a large, vertically integrated, and territorially mobile group featuring common citizenship, rights and collective sentiments together with one (or more) characteristics which differentiate its members from that of similar groups with whom they stand in relation of alliances or conflict.' (28) In this definition emphasis, has been laid over ethnic, political and psychological factors which, in general, form the features of nationalism.

As the concept of nation has attracted everyone in a different way, also sometimes in a way which is not different, the literature on the subject helps to take into account both 'ethnocentric' and 'poly-centric' factors in order to have the proper assessment of the concept.

The moral of the tale is that nation is only one variant in a social pattern, and has certain distinctive elements and the combination of those elements defy orderly analysis. However, the elements which insistently recur, are territory, language, a common historical tradition, inter-connection between the state and the nation. ⁽²⁹⁾ The sociologists insist that the difference between the state and nation be maintained. Smith asserts "I argue here for an 'ethnicist' definition of nation ... the mainpoint must be retained -- the conceptual distinction between the 'state' and 'nation'. ⁽³⁰⁾

A new approach, out of 'man's propensity to organise into groups' and readiness to work together for achievement of common purposes, has been regarded as the essential behavioural pattern of modern national society. The nation survives on a variety of factors and among them it is the development which unites them. ⁽³¹⁾ Human resources are mobilised for collective accomplishment and the nation stimulates productivity and generates enthusiasm. It advances the integration as territorial integration, value-integration, elite - mass integration, so that justice, equity and economic development are achieved.

So, the force of nationalism brings together culturally and socially discreet groups into a single territorial unit to accomplish certain objectives of unity, integrity and development. Nationalism is also a 'movement', with distinct concerns for identity, purity, regeneration, self-emanicipation and vision of future. To a sociologist, nationalism has been, and still is, a movement. Earlier, the movement was launched by enlighteners, romantics, radicalists, liberals and even now it is launched for one or the other objectives in the shape of 'populism', 'nativism' and the ideologies of world salvation, like socialism or communism, but as movement the most important and enduring of the more limited modern ideology is nationalism. (32) Nationalism is regarded as movement of various classes and groups to remove political, social and economic obstacles to accomplish economic political and social development. The analysis of nationalism is the contribution of the sociologists. 'By firmly embracing the nationalist movement as the unit of analysis', writes Smith, 'we have taken the first step in this direction.' (33)

The sociologists, taking into account the nation as a 'social group' and 'movement' as the expression of nationalism have also attempted two competing theories, one, which views nationalism as a process of successive integration of social groups and; the other, which views nationalism as a process of conflicting relations among social groups. As systematic comparative analysis of the two shows that their synthesis can generate a more powerful theory. (34)

The integration theory offers the most plausible

explanation of the process by which groups are constituted. Here again, two different theories operate within the theory of integration namely theory of social communication; and the erosion of primordial loyalties. Both of these theories are complimentary to each other. Integration is the process of bringing together culturally and socially discreet groups into a single territorial unit with the aim of establishing national identity within the unit.

Deutsch explains social communication as the prerequisite for group integration. The degree to which communication is hindered depends upon the balance between the rate of 'assimilation' and the rate of 'mobilisation' which is channelled through technological innovation, the expansion of mass-media, the shift to non-agricultural occupation, urbanisation, industrialisation, transportation, language and trade. The assimilation can be measured by the proportion of individuals in an area with languages and historical traditions different from those of the majority.

Depending upon the rate of mobilisation or assimilation factors, modernisation either facilitates or retards the level of communication through which a people becomes a nationality transforming into a nation-state. Elsenstadt, Smelser and Silvert belong to this group supporting erosion of primordial loyalty theory of nationalism. To other, nationalism is being conditioned by the process of modernisation and the related process of structural differentiation. Modernisation brings about structural

differentiation dislodging the people from performing their traditional roles. Consequently, nationalism grows for the purpose of linking traditional modes of social organisation with the nationality assigning new roles. Thus the erosion of primordial loyalty adds to the process of integration.

Conflict Theory.

In contrast to 'integration' background, the 'conflict' in the context of nationalism explains that 'competition' among groups gives rise to the demand for the control of the distributive systems. It is applicable in the pluralist model of society which take groups to be mutually exclusive. Inequality is inherent in all the systems which is increased by the level of modernisation leading to high level conflict among different groups. This leads to group identification intensifying and developing group integration. The effort starts for the control of distributive system and when this process takes place at social level, nationalism is generated.

Three theories of nationalism may be identified under this category, such as economic theory, social class theory and ethnic theory. Economic theory explains that there is inherent class slant to the economic interest in pursuing nationalism. The movement against foreign capital at the hand of national monopolies always wants to control resources and jobs. The social class which controls the distributive system rules and country resulting into growth of inequality and conflict. Bretter and Johnson, apart from

many others, support this theory.

Social Class Conflict Theory:

Many propounders of the theory, attempt to reconcile Marxist analysis with the concept of nationalism. To them, nationalism results from a set of demands advanced by these social classes which have unequal access to the resources. The origins of the conflict may be either of internal or external character but the conflict remains as constant. The emergence of an urban bourgeoisie and intellectual class, the product of the modernisation, develop such interests which are opposed to the elite controlling the distributive system. On the other front, the conflict is also visible between local intelligentsia and native aristocracy. Yet all these conflicts, maintained in different contexts, generate the demand for the control of the distributive system.

Ethnic Conflict Theory of Nationalism:

Modernisation erodes 'primordial loyalties' permitting identification to be based upon larger regions of linguistic and ethno-cultural similarities. On the otherhand, it also creates cleavage of interests between or among ethnic groups in acquiring access to political and economic resources. If their expectation is frustrated they turn antagonistic. The more extensive the demand, the ^{greater the} / chances of integration increase for achieving an autonomous political identity.

However, it can not be assumed that sociologists have been able to provide with a complete theory of nationalism. Even then, one cannot ignore their contribution to the inclusion of 'group' and 'movement' as units of analysis. Furthermore, their introduction of 'integration theory' 'conflict theory' and in much more improved form the theory of 'synthesis' has surely enhanced and enriched the study on nationalism. It has further helped us in depending less on philosophical and psychological overtones by shifting the emphasis over to sociological factors. The studies made on third world nations, by them, have also enhanced the scope of better understanding of the concept. In the area of suggesting typology of nationalism Smith's contribution is praiseworthy. His definition of nationalism as an ideological movement, for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential nation like others. ⁽³⁵⁾ deserves mention. Herein Smith 'includes both subjective and objective bias which theorists of nationalism have supported one rejecting the other.' ⁽³⁶⁾

However, sociological and psychological approaches have been criticised by Kohn who holds 'nationalism as a group consciousness is therefore a psychological and sociological fact, ⁽³⁷⁾ but any psychological and sociological explanation is insufficient. To him nationalities are the product of the historical development of the society and 'it is by only recent history that man has begun to regard nationality as the centre of his political and cultural activity and life.' ⁽³⁸⁾

C. Historical Analysis of Nationalism:

The nation-state, as we know it today, is essentially the product of ^{the} modern era, Its earliest development may be traced in Europe from 16th - 17th century onwards. Subsequently, it has been spreading over to five continents of the world especially from the late 18th century - both gradually and quickly. (39) Before that there was no nation in the modern sense of the term because nationalism was not something original or natural to man like family or physique, however, today it is the strongest loyalty of human being throughout the world. (40) Nation is a historical phenomenon which has been always determined by the political ideas and social structure. Here, 'only a study of the historical growth and a comparative analysis, of its different forms can make us aware of its perils and promises. (41) Historical studies also reveal that throughout most of the recorded history whenever civilization advanced from 5000 BC to 1700 AD. there was tribal nationalism. (42) Tribalism had a kind of nationalism as each tribe had distinct language/dialect, peculiar pattern of social organisation, culture and religious customs and traditions. The roots are traced in Hellas and Jews and have marched forward through Roman traditions to the 'Renaissance' and 'Reformation'. Three essential traits, the ideas of chosen people, the consciousness of national history and the nationalism massianism' were found in the history of the Jews. (43)

The advancement and diffusion of agriculture and

industry and primitive nationalism under tribalism underwent sea change in the empire of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and India to name a few. And hereagain 'there was conflict between nationalism and internationalism.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The factors which were military, religious, linguistic and economic were responsible for the qualitative changes. Military conquest of various tribes converted the structure alongwith religion which brought so many tribes together. The linguistic and literary factors also brought forward consolidation. So writes Hayes 'Let me repeat, common language, common historical background when these by some process of education become the object of popular emotional patriotism' the result is nationalism.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The concept of 'nationality' was born out of fusion of tribes into empire. Hayes regards 'nationality' as a cultural group of people who speak a common language or closely related dialects' and who 'possess a community of historical traditions, religious, territorial, political, military, economic, artistic and intellectual traditions'.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Thus, 'within a political structure of empire we may expect to find mutually homogeneous societies with separate traditions and folk culture in addition to an ethnically heterogeneous mediating elite with a dynamic national civilization or high culture.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Further, the growth of the political institutions such as feudal courts of the king composed of his principal vassals; the assembly consisting of wealthy persons often called the community of the realm, were able to bridge local provincial and social barriers producing common sentiment and public opinion helping the

formation of nationality. The other most important factor, the rise of modern militarism which through conquests led to the birth of large nations. When examined the history of European system appears largely to be a military one. Thus 'one of the most important factors which fostered the rise of modern nationalism was militarism.'

(48)

(49)

Renaissance and Reformation:

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, nation-States began to take shape and this transition was formed by two great movements; Renaissance and Reformation. Both were passionate search into the past and fervent hope for the future, the first conscious emphasis on 'cultural nationalism' emerged. The concept of 'individualism' and 'secularism' appeared on the scene. These movements opened the possibilities which were achieved in the 18th century. One thing is clear, Reformation encouraged the growth and use of vernacular in which the Bible was translated leading to the growth of national church.

(50)

Equally important was the national economic policy of mercantalism which literally broke the feudal order and made the state an economic unit by asserting its undivided authority in the matters of trade and externally it sought to promote wealth and therefore the power of the state. Lutherianism found its chief support among the princes and nobility, calvinism among the trading middle class, the urban artisans and intelligentsia in line with the social structure of Geneva and Zurich. It is well shaped in

(51)

the construction of Hugh Seton Watson 'arguments as to whether capitalism bred the Reformation or the Reformation Capitalism, may be left to those who specialise in determining the priority of hens and eggs. (52)

The modern nationalism has been, thus, an extraordinary complex of economic, political, social and intellectual development. The invention of printing press, rise of national vernacular. The revolutionary growth of capitalism and the 'middle class', the role of monarchy in suppressing feudalism, secularising and consolidating their realm on national basis; the establishment of national Churches, the increasing competition of one people with another changed the emphasis from mankind to nation. (53) The modern history of nationalism shows three partly overlapping periods of its evolution, the first was terminated by ^{the} French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars; the second was essentially the product of the French Revolution which lasted till the Treaty of Versailles; the third period, which started to take shape after 1870, reached its climax between the two world wars. (54)

The doctrine of nationalism dates back to the age of the French Revolution. During the period, there were two groups of nations in Europe 'old' and 'new'. The former consisted of those nations which had acquired political shape, national consciousness and political awareness. Among these nations there existed cultural and political unity. France and England are the best examples of the period, as both of them were ruled by the monarchs and the

noblemen spoke the same language, paid obedience to the sovereign who signified the community as a whole and stood for France or England. The emergence of state marched ahead with the nation resulting into nation-state.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Nations have arisen from the ashes of empires. There were three empires : Habsburg; the Russian and the Ottoman empire out of which, under liberal current, Greeks and Slavs launched movement against Ottoman empire, the oppressed Latin Americans against Spain, insurrection of 1830 in France, Belgium Germany and Italy, more wide spread insurrections of 1848 in France, Italy, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary and Ireland, the policy uprising of 1831 and 1863; the Crimean War of 1854-60, 1866 and 1870; the wars of German unification in 1848-49, 1864, 1866 and 1870-71; the Balkan war of 1877-78 and the mighty struggle of 1861-65 in the united states for the preservation of national union and emancipation of the enslaved race.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Thus the whole of Europe was engulfed under the nationalist movements. There was wide spread migration from country to town, from farm to factory, breaking the traditional localism, associated with the growth of national army and national education. The ideas like the 'survival of the fittest', 'red-blooded men', 'struggle for existence' replaced 'romanticism'. Mostly, nationalism flourished in industrialised countries; their 'national production', 'national wealth' and the 'national resources' produced and handled by big business and industries ulti-

mately turned to imperialism. Nationalism grew less and less liberal and more and more militarist, imperialist and intolerant. (57)

The statesmen, the businessmen, the intellectuals fortified by effective agencies of propaganda, prepared for the world war. However, the outcome was the Right to self-determination. Taking the advantage of the economic distress, both demagogues and dictators captured the world scene which led to the second world war.

Though Afro-Asian countries are not new, their nationalism came from European concepts, and gathered momentum particularly after the Second World War. Hereagain, the movements started in cities and were led by the elites. Three factors : 'dissatisfaction with the process of Westernisation, a growing belief in communism as liberating force; and a rising nationalism intensified by resentment of European domination surfaced. In all these motivations imperialism was the most dominant.' (58) Among the participants, if the question is asked; who were nationalists? The answer is, they were intellectuals. (59)

D. Marxist Analysis of Nationalism:

Nationalism expresses itself in the most varied and opposite ideologies and has been expressed by 'class' approach.

The very processes of formation of nation, the growth of 'national liberation' movement and the rise of the nation-state have been explained as a result of the growth of social production.

This growth in production, strengthened the economic link between the people, increased density of population leading them to unite into broader social communities under the nascent capitalist system, eliminating feudal disunity by political unification of territories, the consolidation of economic links between various parts of the country and the merger of the Local markets into a national market. (60)

All these provided the basis for the development of 'common language', 'psychological make-up', and also certain traits of 'national character', manifested in the species of nation's culture. In the words of Engels 'since the end of the middle Age, history has been working towards the formation of large national states in Europe, with the development of Commerce, agriculture, industry and thereby the social might of the bourgeoisie, national feelings rose everywhere and partitioned as well as oppressed nations demanded unity and independence.' (61),

Discussing the class-struggles quite prominent under the nation, Lenin held 'for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its varied classes became quite prominent as the division of the society into classes which was earlier obscured became exposed due to the connection between class division and economic relations. (62) To them, the formation of the nations whether in western Europe, or North America or anywhere in the world, is closely connected with the growth of the capitalist relations and not the ethnicity 'when a bourgeois nation turns into a socialist

Racialism and nationalism have different origins and to Marxists, nations arise out of social process while races out of natural processes. From racial point of view, one nation comprising of a particular race is superior to others and that superiority is justified in terms of 'colonialism', 'aggressive wars', and extermination of people from one country to another. But anthropology, history and other social sciences overturn the unscientific conception, since inequality is the product of history and not that of nature. Erect postures, the structure of skeliton, size of brains, arms and other biological characteristics are common to all races. This suggests 'they united and not disunite mankind'. (68)

National Question:

Both Marx and Engels reject the bourgeois approach based on such abstract principles as 'morality', 'freedom' 'justice', and discuss it from purely historical background in terms of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. (69) In 'communist Manifesto' they point out 'In the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of their nationalities', (70) Since they have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. (71)

Lenin took the cause of the national self-determination and held 'increased national liberation movement under imperialism does not mean that social democrats should reject what the bourgeois call the utopian struggle for the freedom of nations to

secede, but on the contrary it should make greater use of the conflicts that arise in this sphere too as grounds of mass action.⁽⁷²⁾ He supports right to self-determination even when that is demanded by the bourgeoisie.

Lenin grouped the countries into three : the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and ^{the} USA come under one category, 'every one of these great nations oppresses other nations both in the colonies and at the home.'⁽⁷³⁾ The second group, consisted of Eastern European countries, where it was in the twentieth century that bourgeois democratic struggle developed.⁽⁷⁴⁾ In the third group of countries consisting of semi-colonial and colonial countries, he focussed, socialists must not only demand the unconditional or immediate liberation of the countries but also must render determined support to move revolutionary elements in the bourgeoisie democratic movements.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Later on, things moved in such proportions that the thesis of Lenin on self-determination along with Soviet Russia's eminence as nation was vehemently criticised on the ground that unholy alliance has developed between communism and nationalism'. Stalin, soon confronted with certain hard realities, in his struggle for power, supported nationalism when it was directed against their enemy and of condemning it when it was directed against the interest of the Soviet union.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In his case study, Duchacek opines, to treat nationalism as a class phenomenon is wrong, and quotes Kohn in his support that 'it was a sentiment which bound a group of people

together irrespective of their class loyalties.

The declaration that the working men of all countries should unite, is yet to be achieved. The socialists of England in general heavily imbued nationalism, Fabians even favoured imperialism and racism. Bernstein favoured extension of political rights to workers alongwith share in national property. Oswell held 'no real revolutionary has ever been an internationalist'.⁽⁷⁷⁾ To Smith, Afro-Asian scene exhibits 'proliferation of Marxist nationalism and highly nationalistic Marxism.'⁽⁷⁸⁾

Both theoretically and practically, the relationship between socialism and nationalism has developed from cool hostility⁽⁷⁹⁾ to warm liaison even to the proposals of marriage. However, Marxists have been able to advance the idea of 'nation', 'nationalism', national 'consciousness', 'racialism' and national liberation movement' based on class approach. The unhealthy distinction, between the state and nation causing a lot of problem in comprehending nationalism, has also been given goodby^{by} the Marxists. Further more, in one way they also advance the concept of proletarian internationalism.

E. Political Analysis of Nationalism:

So far we have found 'nationalism' as a belief, as an ideological commitment, for 'independence' 'unity' and 'welfare of the people'. Nation comes as a recognised unit of analysis for both internal and international politics. As an ideal, it has high malleability and as a movement, it has covered the long march from

its elitist inception to its present mass - perfection and that too within such a short period. Different classifications of nationalism have been attempted on the psychological, economic, historical, sociological and political grounds but agreed one is still due. What is common is the common concern shown by social scientists of all/^{the} branches. However, we should also see how the concept has been dealt with by the political scientists.

Since nationalism has many facets, it can be approached in different ways one such interpretation is juridical in nature. The modern state came as the supreme law making authority at the time when the concept of nationalism emerged on the scene. The names of Bodin, Hobbes, Bentham and Austin can be advanced for the juridical explanation of the state. The concept of modern-state and nation came together during the Renaissance period after the end of the Middle Age. Secularism, sovereignty, nationalism and democracy emerged during the same period. The emphasis is given in political philosophy that 'the nation is not the cause but the result of the state. It is the state which creates the nation not the nation the state.'⁽⁸⁰⁾

Though nation is distinguished from the state and there are reasons which can be advanced in support of this view, the fact remains that it is the state which absorbs most of the nationalistic appeals. 'The state is the organic structure of the nation and the statism and nationalism embody essentially same sort of appeals to the emotions and reason of the citizen.'⁽⁸¹⁾

The doctrine of state absolutism is commonly associated with the creeds of nationalism for it is a nation rather than a ruler or government to whom the citizen is called to surrender his individuality. Earlier, the state achieved its legitimacy through its monarch or religion; it is now legitimate if it is the embodiment and expression of nation. The progression, summed up, shows how the basic loyalty has shifted from the stage of the tribe, the city-state, empire to the nation. And within that stage of progression, there is second kind of movement by which the structure and conception of the political nation has changed. (82)

Writings on nationalism and the state have not linked the two as often as might have been expected. (83) The role of the state has increased and it had created state tariffs, regulated commerce, banks and insurance and a new group of bureaucrats and army which distinguish one state from another. When compared with nation, the same attributes also correspond to it. 'The modern-state and the nation-state are co-extensive phenomena. In the modernisation, development and nation building imply the same programme. (84) Kohn also holds ^{that} it recognises the nation-state as an ideal form of political organisation. (85) Nationalism, secondly, comes as an idea or ideology in political thinking but there is no agreed view. To some 'nationalism is a set of ideas, but as they travel from continent to continent, these ideas add up less to a political theory than to a political rhetoric, a form of self-expression by which a certain kind of excitement can be communicated from elite to the masses. (86) Nationalism has developed

linkage with the major ideologies like, dictatorship and democracy, conservatism and liberalism, secularism and socialism including fascism and communism. Like its company with different ideologies it is also expressed by different names such as cultural nationalism, 'religious nationalism, linguistic nationalism' 'a distinction worth keeping in mind since nationalism is in fact unpredictable in its invasions of many areas of social life'.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Nationalism is, generally, understood in terms of ideology. 'In discussing nationalism we have been discussing ideology, for nationalism is an ideology.'⁽⁸⁸⁾

Nationalism and Democracy:

Nationalism is inconceivable without the ideas of popular sovereignty.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The first clear expression of this ideal occurs during the French Revolution where we read 'only sovereign is the nation and man's first loyalty is to the nation.'⁽⁹⁰⁾ The revolution brought with it the assertion of sovereignty of people and the interest of the whole nation got priority in both internal and external relations of the nations. The collective personality of the nation became more important than the particular ruler.⁽⁹¹⁾ Collective grievance of the people were never ventilated at such a higher level before the emergence of nation. Liberty, equality and fraternity became the catchwords of the French Revolution. The concept that 'men are born free' and 'equal in rights' got prominence. The rights were treated natural and 'inalienable' as they

could only safeguard liberty, 'property' and 'security' from oppression.
(92)

Nationalism and democracy are closely related to each other. The right of self-determination champions democracy. 'In a nationalist philosophy the freedom of the nation state is the supreme freedom, which absorbs and engulfs ... the freedom of the individual.
(93) The prime 'starting point is that the government must rest upon the consent of the governed, to which the nineteenth and twentieth centuries added the assumption that, since man is a national animal, the government to which he will give his consent is one representing his own nation'.
(94) As Wilson put it, 'the central empires had been forced into political bankruptcy because ^{they} dominated 'alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule'.
(95) Thus nationalism took the shape of international democratic movement.

Nationalism and Secularism:

Under the Medieval empire in the West people failed to detect clear line between, cultural affairs of the state and religious life. The sovereignty of the state was confused with the divine rights of the kings. But with the rise of the centralised sovereign state, accompanied by the emergence of new social groups such as city burghers, secular state officials a new relationship of secular character emerged on the scene.
(96) The loyalty to the religious communities was replaced by the loyalty to the nation.

Secularism, started to be counted as an important condition for the success of democracy. The secular tradition that has contributed to national synthesis, long drawn from Greece and Rome and discovered in the Renaissance became highly influential in the 18th century Europe. (97)

Thus, nationalism has been added explicitly with the idea of 'secularism'. Nationalism is essentially secular and essentially democratic. (98) In the conflict between church and monarchy, after Renaissance, the universalism of church was replaced by national church, religion was claimed to be divorced of politics or rather brought under the control of the state.

Nationalism and Socialism:

The association of nationalism with socialism is one of the very important trends of the present-day world. This has been true, 'whether the national leader was Sun Yat. Sen in China, Mustafa Kamal in Turkey, Nasser in Egypt or Nehru in India'. (99) All regard the close connections between the two ideologies. 'It is more appropriate to say that mixture of the two : nationalism and socialism merely reflects the spirit of the day. (100)

The emergence of nationalism is supposed to try for national regeneration, a call for the development of the people. The French state, dynamized by the Revolution, abolished the feudal regime entirely by its decrees of 4th August 1789, interest tariffs by 1790, standardised weights and measures. Thus the notion that

the state ought to serve the nation was very much/^{the} contribution of the French. The political development, welfare of the people emerged as companion of nationalism. This process has reached the state where it corresponds to regeneration and vision for future. It symbolises the readiness of the individuals under the nation to work for common purpose. It stimulates productivity so that justice and equity is achieved. The nation is a sociological category and not a biological one. The needs it serves are social needs; how to realise aspirations, how to overthrow a rejected order, how to live together. But it does not satisfy psychological needs only, it is also a set of demand upon society.

Today, there are many countries which have adopted non-capitalist path of development. The concept of welfare state in the non-socialist world denotes a compromise between the extremes of individualism and socialism. This approach notes that a political system comes into being to satisfy certain needs paramount among which is general welfare. (101)

Apart from socialism, nationalism's link is also established with 'fascism'. Within the nation, the fascists hold the elite is superior to others and is entitled to rule them. (102) Outside the nation, the elite nation is entitled to rule other nations.

F. CONCLUSION:

Nationalism as a political ideology strives for 'independence' i.e. the right of self-determination, and tries to maintain 'unity' and integrity within the territorial jurisdiction of the nation-state. Furthermore, nationalism emerged at a particular stage of human development whose exponents were middle class people. It has been an extra-ordinary complex of social, political economic and intellectual development. The doctrine of nationalism dates back to the French Revolution and has arisen out of the ashes of ^{the} Empire. As the ideal of the modern age, it has close relationship with major contemporary ideologies such as, democracy, secularism. As an ideal it also accommodated 'the welfare of the people' as its goal and in order to achieve that it grew attachment with the 'welfare state', 'socialism' and even 'communism.' Statism and nationalism convey same appeals to the people in the modern world. The modern state and the nation-state are two co-extensive phenomena to a movement. It has covered the long march from 'elitist' inception to 'Mass' perfection. Nation is the recognised unit of international politics, and so is the movement of nationalism for internationalism. Nationalism is quite important but no less important is internationalism.

II: Internationalism : a Conceptual framework:

A. Historical Growth of the Concept of Internationalism:

There are numerous works on the theory of international relations, however, 'no comprehensive text exists on the philosophy of international relations, and only fragments on the history of thought in that field. (103) The structure of international society emerged before the 18th century but systematic (104) thought on the subject, is relatively of recent origin.

Though an attempt is made to trace link in classical antiquity and the mention is made of 'universality' of stoics in Greece. By 1648 there was ample evidence that civilization was rapidly supplanting Christianity as standard of moral assessment of non-christian states. The emergence of a post feudal system of international relations raised a number of crucial questions, such as, how were the new rulers to behave towards each other, and what type of foreign policies should they pursue? This led first to the revival of 'natural law' and the other, the growth of the modern state. The first was associated with Aquinas and the other with Machiavelli. In their writings, emphasis shifted to largely secular international society. (105) Yet, Machiavelli was lacking in providing a comprehensive conception of the new types of international relation.

The Treaty of Westphalia laid the formal basis of

new international order first, by terminating wars of religions occasioned by the Reformation, It finally removed Pope and Emperor on equal footing and lastly it legitimised an international order based on the existence of independent sovereign states.

The present system has emerged from the collapse of the feudal systems after Renaissance and Reformation, the former laid the foundation of secularisation of political, whereas the Reformation set in motion national action of the once universal concept of christendom. (106) New means of communication and commercial revolution shook the foundation leading first to the modern idea of the state and subsequently to the European nation-state system that was formally institutionalised in the treaty of Westphalia.

When the modern order emerged in the 16th or 17th century out of emphasis of middle ages the parochial basis of the nationalism also emerged. Outside Empire, France, England, Spain and later on Austria emerged as modern states, having predominant power of absolute kings. By the time of the French Revolution, the nationalist feeling prevailed in advanced countries of Europe paving the way for a new modern international system. The modern system of internationalism differed in its operation from all earlier systems 'because now onward the relationship was formulated only between the states. (107)

Therefore, it was not a coincidence that Robespierre advocated international understanding and co-operation by drafting a declaration of international law and submitted it to the National

Convention on 24th April 1793 mentioning therein : 'Men of all lands are brothers' and 'nations should assist each other', 'No nation has the right to interfere in the administration of other nations . Treaties between nations are sacred and have to be respected'.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ France being the modern state, and French Revolution being the pioneer of modern nationalistic movements, also contributed to the healthy growth of internationalism.

the

After the French Revolution, the critique of international absolutist system began to gather strength and the emphasis shifted more and more from purely political considerations to the economic element, and in particular to the system of mercantalism generally referred to by its critics as the 'Colonial system'.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The economics of mercantalism valued wealth as an instrument of power, and that the economics of mercantalism tended to reinforce the bellicose tendencies in the politics of absolutism. The object of mercantalism was not to improve wealth in order to improve the material life of the nation, but to organise production in such a manner as to ensure state predominance over other peoples.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

It was taken for granted that industrial capitalism would almost expand indefinitely in volume of production and international trade.

Technological break through in the industrial revolution were at the bottom of the major transformation in the international political system. The emergence of imperialism led to

the production of weapons for imperialistic war and advocated extranational expansionism resulting into colonisation of Afro-Asian countries.

However, the development of an everchanging modernity shifted thrust towards freedom, self-determination, liberalism and nationalism which also marched forward. In all these categories, much perhaps most of the work was 'transnational in character reacting across state boundaries and initiated by or acting upon private individual or groups. Inevitably the merchants and shopmasters, the emigrants and entrepreneurs carried their intellectual baggage with them and the years of developing economic interdependence also saw a growing transfer of knowledge, skills and attitude. (111)

The new scales became visible as the industrial revolution moved on. Europeans became the bankers of the world. The consequence of the shrinking and the linking of the world, of increased wealth and increased mobility, the spread of western education and the growth of transnational organisation, extended far beyond the political issues of security. In the early 19th century students from Afro-Asian countries started going to Europe and by the end of the century, developed a world wide educational structure, loose and uncondensed it is true, but this opened wide the door of the western knowledge. However, not since the Renaissance the Europe had also experienced such an important literary and cultural merging. Together with the influence of English writers, the translation of Russian authors

in English, the Germanization of Shakespeare, dominance of Italian and French composers, philosophy and art, along with Eastern literature, philosophy and art, made a world culture in the shape of emergence of 19th century high cosmopolitan character.

An event of supreme historical importance of the twentieth century, is the collapse of colonial system as a result of the many years of national liberation struggle. Equally important is the fact that the fundamental change has taken place in the global alignment from the disarray of the old mechanism which imperialism had used for decades. It is a qualitative shift in human history. (112)

The most striking qualitative change came with rapid increase in interdependence among nations. The world energy crisis, food crisis, the population explosion, hijacking, the traffic in drugs, protection of the world environment are the few problems apart from the major problem of world security, which require international solution.

In analytical terms, the frontiers of national politics have disappeared. Every explosion of political, economic, or social force within this closed system inevitably radiates to all frontiers of the globe. No part of the globe can be politically deemed to be undesirable or strategically unimportant. Every state is in some way relevant to every other state. (113)

After the Second World War, the emergence of a

large number of states as politically independent entities infused in them a feeling of deprivation in the existing international socio-economic and political system mainly because the economic levels of these countries being controlled by the developed countries. Out of this emerged the genuine need for interdependence culminating in the emergence of the concepts of Group of 77, the "south" the "Third World" and the "Non-aligned World".

The dependency paradigm assumes that underdevelopment in the periphery or the developing countries is the result of development in the capitalist countries. Hence, development of the developing countries requires cessation of relations with the capitalist world.

Advocates of the world system theory believe that the demand for the New International Economic Order is justified. A balanced development in the North as well as in the South is the prerequisite for a congenial world system.

All these brought a sense of feeling of interdependence among the developing countries as a common understanding requiring for a common platform.

B. International Organisation:

Ever since the conclusion of I.T.U. in 1860s and U.P.S. US in 1870s a Web of international technical, economic and political organisation have emerged. The globalisation of problems since 1945 has brought about a considerable transformation

in the attitude of national governments (114) towards international institutions.

The First World War started over a purely European squabble engulfed the whole of the world. International peace and security became the concern of the whole world and for the satisfaction of these pressing needs, the League of Nations was established. A definite political conception evolved out of the vapour internationalism of early times. 'The League of Nations' implied a new ideal, for, now not the brotherhood of man or the unity of the workers in Socialist International catches the imagination, but a world in which the nations directly promote (115) peace in the organisation of their foreign relations. The League was not a state, nor was it a super-state. It was an organised association of sovereign states, created by a treaty; a Confederation world-wide in scope. It had a legal personality, it owned property, had a treasury and a budget of its own. But it had no territory no citizens or subjects, no army, navy or police.

The League was given the historic mission of eliminating war - but not the means by which to accomplish that mission (116) and hence failed to arrest the outbreak of the Second World War. 'The U.N. with all that it represents and embodies and more so with all its moral potential, is an immense achievement of the progressive forces of the world.' (117) However, the establishment of the collective security was made the task of the League of Nations, after the Second World War'. The U. N. O has been entrusted with

the same job and has been successful in averting the world war till now. The world has entered such a phase where the most explicit and articulate section of a large body of conventional wisdom favour the important role of international organisation. The modern technology of communications, industry, welfare as well as the growth of economic, ecological and social problems on a regional and global level present irresistible pressures towards international co-operation and ultimate political unity. So (118) supranational organisational decision making system has been the need of the time. The membership of the newly independent Afro-Asian states under the U. N. has changed the character of the international organisation. One of the main functions of the international organisation is to 'nurture and play upon man's (119) co-operative and socialable instincts to conflict.'

International organisation is the agency through which integration of the world society is expected. The pluralists find for political, economic, and moral change the justification of the increased role of international organisations by restricting the sovereignty of the nation-state. They insist upon the 'community of states' leading to the integration of the world society.

On the other hand, the functionalists constitute the most explicit and articulate section of a large body of ~~conventional~~ conventional wisdom about international organisation. New functionalists stand for supranational decision making system. As an

operative philosophy they plead for a peaceful, unified and co-operative world.

But the federalists offer the clearest alternative to the present international system based on formal legal approach providing a blue print seeking to substitute world order by 'world-federation'. The world federation with a central authority having force will enable the world to remain free from scourge of war.

The theory of international relations is still in infancy and when a theory is in its infancy, 'it is, sometimes, difficult to be sure it is there at all'.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Surveying the theories of international politics, as we find them in text books, it appears that much of the current thought can be described as 'Utopian'.⁽¹²¹⁾ The world, it is said, is becoming small conflicts are becoming unimportant. World trade is superseding national economics. A world literature is taking the place of national literature. National sovereignty is becoming outmoded. International organisations are multiplying. Soon the antiquated nonsense of nation-states and national government will go into museum of recent archaeology.⁽¹²²⁾ There are also pessimists who envisage the world as a large battleground, a period of extreme danger. There are 'mixed-utopias' where picture of ever-increasing unity is projected for one's own camp and prophesying the crack and chances of another camp being destroyed in terms of communist and non-communist world. However, this dichotomy has already disappea-

red from the world scene.

Having read these arguments not once, but many times, (123)
it seems safe to predict we shall read them many times in future.

Ideally a student of international phenomena should have all extensive grounding in international history, politics and culture, since the unifying theme is the humanistic concept of politics.

Politics blends the affairs of the people acting as individuals, groups nations, alliances, empires, and trans-national and international organisations, seeking to maximise the collective well-being. Further, any understanding of international and domestic politics should assume that international and domestic politics are not necessarily separate entities but inter-related levels of political activity each of which affects others. In a world of increasing interdependence domestic and international variables (124)

fuse so closely. Hence there is need for a conception that of cosmopolitanism and a revised principle of state-autonomy based on the justice of a state's domestic institutions and a principle (125)
of international distributive justice.

C. Idealistic Interpretation of Internationalism:

As to interpretation of international state of affairs, three groups of thinkers namely 'Idealists', 'Realists' and 'Behaviouralists' can be traced. However, internationalism in the field of thought generally, has taken the form of idealism. Prevailing scholarship, after the First World War, adopted an essentially legalistic, moralistic (i.e. idealistic) approach, and looked upon war as both an accident and sin, accident because of

absence of international institutions and sin, for it revealed the darkest side of the human nature. It was based on liberalism and humanism. Unfortunately, this era of liberalism did not last and the expansionist policy of Germany in the 1930s undermined the idealist search, and efforts for a rational, legal, world order shattered leading to the Second World War.

With the rise of the nation-states, there emerged the idea and ideal of a system of equal, free and self-determining nationalities, all being peacefully side by side in harmonious mutual relations. Idealist nationalism amalgamated pacifist humanitarian elements with liberal democratic elements. International movements, expressive of internationalism, such as Puritan Revolution, French Revolution, Bolshevich Revolution, turned world-embracing development.
(126)

D. Realism:

A new generation of scholars, known as 'Realists,' rejected the previously dominant legalistic and moralistic guidelines arguing that policies based on power could afford a semblance of global security since the 1930s. They regard international relations to be a subdivision of political science and philosophy with unique features. To them the discipline of international relations comes as nearly anarchic relations existing among sovereign political entities, recognising no supreme international judge, resorting to threat or use of force or outright war in order to preserve or protect their interests. They posit international relations as the

study of disorder.

Hayes, explaining the nature of realism, explains:

'There is still another very important element, the supplanting of the intellectual and cultural vogue of romanticism by what conventionally has been called 'realism'. This realism has been the product of novel factors absorption in the mechanical and utilitarian aspects of the industrial revolution, admiration for the 'practical man' of 'big industry' and 'big finance'; acceptance of a 'mechanistic theory of the universe' and of a 'materialist interpretation of human behaviour'; interest in sociology, with its 'laws of society' and its fact finding inquests, distrust of human reason and trust in pragmatism and human will; adaptation of the biological hypothesis of Darwin to support such conceptions as the 'inequality of races', the 'struggle for existence', and 'survival of the fittest'; enthusiasm for Nietzsche's 'red blooded trend' and for his superman.'

(127)

After the Second World War, the Realist School criticised predecessors for being too idealistic, moralistic and legalistic in their research or policy. Although realists have raised many criticisms there is one basic flaw in their argument. By overemphasising their idea that the world is an immoral and lawless place unwittingly they might bring about a Hobbesian world of 'might makes right' which they presumably and ideally have liked to avoid. If we want to achieve an ethical and lawful world order, our conduct ought to conform to our own ethical and

legal principles. If we donot respect our own values we can
(128)
hardly expect others to take them seriously.

From Machiavelli and David Hume to E. H. Carr and
Hans J. Morgenthau, power, has been an important variable in inter-
national politics. Lasswell, Kaplan bring the watershed between
the older intuitive and ambiguous treatments of power and the
clarity and principles of more recent discussion. 'The frequent
predicting has been noted so often by scholars' ... How is it
(129)
that weak powers influence the strong. Among the associates,
of Realist school, are Max Weber, Carr, Morgenthau Schuman, Spykman,
Reinhold, Niebuhr, Wafers Thompson, Kissinger and others. They
see politics as the struggle for power, to them adoption of lega-
listic, moralistic and even ideological behaviour in politics tend
to run contradictory to the forces of nature and to result either
in pacifism or defeatism.

To the idealists, the realist maximss appear morbid,
reactionary, cynical, and quite often self-serving. Idealists
include pacifists, world federalists, humanitarians, legalists and
moralists. This school is identified with great names such as
Henry de Saint, Simon, William Lad, Mahatma Gandhi, Richard Cobden
Aldous Huxley, Woodrow Wilson, Bertrand Russell and Margaret
(130)
Meade.

We should also take note of the fact that practising
politicians, unlike, political science scholars, frequently employ
idealistic rhetoric like, a good political person does not do what
is possible; rather he does what is good. He provides for the
good, life involving justice, obedience to legitimate rules and

respect for his fellow beings both within and outside the country. Idealists disagree with the realists in their belief in power politics, furthermore, they assent man has the capacity to learn, change and control his behaviour, civilization means learning to co-exist, operating under fair laws. Political activities are categorised between 'politics of violence' versus the 'politics of persuasion' and the latter may be referred to as the politics of logic, of morality, of co-operation and interdependence.

E. Behaviouralism:

In the mid - 1950s, there emerged the third school of thought which rejected both the 'realist' and the 'idealist' traditions, claiming themselves as 'behaviouralist'. They consider international relations to be too broad and a complex field. They take international relations to be an inter-disciplinary field, apply empirical method, employing quantitative techniques and model-buildings. Some Social Scientists such as Deutsch, Kaplan, and Rosen have advanced tentative hypothesis. 'Thus far the scientific school has produced 'more promise than performance'. Although the behaviouralists have thus far offered the political science community sophisticated research-tools taken from other social sciences also a body of 'pretheory' that tends itself to testing and verification procedures, their main contribution has been the leadership of the methodological revolution. (131)

There are some problems inherent if an analyst argues that politics is anything that human demonstrate it to be,

then he or she equates politics with all possible co-operative or conflictive behaviour, in other words, all human interaction. There is precious little interactive behaviour that can be left out of this catchful definition. This is perhaps to ignore the essence of good politics, which is peaceful and dignified co-existence, peaceful and equitable regulation of competition, peaceful and equitable redistribution of wealth and status - in short, peaceful and just change.
(132)

In the last analysis, for the scientists to assume the incorruptibility of fellow scientists, is to enter into the idealist school of thought. The theoretically oriented student of international relations faces serious problems some of which can never be overcome because they are part of the human conditions. The theorists in international relationship do not enjoy an abstract, impersonal relationship with the object of his study. Personal involvement, characteristic of the data, and the very nature of the process of acquiring knowledge combine to make the formulation of theory very difficult.
(133)

However, the emphasis in the behavioural approach is always on suggesting that human behaviour should be systematically observed and generalisations rooted in and supported by empirical evidences should be formulated and tested and retested by the scientific method. The subject of international relations is such that no single method could be cohesive. The debate between the classical school represented by Hadley Bull, favouring the idealist/traditional method and the scientific school represented by Morton Kaplan, upholding the necessity of

modern scientific tools and techniques, has thus been reconciled by David Singer that the subject of international relations needs philosophy and intuition with scientific precision.

F. Pluralism:

The four approaches : pluralism, functionalism, neo-functionalism and federalism, try to explain the state of affairs prevailing under the international system to explain integration in the international society.

Pluralism is identified with the circumvention, reduction or abolition of the Sovereign power of the state on the ground of diplomatic, economic and social exchange between nation-states. The sovereignty is further restrained by membership of nations under international organisation. Their aim is 'community of states' leading to the integration of the world-society. The absolute sovereignty is taken to be obsolete. At root the term merely denotes superiority and sovereignty is absolute only in case of a powerful country. (134)

The pluralists insisted on moral, political and economic change within the states and need for improved interaction between the states to solve their problems peacefully and co-exist in a stable harmonious system of sovereign entities.

G. Federalism:

Philosophically the federalists perhaps have most in common with the pluralists. Federalism, as a branch of

idealism, argues that the basis of the centralised and legitimate force is necessary at global level to deter individual actors in a given society from the breaking of rules that guarantee collective co-existence without sacrificing fundamental individual rights. The world federation with a central authority having force at its disposal will enable the world to remain free from scourge of international war and many of its derivative civil wars.

In a world of independent states war is inevitable because change is inevitable but the world also needs peace more than ever and hence age old dream 'that there might be something larger than the state, and that the state might therefore be subordinate rather than independent.' (135) It is quite true that a review of current events and trends might throw a variety of indications that the projected state-centric view fails to meet the demands.

Political civilisation has continued with multiplicity of independent states' common origin of the mankind which suggests higher loyalty. The loyalties can be reconciled and the tension can be ended only by constructing a single political supra-national state. In doing so, the federalist approach relies on the formal legal approach presenting peace plan or constitutional framework. For federalist scholars, integration is an end product rather than a process. Following successful application of federalism in the united states it became a blue print for well-meaning scholars to substitute world order for the uncertainty

and disorder of war and the international balance.

The federalists appear to offer the clearest and the strongest alternative to the present set-up, but as the international society is composed of heterogeneous states and they differ very much on the fundamentals, it is very difficult if not impossible to achieve it. On the otherhand, it would be wrong to assume that the gradual world federation is impossible because of the world's diversity. 'If experiments in federal government in U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. can continue with some success then there is no reason as to why global federal arrangements may not some day have the opportunity to develop. (136)

H. Functionalism:

The two schools of British and French functionalism grew out of criticisms leveled at mercantalism as well as out of the writings of enlightenment concerning international absolutist system. Banking over the literature of criticism they also provided some constructive thinking about the future of international relations. They believed firmly in the 'harmony of interests' within the state and saw no reason why that not profitably be extended to the international sphere. They claim themselves to be 'realist'.

The classical age of British functionalism began about the 1840s. Affected by ^{the} French Revolution and Industrial Revolution Cobdon, Bright, J.S. Mill and Green argued for non-intervention, and free-trade as essentially and mutually rein-

forcing ingredients of a pacific system of international relations.
(137)

More and more the state in its old form was perceived as stationary and outmoded in a rapidly changing society and in adaptation to the newly emerging conditions. David Mitrain (1888-1975) came to realise that a number of useful functions on the part of the state could be applied to international relations. To him, the post-World War II situations came as culmination of functionalism. International political divisions were to be overlaid with a 'spreading Web' of such inter-state agencies, in which, and through which, the interests and life of all countries would be integrated. International system of welfare resting on inter-state welfare institutions would eventually prove successful.
(138)

E.H. Carr also advocated on this line introduction of functionalism as a means of satisfying the world's economic needs, leaving the state intact as the principal focus of political loyalty.
(139)

St. Simon (1760-1826), August Comte, (1798-1857) also developed the idea of internationalism. Simon's ideas amounted to no less than a theory of scientific universalism.
(140)

Industrialism, to him, was a social system with an international dimension and hence no individual country could proceed without collaboration with others. Comte, a follower of Simon, became the founder of the philosophical school of positivism. He considered that the data of history, properly interpreted, could provide the means of making predictions and as such a contribution

towards peace by putting an end to the struggle of man Vs man. He suggested that free enterprise was a temporary phase and the supreme directing force 'homogeneous class' would eventually control all countries of the world. 'It is still early, and Comte's vision of the genesis of a world wide technological managerial society may well come true in the long run. (141) Writes Parkinson. His hint was to forget the political difference and to concentrate on the solution of technical problems for integration as the unity of the world remained in the unity of world thought.

Briefly, these ideas reflect a near consensus that the modern technology, of communications, industry, welfare, the growth of economic, ecological and social problems on a regional and global scale present irresistible pressures towards international co-operation and ultimate political unity. (142) These theorists take the state as the chief barrier to rational organisation for human welfare. 'Nations remain the focus of men's irrational dysfunctional and often destructive emotions. As such, they could be attacked directly, but can be rendered harmless gradually if welfare needs are arranged through the continuous development of common activities and interests across them.' (143)

I. New Functionalism:

Both pluralism and functionalism represent traditions but new functionalist approach emphasises the fact that 'political integration comes about less through pressures from functional needs or technological change as such and more through

the interaction of political forces, interest groups, parties, governments international agencies - which seek to exploit these pressures in pursuit of their own interests.' (144) To the functionalists, the state was barrier but to the neo-functionalists, interaction of the state was required to a limited extent. (145)

New functionalists stand for supra-national decision making system, growth of central institutions through forward linkage, the state, the supra-national state is also the aim of federalism.

The technological, economic and social forces have transformed the world is truism but whether it will lead to a global political unity only the time will prove. However, the patterning of relations in global politics is moving towards some form of integration. It is uncertain how quickly this movement will proceed or which values and interests will predominate, but the realities of transition beyond the state-system seems almost irresistible. (146)

Neo-functionalists view integration as a process as well as outcome. They prefer to emphasise co-operative decision making processes and elite attitudes in order to assess the progress towards integration.

J. Integration:

The four approaches, pluralism, functionalism, neo-functionalism, and federalism, as theories of analysis of inter-

national relations, are so different that one is encouraged to ask the question, if integration theory has any central Core of actions, themes or hypothesis. (147) one should not have to choose among these approaches to the study of integration because the genesis of political units of national, regional or global level is too complex a phenomenon to be left to any method or conceptual approach. The recommendations and findings of federalists, communication analysts and new-functionalists should therefore be considered as useful steps in the ladder of understanding. (148) To him, communication leads to co-operation; co-operation leads to negotiation and negotiation leads to integration.

Furthermore, the concept of integration should be reserved only for peaceful political unification. The regional organisations can be conveniently divided into: regional defence organisations; economic organisations or functional organisations; Hybrid organisations containing elements of both political and economic and occasionally military and cultural co-operation. Since World War II advances in technological fields as transportation and communication have promoted commercial links among states. Our era is one of the growth, inequality and increasing interdependence.

In this area, integration comes as an instrumentality of the modern multi-state system, sees it very broadly as method and form of co-operation among nations for many purposes based where institutions are set up through which joint decisions can be arrived at. Kaplan's view of integrative process, in the international system, compliments and indeed resembles with pluralist

(149)
view. It grants some autonomy to the state expecting responsiveness in catering to the needs of the people.

Conclusion:

To sum up, pluralism insists upon community of states, probability of conflict resolution, self-sustaining growth of interdependence, increase in capacity for decision making, social learning through communications and interaction between 'elite' and 'mass'. Functionalism advocates administrative network responsible to community needs, degrees of 'fit' between the structure and the functions; need satisfaction, reluctant co-operation to solve economic and technological problems for state. New functionalism stands for supra-national decision making system, growth of central institutions through 'forward-linkage' states, supra-national state is the aim of federalism where there will be distribution of power and this will be achieved through constitutional revolution, dramatic distribution of power. Another approach by Deutsch, known as Communication approach, seeks to measure process of integration by watching the flow of international transactions in trade, tourists, letters and immigrants.

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CHAPTER - III

The Ideas of 'Nationalism' and 'Internationalism' in India.

The Ideas of 'Nationalism' and 'Internationalism' in India.

I. Nationalism in India:

Generally, the political, cultural, social and economic factors join together at a particular stage of human development to destroy feudalism and turn conducive towards the formation of a nation. Throughout the world, 'the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with the national movement'.⁽¹⁾ Like all other historical movements, nationalism is regulated by both subjective and objective conditions of the period. Indian nationalism is a modern phenomenon and as such may be ranked with Afro-Asian nationalism. Indian nationalism, 'came into being during the British period as a result of action and interaction of numerous subjective and objective forces and factors which developed within the Indian society under the conditions of British rule and the impact of world forces.'⁽²⁾

The most important political and economic aspect of Indian reality was that India was being ruled by a foreign power for the purpose of economic profit. The degree of exploitation created a situation in which antagonism between the rulers and the ruled continued to develop and a struggle for political power and independence became more or less inevitable.⁽³⁾ Furthermore, the Indian national movement arose from conditions arising out of imperialism and its system of exploitation; the rise of Indian

bourgeoisie and its growing competition against the domination of the British bourgeoisie. It was here that this section of bourgeoisie began to move in their quest for national identity. Thus the process began wherein nearly 'every important economic question was linked with politically dependent status of the country and with the question of political autonomy or atleast with Indian people's right to share in political power.'⁽⁴⁾

The colonial policies of the imperialist power were more or less similar in their manifestations. There existed certain variations in the methods of enslavement of colonial people. In the colonial period,⁽⁵⁾ Britain applied all the known forms of oppression. Economic exploitation, racial discrimination, spread of Christian missionaries, communal rift, to name a few, were the adjuncts of the British rule in India. But the transformation of the pre-British feudal economy into a capitalist economy (however, including feudal survivals) was a long-drawn process. And all the three phases of capitalism spread in India from trading to industrial and industrial to 'financial' which simply increased the amount of exploitation of the Indian people. The changes which developed in the general character of capitalism in Britain from its progressive period to a more and more reactionary period culminating in the period of imperialism brought corresponding changes in the character of British rule in India.⁽⁶⁾

The progressive role of the British rule started

waning in the later decades of the 19th century when new forces started growing in the Indian society. These beginnings, within the field of capitalist industry and of the new Westernised intelligentsia started appearing, 'destined to become the first articulate expression and leadership of Indian national claims.'⁽⁷⁾ Thus the basic economic conflict surfaced simply to grow in proportions in the later years.

The history of the Indian national movement is the record of the advancing consciousness which began from a narrow circle to its full stature with the mass participation of the peasants and labour replacing the 'elitist' character by 'mass' movement.

Romantic School:-

The contention that British rule in India was harmful to Indians, was endorsed by most of the writers on Indian nationalism. Among the early accounts to appear on Indian nationalism was 'How India wrought for Freedom', by Annie Besant. She started forcibly with the contention that the Aryan civilization had been the true breeding ground of Indian nationalism. India had a long-chequered history full of rich literature and religion. Besant considered that a prosperous and wealthy nation like India had been turned to a sorry state of affairs under the British rule. To her, 'British nation would understand the shame and her autocratic rule in India, her broken pledges, her selfishness, her

preference of her own to India's interest'. (8)

Besant's version might be termed as the 'romantic' school of Indian nationalism (9) which the Theosophical Society did so much to popularise during the 19th century. She asserted that India inherited an ancient and glorious civilization and owed little to the discoveries of Europe. Furthermore, Besant and some other writers tried to reinforce India's claim to nationhood. It was important to instil a sense of national pride to a people under colonial subjugation and to focus the plight of Indians. Though these ideas provided suggestive insights, 'the lack of proper conceptual precision in Besants' treatment of Indian nationalism robs her account of a sense of clarity and coherence.' (10)

Marxist School:

M. N. Roy, the founder of Indian communist movement and its leading theoretician, opined, that the historians of the 'romantic school' were 'bad readers of history' for their subjective attitude. To him, nationalism was 'a comparatively recent phenomenon in the annals of human history before which the communities lived in the various parts of the world through tribal, slave and feudal phases of social existence'. (11)

It was only with the advent of the British imperialism that Indian feudalism got a death-blow and the intellectuals together with the landowners and traders formed the Indian bourgeoisie which turned anti-colonial and advanced threat to the

ruling power. Roy asserts that these groups raised issues such as representative institutions, Indianisation of the services, the development of home-industry and the boycott of foreign goods.

He also interpreted nationalism in the context of internationalism. The realisation that there was a common bond of unity among the various members of human race along with the ideal of uniting the entire human race into one fraternity was gaining ground ⁽¹²⁾ replacing the ideal of parochial, selfish, narrow-minded nationalism.

Roy perceived nationalism as a modern phenomenon arising out of conditions created by British rule, notably changes in the economy and education leading to the emergence of the middle class in Indian society which fully became the leading exponents of the doctrine of nationalism. R.P. Dutt also provided the perspective of 'historical materialism' in his pioneering work in 'India Today'. His account is quite up to date. This is the first sustained analysis, from a Marxist stand point, of the Indian reality under the British rule and of the resurgent national liberation movement which sought to overthrow it.

Another impressive scholarly output has been put forward by Bipan Chandra in his book, 'The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India'. The account provided by the Marxists, focussed on the entire period between 1835 to 1947, and had one central feature - the conflict or contradiction between imperialism and nationalism. The anti-colonial character had been

exclusively expressed in the Indian national awakening. For Roy, as indeed for all the Marxists, 'history was merely a witness to the way in which these events have unfolded themselves'.⁽¹³⁾

The whole generation of Marxist historians of India, despite many political differences among them, agreed that the intellectual history of India in the 19th and the 20th centuries was a history of the struggle between the forces of reaction and those of progress.⁽¹⁴⁾ The attempt to relate developments in thought to the evolving socio-economic structure of a colonial country led to the subjection of the colonial country and the question of loyalty or opposition to the imperial power the basis of their thinking. Thus Marxists have found it extremely hard to escape the liberal dilemma; 'more often than not, they have adopted exactly the same method as that of the liberals - either a resort to sociology... or alternatively reducing the two trends within nationalism....'⁽¹⁵⁾

Thus the account provided by the scholars on the basis of historical materialism is atleast devoid of fuzziness as was evident in the account provided by the Romantic School. Their account showed not only the exploitative character of the British rule in India, but also recognised that it terminated centuries of despotism, superstitions, ushering in a new era of destruction as well as regeneration, i.e. destruction of antiquated traditions and emergence of modern secular and national forces.'⁽¹⁶⁾

The Theory of the Educated Class:

Mc Cully, one of the prominent scholars, in his work 'English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism', conceived English education as the agency through which nationalism surfaced in India. The resentment and the aspirations of this class led to the germination of the seed of nationalism in India. There is no doubt about the fact that this educated class gradually and steadily helped in launching the anti-colonial nationalist movement. Therefore, Mc Cully regarded English education as the only major determinant for the growth of the nationalist movement in India in favour of 'democracy' 'secularism' and welfare of the people. On the otherhand, the frustrations of finding suitable employment, compounded by racial discrimination, led them to accelerate the process of the growth of Indian national movement.

Mc Cully asserted that Indian nationalism was an exotic growth - implanted by foreign hands and influences. He did seemingly overlook the role of the economic factor. Nevertheless, he did not deny the main contention that Indian nationalism was mainly anti-colonial in character and manifestations. He saw 'nationalism as a modern phenomenon that didn't occur in pre-colonial India, and unlike Besant, did not confuse nationalism with ethno-centrism.

(17)

On the otherhand, Anil Seal formulated a different

approach based on 'group competition'. He argued that there were elite interest-groups whose frustrations in securing benefits of the scarce resources led to various postures of conflict in which yesterday's friends became tomorrow's enemies. (18) Seal, like Mc Cully, believed, Indian nationalism was not formed through the promptings of any class demand or as the consequence of any sharp changes in the structure of the economy. The rise of nationalism had more to do with the educational and bureaucratic policies of the British Raj.

Later on, Seal, in company with Gallagher and Gordon Johnson, shifted the emphasis from 'elite' to 'locality' depicting the rivalries between Indians, questioning their earlier stand. Though Seal shared Roy's and Mc Cully's view that the educated class behaved in their own interest but failed to take into account this section as a new class but as extension of the castes they originally represented. (19) These historians underplayed economic factors and assigned, instead, the central role in the politicization, to the sharpening of the social rivalries prevalent during the period.

While Besant and other romantists^{ei} along with traditionalists emphasised over the rich heritage of India condemning the destruction of the Indian system, Roy and Seal took destruction as something less significant. But in one regard, both natives and foreigners alike supported the contention that Indian nationalism was 'anti-colonial' and 'anti-imperialist'. Economically

backward and politically divided India became the prey of British colonialists first, as a market for their manufactured goods later, into a source of raw materials. The development of capitalism in India assumed extremely grave forms due to predatory methods of exploitation practised by Britain. Naturally all these led to the emergence of anti-colonial trend of India nationalism.

Political Economy of Indian Nationalism:

The historical destiny took a different turn when the British established their dominance over the extensive territory ^{the} of Indian sub-continent. The first hundred years' rule revealed the direct plunder of India when she became an agrarian raw materials appendage, first, as market for their manufactured goods and later, into a source of raw materials and food stuffs, entailing grave consequence to the economy. For the first time, the land became the object of buying and selling. Landlords, absentee landlords, and merchants emerged in the agrarian sphere and the rebellions of peasants also came on the scene at the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century, which gathered momentum in the later years till the independence from the colonial yoke was achieved.

In the second-half of the 19th century, capitalism emerged on the scene. The nascent capitalist relations in the country based on ^{the} discriminatory policies of Britain facilitated the development of national consciousness. Keshav Chandra Sen,

Brahmo-Samajist, remarked, 'we no longer rely on ourselves in anything. We are subject to foreign power, receive education in foreign language, and suffer from foreign oppression. We shall not differ from English in any way, their language will be our language. My heart breaks when I think that the word Hindu may be forgotten and we shall be called by a different name.'⁽²⁰⁾

England achieved Industrial Revolution with the plunder of India and found adequate outlets for their manufactured goods in India. 'The British capital invested in India was, in reality, first raised in India from the plunder of the Indian people, and then written down as debt from the Indian people to Britain, on which they had to pay thenceforward interests and dividends.'⁽²¹⁾ This finance capital exploitation turned dominant which 'intensified exploitation of India under the conditions of finance capitalism underlying the present gathering crisis and intensified revolt against imperialism in India. But the fact remains that British rule has at any rate led to advancing industrialisation and economic development in place of the previous decay,'⁽²²⁾ is far from justified. Because, 'upto 1914, the opposition of imperialism to industrial development in India was open and unconcealed'.⁽²³⁾ But, for military and competitive economic reasons and inner political factors, the erstwhile policy was changed in terms of securing more profit. However, the fact remains that industrialisation made the Indian economy more unified and cohesive and organic. It brought into existence modern

culture gearing up the progressive movement of social, political and cultural nature.

Indian Nationalism : Ideology, Organisation and Movements:

The origin of nationalism was commonly traced to the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the most momentous event in the history of nationalism and freedom in modern India.

Though, some of the societies of political character were formed even earlier than the establishment of Indian National Congress by some intellectuals in the major cities of India, it was the result of the transition from social and religious societies towards political associations by the 1870's. It was in Poona that the intelligentsia first launched the 'Poona Sarvajanik Sabha' in 1870, followed by the famous 'Indian Association' of Calcutta in 1876, and Madras's 'Madras Native Association' in 1881. This reflected, on the eve of the formation of the Congress, the intelligentsia in the four major cities in India had set up their own political bodies in rapid succession. (24) These organisations had their branches in the districts and their demands included greater share in recruitments for administration, representation in the legislature, abolition of levies on trade and commerce, lowering of high land revenue, opposed salt and forest laws. These organisations turned to be ^{the} nucleus of the emerging nationalist movement capable of uniting regional elites in other

provinces. Influential factions which founded associations in Bombay, Poona, Madras, Allahabad and Calcutta, had worked closely with Hume in giving practical shape to their desire for a nationalist institution. (25)

Indian National Congress : The First Phase:

In the first stage of the Congress, the intelligentsia commanded and constituted the majority of the front-rank leadership. Next to lawyers, came the editors of newspapers, followed by teachers and some officials. The second pillar of support came from the bourgeoisie, industrialists, merchants, bankers, money-lenders, zamindars and landholders. Among the delegates who attended the conferences between 1892-1909, the landed gentry and the commercial class comprised 32 percent. (26) Thus the Congress in ^{the} early years was 'composed chiefly of English-educated lawyers, and smaller gentry, with a fair sprinkling of commercial and professional classes.' (27) Remaining outside the orbit of the Congress were 'the peasantry, the rural artisans, the working class employed in the factories, the plantations, mines and modern communications, minorities such as ^{the} Muslims and the depressed classes ...' (28) Initially the Congress did not include the demand for immediate independence. Besides, the Congress also sought to escape entanglements with issues capable of evoking religious conflicts.

The Second Phase:

The second and the third decades in the life of the Indian National Congress marked the dominant internal feuds between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists'. The crack appeared as early as 1890, but it gained serious proportion in the wake of partition of Bengal. Tilak, Aurobindo, B.C. Pal and Lajpat Rai formed this group of extremists. Aurobindo advocated an unequivocal demand for 'Indian independence'.⁽²⁹⁾ Tilak became a true symbol of the new era, a principal leader of the democratic wing not only in Maharashtra, but in India as a whole. Lala Lajpat Rai remarked, 'no nation is worthy of any political status if it can't distinguish between begging such rights and claiming them.'⁽³⁰⁾

Then came the partition of Bengal which surely marked the turning point in the history of Indian nationalism. Demonstrations were held almost daily and the young section including the students joined the movement against partition. 'Bande Mataram' as a show of patriotic defiance was chanted. New movements like 'Swadeshi', boycott and national education were popularised. The air was full of Swadeshi. The complete independence or Swaraj replaced the earlier stand of the moderates and, for the first time, the leadership established direct link with the working class. It 'revealed a potential mode of mass mobilisation which held implications for the future nationalist struggle.'⁽³¹⁾

Another major event which brought about revolutionary upsurge was the trial and conviction of Lokmanya Tilak in 1908. In July 1908, there was a public strike in Bombay, when labourers also came on a mass strike. Lenin commented: 'India of people is beginning to stand up in defence of her writers and public leaders, the infamous sentence pronounced by the British jackals against the Indian democrat Tilak'.⁽³²⁾

However, the break between the moderates and the extremists had come to pass at Surat shattering the political unity with which the Indian National Congress had continued since its inception for more than two decades. This continued till 1916 December when in Lucknow Congress an understanding was reached. A series of radical resolutions from self-government to Hindu-Muslim Constitutional settlement were approved. Tilak died (in 1920) and Gandhi was inaugurating the non-co-operation movement in protest against Britain's Khilafat policies, thus heralding the passing of one era in Indian nationalism and the advent of another.⁽³³⁾

The Terrorists and the National Movement:

The Indian terrorists and revolutionaries were second to none in their patriotic enthusiasm and noble dedications. Chafekar, Khudiram Bose, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Rash Behari Bose and many others took to this path. Though they did not produce substantial contribution to the growth of political thought, their writings, messages and much more than that, their

trials and heroism, enthused the youth. While the early revolutionaries were influenced by spiritual Hinduism, after the 1920s, a socialist and communist connotation was added. Bhagat Singh provided such an example. Therefore, 'it will be wrong to regard the terrorist movement as a failure, the sacrifices of the terrorist movement became the subject matter of national saga'.⁽³⁴⁾ It proved correct, 'so long as the national movement does not become mature and broad based, terrorism supplies the historic channel for the release of frustration and for the expression of the national rage.'⁽³⁵⁾

The ideology of nationalism:

The bourgeoisie represented a political force in India since the middle of the 19th century in 'embarking upon modern political movements and in building links with other classes in society'.⁽³⁶⁾ This section enthusiastically supported the programme of the 'Swadeshi' of Congress and boycott of English goods. Large section of Indian leadership such as Gokhale, Joshi, Banerjee, Wacha and Datt could advance the ideology of anti-colonialism with a request for share in power. Naoroji, Tilak and Iyer prescribed and expressed the view that the British rule was injurious to India.⁽³⁷⁾ Their stand underwent constant changes from their earlier belief that the credit side of the British rule in India outweighed the debit side.⁽³⁸⁾ However, gratefulness and praise began to give way to constant carping and grieving so far economic issues were concerned.

In course of time, agitation on concrete economic issues

reflected discontent establishing the fact/that India was robbed for British purposes, i.e. being drained out of its wealth and capital. It might be 'suggested that ultimately it was the agitation around economic policies'⁽³⁹⁾. Furthermore, the growth of the united national economy provided a base for the ideological formulations where a section supported the Laissez-faire to be opposed by the other. The concept of nationalism and its ideological manifestations emerged in this background. So, 'the history of the rise of national sentiment in India is closely linked up with the growth of a united national economy.'⁽⁴⁰⁾

Despite, the efforts made by the liberals and the extremists, the Congress could not become a mass organisation. When the liberation movement gained momentum, people from different castes, communities and groups joined it and the Congress became ideologically a 'conglomeration of a wide range of interests ... rightists, leftists and Gandhians'⁽⁴¹⁾. In the process of trying to accommodate all these interests, the very content and form of socialism was, therefore, a synthesis of the major trends within the party.'⁽⁴²⁾ By 1934, the Congress Socialist Party was formed. The Communist Party of India, which could mobilise support of the peasants and workers by organising them, was already on the scene. Their impact was also felt in the policies of the Congress in Lahore and Karachi Congress sessions. As the aspirations of people grew stronger and dissatisfaction rather strong, the Congress had to broaden their

policies, first political freedom from British colonialism and later economic freedom and subsequently the establishment of an egalitarian society. (43)

Thus the growth of the different political ideologies came as a response to the demands of the situation. Britain, in order to consolidate and perpetuate her rule, started the process of enslaving Indians spiritually with the spread of Christianity. But their offensive ran into stubborn resistance and ideological struggle for liberation from Christianity, particularly successful, was the defence of the native religion. The first trend, of Swami Dayananda, set itself to the task of reforming and reviving the religion of Hinduism with a call to 'Back to Vedas. In 1877, the Hindu Tract society was established in Madras, with the double motive to defend Hinduism, and to attack openly Christian missionary activities. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also attacked Christianity.

The second trend against Christianity was spiritualism and theosophy. The activities of the Theosophical Society, particularly in ^{the} South, could be rated very high. They were quite successful in spreading the pride of the past, helpful in promoting the agitation for self-government. But, 'as for India's burning social problems, theosophists touched on them only in so far as they felt ^{the} need for adapting themselves to the political situation of the country and legalising their activities which were reactionary in their content'. (44)

The third ideological struggle against Christianity was linked with Brahmo Samaj, recognising all religions including Christianity, to be equal, advocating 'digesting' or 'assimilating' Christian ideals within Hinduism. Under Ramkrishna, Vivekananda resorted to religion as a means of awakening national consciousness. He could powerfully influence India.

These reformists, such as Vivekananda, Dayananda and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, searched for a way out of the existing situation, through reforms of the traditional religious and the feudal socio-economic institutions. They played a positive role in the growth of national consciousness indirectly and directly also in the formulation of political ideology of Indian nationalism. Bradov, very nicely evaluated, although the activities of these societies were usually religious or even mystical in form, their purpose was essentially bourgeois liberation'.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Social formations:

The Modern nationalism in India had been a complex of economic, political social and intellectual developments under the British rule. British colonial system hastened the process of elite formation. The emergence of bureaucrats, bourgeoisie, and intelligentsia, like other colonialisised countries, emerged on the scene supported by technological innovation, the expansion of the mass media, urbanisation and the growth of communication. And this social communication turned to be the prerequisite for group inte-

gration i.e. for the advancement of the process of formation of nation.

The introduction of English education by ^{The} British Raj was portrayed as a seminal factor in modern Indian politics and 'it is the relationship between British policy and Indian nationalism that goes to the proper understanding of the phenomenon'. (46) There was a general recognition that the group of the educated persons, the product of British education policy, played a conducive role to the growth of nationalism in India. Furthermore, 'Indian as well as Western historians, nationalist as well as Marxist writers, were one in this belief that British Raj through its new and uniform system of education ... created a class which had ambition, as well as the capacity to launch nationalist movement. (47)

Though, the new education policy was formulated to raise an honest, efficient and cheaper administrative cadre, the anticipation ultimately went against the British rule. It marked the beginning of political thinking of secular-democratic character along with an awareness of the need for social change on national basis such ideas could originate and develop because from the beginning of the 19th century the intellectuals were shedding their feudal outlook resulting into what can be said, 'This new class gave birth to what came to be known the ideology of nationalism in India'. (48) Having awareness of identity, amongst the educated, derived from its social origins and educational

training, this group also took to the task of the formation of political associations long before the establishment of ^{the} Indian National Congress.

Western education in the shape of an almost identical system of schooling, speaking the same language and pursuing the same vocations allowed the intelligentsia to assume a pan-Indian elite-character cutting across the boundaries of religion caste and creed. Later on, these intelligentsia launched social, political, religious and cultural movements to remove the contradiction of the old outlooks, practices and organisations and to establish the new principles of democracy and nationalism. The Brahmo-Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission and the Theosophical societies had movements in this direction and were led by the intelligentsia. They played historically progressive role attacking idolatry, polytheism and hereditary priesthood. These movements were attempts to recast the old religion to suit the modern society ⁽⁴⁹⁾ and also tried to accomplish caste-reform, abolition of the Sati system, equal rights for women, to abolish the child marriage and the sati system. The motive of all these movements was national advancement.

This group of intelligentsia brought about revolutionary steps in organising the press. The intellectuals like Ram Mohun were also the pioneers of press movement in India. He was the first to start Bengali and Persian Publication in 1821 and 1822 respectively. The same year, Faroorji Murjahan published in

Gujrati the 'Bombay Samachar', still continuing. Again, in 1830, Rammohun with Dwarkanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore published 'Bengal Dutt' in Bengali followed by Vidyasagar's 'Shome Prakash' in Bengali in 1858. Later on, **political leader, namely, Titik** published 'Keshari' in Marathi, and 'Maratha' in English, Aurobindo B.C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai had also their publications. These publications augmented the growth of vernaculars which played an important role in shaping and developing nationalist movements.

Though access to education was open to all, it actually had representation in the Bhadrakalok of Bengal, and the Brahmins of Madras and Maharashtra. However, the spread of education was restricted to 6% and 8% as per census Report of 1911 and 1931 respectively. Apart from this, certain contradictory processes were taking place among Indian intellectuals with a European education many of whom were in the employ of the colonial administration. Their upper stratum formed a close alliance with the colonialists and the landowning class, while the other part, sympathetic to the working people, though far removed from revolutionary struggle, endeavoured to defend the people's interests.

New Social Classes in Agriculture:

The establishment of the new social economy in the agrarian areas led to the emergence of new social classes principally : Zamindars, absentee landlords, tenants, peasants divided into upper, middle and lower strata, agricultural labourers,

merchants, and money lenders. With the establishment of 'new land relations based on private property ... the agrarian economy in India entered a new and hitherto historically unknown stage of development.'⁽⁵⁰⁾ It no longer had an isolated village character since a national agriculture emerged acquiring a national character.

The introduction of the private property in land in the shape of zamindari and ryotwari brought about the new class of large estate owners. The right to lease the land ensured the entry of absentee lords on the scene followed by encouraged entry of a hierarchy of intermediaries such as money lenders, absentee landlords and commercial merchants. For economic profit, convenience and politico-strategic reasons, British in India superseded the traditional rights of the village community over the land. The social effect of this arrangement was the rise of a small but powerfully wealthy land-owning elite to exercise deep influence in rural society. The political impact has been nicely put by Lord Bentick, 'I should say the permanent settlement though a failure, has this great advantage of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in continuance of the British dominion ...'⁽⁵¹⁾ The landed aristocracy always supported the government apprehending that any democratic transformation ... would jeopardise its class interests. The purpose of the permanent zamindari system was to create a new class of landlords after the English model as the social buttress

(53)
of English rule. However, they also formed in each and every province Landowners' Association and Landholders' Federation to proclaim undying support but had also to place certain demands on the national level representing Hindu, Muslim and Sikh stocks. This section, either on their own or in collaboration with other classes, had pioneered modern forms of political activity almost half a century before the birth of Indian National Congress. (54)

It was thus hitherto discreet powers of the landlord, the money-lenders and the officials which came to form a composite approach of dominance over the peasants. The enormous burden of colonial rule and feudal economic relations had great impact over the peasantry. The tenants were rackrented, impoverished due to oppression of the zamindari and ryotwari system. The arrival of the intermediaries on the scene further deteriorated their position. The process of ruination of a major portion of the peasantry became more intense and the rural commune ceased to retain its earlier all important significance.

So one important consequence of the landlordism was the phenomenal growth of peasant indebtedness. For, with a land market flourishing under the tripple impact of agrarian legislation, demographic increase and a progressively larger money supply (55) . The political aspect of this relationship was subjection to the triumvarate i.e. landlords or ryotwars moneylenders and the officials.

The element of coercion in this regard was so much that a peasant could hardly take anything but revolt. The whole relationship was fortified by the power of coercion. The peasants organised themselves locally for insurgency. The 'historiography of peasant insurgency in colonial India is as old as colonialism itself'.⁽⁵⁶⁾ At a simple count, no fewer than 110 known instances for shorter period of 117 years (in between 1783-1900)⁽⁵⁷⁾ of insurgency had been recorded from Rangpur.

The peasant movements gathered momentum from the second half of the 19th century,⁽⁵⁸⁾ against the increase of the rent, evictions and exaltations of landowners often moneylenders. The Santhal rebellion of 1855-56 spread to Birbhum, Bankura, Singhbhum, Hazaribag, Bhagalpur and Monghyr mainly directed against the money-lenders. The government deployed army and finally suppressed the movement but it halted only when the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was passed in the year 1908. But, again they launched the 'no-rent movement' in 1920 under the leadership of Tana Bhagat. In Tripura the tribals launched their movement against the money lenders in the second half of the 19th century.

'Indigo Growers' movement flared up in Bengal in 1859 in Barasat, the centre of early Faraji uprising in 1853. The urban middle class showed for the first time their support to the cause of the peasants. Peasant movement in Pabna started in 1873. During the period, different peasant organisations sprang up in the

districts of Bengal. In 1881 they held a meeting of the ryots in Calcutta at Wellington Square where ryots from remote villages (59) thronged. S. N. Banerjee and others attended the meeting.

Not only in Bengal, peasant uprising took place also in the Bombay Presidency where also it was against the Marwari and Gujrati money lenders. The land mortgage was common features in Ahmedabad, Poona and Bombay. In the Deccan on the peasant uprising, Agricultural Relief Act was passed in 1889.

Agrarian discontent grew in the Punjab since the land passed to capitalists and moneylenders. The unrest turned serious in Amritsar, Lahore and Rawalpindi. The leaders like Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh took prominent position in leading these movements.

Throughout the 19th century, a series of Moplah revolts flared up in south Malabar though the Tenancy Act was passed in 1929. Agrarian uprisings also spread in Madras. In 1920s the Guntur was the main centre of no tax campaign followed by another uprising of Visaj. In 1930 the peasant organisations emerged and organised movements in the different parts of Madras Presidency.

However, it was in the Gandhian era that the Congress embarked upon peasant mobilisation. In between ^{the} 1920s and ~~the~~ 1930s, U.P. Kishan Sabha was organised. From 1928 onwards, the Congress spread nationalist ideas among the peasants with the help of journals, pamphlets and sale of Khadi. The Congress Socialists

increased the participation of peasants in national movements while the communists were on the scene from quite early period.

Ideologically, these peasant movements, no matter regional, were socialistic in spirit and were also 'becoming secular cutting across caste and communal barriers'.⁽⁶¹⁾ The feeling that the support of the peasantry was important for launching nationalist movement made all the political parties concentrate over their hold among the peasants.

Working Class:

The rise of the modern working class coincided with the arrival of modern industries. However, their movement before 1914 was intermittent and scattered and attracted the attention of few peoples outside those immediately concerned.⁽⁶²⁾ But the change was marked from 1905 onwards when people joined anti-imperialist movement, for the first time, on a large scale against the partition of Bengal. The railwaymen went on strike in the latter half of 1906. About 2000 porters launched the strike in Calcutta in April. The workers of Clive Jute Mill went on strike, 2000 Calcutta sweepers went on strike in August 1906. But all these strikes were for economic reasons. Thus, in the pre 1914 period, the role of the working class was still in the back-ground; it followed rather ^{than} preceded the national movement.⁽⁶³⁾

The working class movement, after the First World

War took to the road of organisation on class lines and increasingly developed trade union movement. The period marked ^{the} outbreak of a series of strikes in a number of industrial centres such as Kanpur, Calcutta, Sholapur, Jamsedpur, Madras, Ahmedabad and Bombay. The movement was also launched as protest against Rowlatt Act which marked the entry of the working class into the national movement.' (64) In 1920, under the leadership of N.M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph Baptisia 'All India Trade Union Congress' was established to further the interests of ^{the} working class in matters economic social and political.

After 1927, a left-wing leadership emerged within the trade union movement and joined protest against service condition, chalked out advanced programme such as the establishment of socialist state in India. In 1937 they enthusiastically supported the Congress candidates in election but later on they also criticised these Congress governments for their pro-capitalist legislation. Anyway, the working class played an important role in the growth of ideology of nationalism and freedom movement of the country.

II. Internationalism in India:

Nationalism in the Third world is a part of the global movement. The growth of industrialism in Europe led to the colonialisaton of Afro-Asian countries. This process later on led to the rising of the peoples on whom Europe impinged. The operation of similar forces throughout the world had tended to produce results in Asia and Africa ...' (65) with the rise of

nationalism among non-European peoples as a consequence of the imperial spread of Western European civilisation. The imperialism scattered the revolutionary seeds of Western civilisation over the surface of the whole and its most important result, ironically enough was to rouse against itself, the nationalism. (66) In the case of India, 'it must seem as if Indian nationalism had only one strong ally - British rule, the consolidating common enemy.' (67) To some extent this is true.

Indian nationalism had its derivative discourse in Europe. Though vigorous attempts were made to set out to assert freedom from European domination, it yet remained prisoner of European post-enlightenment rationalist discourse. Nationalism in non-western world was uniform in its two principal features; 'in its negative phase, it consisted of a drive to throw off the ascendancy of the western power, in its positive phase, it was an impulse to adopt the military technique, political institutions, the economic organisation, but to adopt them with the deliberate choice, instead of being compelled to conform to them under pressure.' (68)

Smith is of the view that 'recent social and political change in Africa and Asia, has been the confrontation and interplay of western ideals and forms with indigenous structures and cultures'. Colonialism denoted 'a system of legislation in a different and politically dependent country with its mainly European features adapted to local conditions'. (69) 'A protest to

this view was also advanced. Peter Worsley has stated Afro-Asian nationalism drew it from militant modernising, mass nationalism and from socialism and communism and not from Spencer or Mill. He added, so it could be Europocentric way of approaching nationalism as nationalism in colonialisised countries took on characteristics of its own. It grew out of Afro-Asian culture that date back much earlier than the era of colonialisisation. The difference is only in emphasis but the concept remains as an exported one. Worsley may be correct in his emphasis over the traditional culture of these countries and his view that 'It is no ideological assertion but a simple generalisation rooted in empirical observation, that the prime content of colonial political rule was economic exploitation'. The central motive of imperialism has been to extract profit by virtue of their control over the administration of the country along with coercion, racial discrimination and a process of psychological exploitation or infantisation. But the argument forwarded either by Smith or Worsley clearly illustrate how the global impact had bearing on the formation of the Third World nations.

There is no denying the fact that external factors played an important role in much more powerful ways in case of Afro-Asian nationalism than it had played in the case of European nationalism. This difference is marked due to difference in the periods of their formation. The internationalist character and manifestations are much more present in the process of formation of nations in the Third World. When Indian nationalist movement

was on, the enlightenment, vitalisation, and resurgence of modern Asia was also present since the middle of the 19th century. All Asian countries had one common enemy i.e. imperialism. 'This liberation came as a result of the world development.' (73) The liberation movement in India, independence of Afghanistan, Kemal Pasha's revolution in Turkey, the overthrow of Qajar dynasty in Iran, numerous uprisings among the Arabs, armed uprising of 1926-27 in Indonesia along with anti-imperialistic revolution in China (1925-27).⁽⁷⁴⁾ as a result of these movements, the building up of the empire which had taken centuries; its collapse took no more than 25-30 years.

The impact of external factors was dominantly Euro-centric in its nature. The impact of French Revolution, unification of Germany and Italy, along with the Glorious Revolution of England, may be termed as a traditional source of global impact. But apart from these, the Turkish Revolution, the defeat of Russia at the hand of Japan, and, later on, Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 played an important role in shaping the political views of the nationalists in Asian countries. So any study of Indian nationalism must take into account these external factors which were responsible for shaping nationalism in India.

The growth of nationalism in India is a modern phenomenon which emerged under British rule as a response to the forces of both Indian and British origin, and, in doing so, it

could not discard everything because that was alien and retain everything of indigenous structure and culture. From the beginning of the 19th century, the course of social and political change in India had been increasingly conditioned by external, political, cultural and economic influences, stemming mainly from England and other western countries. Earlier, there were organisations meant for social reforms having local overtones when the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885; at least it claimed Indian basis, and thereafter, gradually, it guided the final struggle for political liberation. But hereagain, the participation of Hume in the beginning of the working of the Congress can not be denied. Later on, the rift between 'extremists' and 'moderates' was indeed wide, a gulf of generations and cultures. The 'older men had absorbed all the values of liberal England. On the other side were the men ... who resisted everything ... seeking instead to revive memories of past Indian tradition.' (75) Jones is correctly of the view that 'It might be more accurate to say that while intending to reject all of the west, they (Indians) in fact reject only liberal values; their passionate nationalism was as western as anything could be'. (76) Furthermore, one can add that their (Indians) rediscovery of the past glories owed much to the western research.

The territorial demarcation in India was made by the British colonial rule. And, when it came to fostering a sense of loyalty in the culturally heterogenous populations incorporated into a particular colonial state for the advancement of nationalist movement, it rested on the fact of territorial definition. (77) A

second unifying feature which has been generally retained even after the liberation from the yoke of colonialism, is its executive and bureaucratic set up. In India it was the executive system which was far more important than other forms of government. This executive system worked through bureaucracy, the main agent, mainly comprising of ruling stock, say about 1200 Britons in I.A.S. and 700 in the police force. (78) However, the social structure formed by the administration was superimposed on the subordinated population under colonies and that has been discarded to a greater extent. The British education system is more or less retained even to-day.

The ideologies, such as 'Democracy', 'Socialism', 'Secularism', 'Liberalism', always had substantial bearing over the nationalist and internationalist thinking of the colonialism derived from Europecentric background of post-enlightenment nationalist discourse. National movement in India was essentially the response of peoples to the impact of the West in such matters as the type of economy the imperial power encouraged. The goal it set, the colonial institution it established, the civil and political right it extended to the people. Indian nationalism was 'a direct outcome of the penetration of British political authority and colonial economy ... that this ideology has been very potent and effective tool for political and social change, no less qualitatively speaking, than it was in Europe. (79)

Indians settled ~~outside~~ outside, also contributed to

the nationalist movement. Long before Germany came into war with England, Indian revolutionaries started contact with them. In 1914 International Pro-Indian Committee in Zurich, Indian National Party in Berlin were formed. It was really a very bold venture for a few Indians to start a revolutionary organisations in a foreign land. (80) These revolutionaries established contacts in West Asia and also with Persian revolutionaries so that arms could be despatched to Indian revolutionaries. The events, happening abroad in U.S.A., Canada, Malay and other Far Eastern countries, created stir over the nationalist movement in India. M. N. Roy, a great revolutionary and activist who took part in the armed struggle against the British empire, also played leading revolutionary role - in China and Mexico. In 1917, he became the general Secretary of the socialist party of Mexico, which later on became the first Communist party, outside Russia. He left Mexico for Russia and came in contact with revolutionary leaders like, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. The Comintern sent him to China in 1927. It was Roy who established ^{The} Communist Party of India in 1920 in Tashkent in Russia. India League in England also played a very effective role.

Another legendary personality was that of Subhas Bose who left India on 17th January, at about 1.45 A.M. and reached Berlin on 21st March, 1941. He founded Free India Centres in Rome and Paris, and raised the legion to its full strength of 3000. Rash Behari Bose, in the Tokyo Conference in 1942 March, deci-

ded to form ^{the} I.N.A. At the next conference in June, they resolved to invite Subhas Bose to East Asia. 'It is only fair to remember that Rash Behari Bose had laid the foundations of the organisation on which Subhas Bose built up a huge structure. (81) When Bose went to Japan, he declared to launch an armed fight against the British from India's Eastern borders. Next day, the formation of Azad Hind Fouz was announced to the world, he established the provisional government of free India. The I.N.A. carried out a heroic fight against the British regime creating stir in the nationalist movement accelerating the process of gaining Indian independence.

So, any study of Indian Nationalism reveals that it emerged to assert freedom from European domination, yet remained highly affected from post-enlightenment discourse. Indian nationalism, despite significant displacement in the framework of western modernist thinking, has remained dominated by the very structure of the power it sought to repudiate. It is the case with Eastern nationalism. Thus 'it is not an authentic product of any of the non-western civilisations, which in each particular case, it claims as its classical heritage.' (82)

The intellectual history of India contains such references as Bankim Chandra, an early nationalist thinker, who explained India's subjection in terms of culture. 'It is born out of encounter of patriotic consciousness with the framework of knowledge imposed upon it by colonialism.' (83) The moment of

manoeuvre came when Gandhi emerged on the scene and located, like Bankim, the source of Indian weakness than putting on the blame on British avarice or deceit ⁽⁸⁴⁾ and pointed-moral failure. The scene changed in ^{the} 1930's when Nehru gave 'nationalism a more definite economic and social content'. ⁽⁸⁵⁾ So writes Partha Chatterjee, even today, the legacy of the colonialist rule is not gone, on the other hand, 'no-where in the world has nationalism qua-nationalism challenged the legitimacy of the marriage between 'Reason and Capital' ⁽⁸⁶⁾ that 'nationalism as chained under colonialism is still under the influence of imperialism'. Even today, the backwardness of their position is measured in terms of certain global standards set by the advanced nations with the awareness of the fact that these standards have been borrowed from ^{the} western culture. The eastern nationalism, in general, has tried to re-equip the nation culturally, so the search, everywhere, was for regeneration of the national culture, adopted to the requirement of progress, but retaining its distinctiveness. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ It should be remembered that the economic and social conditions of South Asian countries today are not very different from those existing before the disintegration of colonial power system. The impact of imperialism is there so Myrdal sums up, a more realistic view that development requires increased efforts : speedier and more effective reforms in South Asia and greater concern in the west.' ⁽⁸⁸⁾

The emergence of national economy infused, under colonialism, the desire for political independence and even today

anti-imperialism is an important force in the former colonial and semi-colonial states. Most of these countries pursue the foreign policy of non-alignment where emphasis is given on anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. The Third World is getting importance in the international society. It is in this area that Indian nationalism has played an important role. The leaders of India encouraged the war of independence of other countries. The attempts made by Indian leaders, even when India was not independent, is a very rich chapter on Indian nationalism. Their attempts to join international conferences against imperialism, fight against racial discrimination, Nazism and Fascism, efforts for ending war and the establishment of peace are the glorious additions. They tried to discuss even the Indian War of Independence with others and made the common cause of their liberation. This had bearing with the other Asian countries bordering India. To them ideologies of 'democracy' 'socialism' and 'secularism' were the ideologies to be pursued. So India was 'still in many ways a model of political advance as compared with most other colonial regimes. (89) Thus, to Nihar Ranjan Roy, 'the fulfillment of nationalism in this sub-continent ... released socio-political forces that led the similar fulfillment of nationalist forces in many other countries of South East Asia, Africa and other parts of the world'. (90)

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CHAPTER - IV

Tagore's Ideas on 'Nationalism' and 'Internationalism'.

Tagore's Ideas on 'Nationalism' and 'Internationalism'

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), the youngest son of Maharshi (great Saint) Debendranath Tagore, the grandson of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, was the brightest among the other brilliant members of this great family of Bengal, settled at Jorasanko in Calcutta, the capital of British India at that time, during a period of stress and strain after 1857, ⁽¹⁾ the first war of Indian independence.

The period in which Rabindranath was born, revealed the potentialities of the growth of political movements alongwith the advancement of 'political ideas' and organisation of 'Political associations'. The first half of the 19th century 'may justly be regarded as the greatest contribution of Bengal towards the freedom movement'. ⁽²⁾ The impact of British rule, the modern western culture was first felt in Bengal and produced an awakening known usually as 'Bengal Renaissance'. ⁽³⁾ The introduction and progress of the English education had cumulative effects in bringing about national consciousness never known before. ⁽⁴⁾ According to Andrews, 'into this rich heritage the young poet' (Rabindranath) entered, and he has done more than any one else to make this ideal a living inspiration in Bengal'; ⁽⁵⁾ in other words, he played an important role in arousing the feeling of nationalism through his writings.

Nationalism in India, like its counterparts in Europe in the 19th century, was an urban phenomenon. It came as a direct penetration of British political authority and political economy into the traditional economy of India giving birth to the cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The colonial experiments transformed this rudiment of a trading mart into the seat of political and economic power and the magnet of rural population. (6) The best index of social mobilisation is provided by the rate of urbanisation. (7) Rabindranath's Calcutta, at that time, brought about a new city-bred English-educated and professional elite which helped and expedited the process of social change, gave birth to what came to be known as the ideology of 'nationalism' in India. So Calcutta was the 'Centre of Bengal Renaissance', and Rabindranath was an eminent Calcuttan.

The main carriers of nationalist ideologies had always been the intelligentsia who formulated, analysed and criticised ideas of nationalism. In every country these intellectuals, through their literature, educational and cultural activities paved the way for the growth of nationalism. It was here that as an eminent intelligentsia, Rabindra Nath played an important role. In Bengal, two different trends had emerged on the scene before the advent of Tagore. The one was led by Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), David Hare (1775-1842), Dwarkanath Tagore (1794-1846), Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Akshay Kr. Datta (1920-86) and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, to name a few, who were moderates in approach. However, they undertook sincerely socio-economic and political transformation

of the traditional Hindu Society in two ways, one, by the introduction of English education, and the other, by transmitting the past glory of India through the use of vernacular and press.

Another group, known as 'Young Bengal', more radical than the former, 'patterned themselves on the traditions of French Revolution and English radicalism'. The leader, an Anglo-Indian, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1890-31), included the protests against the treatment of labour in Mauritius, and wanted the inclusion, in the judicial system, of English as court language. Their organs were the 'Enquirer' and 'Jnananveshan' (Search after wisdom), 'The Bengal Spectator'. The prominent personalities were; Krishna Mohan Banerjee (1813-85), Ram Gopal Ghosh (1815-68), Rasik Krishna Mallick (1810-58), Peari Chand Mitra (1814-83), Rajendra Lal Mitra and others.

The second half of the century provided creative literature in the shape of the poetry of Madhusudan Datta, the drama of Dinabandhu Mitra and the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Experiments were also made in popular styles in the literature of Kali Prasanna Sinha, Dwarakanath Bidyabhusan, Rajendra Lal Mitra and others. (8) Rabindranath was influenced by these groups and later reconciled these two different trends by providing a synthesis.

On the other hand, during the second half of the 19th century, the political pressure also gathered momentum. (9)

'British India Society' was formed in England, in July 1839 along

with the publication of a journal named 'British Indian Advocate'. 'Bengal British India Society' was formed in Calcutta. In 1851, on October 20, The British Indian Association was established amalgamating both the former associations. (10) Since this Association, aristocratic in composition could not keep pace with the growth of nationalism, the Indian League was established, reflecting, for the first time, the awakening of the people to political life. (11) The desire to form a strong public opinion, achieve unification of common political interests and attempt for Hindu Muslim unity led to the birth of the Indian Association in Calcutta in July 1876. The Indian Association met in Calcutta in 1883 and 1885 when the Congress was in session in Bombay. R. C. Majumdar, an eminent historian, sums up, 'The National Conference was the crowning glory of the Indian Association, and marked the climax of the political movement in Bengal, ... gave the first impulse and pattern for an All India Movement which took a concrete shape in the Indian National Congress'. (12) Rabindranath was 24 years of age when the Indian National Congress was established. The rise of nationalism in the 19th century Bengal had all those salient features which are required at the formative shape, such as, the formation of social groups of bourgeoisie and intelligentsia engaged in the search for national - identity. Furthermore, the rise and growth of political organisations also emerged on the scene. What Rabindranath represented was the demand of the situation.

The process of Renaissance found momentum in the

rise of a new economic class. Feudalism was being replaced by the emergence of a new class, the merchants, mainly responsible for financing social and nationalist movements of the period. The political and economic policies reflected the penetration of British Capitalism in three phases of trading, industrial and financial. The capitalist nation has a high sense of patriotism and nationalism. (13) It is a well-known fact that the first school where the bourgeoisie learned nationalism is the market.

The family background:

Dwarkanath Tagore, the grand father of Rabindranath, 'was the first commercial magnet of modern India to build up business enterprises on European lines. (14) He had helped Rammohun in his social reforms, spent a large sum for running press, the first Indian member of ^{the} Asiatic Society. There was no public institution or cause at that time for which Dwarkanath had not donated. Tagore's father, Debendranath, was truly a moral heir to Rammohun whose mission he continued to fulfil. He took initiative in publishing 'Tatwabodhini Patrika' in 1843, the first of its kind to express the glorious heritage of India (15) through vernacular.

Rabindranath, it is said, was more influenced by his father, but, even then, other members of the family had great influences on him, since most of them constituted a galaxy of intellectual stars of the 19th century Bengal. Good family background is useful but Rabindranath grew up in one house where all

the surging tides of Indian Renaissance might flow round his daily life. ⁽¹⁶⁾

In his own words, 'The whole atmosphere of our home was permeated with the spirit of creation'. Furthermore, he expressed that 'many a foreign custom would appear to have gained entry into his family but at its heart flamed national pride.' ⁽¹⁸⁾

The description of the use of 'Pyjama' and 'Achkan' by the male members revealed Mughal heritage, accompanied with European dress and furniture by prince Dwarkanath and Satyendranath (the first Indian I.C.S.) made the representation of ^{the} Hindu Muslim and English customs complete. ⁽¹⁹⁾

As to the religious background, the story went that Muslims degraded their holy caste (Pir ali) Brahmin, and Christian their family tile (Thakur) which generated 'a fusion of three great strands of culture - Hindu, Muslim and Christian - which have made modern India what it is.' ⁽²⁰⁾ The family represented the main ideology and contents of nationalism, such as cosmopolitanism, secularism accompanied with the synthesis of the East and West. This he inherited out of his family background as a child which was later on enriched.

I. Tagore's ideas on Nationalism:

A. Sociological Ideas on Nationalism:

Tagore, himself a product of Bengal Renaissance, was aware of the plight of the Indians. He had clear knowledge of the fact that India had ceased to be creative culturally and politically and was not concerned about the loss of her freedom. Religious movements such as 'Brahmo Samaj', as defence mechanism to revive and

reassert old cultures, was on the scene doing considerable cultural, humanitarian and social work in Bengal whose impact was also felt in other parts of India. It went to Tagore's credit that he supported this movement and was assigned an important role by his father to play in that movement. According to him, 'love of the country was not the characteristic of that time and the educated men then kept at arm's length both the language and thought of their native land.' (21) They, on the other hand, undermined the Indian heritage by remaining quite ignorant of their glorious past and also irresponsible to the people's cause. This led Tagore to search, and provide national identity and the process continued throughout his life.

His views on nationalism - a critique of three social groups:

In his account, he identified three social groups of persons; the Western educated political leaders; the Western educated intellectuals, and the Western oriented rulers, mostly Zamindars (Landlords), whose works were to serve their foreign masters. So he wrote; love of the country was not the concern of these sections of people. He criticised them in most of his writings because they managed to forget to take stock of the warmth of human relationship that existed in India. Criticising the attitude of these three groups of people he wrote many articles and poems to impress upon them the immediate need of the establishment of living linkage with the common people. Dr. Arobinda Poddar sums up that two main currents flew in his thinking, one against

those who follow and copy British political and social culture in India, and the other, the need of finding identity in the cultural heritage of India.' (22) According to Tagore, if 'we attach too much importance to the applause of the Britishmen, we shall have to get rid of much in us that is good, and to accept from them much that is bad'. (23) He was constantly addressed to provide national identity, the need of the hour and demand of the country. Whenever a dominant colonial system is imposed on a nation there arise conflicts in beliefs, roles, government and other activities. (24) The period which preceded Tagore in India, hugged the trappings of new servitude and culturally clung to the shackles of the old. When Tagore emerged on the scene, those who had gained Western education, were intoxicated by it and found fault with everything that was old. It was the 'age of toadies and reactionaries, those who aped on Western ways and those who sought consolation in the bondage of immemorial tradition and dogma. (25)

Leaders:

To him, the political leaders of the period failed to enthuse the people and their flattery of the British rule was out of the tune to the search of national identity. In an essay 'English vs. Indians' (26) he explained clearly how Indians were looked down upon by the Britishers and advised them to be one with the masses. In the year 1898, in an article, Mukherjee vs. Banerjee, (27) he exposed the competition among the landlords and political leaders in securing more favour by appeasement.

Later on, in his two poems, 'Vikhayang Naiba Naiba
(28) 'Cha' (No begging), and 'Unnatilakshan' (the sign of progress),
(29) he put forward the view that politicians should stop begging and
(30) instead should cultivate the popular support. His publications,
during the last quarter of the 19th century, exposed the hollow-
ness of these intellectuals on the ground that 'their way of life
was neither useful to them nor to the people'. This was the main
theme narrated in many articles but 'chechie Bola' (Shouting)
(31) and
(32) 'Jihwa Asphalan (Lecturing) deserve special mention. In the
former he asked these leaders to measure the impact of their
'shouting' on the masses, since the masses did not take them to
be their own. In the 'lecturing', he reminded them that only
'lecturing' would not do and they should find access to the people.
His insistence that political leaders should represent the cause of
people, reflected the aspirations of the people even in the last
quarter of the 19th century when the ideology of nationalism was
yet to take off. This clearly indicated his basic adherence to
democracy. He believed in the supreme power of the people, mass
participation, and wanted their aspirations fulfilled. To be one
with mass, according to Tagore, should be the basic qualification
of Indian leadership.

In the year 1898, the meeting of the Bengal Provin-
cial Congress Committee was held in Dacca under the presidentship
of Rev. K. C. Banerjee. Rabindranath also attended the conference.
What dissatisfied him most was that the major concern of the
conference was over food and lodging of the delegates. They were

not serious in discussing the main problems and the deliberation was entirely in English. When he insisted over the use of 'Bengali' in the Provincial Conference he was rubuked for his weak English. However, in 1908 at Pabna Conference, he delivered his Presidential speech, for the first time in the history of Congress, in Bengali. (33) In the area of education, he emphasised the use of the mother-tongue and though a non-Hindi man, in a letter to Gandhi dated 18th February 1918 wrote, 'of course Hindi is the only possible national language for inter-provincial inter-course in India.' (34)

Rabindranath, right from the start, had never supported the agitational movement of the leaders. Najma Jasmin Chowdhury criticised him that for fighting imperialism such movement at the initial stage was useful and hence should not have been criticised by him. The Congress at that time, according to Chowdhury, was quasi-political and hence it was not possible to launch the mass movement. There are reasons which can be put forward in support of Tagore, since 1857 the anti-colonial movement was, in one form or the other, going on but without teeth. It was the demand of the situation which had been echoed in the writings of Tagore. Tagore's protest came on every crucial issue earlier than the other political leaders throughout his life. 'A Critique of Colonial India' by Sumit Sarkar, illustrates very many examples that the nationalist movement in the 19th century was not actually what we have been traditionally digesting. In

knowing the period, the writings of Tagore, criticising the then leadership strongly helped to grasp the then condition and also to some extent helped those leaders to stand on their feet. He taught his people to cherish and take pride in their own heritage and also encouraged them to break the fetters of tradition. (35)

Landlords as agents of British rule in India:

Tagore also criticised the landlords who accumulated wealth by exploiting common people and also compromised national interest by seeking favour from the British establishment. On 29th December, 1883, there was a meeting of the Zamindars in the Town-hall Calcutta. He published an article 'Town-haller Tamasha (Farce at Town-hall)'. (36) Quite a few Englishmen attended the meeting and the Zamindars danced to the tune of Englishmen's assurances, showed their teeth to British masters. In another satirical essay 'Rajtika', (37) (Royal Honour) he depicted the story of Nabendusekhar, the only son of an anglicised Zamindar, toeing the footsteps of his father in paying servitude to the British rule. Over-servitude made Nabendusekhar an object of big fun even before his sister-in-laws. On false pretext, he was sent to the District Magistrate by the in-laws. After, paying tips to the peon he entered the DM's office where D.M. addressed him 'You are a howling fool'. Even thereafter, he contributed to the Congress fund and hoped, that by remaining loyal to the authority, he would be awarded a title sometime in the future.

British Educated Youth:

Tagore's criticism of the English educated youth of that period occupied a prominent place in his search for national identity. Tagore's 'entire activity is permeated with the idea of national liberation, of the struggle for the spiritual and political liberation ...' (38)

He was very much against the copying of British style. In search of identity of the nation, he wrote as early as 1898, in his satirical essay 'Kot and Chapkan', (39) (Coat and Trousers), the need of wearing national dress. His elder brother, Jyotirindranath was very much occupied with search of an agreed national dress. In 'Kot and Chapkan', he questioned the progressiveness of Indian Sahibs while wearing the English dress but not allowing their wives to use the British dress. He rebuked them for being enslaved by British costumes and not being sincere to own culture. In the 1890s, he wrote a series of stories expressing his sympathy with the popular masses and hatred (40) for the oppressors. In another essay, 'Nakaler Nakal', (imitation for imitation), based on his visit to Darjeeling in 1901, he compared his Bengali bretheren in complete suit with clowns moving in the court of the king of mountains i.e. the Himalayas. To him, the imitation of British was negation of the national identity. Aurobindo Ghosh, in his 'Indu Prakash' magazine wrote an article 'New lamp for old' criticising favour seeker Indians. If we compare Tagore with Aurobindo, we find commonality in quality,

tone, and intensity in the search of national identity.

The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 brought a change on the political scene. In the year 1886, his political work 'Kadi O Kamal', (Sharps and the flats), was published. In the volume he exposed fanaticism and proved that he was the master of the caustic irony, and his patriotic admonitions. In one poem 'Bangabhumi', (Bengal), he emphasised that the motherland should not expect anything from these English educated Indians because they had no love for the motherland and no preparations for making sacrifices to the cause of Swaraj. In another, 'Bengaler Prati', (Towards Bengal), he maintained that he would not sing because his brothers were slept and busy in merry-making. A song, 'Tabu parine Sapite Pran, (Still unable to sacrifice life), though we are insulted on every steps', became quite popular. (41)

His social view revealed that British rule in India was not in the interest of Indians and the social groups : Leaders, rulers and Western educated youth who were pro-establishment should address themselves to the demand of nation.

B. Political Ideas on Nationalism:

In the year 1893, in an article 'Engraj O Bharat Basi' ('English vs Indians') read under the Presidentship of Bankim Chandra at Chaitanya Library, Calcutta, he placed his account of nationalism. He expressed that the British had failed to make India their home, not learnt the language of the people

and as such were still foreigners. He pointed out the discourtesy shown to Indians in their behaviour. He always condemned the underrating of Indians i.e. racial discrimination. Arabinda Poddar mentioned, it is desirable that Rabindranath's condemnation of under rating Indians by the British Raj should also be taken into account. That criticism is quite elaborate embracing social, political, economic and cultural area. From another angle, it can be emphasised that undemocratic, unsecular, racial, anti-growth role of British raj working only for profit earning through their agents (i.e. zamindars, officials, pro-British elites) was the main concern of Tagore. The same view was ventilated time and again in his voluminous writings, speeches and activities. He was, thus, the vehement critic of British rule in India and wanted the end of the rule. He believed, the time had come when our leaders should declare that they were one with the masses and should cut off their relations with the ruling class as they were culprits. He could pinpoint the colonial rule in India as the root of all the degradations on all the fronts. Tagore loved humanity at large, so he could not digest the underrating of Indians by the Britishers. The racial discrimination and undemocratic behaviour found in Tagore a vehement critic of British rule in India. In this regard, he always impressed upon Indian leaders to give up Sycophancy of Britishers and instead establish living linkage with the common people of the motherland. He further held, everything British was not good from the pragmatic point of view too. It was essential to adopt 'Swadeshi' in

certain regards in the interest of the nation. Thus, Tagore produced a balanced political view where he recommended accepting everything good from any source but that would ultimately depend on the demand of the situation.

Dr. Arabinda Poddar observed that Tagore condemned the Indians who crossed the limit of praising the Britishers in social and political affairs, and instead suggested cultivation of love of nation and nationalism'.⁽⁴²⁾ His emphasis over the establishment of relationship directly with the people instead of sycophancy of ^{the} British put him in the forefront by the end of the nineteenth century for his contribution to the sound growth of nationalism. His evaluation of foreign rule in India was not to applause everything that was British because ⁱⁿ doing that one would have to accept many things that were bad. He supported the use of Bengali as the medium of instruction when Rammohun had emphasised the use of English,⁽⁴³⁾ which early put him as more progressive than even Rammohun. Rabindranath's lecture on 'Swadeshi Samaj', followed by his two other important articles, 'Safaltar Sadupay' (The Right way to success), 'Abastha O Vyabastha' (The condition and the remedial measures), revealed a most powerful mind at work. In his 'Swadeshi Samaj', he reiterated; 'we will not by choice use either foreign dress or foreign goods, not write letters to Bengalee in English, refrain from use of English food, English dress, English music and drinks on festive occasions. Tagore proposed all these in 1904. When Bengal was partitioned, the Swadeshi movement widened. Tagore had also

electrifying involvement in the movement though for a short period of roughly about three months. Right from the 'Bharati' days to 'Bangadarshan' he criticised these social groups.

He had been 'the most successful in spotting out the worst defects of British rule.'⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, the trend changed with the change in the national and international situation along with his age and experience. His early views were forcefully loaded with emotions and patriotic feelings. In the first poem of his life he hailed the victory of India 'Hok Bharater Joy' (worshipping India's victory) which reflected his adolescent patriotism. Three years later, at the age of 17, he recited a poem on 'Delhi Durbar' (Delhi-Court), criticising British rule for the oppression of Indians from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. At the age of 18, he returned from England and remarked, what pained him most 'was the religious aberrations of Britain.'⁽⁴⁵⁾ In the second trip he found something lacking and hastened to return with remark, 'I am tired to this place, tired even of the beautiful faces. I have therefore decided to return.'⁽⁴⁶⁾

Another episode relates to 'Cuttack dinner' where he felt insulted. He remarked, 'I can not tell what a profound distress overpowered my heart. I seemed to be seated by the feet of my insulted motherland.'⁽⁴⁷⁾ Comparing Indian tradition he held: 'how richly true for us is our India of the ages; how cheap and false the hollow courtesies of an English dinner party'.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In a letter to Indira Debi, next day, he mentioned; 'I have not yet

forgotten the audacity of the Englishmen. These English people evacuated Red Indians from America, killed helpless Australians, even innocent Australian women like beasts. They kill innocent Indians and are not deemed guilty by their judges but preach sacredness of life and high standard of morals'. This reaction showed how seriously and sincerely he was a nationalist. He could not digest the insult and one month later wrote one article 'Rajnitir Dwidha,' (Dilemma of Politics) mentioning therein, they are not as much civilized outside Europe as inside their continent. They have reserved slaps for non-christians, take possession of their holdings, forcibly cut their crops, milk their cows and kill their calves for their kitchen. (40) In a very hard tone and strong language he ridiculed the Britishers depicting their double personality in 'Rajnitir Dwisha' (Dilemma in Politics) in the year 1873. In another poem 'E. bar phirao more' (Turn me now again) he expressed his anger and hate against the British rule. Dr. Arambinda Poddar very rightly reminded us to Goethe's lines, to express Tagore's feelings 'And if man falls speechless in his torment, God give me to say what I suffer,' (50) and adds even any other poet of the calibre of Rabindranath or Goethe could have sung the same spirit of freedom from colonial rule.

In another article, 'Apamaner Pratikar' (51) (Redress to Insult), he advised the British to be vegetarian and follow the principle of 'Ahimsa Paramo Dharma', that non-violence is the best religion, because the character of non-vegetarians, responsible for eating by killing animals mercilessly and their histori-

cal background for killing even human beings, do not justify the preaching of non-violence. This process went on and on. In another article 'Prasangakatha', (the context story), ⁽⁵²⁾ he exposed the behaviour of ^{the} British that they did not behave with ^{the} Germans, Italians and other European people living in Britain on equal terms and hated the Jews. In another article, 'Raja O Praja', (The king and the subjects) he reiterated that how their civilization, based on force, would bring about destruction of the whole civilization. In 1898, the sedition Bill was passed to stop all nationalist agitation and Tilak was arrested. Tagore, the day before the Bill became an Act, read his famous paper, 'Kantharodh' (The Throttle) ⁽⁵³⁾ at a public meeting in Calcutta and condemned Puna killings. In another article, the same year in Bharati entitled 'Abdarer Ine' ⁽⁵⁴⁾ he vehemently criticised the increase in the import tax. Lord Curzon had arranged the Delhi Durbar to felicitate the emperor on his visit to this country. Tagore questioned the very justification of the occasion. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ However, during the 'Bangadarshan' days, a shift is marked from earlier 'Sadhana' and 'Bharati' publication days. In his three essays 'Rashtranity' and 'Dharmanity', (Politics and Religion), Rajakutumha, (the royal family), Ghusaghusi, (the boxing) he narrated, how the justice was denied to Indians. In his article 'Atukti' (excess) in 'Bangadarshan' and important periodical of the early 20th century he expressed that millions of Indians suffered from epidemic and famine and were denied even their basic rights.

Tagore's political view clearly reflected the dark-

side of the British rule in India. In the 'Diary of a Western Traveller', he clearly pointed out the character of the military rule of India, the exploitation of India in economic, and commercial terms without having care for food famine and epidemics. Therefore, according to Tagore, the real motive behind was making England wealthier by exploiting India. His political philosophy developed with age and experience, but constantly he was anti-colonial i.e. anti-imperialist, and wanted national freedom. His political analysis was full of such examples. In the prime of his poetic life, his overtones were emotional and patriotic. Though they changed later, what remained permanent was his evaluation of British rule in India responsible for Indian degradation. He never lost faith in the people, their language and their heritage. He equally advised the Britishers to remove their defects.

Towards the end of 1915, Mrs. Besant formed 'Home Rule League' in Madras and Tilak started 'National League in Bombay. The poet protested against the internment order against Mrs. Besant and wrote in an open letter. 'In this crisis the only European who shared our sorrow incurring the anger and decision of her countrymen, is Mrs. Besant who supported the self government'. In his article 'Kartar Ichhay Karma', (Work, as the Master wills), he pleaded that the contention 'only fit can rule' makes us to think no country in the world was fit for independence.

On the eve of the Montague Declaration, while

liberals were pleased to declare it as 'Magna Carta' for India, extremists took it to be totally unsatisfactory. Rabindranath held, though the declaration was no doubt a great one but that would not suffice, and instead favoured the struggle for attaining real independence.

Rowlatt Act and the episode of Jallianawalla Bagh massacre found in Tagore a profound fighter for the cause of the nation. On 12.4.1919, he wrote an open letter to Gandhiji which read 'I can tolerate the process of the heaven but no more I can tolerate the process of the earth. The Punjabi turmoil has burnt me within.' In a letter to Chelmsford, on the 30th May, 1919, he renounced the knighthood. The letter was a voice of protest before the world, showing the helplessness of India's British subjects, the disproportionate severity of punishment inflicted upon the unfortunate people of India. So he wrote that 'the time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring ... and I on my part wish to stand shorn of all such distinctions. (57) Tagore's condemnation was not equally responded to by any of the contemporary leaders. He also addressed a letter to Jinnah on 13.4.20 on the episode on its anniversary. (58)

He condemned, the brutalities of the British authorities in Chittagong on / 30th August, 1931, and Hijli Jail in September 1931 where two prisoners were killed by guards. The poet sent an open letter to the press which was refused by 'The Statesman' but was published in 'The Amrita Bazar Patrika'.

pre-capitalist society, but in the direction not full-blooded bourgeoisie modernity, but a weak and distorted caricature of the same.' He further holds, 'this is not the conventionally accepted view of Rammohun, but this interpretation has been entirely based on published and fairly well known materials'.⁽⁶¹⁾ In case of Young Bengal Movement, the author holds, 'there is, first, the very obvious fact that the Derozians were never able to organise anything like a real campaign on any social reform issue'.⁽⁶²⁾ According to Sarkar 'the lack of integration between national and social discontent stands out in fact as the crucial structural limitations of the Swadeshi Movement.'⁽⁶³⁾ It further reveals, through analysis of social composition, the territorial aristocracy of Bengal formed a potent influence on the ruling side. 39% of Congress delegates were lawyers (1892-1909) and bankers and the /merchants also formed support.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The break-through towards a recognizably nationalist ideology through patriotic literature 'Hindu Mela', and economic analysis often went hand in hand with Hindu revivalism. Things changed radically for a few years with the 'Swadeshi Movement', though even here any complete identification of extremism with Hindu revivalism would be over⁽⁶⁵⁾ simplistic.

Tagore was a patriot who loved the country and the people. In the Brahmo Samaj Movement, he took active interest. His participation, however, was much more in the literary area, and as we have seen, a lot of articles were written to make western educated persons to think in terms of national identity. Leaders

were asked to grow contact with the masses. Sometimes, he actively participated in the popular movements such as 'Swadeshi Movement', also attended Congress meeting, and wrote a series of articles on political questions in 'Sadhana', 'Bharati', and 'Bangadarshan', magazines. His novels, dramas and poems always reflected such ideas which were quite conducive to the growth of Indian nationalism. His greatness is in the fact that his works reflected the moods and aspirations of millions of Indian peasants during the national liberation movement of the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. (66)

He had been the most successful in spotting the worst defects of ^{the} British rule. (67) He wrote a great deal on social and political questions. It would be desirable to compare him with Bankim Chandra, one of the first systematic expounders of the principles of nationalism. To Bankim, Indians lacked the natural desire of liberty; the lack of solidarity in Hindu Society, but from contacts with the British, they discovered the true basis of liberty and national solidarity. Rabindranath was a contemporary of Bankim Chandra but of course quite junior to him in age. His sociological thought is more modern than that of Bankim. He identified three groups as discussed above, and wanted that they should grow living linkage with the mass and was much more forceful in pointing out the defects of Britishers as well as British rule in India. In that sense, Tagore represents the next generation, and he has often wrote his indebtedness to the literary revolution of the period under Bankim's leadership. On the otherhand, Tagore's

nationalism was less aggressive and less communal than that of Bankim. (68)

Among the modern writers, he had an uncommon distinction, in the sense, that while sophisticated Bengali intellectuals delighted in his composition, the simple unlettered sang his song. The contemporary Renaissance in Indian languages is due largely to his inspiration. (69)

C. Secular Idea of Nationalism:

The idea that the rise of nationalism coincides with the decline in the hold of the religion is the prominent attribute of nationalism. This has been the case in Europe, 'where wars of religion gave way to the wars of nation'; it has now become more important that a man was a Frenchman or German than that he was a Catholic or a Protestant. (70) Emerson held that in none of the Western European countries, save perhaps Ireland, did religion appear to be important in the formation of nation and state (71) But in the Colonies, 'wherever the imperial West intruded, the Christianity of the Whiteman ... marked him off from the people among whom they came and emphasised their own religion. (72) In case of India, duality prevailed between the ruler and the ruled on one front and on the other, discrimination was observed in case of Hindus and Muslims in order to reap benefit out of the feud. Further, the rise of nationalism has been preceded by a revival and reformulation of basic religious principles. (73) This was the case in Europe and in India, challenged by the Christian British, Indians

undertook revivals of 'Hinduism' and 'Islam'.

Religion under feudal society always played an important part and in case of India, 'religion' and 'nationality' overlapped. This led to diversion of united struggle since communal disunity was looming large. (74) After the Mutiny of 1857, the British government in India made an attempt to suppress Muslim leaders in order to let the Muslims forget their past glory in order to make them servile to the British regime. After the Mutiny, for a long while, Muslims remained under the shadow, poor and discouraged community. (75) The clever and mischievous propaganda was started on these lines to create hostility between the Hindus and the Muslims. (76) For some decades the Muslims remained villainous, the Hindus pampered subject. After the advent of Indian National Congress, due to large scale Hindu participation in it, the emphasis changed. 'The Hindu became suspect and the Muslim loyalties were cultivated as a counterpoise. (77) Even Surendranath Banerjee held, 'our critics regarded the Indian National Congress as a Hindu organisation, (78) and the Muslim view was 'as to how Muslims can be expected to join in the activities of the Indian National Congress which was largely in the hands of Hindus of Bengal and Maharashtra'. (79)

Rabindranath, born in post-Mutiny years, could develop his ideas over Hindu-Muslim unity from the days of editorship of 'Sadhana' i.e. from quite early part of his life. He appeared on the scene with a clean slate. His approach was

between the infinite ideal of perfection and the eternal continuity to its realisation. (83) He never supported isolationism rather he preferred mutual intercourse between the different societies.

During the Middle Ages, the contribution of Muslims to India's culture was not negligible, according to Tagore. The Muslims had come to India from outside, laden with store of knowledge, and with the idea of religious democracy of Islam. In our music, our architecture, our picture and our literature the impact of Islam was in abundance. Tagore pointed out that those who had studied the lives and writings of our medieval saints, and all the great religious monuments that sprang up during the period, knew how deep was our debt to this foreign current that had so intimately mingled with our life. Further, he compared the values of both the religious societies and suggested that unity among Muslims was far superior to Hindus. In his words, 'there is unity in Moslem society as the religious teachings pervade it; there is inequality in Hindu society through the age-old injunctions. Moslem society is more consolidated than Hindu society. (84) A Hindu is known by convention while a Muslim is defined by his religion. Tagore produced a very realistic account of Hindu - Muslim relationship. Being a Hindu, he was more conscious of self-criticism than to find fault with Muslims. Tagore was equally conscious of the achievement and contribution of Muslims to Indian art, literature, music and architecture. He had all praise for the 'equality' and 'unity' of the Muslim society-a

human approach indeed. It could have been of greater service to the cause of national integration, if others could have joined him in producing such a reasonable picture.

Eminent thinker and literateur, Bankim Chandra, pointed out that the growth of Bengali culture took place under the Pathans but with the arrival of Akbar the growth ceased. He blamed the Mughals in general and Akbar in particular. Rabindranath referred to Akbar, time and again, for his achievement in general, and for Hindu-Muslim unity in particular. (85)

It is further encouraging to note that though Rabindranath had close contact with Rajnarayan Bose, one of the chief organisers of 'Hindu Mela', Bankim Chandra, the fiery exponent of Hindu nationalism, Debendranath Tagore, who wanted to place the purified Hinduism above all other religion. They could not check Rabindranath from having an independent view. His was the 'enlightened', 'realist' view which could only immediately revitalise the integrity and the unity of the nation. Probodh Sen rightly pointed out that the problem of Hindu-Muslim relation should be impartially and secularly discussed. It can be said that Rabindranath was the only exception to this. (86)

The philosophy behind the solution is a humanitarian one. The problem remained that man is different in colour, language, nature, behaviour, creed and religion but humanity is great in this diversity. Tagore held, 'whoever lives in India, whoever has come to India, we shall be one by accommodating all. This will

solve in India the great problem of the world'. In the same article, Rabindranath suggested, 'will the country by adopting welfare measures overcome the suspicion of these who suspect you, defeat the jealousy of those who are jealous of you? Strike at the bolted door again and again. Do not go away in independence, in sheer disdain, human heart can not refuse human heart all time to come.'⁽⁸⁷⁾

He prescribed that the spread of education could alone lead one to get rid of the prevailing situation. So Rabindranath was an exception to the rule, in combating communal problem. He cited the example of Europe, which emerged into the modern world out of the darkness of the medievalism with the extension of knowledge and devotion to truth. In the same way, Hindus and Muslims will have to break away from the limitations.

He did not like the ideas of those leaders, like Surendranath Banerjee and many others, who favoured amity and rapprochement only on political front. Rabindranath, digging deep into the problem, emphasised, 'mere political necessity was unimportant; it is for the sake of humanity, for the growth of our soul, that we should turn our mind towards the spiritual unity of men,'⁽⁸⁸⁾ not for entrenching ourselves behind barriers but for meeting in mutual understanding and trust on the common field of co-operation'. So writes Sachin Sen, Tagore's political biographer, 'the vision of India at peace, growing in fullness of heart but not crippled by any differences, was the contribution of Tagore.'⁽⁸⁹⁾

He pointed out, if there were real differences, they

could not be spirited away by jugglery if we ignored the facts the facts would ignore our convenience. We failed because we invited Muslims for serving a purpose, for alliance for immediate object of mutual self-interest, 'but these alliances like political alliances ... are only transitory but in constant danger of ending in violent reaction.'⁽⁹⁰⁾ Like Europe, he held, 'all the suffering that rise out in the breast of India ... are rooted in ignorance, caste distinction, religious animosity, lack of initiative and material weakness, all cling round lack of education.'⁽⁹¹⁾ In his words, 'I could never have believed that even within ten years time lakhs of people ... could not only be literate but given the dignity of manhood. Here they exert themselves as much for all other races as for their own.'⁽⁹²⁾ In the above mentioned views, it appeared that he wanted reconstruction of the society with the mass involvement so that like Russia India might contribute to the world 'with so many races, so many antagonistic religions at last I know that ours too could work.'⁽⁹³⁾ He was so encouraged that he held, 'I shall never believe in the formula of difficulties.'⁽⁹⁴⁾ So he declared, 'let us unite not inspite of differences, but through them, let all human races keep their own personalities, and yet come together, not in uniformity that is dead but in unity i.e. living. This is the global as well as national view of Tagore. In his words: 'We are all here to cooperate in the making of Greater India.'⁽⁹⁵⁾

Right from 'the Swadeshi' days, he advised that good relationship between the Hindus and Muslims could be established by

solving the problem, socially, culturally, economically and not only politically'. Wrote Nepal Mazumdar, ⁽⁹⁶⁾ the conflict between Hindus and Muslims which existed before the emergence of British power in India continued in larger proportion under the British rule and was there as still the major stress and strain of Indian polity. But the prescription offered by Tagore revealed certain everlasting panacea.

When Jadunath Sarkar, a great historian, observed that 'Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, ... it can put forth new leaves and branches, it can again lift its head upto the skies,' ⁽⁹⁷⁾ Bankim found in Akbar not much for the growth of Bengal. Partition of Bengal came as a mark of separation between the two communities. Rabindranath marched ahead with the powerful logic that India was the land of those who lived here and the Muslims had also contributed very much to the growth of India. He also explained, side by side, that Hindu society had ceased culturally and infairness Muslims had much more at their command than the Hindus to offer. Hindus should get rid of casteism, and backwardness and should invite the Muslims to join mainstream in such a way so that they did not feel alienated.

He rightly observed that the liberation from colonial yoke would not solve communalism. So he preferred, 'as in Switzerland, the people of different stocks have forgotten their differences and united together, India would have to do the same.' ⁽⁹⁸⁾ Both Hindus and Muslims had been guided by their reli-

gions but more important, according to Tagore, was economic inequality the two communities faced. So he suggested, in the interest of India, not the union of both the communities, but also equality of status and of opportunity, i.e. not the equality of the Wrestlers, but social equality was essential. Interpreting 'Mopla' rebellion of Kerala, he held Nambudir Brahmins responsible for hating the Muslims and not vice-versa. The whole relationship was based on ignorance, which Indians according to Tagore, had made the King. He therefore, suggested that we should fight ignorance (99) unreal and the ghost unreasonable. On this line, Tagore wrote so many articles which increased the fund of friendship between the two communities. He took note of 'Divide and Rule' policy being followed by the British Government of India and always condemned the same.

Tagore was criticised for his secular views and interpretation of Indian history, even by his close friends like Pramatha Chowdhury and Shibnath Sastri, veteran leaders of Brahmo-Samaj. But Tagore emphasised not only the ways but also the means to gain considerable government posts for the Muslims. In his words, 'let us pray whole heartedly the favour ~~we~~ (Hindu) enjoyed be showered on the Muslims.' (100) The whole problem, he wanted to solve on humanitarian ground. In an essay Lokhit (Public welfare), he argued that "there lay difference between a man and man, between community and community but the common courtesy demands non-exposition of these differences uncompoundedly." (101) In his essay, 'Choto-O-Bado', (small or big), he asked each and everyone to remain peaceful. In 'Sadupay'

(honest means), he emphasised unity. In 'Banga Bibhag', (Bengal partition), 'Abastha O Vyavastha'⁽¹⁰²⁾, (Condition and remedies), he proposed for a Village Council to be equally represented by the Hindus and the Muslims, a democratic approach, suggested as early as 1905. His life was the best example of uniting both the communities.

D. Ideas on National Reconstruction:

The fundamental tenet of Tagore's political philosophy is self-reliance.⁽¹⁰³⁾ He was quite familiar with the problems of national life and 'had the vision of a statesman and in fact, was one of the greatest political philosophers of our age.'⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Attaining political independence, as Tagore stressed time and again, would be a very important step but not the only step for the country to true freedom. He ascribed decisive significance to economic self-sufficiency, because India was plagued by famine, millions of Indians died in starvation. So he emphasised, in order to make political progress real, the underdogs of our society must be helped to become men.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

When his father asked him to look after the interest of the estate (Zamindari), he came in direct contact with the peasants whom he described as patient, submissive, family-loving and eternally exploited, helpless, infantine children of providence. He could further mark, the increasing difference between the town and the village. All these led him to think in term of village-upliftment and as happened in most of the cases, his views on village

upliftment came quite earlier than any other politician of the period. In 1904, the complete scheme of reorganisation of villages, revival of cottage industry, popularly known as 'Swadeshi Samaj' was prepared by Tagore.

He established another institution, 'Sriniketan', near his Santiniketan, for rural upliftment in the area of agriculture and industry. His idea of national regeneration, through the comprehensive scheme of rural reconstruction, was undoubtedly his great contribution to constructive politics. (106) The background was that the Government was neither responsive to the needs of the people, nor the dependence on such agency would be desirable. So he proposed, 'each one of us shall, for every day of our life take up the burden of our country.' Only when India lost her glory the British could conquest, 'it made us aware - how wonderfully strong we had been and how miserably weak we have become'. (107) The true way to self-defence is to use our inherent powers. In the presidential address, at Pabna Congress in 1908, he placed the programme of national regeneration. In his talk to Governor, in China, he prescribed, 'when society is living it can adapt itself to new conditions, but when it is dead it merely copies its past and cannot build its future.' (108) He was, thus, very much addressed to the problem of national reconstruction.

When Tagore began the work at Surul, (Sriniketan), he did not think in terms of the whole country, rather, he wished to select one or two villages to set an example for the whole of

India. He was of the view that if help was rendered from outside such a help would not make them self-supporting. He wanted to help the village in digging up the wells for irrigating land. The response was 'we dig up wells and you go to heaven'. Tagore was in a fix. He made a club in cutchery (office), wanted to construct road but the response was not encouraging. Yet he joyfully strove for it despite initial hurdles, and ultimately got success. He revived many a village industry, improved agriculture, extended irrigation, organised co-operative societies, started day, as well as, night schools and above all, could infuse in his people the spirit of self-reliance. It could easily be marked when national leaders were yet to give shape to such ideas, Tagore had already started his experiments at Surul. Today 'we see Sriniketan as ideal institution' and there was scarcely any area of thought in which the poet was not far out advance of his fellow Indians'.

Tagore wrote numerous articles on social-reconstruction; however, his NEP scheme enunciated at Pabna Congress deserves mention. In a speech in 1918, at the Centre of Indian Culture, he hoped, it should also be the centre of economic life : it must cultivate land, breed cattle, feed itself and its students; it must produce all necessaries devising the best means and using the best materials, calling science to its aid'. Such an institution must group round all the villages, vitally write them with itself in all its economic endeavours. Gora, the hero of his famous novel, came across scenes of exploitation, epidemic, which gave birth to

the urge of spreading the ideals of 'Swadeshi Samaj'. As a poet he composed many poems to represent the misery and poverty of his age. His object was to try to flood the choked bed of village life with the stream of happiness. For this, he wanted the scholars, the poets, the musicians, ^{and} the artists to contribute. (114) Sriniketan sings the following song: 'our hands are strong, our hearts glad, as we ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ toil from morning till night to plough the land.'

It is really an example of ^{his} earnestness that he sent his only son, Rathindranath, to the University of Illinois, U.S.A. to learn agriculture and animal husbandry, and spent half of the amount of his Nobel-Prize for Sriniketan. In a letter, he wrote, 'you know my heart is with Surul ... you may be absolutely certain that it will be able to weather all storms and spread its branches wide.' (116) He himself read, farming, pottery, village economics, production of hides, manures, looms, tractors and so many other subjects concerned with rural reconstruction. Elmhirst, a friend of Tagore, helped him in this move.

However, the idea of Swadeshi Samaj remained an eminently inspiring idea. 'It could have led to a total revolution if implemented not as a separable but as an inseparable part of the struggle against imperialism.' (117)

E. Ideas on Socialism:

Tagore increasingly involved himself with the cause of oppressed humanity both at national and international levels. He always advocated in favour of the liberation of Afro-Asian countries. The socialists also fought for these causes. We might compare Tagore with Tolstoy. Tolstoy earned his views in favour of the good of the common people. In a Bengali book, Tolstoy, Gandhi and Rabindranath, ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ the writer, ~~Dr. Sashibhusan Dasgupta~~ Dr. Sashibhusan Dasgupta, regarded Rabindranath as a Hindu Tolstoy'. Dr. Dasgupta further referred to the influence of 'Anna Karenina's' lady character over Tagore and added that Rabindranath had confirmed that he had been influenced by the work of Tolstoy in spreading education in Russia and would like to follow his lesson. ⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Tagore can be compared even with Lenin, because both of them favoured the liberation of Afro-Asian countries from colonialism. Both of them were anti-colonial, anti-imperial and anti-racial. But there remained a great difference between the two. Tagore condemned them on ethical ground, and not on the class basis, as was done by Lenin. In condemnation of war and establishment of peace, he had more or less, the similar views being expressed by the socialists. His condemnation of fascism placed him in the front. In a message to Lesny, when Czechoslovakia was attacked by Hitler, he reiterated; 'I feel so keenly about the sufferings of your people as if I was one of

them'. He composed a poem 'Do not submit yourself to carry the burden of insult on your head, and dig not a trench with falsehood and cunning to build a shelter for your dishonoured manhood. Basically ^{he} / was an internationalist par excellence from the humanistic point of view, who could wish 'where the world is not fragmented in domestic walls.' ...

In an interview with a Chinese delegation in Tokyo in 1929, he held that it was the great multitude, the common people, who bore the burden of civilisation. We are the parasites whom they maintained with their own blood. The country could only be free when the common people became conscious of themselves. He held, 'it has become my life's work to try to restore the fullness of life to those of my race who have been deprived of their own proper share of physical and intellectual opportunities and open the inner path of communication with other nations for the purpose of establishing perfect human relationship which is the real goal of civilisation. (120) His estimate of the common people of the west reveals : in his words; 'In the West Political life is concentrated in a particular group of men or in some machine and its obligations are borne by some special group' and suggested, 'the time has come to renew the life of the people ... a new stream of (121) ideals must supply the people with a living purpose. Such expression clearly reflected his dissatisfaction with capitalist democracy where common men were yet to get their due.

It is the 'common people', the object of his scheme

of improvement and the common enemy a 'group of persons' responsible for exploitation both within the national society and outside it. However, his account of socialism grew richer, after his visit to Soviet Russia. After one year of his Soviet visit, he telegraphed Russians, 'your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from individual to collective humanity. Our obstacles are social and political insanity, bigotry and illiteracy.' (122) In Kalantar, published in 1933, he condemned mass-poverty and imperialism. In letters written to Amiya Chakraborty, he praised Soviet arrangement in food, education, medical treatment for all and asserted that non-capitalist should not be condemned because it is against capitalism. (123) When requested to revisit Soviet Russia, he replied, 'I have not lost my interest in Soviet Russia. If I get another chance of visiting Soviet Russia nothing would surpass the pleasure. My visit in 1930 has opened my eyes'. (124) In 1936, he composed 'Amrita'.

Before his visit to Soviet Russia, as early as 1919, he became signatory to ^{the} Clarte Déclarations, full of socialistic contents. (125) In 1926, Tagore was in Vienna when the International Conference of Socialists was going on. In September, the same year, in Berlin, Tagore had regular visitors in Birendranath Chottopadhyaya and M. N. Roy. When in Hungary, he mentioned, 'I have a keen interest for the new world built by the Soviet Republic in the place of Czarist Empire i.e. why, I would have liked to examine Russia closely. (126)

But the fact remained, his world view always helped

him to find out the way for his own country. To him, ^{the} French Revolution was important because it signified 'liberty' 'equality' and 'fraternity', so was ^{the} Russian revolution. However, his visit to Russia emboldened him in advocating education and equality for Indians. He was perfectly aware of the defects of Western democracy. According to him, democracy becomes like an elephant whose one purpose in life is to give joy rides to the clever and to the rich. The organs of information and expression, through which opinions are manufactured, and the machinery of administration, are openly or secretly manipulated by the prosperous few. (127)

Thus Tagore was quite conscious of the state of affairs of different leading political ideologies. He always wanted to help humanity with moral overtones, the basis of man, society, nation and the world. Sri Samaresh Das, in his book 'Rabindranather Chintay Samajtantra', in Bengali i.e. (Socialism in the thinking of Tagore), has made a detailed study tracing firstly 'socialism', in the introduction of 'Europe Jatrir Diary' (125) (Europe Visitor's Diary) where he failed to grasp its real meaning. In a series of articles in Sadhana, 'Karmar Umedar' (aspirant for work), 'Stri Majur', (women labour) and 'Catholic Socialism' he attempted to explain but not so seriously. But the same got expression in another article 'socialism' in Sadhana, explaining the views of Bee Fort Bax (1954-1926) that rich were benefited under liberalism and not the common people'. In 'Chhinna Patrabali', time and again, he wrote, whether equal distribution of wealth would be possible or not, if not, only God can save the

poor peasants. S. Das, thus chronologically portrayed his account
(129)
of Tagore's socialism.

So, if we assess his ideas on political economy, we find that he was not a Marxist as he never believed in 'class struggle' or 'historical materialism' or 'dialectical materialism' for that matter. However, his sphere of action included such measures which stood for the interest of the down-trodden. Born in the lap of luxury, and brought up in comfort, he never looked down upon his fellow beings. The sphere of his activity included education and social reform. So Nehru was right when he called him an aristocrat turned into a democrat sympathising with the proletariat'.
(130) He also believed 'economic life of a nation is not isolated fact'
(131) and insisted that people must devote all their energies in constructive works. He was the poet of 'man' and the prophet of 'humanity' in life and deeds. He wanted the regeneration of Indian society. Taking in this light, his biographer Kripalani mentioned, the 'author of Gitanjali' could be 'as practical and down to earth as any American farmer or
(132) Bolshevich Manager of a collective farm'.

Tagore was deeply concerned for those who grew up with the least food, least clothes and least education. So he believed that it was as inevitable that the progress of civilisation could be maintained by improving their lot. In Soviet Russia, he expressed, 'what has pleased me here is the complete disappearance of the conceit of wealth. For this reason alone the self
(133) respect of the people has been restored.' He thus, stood

for economic equality/^{as}the basis of socialism. He talked of Indian heritage and pointed out that 'pride arising from the difference of wealth has come to our country from the west. Further, he held, 'French Revolution' was caused due to inequality and the curtain had changed that, ^{the} world stage, and now the suffering humanity had a nobler vision 'because all disharmony is opposed to the law of universe'. He did not find Indian tradition against adoption of 'socialism'. As an internationalist he found the national problem of today is part of the world problem'. This truth is implicit in the modern age and one must accept it.

So, he found pleasure in his visit to Soviet Russia where ~~she~~ had served the basic problems and suggested, the time has come for us to proclaim that there is no salvation for man if the power of the weak is not awakened at once. It was the suffering of the Indian Mass under British Colonial rule that engaged his attention and prompted him to pronounce moral non-Capitalist path for curing the prevailing/^{illness}of Indian society. In doing so, he seemed to herald ^amoral, humanitarian and egalitarian social structure.

II

Tagore's Ideas on Internationalism:

Tagore's views on internationalism also began with the individual. He asked the individual to realise his kinship with others. Tagore held, 'when a man did not realise his kinship with the world he lived in prison-house, but 'when a man meets the eternal

spirit in all the objects he is emancipated, for, he discovers the fullest significance of the world in which he is born'.
(134)

According to Tagore, entire philosophy centred round 'man' and 'humanity'. 'Ettwa Masi,' 'That art thou' represented the basic tenet of the 'Upanishad'. There could be no liberation unless the soul realised that 'it is one with the infinite' love is the principle of spiritual unity which may be made concrete through service to the human being'.
(135) The lure of the call of the infinite in man puts him as path finder.

Man continued, in his search, not for the satisfaction of his material needs, but in order to strive with all his might for the revelation of the 'universal man' in the world of man, to rescue his own innocent truth from the crude obstacles set up by himself.
(136) Sachin Sen very aptly remarked, 'Tagore proclaimed the dignity of Man, the discovery of reality in the world of senses and colours and ridiculed the philosophy of escapism. He found God in Man, divinity in the lowliest of the low'.
(137)

His thinking on internationalism revealed that he seemed to have established an 'organic view' of the relationship that existed between the individual and the society. In his words, 'we have a greater body, which is social body. Society is an organisation of which we are parts'. He further added, 'He who is wise tries to harmonise the wishes that seek for self-gratification with the social good, and only thus can he realise his higher self'.
(138) So he suggested that men should construct their paths

not for profit or for power but paths over which the hearts of men could go out to their brothers of different land. The goal of human life, according to Tagore, was to offer freedom and to be free. (139)

'Monism' was the key word with him. The ideas of humanity of God or the divinity of man was the heart of his political philosophy. Rabindranath will always be remembered as a poet, a product of integral humanism ... a philosopher whose main interest centred round man'. (140) Tagore was all along sustained by his robust faith in Man. In a message on the eighty first birth-day anniversary, he observed, "As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilisation ... and yet I shall not commit the greivous sin of losing faith in Man.' Tagore believed that mankind must be bound together by the inevitable faith in moral links which strengthened the fabric of civilisation. (141) Nation, like individual, should also assert its individual existence and should adopt the path of helping each other. The false pride should not erect the Chinese wall in their mutual relations. Furthermore, their relationship should not be and must not be based on pursuit of profit and power. In a letter to his friend, Andrews, he held, 'let us be rid of all false pride and rejoice at any lamp being lit in any corner of the world, knowing it is a part of the illumination of our own house'. (142) So what is true of individual in society is also true of nation in the international society.

A. Account of Imperialism:

It was one of the central points of Tagore's analysis

of contemporary international society that the world was dominated by the passion of greed and power in an organised way. This is what we term 'imperialism'. In his words, the international society was not social in character, but was based on 'utility'. The economic background of the second half of the 19th century showed how capitalism turned imperialist and how it became responsible for the outbreak of the World War I. Tagore was not an economist and did not belong to either Marxist or liberal background. But the taste of British Colonial rule in India, cultivated in him, the comprehension of hazards of imperialism in quite high dose. However, he was not so frequent in use of the term 'imperialism'. But the fact remained, he had been a protester throughout his life against the imperialistic exploitation in the form of anti-colonial, anti-racial and anti-communal terms. To him, war as well as peace came as important agenda, and as an internationalist, he was deeply addressed to these problems.

The First World War, 'came as a product of half a century of development of world capital and of its billions of thread and connections. (143) The Marxists looked upon the world not only as a fruitful field of capitalist expansion but also as a potential battlefield.' (144) Tagore saw that the dominant civilised nations were most inhumanly oppressing and exploiting the millions. Right from the beginning of the 20th century, as portrayed in his famous poem; 'The sun set of the century' ... about the unashamed exploitation of humanity, There was unbroken continuity in his expression on this theme. Sachin Sen aptly put forward, "He regu-

larly observed that the unashamed national glorification is inflicting heavy and fatal wounds on human conscience." (145)

Being the subject of the British colonial rule, it is natural that imperialism had been explained more in Indian context. This Tagore did, through the comparison with the Muslim rule and found that the British practised discrimination in dealings with the Indians. To him, Muslims made India their home while the British remained outsiders. Furthermore, he dealt with the whole gamut of Indian life i.e. economic, political, and cultural, which had been dominantly disturbed by the colonialism. He was again successful in distinguishing the British 'rulers' from British people and in finding some everlasting values lying in British philosophy and culture. He took the British as rulers, imperialist, responsible for exploitation not only in India but also abroad on a large scale. In addition to that, he found the British responsible for most of the troubles in the world. He also pointed out the ugly role of imperialist in waging war and the so-called establishment of peace. As a solution to all these prevailing problems, he assigned ^{an} important role to the 'individuals' in paving a moral path, which could only rid of the world out of the crisis. Thus, himself living under the colonial rule, he developed his awareness of exploitation of the Indians, denying them even the elementary needs of existence. To him, imperialism was the higher phase of colonialism. He felt disturbed by the role of the British statesmen acquiesced in the destruction of the Spanish Republic. (146)

He questioned the British intention in reply to Mrs. Rathbone's

letter and mentioned, the British hated the Nazis for merely challenging their world mastery and Mrs. Rathbone expected us to kiss the hands of her people in servility ..., they had betrayed the great trust and had sacrificed the happiness of millions in India to blast the pockets of a few capitalists at home'. He held, 'such is the tragic tale of the gradual loss of my faith in the claims of the European nations to civilisation.' (147) To the modern political scientists, Tagore might appear not using appropriate terminology, as Lenin did, in denoting imperialism-the highest phase of capitalism. However, his short account of imperialism proved beyond doubt the fact that it was responsible for colonising India, disturbing the life of Indians, economically, politically, and culturally. Further, as an imperialist nation, Britain was exploiting so many Asian and African countries. Britain was responsible for the most of the troubles in the world and was largely responsible for war. He was addressed to the agenda of Indian independence, so wanted the end of exploitation of millions in the interest of a few British capitalists. However, he did not lose faith in man and as such did not condemn all the Britishers even when he emphasised that not a single country in Asia looked to Europe without doubt.

Tagore was of the view that the Industrial Revolution had helped the British consolidate their sovereignty over the vast empire. But in India, the misfortune of being governed by a foreign race was daily brought home to us. British colonialism was no doubt a constant reminder to him for the freedom of India. In an article 'Asia O Europe', (Asia and Europe), he suggested that it

was very much real that those who were outside Europe had only relationships of exploitation with them. To-day, there is no single country in Asia which did not look Europe without doubt. Afro-Asian nations were being administered by pointed provoking needle like fish and were already in the net. (148) He further held, the powerful countries, by virtue of their control over media, crushed the voice of exploited, behind the pretext of infancy and disgrace.

Right from the 1890's, his comments on British rule in India and its exploitation, became his major concern. During the period, he also felt how 'imperialism' practising exploitation had engulfed the world. The instances of 'Boer War' in Africa and that of 'Boxer Revolution' in China led him to react in his characteristic way. He felt more and more concerned about the plight of common men throughout Afro-Asian countries, and could recognise that 'racialism' and 'communalism' were the ingredients of colonialism.

During the first decade of the present century, another movement 'Asia is one' or 'Asian Federation', emerged on the scene. Within a very short period of Tagore's visit to China, Asiatic Association was formed in Sanghai. But it should be remembered, mentions Nepal Majumdar, Tagore and Jagadish Bose, great scientist of India, wanted to make an attempt to start one centre of 'Asian Affairs' at Santiniketan in 1903. After long 23 years, ^{the} Asian Conference took place in Delhi in 1947, and the Indian National Congress in Gaya put on the agenda. But what

the Congress put on agenda in 1924 in Gaya Congress, Tagore had made (149) move in that direction two decades earlier.

B. : Account of Asia:

Tagore, a product of Renaissance, a staunch fighter for the cause of Indian freedom, turned as a leading personality of Asia, performing the role of cultural ambassador of India to Asia and the world. His account of Asia formed the Central part of his thinking on internationalism. Being an Indian, he was obviously informed of the happenings of neighbouring countries and was in perfect knowledge of historical link of India with them. His concern for ^{the} 'opium war' in China and the victory of Japan over Russia had been nicely expressed. The common suffering of the natives under colonialism led him to widen his area of concern.

However, a new sight ~~with~~ the emergence of renaissance, growth of vernacular press, modern education and a bit of industrialisation engaged his attention. The re-awakening of Asia further proved that Europe had lost its position of respect in Asia and the national liberation movement started everywhere. Furthermore, the years following the First World War also convinced him that the European imperialist power, instead of decreasing, had already accelerated the process of exploitation, without taking any lesson out of the war. These trends added in him urgency to warn against the evil forces for restoration of sanity. He represented the voice of Indias as well as of other Asians intensely but nowhere propagated hatred against Europe. It was not corsperity

scheme which he had preached, but an Asia united in a common purpose for the betterment of the condition of Asia, which would not isolate itself by an iron curtain from the rest of the world. (150)

His work 'Nationalism' contained three articles, namely, Nationalism in the west, Nationalism in Japan, Nationalism in India. The work was the compilation of his lectures delivered in Japan and the U.S.A. in the year, 1916 i.e. during the First World War. Another work of this period, based on his speeches in Japan, was published under the title 'Personality'. On 3rd May, 1916, during the period of the First World War, he sailed for Japan along with Andrews, Pearson, and Mukul De, in a Japanese ship with hospitality of the captain and the crew. He stayed there for three months. (151) (152)

His views on Japan:

Japan occupied a central place in his heart for many years. The victory of Japan over Russia in the year 1905 was celebrated in Santiniketan, as booster for Asian to proclaim their strength. (153) It was important, as his first visit to Asian country and to Japan, to receive enthusiastically one who brought honour to Asia in the shape of Nobel prize. (154) Tagore was equally happy to see the giant strides made by Japan and was happy to comment, Japan's greatness has been due not to imitation, (155) but to assimilation of the qualities of the East and the West - a dream to achieve'. To him, Japan was both old and new, because, 'She has her legacy of the ancient culture from the East and also

fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age'.

His views on China:

During his visit to China, he recalled that once upon a time Eastern Asian countries were united from Burma to Japan with India having the closest ties. There was a living communication of hearts, a nervous system evolved through which messages ran between us about the deepest need of humanity. His speech always revealed organic unity both in respect of individual and the nation. His visit to China took place in the year 1924 which had been covered under the title 'Talks in China', containing the notes and reports published in Chinese news papers. Liang Chi Chao, President, Universities Association, regarded this visit as tremendously important in increasing the fund of friendship. The visit was much more intimate as both the countries were having the common suffering and this intimacy lasted till the last days of Tagore's life. While receiving Tagore, Liang held: 'Tagore has visited Europe, America and Japan, but to us he comes from the country which is our nearest and dearest brother. India was ahead of us and we the little brother followed behind.' Tagore was equally at his best in reply when he reiterated, 'I am reminded of the day when, India claimed you as brother and sent you love and the time has come when we shall be proud to belong to a continent which produces the light. He advised the Chinese to know what was best in them and 'living out your light and lit to great festivals of lamps of the world culture.'

(157)

(158)

(159)

(160)

While on his way to Japan, as early as 1916, Tagore remarked, in Hongkong seeing such strength skin and joy of work thus concentrated in one place, 'I realised what an amount of power is being stored throughout the land in this great nation when such an immense power gets its modern vehicle' ... what power on earth will be able to offer its resistance. (161) It revealed the faculty of farsightedness of Tagore who could foretell long before the future strength of the Chinese.

Tagore maintained very cordial relations with China and regarded her liberation no less important. He was very much involved in sending a medical mission to China. He appealed for monetary help to China. His anxiety had been expressed when Tagore sent a letter to Marshall Chiang through Stafford Cripps, when the latter met him before leaving for China. The message, dated 26 December 1939, contained 'the victory will ever remain respondent in the moral field of human endeavour'.

The 'Cheena Bhawan' was opened in March 1937, which is still the best centre in ^{the} country of ^{the} Chinese study. The Chinese experts always visited Santiniketan. On his 80th birth day, General Chiang congratulated Tagore telegraphically, 'China has been struggling in defence of the civilisation of East Asia and for that I wish all the more to congratulate you for the longevity of your life, the heroic voice for which shall keep sounding like a bell all over the world, the spiritual significance of Eastern civilisation.' (162) Tagore, in reply, wished, 'May the innocent multitudes be spared from the dire calamity to find their lives in

(163)
peace'. This shows how much he was concerned with the calamitous effects of the World War II over the innocent multitude.

Apart from China and Japan, he visited Singapore, Malaya, Sumatra and Batavia in 1927. He visited Thailand, the next year, also toured Ceylon, Iran, Afganistan and Egypt. The problems between the Arabs and the Jews also attracted his attention. However, unlike Gandhi and Nehru, he supported the settlement of the Jews which has become ground reality. He was deeply shocked by the death of Kemal Pasha and declared Viswa-Bharati closed on 18th November, 1938. Though disliked by Muslim fundamentalists in India, Tagore liked the Ataturk, most. Even today, after the gulf war of 1981, Tagore's prescription regarding the settlement of the Jews is still valued.

His account of Asian countries revealed that he suggested Afro-Asian people to be united and to launch liberation movement unitedly. He further insisted that the western countries should give up the path of exploitation and discrimination of the East. He warned East, not to reject the West but to gain from them their magnificent achievements in science and technology as well as from their spiritual attainments.

However, Rabindranath's message was identified frequently with certain pan-Asiatic overtones. But the fact remained that he never associated himself with Chauvinistic type of pan-Asianism, though his visit to far East, especially to China, created a good deal of mental unrest in Europe. (164) 'North China

Star', Peking, recorded Tagore as dangerous and poisonous as Karl Marx'. Andrews mentioned that Tagore's visit to Japan was propagated abroad, that such a pacifist teaching was dangerous in war time and the Indian poet represented a defeated nation. Hearing this, Tagore composed the 'Song of Defeat' :

'My master bids me to sing the song of defeat,
for that is the bride whom He Woes in the secret'. (165)

In 'The Crisis of Civilisation', Tagore mentioned, 'perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when the unvanquished man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage. (166)

Tagore wrote 'Personality', which contained six discourses about the deepest problems of life, representing the clarion call to humanity to rise from competition to co-operation, from the oppression of cruel and greedy nationalism to world fraternity among the different races of the world. After Tagore, man came from the world of nature to the world of humanity, and, 'whatever hinders the life of the man from establishing perfect relationship with the moral world is an evil. It is death, a far greater death than the death of natural life, (167) and he hoped that the nations ought to behave likewise.

Rolland found that in 'Nationalism', 'a new voice had arisen in the East, proclaiming peace and goodwill to mankind and called upon, Europe to listen to it with humility.' (168) Through

this book, mentioned Andrews, the spiritual kinship between Rabindranath Tagore and Romain Rolland was established. So wrote Maitreyi Debi, 'the book stirred the emotion of the world and brought forth a variety of reactions and Tagore emerged out of this tour as the thinker who could show the world, right path of internationalism. (169) To Sastry, Tagore came as the 'prophet of the age.' (170)

Thus, Tagore emerged as anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and associated the cause of all other Afro-Asian, Latin American colonies with a feeling of common suffering. The attachment based on spiritual bond between and among individuals on a global basis, was the corner stone of his thinking. As to the individuals, so to the nation applied the spiritual bond of unity. He wanted a nation to assert its individual existence and to contribute its share to the progress of humanity. All these reflected his desire that, India should learn from others what were good and to contribute to the world society what she could. During the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921, he raised his voice against the burning of clothes and opined, blind English hatred and narrow patriotism should not be practised by India. He favoured that Indian national movement should be international in character based on non-hatred and truth-a lesson for the countries seeking liberation. (171) He has been 'a beacon light ever pointing to the finer aspects and never allowing us (Indians) to fall into ruts which kill individuality as well as nations.'

He found the anarchy of spirit in the modern civilization reflecting lust for power and profit. He wanted the complete elimination of the present ills. It was therefore, one of the central points of Tagore's internationalism that 'anarchy of spirit' in the modern civilization was responsible for the outbreak of social unrest in the world. This anarchy of the spirit of the modern civilisation reflected through organised passion of greed mainly manifested in European society. Tagore mentioned, therefore, it is not social in character but is based on utility', but 'the drama of our destiny to-day has the whole for its stage! (172) He did not like the political tradition of nationalistic fanaticism but favoured the bridge between the East and West. When one nation loses its creative power, it is paralysed, so the health of the world depended on the fitness of each and every nation. His Viswa Bharati reflects a genuine collaboration based on definite pursuit of knowledge'. (173)

C. Sources of his Internationalist Thinking:

Tagore's world view is moulded by Indian reality, his home, and, the influences of persons like Rammohun, the pioneer internationalist of modern India. The other factor was English 'liberalism' in the crucial formative period of his life. In his own words, 'our direct contact with the modern world, the larger world of the men was linked up with the contemporary history of the English people ... through their mighty

literature ... impressed by the evidence of liberal humanity. ...
The large-hearted radical liberalism overflowing all narrow
(174)
national boundaries.

Frequent wanderings in the world equipped him with
on-the-spot knowledge of various countries and different peoples
(175)
of the world. The period between 1915 and 1941 gave him
the scope of touring most of the countries of ^{the} world. This
helped him in moulding his conception and in 'assimilating the
best of the world literature.' (176) It further provided us with
so many works such as, 'Nationalism', 'Personality', 'Creative
Unity', 'The Religion of Man', 'Letters from Russia,' 'The Modern
Age', 'Letters from Abroad', 'Letters to a Friend', 'Talks in
China', 'Lectures and Addresses, 'East and West'.

His acquaintance with a number of eminent scholars
all over the world, during their visit to Viswa Bharati, established
a living link.

But what influenced him most was his family and the
Indian background. To him, India put all emphasis on the harmony
that existed between the individual and the universal.' (177) He
pointed out that the 'Upanishad' explained the harmony between the
individual and the universal. 'Gayatri' the text of meditation of
his family, pointed out the essential unity of the world with the
conscious soul of man. In his words, 'we learn to perceive the
unity held together, by the one eternal spirit, whose power creates
the Earth, the sky and the stars, and at the same time irradiates

over minds with the light of the consciousness that moves and exists in unbroken continuity with the other world'.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Another source of influence was the Gita, In his words, 'we are advised to work disinterestedly abandoning all lust for the result'.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ This is the central theme on which depends his advice to the individual as well as to the nation. Buddhist background also found support in him. To Tagore, 'with everything, whether it is above or below, remote or near, visible or invisible, thou shalt preserve a relation of love without any animosity or without a desire to kill which always proved his mainstay in accepting 'non-violence' and love for all.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

Prof. Lesny, Czech critic and biographer of Tagore, very aptly remarked, 'the process of his development is in harmony with the tradition of Indian philosophy; from insight into the beauty of nature he arrived at a feeling of confidence into the destiny of mankind; from a conviction of the nobility of man's mission in the world he derives a wise philosophy which culminates in his unhesitatingly positive attitude towards life and in his later conception of the divine nature of mankind'. It is in this world that man's progress towards perfection must take place and therefore, life in this world is the object of his preoccupation.⁽¹⁸¹⁾

D. Tagore's Views on War:

Tagore witnessed the two world wars. But he had the first understanding of it from Boer War (1899-1902). He found

how the British captured gold mines and subjugated the Boer Republic. Tagore was further disturbed by the Boxer Revolution (1899-1901) in China where imperialist forces had thwarted the interest of the Chinese very inhumanly. His poem 'Sunset of the century' was published later on as an appendix to his 'Nationalism'. A very significant poem in which he denounced nationalism as the self love of the Nations', was written on the last day of the last century (182). His famous poem 'sun-set of the century' reflected ample disillusionment of Tagore caused by 'Boer War'. The Boer war deeply disillusioned him about the character of western democracies in which he saw its holocaust, the warning of the worse massacres to come in future. The naked passion of imperialist power in its drunken delirium of greed was found dancing, and added, 'awakening fear, the poet-mobs howl round, A chant of quarrelling curs on the burning ground' (183). He was very much disturbed by the international situation long before the First World War had started. He could read and foresee the future very promptly and correctly. Commenting on the Boxer Revolution, (184) he could comprehend well how Britain, France, Germany, Russia/Japan attacked and defeated China. He condemned war as it contained the barbarous attitude of the belligerent nations.

Imperialism the main cause of War:

In his famous poem, 'the Destroyer', he wrote, 'life sits in the chariot crowned by death', when the First World War started he wrote, 'Boatman' which expressed his views about the aggression on Belgium. The lady in the poem was Belgium as pointed

out to Andrews by the poet. (185) Another poem, 'Trumpet', claimed to be the best on war was followed by 'Oarsman'. All these three poems have the testimony to the fact that he was very much disturbed by the war and in protest through these poems, raised warning against the evil forces of history. He wrote 'Look, there comes all destroying. The flood of agony spreads out in a sea of pain, the thunder roars in the dark' and so on. In 'Trumpet', he wrote 'The trumpet lies in the dust. The wind is weary, the light is dead'. The poet was restless. He did not see it, writes Kripalani, as a European misfortune but as a wound in the breast of humanity, its pain and horror to be shared by all its limbs ...' (186)

He blamed everyone for the war, 'the sin is yours and mine', the catastrophe is not the revenge of a vindictive fate, it is a penance, an atonement which must bring redemption in the end. This was his belief that Man would have to change the course. His words : If death does not yield its deathless prize, its truth is not gained in battling with sorrow, if sin does not die in the shame of its exposure, if pride does not break under the weight of its intolerable pomp, then what hope sustains the hearts of these millions ...' (187) All these poems were published in 1916 in a slender volume, called 'Balaka' 'the Flight of Cranes' as one dedication to the world spirit.

During this period, he wrote three articles in 'Sabujpatra', a famous Bengali magazine, on war. All these were

originally letters to Pramatha Chowdhury, the editor. These letters were also published as 'Batayaniker Patra' in Kalantar in 1919. In these historical articles, Tagore took stock of the years of the world war in terms of loss of human beings, moral values and degradation. He observed that the imperialists wanted to increase their power and to achieve with the increase in military strength at the cost of other's property, life and moral values. They had no regard for 'truth', forgiveness, self-control and peace. And to achieve this end, they could use any means (188) including the secret diplomacy.

So Tagore wanted not to fear power, not to adore it, on the otherhand, he recommended to ignore the lust of power with fearlessness encouraged. (189) He criticised, in his third letter to Pramatha Chowdhury, the 'Mandatory Provisions' of the 'League of Nations' wherein the imperialists were busy in distribution of the share of the Chinese assets. When Tagore was condemning war, the then Congress President M. M. Malviya, was requesting Indians to rejoice at the victory of England in the First World War, writes Nepal Majumder. (190) But Tagore was the only exception in foreseeing even the tragedy of the Treaty of Versailles that no sacrifice was made by big powers there.

Condemnation of Indian support given during the First World War:

To Tagore, imperialism was the common enemy of mankind. In an article in 'Modern Review,' March, 1921, he even condemned the principles of Indian National Congress in forwarding

support to imperialists in war. To Tagore, it was the result of non-understanding on the part of the Congress of the intricacies of the problem of war. He wrote, "not very long ago, we said to our rulers, we are sacrificing our principles and to persuade our men to join in a battle about whose merit they have not the least notion; only in exchange, we shall claim your favour." (191)

He added, 'now we must acknowledge our responsibility - to the extent of our effort at recruiting, - for turning our men into a mercenary horde drenching the soil of Asia with brother's blood for the sake of the self-aggrandisement of a people wallowing in the mire of imperialism. It is an eye-opener even Gandhi was busy in recruiting men for war, which, of course, Gandhi later on repented. Thus, Tagore was a pioneer in condemning imperialist war fought in their (imperialist) interest and quite alert in reminding our leaders not to be utilised in their interest of war. To him, it was a humanitarian principle, and hence it should not be sacrificed.

The Cult of Nationalism as the other main cause of War:

According to Tagore, nationalism had been regarded as the main cause of the war. Nationalism bred patriotism which in turn stood for love of our country and hatred for others. He warned, 'nations who sedulously cultivate moral blindness as the cult of patriotism will end their existence in a sudden and violent death.' (192) The emergence of nations had brought forward a new set of relations. Nationalism had bred imperialism fighting for

economic profit. To him, nation was^a mechanical organisation of politics and commerce inculcating in people fear and panic through through the medium of war. To him 'nations are like the pack of predatory creature ... that must have victims. He added, 'in fact, nations are fighting among themselves, for the extension of their victims and their reserve forests.'

Capitalism the other cause of War:

In an article, entitled 'Ladaier Mul' (The causes of war), he opined that the rule of the capitalist had become the order of the period. Earlier, he pointed out, they ruled over capital, now, with the help of capital, they are ruling over humanity. So, to him, the rule over humanity by the other was the main cause of war. In international society, they had established colonial rule remaining far away from the colony. He cited the example of Germany whose arrival was late as imperialist on the European scene, developed strained relationship among European powers. Territorial acquisition and commercial exploitation had become the order of the imperialists. He cited the example of the Poles and^{the} Finns. Though they were European nations, they were being compelled to surrender. Interpreting the genesis of the war, he was of the view that Europe had given good by to the ideals for which she stood. To him 'Europe has exhausted the oil that once lighted her lamps. The true cause lay in her own ideals which helped her to be great. He wrote, 'the veil has been raised and in this frightful war the West has stood face to face with her own creation to which she had offered her soul! (194)

Nation stands armed against nations and old liberal statemanship of the 19th century had given way to blind temper of competition.

Propaganda as an instrument of power of imperialists for War:

He was quite aware of the role of propaganda. He mentioned that the powerful nations controlled the instruments of propaganda and as such the grievances of the weak countries did not reach the ears of the world and all approach roads were closed for them. They were able to crush the races devoid of power behind the smoke-screen of infancy and disgrace. (195)

Views on War

To Tagore, war was inhuman. He believed in the inevitability of death, but the death caused by war of greed, was undesirable. The above-mentioned view was published in his article, 'Do not destroy'. (196) Another article 'Paper Marjana' (Remedies from Sin), (197) condemning the onslaught of war was published in the year 1914. He mentioned in 'Balaka' (Flight of the Crane) 'all the sorrows of the earth, all its sins and crimes, its heartbreak and its lust for violence have swelled like a tidal wave overleaping the banks, blaspheming the skies'. He was very much disturbed by war but it was his optimism, his faith in 'man' which could only remove war. So he composed

'Bow down your head, the sin is yours and mine,
It is the ulcer in the heart of time that has burst
at last'. (198)

So the war was the sign of the fact that civilisation was dead, nations feared each other, behaved like growling beasts of the night time, holding or maintaining their trade secrets, state secrets, secrets of their armaments. (199)

When 'Nationalism' was published, the whole world was in the throes of war and thousands of young men were dying in the battle. Pacifism was not the cup of the war-mongers. (200) So wrote Kripalani, the biographer of Tagore, 'the publication of 'Nationalism' was ill-timed' however 'he was right, prophetically right in what he said and must be admired for courting abuse.' This was his success that his voice against the war angered the war-mongers. But he also got the touching tribute from the mother of the young English poet, Wilfred Owen, who was killed in the war one week before the armistice day. She, in a letter to Tagore, enquired, 'would it be asking too much of you, to tell me what book I shall find the whole poem in'. (201) The young poet had taken some lines from Tagore in his note book. While idealist Green advanced reasons in favour of world peace; believed, war 'not absolutely necessary' but only 'relatively necessary', Bentham interpreted war in terms of utility. To Tagore, war was neither necessary nor desirable. He was perfectly right in estimating imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, commercialism, racialism responsible for waging war. He was perfectly right, 'in his insistence, that the war was the necessary outcome of the homicide stage of things in which the whole of West was acquired. (202)

E. Views on Peace:

The First World War brought the problem of 'World Peace' on the world agenda. Tagore, who was very much disturbed by the loss of human lives and exploitation, felt deeply concerned with the problem of the establishment of the peace. His voluminous writings bore testimony to this. He also participated in peace movements and till the last advocated the cause of peace.

The philosophical basis of his account on 'peace' was also the 'individual'. According to him, the individual should be exalted for the good of the world because every seeker of harmony among the races and countries was the individual. In his words, 'we must know as, through science and commerce, the realisation of the unity of the material world gives us power, so the realisation of the unity of the great spiritual unity of Man can also give us peace. (203)

Tagore's idea on peace was all-comprehensive. The total scheme was based on his Indian heritage. He advocated peace with the entire world of creation whether of man or animal or nature as incorporated in Aranyaka, (4th prasna). 'I will endeavour in such a way as to bring about peace, through striving for perfect peace in myself and with man as well as with animal'. Tagore was very much perturbed to find that genuine attempts were not being made under the League of Nations. He believed that so long there was greed there could be no peace. He held, machine might prepare so many things but the peace manufactured out of it might not last

long. In his words, 'The great powers of the West are seeking peace, not by curbing their greed, or by giving up their exclusive advantages'.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ The same view had been expressed, in another letter written to Pramatha Chowdhury, the editor of 'Sabujpatra', 'that peace can not be achieved without sacrifice, there can not be peace. In Paris talks, no sacrifice has been made by the great powers.' He could thus visualise the inherent dangers of the Treaty of Versailles, quite earlier.

Later on, in his poem, 'Atonement', before the start of the Second World War, he wrote, 'let the hediousness of the blood-soaked blasphemy divine anger heralding a heroic peace out of an awful retribution.'⁽²⁰⁵⁾ His attempts for maintenance of peace continued in two ways, firstly, by condemning aggression everywhere, and, secondly, by joining peace movements and supporting other such movements meant for the world peace and security. His understanding of the world problems which increased with his visit to other countries in general, and to Italy and Russia in particular, also helped him a lot in framing his independent views. His visit to Japan and U.S.A. brought him to the forefront of Peace movement. Romain Rolland sent him on 10th April, 1919, 'Declaration of Independence of Spirit'. Tagore felt very much encouraged after going through the 'declaration' against involvement in the war. It was found that Bipin Chandra Pal was also contacted for the same. However, Tagore joined this, along with famous intellectuals of the world.⁽²⁰⁶⁾

Tagore's visit to Italy, during January and February

1925, and again the next year during May 1926, helped him to present an account of the visit. According to Tagore, the social and administrative body fell down in Italy after the First World War. The common people in spite of weaknesses found in Mussolini a masterful personality who alone could bring back law and order. (207) But his assessment was criticised. To Rolland, 'Mussolini was the greatest menace to the whole of Europe.' (208) But Prof. Mrs. Signora Salvadori, exiled in Zurich, wrote to Tagore 'what makes us unhappy is that you have unintentionally helped to support fascism'. Tagore could know from her about the fascist atrocities and wrote, 'I wish, I had known for certain the dark deeds that were being done in Italy, ... then I could not have come to Italy.' (209) Further, it was Rolland, who wrote 'forgive me if my intervention has caused you some restless hours'. 'The future will show you that I have acted as your faithful and vigilant guide.' (210) As writes Nepal Majumder, 'this led to his added awareness of fascism and war. One year later, in an interview to 'Referee', in July 1928, Tagore gave a message which was published on 5th August, 1928. There he reported, 'In Italy the worship of unscrupulous force is the vehicle of nationalism, and this force keeps alive the fire of international jealousy'. In the same interview, he added, 'the methods and basic principles of fascism concern all humanity and it is absurd to imagine that I would ever support.' He declared again and again the aggressive spirit of nationalism and imperialism constituting the menace to the whole world. He condemned 'fascism' and fascist attack in clear terms. And again

he was ahead of the Indian National Congress in condemning ~~xxx~~ fascism. (211) When Italy attacked Ethiopia and the League of Nations failed to stop it, Tagore blamed Italy as an aggressor and wrote a letter to Andrews condemning it. After two years, he wrote a poem 'Africa' condemning the exploitation, atrocities on Blacks a masterpiece.

With man traps stole upon you those hunters whose fierceness was keener than the fangs of your wolves. Your finest trials became nuddy with tears and blood, while the nailed tools of the robless left their indelible prints along the history of your indignity'.

Einstein, Barbous, Rolland were continuing their movement against fascism and war in support of peace. In 1932 a Peace Conference was organised in Amsterdam followed by its observance throughout the world. Some intellectuals in Calcutta also observed the peace day, Arabinada Poddar held that, after a three years, on 20th November, 1935, 'There is a reference that Tagore was thanked for his joining the membership of the world-committee against the war.' (212)

Tagore's participation in the peace movement was highly acknowledged. In 1935, from the Internationalist Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Gilbert Murray held Tagore as the 'most famous poet living in the world', and appealed, 'where nation stands armed against nation ... I need not appeal to you Tagore, to join in this quest; you already belong to it. I only ask you

to recognise the greatness of your own work for the intellectual union of the East and West. (213) Tagore in reply wrote, I do not see any solution of the intricate evils of disharmony between nations, nor can I point out any path which may lead us immediately to the levels of sanity.' But feeling the urgency of human co-operation, he wrote 'willingly, therefore, I harness myself in my advanced age at Santiniketan in a spirit of genuine collaboration. (214)

He preached extreme humanism. This has been expressed in an interesting and revealing poem. (215)

At the fag end of his life, the Second World War broke out. The First World War had already caused in him a great agony. His faith in the wisdom of Christianity was shattered. He had already censured the forces for waging war. One by one, he condemned each aggression, Japanese attack on Manchuria, Italy's on Ethiopia and at last the German attack on Sudetanland. He wished their defeat in his works, joined peace movements, condemned nationalism, fascism and imperialism very strongly. But 'the disillusionment was very painful and he gave vent to it in a poem, of which the last stanza he rendered into English on Christmas day in 1939: (216)

Condemning the Nazi aggression over Czechoslovakia, he wrote to Prof. Legny his helplessness but in the 'Atonement' he held,

But let us hope, for the sake of dignity of moral justice in the world,

That God will never suffer to be
cheated of His due,
By the miserly manipulation of a
diplomatic pity.

His biographer, Mukherjee, mentioned that with the advent of the Second World War, Tagore wrote to Amiya Chakraborty that he did not see any end to war and condemned it by calling it a civilization of Rentia. (217) In another letter, he again mentioned his description of imperialism and proclaimed 'the wild dance of slaughter will go on without end.' Earlier, he was blamed for his weakness for / ^{Asia} but 'impartiality' was the hallmark of his international thinking. He loved Asian unity but strongly condemned Japanese imperialism. Japan captured Manchuria without heeding to world public opinion and condemnation by the League of Nations. When British intervened in China Tagore posed the question who snatched away Hongkong, from the Chinese and who used force first? Hongkong is yet under British control. Throughout India, 'China Day' was observed on first September, 1938. Tagore appealed for raising fund for the Chinese. During this period, he received two alluring invitations from Rash Behari Bose, an Indian revolutionary in exile in Japan, first, in the shape of a telegram requesting Tagore to stop Jawaharlal Nehru, from ^{criticising} Japan and second letter, (Sept. 1938) requesting Tagore to visit Japan with assurance of getting a lump sum for his Viswa-Bharati. He declined to accept both the offers.

Another painful exchange Tagore had with Yon Noguchi, a Japanese poet, an erstwhile friend and associate of Tagore. In a poem published in 'Hindusthan Standard' dated (218) October 26, 1938, he held,

He wished the defeat of Japan and victory to the Chinese. Noguchi, in his letter dated 23.7.1938 appealed 'Believe me it is war of Asia for Asia'. In reply on 1st September 1938, Tagore wrote, Japan's conception of Asia would be raised on a tower of skulls. He, not only, condemned but also warned Japan. (219)

He considered war as man's return to the laws of jungle and fascism and nazism as black spots of imperialism. He never lost faith in Man, so he hoped that a time would come when things would be corrected; because, in his words, 'by unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root. (220) So he recommended that man should adopt good means to achieve good end. Running his mental eye almost over the whole of the world he looked for the better world and social strength of humanity to be used in extension of the hospitality to the world taking all risks, no matter numerous and grave they might be.

F. Conclusion:

Tagore had full faith in the solidarity of the human races but believed that it was the politicians who mishandled the world situation in their tradition of nationalist fanaticism.

Tagore did not like that political necessity should be regarded as the highest good. Rather, the spiritual unity of mankind was the ideal of internationalism. So he pleaded that every nation should behave like a member of the international society and submit whatever it had to the wealth of mankind. It was only through the good of the world that real progress could come to any nation. So, the use of nationalist feeling to further the interest of the party leaders was heinous offence. It was in this light that he supported the liberation of all the countries of the world. In Gitanjali he wrote, 'the same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures'.⁽²²¹⁾

Today, it is a fashion to be internationalist, when Tagore talked of the world, 'not broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls', he was ignored as a lone visionary. But the fact remains that he transmitted the understanding of the East to the West. He treated himself as a world-citizen, not because he became world-famous, but because he felt with the world. He made the world's destiny his own. The little school at Santiniketan became Viswa Bharati, (a world University) a seminary for Eastern studies, (yatra Viswam Bhabathieka nidam), where the world meets in one nest. Viswa Bharati acknowledges India's obligation to offer to others her best and to accept from other their best.⁽²²²⁾ Thus, Tagore fulfilled the task of international understanding. He came out of the ivory tower and took

upon himself the role of a teacher. (223) In a letter, dated 11.10.17, he wrote to Andrews : 'widest possible outlook for the wide world should be created among the students.' (224) It is my fondest hope that gradually the world ideas would grow in strength until at last they have fulfilled their highest mission, the unification of mind', (225) wrote Tagore. It was a home for the spirit of India, for the spirit of all nations. (226) Tagore believed in the idea of the 'one world' long before it was made popular by American statesman Wendell Wilkie. It was to be founded on racial equality and social justice. It was to be a co-operative world in which the units were free and strong. (227)

We need Tagore, the great sentinel and the master architect, to be enriched by the splendour of his vision and the depths of his wisdom. (228) He was the propagator of religion of man, the renuc iator of base passions of cupidity and hartred. He merely emphasised certain basic truths which men of wisdom had known in all ages and could ignore at their own peril. (230) Let us hope, for the sake of dignity of moral justice in the world, Tagore will be remembered.

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My sufferings do not reach the deity
imprisoned in his temple.
The priest comes out and sakes smiling,
Have you been inside the temple?

No, I reply.

Dumbfounded he asks, 'Do not you
know it?

No I say.

Have you no caste ? he asks.

No ' ...

Ignored by the multitude, I have hungered for Man's

comradeship, Man round whose meeting place no walls are raised,
and no sentries stand on guard.

'I missed Man within enclosures and found him beyond
all frontiers that divide nation from nation, land from land.' So
writes Kripalani, 'he belongs to the tribe of spiritual outcastes'.

216. 'They call their soldiers,
'Kill, Kill' they sought.
In their roaring mingles,
The music of their hymns,
while the Son of Man, in his agony prays;
O God, fling, fling, far away
This cup filled with the bitterest of poisons'

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218. Yone, we can no longer be friends ...
when I was young I used to Think, your poems,
delicate and true,
your sould a shy Hamings pink,
your mind a dimpling blue.
But I now clearly' see, instead,
The day of Song has passed you by,
Your colour and imperialist red,
Your poet's truth became a lie.
Your heart has lost its silent ruth,
Blood burns your poet's pen

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CHAPTER - V

Gandhi's Ideas on Nationalism and Internationalism.

Gandhi's Ideas on Nationalism

INTRODUCTION:

Gandhi (1869-1948) worked both as a thinker and as a man of action in facing all the major problems of his time. Colonialism gave birth to the multiplicity of groups based on social differentiation and stratification. In such a society, different values and norms of conduct surfaced to rule. He took notice of the Indian society reflecting heterogenous elements. His task was to erect the populace to the demand of national freedom. In this difficult mission, his unique position in socialisation and popular mobilisation remained unchallenged in the sense that his genius was much more effective than that of the earlier reformers.

I.A. Sociological Ideas on Nationalism:

Moral interpretation of Social problems:

Gandhi took notice of the prevailing ills of the Indian society and opted for their solution in a way unknown and hitherto unpractised on such a large scale. Gandhi was a moral purist; so, like other sociologists, he did not distinguish on the basis of caste, race, place of birth, religion, sex or class. On the other hand, 'it is literally a thorough and wholesale application of criteriology of good that constitutes the bedrock of the whole of Gandhian philosophy of action'.⁽¹⁾ To Gandhi, 'reality

is not merely a natural order but a moral order as well'. His entire philosophy is permeated by moral imperatives. (2)

To Gandhi, the colonial encounter was not between England and India or between the East and the West but between good and bad. To him, Europe and India suffered from the same disease, though European countries enjoyed political freedom. Afro-Asian countries were exploited by the European colonialists. On the other hand, common people in those European countries also suffered from exploitation by the rich class of their countries, in the name of democracy. Democracy was based on ^{the} use of force by the state which guarded the interest of the rich. So 'at the root, therefore, the disease appears to be the same as in India'. (3) The same remedy was, therefore, desirable. As such, he pleaded for the end of exploitation as well as the end of the coercive power of the state with the use of the technique of non-violence-giving it a universal connotation.

Ahimsa - the end and means of social change.

His acceptance of ahimsa (non-violence) as an end, and ^{also} a means, in all individual and social ideas formed the core of his sociological thought. In Gandhian ideology, non-violence and suffering are interrelated and intertwined. To him, the test of love is 'Tapasya' and tapasya is 'self suffering' and the idea of suffering is the cornerstone of his philosophy. In his words, 'if we are to be non-violent, we must then not wish for anything on the earth which the meanest or the lowliest of human beings cannot

have'.⁽⁴⁾

He held that man's ultimate aim was the realisation of God and the only way to find God was to see him in his creation. This could only be achieved by service of all 'I can't find him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbours. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate myself on serving them.'⁽⁵⁾ To him, service to the countrymen, who were in need of it, was nationalism. He wanted political freedom of the country as the first condition but he underlined that mere attainment of political swaraj would not solve the maladies. So he outlined the philosophy of social integration and social change. Here again, his schemes had the universal appeal because in doing so, he did not suggest the imitation or improvement of British model. From another angle, in terms of modernity and tradition, Gandhian sociological thinking, both broke and continued with the tradition. But to Gandhi, modernism did not mean westernism.

A traditionalist with a difference:

Gandhi did not regard the advent of industrialism as the advancement of true civilisation which his critics took to be his traditionalism. It was further associated with the remark that everything western was disliked by him. But Gandhi revealed : 'I do not want my house to be walled on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all the countries to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be

blown off my legs! This is perhaps the realist approach to cultural internationalism. He added, 'mine is not a religion of prison-house'.⁽⁶⁾ While delivering a speech in Gujarat Vidyapith in 1920, before the commencement of his non-co-operation movement, he wanted the Institute to stand for the synthesis of the different cultures, naturally of 'Swadeshi' type, i.e. 'where each culture is assured of its legitimate place, and not of the American pattern where one dominant culture absorbs the rest, and where the aim is not towards harmony but towards an artificial and forced unity.' What does this reflect? Was he anti-western in synthesising the culture, or a traditionalist who stood for assimilation of that which was good and rejection of that which was bad. In the said article, he further proposed, 'it (Institute) rather hopes to build a new culture based on the traditions of the past and enriched by the experience of later times.'⁽⁷⁾ Talking about the future culture of India, he explained that 'there is no such thing as pure Aryan culture in India' whether Aryans were intruders or indogenous did not interest him what interested him were the remote ancestors blended with one another with the utmost freedom and he wanted the spirit of 'blending together' to retain. He took^{the} Indian culture as in the making. To him, many of us are striving to produce a blend of all the cultures which seem to be in clash with one another. No culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive. There was no such thing as pure Aryan culture in existence to-day in India; whether the Aryans were indogeneous to India or were unwelcome intruders, did not interest him much. What

interested Gandhi was the fact that remote ancestors blended with one another with the utmost freedom and we of the present generation are result of that blend. Whether we are doing any good to the country of our birth and tiny globe which sustains us or whether we are burden, the future alone will show. (8) Gandhi wanted Indian culture should be revealed by its efficiency to serve the nation as well as the global community of men as a whole.

To brand him to be traditionalist is to suffer from intellectual myopia - failing to grasp the whole field of vision. His concept of nationalism revealed that any country might become free and if need be the whole country might sacrifice so that human race lived. (9) Striving to attain freedom was never colliding with the spirit of sacrifice for the ultimate good to mankind. As we know his philosophy was based on 'Individual' who was asked to sacrifice for the village, the village for the district and the district for the nation and the nation for the mankind. This was nothing but ultimately modern and intensely internationalistic. So he asserted, freedom for India did not stand for disappearance or the extinction of Englishmen.

If we make an assessment of 'Hind-Swaraj', it reflects antipathy towards industrialism because industrialism invited insatiable avarice for wealth which ultimately led to adoption of violent means to capture world market. Colonialism originated from this type of material pursuit. He held that the modern civilization was purely material and it was material quest, the economy of profit responsible for colonisation of Afro-Asian countries. The

countries in Europe, Germany and England, were living in the 'hall of death' in order to avoid being devoured. Material gain did not lead to moral growth. He was fed up with such industrialism and wanted its replacement by a non-exploitative humane economic plan. In doing so, he longed for a simple life, close to nature and God, as advocated by Rousseau and Tolstoy. (10) His views on concepts like capitalism, imperialism, state, democracy further reflected that he widened his outlook and could produce much more relevant social philosophy in the later part of his life.

However, he has been openly exposed before the critics. To a critique, like G.C. Sah, his philosophy was hundred percent Indian'. (11) On the otherhand, Paul F. Power, explained; 'Gandhi was vitally concerned with East - West relations, influenced by both civilisations. Bhikhu Parekh summed up; 'He knew how to tap and mobilise the regenerative resources of the tradition ... and instinctively knew how far not to go ... , Indeed, the very fact that he could not be fitted into any of the traditional Hindu categories baffled his countrymen and added to his charisma'. (13) As with Indian tradition, so with western tradition, he wanted to gain and profit. In 1940, he wrote, 'there is nothing to prevent me from profiting by the light that may come from the west only I must take care that I am not overpowered by the glamour of the West. (14) Gandhi was able to succeed where others had failed for a variety of reasons. He 'reduced tradition to a resource, located its essence in its general moral values

which commanded respect but left room for critical evaluation. Moreover, he had to march within colonial context facing the obstacles generated by 'capitalism' as well vestiges of 'feudalism' and of 'slave society'. What was required was the participation of all in the attainment of national freedom. So he had an extremely difficult task. The first national reaction to colonialism is always the search of national identity. As a corollary, it was often expected that colonized people would be able to fight against their domination by drawing upon the resources of their own unreconstructed self, by reaching deeper into the resources of their own distinct civilisation which was never traditionalism, rather a response to the effective demand of the situation. The dialectic of the nationalist discourse found in Gandhi a situational response.

Gandhism : a strange mixture of the old and new:

He was a strange mixture of the old and new, at the sametime, capable of projecting into future. He was quite aware of the fact that ^{the} British rule in India was primarily responsible for this many sided degradation but equally certain that the age-old customs and traditions leading to hierarchical stratification encouraged inequality. He addressed himself to the burning problems of India as well as problems which affected the whole world. His social over-view was applicable to his world-view. Gandhi was profoundly disturbed by the plight of the Indian

society. His life long pre-occupation with the regeneration and revitalisation of Indian society brought him into conflict with the age old tradition. To him, Hindu culture did not provide equality and justice, equal status to women, equal status to untouchables and labourers. He made 'wiping away every tear from every eye' the central test of morality. Though he was preceded by reformers like Raja Rammohun Roy who worked against 'sati' and polytheism, K. C. Sen and Lajpat Rai who worked against 'child marriage', Vidyasagar who worked against 'Kulinism' and the ban on 'widow remarriage', Dayananda against image-worship to name a few, 'Gandhi's reformist programme was far more comprehensive than any of his predecessors. (16)

He was convinced that ^{the} Hindu society needed moral regeneration and could not be developed out of the resources of the Hindu tradition alone so he benefited from the moral insight of the other religious traditions as well. In doing so, he tried to reconstruct the orthodox conception of tradition, in general, and of the Hindu society in particular, a kind of cross-cultural construction. For Gandhi, every community had to deal with perennial problems and that could be solved by the method of only trial and error. Some of its fundamental values were sound and represented its great contribution to mankind.

Individual freedom the base of Swaraj:

The first step to Swaraj lies in individual, and the Swaraj of the people means the sum total of the Swaraj of

the individuals. But his scheme of Swaraj tried to bring about an equalisation of status. On Indian pattern, he held that working class everywhere in the world was being treated as 'sudras'. To him, political was not the end but the means to achieve the desired goal. He did not prescribe more power to the state because it destroyed individuality which was the substratum of all progress.

He favoured democracy as a method of government, but with emphasis on non-violence. He held, 'I believe true democracy can only be an outcome of non-violence. The structure of world federation can be raised only on foundation of non-violence'. What was true to individual was also true in national and international context. 'I have envisaged, a democracy established by non-violence, where there will be equal freedom for all.'⁽¹⁷⁾ He mentioned, 'I work for India's freedom because ... she has a prior claim over my service ... but India's freedom, as conceived by me, can never be a menace to the world'.⁽¹⁸⁾ Freedom for the country did not mean the exploitation of others rather it would contribute to mankind.

The object of his leadership was to arouse social consciousness among the people and not to impose anything upon them. So he asserted 'my humble occupation has been to show people how they can solve their own difficulties.'⁽¹⁹⁾ He repeated again and again, 'my work will be finished if I succeed in carrying conviction to the human family, that every man or woman, however weak in body, is the guardian of his or her self-respect and liberty'.⁽²⁰⁾ Thus an

enriched moral interpretation of democracy was provided by Gandhi based on a rich interpretation of individual and social morality reflected through humanistic democracy.

To him, social work was more important than politics. He held, 'Politics encircle us like a coil of snake from which one can not get out'. His preference was for social reform but when he found without politics that was unachievable he took to politics. However, he held, 'work of social reform or self-purification ... is a hundred times dearer to me than what is called purely political work.'⁽²¹⁾ This is the exhibition of love, the service to humanity in different ways on different fronts. This has been explained very nicely by Gandhi himself; 'My life is one indivisible whole, and all my activities run into one another, and they all have their rise in my insatiable love of mankind.'⁽²²⁾

His sociological views were formed on the conditions obtaining in Indian society. In 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi accepted the distinctions made between ^{the} state and ^{the} society, like Vivekananda and Tagore. For Gandhi, Swaraj meant more than political independence. In order to achieve that participation of the people was required at a larger scale. Hindu-Muslim questions, national language, cow slaughter, child and widow marriage, all the baffling questions got answer in him. His encounter with the problem of untouchability deserves special mention. He was in a hurry to provide Indian society a modern base. Under the spell of his leadership, Indian traditions have been refurnished, mobilised and galvanised

to serve new goals and objectives. His capacity for innovation was stupendous. Right from the Indian National Congress, he improved and organised so many social institutions and gave serious consideration to the social and valuational aspects of modern civilisation.
(23)

He created the machinery for the Congress, won the masses for it, with funds to carry on its agitation, and turned to 'Swadeshi'. The white cap of Khadi, captivated old and young alike, while at Madura on September, 1921, at 10 P.M. a barber was called to shave his head and ^{the} early next morning, he donned a loin cloth - and reported, 'he would do so until Indian rich and poor alike would be able to get an adequate supply of clothes'.

The Indian National Congress, in Sept. 1920, in Calcutta, passed a resolution in open session ^{with} 1852 ^{votes} in favour and 908 votes against : this Congress is further of the opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-cooperation until the said wrongs (Khilafat wrongs) are righted and swaraj is established'.
(24)

He transformed the machinery of ~~the~~ Congress into an essentially organised Indian institution with a strong appeal to the lower middle class for the existing upper middle class westernised institution. Literates as well as illiterates were attracted to Gandhi, particularly, the latter by his religious and moral appeal. So writes Penderel Moon, 'Gandhi
(25)
the politician would have been a failure without the saint.'

Further, the attention Gandhi paid to the public relations, propaganda, the preparations he made before the beginning of any movement, his decision to suspend some campaigns, his tactical withdrawals, negotiation he conducted, all deserve special mention. His thoroughness in capturing the organisation always helped him in the achievement of his social aims.

Untouchability.

Gandhi practised what he preached. He saw the discrimination against the outcastes by the caste Hindus. He addressed himself to the solution of the problem in order to remove the widening gap that existed inside Indian society. Furthermore, this was an exercise in the direction of the struggle for the intensification of the consciousness of people for social regeneration and to be fit for the attainment of swaraj. And much more than that, he considered untouchability a heinous crime against humanity and if Hinduism was to be regarded as an honourable and elevating religion, the sooner it purged itself of the sin the better.

In a speech at the Rangoon public meeting, Gandhi declared, all the religions in the world were engaged in the race of life, 'either Hinduism has got to perish or untouchability has to be rooted out completely. (26) In combating untouchability, he had to encounter opposition from Narasingha Mehta, saint poet of Gujrat. He ridiculed the 'vaisnavas' for not admitting them into their institutions. He prescribed public

workers to lead the movement against untouchability. He ridiculed the arrogance of the Brahmins in asking untouchables to turn their faces to the walls and treating them even inferior to their animals. (27) He launched movement on two fronts : he himself started cleaning latrines, interdining with the untouchables and adopted an untouchable girl as a God child. On the other front, he asked the youth to follow him and join the movement. In Young India of 14th January, 1926 Gandhi referred to a case where a Hindu Magistrate fined an untouchable Rs. 75 for a temple entry. Gandhi mentioned, it was a curious situation, we were impatient to establish swaraj. But we Hindu refused to see the one fifth of our co-religionists as worse than dogs. Much had been done, but it was all too little so long as criminal prosecutions for temple entry were possible. Fanatic Hindus were opposed to beef-eating by the untouchables. In reply he held, 'boycott of beef eating might be proper in the past. It is improper and impossible to-day, if you went the so called untouchables to give up beef. You can do so only by means of love'. (28)

When the Simon Commission came to India, he termed 'the latest trade on untouchability adds to the ugliness of whole picture'. He wrote to M. L. Nehru to 'guarantee equality to the untouchables' in the framing of the constitution. (29) In one interview to Dr. John Mott, he reported, Malviya, the most orthodox Hindu, has started administering the mantra of purification to the untouchables and J. L. Bajaj opened his temple to the

untouchables. He called the untouchables 'Harijans' i.e. children of God and summed up the outlook; 'I expect the tide against, un-
(30)
touchability to rise still more swiftly.'

Returning after attending the Round Table Conference, within a week, he was jailed on 4th January, 1932. The Congress was declared illegal, more than a lakh of people were arrested and camp jails were opened. Gandhi, from Jail, wrote to Hoare, if the separate electorate for the depressed class was created, he would fast unto death. The British government announced Communal Award ignoring declaration of fast.

Gandhi started his fast on 20.9.32 and on ^{the} 24th, a pact was signed between Gandhi and Ambedkar and on ^{the} 26th, the British Government recommended the endorsement of the Poona pact by the parliament. Gandhi was not fasting against ~~the~~ Britain, he was fasting to remove the disabilities from Harijans so they would form a unit with ^{the} Hindus. Important events happened throughout India: the famous Kalighat temple of Calcutta, Ram Mandir of Benaras, citadels of Hindu orthodoxy, were thrown open to untouchables for the first time. In Bombay votes were casted 24, 797 in favour and 445 against the temple-entry. In Allahabad 12 Temples were opened and that became the case throughout India. In Delhi ^{the} Hindus and the harijans demonstratively fraternised in the street. The pact incorporated 'No one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth.' The impact of Gandhi's fast, writes Fisher, 'marked a religious reformation, a psychological revolution, a purge of

(31)

Hinduism's millennial sickness ... food for India's moral health'. In a letter to Miss Slade, Gandhi explained, 'the fast was really nothing compared with the miseries that the outcastes have undergone for ages.' He handed over his 'Sabarmati Ashram' to a group of untouchables and in 1933 left on a Harijan tour for two months and from January' 1933 the weekly 'Harijan' started publication.

The problem of untouchability received special attention of Gandhi, and was removed to a greater extent. It is said, Harijan welfare must have indirectly helped to spread the message of nationalism to the lowliest, but the extension of the movement was restricted to the limit of social reforms'. (32) There is another side of the story that Gandhi rebuked Narendra Deva on 2nd August 1934 for forgetting to mention untouchability in the draft programme of Congress socialist party. (33) Bondurant revealed that the revolutionary character of Gandhian approach as to inter-dining, intercaste marriage and untouchability to raise the status of the women, protection of minority were the telling evidences of his abiding concern for the reconstruction of his own society. (34)

B. Ideas on Secularism:

Indian National Congress and Hindu-Muslim Relations:

The late 19th century and the early 20th century marked the beginning of national consciousness alongwith the birth and the growth of socio-political, philosophical ideas. On the

organisational level, in 1885, the Indian National Congress was established. After the establishment of the Indian National Congress, a mighty internal struggle surfaced between the 'Moderates' and the 'Extremists' regarding the 'ends' and 'means' of the nationalist movement. While ^{the} Moderates to name a few, like Ranade, Naoraji, Gokhale, accepted the divorce of religion from politics and maintained a secular view of politics. The extremists, on the other hand, combined the western ideas of patriotism with the religious symbolism of Hinduism. Nationalism combined with religion, became all absolute; India became the 'Mother' the goddess to whom fervent and undivided devotion must be given. The extremists such as, Tilak celebrated 'Ganesh' and 'Shivaji' festivals, Dayananda founded the Cow Protection Association in 1882. Tilak's scholarly commentary on the Gita created resurgent spirit of Hinduism both at the popular and scholarly level, 'but at the inevitable cost of alienating the Muslims'. In Bengal, Bankim Chandra immortalised through his poem 'Banda Mataram', (Hail to Mother) which later on became the nationalist song. Aurobindo held, 'nationalism is not merely a political programme : nationalism is a religion that has come from God'.⁽³⁵⁾ The cult of Durga and Kali (Hindu goddesses) greatly became associated with revolutionary terrorism in Bengal. B.C. Pal, a radical leader, wrote in the 'Soul of India that the 'traditional Gods and Goddesses who had lost their hold upon the modern Hindu mind were now being reinstated with a new nationalist interpretations. Behind this physical and geographical body, there is a being personality -- the personality of Mother. Going through this stage of religious overtones of the Hindus, Khalid B. Sayeed

wondered 'as to how Muslims could be expected to participate in the activities of the Congress which was very largely in the hands of the Hindus of Bengal and Hindus of Maharashtra'.⁽³⁶⁾ S. N. Banerjee also reported that the Congress failed in attracting many Muslims to its sessions.⁽³⁷⁾

Pan-Islamism:

Islam in India, took the course of revival and reformation of basic principles and outlooks. In Europe, this was marked in the Reformation. Indian Moslems also undertook several revivals and purifications. For Islam in India, 'an outstanding event whose influence is still felt was the emergence in the 18th century of the Wahabi movement with its stern insistence on a return to the original purity of the faith.

In Europe, the dismemberment of Turkey by Russia had been thwarted by Great Britain followed by favourite change in Anglo - Afghan policy. Consequently, at home, the British attitude towards the Muslims had changed.⁽³⁸⁾ All these external aspects had been playing very important role in shaping their policies. Furthermore, when confronted with the dual claims of nationalism and Islam, they were willing to subordinate the former for the latter.⁽³⁹⁾

Syed Ahmed Khan, who had earlier pleaded for Hindu Muslim unity, now condemned those Muslims who participated in the rebellion of 1857. He propounded his thesis in 1860 describing his

community as the loyal Mohemdens of India, and on this thesis (40) was constructed future Anglo-Muslim rapport and reapproachment. During the period, Hunter's work on the Indian Muslims was an eye opener to a select few who thought of the lot of that community from social economic and educational angles. But for Ahmed's effort, the Governor General of India laid the foundation stone of the Mohemden Anglo oriental college at Aligarh which became the centre from where the leaders of Aligarh projected their policies for safeguarding the interests of the Muslim community. An exhibition of political separation began.

But, when Bengal was partitioned in the year 1905, a complete division was marked in the behaviour of both the communities. The Muslims attended the thanks giving prayers (41) organised to celebrate the establishment of the new province. It culminated in the establishment of the Muslim League on 30th December, 1906 at Dacca to promote the feeling of loyalty to the British government, to protect and advance the political interests of the Muslims. The League emphasised the ~~harm~~ bond of religion and believed that Hindus and Muslims formed two separate nations and democratic government and share in administration would be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims. Consequently, the Muslims should regard the British paramountcy (42) as the chief safeguard.

The very foundation of the League was based on the communal feelings which were just opposite to the Congress

policy which prevailed throughout the period till the partition was achieved. The Morley Minto reforms of 1909 provided the Muslims a separate electorate just within three years of the birth of the Muslim League.

Gandhi's view on Religion:

Religion played a significant role for Gandhi. Gandhi expressed in his autobiography that he could not think of politics apart from religion. He repeated in 1940 'I still hold the view (43) that I can not conceive of politics as divorced from religion.' He also advanced reasons in support of his preference for Hinduism. He was attracted to Hinduism because 'Hinduism did not derive its name from any prophet or teacher although it counted some of the greatest within its field'. In his words : 'My religion is Hinduism which, for me, is the religion of humanity and includes the best of all the religions known to me'. He added, 'I am being led to my religion by truth and non-violence i.e. love in the broadest sense of the term'. (44) Gandhi's religion did not take him to a cave in the Himalayas and he declared, he did not know any religion apart from human activity. To him, different religions were 'different roads converging to the same point' and as such 'a belief in the moral governance of the universe, transcending Hinduism, Christianity and Islam'. (45) Thus his religion was Hinduism to serve humanity based on truth and non-violence.

Gandhi established a close linkage between morality and religion. To Gandhi, 'an examination of the world's religion

showed that without morality religion could not subsist. To him, true morality, true civilisation and true progress always moved together. So Gandhi observed, 'there is nothing wrong in calling morality a religion'.⁽⁴⁶⁾ He further pointed out the close linkage between the society and morality. So long^{as} a man remained selfish and did not care for the happiness of others, he was no better than an animal. In his words : 'this applies to the religion of man that he should be of some service to others', and added, 'according to this no nation can rule another nation for selfish ends.'⁽⁴⁷⁾ Thus his concept of nationalism and internationalism depended on the moral nature of man and moral governance of society. Gandhi also mentioned the moral laws and compared them with the temporal laws and held, 'these moral laws are immutable and do not change so rapidly and therefore moral laws carry much more weight'. As a true moralist, his conception of religion was based on morality and if any one lost his moral base he ceased to be religious. In his words : 'there is no such thing as religion overriding morality'.⁽⁴⁸⁾ He broke with conservatism in his concept of religion by adding moral strength to it. Because to him true morality consisted 'not in following the beaten track, but in finding out the true path for ourselves and in fearlessly following it.'⁽⁴⁹⁾

To him, veneration for other religions and faiths was the same as for his own religion. He wrote, 'In God's house there are many mansions and they are equally holy.'⁽⁵⁰⁾ So he wanted to retain all the religions based on fellow-feeling,

morality but never believed in one universal religions. He believed in the fundamental unity of all the religions and equality of all religions for 'truth is not the monopoly of any particular religion'.⁽⁵¹⁾ We should remember that he was a saint of action rather than a saint of contemplation. He was throughout concerned with Hindu Muslim relations. Indian nationalism found its highest expression in Gandhi and he rightly understood that no social and political question could be separated from religion. He, therefore, found out the equilibrium suitably balanced than to discard religion outright. He was building nationalism on the basis of harmonious co-operation, co-existence and reconciliation rather on the basis of assimilation or amalgamation or fusion of different religions. Until his death, he was engaged in settling the problem of communalism. Even his prayer meetings communicated social economic and political view points. In his religion, there was no use of hereditary priests or of the established religious institutions. To a people, famishing and idle the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear 'is work and wage'. He held, 'to serve India is to serve its poor. God we can not see with our own eyes; it would do if we serve those we can see. The object of our public life is to serve the visible God that is poor'. In this scheme, he took the service to the untouchables, whom he referred as 'Harijans' (the children of God) and published a weekly paper 'Harijan'. Thus Gandhi preferred co-existence of people on the ground of religion. His religion was humanism based on morality where moral laws governed the man, the society

and the world. Each and every man had the independence to practise his own religion. His attachment to Hinduism helped him to cure Hinduism of its evil like untouchability on the other hand, he fought for 'Khilafat', the Muslim cause.

He recommended secularism as ^a political ideology to be followed in India. He was opposed to state aid partly or wholly, to religious bodies. He did not believe in the state religion even though the whole community had one religion', so, 'with Gandhi living and preaching in the way he did it became very difficult for the Hindu communalists to propagate anti-Muslim ideas'. (52) Gandhi was convinced that a state based primarily on adherence to a particular religion was worse than undemocratic', Donald Smith, added 'Gandhian non-exclusive Hindu philosophy also played a major role'. (53)

Role of Gandhi in the establishment of Hindu-Muslim Unity:

It was in South Africa that Gandhi's indoctrination in nationalism was confirmed. His success in South Africa encouraged him to launch movement against British imperialism in India. Religion did't bar him to have link with other religious communities rather, he worked unitedly. His parting message from South Africa was whether you are Hindus or Muslims. Parsis or Christians, work unitedly. (54) Gandhi arrived with a philosophy of his own and a new technique of political and social agitation. He was a man who had been struggling for the

mastery of the spirit over flesh, looked upon celibacy as a way of life. His views on non-violence, his ideas of women's liberation, his pro-Muslim policy, his obsession with Hindu Muslim unity, his love for religious tolerance, insistence on leading an ascetic life were settled ...' (55) It was in South Africa that his religious consciousness reached a mature level and took a different turn.

Though the Indian National Congress had the provision that both the Hindus and Muslims could be members, the reality was different. Before Gandhi, every body inside the Congress was frankly a Hindu or a Muslim. (56) Just since the birth of the Indian National Congress, Sir Syed Ahmed appealed frankly to the fears, prejudices and self interests of his co-religionists in order to keep them away from the Congress. The Muslims threw their lot behind the nationalist struggle with a degree of enthusiasm, not known before, under the leadership of Gandhi. Despite Gandhi's anxiety not to embarrass the British during the First World War he turned critical of certain actions which he deemed unjust such as the arrest of Ali brothers and Ajad in 1915-16. Gandhi protested, because he was prompted by his desire to cultivate Hindu Muslim unity. How much such calculations affected Gandhi's outlook at this stage became also clear in his decision to attend the annual session of the Muslim League in December 1916 where he pointed out ... that unity between the two communities was an essential precondition in securing self-government.' Thus for the first time a meaningful attempt for achieving communal unity was made on the large scale.

Things went on ^{in their} ~~its~~ own way: the Khilafat movement started and the Khilafat Conference launched the non-co-operation campaign. Gandhi was this time present in Khilafat Conference of 23rd November 1919 where, on the second day, Gandhi was voted to the Chair. In January 1920, Gandhi presented the programme of non-co-operation which was accepted at the conference at Meerut a few days later. (57) It attracted Hindus and Muslims alike. The words Khilafat and Swaraj were on everybody's lips. Hindu Muslim unity was at its height.

The immediate consequences of the Khilafat movement was that on this issue of communal unity the Congress was split again and Gandhi for the next 25 years or more continuously tried for Hindu - Muslim unity. The League lost its popularity and the religious leaders dominated in the name of Khilafat committee and Jamait-ul Ulema. Religion and Politics were confused.

Edward Thompson observed, 'Mr. Gandhi took up by the greatest mistake of his career - the Khilafat agitation, on behalf of the Sultan of Turkey.' (58) The Simon Commission counted 112 major communal riots in five years (1923-27). It was estimated that the Muslims were not so much fighting for freedom for India as they were fighting for the maintenance of Khilafat, whereas for Gandhi the Khilafat was a weapon which he could use to accelerate India's advance towards Swaraj. (59) But the fact remained that for the first time both the communities worked together under the leadership of Gandhi. We can mention here one example, horrified

by the atrocities of Kohat, Gandhi reached Delhi on 14th Sept. 1924 and undertook purificatory fast for 21 days in order to achieve Hindu Muslim unity. He also kept fast on every Monday for Mopla (riot) strain.

In 1927, Simon visited India and at that time the League was split into two. At that time, Jinnah and others were ready to give up the claim of a 'separate electorate' but a storm of protest came from ^{the} Muslim, in all parts of India. Thus for the first time it became difficult to work together. The Congress, at its best tried first on the basis of pure nationalism and if that was not possible even on the basis of appeasement. Simon Commission was followed by Nehru report which seems to be more suggestive in the parting of the ways. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ But this time the differences arose between Gandhi and Ali brothers for Kohat riots. Despite many serious attempts between 1924-29, relations between the two political parties worsened and hence, it was not an easy game for Nehru committee to frame a constitution for India. It was during this period, Gandhi moved resolution of Indian Independence and the Muslims devoted their attention more anxiously to a clear definition and proper security of their position. To Gandhi, the settlement with the Muslims was a must for Indian freedom because without ending the dispute, there was no hope of getting anything from the British.

Gandhi accepted, on behalf of the Congress, all the fourteen points of Jinnah, provided the Muslim representatives

joined him in political stand for full freedom. Therefore, the Congress Working Committee in April 1931 decided to send a deputation consisting of Gandhi, Patel and Bajaj to meet the Muslim leaders to settle the Communal question. Nothing happened. According to Ajad, Gandhi's approach to Jinnah ... gave a new and added importance to him which he later exploited to the full. (61) Ajad could have analysed the situation much better, 'but on the other-hand when we go through the views of Gandhi, we find the situation more complicated than Ajad had described.' (62) The Round Table Conference was convened to settle the communal problem. But the Hindu Muslim antagonism wrecked the Conference because 'there never was a minority problem like this in the history of the world'. (63) In the meantime, Gandhi had talks with Irwin, the Governor General of India, before going to attend Round Table Conference and clearly emphasised that the Congress was not prepared to attend without an assurance that discussion would concentrate on full independence. Instead of going to attend the First Round Table Conference, he launched civil disobedience movement. That ultimately led Lord Irwin to meet Gandhi culminating in Gandhi Irwin Pact. From the Congress point of view, this pact was regarded successful and for Gandhi his leadership was again established and without him the first Round Table Conference failed. Gandhi met the Viceroy on equal terms and it was claimed to be triumph of Indian nationalism. But this created in the minds of ^{the} Muslims serious apprehension.

Gandhi represented the Congress as ^{the} sole delegate in

the Second Round Table Conference. Before going to London, he met Muslim representatives at Bhopal in May, in order to settle the Communal problem but without any progress. Again in July 1931, the Congress Working Committee held its meeting and assured the minorities in clear terms the fundamental rights to culture, religion, script, education etc. Furthermore, Gandhi reassured acceptance of 14 points of Jinnah. It is in 1931 when at Karanchi, the Congress adopted : 'the state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions'.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Before going to London, Gandhi wrote, 'Indian culture is therefore Indian it is neither Hindu, Islamic or any other wholly.'⁽⁶⁵⁾ One significant factor also deserved attention, as to the role of the Christians, who like Muslims, found it difficult to join political movement, but for the fact they served extraterritorial loyalty.

On the whole, in the Second Round Table Conference, Gandhi claimed that the Congress alone represented India. Gandhi reiterated, all other parties represent sectional interests Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India, all interests. It is no communal organisation; it is a determined enemy of communalism in any shape or form. Congress knows no distinction of race, colour or creed; its platform is universal ... it does represent all the minorities which have lodged their claim here.

Ironically, the Round Table Conference led to deeper conflict. Ambedkar held 'If Pakistan is a settlement it is a proposition worth consideration'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ However, Gandhi was very clear

and justified towards his policy. The result was the communal Award, published on 10th August 1932, splitting even the Congress from where Malviya and Aney resigned. Defending his argument Gandhi added 'divided we must fall. Any Third power may easily enslave India so long Hindus and Muslims are ready to cut each other's throat'.⁽⁶⁷⁾ But, 'there were forces working behind the scenes which made any such settlement impossible.'⁽⁶⁸⁾ There was 'rather obvious understanding and alliance between the more intransigent Moslems and certainly particular undemocratic British political Circle ... From Warren Hasting's time onwards men made no bones of the pleasure the Hindu Moslem conflict gave them : Even such men as El phinstone, Malcolm and Matcalfe admitted its value to the British.'⁽⁶⁹⁾ Consequently, the second session ended without any communal settlement. The communal award was published on the 10th August 1931. It was the Second occasion when the British government gave the Muslims more than they asked for.

Even though Gandhi was criticised, without the Congress, his attempt for communal unity continued. One such venture was anti-Communal Award conference in February 1933 at Delhi. The position of Gandhi was very clearly explained by Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Gandhi didn't like many of the communal demands ... but still he offered to accept the whole lot of them ... if the Muslim delegates there gained forces with him and the Congress on the political issues that is independence.'⁽⁷⁰⁾ The view is further supported in Gandhi's works : 'I am the same to Musalman to-day that I was in 1920-22 - Gandhi continued, 'I should be just as

prepared to lay down my life as I was in Delhi to achieve an organic unity and permanent peace between them, and I hope and pray that there will be, as the result of this upheaval, a spontaneous move in this direction, and then surely other communities can no longer stand out.' (71)

With the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935, Indian history took a new course as it provided an All India Federation of autonomous provinces and princely states. For, this election took place in 1937 and the result was Congress secured overwhelming majority, the League failed to secure majority even in Punjab and Bengal where the Muslims comprised the majority. The Muslims accepted the office followed by the Congress at the instance of Gandhi. The immediate effect to the Congress advent to power was a sharp increase in communal hatred and Hindu Muslim antagonism.

Jinnah thought that Muslim League was the only representative of the Muslims in India and the Congress should recognise the fact. However, a number of letters were exchanged between Congress leaders such as : Nehru, Bose, Prasad and Jinnah but of no use. For assessing earnestness and sincerity of Gandhi, some lines of his letters would speak for themselves. In a letter dated May 22, 1937 he wrote, 'My faith in unity is as bright as ever, only I see no day-light out of the impenetrable darkness'. In another letter dated October 19, 1937 Gandhi mentioned, 'The whole of your speech is declaration of war. Only

I have hoped you would reserve poor me as a bridge between the two. I see that you want no bridge. I am sorry. It takes two to make a quarrel. You wont find me one'. Gandhi always wanted to accept the demands of the Muslims. In another letter, dated February 3, 1938, Gandhi wrote 'The proposals to form a basis for unity between the two communities, has surely got to come from you ... It is the cry of a friend, not of an opponent'. In another letter dated January 16, 1940, Gandhi wrote, 'I do not mind your opposition to the Congress. But you plan to amalgamate, all the parties opposed to Congress'. Thus for three years he wrote letter after letter sincerely trying to achieve communal unity and always moving the Congress to sacrifice something in favour of the demands of the Muslims. Jinnah, on the other hand, kept on changing his stand sometimes expressing 'India is not a nation' and the League the only representative of the Muslims and in 1940, the parting of the ways.

In March 1940, the Lahore Resolution was passed reiterating Government of India Act of 1935 as totally unsuitable and hence requested to reconsider whole plan so that areas in which Muslims were in majority should be autonomous and sovereign. About two weeks later Gandhi wrote that the Muslim League had created a baffling situation at Lahore. (72) He still continued for unity. The partition of India was a personal triumph for Jinnah. Now he was invited by the Viceroy to discuss Indian problems with him. Sir Stafford Cripps, came to India with

his proposals, but they were unacceptable to the Congress because it supported Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. (73) Gandhi, taking into account British design as one of the important factors, launched 'Quit India Movement' in August 1942 i.e. just within 6 months of Cripps's arrival. But Gandhi was arrested and on release from jail in 1944, tried to talk with Jinnah on Rajaji's formula as the basis. He did not agree with Jinnah's formula of two nations. The year 1944 has a great importance in the history of the communal problem of India because it was perhaps the last effort of Gandhi on behalf of the Congress to have talks with Jinnah to find out the solution.

During his talk with Jinnah in 1944, he tried his best and ultimately proposed in his letter dated 24th September 1944, that a plebiscite be held to ascertain whether people liked separation but Jinnah refused. Gandhi held, that his impression was that Jinnah did not want a settlement till he consolidated such position that he could dictate his terms to all parties including the ruler. (74) The controversy arose again at Simla Conference in June and July 1945. The Congress as a matter of principle opposed communal representation but agreed to accept it as temporary arrangement. The League would not agree unless the entire Muslim quota consisted of the League. The conference broke down. But this time the League, unlike 1937, had captured 425 out of 441 Muslim seats. As if

'one had contested the election on the basis of a united India, (75)
the other on the basis of a partitioned India'.

The Simla Conference was followed by the Cabinet Mission in 1946. The Cabinet Mission Plan ruled out the possibility of Pakistan and suggested a federation at the centre having foreign affairs, defence, communication and the finance required for these subjects and vested all other powers to the provinces and a constituent Assembly was proposed. The League accepted the plan in the hope of Pakistan and the Congress accepted with certain reservations. Ultimately, the League also withdrew its acceptance. Lord Mountbatten succeeded Lord Wavell in February 1947 and British Prime Minister Lord Attlee declared that the transfer of power would take place not later than June 1948. Mountbatten plan was accepted by all the parties concerned and finally became the basis of the Government of India Act of 1947. The power was transferred on 15th August 1947 with the separation and birth of a new nation.

Gandhi was totally against the partition and declared; (76)
'I have called it untruth. There can be no compromise with it.'
Gandhi wanted to cement nationalism to make it one, Jinnah wanted to use the dynamite of religion to make it two. Ironically enough, 'The irreligious Jinnah wished to build a religious state.' (77) It is further testified by Mountbatten's address before the Council of Royal Society in London on October 6th 1948, 'Gandhi did't approve of any kind of partition in April

1947 and refused until his death to approve of it.' (78)

the

Gandhi still believed in Hindu Muslim unity while his comrades in arms reconciled to constituent position. Gandhi held, 'I am opposed to any division of the country now as I always have been. No body can force one to accept this division. On 7th May, he went to Mountbatten and advised him if the British left India there might be chaos for a while, we would still go through the fire no doubt but the fire would purify us. (79) Gandhi saw no Pakistan was possible unless the British created it. But no body listened to Gandhi. So he took partition as a spiritual tragedy and held, 'I can not participate in the celebration of 15th August 1947' and proceeded to Calcutta on 9th August 1947. The city was riot stricken. On 2nd September, he launched a fast unto death. Just within two days, the situation became normal. On 4th, he drank a glass of sweet lime juice handed by Suhrawardy. On this Mountbatten complemented : 'our one man boundary force by his presence in Calcutta controlled the communal rioting whereas 55 thousand soldiers stationed in Punjab had been unable to prevent rioting there. After getting Calcutta normal, he proceeded to Punjab, where communal riots had spread and a great influx of refugees had started. But in Delhi, the situation was beyond control so Gandhi gave himself to the task of bringing Delhi to its senses. He went without escort to the camps where refugees lived without taking care of his health and devoted his time to serve them. He told the prayer meeting 'I will not rest till

every Muslim in the Indian union who wishes to be a loyal citizen of the union is back in his home'.

Gandhi might have preached a sermon or sent a message, but month after month, he tried to restore communal harmony in Noakhali. 'Do and die' was his slogan there. Do meant Hindus and Muslims should learn to live together in peace and amity or 'I should die in the attempt. (80) He tried to restore communal normalcy in Bihar. But his last attempt was fast at Delhi. His fast had restored normalcy in Calcutta and his presence reduced mass killing in Delhi. All these turned to be the 'seed of conscience and the source of hope'. He undertook the fast to break it only when Delhi became peaceful in the real sense of the term. It was during this fast/^{that} he got 55 crores Pakistan's due transferred. This showed that the moral force of one man whose desire to serve was greater than his attachment of life.' (81)

On the second day of the fast, Gandhi witnessed a bomb was thrown at from near^{his} garden-wall in his prayer meeting. The man was Madanlal, who had been evicted from the shelter he had in a mosque. Later, on 30th January, he was shot by Godse for the reason that Gandhi was siding with the Muslims. Thus, a life ended to the cause of achievement of Hindu Muslim unity, the task he undertook in south Africa and continued till the last moment of his life. One can share Nehru's view 'that the light shown in the country was not ordinary light'. He stands the only example who never deviated from his stand of Hindu-Muslim unity and

did't accept partition as solution.'

As has been observed, the Muslim attitude towards Indian nationalism was first and foremost shaped by the perception of their own identity, guided by their notion of superiority that since 12th century they ruled the sub-continent. But under British rule, particularly in the economic sector, they lacked capital, entrepreneurial skills and experiences to compete with the Hindus. Consequently, this brought far-reaching effect. The another venue for social mobility was education where they were late to arrive. 'Their abstension from English education served as a potential for Muslim seperation. Smith's argument that Muslim's separation could't have attained the strength that it did 'had the Muslim and Hindu sections of the classes concerned been at the same economic level'.⁽⁸²⁾ Syed Ahmed in his leadership brought about rapport and rapproachment with the Raj founding the Aligarh movement. So the last phase of the 19th cenutry revealed British Muslim rapport as counterpoise to growing clamour of political rights by the Hindus, under the banner of Indian National Congress. Aligarh leaders could forge these Muslim elites into a viable opposition to the Congress.

The emergence of institutionalisation of muslim politics in the shape of the Muslim League in 1906, followed by the Indian Council Act of 1909, which provided statutory recognition to the muslim demand for seperate electorates and weightage in the Indian Legislature formed the base for Hindu

Muslim antagonistic relationship. The publication of the Nehru Report touched off a heated controversy among ^{the} Muslim leaders in the country followed by the Round Table Conferences, and the Muslims thought it prudent to discuss with British than with the Congress the solution. It was Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act of 1935, for which election in the year 1937 took place defeating Muslim League candidates even in the provinces where the Muslims were in majority. The result was the demand of Pakistan formally placed in Lahore in 1940. Cripps Mission failed followed by talks in Simla, which also failed. This time Cabinet Mission came and in spite of disagreement formed a constitutional arrangement rejecting the partition plan. Wavell faced a lot of problems in the formation of the interim government of course both ^{the} Congress and the League joined. Mounthatten came and put forward creation of two autonomous states which was accepted.

The whole history of Hindu-Muslim relations under British rule clearly revealed that both the communities failed to achieve unity at any point of time. The Muslims, right from the Aligarh movement, never took India's independence as their goal on the otherhand they supported the British rule so that they would not be ruled by ^{the} Hindu Majority. Thus Indian nationalism was either Hindu nationalism or Muslim nationalism. Hindu nationalism was represented by Indian national Congress and the League represented Muslim aspirations. The relation, as we have seen in

the history, could not be softened because there was fundamental ^{the} difference in policy and aims between the Congress and/Muslim, League 'By all canons of international Law, Jinnah held, 'we are a nation, were a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, Legal Laws and moral codes, customs and calender, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. (83)

There can be no doubt about the fact that Gandhi understood the relations between the two communities as well as the role of the British government in wooing the Muslims against the nationalist movement. What for he tried Hindu Muslim unity is a question which deserves answer. To Gandhi, partition was a bad history so he didn't accept it and as such was not present in the celebration of independence. To him, the Muslim were not ^{and} aliens. Alike Britishers/India was their home. He found 'no parallel in the history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock'. (84)

His logic for support of Hindu Muslim unity was his conception of secularism. It is important to remind ourselves to-day, from the vintage point of the 1990s, that Gandhi was not, as a religious thinker, fighting a battle against the inroads of secularism as many theologians feel they are doing to-day. Gandhi was, in fact throughout his life, concerned with very secular goals. (85) He was a protestant, in a challenging sense, whether

within the individual or society. Though references of scriptures are found in the boyhood, 'But this did't mean that in boyhood he had any living faith in God. He was somewhat inclined towards atheism or agnosticism. But from the discourses his father had with the priests on other religions, he learnt to be tolerant to other religions. (86) In case of understanding Gandhi's secularism, a proper assessment can be had only in the background of the epic struggle of South Africa. What we found the religion did not bar him to establish linkage with other religious communities.

While in Africa, he came into contact with people of other religions such as, Muslims, Christians and Buddhists. In 1909 he asserted that his life was devoted to demonstrating that co-operation between the two is an indispensable condition for the salvation of India. Not only this, he wrote about the plight of Muslims in South African Jail to private secretary of the Secretary of State for India, on 18th September 1909, where the Muslims had no place for their prayer and no facilities to observe the Ramjan fast. Thus, he fought for the fundamental right of religion of every man which is the basis of modern democracy. In Hind Swaraj, he wrote, India can not cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it ... In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India. So to regard him not supporter of secularism does not fit in. He was quite upto

date in believing that the principle of 'one religion' can not be the basis of the formation of nation. In 1940, Gandhi wrote, I would any day prefer Muslim rule to British Rule.

C. Economic Ideas on Nationalism:

Gandhi was thinking and acting in terms of a social order in which the moral, social, economic and political orders were all but part of an integrated whole. The instrument which Gandhi used for the purpose was the constructive work, divorced from politics, but consciously linked with the worker's and people's mind to their political goal.

To Gandhi, the life of man consisted of those activities which could not be divided. In his words : 'I claim that human mind and human society is not divided into watertight compartments called social political and religious. All act and react upon another'. In this light, he explained 'Swaraj'; 'Let there be no doubt about my conception of Swaraj. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one hand you have the political independence, at the other the economic'.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Three days before his death, he reiterated the Congress won political freedom, but it had yet to win economic freedom, social freedom, and the moral freedom. Thus, he was addressed to economic freedom, throughout his life. For that he did not provide certain copy book maxims, rather it was grounded on his experiences. The remedies he suggested came out of the

reality that confronted him. Spratt is right when he remarked ;
'His social and economic proposals have to be understood in rela-
(88)
tion to circumstances'.

A Gandhian 'man' is the micro-unit of the socio-economic system and his concept of social welfare totally depended on morality and ethics. To him that economics is untrue which ignored or disregarded morality and moral values. According to Gandhi 'true economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worst its name, must
(89)
at the same time be also good economics.' After Gandhi, true economics stands for social justice promoting the good of all including the weakest and is indispensable for a decent life. The strong plea for ethical values which is the first brick on which the whole edifice of entire Gandhian economy rests.

Primacy of man, his well-being, growth and unfoldment, has to be the primary object of the economy in all its aspects, the 'end', the 'means', and the 'measure' of the productive efforts and results. This applies to the use of machinery, machinery for man, and not man for machinery, which is the cardinal principle of mechanical production. Further, he pointed out that industrialisation, which involved mass production, depends on centralisation of initiatives, policy decision and power. Concentration of authority in the economy as a whole is undesirable and has to be reduced to the minimum. Industrialisation, even socialised, involved concentration of economic and political

power. This has to be avoided. Decentralisation will have to be promoted and realised to the utmost. In his scheme, this process of decentralisation would develop in agro-industrial economy consisting of small communities, in which agriculture and small industries would develop in terms of real need and resources. Emphasis would be on the maximum utilisation of labour force amounting to self-sufficiency. Small producers stood for economic and social democracy, reduction of inequalities within a very limited range and decentralised initiative.

Gandhi's economic doctrine was also that of investment in human capital. One could easily derive from his voluminous writings and speeches, covering a wide range of topics and issues, such as health, education and training, technological progress, economic and social development that he always insisted on investment in human capital. (90) In terms of measurability of yield and the use of resources, he prescribed human capital formation. As such, Gandhian philosophy 'is much broader and balanced'. (91)

The
In Gandhian concept of economy, 'works performed in the service of other human being, is 'bread - labour'. This principle was taken from 'Unto the Last', which meant, 'the good of the individual is contained in the good of all'. The lawyer's work has the same value as the barbar's; the life of labour is worth living. Gandhi reacted to this, 'I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice.' (92) From that day onward, he believed and put this principle into practice. To him,

'the labour is not only for oneself but for others, when and when only alone it becomes Yagna or sacrifice,' The spirit behind this has labour of love. According to him, 'men will, no doubt, do many other things, either through their body or through their minds, but all this will be labour of love, for the common good'.⁽⁹³⁾ The work turned to be sacrifice and which 'conduces to the most to the welfare of the greatest number in the widest area.'⁽⁹⁴⁾ He suggested : 'If we cultivate this habit of doing this service deliberately, our desire for service will steadily grow stronger and will make not only for our own happiness, but that of the world at large.'⁽⁹⁵⁾ His scheme applied equally to the whole of humanity. 'If every body lived by the sweat of his brow, the earth would become paradise.'⁽⁹⁶⁾

He always thought in terms of humanity and his sources were also multi-national. But originally, he made experiments in India. In his words : 'I have indeed wept to see the stark poverty and unemployment in our country, but I confess our own negligence and ignorance are largely responsible for it, we donot know the dignity of labour as such.'⁽⁹⁷⁾ He preached 'Swadeshi', for gaining independence and elimination of imperialism containing the features : the religious, political and economic - a deeply national ideology. His concept of 'economic freedom was composite one partly economic, partly moral and partly spiritual.'⁽⁹⁸⁾

Gandhi wanted to rebuild India on the basis of his own conception of society and history'. To Gandhi, history has been

the record of the march of man from Himsa (violence) to Ahimsa (non-violence), from cannibalism to the present stage. Gandhi held, 'If we believe that mankind has steadily progressed towards Ahimsa, it followed that it has to progress towards it still further.'⁽⁹⁹⁾ His economic views had been structured on non-violence and that was his contribution to the whole world. In his words : 'I have been leading for the last fifty years for a conscious acceptance of the law and its jealous practice even in the face of the failure'.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ That is why, he always insisted if one took care of means the attainment of the goal was assured. He added, the attainment of goal would be in exact proportion to the purity of means.

Further, Gandhi's economic thinking was based on the principle of equality. His idea of society was that men were born equal and had right to equal opportunity. Economic equality was the masterkey. Everybody should have enough for his or her own needs. In his words : 'let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, because the former needed more, will be idle sophistry and travesty of my argument'.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ However, his scheme included that 'all the doctors, lawyers, teachers and others would get the same wages for all honest day's work'.⁽¹⁰²⁾ To Spratt, his protest was not so much against wealth as against inequality.⁽¹⁰³⁾ He was not satisfied with only equality in production but also insisted on equal distribution. He asserted : 'my ideal is equal

distribution, but so far as I can see it is not to be realised. (104)
I, therefore, work for equitable distribution'. Every human being had a right to live and therefore to find wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. In assuring this he prescribed ; 'you and I must adjust our wants and even undergo voluntary starvation in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed'. He did not want to dispossess those who have got possessions but his expectation was that those who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule. To him, the accumulation of wealth for personal end was immoral and ran counter to his idea of non-possession and 'aparigraha'. He suggested that 'we are thieves in a way if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more (105) there would be no pauperism in the world'. Dandavate rightly held ^{that} his insistence not to overlook human values in the midst of material progress and his emphasis on limiting one's wants have great relevance in this connection. Gandhi's views (106) in this regard deserve deeper understanding and appreciation.'

A Critique of Capitalism:

Gandhi recognised 'Capital' as well as 'labour' equally essential for the production and hence interdependent. To him, 'there is no natural antagonism between them. ... but (107) their mutual relations will be subject to constant change. After him, the Lordship of capitalists over labour was immoral.

He branded them as thieves because they took more than they required, denying the millions their due share. His account totally disapproved the grabbing of surplus by the capitalists and hence he was quite alive to the exploitation perpetuated by the capitalists. He held the workers were many while the number of capitalists was much less. But while the capitalists were well organised labours were not. Hence the labours should be conscious of their strength and should learn the secret of combination. Only 'then' it would rule capital instead of being ruled by it. (108) Further he added : 'If the capital is power, so is the work. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realises his strength, he is in a position to be a co-sharer with the capitalists instead of remaining his slave'. (109)

In 1927, in reply to Saklatwala's letter Gandhi mentioned that 'The idea is to take from capital labour's due share and no more, and this not by paralysing capital, but by reform among labourers from within and by their self-consciousness; not again through cleverness and manoeuvring of non-labour leaders, but by educating labour to evolve its own leadership and its own self-reliant self-existing organisation'. He added that 'Labour ... must not become pawn in the hands of the politician on the political chess-board. He showed his respect for dissent in the following words, 'it is not given to all of us to agree with one another in all our opinions failed to act as trustees' Gandhi prescribed the use of non-violence technique to change their hearts. Many sided constructive activities were the limbs

of Gandhian ideology but trusteeship was its very life-breath. His association with the capitalists was interpreted differently. However, in an interview to Fischer, he expressed ; 'our gratitude to our millionaire friends does not prevent us from saying such things, as no compensation to zamindars.'⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Gandhi clearly mentioned; 'I would not dispossess moneyed men by force, but would invite their cooperation in process of conversion to state ownership'.⁽¹¹¹⁾ This remark of Gandhi brought him nearer to socialistic ideas. In the last stage, when a section of Congress men subscribed to socialism, he also began to call himself a socialist but certainly he maintained difference in the choice of his methods. Spratt observed, 'there is no insincerity or mere vulgar opportunism in it. It is due to sensitiveness to the feelings and thought of community and his sincere response.'⁽¹¹²⁾

Thus trusteeship was addressed to transformation of capitalist order into an egalitarian one. But, to his critic Hiren Mukherjee, Gandhi was at the same time conservative and revolutionary - he did not, for example, deny the moral validity of the institution of the rich, as such, though he sought to change the nature of its working, and ultimately even to eliminate it. Mukherjee explained : 'Gandhi's contribution was not so much in the sphere of bringing about actual and far reaching change' as in rousing social consciousness about the necessity of such change.'⁽¹¹³⁾ Prof. Mukherjee, an eminent Marxist, is right when he evaluates Gandhi's role in arousing consciousness to be very

important. It is the consciousness of people which is much more important in both demanding and achieving the desired goal. It is their participatory role based on certain value-based movement, if possible, peacefully, which makes Gandhi very much relevant for the time to come. Dr. Lohia, an eminent socialist, saw some affinity and kinship in between communism and capitalism. Lohia believed that communism borrowed from capitalism its forces of production, that were centralisation oriented, and sought to alter only the relations of production', and hence, 'for the developing world both capitalism as well as communism tended to become irrelevant'. On the background of the horrors of centralisation in the political and economic fields, Gandhi's concept of decentralisation of economy and devolution of power offers a ray of hope.

(114)

To claim Gandhi as pro-capitalist would be wrong, because he opposed accumulation of property and did not recognise right to property more than what would be permitted by the society. He was in favour of providing decent wage to each and everyone minimising the gap in term of 'bread labour' theory. The production he suggested, should be guided by the social necessity and equitable distribution, if not equal. In the later stage, he even approved legislation to curb property. However, the views expressed by T.K.V. Unnithan seems to be appropriate, to a greater extent, when he suggests, 'May be for the fact, that he (Gandhi) ignored it or tolerated in as a result of his convic-

tion that any attempt to question it would result in violence.'

Let us conclude with Sardesai who wrote : 'but of one thing I feel certain, with all his belief in love, persuasion and non-violence he would have never reconciled himself to the cynical and greedy exploitation of the poor by the rich, he would have always continued to stand by the poor against the rich, but in his own way.'⁽¹¹⁶⁾ So Gandhi's economic thinking stands for the emancipation of the neglected.

Economic Programme:

Village uplift was Gandhi's first concern and his thinking had pronounced rural bias. He was quite conscious of the fact that the majority of the Indians were villagers and they were leading very miserable life. In his words : 'no sophistry, no jugglery in figures, can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. Gandhi felt no doubt whatsoever, that both England and town-dwellers in India would have to answer ... for the crime against humanity'⁽¹¹⁷⁾ which was perhaps unequal in history.

He mentioned that three millions had to remain satisfied with one meal a day, so it was asin to amass wealth. Since 85% of the Indian population lived in villages their economic and social reconstruction was a sine qua non for freedom. He was pained to see how under imperialism, the centre of gravity had shifted from seven hundred thousand villages to a few cities,

dominated by a parasitic class of brokers between the colonial rulers and the Indian people, the landlords, the millioners, the moneyed men, the professional classes and the government servants. Gandhi lamented these cities served the evil purpose of drawing the life blood of the village. (118)

As we know, whatever Gandhi preached, he preached only after practising it himself. He settled in a village 'Sevagram' and started a number of institutions to take up the various strands of social and economic upliftment. His lessons included : to turn waste into wealth; education of the villagers in reviving village industries, village schools, to keep their village clean and to practise nutrition. This spelt his design of decentralisation of production through the revival of the cottage industries based on the principle of non-violent transformation into assisting democratic culture to grow right from the village Republics. Jone held, "Mahatma discarded the socialist armour of the west and took simple pebbles out of his national brook". (119) But Sardesai commented, 'it is given to everyone of us to tender the same respect for the opinions and actions of our fellows as we expect for our own.' (120)

Gandhi wanted the workers' participation in the management, and instead of remaining slave expected, they should remain co-sharer. Endowments of better ability and larger resources did not permit the capitalists to privilege of using these for personal gains. Gandhi expressed, 'what belongs to me is the right to

an honourable livelihood, not better than enjoyed by millions of others, the rest of my wealth belongs to the community.' ⁽¹²¹⁾ To him, all property was the gift of nature of products of social living and as such they did not belong to the individual but to the society.

He did not like state control over economy. So he advocated decentralisation of economy in thousands of villages closely linked to decentralisation of political power which was basic to Gandhi's idea of a non-violent society. ⁽¹²²⁾ He apprehended that the increase in the power of the state would result in the destruction of individuality. In his words : 'I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear because, although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress. ⁽¹²³⁾ His fear has been aptly proved in socialist countries. He argued that there was no feasible way in which the exploitation could be avoided in imperialism based on industrialism. He pointed out that all the sources of modern imperialism generated exploitation. Due to the nature of the production in western countries, limitless desire for increase production and increased consumption became responsible for colonial possessions and they were moving with the same goal in India. It is proved, 'they entered India for the purpose of the trade. They remained in it for the same purpose.' He cited out the example of Napoleon who took Briti- ⁽¹²⁴⁾ shers 'as a nation of shopkeepers'. Essentially, politi-

cian and active leader of the national freedom movement, he noticed the growing conflicts between the peasants and the landlords, the workers and the mill-owners and felt to solve them. In doing so, he advanced certain programmes which were quite different from others. His actions sprang from the inner recesses of his soul. Human life was his laboratory and he refused the glory of the machine. The political structure he suggested and the decentralised economy for which he stood aimed at making the village the pivot of all powers, political as well as economic. (125)

Trusteeship.

Since all forms of property and human accomplishments were either gift of nature or products of social living, they, therefore, did not belong to individual but to the Society. So the rising of the standard of the poor by changing the attitude of the rich would ensure that the capitalists served as a trustee. Every person should look upon his mental or physical talents or material wealth as a trust for society. It was not optional but obligatory. This transference from private ownership to trust ownership did not entitle claim for compensation. The tenure of trusteeship was not permanent - rather a transitory, leading to co-operativization of large scale property. The trustees were entitled to remuneration subject to the consent of the workers and sanction of the state to the amount mutually agreed upon. So was the case with the workers, they were entitled not for their personal aggrandisement but for the benefit of the society as a

whole. It provided capitalists the genuine opportunity to use their experiences and talents for the common good.

Thus, while all property was theft to Proudhon, all property was trust to Gandhi. Gandhi would say, he had no partiality to return to primitive methods; but he suggested the return to primitive methods 'because there is no otherway of giving employment to the millions of villagers who are living in idleness! (126) The fundamental problem of Indian economy, as Gandhi saw it, was unemployment and underemployment. So he warned technological determinism which had engulfed the world should be avoided. As per him, dead machines should not be employed against living machines. 'The common impression that he was opposed in principle to technology is erroneous; (127) Nehru explained the view of Gandhi, 'you talk about the machine, well I am not against the machine; he would say, but we have thirty crore machines in India, why should we not use them' (128).

Khadi:

To Gandhi, Khadi was one such programme. In his words: 'Khadi is the true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers, until such time, if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate system of wages for every able bodied person, is found for his field, cottage or even factory in everyone of the villages of India.' (129) The Khadi Industry of Gandhi's vision had no room for surplus or the profit rent and interest. The industry was in the hands of spinners and was very much sustainable

with the increasing population. Time to time, he justified Khadi. In 1921, when Khadi was started on the large scale he claimed for Charkha, the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural simple, inexpensive and business like manners. Commenting on Khadi, Philip Zealey held, the programme was stroke of genius, nationally it provided a rallying symbol of the humblest villager and to some extent it could check the rural underdevelopment. To Zealey, 'of all the non-violent weapons forged by Gandhi, Khadi was the nearest moral equivalent of the infantryman's rifle. It was conducive to national solidarity'.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Khadi was a technique which bridged the gap between the elites and illiterates, to give up westernised dress, to prove the dignity of the labour and to the wearer, a new feeling of community of freedom fighters, and emotional identification with an ever widening circle of patriots. The All India Spinners Association, had in a period of ten years, extended its activities to 53000 villagers and provided employment to 220,000 spinners, 20,000 weavers and 20,000 carders, and disbursed two crores of rupees in Indian villages. ... which represented the solid work. G.D.H. Cole, 'well known British economist concluded that Khadi, 'was not a mere fad of a romantic eager to revive the past, but a practical attempt to relieve poverty and uplift the standard of Indian villages.'⁽¹³¹⁾

Peasants and Landlords:

The particular socio-economic context of colonial

rule was under the control of landlords, big and small tax collectors, watchmen and guards, consuming surplus product produced by the cultivators. The Union of zaminders and moneylenders, was an unmitigated disaster. The British land policy in India was a plunderous tax policy followed by industry capital policy of feudal receivers of rent in the shape of zaminders obtaining their loyal allies. There was permanent settlement of zaminders in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and temporarily settled zaminders in U.P. along with Roytbari in the Punjab, Bombay and Madras. In spite of (132) all-oppressive scenes peasants were not organised.

The largest popular element of the nation was peasantry roughly about 85% of the total population. It was Gandhian ideology which opened up the historical possibilities for its appropriation into evolving political structure of the Indian State. To Partha Chatterjee, 'Gandhism provided for the first time in Indian politics an ideological basis for including the whole people within (133) the political nation'. In doing so, he had to face the problem of landlord-tenants relationship. But according to Gandhi, the exploitation of the peasants could not be removed until and unless the peasants were conscious of their strength and organised. the method was non-violence.

It was in Banaras, as early as 1916, where he condemned the luxury of the zaminders. He addressed, 'I feel like saying to these noblemen (landlords) there is no salvation for India unless you strip of yourself of the Jewellery and hold it in trust for

Your countrymen in India'. And the idea hardened in 1936, when he reiterated, 'what can the poor zaminder do when the tenants say they will simply not work the land unless they are paid enough to feed, clothe and educate themselves and their children in a decent manner if the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power'.⁽¹³⁴⁾ In June 1942, in an interview to Louis Fisher he asserted, 'No, that (compensation) would not be possible' our gratitude to our millionaire friends does not prevent us from saying such thing.⁽¹³⁵⁾ He started saying since 1937, 'all lands belong to Gopal, in modern language, to the state.'

Unlike Marx, Lenin and Stalin, he opposed collectivization though he asserted, 'land should belong to the cultivator and no cultivator should have more land than is necessary to support his family in a fair standard of living.'⁽¹³⁶⁾ He favoured, 'voluntary co-operation of the peasants as an ideal alternative to the self-centred individualism, of the peasant on the one hand and dehumanising experiment of forced collectivisation on the other. 'It may be recalled', points out Dandavate, 'many non-violent battles of the peasants had to be fought before a powerful public opinion for the abolition of zamindari system'.⁽¹³⁹⁾

Though Gandhi was oblivious to class struggle, he opted for persuasion and the organisation of Trusteeship. What attracted him most was his attempt for infusing consciousness

among the deprived people and to ask them to be organised so that their strength far superior to the landlords and capitalists would fetch the desired result. This technique had one other plus point i.e. the participation of the people on the largest scale in the movement. Its accompaniment with the non-violent means, further, assured its success since it was the power of the people. So Gandhi held : 'Public opinion for which one cares, is a mightiest force, than that of the gun-powder.' (438) To him, this can be achieved through satyagraha because it strived to reach the reason through heart and that was to awaken the public opinion.

Sarvodaya:

The most important feature of Gandhian ideology was its social idea of 'Sarvodaya' or the welfare of the all. Sarvodaya, was above all, committed to the task of bringing about fundamental social changes in favour of the unprivileged ~~humanity~~ humanity. Gandhi honestly and sincerely integrated struggle against colonialism. Sarvodaya was a move in the said direction.

Sarvodaya attached moral values that he sought to evolve in a social political and economic order, where the humblest, poorest the lowliest could become the ruler. He stood for the perestroika. Sarvodaya had its own world-view, view of history, philosophy, of social relations of technology and

values. His emphasis that it was through service to humanity that one should try to seek self-realisation, formed the basis of his concept of Sarvodaya. It meant to him the greatest good of all i.e. Sarvodaya which included social, political and moral emanipation.

As an ethical absolutist, Gandhi rejected the Benthamite formula. In his words : 'A votary of ahimsa cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula, instead he would strive for the good of all. In Mahadeb Desai's diary, he is reported to have asserted : 'I do not believe in the doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number. In its nakedness, in order to achieve the supposed good of 51% the interest of 49% should be sacrificed. (139) It is a heartless doctrine, and has done harm to humanity.

Sarvodaya is emphatic on the values of freedom, equality, justice and fraternity but opposed to the state. Gandhi wanted that it be based on the moral authority of the people i.e. moral sovereignty of the people. It is not possible to achieve any success through developing the power of the state. (140) Sarvodaya scheme did not favour party democracy.

In its world view, 'Sarvodaya is based on the concept of the unity of existence. and taught universal love as the only law of life, Sarvodaya is 'a comprehensive, social, economic, political, moral, and spiritual philosophy.' (141)

Marxists do not support his idea of Sarvodaya; rather,

they claim it to be a reformist measure. Kaviraj, held that the view of Soviet scholar, O Martysin, is not borne by facts who wrote, 'the popular and peasant ideal of Gandhi's Sarvodaya should not be confused with the bourgeois concept of the welfare State'. Sarvodaya aims at establishing public ownership of the means of production and abolishing exploitation of class by class, caste by caste and man by man. Against that, Kaviraj opined, 'So what Gandhi wanted was not a peasant utopia or peasant socialism or anything of that kind.'⁽¹⁴²⁾ However, the fact remained, Gandhi believed, all social efforts should be directed towards the all round development of the lowliest i.e. landless, labours, small peasants, petty craftsmen, untouchables and tribals in terms of freedom, equality, independence and relative comfort, quite consistent with the principles of justice and equality'. Gunnar Myrdal described Gandhi's message as : 'radically egalitarian, and added that he was ' a true westernised liberal, indeed a radical and revolutionary, whose demand for drastic changes in the social and economic order was heard throughout the subcontinent'⁽¹⁴³⁾.

In evaluating Gandhian political economy, one should take into account his two major tasks, one to get political freedom and the other to prescribe certain ways through which socially, morally politically and economically Indians could march ahead. In doing so, he produced a compact analysis and suggested some new measures.

To him, mere 'political swaraj' could not be the

substitute of true swaraj, in a society, which was under alien and aggressive political authority on the one hand and on the other, with a poor, weak, disunited and stratified social order. He declared, complete political independence from alien control, and at the sametime complete economic freedom. So he reiterated, time and again, that mere political freedom would not do and added that the system under British rule had to be restructured. If Britishers went back and their system continued there would be no difference. What Gandhi asserted was the need of the economic regeneration on anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and also anti-stalinist model. He did not subscribe to the then prevailing models rather supplemented them with his own. Partha Chatterjee has rightly held, 'it would indeed be gross error to regard Gandhi as merely another peasant intellectual' and adds, in its critique of civil society, Gandhism adopted a stand-point that lay entirely outside the thematic of post-Enlightenment thought. Gandhism was the ideology, conceived as the intervention in the elite-nationalist discourse of the time. In historical context, one could estimate the achievement, 'Perhaps the most important historical task for a successful revolution in a country like India.'

(144)

As an ideology, 'Sarvodaya' surpassed the utilitarian formula. Though 'he is dubbed as a social obscurrantist and reactionary for his social economic philosophy but little effort has been made to assess his socio-economic though in its correct perspective'. A fact based study would reveal 'that in no other

subject did Gandhi's view undergo such a progressive change' . (145)
Admittedly, Gandhi did not formulate a doctrine, his economic view tried to establish a relationship between economics and ethics, between man and his environment, man and machine, between labour and capital, between village and town.

There are some critics who regard his movement against imperialism revolutionary, but his social out-look reactionary. Gandhi's economic thought outgrew the vehemence of 'Hind Swaraj'. His attitude to mechanisation was not based on blind prejudice. To solve chronic unemployment and underemployment, he preferred to use machine only when it was essential and would remark ; dead machinery should not be used against the thirty crores living machines. He talked of village-swaraj which would ensure that each village was self-sufficient. Nanda Observed, Economists may have laughed at Gandhi's ideas in his lifetime, but they do so no longer. His conception of development related to man as a whole. His theory of trusteeship was offered as an alternative to both capitalism and communism. But he was radical and original in his support to the down-trodden. In his words : 'if the landlords, the zamindars, moneyed men, and those who are enjoying privileges - I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians - If they find discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them but I will not help them. It will be a battle between the haves and have-nots'. (146) So the cause of the deprived was uppermost in his mind which he tried to solve non-violently, but his attitude hardened when he found the response from the capitalist end not-so-much-encouraging.

However, he has been criticised on the ground that he may sound theoretically good, ^{but} it is not yet made practicable. The concept of minimum want has also broadened. The modern world society, growing in intellectual, technological scientific, disciplines favour global growth due to world wide net-work of commerce and communication. So it is not positive brand of economics but a variant normative economics. Just opposite view is also placed that technology, as a source of economic growth, is often a fiction which covers up material degradation of nature and the related decline in the material standard of living of the majority of people'. The other internal contradiction, inherent in capitalist technology, between the growth of capitalism and the destruction of the resources and the ecological balance, has become the central issues in Indian political life. (147)

Thus, it would be quite wrong to judge 'Gandhi's economic views from the standard of western ideology. Whether one accepts Gandhi's solution or not, it must be conceded that his reaction against factory-civilisation and his plea for substitution of the same by self-sufficing decentralised village economy was ultimately rooted in his revulsion against concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, had an egalitarian humanistic content'. (148)

D. Political Ideas on Nationalism:

Gandhi's acceptance of 'Ahimsa' as an 'end' and a 'means' in all social ideas, application of 'Sarvodaya' in social, political and economic spheres, belief in God and toleration of all religions, formed the core of his egalitarian attitude to social philosophy. In guiding national movement, he did not subscribe to any particular political ideology advanced so far. One finds, that the problematic of nationalism under him has been shaped out of the thematic of universalism. And his solutions too 'is much meant to be universal, applicable as much to the countries of West as to nations such as India. (149)

Here, first of all, an attempt is made to assess the character of his movement and to judge how far it was democratic because democracy is the adjunct of nationalism and as such nationalism is inconceivable without democracy. The right to self-determination champions democracy. Nationalism provided the first scope of raising collective grievances. To Gandhi, history provided such an example in which there was no real involvement of the larger section of people in the violent struggle. He launched non-violent movements in the shape of non-co-operation movement, no tax campaign, strikes, hartals ensuring the highest and the widest participation of people. Due to such movements he had been able to achieve, when general Smuts, in South Africa, had conceded certain demands of Indians settled there. He retur-

ned to India with living experience of non-violent method and broadened people's participation making his struggle more democratic and participatory on Indian scene.

Gandhian Movements : Democracy:

In India, it was Champaran where he launched peasant movement and could end indigo-planters tyranny, the movement of Bardoli with no tax campaign and the Ahmedabad movement of labours. The technique of non-violence was adopted in 1920, 1930, 1940, 1942 which compelled Britishers to vacate India. This was a glowing tribute to the methodology of Gandhi in galvanising nation's latent power of resistance.' These movements had the largest participation of the people and as such they were truly democratic movements. The feature of his movement was that it attracted rich and poor, right and left, rural and urban, Hindu and Muslim alike making it to be the widest participatory movement. It was not reflecting the class character rather it was the mass movement. Describing the merits of the movement, Prof. Dandavate held that 'in the form of the struggle as well as in the social reconstruction instead of depending on the state he took straight to the people'. The Technique of non-violent mass action brought vast section of people within the ambit of struggle either directly or indirectly. (150)

Gandhi's leadership effected a sharp break, with the style of politics being practised before, by the Indian National

Congress. What gave these events a new dimension, and thereby made their impact more cataclysmic, was the technique that Gandhi deployed in welding-together diverse groups in Indian politics such as , traders, workers, peasants and low castes along with Muslims into the non-cooperation movement. Indian nationalism under the upheavals of 1920 had thus ceased to be the concern solely of the educated and the bourgeoisie concentrated in the urban centres. Thus mass based movement along with the mass orientation of Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi emerged on the scene.

But the evaluation of the movement, which was certainly mass-based and democratic, had been made differently by different scholars. M. N. Roy, the pioneer Marxist, did not give any credit to Gandhi. In his words : 'The powder magazine was there and Gandhi set fire to it.' (151) Namboodripad held:

'Here was a movement in which a band of selfless individuals from the middle and upper classes identified themselves with and roused the common people against the powers-that-be in order to secure some well-defined demands'. (152) Dange interpreted that

'it was the Indian masses in their revolutionary mission that made Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi, the Mahatma, and not the other way round'. Mohit Sen, the other Marxist held , 'it is to be regretted that more farsighted capitalists in India could clearly understand Gandhi than the representative of the working class. Without being conscious of it, the representatives of working class in India were following M. N. Roy rather than Lenin.' (153)

This showed that the Marxists tried to evaluate Gandhi from the class analysis context. But no one denied that the mass movement in 1920 in the shape of non-co-operation launched by Gandhi was having such a wider participation. A Soviet Marxist Scholar, M.A. Persists, mentioned : 'Gandhi (who) was sincerely concerned about the welfare of his people, especially the peasantry, which he regarded as the main force. ... realised that the success of the liberation movement depended upon the struggle of the masses for the satisfaction of their basic needs.'⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

Movements : Political, Social and Economic:

Gandhi also led social and economic movements. His insistence over building up a Web of centres of constructive activities, like Khadi, village industries and many others, campaigns for removal of untouchability proved to be the basis of mass contact for the strengthening of unity and integrity of the populace to the cause of nationalism. It helped to carry on the movement of national reconstruction as well as the attainment of national liberation. It further provided orientation to the people without depending on the state, an exercise to build democratic awareness, Pyarelal nicely summed up : 'The instrument which Gandhi used for the purpose was that of the constructive work, divorced from politics but consciously linked in the worker's and people's mind to their political goal.'⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

Gandhi organised Indian National Congress as a mass

organisation. The different movements launched under his leadership were ; peasant movement, labour movements, and also the movement of the political freedom. He was the first Congress leader who took the cause of Khilafat i.e. of the Muslims and for the first time brought Hindu and Muslims together under his leadership. So to reiterate that 'Nineteen hundred and twenty represents a watershed in the history of India nationalism'⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ is quite meaningful. His attempt for the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity, based on his conception of secularism, was his major contribution. Even his critic Mohit Sen held : 'As for Gandhi's political programme especially his stress on Hindu Muslim unity, and the eradication of untouchability, it is again the left, particularly the communist who are the heirs.'⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Gandhi held, 'Religion is a personal matter and if we succeed in confining it to the personal plane, all would be well in our political life'.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

His method of non-co-operation based on non-violence was an attempt to awaken the masses to a sense of their dignity and to be fearless. It emboldened to secure justice no matter the ruler was the strong and exploiting the people. His movement was not restricted to political freedom but was launched for social change. In the words of Gandhi : 'by swaraj I mean the government of India by the consent of the people' and added, 'under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest'. Freedom to him, was political, economic and social and that could be achieved only when inequalities, dependency and fear were removed. Democracy was instrumental to his larger

goals of non-violence and freedom. Mohit Sen held that the techniques used by Gandhi, 'while not invented by him and while existing in embryonic forms in earlier phases ... were sharpened and perfected. These too are the progressive parts of Gandhian legacy.' He further mentioned that the left and communists 'have done more than utilising Gandhian technique of struggle and infusing them with a new content.'⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Lewi evaluated Gandhian movement and held, 'it stemmed from the practice of traditional Hindu virtues, such as renunciation, fasting, penance, celibacy and simplicity in speech food and dress.'⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Whatever the background, the mass content was very logically expressed by Brown, she rejected such explanation which ascribed Gandhi's charismatic appeal responsible for the success of his movement. On the other hand she held, that was veiled to only a section of people, the lower class people. But Gandhi's success was due to involvement of the people who were 'new to politics and came both from politically backward provinces and regions and groups within the presidencies, which previously provided few members of the political elite.'⁽¹⁶¹⁾ However, the fact remained that eminent leaders and intellectual giants like M.L. Nehru, J. L. Nehru, Lajpat Rai, C.R. Das, Rajgopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Subhash Chandra Bose also worked under his leadership. On the other hand, a study of Gandhian movement revealed that it was ~~was~~^{an} unprecedented mass-movement. Marxists criticised his movement on the ground that it was a bourgeois

movement and non-violent method was not altogether responsible for the attainment of India's freedom. Non-marxists did not regard him to be pro-bourgeoisie but took him to be a traditionalist who tried to find everything wrong with the modernity. However, we may safely regard his movement was a democratic movement and could claim his ideology different from the traditional liberalism of the west. The fact remained Gandhi had worked for the day when the violence would be outlawed in the inter-state conflicts. He knew that even in his party there were many who were opposed to non-violent technique. The initial acceptance of his method was due to the fact that 'he offered an alternative to constitutional agitation and terrorism, both of which had failed to make a real dent on the imperialist structure in India.' (162)

Gandhi believed in the sovereignty of the people. To him, any government was in power because the people allowed that government to stay. So the life of the government depended on active and tacit support of the people and no government could function without it. To him British ruled India because Indians allowed them to rule. In his words : 'The English have not taken India, we have given it to them.' During the second world war he appealed to the Germans, Britons and Japanese alike, to come forward and to check the war. Furthermore, with the help of method of non-violence, as he wanted to achieve freedom, equality and progress of the people. His scheme of non-violence was so devised that 'they contributed to the enrichment of the lives of

the individuals who participated in the struggle'.

He did not believe only in the sovereignty of the people but also took care of ensuring it. In his struggle and social reconstruction Gandhi awarded little importance to the state on the otherhand he encouraged local initiatives from the grass-root level. His insistence over, decentralisation of economy and political power amply demonstrated his support to the role of people.

In his scheme, he made an essential distinction between the state and society and opined that the government could not be more important than the people. Politics to him was not as important as social and moral upliftment of the people. Before Gandhi formulated his philosophy Tagore had emulated Vivekananda's tradition, 'first in the sharp demarcation ~~between~~ between the society and the state and the second in associating the society with Indian civilisation and the state with British.' (164) But the fact remained that Gandhi described it on a greater length with far more clarity which formed the basis of his conception of democracy. The distinction between the state power and people's power has been one of the legacies of Gandhi which was advanced by Vinoba and JayaPrakash. Gandhi repeatedly emphasised the supremacy of people's power, Evaluating the parliamentary democracy, J.P. Narain opined that India institutionalised a form of government that lacked both traditional and theoretical support, electorate system represented the wishes of the informed

public, served only a fragment of the body politic confusing voters who were manipulated by highly powerful, centrally controlled and financed political parties. But the most serious fault of parliamentary democracy lay in its inherent centralism. He proposed, the main remedy for this is to scrap the parliamentary system and replace it by communitarian democracy and decentralised political economy.' (165) The prevailing condition in our country amply bears testimony to this and all over the world decentralisation is being focussed upon.

State:

The State manifested violence in a concentrated and organised way. The main target of attack was the amoral, coercive state. He maintained that the state was a soulless machine and amoral and added that politics 'encircled us like the coil of snake and there was no limit to power in the modern state. According to Gandhi, 'it does ^{the} greatest harm to the mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress.' (166) His was an idealist description of the state but he was the first among them to reduce the authority of the state. Unlike Hegel, state is not the march of God, nor, 'will, not force, is the basis of the state, as propounded by Green was valid to him. To him, state was a soulless machine.

His account of the state revealed that the state

was a means of exploitation both at national and international levels. The violent state, to him, was the agency of exploitation. To him, the accumulation of capital was 'impossible, except through the violent means'. To him, the society of the future was to be a society in which there was to be no distinction between rich and poor, or colour and colour, or country and country'. In his words : 'it is my firm conviction that if the state suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself.' (167) So even for the improvement of the exploited he did not favour the use of violence. Thus he did not endorse Marxian method of violent change on the one hand and on the other the centralization of state power.

To him, political power was a means to a better condition of life but when national life became perfect it ceased to be important. State never provided satisfactory account. So he explained : 'But on the political field the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing unjust laws'. (168) Thus, when the state failed to safeguard the interest of the people it was wise to curtail its power. He proceeded further and remarked for the ideal state, therefore, there was no need of political power. The ideal is never fully realised. Hence he endorsed the classical statement of Thoreau, 'that government is the best which governs the least'. (169) Thus he wanted to retain state only because ideal stage was not always achieved. Gandhi in order to curtail the authority of the state, proposed decentralisation

right from the grass-root level in the shape of village panchayat so that effective power remained with the people. In his words: 'in this structure, composed of innumerable villages, there will be everwidening, never ascending circles, life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be oceanic circle whose centre will be individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole become one ... Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it.' (170) So, Dandavate reiterated: there is not the least doubt that in an age in which we are witnessing the evils of economic and political centralisation, Gandhi's call to strengthen power at the grass-root level alone will sustain and strengthen democracy.' (171)

Gandhi elaborated the picture by the outline of the village government. Here there was perfect democracy based on individual freedom. The individual was the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence ruled him and his government. He and his villages were able to defy the might of the world ... This reflected in him the tradition of Kropotkin and Tolstoy, in accrediting lesser role to the state, On the other hand, equally important, this placed him 'squarely in line with the thought of Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Tagore, who shared with him the suspicion of state authority and a firm desire for its decentralisa-

tion based on their common attitudes towards politics and power. To him, however, it was inconsistent with a non-violent structure of the society. Though Gandhi did not delineate the precise functions that would be retained by the Central government; the important point was that Gandhi advocated for independent India 'The maximum, possible decentralisation of the political and economic power and resources of the State'.⁽¹⁷³⁾ Vinoba and Jay Prakash Narayan enriched this aspect of Gandhism. J. P. Narayan reiterated that the worst evils of power come only when it was centralised. In his words : the problem is always with the concentration of too much power in the hands of a small group of persons, with more and more powers concentrated in the hands of the executive,⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ which in reality means one person, the Prime Minister. He suggested^{that} the first aim should be to diffuse political and economic power on decentralised politico-economic structure.

Critique of Western Democracy:

These ideas he structured on the reading of western democracy right from the writing of 'Hind Swaraj', and found them valid with certain modifications throughout his life. He was a critique of the western democracy on the ground that the capitalist ethos and principles of utilitarianism militated against the substantive democracy in the west. He criticised the deceptive nature of western democracy. In his words : 'People of Europe have no doubt political power but no Swaraj. Asian and African nations are exploited for their partial benefit, and they on their part,

are exploited by the ruling class or caste under the sacred name
(175)
of democracy.'

Gandhi's indictment of western democracy was mainly based on three counts : exploitation of the weak by a few capitalist owners ; expansion of capitalism resulting into the exploitation of the weaker peoples; white racialism. In a talk to Louis Fischer, Gandhi remarked, 'America and Britain are great nations but their greatness will count as dust before the bar of
(176)
dumb humanity, whether African or Asiatic when fascism, during the second world war, was rated greater enemy than the imperialism Gandhi did not subscribe to that Buddhadeva Bhattacharyya mentioned 'we use the word 'genius' advisedly because his was the lone voice of political prudence and maturity when confusion reigned supreme'.
(177)
Gandhi was reacting to the legitimacy claim of the capitalist state whose imperialist and fascist manifestations revealed to them the false foundations of liberal democracy. Looked at from the bottom up, the contradictions of the late capitalist state were seen earlier in the periphery than at the centre of the world capitalist system. Pantham concluded, 'the untruth of the state's claim to democratic legitimacy', which Haberman sees today in the capitalist country, was seen earlier by Gandhi in the peripheral states of south Africa and India, which were the arena
(178)
of his experiments with truthful or aesthetic politics.'

Quite early in his life, he found untrue and hypo-

critical the British imperialist's claim of civilizing and democratising the colonies rather what they did was the opposite of their claim. The condition was more or less the same in other democracies such as America and France. In an interview to an American journalist Gandhi remarked : 'no country in the world to-day shows any but patronizing regard for the weak. The weakest you say go to the wall. Take your (American) case. Your land is owned by a few capitalist owners. The same is true of south Africa. These large holdings can not be sustained except by violence, veiled if not open. Western democracy, as it functions to-day, is diluted nazism or fascism. At best it is ~~xxxxxx~~ a clock to hide the Nazi and the fascist tendencies of imperialism'. (179)

Institutions of Western Democracy:

'Hind Swaraj' contained statements on fundamental elements of Gandhi's politics. He endorsed basically the views expressed in Hind Swaraj in his autobiography published in 1928. Long after in 1939 he claimed : 'whenever I have been obliged to compare my writings even of fifty years ago with the latest, I have discovered no inconsistency between the two. (180) Partha Chatterjee, unlike Roll who took Hind Swaraj 'as the negation of progress' and Iyer who found it, 'severe condemnation of modern civilisation' prefers it to be read 'as a text on fundamental critique of the civil society is no where more valied than in his assessment of institutions of western democracy.

As we know, sovereignty lies in the parliament and the

British parliament is the mother of all the parliaments. Britain is famous for the supremacy of parliament and Rule of Law. Though a staunch supporter of democracy, Gandhi was the vehement critique of British parliament in general and of British democracy in particular. Parliament he called 'a sterile woman and a prostitute' because, being a sovereign institution it was expected that she was not swayed by outside pressures and as such was unable to legislate independently and with the change in ministry the parliament has to shift allegiance. Secondly, Gandhi pointed out that 'members vote for their party without a thought'. That meant the interest of the party got predominance over people. The leader of the House, the Prime Minister, 'was found more concerned about his power than about the parliament, people and party. He added they certainly bribed the people with honours. Gandhi remarked : 'I do not hesitate to say that they have neither real honesty nor living conscience'. He further explained that individual identity and initiative were totally lost in the parliamentary system.

Gandhi also took into account the position of the voters and asserted that they were fed by different newspapers whose views reflected their support to particular political parties. In his words : 'the same fact is differently interpreted by different newspaper according to the party in whose interests they are edited.'⁽¹⁸²⁾ He also mentioned of the arrangement of parties, receptions to the voters. Long after i.e. in the year 1942, in an interview to Fischer, he mentioned that 'parliamentary

democracy is not immune to corruption'. (183)

Besides, 'the Rule of Law' appeared to Gandhi, as a deceptive principle of British democratic system. In his words : 'the lawyers, therefore, will as a rule, advance quarrels instead of representing them'. (184) Besides, the legal fiction 'equality before law' and the supposed neutrality of state institutions perpetuated the inequalities and divisions continuing in the society. So he pointed out : ' I do not think that a free India will function like the other countries of the world. We have our own forms to contribute.' (185)

The rule of majority had a narrow application in the sense it failed to guard the individual liberty on the one hand and on the other, it had ignored the great mass in the western countries. In his words: 'the rule of the majority has a narrow application, i.e. one should yield to majority in matters of detail ... Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion or action is jealously guarded. (186) At one place he explained the rule of majority might opt for terrorism. But here again, he showed his practical insight and explained : 'to support the majority however that support was not subject to the compromise of individuality and fundamentals. So Gandhi asserted, 'I have found by experience that, if I wish to live in society and still retain my independence, I must limit the points of utter independence to matters of first rate importance. In all others, which do not involve a departure for one's

personal religion, or moral code, one must yield to the majority.'
(187)

Gandhi posed certain basic questions as to the weakness of the majority rule, Could the rule of 51% of the electorate be equated with genuine democracy? Had the law of conscience any place in term of majority rule? Was not the minority protection responsibility of the majority? (188) He held, 'the rule of majority when it becomes coercive is as intolerable as that of bureaucratic minority'. He had no high regard for the quantitative principles of democracy but even then so long as better political system did not replace it, he preferred democracy. In 1931 he declared: 'I am wedded to adult suffrage.' (189) In 1947 he reiterated 'As to the franchise he supported franchise of all adults, male and female' i.e. universal adult suffrage.

Despite Gandhi's opposition to so many defects of western democracy he held, 'I realise that despite my views there will be a central government administration. However, I do not believe in the accepted western form of democracy with its universal voting for parliamentary representatives'. This was the answer which he gave to Fischer. What he aspired was 'True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked about from below by the people of every village.' (190) Time has amply proved the farsightedness of Gandhi at least in India where more emphasis is being given on

grass-root planning and village panchayat, after the failure of system in India, to achieve social, economic, political and moral freedom of the majority Indians.

Political Party:

Gandhi was not favourably disposed to party system, because he did not want the intermediaries between the government and the people. He could not assign the high position to political parties in the politics of England. The role of political parties diminished in the British Political system. Furthermore, he heard from various quarters that ever since the acceptance of office in 1937, the Congress was abandoning its tradition of penance, sacrifice and service and was becoming an organisation of selfish power seekers. Naturally, Gandhi was not happy with the prevailing situation in the party. Gandhi apprehended that they would fall prey to white goondas of society in whose hands all power would pass. (191)

When India got freedom, Gandhi was very much disturbed about the future of ^{the} Indian National Congress. Though the Congress had won political freedom but it had yet to win economic, social and moral freedom. Gandhi believed these freedoms were harder to achieve than the political freedom. In order to achieve these goals he wanted to reorganise and revitalise the organisation. He emphasised the membership where 'no fake names get in and no legitimate name is left out.' He suggested that the organisa-

tion should have the proper representation of the villagers because it was mainly comprised of the city dweller 'so ranks must be filled in increasing members from villages. (192)

Lok Sevak Sangha:

Gandhi took politics to be the service, and expected only dedicated souls would join to serve the society. If the Congress was unable to rise to the occasion many parties might come to serve the people, 'but the very best will win'. To him this situation was the second best. However his views hardened and in the last public document of his life he suggested in order to achieve social moral and economic independence of 7000,000 villages, the Indian national Congress he banned and a 'Lok Sevak Sangha' he formed in place of the Congress. (193)

The composition of the Lok Sevak Sangha would start from the village electing five members and out of the two village panchayats i.e. out of ten members one leader would be elected. So out of 100 village panchayat 50 first grade members would be elected and the process will continue so long they cover whole of India. Every member shall be a habitual wearer of Khadi, and be a teetotaler, must abjure untouchability, believe in the inter-communal unity having equal regard for all the irrespective of race, creed or sex.

Apart from adhering to the above mentioned programme, they were to make village self-supportive through their agricul-

ture and handicrafts. It was their duty to educate the villagers in sanitation and hygiene, to impart functional education, to include every name entitled to voters list, and other functions to be added from time to time.

He, further, requested to affiliate A.I.S.I., A.I. VIA. Hindusthan Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh and Goseva Sangh, the autonomous bodies to Lok Sevak Sangh. In finance they were supposed to collect money from the villagers and others with special stress on poor. (194)

This proposed organisation of Gandhi wanted to secure political, economic, social and moral freedom of the villagers through the effort of the villagers themselves not depending on the state. This could have been a unique experiment in democracy from the grass-root level as well as a different organisation with so many features.

Democracy as an ethical concept and a way of social life:

Democracy is explained as a 'form of government', a form of state, a 'form of ethical life' and 'a way of social life'. To Gandhi, democracy came as an ethical concept, and a way of social life, destined to help individual in moral, economic, social and political upliftment. To him democracy came as a means to achieve non-violence and through non-violence freedom. Like democracy political power was a means to better the condition of human life which could be possible only when it was based

non-violence. The overriding tone in Gandhi's discussion of politics was of its subordinate or inferior status and the 'work of social reform or self purification of this nature was a hundred time dearer to him. He had an abiding faith in non-violence and (195) 'Gandhi is best known for his theory of non-violence'. Democracy, was instrumental to his larger goals of non-violence and freedom. Since institutional foundations of society promoted inequalities, dependency and fear he insisted the main thrust should be over the reconstruction of the society through non-violent means. The real purpose of democracy was 'under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest' (196) which can be possible only when the government was not based on force.

But to Gandhi, the reform of the society was integral part. Gandhian methodology of change was guided by his attitude to individual and society. Because, in the struggle as well as social reconstruction he provided little role to the state rather encouraged men to fight the unjust laws and policies of the government. He expected, on the other hand, individuals to undertake the work of reconstruction so that political, economic, social and moral freedom i.e. square of freedom according to Gandhi, could be achieved. As we have seen, he took force and coercion at the disposal of the state chiefly responsible for exploitation, dependence and fear of the people and suggested that individual should march ahead with their faith in peaceful means. In his words : 'I look upon in increase in the power of

the state with the greatest fear because it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality', which lay at the root of all progress. (197)

Individual Freedom:

In order to estimate the status of individual in terms of freedom let us have a brief resume of his conception on freedom. Gandhi employed the term Swaraj in its specific and generic sense as an organic and integral view of freedom, both for the individual and the mass. To him : 'Swaraj for me means freedom for the meanest of my countrymen. I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke'. Next year in 1925 he mentioned : no mere transference of political power will satisfy my ambition, even though I hold such transference to be a vital necessity of Indian national life.' (198) He always emphasised that the countries in Europe have political power but no swaraj. So he insisted, 'Swaraj will not come by the acquisition of capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused' i.e. swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control their authority.' (199) He believed in the sovereignty of the people and wanted the government to be regularly run by the strength of public opinion. To him 'political' would be guided by the democratic will and not the vice-versa. According to Dr. Bondurant the contribution of Gandhian theory had been not alone to the development of social and political thought and challenged the substantial presuppositions of the

mainstream of political theory.

He was not supporter of the supremacy of the parliament because the laws passed by it, reflected the interest of the ruling party. Individual lost his initiative. So his democracy was: 'I mean the government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population male or female, native born or domiciled.' (201) His concept of freedom was quite suggestive in the sense that it safeguarded individual as well as mass freedom. His concept of freedom was all inclusive political, social, economic and moral, the 'square of swaraj'. In his words : 'Let us call it the square of swaraj, which will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue'. (202) Budhadeva Bhattacharyya mentioned individual is the pillar of swaraj; ineret and emasculated people would never be able to attain freedom; fearlessness is the condition of freedom, (203) self-denial and self-restraint is the requirement of freedom. Gandhi outlined : 'It is my certain conviction that no man loses his freedom except through his own weakness' (204) was equally true for the nation and even the despotic government could not stand except for the consent of the governed. For Gandhi freedom meant that men and women should not be constrained by physical Rights : co-ercion, economic power, government or social position. He was equally conscious of the rights of the individual as well as nations. He was the champion of the rights of racially humiliated, colonially subjected economically disposed and socially depressed humanity. (205) But his scheme of rights was the moral equivalent of duty. Rights

Perfectly lay in the residence of duty. In his words : 'I learnt from my mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done' unlike utiliterians, whose preference of right exceeds duty.' Gandhi emphasised more over duty. Bondurant claimed Gandhian insistence over duty to be the legacy of Hindu tradition where even the king was supposed to perform his duty more than his claim of authority. Prof. Bhattacharyya opined : 'Gandhian rights pursue and realise values. However it would be safe to say that like freedom in his concept of rights he allowed all citizens to enjoy rights but that should lead to social good. (206) Gandhi continually connected duty with freedom and held that every one was responsible for the choices he made.'

Anglo-American liberal tradition generally insisted that individuals were the authors of their own desires and aversions and therefore only natural to pursue their interests. From a Gandhian perspective, there remained many flaws in utilitarian account, such as ; it sanctioned violence by the government, rights were enforced by the state authority and moral authority of the individual was demeaned. However, there was one place where both Gandhi and the liberate agreed that the power of the state be minimised but that too with their different intentions. Gandhi, like ^{like} liberals, believed that freedom was ~~examined~~ assaulted by the state but also pointed out that it was also assaulted on so many other fronts. Gandhi believed freedom was socially located and the obstacles to freedom came from numerous sources and he wanted to minimise the obstacles to freedom by

eliminating situations responsible for it. The liberalism ignored human needs but Gandhi insisted over the need for work. In his words : 'I must refuse to insult the naked by giving them clothes instead of giving the work, which they sorely need.'⁽²⁰⁷⁾ Gandhian freedom recognised the social basis of freedom which was self-maximising in liberal case. In his scheme of individual freedom he also emphasised the equality which meant 'that everybody should have enough for his or her needs',⁽²⁰⁸⁾ but he did not press for absolute economic equality. Equality, like democracy, was really instrumental to the goals of non-violence and freedom'. Pantham has very nicely portrayed ; 'Gandhi, compared to liberal democratic theorists, had a greater concern for individual freedom, also had a greater concern for social harmony'.⁽²⁰⁹⁾

Gandhi criticised the liberal democratic remification, objectification and technocratization of the political and alienation of the people's political rights. He also advanced the alternative of democracy⁽²¹⁰⁾ i.e. participatory democracy. To him the very essence of democracy was that every person represented all the varied interests only then both individual freedom and social harmony could be assured. Furthermore it was divorce of politics from morality which had created degradation. The moral law was superior to civil law and only through non-violence and truth one could legislate better laws. Gandhi argued if we adopted one dimensional concept of man and rely only on the structure of political machinery the stronger among the selfish would use the machinery for domination and oppression.

Gandhi's approach was essentially a moral one based on non-violence and truth having a practical application. He wanted to establish a genuine non-violent democratic society and economy. May be these views of Gandhi could be rationalised and given a more systematic form. However, writes Dandavate 'What is of importance is the General direction that aims at devolution of political and economic power and decentralisation of economy. In various schemes, structures, institutions and processes suggested by Gandhi what is relevant is not the form but the substance, not the framework but the guiding principle'. (211)

Gandhi's account of nationalism is democratic and his conception of democracy is not a traditional one. His scheme shows his regard for the sovereignty of the people with individual given the highest regards. He worked for the independence of the country not only from British rule but also from other ills of global as well as national character. It is here he took lesson from the world and contributed to not only India but to the whole world. To him India was under British rule because Indian kept them i.e. no power on earth can rule without the support of the people. Indians, mistakenly, harboured, the illusions of the so-called progressive industrial civilisation which made man a prisoner of luxury and the society captive of poverty disease, war, and suffering, not only in India but throughout the world. Furthermore, 'his criticism of the economy as long as the purpose of social production is to continually expand in order to satisfy an endless urge for consump-

tion, and as long as the process is based on ever increased mechanisation these consequences would follow inevitably! (212) His argument is universally applicable.

In case of India, he suggested that labour was in abundance and capital was scarce so small-scale and cottage industries be given a trial. However, no such seriousness in adoption of his method was given by the planning commission. The author writes 'the ominous dimension of our deepening economic crisis is a true index of the shift that has been brought about from the path shown by Gandhi'. He added Gandhian approach was simple and clear to mobilize the people to create wealth, let them develop village forests, and organic manure, dig canals and produce energy from numerous sources. Let peoples initiative be diffused as extensively as possible. He supports big capital intensive projects 'but let these be created and run by local resources', he would add. The author mentions the countries like China, Vietnam and Tanzania benefited from Gandhian type and hopes if the country has to be saved, the existing strategy of development have to be replaced by the Gandhian approach. We will have to return to Gandhi for redemption.' (213) His thought has immense relevances not only to India but also to the world.

He was a thorough-going critique of each of the constitutive features of civil society. He clearly revealed the representative government in England, the structure of parliament, the ministry, the party system and the Rule of Law simply allowed the

wealthy and powerful persons to enjoy disproportionate opportunities to manipulate. The 'rule of law' only perpetuated the inequalities and hence 'equality before law' was a misnomer. In fact this very process of law and politics which thrived on force and conflicts created a group of vested interests among politicians, State-officials and legal practitioners to perpetuate the social division. Partha Chatterjee rightly mentions the problem he has mentioned either to undermine the western culture or religion nor to show the superiority of Hindu religion. The solution he provides is valid equality to the west and the east. To him the true principles of religion are one.

Furthermore, Gandhi was concerned with the practical organisational questions of political movement. In doing so he advances 'nationalism' which stood upon a critique of the very idea of civil society, a movement supported by the bourgeoisie which rejected the idea of progress, the ideology of political organisation fighting for the creation of a modern national state' (214) and it was his contribution that he reconciled these two contradictory aspects.

II

Gandhi's Ideas on Internationalism:

Man is the central figure in Gandhi's political thought and 'Love of man', not hatred, the motive force behind his concept of nationalism and internationalism. He drew inspiration from his dominant belief in the fundamental unity of humanity. 'Love of man impelled Gandhi to be both a nationalist and internationalist' (215) He was all for 'individual' and stood against all establishments, against all wrong-doings concerning individual. His approach was individual-moral, since he believed that human heart held the key to all social and political dynamics. (216) This helped him to erect political boundaries on moral support. Though he did not visit foreign countries to spread his message yet he had to express his views on various international issues. People from different countries also came to see him and he was also in correspondence with people from abroad. His audience was thus not confined to the East, it included the people of the West as well.

Gandhi's views on religion also helped him to believe that all religions helped to extend notion of international brotherhood, having no demarcated frontiers to protect. In his words : 'My religion has no geographical limits. If I have living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India. (217) After eleven years, he reiterated the same , 'There is no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across state made frontiers. God never made these frontiers.' (218)

Concept of 'the nature of the man' stood at the root

of humanism. The Indian Renaissance never turned the mind and achievement of man away from the absolute, personal or

(219)
impersonal. To Gandhi, India was doomed unless reconsti-

tuted on the basis of new moral and political principles and in doing so, his thinking became quite co-herent and embraced

international problems as well. In his words : 'My awadeshi teaches me that by being born in it and having inherited her

(Indian) culture, I am fittest to serve her and she has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive; it

(220)
is not calculated to hurt another nation but to benefit all.

He repeatedly claimed that a man could serve his neighbours as well as humanity. Nationalism is the first indication of the people's emerging social consciousness of which exclusiveness is seen as the common feature. But

Gandhi's nationalism was not exclusive rather it was intense internationalism. Swadeshi to him was the guide to universal

brotherhood. In his words : 'patriotism is the same as humanity, I am a patriotic because I am human and humane. It is

(221)
not exclusive.' His national movement was meant for the

whole world and not for India alone. 'If the movement that I seek to represent has vitality in it and has divine blessing

(222)
upon it, it will permeate whole world'. His humanism had

no hatred for others. Whether it was possible to love one's own country without hating others ? Gandhi reiterated that he faced the same question since 1894 and had always spoken

fearlessly of the many misdeeds of the British Government, the corrupt nature of the very system that ruled India. But, 'If I am true to mankind if I am true to humanity, I must understand that all the faults human flesh is heir to ... Yet in spite of vices, not hate but even love them.' He called British rule 'satanic' but even then his nationalism was humanitarian and internationalism extension of the same. In his words : 'Let us understand what nationalism is. We want freedom for our country. We do not want sufferings for another country.' (223)

'A good action is the expression of the goodman behind it,' Smuts remarked about Gandhi, while Gandhi was prepared to go all out for the cause which he championed, he never forgot the human background of the situation, never lost temper and succumbed to hate. (224)

as the

A. Nationalism/basis of Internationalism:

As a political concept nationalism came to him as the basis for internationalism. His idea of nationalism embraced 'mass' making it democratic in participation. As a practical politician, he could link independence of India to the furtherance of the cause of humanity. It was proof of his genius that he could integrate his philosophical faith with political acumen. He tried hard to lead India away from narrow and exclusive concept of Jingo-nationalism. He was quite aware of the fact that 'the world has shrunk to a pin-head, on which the slightest movement on one spot affects the whole'. (225) But he did not preach abstract internationa-

lism without being nationalist. Internationalism is possible only when nationalism is a fact ... It is not nationalism that is evil, it is narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness ... which is evil'. He continued that the profit at the expense of other nations, had become the order of the day and if he made India a good nation only then he would be able and justified in serving humanity. In his words : 'I should be untrue to my maker if I failed to serve it (India) and if I do not know how to serve, then I shall never know how to serve humanity'. (226)

Gandhi was a nationalist as well as an internationalist. He never supported regionalism. He was not in favour of Africa for Africans or Asia for Asiatics. What he supported was that India should set such example by which the exploited nations of the world could learn something. The message of love should be transmitted to Europe from Asia against their sin and wickedness. He told a south African delegation, 'Asia for the Asiatics and Africa for the Africans is not a right slogan but the unity of all exploited races of the earth', and added, 'on India rests the burden of pointing the way to all the exploited races'. (227) By serving India he wanted to serve the exploited races of the world. Addressing the concluding session of the Inter-Asian Relations Conference on 2nd April 1947 in Delhi, Gandhi told, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed, all were from East and not a single man from West could match their wisdom. The west was to-day pinning for wisdom, engaged in multiplication of atom bombs, responsible for utter destruc-

of the whole world. So the message of Asia was not to be learnt through western spectacles or by imitating the atom bomb. In his words, 'if you want to give the message to the west, it must be a message of love and the message of truth. I do not want merely to appeal to your head, I want to capture your heart.' (228)

B. His world view:

Thus, he was totally opposed to regionalism and favoured one world. In reply to a question whether he believed in one world Gandhi replied: 'I will not like to live in this world if it is not to be one and added, all the representatives who have come here will strive their level best to have only one world'. (229) He further requested them not to wage war against any other country of Europe or America but to live on status of equality with other free nations. So wrote Hiren Mukherjee, a famous Marxist, 'Gandhi belongs, however, like all truly great men, not only to India but to the whole world'. (230)

In the 'Hind Swaraj', he emphasised, there was no impassable barrier between the East and the West, no such thing as western or European civilisation, but there was modern civilisation and which was purely material. His world-view showed that he took the world as one unit. To him, due to technological advancement, ^{the} British had been ruling India and increase of material comforts did not, in any way whatsoever,

conduce to moral growth. Though his views on 'industrialism' and machinery underwent changes, he moved within the matrix of values as postulated in Hind Swaraj. (231) Gandhi's antagonism, to a greater extent, was the result of the politics of persecution and racial discrimination of ruling white group in South Africa. The situational context of Hind Swaraj became the philosophical and sociological foundation of Gandhi wherein he tried to find solution on a different note for humanity at large. However, he could not withstand the materialistic aspect of western civilisation, otherwise 'Gandhi was vitally concerned with the politico-cultural relations of the East and the West'. (232) He defined civilisation as 'the mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty.' To him, the true principles of religion or morality were universal and unchanging and truth was moral and unified. (233)

To Gandhi, the colonial encounter was not between India and Europe, but between ancient and modern civilisations. This reformulation helped him to 'affirm the unity of mankind even within colonial context.' He was able to remind modern Europe of its great historical heritage and to alert it to the growing danger of losing it and added Indians were not fighting for themselves but for the entire mankind. (234) In case of modern imperialism, morality and politics were both subordinated to primarily economic considerations which resulted into the growth of unemployment and exploitation of the

village by the city. He remarked, 'what Adam Smith has described as pure economic activity was based merely on the calculations of profit and loss and is a selfish attitude'. So what appears on surface, is not the critique of western culture or religion, or the attempt to establish superiority of Hindu religion, 'but a total moral critique of the fundamental aspects of civil society.' Partha Chatterjee is right in arriving at the conclusion, 'At this level of thought, therefore, Gandhi is not operating at all with the problematic of nationalism ... applicable as much to the countries of the west as to the nations such as India'. He adds 'not only that, what is even more striking, but equally clear, is that Gandhi does not even think within the thematic of nationalism.'

Non-violence:

Gandhi provided the compact philosophy which was equally valid and applicable to individual, nation and also in ^{the} international context. And this compactness was revealed through the method of non-violence. In his words : 'It is my ambition to provide an instance and it is my dream that my country may win the freedom through non-violence.' He held, 'in the adoption of non-violence lies the future of India and the world'. He was aware of the fact that no non-violent rebellion has so far succeeded. In his words, 'neither Jesus, nor Budha, tried non-violence in the political

sphere.' (239) It was the untravelled path which Gandhi selected to travel with the belief that it would be panacea to the ills of entire human society. 'I do justify and consider it possible in relation between man and man and nations and nations', (240) wrote Gandhi. He grew strong in his experiments of non-violence and asserted in 1946, 'Ahimsa is one of the greatest principles, which no power on earth can wipe out.' (241)

Non-violence was not a rare medicine but daily food for Gandhi. It was ^{the} panacea for all the evils and had its universal applicability. According to Gandhi, 'It might be used by individual or community 'may be offered against one's wife, or one's children, against rulers, against fellow citizens even against the whole world', (242) when applied on political scene on a mass-scale it became 'civil disobedience'. It embraced all walks of life, so Gandhi held, 'I can not be non-violent about one action of mine and violent about others! Non-violence as a method to Gandhi, was self-purification. There were two methods, explained Gandhi : 'one is that of fraud, force, and deceit, the other is that of non-violence, and held method alone interests me'. (244) According to him the first responsibility of a political leader was to strictly adhere to his principles of morality. To him, it was equally true with the masses. It was the moral failure of Indians responsible for ^{the} British rule in India, and so was the moral

failure of the modern civilisation, and to combat it, he announced, 'ahimsa should not fear the secret or open hands of imperialists.'⁽²⁴⁵⁾

Gandhi was able to evolve a method not only for a short-term resolution of conflict but for the total change of the present society. To him, non-violence was the agency through which he had tried to correct the ideologies, institutions both at national and international level. A visionary, he was claimed by many, but he was quite prolific in pointing out the ills of the present day world. Categorically he held, 'my contribution to the great problems lies in my presenting for acceptance of truth and non-violence in every walk of life, whether for individuals or nations'.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ In support of his achievement, Russian author, R. Ulyanovsky, remarked 'Gandhi was a brilliant leader of the mass non-violent method, because of the specific nature of international relations, non-violence proves to be more realistic in relations between states than in the sphere of class relations,fruitful conclusions about the need to strengthen friendship between nations and to establish just inter-state relations based on mutual respect, non-interference, and the resolution of all conflicts by means of negotiation.'⁽²⁴⁷⁾ Margaret Chatterjee favoured non-violence as a unique method of collective action, and found bankruptcy in the concept of collective action in the West. She referred to these dominant ideologies of the West such as

philosophical radicalism, utilitarianism and Marxism which failed to provide the method of collective action with mass participation. To her, Gandhi was able to provide a method based on non-class character in national movement in India, democratic in character with the people's participation at the large scale. (248)

C. His Criticism of Liberal Democracy:

Further, his method rested on purity of means. Morality and politics were merged together. No distinction was made between personal and public affairs. "What was ethically bad in an individual is equally bad for the community and a nation". Non-violence demanded sacrifice. So both the nation and the individual should be prepared to sacrifice their all except honour. He wanted freedom from political abjection, economic exploitation and social tyranny and thereby abhorred liberalism.

He criticised the liberal democracy where power belonged to a group, or to a party, or to a minority serving the interests of the strong neglecting the weak. The world is tied with economic exploitation, racial discrimination and imperialist domination due to political authority of the state. Glorification of state sovereignty based on force was exploiting the common people inside the territorial boundary. To him, the state was an organ of violence which included not only

physical coercion but also economic and social coercion. So he regarded the democracies that worked in England, America and France ^{as} were only 'so-called.' During the Second World War, he wanted to know what was the gain if the 'so-called' democracies won. His answer to the question was, war certainly would not end, since democracies had already adopted conscription and other forcible methods to compel and exact obedience. Answering a question of an American, he held, 'Western democracy as it functions today was diluted ~~max~~ nazism or fascism, at least it was merely a cloak to hide the nazi and the fascist tendencies of imperialism'. (249) The war was for the spoils and bagging of India by Britain was certainly not democracy. America kept a discreditable record of treatment of ^{the} negroes. In his words, 'it is to save such democracies that the war is being fought. There is something very hypocritical about it.' (250)

Of the two ideologies of the twentieth century, capitalism and socialism, Gandhi accepted neither; instead, he sought to evolve a new path which would attempt to minimise incentives to exploitation. And this was to be affected without the co-operation of the state and with large participation of the people in non-violent way. Thus the Gandhian praxis of the quest for communitarian truth through non-violence and self-suffering shook the foundations of both the pluralist, elitist and vanguardist bureaucratic variants of the late modern amoral, technocratic paradigm of government'. (251)

In his life and work, he emerged as antiracialist, anti-violence and finally as thorough anti-imperialist. To him nationalism had degenerated into self-aggrandisement, failed to provide economic freedom of the masses, created international rivalries for power and profit. He was the victim of colonial rule, the highest phase of capitalist exploitation and his unerring insight into the social, political, economic and much more on the moral basis led him to provide an account of imperialism generally different from others in many respects. His confrontation with imperialism was to culminate in its liquidation not only in India but in the rest of the world. (252)

D. Imperialism:

Gandhi's account of imperialism pointed out two defects of the system. First, it exploited the weak nations of the world, and secondly, it continued on the use of force. The second defect could be rectified through non-violence. The economic theory of Adam Smith, such as profit and loss did not hold good before him. The economic determinism, the spirit of imperialism, based on colonial exploitation of the world in the eyes of Gandhi, was the root of all ~~praxis~~ problems of the world. He explained the vast aggregate of private wealth in the hands of some individuals constituting the ruling class who favoured violence as a defence mechanism of perpetuating their interests. And ^{the} so-called national interests were nothing but the interests of these private:

capitalists and investors in foreign lands. To him fascism and nazism belonged to the same species as the so-called democracies. Indeed, 'fascists and nazis were the revised edition of so-called democracies.' Referring to British imperialism he expressed, 'it is like a fabled snake' Hobson and Lenin, both have discussed imperialism. Gandhi was contemporary to both, and had also explained imperialism. There is not an iota of doubt that Gandhi also understood the various facets of it and gave it a different interpretation. So Buddhadeva Bhattacharyya remarks that Gandhi did not systematically analyse the social roots of imperialism as was done by Lenin, still it can't be said for certain, that he seldom indicated capitalism as such for sustaining imperialism. (253) The fact remains that he denounced imperialism, holding it to be the outer expression of industrial democracy, dominating weak people inside and weak nations outside. Time and again, he took fascism and nazism as the revised edition of European democracy which had taken imperialist shape. He insisted on the moral bankruptcy of the so-called democracies.

Gandhi was very much addressed to 'imperialism' and his account was quite wider in connotation. It is right that his idea on imperialism changed with the change in the situation. His ideas evolved from a belief in imperialism's progressive character to a criticism of its motives and an ultimate rejection of its results. 'Experience has made me wiser', wrote Gandhi; 'I consider the existing system of government wholly bad,

I pray for its radical reconstruction or total destruction'.

Gandhi prevailed upon because he was in full engagement with life of the people and emerged as a symbol of protest against the evil of the age. He hoped, ^{that} 'with the use of non-violence the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest, the idea of superiority or inferiority will be wholly obliterated.'

E. Fascism and Nazism.

Contemporaries of Gandhi had seen both the World Wars. The Second World War was more devastating than the first. The responsibility for the same went to fascism and nazism, and, hence it had become the common practice to assess the views of any thinker of eminence about the totalitarianism as manifested under fascism. Gandhi occupied a unique position in condemning fascism and nazism, but nowhere he supported imperialism as carried on by other European powers.

Before going into details of ^{the} Gandhian views, it would be desirable to have a brief resume of fascism and nazism. Fascism represented the state as the supreme institution demanding Italians to submerge their class and individual interests to the state. Its vociferous apostles condemned every form of enslavement to the past, denounced liberalism, democracy, pacifism, quietism and everything that belonged to the past. They glorified war as the world's only hygiene. Imperialism, they believed, was an essential manifestation of

validity and renunciation thereof was a sign of weakness and death. Nazism, on the otherhand, grew out of the humiliation and despair of the German people and their feeling that any change would be for the better. Hitlerism emphasised that it was the leader, not the mass, who could improve the lot of the people. It preached ^{the} supremacy of race, despised the Jews as the most deadly enemy of Aryan race, marched for expansion on the belief that nature intended that the best land should belong to the energetic people. This way, both nazism and fascism were collectivist, authoritarian, nationalistic, militaristic and elitist in character. (255) Gandhi did not subscribe to any such idea, as preached under fascism. Furthermore, world-war was not in the interest of India because she had to share a big portion of expenditure incurred during war. The touch of fascism Gandhi felt under British Raj. In this situational context, and on the basis of his philosophy of non-violence, purity of means, international brotherhood, one should estimate his views on fascism. 'Gandhi's position was unique, in as much as, he rejected violence as a form of struggle; the word 'violence' was not to be found in his dictionary; that violence was brute force, the law of the jungle, and held non-violence a higher and purer form of struggle.' (256)

Gandhi consistently believed that war violated non-violence, the supreme law, and hence was unjustified. He wrote ^{that until} 1906, he simply relied on reason, but found ^{that} reason

failed to impress when the critical moment arrived in South Africa. He had to choose between violence or finding out some other method of meeting the crisis. 'Thus came into being the moral equivalent of war.' He held ^{that} he was loyalist, but the ^{the} disillusionment came in 1919 after the passage of Black Rowlatt Act. In 1920, he became a rebel'. In his words; 'since then the conviction has been growing upon me .. suffering is the law of human beings. War is the law of jungle'. He added, 'I and I have come to this fundamental conclusion ... (257) suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword.' His concept of non-violence was integrated to justice, war and peace. But to socialists and Marxists the war revealed moral and social justification. Gandhi would uphold justice but not through the use of force. For, allegiance to non-violence was a fundamental creed with him. In his words : 'a believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence or physical (258) force either directly or indirectly in defence of anything.'

F. Views on War:

Gandhi stood firmly for peace, but that did not mean that he was not concerned with war. He said, 'I cannot look at this butchery going on in the world with the indifference. I have the unchangeable faith that it is beneath the (259) dignity of men to resort to mutual slaughter'. Though, it might look strange, he supported the Allies in the second

World War against fascism and nazism but categorically held, 'My sympathy does not mean endorsement in any shape or form of the doctrine of the sword.'⁽²⁶⁰⁾ On the other hand, he blamed imperialists because both fascism and nazism on the one hand and imperialism on the other were responsible for this war. On the global scene both practised racial discrimination and exploitation of the poor nations. So he reiterated ; 'fascism and nazism are the revised edition of the so-called democracies.'

He denounced aggressive nationalism of nazism and fascism in no uncertain terms. His censure of nazism and fascism was the logical extension of his intense internationalism based upon international brotherhood, equality and finally the dignity of man. Right from the days of 'Hind Swaraj', he worked for a system based on non-violence, and throughout decried aggression and more so, when small and weak countries were party to that. Simultaneously, Gandhi launched severe critical overhauling against imperialism since 1920 and was bold enough to point out^{the} evils of nazism and fascism along with the imperialism, i.e. exploitation of small nations by big powers, - a philosophy which he cherished till the last moment of his life.

Gandhi's moralistic vision of the history of the Second World War was that the betrayal of the cause of Germans led to its outbreak. They, (Germans) had a rankling sense of injustice meted out to their people by the great

powers in the past ... it was the Treaty of Versailles that made Hitler. The professed aims of the first world war were the preservation of democracy, self-determination, and the freedom of small nations. But the victorious powers added largely to their colonial domains, the League was muzzled and strangled at the outset. So India National Congress resolved, 'We have no quarrel with the German people, or the Japanese people or any other people, but with the system which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression'. (261) Thus, Gandhi did not find any attempt to advance the cause of self-determination or faith in British declaration. So Gandhi was not for help in a war which was conducted on imperialist lines and which was meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere. Commenting over the Working Committee resolution, he outlined, **Freedom** of India and of all those under the British Crown were the natural corollary of British professions about democracy. Though quite conscious of British design, ^{he} was not in favour of putting pressure on England ⁱⁿ her crisis. He also appealed to Hitler, 'will you listen to appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success? Any way, I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you', Again, from Allahabad, he wrote to Hitler, 'It is quite clear that you are the only one person in the world who can prevent a war.' (262) The fact remains, Hitler could not restore the lost prestige of the World War I. Germany, on the other hand, lost again in the Second World War.

Germany was divided after the Second World War. The right of the strong to rule, and exploit the weak, centred round the colonial question, and Hitler and Mussolini were never tired of reminding that, though both were defeated.

He appealed to Hitler, although he condemned fascism, his regard and faith in morality of man led him to assume that Hitler and Mussolini were not beyond redemption. To him, 'human nature is one and unfailingly responded to the advances of love and politically ^{any} dictator would have to pay heed to the public opinion.' If a man made an intellectual error, it might cause appalling losses and sufferings but it also meant that he could correct himself. The fact remained the nazis and fascists had the same nervous system. Gandhi appealed to Hitler, because he deserved appeal from a non-violence preacher, no matter Gandhi knew the limitations of such appeal. Gregg referred to Russel and held, 'against his will he was driven to the conclusion that complete pacifism is the only possible practicable policy'. (263) Gandhi never lost faith in the people. Though he condemned Hitlerism he appealed to the Germans. In his words, 'Germans are a great and brave people, their industry, their scholarship and their bravery command the admiration of the world. One hopes that they will lead to peace movement. ... All that is needed is transmutation of this marvellous energy for the formation of the progress of the world. Hitler is one man, enjoying no more than average span

of life. He would be a spent force if he had not the backing of the people, and added ' I must refuse to believe Germans as a nation have no heart or markedly less than the other nations of the earth.' (264) Thus he had the faith in people and trust in their collective wisdom.

Gandhi also appealed to the British for cessation of hostilities because, 'war is bad in essence, and on no condition you can win the war, you will have to be more ruthless than the nazis, and hoped, you do not enter such an undignified condition with the nazis'. (265) People called him to be visionary, but taking stock of the impact of his appeal to every Britons, like Carlyle, he held : 'Well, I happen to know that many more than one single heart have touched my appeal.' (266) His appeal rested on the strength of non-violence and impartiality shown in appealing ^{to} Germans and Britons alike. Furthermore, he was not at all satisfied with the existing political system. In 1931, when Hitler was yet to take over, he asserted that the state of Mussolini might have some good points but what was required was non-co-operation, with the system. He wrote : 'I said to myself there is no state either run by Nero or Mussolini which has no good points about it; but we have to reject the whole once we decide to non-cooperate with the system.' Just as on national level, so on international level, he appealed ^{to} all the nations, victims of nazi aggression, to non-co-operate with the attacker.

To him, if the Czechs, Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English all said Hitler need not make his scientific preparations and assurance that he (Hitler) might destroy their non-violent army without tanks, battleships and airships. Hitler might have gained without fighting what he had gained after a bloody fight. Exactly the history of Europe, might (267) (but only might) have been written differently.

Gandhi also condemned ^{the} Japanese attack on China in identical fashion. He appealed to the Japanese people on 26.7.42. 'To every Japanese' he ^{requested,} 'I must confess at the outset though I have no ill will against you. I intensely dislike your attack upon China' and added: 'It was a worthy ambition of yours to take equal rank with the great powers of the world. Your aggression against China and your alliance with the Axis powers was surely an unwarranted excess of that ambition. And we are in the unique position of having to resist (268) an imperialism that we detest no less than yours and nazism.' Before that, Italy attacked Abyssinia, Gandhi asserted 'I cannot be indifferent about the war that Italy is now waging (269) against Abyssinia'. As stated earlier, he advised Abyssinians not to offer armed resistance. In reply to a question of Dr. Mott, Gandhi asserted the urgency of non-violence and expected the best minds of the world imbibed to non-violence in order to avoid meeting gangsterism. In his words; 'for, ultimately force, however justifiably used, will

Sevagram, dated June 14, 1942, that he was always felt drawn to China and reminded him of his association with the Chinese since south Africa days. He submitted, if required in the interest of China India would not insist on British withdrawal of India. It was a unique magnanimity. In his words, 'I need hardly give you my assurance that as the author of new move in India ... whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China, or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China. He concluded the letter with the words that, he looked forward to the day when free India and free China will co-operate together in friendship and brotherhood for their own good, and for the good of Asia and the world. (274)

Gandhi's affinity with the Chinese, Poles, Czechs or with anyone was cordial and uniform. He was against war and wanted its termination. He condemned imperialism of British, German, Japanese and Italian model equally. He appealed to the people, the ultimate repository of conscience, to stand against war and formulate public opinion in favour of peace. Throughout his life he practised value - based politics and expected the same even on international scene. He wanted to serve the world through India. The world did not produce any barrier to him. But one should not lose sight of the fact that he was a moral critic of the existing system. As to his criticism of imperialism 'emphasising the greed of men, such an

analysis overlooked the motivating factors of prestige and adventure which have been significantly in the history of colonialism'. It should be noted, that Gandhi's economic critique of imperialism is non-marxist in origin. Taking back to the influences ⁽²⁷⁵⁾ of Naoroji, Ruskin, Gokhale and Tolstoy', Power is right, he did not take into account the amount of prestige involved in colonialists involvement. But to him, such prestige was false because he always preferred non-possession and suffering as his tool of non-violence. He was very much comprehensive in his statement when he held: 'Satyagraha as a non-violent force, are in keeping with Gandhi's idea that Ahimsa is dynamic and not piestic reference ⁽²⁷⁶⁾ to life or non-resistence.

G. International Organisation:

Apart from his estimate of war, Gandhi showed his keen interest in the formation of an international society. He was the ardent advocate of international collaboration and co-operation. But for such collaboration he imposed the condition that every nation should be free. He favoured, 'federation of friendly independent nations' with ⁽²⁷⁷⁾ condition, to collaborate we must be free'. He held, 'better mind of the world desires to-day, not absolutely independent states warring one against another, but a federation of independent states expecting our readiness for univer-

(278)

sal independence. This view of Gandhi was based on the idea that he had not the slightest difficulty in taking into account the rapid inter-communication and growing consciousness of all mankind. So he held, 'we must recognise that our nationalism must not be ⁱⁿ consistent with progressive internationalism.' (279)

India can not stand in isolation and unaffected by what was going on in the other parts of the world'. In reply to a letter to Frydman, an advocate of world federation, he mentioned, 'I was trying to take Congress towards world federation' and hoped, 'the world state will represent all the free states, no state will have military. There may be a world police to keep order, in the absence of universal belief in nonviolence. He declared times and again in his speeches and writings the need of the federation, or the world state. But before achieving that the first condition for Gandhi was the independence of the subject nations, and secondly that structure should be based on non-violence, In his words, 'the free structure of ^{the} world federation can be raised only on foundation of non-violence'. His Concept of Swaraj also reflected the spirit; 'My notion of purna Swaraj is not isolated independence but healthy and dignified interdependence.' (280)

So wrote Power, Gandhi's ideas about the league of Nations, the UNO showed the influence of his dedication to self-help and to anti-colonialism. (281)

H. Peace:

Gandhi was an apostle of peace; his philosophy

was based on moral responsibility and that of peace at any price. But his peace was not for the status quo; to him it meant positive state of affairs, the precondition being freedom from exploitation. In his words, 'we could see how the world is moving steadily to realize that between nation and nation and man and man, force has failed to solve problems. (282) To him, peace is important but more important the future of mankind. So he wrote; 'I do not want peace at any price. I do not want peace that you find in the graveyard. (283) To him, the concept of peace depends on man and 'not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature'. He expected that unless the recognised leaders of the world renounced the use of force 'world-peace' can not be achieved. He further held that they will have to renounce their imperialistic design. In his words : 'This again seems impossible without these great nations ceasing to believe in soul destroying competition and to desire to multiply wants and therefore increase their material possessions. (284)

To Gandhi, inequality among the nations arose out of imperialism. It was responsible for wars, and hence peace was disturbed. Times and again he asserted; 'exploitation of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars. In such a world only the military weaker nations will be free from the fear of inti-

midation or exploitation.' (285)

He talked of disarmament and opined, 'peace will never come until the great powers courageously decide to disarm themselves'. He referred to his half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence and assumed that mankind could only be saved through non-violence.'

Buddhadeva Bhattacharyya summed up 'the key point that one finds... that real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another,' and added that Dr. Ralf Bunche observed, the UN approach to world problems is very similar to the Gandhian approach. (286) His prophetic vision that disarmament could be possible only when the great powers courageously decided for it.

Gandhi was ^{eminently} practicable in his estimate that the world should be an assembly of free nations where exploitation was given good-bye and the use of force should be discarded. He believed, 'once the postulates of his doctrine of ahimsa are accepted, one finds no difficulty in comprehending the logical application of that doctrine in the realm of international relations.

Gandhi lived in an age when the fascist and imperialist powers showed naked violence against the weaker nations. The philosophy based on biological supremacy of strong race over the weak formed the pattern of the world

society culminating in the detonation of atom bomb. During ~~the~~ his long life span he had the taste of so many wars such as Boer War (1899), Russo-Japan War (1905), First World War (1914-19), and the whole of second world war (1939-45). In the two decades that spanned between the two world wars. His belief in the power of non-violence had grown with greater reflection and experience ' and as the threat of war grew he felt strongly that he had a message for the bewildered humanity. (287) Further, he advised the weaker nations not to depend upon better-armed states for protection, because those schemes failed during the World War. He could emphasise his better understanding of the intricacies of war when he asserted; 'the atom bomb has dreadened the finest feeling that mankind has sustained for ages. There used to be so-called laws of war ... now we know the naked truth war knows no law except that of might.' (288) His suggestion to the states not not use force could be presupposed as real steps towards internationalism. His scheme of internationalism always called for the extraction of exploitation of small countries by big powers. Whether his scheme was national or international, if he left no room for exploitation. It is difficult to say, writes Nanda, biographer of Gandhi, whether Gandhi's dream would come true, 'yet in the thermo-nuclear age, if civilization is not to disintergrate into the mass of torn flesh and molten metal, the premises of Gandhi have an

immediate relevance.' (289)

I. Conclusion:

As we have seen, his world view started with the individual who wanted Swaraj, Swaraj, or true democracy, could never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. So he invited people to enter with him 'into the sufferings not only for India but of those, whether engaged in war or not, of the whole world'. (290) The logical conclusion of ascrifice according to Gandhi : ' the individual sacrificed himself for the community, the community for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation and the nation for the world.' A unique example has been cited by Gandhi that ^{the} individual is like a drop of the ocean when taken away perished away without doing good work, but if it remains a part thereof, it shares the glory of carrying on its bossom a fleet of mighty ships. In his words, 'I would say that the partnership giving the promise of a world free from exploitation would be a proud privilege for my nation, and I would maintain it for ever. But India cannot reconcile herself in any shape, or form to any policy of exploitation and speaking for myself, I may say that if ever the Congress should adopt an imperial policy I should never here connection with the Congress'. (291) Thus Gandhi's philosophical account provided directive

principles for world federation, world government, international co-operation based on the principles of equality, non-violence, sacrifice, democracy and humanitarian ethics for communitarian good, independent of liberal and vanguardist philosophy of internationalism.

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CHAPTER - VI

Nehru's Ideas on Nationalism and Internationalism

I

Nehru's Ideas on Nationalism

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), emerged both as a leader and an ideologue in the freedom struggle of India. He developed understanding of the major ideologies of the world, and in that perspective, tried to shape his political thinking in order to select the most suitable for India. His main contribution lay in the fact that instead of formulating any new ideology, he tried to reconcile the merits of the ideologies he preferred. His analysis further reflects that his method was historical and his understanding of the world as well as of the Indian history helped him to formulate his ideas on nationalism.

Nehru emerged on the political scene, when the country was fighting for its independence and the dominant political ideology was naturally that ^{of} nationalism. Nehru echoed the same when he held, 'We have not solved yet the problem of political freedom and the nationalist outlook filled our mind. ⁽¹⁾ He was perfectly aware of the fact that India was being exploited under the colonial rule. So he recognised the major role of nationalism and developed his own ideas.

Nehru sought to interpret the essence of the ideology of colonialism and nationalism, prevailing in India. He found that though the Indian National Congress was leading the

freedom movement, it was ideologically under the leadership of the liberals. They stood for liberalism and always favoured and admired the British system before the advent of Gandhi as the leader of the national movement. He observed, 'what is surprising is that some people continue to suffer that delusion even after the stirring events and changes of the twentieth century.⁽²⁾ His account differed from that of the liberals as he pointed out that there was three-fold occupation of India -- military, civil and commercial and no question of compromise or co-operation with the British rulers could arise. British government, according to him, had not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom, but had based itself on the exploitation of the masses. This reflects that Nehru did not believe either in liberalism or in the liberal attitude of the Congress leaders. He sided with non-liberal Gandhi.

Analysing from ^{the} historical perspective, Nehru found that after one century and a half of British rule in India, both British and Indians were as apart as ever. Indians failed to develop rapport with them because the British practised racial discrimination and always kept a distance from the natives. Nehru observed that it could not be denied that the British established the rule of law, efficient administration, parliamentary government. All these fostered the pace of the growth of nationalism in India. He recognised this reality but also pointed out that these British features were not evident in India. All these led to the origin, growth and consolidation of

nationalist movement in India.

Nehru emphasised the role of socio-economic factors in his analysis of Indian nationalism. He identified three periods of British rule in India ; the early period which came to an end in the late 18th century when merchant adventures traded and plundered indiscriminately; the second period, covering the 19th century, when India became a source of raw materials for British industries and market for British manufactured goods; and the third period which was one of capital investment in Indian industry and which had started actively from the First World War. (3) Entry of British Commodities into the Indian market ruined the local cottage industry, making these workers unemployed. British government further imposed tax upon import of machines to prevent the building of factories in India.

British rule in India, according to Nehru, created landlords and strengthened feudalism. The most typical feature of British rule in India was its interaction with the most reactionary elements, such as feudal lords, zaminders and communal extremists. In other words, British rule sided with political, social and religious reactionaries. So Nehru mentioned that the very purpose of British rule was to create vested interests which, being of their own making, would rely upon them and become their supporters in India. (4) Nehru was always clear in perceiving that whatever the British were going to do in India, their only motive was to serve their own selfish interests. So Nehru mentioned that

in later years, when that unity allied itself to nationalism and challenged alien rule, we witnessed the deliberate promotion of disunity and sectarianism, formidable obstacles to our future progress. (5) Nehru was particularly scathing about the role and function of bureaucracy under British rule. The bureaucracy, he pointed out, used crude police methods, engaged British personnel for the top posts and exploited the nation.

Nehru took account of India's strength and weakness from the long Indian history and found in it layer after layer of thought of unbroken continuity. He found that from the days of Mohenjo-Daro, India had maintained contact with the Iranians and the Greeks, the Chinese, the Arabs and others. India influenced them, and was influenced as well by them. He observed that we might say the first great cultural synthesis and fusion took place between the incoming Aryans and the Dravidians. (6) According to Nehru, each incursion of foreign elements met successfully a process of absorption, which was also a process of rejuvenation, because a new bloom of culture arose out of its background and the essential basis remained the same. Nehru continued that the process of absorption and rejuvenation continued till the British subjugated India. He prided in India's special heritage.

However, his ideas of nationalism did not allow him to find permanent location in only India's past heritage. To him, the burden of the past was not always good, so he wanted to inherit all that humanity had achieved, because Indian heritage was

not exclusive. To him, inheritance was all that humanity has achieved, during tens of thousands of years. In his words, 'for none is exclusive and all are common to the race of man'.⁽⁷⁾ Thus, Nehru undertook his voyage to ascertain what model of nationalism would suit India. He was convinced, unlike the revivalists, that India must break with much of her past and not allow it to dominate the present.

This prompted Nehru to take stock of the developments of the ideology of nationalism in the European continent. Nehru explained that democracy and nationalism emerged as contemporary ideologies in the last quarter of the 18th century France when it stood for the ideas of unity, democracy and culture. However, he pointed out that the deterioration started when European nationalism found ally in aggression, racialism, intolerance and discrimination. He also explained the arrival of fascism and nazism degenerating nationalism into its worst phase. Nehru described the multiple facets of nationalism such as its heterogeneity, its inner contradictions, shift from democratic to reactionary positions, and the loss of its salient features.

Nehru was critical of national self-assertion which turned into Chauvinism, aggressiveness and hostilities towards other nations. He also analysed from class perspective, and pointed out that nationalism hid everything under the cover of the antagonistic feeling. The opportunists and the reactionaries took the shelter in the name of the people's movement. According to Nehru,

'nationalism hides a host of differences under the cover of anti-
feeling against the imperialists'.⁽⁸⁾ In the changed world of
imperialism, Nehru recommended linkage of nationalism with so-
cialism. His account of national movement of colonies and
dependent countries was qualitatively different because they
were fighting imperialism. In such countries, in the words of
Nehru, "it seemed clear to me that nationalism would remain the
outstanding urge, till some measure of political freedom was
attained."⁽⁹⁾

In his 'Glimpses of World History', Nehru under-
took a classification of imperialism built on various forms of
exploitation on solid historical - materialist bases and pointed
out that the new imperialism was qualitatively different from the
old one. The new empires, hungry for raw materials and markets,
as a child of the industrial and mechanical revolutions, had
captured Afro-Asian countries as their colonies. So he explai-
ned, Indian freedom movement was against British imperialism and
not against the British as such. Herein lies the difference be-
tween Nehru and other Congress leaders. Nehru was one of the
first representatives of the national liberation movement in the
Afro-Asian countries who turned his attention to the emergence of
new forms of imperialist exploitation which were not directly
linked to colonial domination.⁽¹⁰⁾ To Nehru, freedom movement in
India was part and parcel of the world-wide struggle that was
going on between imperialism and socialism. He also took into

account the Afro-Asian movements of national liberation and found them progressive. He criticised those votaries of the western nationalism, who were engaged in replacing democratic values by introduction of nazism and fascism. Thus, it was anti-imperialist nationalism which found support in Nehru. He blamed those imperialist powers who had colonialised Afro-Asian countries and were exploiting them. He was intensely internationalist in his account of nationalism.

He was fully aware of the fact that British imperialism was remodelling its method of exploitation. So he held that Britain might permit us to have large measure of political liberty but this would be worth little if she held economic domination over us. ⁽¹¹⁾ He clearly mentioned that 'there were some countries independent but they have not do anything which displaced the real material in the wall street.' ⁽¹²⁾

Thus, Nehru was one of the first representatives of the national liberation movement in the Afro-Asian countries, who turned his attention to the emergence of a new form of imperialist exploitation which were not directly linked to colonial domination. His visit to Europe, and participation in the Anti-Imperialist Conference, helped him to formulate an anti-imperial interpretation of the world politics and to judge the Afro-Asian movement in that perspective. National freedom became the true base of internationalism. Democracy, Socialism and Secularism became the ideals of both nationalism and internatio-

nalism.

He integrated the concept of internationalism in his ideas on nationalism. He never tried to place Indian nationalism in a narrow perspective, nor took nazism and fascism as friendly ideologies, because they were against the British. On the other hand, he cooperated in the struggle against nazism and fascism when the integrity of the nations fighting for democracy was itself in question. (13)

As on the international plane, so in national politics, Nehru always championed individual freedom, the cause of democracy, and was a strong critique of authoritarianism, capitalism and a strong supporter of socialism. His ideas on nationalism and internationalism were based on these ideologies. To Nehru, nationalism stood as an important ideology. Explaining the outcome of the Second World War, Nehru found that every country that was involved in the War became tremendously nationalistic, forgetting their internationalism. He mentioned, even the country with a proletariat bias allowed nationalism to grow as a dominant passion. This happened, according to Nehru, in spite of the development of internationalism in the world. As Nehru put it, 'so, I suppose, one of the problems of today and tomorrow is how to fit in these two conceptions - nationalism and internationalism.' (14) Thus his ideas on nationalism reflected through his support to democracy, secularism and socialism and hence deserved separate and elaborate discussion in order to examine his views on nationalism.

A. Nehru's ideas on Democracy:

Nehru, with his updated knowledge of the major political ideas and ideologies of the world, analysed democracy in its historical perspective. Having a scientific, rational and human outlook, he maintained permanent contact with the West. In his views on democracy, he was deeply influenced by his world outlook and tried to reconcile the same in the Indian context. He always tried to enrich and improve his views on democracy till the last. For that, Nehru made a detailed study of democracy, its origin, growth and consolidation. Democratic movement, in the shape of freedom movement in India, also helped Nehru to shape his views on democracy. To Nehru, democracy was totally dependant on the consent of the people. He warned that in India, any attempt to discard democratic methods, would lead to disruption. The right to self-determination of the nation as well as the freedom of the individual occupied prominence in his analysis of democracy.

Historical background of Democracy:

Nehru looked upon democracy as a relatively new concept. He explained that parliamentary democracy was the product of the past two hundred years, and had also undergone a long struggle for its survival and growth. However, it became popular in the 18th and the 19th century Europe. In the words of Nehru, "democracy has been the great ideal of the 19th century, so much

(15)

so that the century might also be called the century of democracy". In the twenties and the thirties, he came to the conclusion that political democracy was meaningless if it did not lead to economic and social democracy. To him, parliamentary democracy was to be widened so as to include economic equality. He mentioned that "this is the great revolution through which we are all passing, the revolution to ensure economic equality, and thus to give democracy its full meaning, and to bring ourselves in line with the advance of science and technology."⁽¹⁶⁾ Nehru always took political democracy as a means of solving social problems. In 1936, he mentioned that political democracy was only the way to the goal and was not the final objective. During India's independence movement, Nehru always insisted on complementing political democracy with social democracy. Martyshin held ^{that} "Nehru's main criterion of democracy was the degree in which political democracy by itself was the guarantee of social and economic democracy."⁽¹⁷⁾

Nehru as an advocate of popular sovereignty:

Besides the economic aspect of genuine democracy, he also made a thorough study of its political content. Nehru regarded the democratic system as a practical realisation of the doctrine of national sovereignty or sovereignty of the people. Nehru was always for the people. To him, "in a democratic country, one has to take the vast masses of the people into confidence. One has to produce a sensation in them that they are partners in the vast undertaking a running a nation, partners

in industry. This is the essence of democracy."

Peaceful method:

Nehru singled out tolerance as the salient feature of democracy. This tolerance, according to Nehru, demanded self-discipline and the adoption of peaceful method. Nehru took democracy as an attempt at the solution of problems by peaceful methods. If it is not peaceful, it is not democracy. On an international plane, Nehru regarded peace to be a primary condition for the success of democracy. Nehru believed that war put an end to the human values that democracy cherished so only a solution achieved through peaceful means was desirable. As early as 1923, addressing the U.P. Congress at Banaras, Nehru emphasised that salvation of India, and indeed of the whole world, would come through non-violent, non-cooperation. (19) He reflected the same spirit, when he termed terrorism as an outworn and profitless method and held, that terrorism usually represents the infancy of revolutionary life in a country. That state passes, and with it passes terrorism as an important phenomenon'. (20) The use of peaceful method remained an essential ingredient of Nehru's democracy.

Fundamental Rights and Freedoms:

Nehru gave the highest priority to the provision of fundamental rights and freedoms. Like Laski, he also believed that a state should be known by the system of rights.

that it maintained, because, the well-being of the citizens could be achieved only through them. A perfect individual could live only under the perfect state. So, Nehru proposed, so long as there was no perfect state and perfect individuals, the edifice of freedom could not be constructed.

Democracy as a dominant ideology of the world:

On the other hand, he believed that British imperialism and British authoritarianism were the manifestations of the end of British democracy. During the Second World War, British propaganda in favour of democracy was nothing but a hoax. Taking the world scenario into account, Nehru explained that "the war goes on for democracy and the Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms." (21) But British rule in India was reactionary; the British did not bother to share the burden of the Indian people. So, democracy of the world had no meaning for Indians who were under an undemocratic British rule. Though individual Englishmen, educationists, orientalist and journalists played an important role in bringing western culture to India, that reached only a small section of the Indians. Even persons, who were earlier sympathetic to the British, turned against them for the overdose of exploitation in the form of racialism and economic oppression.

According to Nehru, there could be no difference between racialism, as practised by British in India, and the nazi theory of the Herrenvolk. To Nehru, "the idea of master race is inherent in imperialism. There was no subterfuge about it; it

was proclaimed in unambiguous language by those in authority in India" (22) What Nehru emphasised was that a democratic country could not rule undemocratically even in another country.

Criticism of British Rule in India:

Nehru mentioned that the British administration needed clerks and the like in its civil and military establishment. Thus began the process of the Indianisation in the administrative machinery in its subordinate rank. The policy of balance and counterpoise was deliberately advanced in the Indian army and was so arranged as to prevent any sentiment of national unity. Every attempt was made to isolate the army from the people. Inherent contradictions, Nehru mentioned, having brought about the political unification of the country, the British government tried to disrupt that unity by weakening of nationalist elements, by giving greater importance to the Indian States, by encouraging fissiparous tendencies by quisling classes afraid of change. In the words of Nehru, "all this was a natural, understandable policy for a foreign imperialist power to pursue, and its a little naive to be surprised at it, harmful from Indian national point of view though it was. But the fact that it was so must be remembered." (23) Out of this policy arose those important elements which were created and encouraged to disagree and disrupt, and are now called upon to agree among themselves. British rule in India tried to divide the country, disrupt the unity with

the help of the reactionary sections of Indian population. Nehru analysed the success of the Quit India Movement, and held that it was no longer possible to endure and live under foreign autocratic rule. All other questions became secondary." (24) The Second World War was both a restraining and a releasing factor. As the War developed, it became clearer that the western democracies were fighting for no change, but for the perpetuation of the old order. For Mr. Churchill, it was a war of restoration, while President Roosevelt spoke in terms of greater promise. All pervading autocracy and authoritarianism of the British Government in India, and the widespread suppression of the most ordinary civil rights and liberty, had reached their furthest limits during the War. (25)

Nehru became very critical of the double standard of the British rule. Since England was propagating that her war aim was restoration of democracy but she was adopting draconian measures in India. So he mentioned, "I wanted to keep as far away from England as possible But if I, with all my associations with England and the English, could feel that way, what of others who had lacked those contacts." (26) In short, it may be held that Nehru was all for political liberation of India, and his account of British rule clearly proved that his account of democracy was quite meticulous and relevant to the times.

Nehru and the Freedom Movement:

To Nehru, India's desire to control her affairs and

to acquire lost dignity, to get rid of alien domination, was the form of democracy which any country under foreign rule would like to establish. Nehru condemned racial discrimination of Indians who were treated like pariah in South Africa, as an inferior being in Kenya. In India, their lot was no better. Nehru observed that they did so because that was apparently easier to do so." (27) To Nehru, the chief link between England and the Dominion is one of sentiment. It is here that Nehru superseded others, in his claim for full independence of the country. In 1927, at the Madras Congress, the Independence Resolution was passed. However, the same was opposed by Gandhi. Gandhi was not present in the meeting when the resolution was passed but later on, he objected and finally allowed the Independence Resolution not to be implemented. In a letter to Gandhi, dated 11 Jan. 1928, (28) Nehru protested that Gandhi described the independence resolution as 'hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed.' Nehru pointed out how the country had discussed and considered this question for years, and personally, he discussed it with so many members of the Working Committee. The same was discussed for more than three hours in a Subject-Committee and ultimately it was passed unanimously. Nehru held, "after prolonged and careful thought, a demand for independence and all this implies has come to mean a very great deal for me and I attach more importance to it than to almost anything else." (29) The Madras Session was marked by the difference between Nehru and Gandhi over the issue of complete independence. The radical resolution reflected the impatience

and the discontent of the nationalist youth in the Congress. But this was kept within the bounds of decency and decorum. As General Secretary of the Congress, and Chief spokesman for the radicals and the youth, Nehru was now in great demand as a spokesman for various platforms and fora. To Nehru, acceptance of 'Dominian Status' was a retrograde step and would prove a costly futile experiment. According to Nehru, acceptance of dominion proposal would be succumbing to the psychology of imperialism. He firmly rejected the Dominion Status formula. The controversy over 'Dominian Status' also revealed the differences between Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru. The great debate over 'dominion status vs. complete independence' caused a split within the Party at the Annual Congress Session at Calcutta (1928). Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Bose fought for complete independence. Bose's amendment was rejected by 1350 to 937 votes. However, it revealed that "the strength and support of the Left led by Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru was considerable despite the Mahatma's magnetism and friendly persuasion".

An important landmark was achieved at the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress in 1929, when Nehru was elected the Congress President. He had the distinction of presiding over the historic Congress Session which had adopted the objective of complete independence. "The radicals, the youth, the urban intelligentsia, the working class, and the masses acclaimed him as national hero. Nehru played an important

role in drafting the resolution on 'Fundamental Rights' at the Karachi Congress. Nehru's participation in the freedom movement clearly highlights his commitment to complete independence when so many leaders including Gandhi and Motilal, were found lacking. He participated in the freedom movement and led it, was party to the enactment of Independence Resolution in the Madras Congress in 1927, repeated the same in 1928 in the Calcutta Congress, and finally in his presidency at the Lahore Congress in 1929, the Congress, resolved for full independence. He disagreed with his father over dominion status and opted for the complete independence. His appraisal of British rule in India is a rich chapter for the study of democracy.

Nehru was also concerned with the problems of other countries. On ^{the} European soil, Italy, Spain, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Portugal, Hungary and Austria underwent transformations to dictatorial forms of government. Dictatorship also sprang up outside Europe, particularly in Turkey. Nehru believed that all these dictatorships were the direct opposites of democracy. Nehru pointed out that "democracy means equality, and democracy could only flourish in an equal society." (32) Therefore, he proposed, India should have such democracy which included freedom, equality and well being of the people. Frank Moraes was right when he mentioned that Nehru continually had a feeling of growing up 'dynamic', and

'dynamism' was among his favourite words.

His views on democracy reflected liberal, humanitarian, and egalitarian features. He started with the liberal outlook adding to it 'social content', but not ignoring individual freedom and rights. Thereafter, it was Gandhian 'purity of means' which enriched his democratic conception. Till the last, he retained the Marxist influence in the shape of 'egalitarian' outlook. On the international scene, he advocated peace and democracy for all the nations. He was against the degeneration and deterioration of democracy anywhere in the world. Right to self-determination of India was however the most important ideology before him. In a practical sense, nationalism was the vital ideology as India's right to independence, along with the right to independence of all the colonial peoples. It was the democratic content of Indian nationalism which was appreciated throughout the world. But it was Nehru's credit, unlike many a leader of the Third World, that he resisted all efforts to chain democracy. A free press and an independent judiciary were constantly defended by him.

Evaluation of Nehru's ideas on democracy:

While evaluating Nehru's views on democracy, it appears that on democracy his stand changed. In the 1920s and the 1930s, he assimilated the principal ideas of Marxism regarding the class - character of the state in his political

thinking. In all his assessment, he was guided by the conception of a ruling class which "controlled the state power". Nehru, then supported the criticism made by Marx and Engels on liberty, equality and fraternity, the classic principles of liberal democracy. In 1928, he re-iterated that all power in the world belonged to the rich and only Russia was an exception. In his "Glimpses of World History", he mentioned that in Russia, "there is no exploitation of the workers or any other class for the benefit of another. (34) He further held, "but in a properly organised and free country, the state is the people (35) that meant he bestowed an important role to the state in promoting the welfare of the people.

B. Nehru's Ideas on Secularism:

The Hindu, Muslim and the British, the three cultural strands, pervaded 'Ananda Bhawan' during Nehru's formative years. Nehru imbibed some of the classics of Hindu mythology and stories of 1857 from the Munsif Mubarak Ali. 'It was this composite environment that shaped his later attitude to ^{the} Muslim and the communal problems in general.' (36) His education in the West revealed in him the Western rationalist, making him alien in his own society, a Hindu out of tune with Hinduism, "a queer mixture of the East and ^{the} West". Thus, the broad secular outlook was the legacy of his home in Allahabad.

Jawaharlal Nehru's own ideas on religion were

vague, and his tutor Brooks, a determined theosophist, had therefore, little difficulty in influencing his pupil in his own way. Furthermore, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, 'my father was not exactly a religious man but he respected the Hindu religion since he had been brought up in it.'⁽³⁷⁾ Later on, while in jail, Nehru found Reinhold Neibuhr's "Moral Man and Immoral Society", especially invigorating, since it reinforced many of his own views on religion. Catholicism, Hinduism and Islam provided a safe anchorage from doubt and conflict, and assurance for future life, while protestanism failed to register it either. 'Nehru's views on religion approximated most to Taoism, the first pacifist known to the world'. Nehru remained against religious dogma and doctrine, and, publicly denounced the habit of certain Indian politicians of imparting too frequent references to the Almighty.⁽³⁸⁾ Nehru was secular in his approach to politics and believed that religion should not be allowed to dominate politics.

According to Nehru, secularism did not mean that religion was discouraged; rather, it meant "a state where freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who have no religion. It meant free-play for all religions, subject only to their not interfering with each other."⁽³⁹⁾ Nehru categorically reiterated that "we have opposed communalism and continue to be stoutly opposed to it. It is infact a negation of nationalism and of the nationalist state."⁽⁴⁰⁾ He believed that nationalism must be secular in general, especially for a country

like India, where persons of different religions live together. The might be termed as a liberal theory of secularism.

To Nehru, that state would be regarded ^{as} secular, "which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities, that as a state, does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes the state religion" (41). He further held that secularism was a modern concept and was appropriate for being accepted as the principle of Indian nationalism. In his words : 'in any country like India, with many faiths and religions no nationalism can be built up except on the basis of secularity.' (42). Secularism stood to be very important for India.

Socio-economic Interpretation of Secularism:

As a matter of fact, freedom had the ultimate value and place in the socio-economic thought of Nehru. He fought for socio-economic freedom of the country and in doing so, reiterated communalism as an economic problem, and partly as a middle class problem. To him, communalism was a giant with feet of clay and it was amyth far from reality and it could not endure. As such, he did not prefer the religious and spiritual overtones of freedom movement, though Indian politics of the period, was a strange mixture of religion and politics. Nehru's nationalism was composite and it embraced all inhabitants of the land. Religious fundamentalism and obscurantism were foreign to his nature and had no place in his thinking.

Throughout the freedom movement, Nehru opposed communalism and regarded it as a negation of nationalism. He wanted everyone to have the right of religion, but not interference with other religions. In his maiden Presidential address, at Lahore in 1929, Nehru stressed three problems: the minorities, princely (43) States, and the peasants and workers. The problem of communalism which consistently dogged Indian nationalism, found in Nehru a liberal base. He was all for right to religion and cultural rights. Having assured the protection of religion and culture, he equally believed that the problem had economic dimension. In his words communalism, "had nothing to do with person's religion. (44) He also blamed other Congress leaders who continued to think in the narrow framework of religion.

However, the ground reality was different. Indian freedom movement always faced Hindu - Muslim antagonism as the most recurrent theme and Nehru was in the thick of the freedom movement Nehru explained, this was the creation of the British policy. The 20th century freedom movement marked a separatist trend among the Muslims. The irresistible seduction of separatist politics claimed the allegiance of these diehard politicians. (45) They were confined to traditionalism, obscurantism and fundamentalism. But, even in this context, Nehru was modern and scientific in his ideological stand on communal problems. To some extent, he was far ahead of his contemporaries. However, the antagonism between the two communities, engaged Nehru's attention. He did not like to be guided by the religious or spiritual overtones of

freedom movement. To him, communal leaders emerged only to obstruct the political advance of freedom movement." (46)

Nehru's analysis revealed that the communal leaders represented a small upper class reactionary group, and these people exploited and took advantage of the religious passions of the masses for their own ends. To him, these communal groups represented a common camp against radical tendencies as they helped and cooperated with each other in the Assembly and elsewhere in helping the British Government to pass the reactionary measures. This analysis is quite outstanding and is valid even in the present context.

Historical Background of Nehru's Secularism:

Nehru believed that since the distant past, India had been living in harmony with each other. Buddha taught this lesson. Gandhi laid stress on it, i.e., communal-goodwill and harmony. It is our legacy, reiterated Nehru.

According to Nehru, India had a long history of religious tolerance. But as a matter of fact, these "narrow religious nationalism which is a relic of the past ages are no longer relevant to-day." (47) He further held, ultimately, nationalism would pave the way for internationalism and for that we needed secularism. Thus secularism was the base of nationalism which would lead us to internationalism without which it could not

be up-to-date and upto the mark. In his words, "without the basis of true nationalism, internationalism may be vague and amorphous without any real meaning".⁽⁴⁸⁾ He wanted Indian nationalism to be secular so that India might fit in a secular world. Thus Nehru's concept of secularism was bracketed with nationalism and internationalism.

According to Nehru, the emergence of new Muslim bourgeoisie on the scene brought their attraction and involvement towards the nationalist movement because they began to feel dissatisfied with the existing system. So Nehru held, the Muslims were not historically or ideologically ready then for the bourgeois nationalist movement as they had developed no bourgeoisie as the Hindus had done.⁽⁴⁹⁾ However, the First World War hastened the process and a new set of Muslim leaders also emerged on the national scene. It was here that Gandhi started the Khilafat movement which the Muslims joined.

With the emergence of Hindu and Muslim Bourgeoisie, their participation culminated in the national movement. But with the emergence of communal organisations such as/^{the}"Hindu Mahasabha" and/^{the}"Muslim League" with communal and backward elements began the nefarious game. Though it was a slow process, it was a continuous one. Nehru criticised, denounced and condemned communal activities of Hindu Mahasabha and wrote some articles on it and held that most of their demands had no relation whatsoever to the masses.

Nehru visited the Banaras Hindu University and castigated the Hindu audience there for the reactionary overtones of Hindu communalism. He wrote a series of articles and emphasised that the communalism was allied to vested interests. He also suggested the idea of formation of a Constituent Assembly to iron out the communal differences. He devoted his time to educate the masses about the danger of communalism through his "Speeches and writings".⁽⁵⁰⁾ While analysing the impact of communal award, he blamed even some Congressmen viz., Madan Mohan Malaviya and M.S. Aney for supporting the award and was deeply angered at them.

When the Government of India Act, 1935 was implemented in 1937, one unfortunate result led to internal conflicts on the communal front. After the installation of the provincial government, no Muslim League member, was included in the U.P. Government, because the League was defeated in the election. But, "the policy was a grave tactical blunders because it aggravated a sense of grievance, frustration and isolation among the Muslims leaders and masses."⁽⁵¹⁾ In the succeeding months, an acrimonious correspondence surfaced between Nehru and Jinnah which only widened the breach.

In 1945, the British Labour Party assumed office in England and election to the Central and Provincial legislature was announced for the winter in India. The Congress joined the election with a catch-all programme, similar to its manifesto of

1937, while the Muslim League stressed the issue of Hindu domination and the demand of a separate Muslim homeland i.e. Pakistan. The Muslim League, by this time, won thirty seats in the Central Assembly, and 427 of the 482 Muslim seats in the Provincial Legislatures. The Congress formed ministries in 8 of the 11 provinces while the League formed ministries in Bengal and Sind and the Unionists with Congress support in Punjab. Then came the cabinet mission but it also failed to achieve anything concrete. One month after the election, the Viceroy, invited Nehru to form an interim government in 1946. But all these widened the rift between the Congress and the League which led to Muslim League's call for "Direct Action", setting in motion the disastrous civil war, resulting in the "great Calcutta killing". Nothing comparable to Calcutta killing had occurred in the annals of British rule. In October 1946, the scene shifted to the Noakhali district of East Bengal, where the Muslims went on the rampage, killing, looting and converting Hindus by force and destroying all Hindus' temples. Nehru, declared, "we shall resist against Pakistan's demand" but Nehru was stunned by the turn of events.

To Nehru, the idea of "Muslim nation" within a nation was vague, indeterminate, and a mystifying nuisance. In his words, "politically the idea is absurd, economically it is fantastic and as such it is hardly worth considering. (52) To talk of a Muslim nation meant that the nation depended only on the bond of religion which, in turn, would signify that no nation should be

allowed to grow and the modern civilisation should be discarded and "we should go back to the medieval ways and even if many people believed in it, it would still vanish at the touch of reality." (53) To Nehru, even the day of national culture was rapidly passing and the world was becoming a single cultural unit. He was conscious of the fact that there existed differences between the Hindu and Muslim traditions. However, no one could ignore the modern scientific and industrial outlook. In his words "the real struggle to-day in India is not between Hindu culture and Muslim culture but between these two and the conquering scientific culture of/modern civilisation". (54)

Analysing the basic ingredients of Muslim - culture, Nehru could finally spell out that they were the common heritage of India. The two languages, Persian and Arabic, which influenced Muslim thought in India formed a common and precious heritage for all of us in India. The Muslim peasantry and the industrial workers could hardly be distinguished in terms of their fate under the communal rule. His love of the past did not allow him to bear the burden of the past. Nehru pointed out, "it is not beautiful that these people clutch at, but something i.e. seldom worthwhile and is often harmful." (55) The bond of common suffering, being faced by both/Hindu and/Muslim working class, prompted Nehru to discard irrelevant communal forces out of the area of national freedom movement. That is why, he appeared time and again out of the clutches of separatism. This was

the political philosophy of secularism which Nehru believed and practised throughout his life. However, there was a tide in favour of partition of the nation and Nehru was found at a fix.

Partition:

The struggle for power intensified with the arrival of Mountbatten, in March 1947, whose most striking feature was the rapidity with which he arrived at decisions. It became obvious, soon that United India could not be imposed without a major civil war. The riots supported this contention. Brecher held, "Nehru seemed resigned to the necessity of partition very early."⁽⁵⁶⁾ He added, Nehru's mood combined sadness, resignation, reflection and almost detachment. Nehru said it is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals, though I have doubted in my mind that this is the right course."⁽⁵⁷⁾

According to Brecher, Nehru spoke about partition on June 6, 1956, "I think now, looking back, that partition could have been avoided if the British Government's policy had been different about a year or eighteen months earlier."⁽⁵⁸⁾ So far as the ideal of secularism was concerned, it continued, even after the partition, but the nation was divided which put a blur to his leadership and commitment to the ideology.

Nehru's concept of secularism was never 'an end' by itself but was rather a 'pragmatic solution' to the problems of religious pluralism. His concept of secularism was quite

different from being practised in Soviet Russia, where the state was promoting non-religious feeling or that of Turkey. On the other hand, Indian Secular State is nearer to the American pattern. In the words of Balsubramanium, "Nehru's concept of Secular State, besides its non-denominational character, is positive, active and geared to extricate the society from the traditional nets of religion and to promote political economic and social progress."⁽⁵⁹⁾ His views were, quite unaffected by religious or reactionary ethics, mysticism, fairly common in India.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Nehru was a whole-hearted believer of scientific, rational and human outlook and for that 'he bitterly scorned bigotry of all varieties and was himself absolutely free from Communalism, provincialism, Casteism, prejudices and things of that sort'.⁽⁶¹⁾

Nehru, throughout his career, carried on a relentless struggle against narrow concept of nationalism. He was a whole hearted admirer of the scientific, rational and humane outlook. Nehru's nationalism was composite where there was no place to religious fundamentalism and obscurantism.

C. Socialism:

Like any creative leader, Nehru had a multi-dimensional personality and this multi-dimensionality was reflected in his writings and speeches on various respects --both national and international. Perhaps his most ^{enduring} contribution in the domain of political thought was socialism. Nehru advocated reconstruction of Indian society on socialist lines. In the historical perspective, his inclination towards socialism might be traced to his connections with the Fabians - a small body of intellectuals namely, George Bernard Shaw, Beatrice and Sidney Webb. These intellectuals - the brilliant minds of the time, shared common desire for social reform in England.

Back home, Nehru was drawn towards freedom struggle and also developed contact with Gandhi. He undertook intensive and extensive tour of rural areas and could get the true picture of the peasantry - naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. Poverty and misery everywhere, under the colonial rule in India, created in him a strong urge to work in socialist direction. (62) He found in socialism the panacea to India's problems of poverty, exploitation and oppression. Now onward, he started speaking on 'political freedom' as well as on 'social freedom'. Thus nationalism and socialism were the intellectual driving forces of Nehru's life work. (63)

On the world scene, two rival economic and politi-

cal systems faced each other in the 30s --- the imperialist and the fascist on the one side, and the socialist and the nationalist on the other. He made a frontal attack on fascism and imperialism and advocated that India was to side with the progressive forces of the world. Nehru was convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems as well as India's problems lay only in socialism. He held that "I worked for it even more because for one it is the inevitable step to social and economic change".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Thus Marxist presumption made a deep impression on Nehru's political approach.

He spoke in terms of social, political and economic equality. It was under the presidentship of Subhas Bose, that the National Planning Committee was set up with Nehru as its Chairman. The philosophy behind its setting up was that if Indians opposed imperialism they would have to simultaneously oppose capitalism and accept socialism. Nehru believed that if socialism was to be built up, it would have to grow out of Indian conditions and for that he held, 'we want experts in the job who study and prepare detailed plans'.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Nehru had in mind the New Economic Policy of Lenin, and the initiatives taken by Stalin in this regard. Nehru believed that 'it is very difficult, and indeed impossible to separate politics and economics of one nation from those of others'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Nehru explained how backward Russia have become far ahead of India. He always displayed a socialist framework of mind in tackling

important problems of India of tomorrow. So Narendra Deva mentioned, 'Nehru believes that economic freedom is not possible without planning. (67) Nehru's visit to Europe in 1926 gave a definite shape to his socialistic thinking. He also visited Soviet Russia in 1927, and was highly impressed by the economic development of the country. In his own words, "Russia apart, the theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it and it became an unfolding drama with some order and purpose, however, unconscious behind it". (68) He was influenced by the socialist world-view.

To Nehru, socialism was the philosophy of life, which meant revolutionary changes in political and social structure, the ending of vested interest in land and industry, the abolition of private property, change in interests, habits and desires. Thus, to Nehru, Socialism was more than an economic doctrine, a vital creed which he held with all his head and heart. So, Nehru wanted to bring a new civilisation radically different from the present capitalist order. In Indian context, as early as 1920, the U.P. Congress, under his presidentship, resolved to "make a revolutionary change in the present social and economic structure of the society and to remove the gross inequalities." (69) He developed a conviction that the British imperialism thrived on India due to the collaboration of Indian

industrialists and Zamindars. So, he pressed for a change in the existing set-up. Due to his socialist vision the ideological orientation of the nationalist movement underwent a significant change. His ideas inspired the poor, oppressed, neglected millions of India to aspire for a life of dignity. Further, it imposed upon the Congress the added responsibility of bringing a social transformation along with political liberation. In 1928, Subhas Bose, Srinivas Iyenger and Nehru organised 'Independence for India League', within the Congress for the reconstruction of the society on the basis of social and political unity.

Nehru's socialism reflected anti-feudal and anti-capitalist stand with the participation of the working class. He took a prominent interest in the trade Union movement and was elected president of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1929. In between 1929 and 1936, he was a strong socialist, and wanted the Congress must hold the balance favourably between the capital and the labour and the zamindar and the tenants. In 1933, under the title "Whither India", -- he explained and justified socialism, both on national and international levels. As president of the Lahore Congress, Nehru declared that "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist" (70) and his speech contained support to the working class. At the Karachi Congress, the same continued, where he reiterated that everywhere, he spoke on political independence and social freedom, and made the former a step towards the attainment of the latter. He wanted to spread the ideology

of socialism specially among the Congress workers and intelligentsia. Moraes has pointed out that Nehru was particularly interested in the resolutions on Fundamental Rights, in order to broaden the objectives of the Congress, from the attainment of political freedom to the consideration of economic and social plans and policies. (71)

The Congress Socialist Party was formed under the leadership of Narendra Deva, Achyut Patwardhan, Jay Prakash Narayan, Minu Masani and others. They invited Nehru to lead the said organisation. Nehru refused although, 'he fully endorsed the goal of socialism, and, he had no faith in factionalism and sectarianism'. (72) Though Nehru was the Congress President, the old guards, controlling the Congress organisation, had submitted their resignations protesting against Nehru's socialism. The crisis was resolved by Gandhi and all concerned withdrew their resignations. All these followed owing to the fact that Nehru cultivated a better understanding with Gandhi and 'Gandhi knew that Nehru was the one persons who could bridge the growing gap between socialism and Gandhism'. (73)

After this episode, in 1937, Nehru set the tone for the ensuing election campaign with a 'left of centre manifesto', emphasizing the substantial agrarian reforms. To Nehru, 'goes the most of credit for the Congress stress on land reforms. And it was he who carried so affectively

to the Indian countryside.' (74) The controversy connected with the second presidency of Subhas Bose, in 1939, led to a split in the Congress, and the left wing was considerably weakened. Ideologically, Nehru also climbed down. He was now convinced that Gandhi began to accept others' points of view and he was now more attracted to Gandhi's moral approach to politics.

During and after the Second World War, his ideas on socialism underwent a major change. Nehru mentioned that 'In spite of this general progress and development, the Soviet Union passed through severe internal crisis during the period' (75). In the 'Discovery of India', he mentioned that nationalism appeared in such a way as it fit in with new environment and aid to the strength of people but that was against the spirit of internationalism. He noted that 'the many changes in Soviet Policy, which could be understood in relation to Russia, became totally incomprehensible as policies favoured by the communist parties elsewhere' (76). He also criticised the role of the communist party of India when it did not join 'Quit India Movement'. In his words, 'It has cut itself off from the springs of national sentiment and speaks in a language which finds no echo in the hearts of people' (77).

In 1938, Nehru confirmed his acceptance of technique of non-violence, successfully practised by Gandhi for the last twenty years. In his words, 'I have been and am a con-

vinced socialist and believe in democracy and have at the same time accepted whole heartedly peaceful technique of non-violent action which Gandhi has practised so successfully during the past twenty years. (78) Nehru's thinking on socialism evolved and crystallised into a pattern in the course of his interaction with liberal nationalists, Gandhi and Gandhites, Hindu and Muslim revivalists and finally the Indian socialists, the concern for the masses, and, moral and ethical approach to life. Thus, Nehru's socialism 'was the point of synthesising of various trends of thought at the level of the ideal. In its synthetic quality lay its main appeal'. (79) However, Nehru is criticised on the ground that 'Nehru's loyalty to Gandhi was more pronounced than his commitment to socialism'. (80)

But the fact remains that Nehru grew with the ideology of anti-imperialist, pro-communist, and pro-soviet nationalism on the world scene. In the national context his socialism signified anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist stand with the participation of the working class. His activities brought about a radicalisation of political thought in India. Later on, many factors, forces and events such as weakening of the left wing due to internal conflict, influence of Gandhi, co-operation of the 'right wing' of the Congress with him, convinced Nehru that the nationalist movement could be strengthened only through active co-operation of people from all walk of life and that the question of social

change could be solved later on.

Like Sidney Webb, and Ebenstein, Bernstein, appeared as a believer of the gradualist approach to socialism and argued that steps like the overnight destruction of the property would be harmful. All these considerations, reflected in Nehru a Marxist in thought wedded to democratic practices. In India, the socialist theory gave a certain social content and a sharper edge to Indian nationalism. It is here that Nehru played the pioneering role in the spread of socialism. Nehru proved that the British dominion required to be fought not only on nationalist grounds but also on social and political grounds and he provided the ideology of socialism and enthused the youth, the working class and the intelligentsia in this regard. But ultimately when India gained independence the influence of Marx, Fabians and Gandhi were reflected in his economic programme, which turned to be a queer mixture of liberalism and socialism and was later on named 'democratic socialism'.

Brief Assessment of Nehru's Socialist Ideas.

Nehru's socialism could not satisfy the diehard socialists and the communists in India. Dange spoke of Nehru's socialism as a 'plunge in dark'. M. N. Roy conceived his socialism as 'purely emotional longing for a vaguely conceived new world in the context of the disintegrating bourgeois

(81)
culture'. The fact remained that he never created any socialist group or joined the Congress socialist group within the Congress. When Subhas Bose was expelled from the Congress, Bose started the Forward Bloc, a socialist organisation. Nehru and Bose had been together for a long period, and both of them had always fought jointly for socialism and complete independence within the Congress opposing Gandhi. But this time, Nehru remained loyal to Gandhi. However, Narendra Deva has estimated Nehru's commitment to socialism, that, "without giving his adherence to any socialist group, he easily became the spearhead of broad revolutionary and socialist forces in the country." (82)
Gopal has pointed out that "Nehru was the best shield of the Congress against the left wing groups". (83)

Nehru's thinking in this respect, represented three important trends of western thought - humanism, utopian socialism and Marxism. The fundamental concern of Nehru lay in his sensitivity to the poverty of the Indian masses, their psychology of servitude and dependence, feudalism, traditionalism and superstition. Nehru saw in socialism a major weapon that could possibly remove these impediments to progress and he, therefore, 'laid emphasis on the socialist pattern from the very beginning of his political career, in his long association with the struggle for Indian independence". (84)

Temperamentally, Nehru did not subscribe to

any ideology for long and modified his own ideas according to the new experiences gained. He was not particularly wedded to any 'ism' and the world events made him sober and cautious. He believed in democracy and disliked totalitarianism. He was in a quest for an equation between liberty and planned economic order. Acharya Narendra Deva has nicely evaluated Nehru's ideas on socialism that Jawaharlal did not belong to any orthodox school of socialism. "But if I were asked to sum up his social philosophy is a neat phrase. I would say that it is 'democratic socialism'". (85) Deva further held that Nehru's activities were guided by the ideals of democracy and the betterment of the masses. Nehru himself explained that 'I have mentioned the two ways that have moved me. These are nationalism as political freedom as represented by the Congress and social freedom as represented by socialism'. (86) It was this ideology which distinguished him from both the Gandhites and the socialists. His wish to bring socialist millenium by democratic means and method' (87) dominated his political thinking - a dominant quest for a search of one suitable ideology for India.

II

Nehru's Ideas on Internationalism.

Introduction:

Nehru emerged as an outstanding leader, a spokesman of the idea of 'national liberation' and 'social progress', which ultimately became the driving force of the people of Asia and Africa both during and after the liberation movement of India. Nehru consistently maintained an international outlook. Even his nationalism remained an inalienable part of the larger humanity that transcends beyond national boundaries.

Nehru's ideology of internationalism is as powerful as his views on nationalism. Gandhi rightly mentioned (88) that 'his nationalism is equal to his internationalism'. Nehru was more interested in synthesising his ideas on internationalism. He emphasised that we have now to lay greater stress on the synthetic aspect and make the whole world our field of study. (89) He believed that this synthesis was necessary both for the individual and for the nation if they were to grow out of the narrow grooves of thought and action.

Nehru's deep and broadbased knowledge of history and philosophy helped him to encompass many world problems. He was conscious of the advance of science and technology which made the whole world one single family. Nehru was convinced that the

existed between the people of the East and the West was due to lack of industrial growth. So, according to Nehru, 'real difference was in the medievalism of the East and the industrial mechanical progress of the West.'⁽⁹²⁾ The world became too small for the high ambitions of these European powers. Narrow spirit of nationalism was whipped up in every western country to mislead the masses in order to hate their neighbours and they (masses) were kept ready for war. Europe became an armed camp, and there was a fierce competition in industry and trade, and armaments. Nehru held that 'a blind nationalism thus began to dominate Europe'.⁽⁹³⁾ Nehru asserted that owing to scientific and technological advancement, the countries came closer, but the whole structure of society under the new industrial capitalism was such that it bred friction between nation and nation, class and class, and man and man. He made appeals for nationalism and scientism. Once he held, 'politics led me to economics and this led me to science and to the scientific approach'.⁽⁹⁴⁾

A. Democracy and Socialism as basis of Nehru's Internationalism:

His ideology of internationalism was guided by the ideals of democracy and socialism. He was highly influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution because it challenged many old and orthodox notions of religion and society by way of advancing new theories. Such political thinking was confined to France at that time. Religion seemed to give permanent and even a honoured place to liberty. "The very ideas of liberty and equality were opposed to the authoritarian outlook of the

church and society.' (95) It is in this perspective that Nehru advocated secularism both for Indian nationalism and internationalism. However, the ruling class in England became more conservative and reactionary. In Europe, "the French Revolution was the parent of the democratic idea that spread throughout the first half of the 19th century." (96) He added that the early democrats naturally looked to the idea of nationalism. Their demand for freedom of thought and speech could hardly be reconciled with the dogmatic religion and theology. The advent of the modern-state, and the modern-nation, led to democratization and secularisation of politics and nationalism found in democracy a good ally which was explained by Nehru. Nehru identified democracy with nationalism. He traced from the French Revolution the dimensions of 'democracy' and 'nationalism' and applied these to the Indian context. Thus, it was the world outlook which provoked him to move in the direction of framing ideology for India. He also mentioned that Indian nationalists still referred to the French Revolution and the Rights of Man, but, 'not appreciating that much has happened since then.' (97)

It was again his world outlook which helped him to understand that democracy joined hands with science to weaken the hold of theological dogma. The old religious foundations in Europe were being weakened by science and the democratic idea. In this connection, he referred to Auguste Comte (1798-1857), who believed that the old theology and dogmatic religion were out of

date. He proposed a religion of humanity and called it 'positivism' which was to be based on love, order and progress. Nehru referred to J. S. Mill (1806 - 1873) who was also influenced by Comte's teaching. Nehru held that Mill was a strong advocate of liberty. Thus Nehru's concept of secularism as well as of democracy was derived from the eminent thinkers of the 19th century.

As the 19th century progressed further, other movements and ideas developed, such as, the working class movement and socialism. In the first half of the 19th century, democracy and nationalism came closer wherever people were fighting for freedom. Mazzini of Italy produced a kind of democratic patriotism which influenced even the Indian nationalists. Though democracy largely influenced the intellectuals, yet, the 'common people' suffered by the growth of industrialism. Industrial working class was growing and the poor workers were dying from slow starvation and overwork. It was Robert Owen, who first used the word 'socialism' somewhere about 1830. The capitalism marched ahead and so some radicals with advance views came on the scene. The British industry dominated the world and wealth poured in "both from profits of industry and the exploitation of India and other dependancies"⁽⁹⁸⁾.

Nehru referred to Karl Marx and Engels for the publication of the 'Communist Manifesto' wherein the unity of the working class was envisaged. He further analysed that 'new

clear and cogently argued socialism of Marx was therefore called scientific socialism' ⁽⁹⁹⁾ as opposed to the vague utopian or idealistic socialism which had so far prevailed. Nehru mentioned different types of socialism and criticised the social democrats. Nehru now believed in the Marxist approach. He praised Lenin for the reason that he lived upto Marxism but never considered it as a dogma. Nehru considered socialism as better than traditional liberal democracy. His preference for socialism was the logical outcome of the world outlook based on the idea of exploitation under imperialism. Nehru visited Soviet Russia in 1927 and till the last, he retained a soft corner for Russia. Soviet Russia attracted him in many ways, not only as the first socialist country of the world, but further, because Soviet Russia was a backward country under the Czar but improved under socialism. So he thought India under socialism would prosper by following the Russian path. To Nehru, Soviet Russia stood as a powerful and "the only effective barrier in Europe and Asia to fascism and the anti-democratic forces." ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Nehru compared the social democrats of Europe with the communists and found them below the mark. He emphasised that Soviet Russia consistently followed a peace policy in international affairs. Nehru, even after Independence, maintained a cordial relationship with Soviet Russia due to the fact that Soviet Russia was of some positive help to the oppressed nations of the world in their fight against imperialism. Initially, Nehru was highly influenced by democracy but later on detected that liberal democracy alone would not do.

So he wanted to add socialism with democracy, which he did. Again, the influence of Gandhi led him to believe in the purity of means and think more in moral terms. All these had an impact on him in framing his views on internationalism.

B. India and the world:

The Indian National Congress in the 1920s began to take some interest in foreign affairs. As early as 1920, the resolution on foreign policy was passed by the Congress. Herein the desire to cooperate with other nations, and especially to develop friendly relations with neighbouring countries of Asia, was emphasised. Nehru mentioned that in 1927, twelve years before the start of the Second World War, the Congress first declared its policy with regard to international relation, and, 'It was he who made Congress feel to think Indian struggle of freedom as actually a part of aglobal struggle.' (101) Right from the start, he insisted that the Indians could put mass aspiration, idealism and morality in the background and, as Lincoln, reiterated that the world could not live half-free and half-slave. He wanted that the Congress should play an important role in the global affairs.

As the nationalist movement gathered strength and confidence, the people began to think in terms of a free India. The very bigness and potential, strength and resources of

were
the country ~~is~~ also taken into account to shape future relationship with other nations. It was also taken into consideration that India could not be a mere hanger-on of any country or group nations. It was also thought that Indian independence would make a vital differences to Asia and the world. This demanded wider sphere of international cooperation. According to Nehru, "we thought of close relations with our neighbours, countries in the East and the West, with China, Afghanistan, Iran and the Soviet Union. Even with distant America we wanted closer relation, for we could learn much from the United States as also from the Soviet Union." (102) The pattern of this relationship revealed that India had exhausted the capacity of learning anything more from England, owing to rapid discrimination and treatment of Indians in some of the British dominion viz., South Africa, East Africa and Kenya. Nehru further interpreted that the independence of India was not in terms of isolation but in terms of world cooperation. In this regard, ^{that} he believed/British Commonwealth did not fit in. However, wrote Nehru, "we made it repeatedly clear, therefore, that we were perfectly agreeable to limit that independence, in common with other nations, within some international framework". (103) This exhibited Nehru's intense internationalism in which nations would cooperate with one another because the old type of nationalism was doomed and, instead, a new era of world co-operation was to emerge.

The dominant Indian ideology was nationalism,

but Nehru's thought went far beyond nationalism. His attempt to link nationalism with internationalism was his major contribution. Brecher rightly held that "the Indian National Congress served as a model for the intelligentsia of South-East Asia (104) and to some extent to the Middle East. To the thinking Indians, world affairs those days were not of much concern. However, with Nehru, they were burning issues which touched him personally and profoundly. Nehru, in his books and articles and essays, consistently maintained an international outlook and proved himself, not an Indian or Asiatic, but a citizen of the world. (105) So Brecher is right when he mentioned that Nehru is for many a symbol of Asia's awakening'. (106) His (107) 'nationalism is an inalienable aspect of basic national rights'.

Analysing the character of Indian nationalism, Nehru pointed out that "no other nationalist movement of a subject country came anywhere near this, and the general tendency in such other country was to keep clear of international commitment". (108) Nehru mentioned/there were some persons who objected to Nehru's anxiety for Republican Spain and China, Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia, his utterness against nations like Italy, Germany, Japan because England was their enemy. In their view, every enemy of British should be treated/as a friend and idealism had no place in politics. He diluted his nationalism with internationalism and thought that national interests could be prudently, conceived only in the

international context.

His visit to Europe in 1926 - 27, particularly, his participation in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities and the League against Imperialism, along with his short visit to Russia, left an abiding imprint on his view. From now on, he clearly held that Indian national movement was a part of the Global anti-imperial movement. He further believed that Indian national movement should maintain close link with national when he found that the appeal of the international proletariat in Soviet Russia had surprisingly changed. Nehru mentioned that without giving up in any way its essential social and economic structure, it had become more nationalist minded and the appeal of the fatherland was now much greater than the appeal of the international proletariat. Nehru mentioned that they revived national history and heroes of the Soviet people and this going back to national tradition was more marked in the ranks of labour proletarian elements. However, he held that "it would be wrong to imagine that this nationalist outburst of Russia is just reversion to old style nationalism. It is certainly not that." (109)

Nehru cherished the tremendous experiences of the Bolshevik Revolution, the social structure and mental adjustment of Soviet people on which depended Soviet nationalism. Nehru was equally aware of the fact that the United States of America astonished the world by her stupendous production

and organising capacity. He mentioned that the world situation seemed to be drifting where England and France would form one side and Russia, and some eastern countries the other and held that In this setting Indian opinion inevitably sided with Soviet Russia and the eastern nations. In his words : "this did not mean any widespread approval of communism though a growing number were attracted to socialist thought." (110) The account placed above clearly showed how balanced view Nehru had towards the Soviet Union.

Nehru's world view influenced his political activities as well. He tried to approach them scientifically. The influence of scientific socialism on Nehru's views as well as influence of both Indian and other European views led him to adopt a rationalist and a scientific approach. (111) Ulyanovisky held that nobody had ever succeeded in producing a synthesis of ideology. Nehru's ideal was the unity of thought and action. He interpreted world culture critically. His European examples always promoted him to compare India with other countries. Writing about India, he pointed out, it was in his blood and there was much in her (India) that instinctively thrilled him. And yet he approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that he saw. His approach to Indian independence movement also emerged out of the world context. The

world outlook helped him to rid himself of bias, lopsidedness, and, idealisation and developed in him the pragmatist' approach.

In order to maintain a close link with other important nations of the world and to raise the level of nationalism, Nehru tried to involve the Indian National Congress in formulating a clear-cut world outlook. Thus Nehru wanted the Indian National Congress to play an international role and to improve relations with neighbouring countries so that the national movement of India could take wider shape. He also tried to involve those Indians who were settled outside, to the cause of national liberation. To Nehru, considerations of some of the principles, in the broader aspect, was always important.

C. Nehru's Account of Asia:

Capitalism spread all over the world leading to imperialism and colonisation of Afro-Asian countries. Nehru mentioned thus, "Europe sat on the giant Asia"⁽¹¹²⁾. As imperialism became more and more aggressive, nationalism grew in the East to counter it and to fight it. All over Asia, national movements took shape and ultimately challenged the colonial rule. This resulted into more and more aggressive response from the colonial power when they tried to crush nationalism of the East. Nehru clearly explained that the resistance against foreign rule also increased with the increase of the oppression and suppression of the rights of the colonised people. The first stage of Asian nationalism was led by the feudal lords followed by a new brand of nationalism tinged with

a religious outlook. This religious nationalism also failed, paving the way for the advent of the western type of nationalism. The earlier resistance failed because they could not compete with the science and technology of the west, which had made imperialist's army more powerful. Thus medievalism of the East could not combat the aggressiveness of the industrialised West. However, liberation movement against imperialism, covered the whole of Asia.

Nehru visited so many Asian countries and tried to keep contact with them because the problem was of equal concern to the vast Asian humanity. He also pointed out that this wider interest in international affairs also helped to raise our national struggle to a higher level and to lessen narrowness. Thus, to Nehru, to have friendly relations with Asian countries always proved to be useful because they could collectively react to their cause. Talking about the second world war, Nehru observed that hundreds of millions of Asians wanted to know whether did it help towards their liberation, peaceful life, bring equality and equal opportunity to nations as well as groups, an early liquidation of poverty and illiteracy. Reacting to the urgency of the above mentioned demands Nehru held even in this context they welcome all attempts at the world cooperation and the establishment of an international order'.⁽¹¹³⁾ His writings and speeches contained liberation of Afro-Asian countries from the colonial rules, and their better living conditions.

Discussing the world problems, Nehru pointed out

that throughout the world, behind the political and economic conflicts, there was a spiritual crisis, questioning old values and beliefs in a search for a way out. In India, as well as in other Asian countries, the old culture offered no solution to the modern problems. "Capitalist West lost its glamour, and new civilization in the Soviet countries attracted Indians, in spite of some dark patches, and offer prospect for world peace and prosperity, of ending the misery and the exploitation of millions".⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Nehru, therefore, advocated close relationship with the socialist world both for India and other Afro-Asian countries. He believed that nationalism would fall of its purpose unless it is rooted through internationalism.

His attempts to achieve unity of purpose, culminated in the 'Asian Relation Conference' in 1947, in Delhi. He addressed the meeting 'as the meeting of old friends on equal basis in common tasks and endeavour! He mentioned colonialisaton of Asian countries by the imperialists and found that this led to disruption of the age old cordial relationship that existed between and among the nations of Asia and hoped this conference would succeed and the "walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at one another again and meet as old friends long posted."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Nehru firmly believed that Asia would necessarily play a vital role and will have their own policies in the world affairs. According to Nehru, "in this 'Atomic Age' Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed,

there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part". (116) This could be possible for the fact that the Asian countries were becoming free and hoped they would look to their political and economic freedom in terms of 'common men' of their land. Nehru proposed that Asian countries should work in a non-aligned way and support the U.N.O. He held that some kind of world federation seemed to be essential. When Nehru called the Asian Relations conference in March - April, 1947, this looked to some like anti-Europeanism, but was nothing much more than anti-European colonialism". (117) In January, 1949 he called the second, as a move against Dutch for Indonesian liberation. Thus Nehru made a big mark, for in Nehru's generation, the world was growing together, for good or evil, into a unity and 'Nehru was pioneer in taking nothing less than the world itself as the field for his public activity.' (118)

Thus, Nehru's achievement in the field of international affairs was massive. He forced the pace of liberation of Asia and Africa and insulated the new nations, from cold war alliance and devisions. (119)

D. Nehru's Ideas on War and Peace:

Recognised and respected as one of the top ranking statesmen of the world during his time for his enlightened nationalism, his boldness in accepting socialism and his earnestness for the entire world, Nehru took considerable inter-

est in world affairs. It was he who prevailed upon the Indian National Congress leaders to see the question of India's independence in the perspective of international issue. On his initiative and interest, the Indian National Congress started discussion on various international problems before India was independent. It is here that Nehru's attention was drawn to the problems of world's peace.

He fully understood the implication of the changes taking place in the world and the way it was moving ahead. He could foresee the dawn of independence of nations in the context of scientific and technological revolution. It was in this perspective that he felt the coming age would bring the nations of the world closer and make peace indivisible. While addressing Madras Congress, as early as 1927, Nehru emphasised, the need of peace. The problem of peace was important, "because any war now a days is an international disaster. It must result in terrible slaughter and destruction". (120) He further held, all countries and nations were linking together and could not be spared "even if a war is fought outside the frontier of India, that it would leave India untouched". (121) To him, the question of war and peace was directly related to the Indian war of independence. Because it might delay or make difficult for India to achieve freedom. He further emphasised that the war did not relate only to nations but also to the individuals. Thus, his philosophy of world peace depended on pragmatic analysis of the danger of war

and the indivisibility of peace. It further related to the cause of independence of so many countries living under the colonial rule. Nehru held, it was important for all and more for India. In his words : "no man or woman can ignore it, least of all an Indian who desires to achieve freedom for his country"⁽¹²²⁾. Though the war started twelve years later, Nehru could foresee just then that its preparation was going on everywhere. Nehru explained that Europe was in the grip of fear and out of fear came hatred and out of that came violence and barbarism. Every country of Europe hated every other country. Europe became an armed camp where every country was bearing the other. The Europe, between the two world wars, turned to be the centre of rivalries of the modern world. He mentioned that wars took place in Africa, in Europe, and in the far East of Asia. He mentioned Italy's attack over Abyssinia, Japan's attack over Manchuria. Hitler, in January 1935, occupied the Saar basin and decreed conscription. The year 1936 witnessed another step in the fascist attempt to dominate Spain. Europe was humbled by Nazi triumph in Austria. But Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia brought the world closer to the Second World War, Nehru held that he intensely disliked fascism.

Nehru thought that Europe was perhaps a greater powered magazine than was in 1914. He recorded, the Balkans, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Russia, everywhere there was preparation of War and changes of war. He referred to

the failure of various disarmament conferences at Geneva, largely because, Britain could not agree. The above view was made by Nehru as early as 1927. In 1940 he held, disarmament finally depended on the far reaching changes in the political and economic structure of the world. He also mentioned that actual disarmament should be preceded by moral disarmament.

Nehru always laid emphasis on freedom, equality and justice as principles governing the inter-state relations. The conflictory character of international society should be replaced by cooperational one. Nehru was highly disturbed when Albania was captured. He wrote in the 'National Herald' on 19th April 1939, apprehending Second World War, "who dare says that the thin thread that holds back these forces will not snap and unleash destruction and doom on hapless mankind? Peace, so-called peace, holds to-day; what of tomorrow or the day after? (123) Within months the second World War started. He held, "it was in 1914 and after, and millions believed in vein, that the war was to end war and to establish peace and freedom on this unhappy planet of ours". (124) He described in the National Herald, dated 17th July 1940, "that the map of Europe has changed utterly and many nations have ceased to be, Poland went, Denmark and Norway succumbed, Holland collapsed, Belgium surrendered, France failed suddenly and completely. All these went into the German orbit. Addressing a conference in Paris, as Congress

representative, on July 23rd & 24th 1938, when towns were bombed openly, Nehru held, 'we have associated ourselves with this work of peace most willingly because of the vital importance and urgency of the problem'. (125) He further emphasised that Indian traditions always demanded that peace be the objective of the country and the Congress likewise, have come forward with the attempt for peace. He further held that the imperial idea of fascism or imperialism was responsible for the war and without getting rid of these evils no peace could be established. He generalised that 'there is no peace for a subject country at any time, for peace only comes with freedom'. (126)

According to Nehru, 'freedom was indivisible' like peace and war and so long there was continuation of colonial rule there could be no freedom. In his words, 'if the aggression of today has to be checked the aggressors of yesterday have also to be called to account. (127) because that sought to cover up the past evil. He was optimist and even when India was not independent he declared, 'but whether we live or die' the cause of peace and freedom will remain, for that is greater than us - it is the cause of humanity, itself'. If peace perishes, all perish, so 'what-ever fate may befall us to that cause let us pledge ourselves.' (128)

Justifying India's stand against nazism and fascism on the ground that they practised racialism and it was also propagated that 'nationalism in essence was racialism'. Nehru

explained the same spirit of nationalism was not applicable to India because it didn't believe either in superiority of one race over the other or the hostility with other races. Indian nationalism was anti-racialism and as such, was different from fascism. War resistance policy against fascism was adopted 'because of our love of freedom and democracy and our insistence on Indian independence' mentioned Nehru. (129) Nehru suggested not to forget recent history. It is not Hitler or Mussolini who created the present crisis, and added how British government, supported by France, led to this. The credit goes to Nehru that he could justifiably take the right stand.

Nehru also pointed out that every thing was not the same with all nationalists in India. Because some of their 'governmentarians' or pro-establishment people first supported Hitler and Mussolini and later on changed to support fight for democracy. In his analysis, he wondered what could have been if events had taken a different theme. In his words : 'there was a time not so long ago, when they praised Hitler and Mussolini, and held them as models and when they cursed the Soviet Union with bell, book and candle. Not so now for the weather has changed.' (130)

Nehru was anti-fascist from the core of his heart and he refused to meet Mussolini in the early days of March 1936 even after having a pressing invitation. Two years later, before the Munich pact, he was invited to visit Germany, on behalf of the German government, and again he declined with

thanks. But he went to Spain, Czechoslovakia and other countries of Europe. Nehru did not meet Mussolini 'when many of British statesmen spoke tenderly and admiringly of Duce those days. He (131) equally condemned Japanese aggression on China. Thus it can be safely put forward that Nehru was anti-fascist throughout the war and sided with so-called democracy only for the fact that they were the best in the worst scenario of the world politics. His admiration for democracy of the smaller countries who were badly allowed to be defeated, remained uppermost. Further, he took the cause of liberation of Afro-Asian countries and recorded that the Baltic countries and Bessarabia were more or less absorbed by the Soviet Russia. Nehru thought that a fundamental political and economic change would come out of this war since it was sad to see a great people so blind to everything except the narrow interests of a class, and risking everything but not taking the step which would put them right with the world and with the great historic process that were marching on the giant strides, but England was yet to learn the lesson. Nehru condemned Chamberlain who did not bother to pay any respect to high principles of freedom, democracy, human rights, justice and international morality and law rather, surrendered to barbarity of the way of the sword, conducting co-ercion to minorities in Germany, the high priest of nazism. So Nehru concluded, 'It is evident that Mr. Chamberlain's outlook allowing for his English environment, was not different from Hitler's'. (132)

He believed that complete disarmament of all national states should be aimed at as an urgent necessity. The question could only be considered on world basis when peace was re-established. Complete disarmament, to Nehru, meant the ending of war but that could be possible permanently if causes for war were removed. So he recommended the end of the suppression of one nation by another, of large masses of people by privileged groups, all the uneven distribution of the world's resources, all inequalities between nations and nations, groups and groups as haves and have-nots; between nations as well as between groups or classes and also the religious or the racial discrimination. In his words: "the question of complete disarmament thus becomes tied up with fundamental political and economic changes in the world. It could not be tackled, much less solved, by itself." (133)

These are his socialistic overtones based on humanism. The philosophy of internationalism of Nehru was also influenced by Gandhi when he recommended that even before the achievement of social, political and economic equality both in national and international society the priority should be given to and be preceded by moral disarmament. In the view of Nehru, "as a result of the present war the revulsion of war is likely to be tremendous". (134) In the same note, Nehru mentioned that "the question of disarmament is full of difficulty and we come back to the prior necessity of removing the causes of war".

When the United States of America bombed Japan,

Nehru reacted in these words : "my mind became more and more occupied with the latest advance of our civilisation and numerous pictures of what might happen came before me".⁽¹³⁵⁾ To Nehru, "it was a reminder of the Stark reality behind all the tops of the foreign ministers and the UNO. It was the dark shadow of approaching World War III."⁽¹³⁶⁾ In the later years, Nehru always thought for world peace and cooperation and believed in peaceful co-existence and brought up the concept of Panchasheel (Five principles) which dominated his world view. He favoured nuclear -- test ban, addressing United Nation General Assembly, New York, on 3rd October 1960, he remembered that in the faithful summer of 1938, he was a visitor at a meeting of the League of Nation at Geneva. At that time, Hitler was advancing holding out threats of war but "the League of Nations appeared to be unconcerned and discussed all manner of subjects, except the most vital subject of the day." A year later the war descended upon the world. After many years of carnage, that war ended, and a new age - the atomic age, was ushered in by the terrible experiences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki". Nehru did not like League's^{has} inactive role in stopping aggression and establishment of peace and also the Mandatory provisions under the League and favoured its replacement.

E. United Nations organisation:

United Nations organisation arrived with a

note of high idealism inscribed in the noble wordings on the Charter. United Nation has been made structurally better than the League, but there are permanent members of the security Council with a provisions of unanimity among the great powers. "All these was not very logical" (137) mentioned Nehru. Referring to the preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO he stated, "it is stated that war begins in the minds of man" (138) and believed it, essentially true, and ultimately necessary. Further, apart from the moral imperatives of peace, every practical consideration should be made in order to achieve disarmament where the prohibition of the manufacture, storage, and use of weapons of mass destruction should be taken up.

Nehru always favoured that the United Nations Organisation should play its role because the world will not profit, "if it conquers the material ills and then commits suicide because it has not controlled its own minds." (139)

Nehru came both as a politician and an intellectual, whom, the times which were out of joints to draw into politics. He surveyed the world as a humanist and an architect of tommorrow, revindicated the glory of India and also lifted India into a world perspective. His major writings 'deal with Congress politics and India in foreign affairs, denoting his abiding faith in internationalism. He held, 'I came back full of the tragedy of Spain which was being strangled not so much by enemies, but by those who called themselves, the friends of

democracy'. He mentioned Czechoslovakia where another betrayal unrolled itself. All these led him to hold that 'the past policy of the British Government as well as recent developments demonstrated abundantly that this government does not stand for freedom or democracy and may at any time betray these ideals' (140). He explained that both Spain and Czechoslovakia had stood for democracy but they were surrendered so 'India can't associate herself with such a government or be asked to give her resources' when bigger things were afoot and it was time that India also thought in terms of them. This is genuine internationalism when Indians were passing through some of the bitterest days in her history, even then Nehru tried to analyse those Indian problems in the context of the world.

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CHAPTER - VII

Summary of Findings, and Concluding observations

A. Summary of Findings:

The foregoing discussion in this study conclusively proves that the concepts of nationalism and internationalism, ^{deve-} as /
loped by Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru, need to be analysed in the proper historical context, taking into account the impact of certain socio-economic and political factors. In fact, an indepth study of these phenomena called for a close examination of the proper setting — social, economic and political. It is equally fascinating to note that all the three thinkers under study sought to explain it from a broader perspective. Mention must be made of Gandhi and Nehru who were guided not only by conceptual considerations, but also by ^{their} practical application. To both of them, the concepts became tools for achieving the desired national goal — the independence of India. Thus, one can reasonably argue that the notions of nationalism and internationalism in the Indian context have their teleological implications. Initially, these may appear to be the end-product of a long political process, that is, the national freedom movement. But this may be a simplistic way of looking at the problem. The ideas of nationalism and internationalism, viewed from teleological perspective, offer new insights into the mental make-up, political affiliations, social commitments, individual value-preferences, and, above all, social awareness of the persons responsible for rendering services to the nation at a very critical juncture of Indian history.

With this end in view, the present study has sought to answer some of the most relevant questions, posed at the outset, relating to the concepts of nationalism and internationalism, as viewed by Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru.

With regard to the basic foundations of nationalism and internationalism and their mutual interaction, it may be mentioned that the problem should be analysed from its historical perspective and the same has been attempted in the chapter on conceptual framework and in the context of Indian nationalism.

The ideal of nationalism initially emerged in Europe, in the last quarter of the 18th century France, and from there engulfed the whole of Europe and it also turned to be a force behind the resurgence of Afro-Asian Nationalism. There is no agreed view about the concepts of nationalism^{and internationalism.} Though the concepts reveal structural variation and their history shows so many transformations, yet some sort of uniformity is also visible in their genesis and growth. One of the basic foundation of nationalism is that men are identified first and foremost, by nation to which people render their fervent devotion. The disintegration of the older form of social system and the emergence of 'bourgeoisie' and the 'common men' were commonly responsible for the formation of a nation. As a movement, it has undergone transformation from an 'elite' movement to

'bourgeois', and from that to 'mass-movement'. These exhibit the fact that behind formation, and growth, there has been uniformity and everywhere the increasing role of social, economic and political factors is also marked. Ideologically, nationalism found company in 'democracy' and despite its deterioration to 'fascism' and 'nazism', conscious and consistent attempts were always made to establish linkage with 'democracy', 'secularism' and 'socialism'. Nationalism reveals some broad general characteristics as an ideal for unity, independence and welfare of the people.

Internationalism comes as a composite of several functionally specific orders, such as, military, diplomatic, legal, economic and moral. The collapse of feudal order led to the legitimisation of an international order due to the existence of sovereign states. The emergence of imperialism led to extra-national expansionism, resulting into colonisation of Afro-Asian countries which necessitated collapse of colonial system. As an ideal, internationalism like nationalism, is associated with a high level of social, cultural, political and economic integration processes and not the least, by the impact of Industrial Revolution and scientific technological advancement. It came as an ideal of supra-national society based on the ideology of democracy, secularism, humanism, socialism and communism wherein in the thrust remained on freedom and self-determination. Institutional manifestations, in the shape of the League of Nations, the

United Nations Organisation, other governmental and non-governmental organisations are mushrooming the world scene. Like nationalism, internationalism has been prey to certain lapses which led to the outbreak of the two world wars. In order to cure the world society, pluralists plead for moral, economic and political changes within the state for improved inter-action among the states. Federalists advance the plea for global organisational set-up, in order to secure collective co-existence without sacrificing fundamental individual rights. The fact remains there is irresistible pressure towards international co-operation and integration on global level and the ideal of attainment of the goal of 'security', 'welfare' and justice of the people, is the essence of internationalism.

In the Indian perspective, nationalism has been identified to a greater extent, in the shape of identification of the state with people. The same has been explained in the chapter on Indian nationalism. Here we place in brief, in the context of national movement, ideology of nationalism in India.

Indian national movement came in general, as a living part of the world movement and, in particular, as a part of the Afro-Asian movement, against colonial rule. Indian nationalism, in course of time, found identification of state with people since it was state-nation and not the nation-state in the strictest sense of the term. The modern-state and the nation-state are

co-extensive in modernisation and development. As a movement, nationalism in India acquired the mass character under the leadership of Gandhi. The important aspect of Indian reality was that there always existed antagonism between the ruler and the ruled. This led to the birth, growth and fulfillment of Indian nationalism. Ideologically, nationalism is inconceivable without democracy and, in case of India, collective grievance of the people were ventilated at a higher level. Liberty, equality and fraternity were the catchwords. Indian nationalism reflected all these and at the later stage included secularism and socialism. Thus perfect identification with people is observed.

Nationalism was at a particular period of history associated with democracy, but with the change of time it got interlocked with imperialism. An attempt has been made to explain the same in the chapter on conceptual framework, as well as in the views of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru.

In short, it can be stated that mostly, nationalism, initially, flourished in/industrialised countries and their national production, national wealth and the national resources were produced and handled by/big business and industries. Their search for more and more profit led to the search of new market. The world became too small for the high ambition of these imperialist power. Narrow spirit of nationalism was whipped up in every western country and Europe became an armed

camp. There was strong competition in industry, trade and armaments. Owing to scientific and technological advancement, the whole structure under industrial capitalism bred frictions between nation and nation, class and class and man and man. The three decades, from 1884 to 1914, became the period of imperialism, which can be safely regarded as the preparatory for the catastrophes that came during the inter-war period and the Second World War. Everywhere, a section of people protested against this ruthless oppression. This new phenomenon of alliance between people and capital divided the world into master and slave, higher and lower breeds, coloured and white. Racialism, became a powerful imperialistic policy which created a race of aristocrats against nation of citizens, German race-thinking was implanted during the Napoleonic wars. The 'survival of the fittest' also helped racism and totalitarian forms of governments were established on the basis of race and bureaucracy. Nationalism also manifested through nazism, fascism, and other varieties of totalitarianism between the two world wars and even thereafter. Thus, imperialism and nationalism were strongly interlocked. But when Napoleon tried to unite Europe under the French flag, that led either to the full awakening of the conquered people's national consciousness, and, to consequent rebellion against the conquerer, or to tyranny. The same happened to the Afro-Asian countries where it was imperialism which was mainly responsible as a force behind the resurgence of the liberation movement of Afro-Asian countries,

Indian liberation movement also fell under this category.

Discussing the basic characteristics of the anti-colonial varieties of nationalism in general, and its impact on Indian nationalism, we may place them in brief as follows:

The basic characteristics of the anti-colonial variety of nationalism were more or less uniform. Indian national movement also emerged as the part of the Afro-Asian movement. The growth of the Third World nationalism, a global movement, was in response to colonisation of Afro-Asian nations. Mainly it was anti-colonial in character. From another perspective, it can be mentioned that nationalism in the third world had two principal features : a drive to throw off the ascendancy of the western power in its negative phase; and, to adopt their system with the deliberate choice without any pressure, in its positive phase. The central feature of this brand of nationalism was to raise voice against economic exploitation, coercion and racial discrimination being practised in almost all the colonies. The external factors also played ^a quite significant role in the emergence, growth and fulfillment of national goal as to the third world nationalism. And these influences were Euro-centric. In the war of liberation from colonial yoke, culturally and socially discreet groups of people joined together, in the hope, to accomplish certain objectives of unity, integrity and development. Indian national movement also emerged as the anti-colonial variety of nationalism. As a part of

the Afro-Asian movement it took anti-colonial and anti-racial character. It also followed democratic, secular and egalitarian manifestations of the western nationalism. The whole movement was to achieve national independence, welfare and unity of the people. From another perspective, the nature of Indian nationalism can be taken as synthetic. India did not retain everything that was native nor discarded everything that was foreign.

The factors responsible for the emergence, growth and subsequent consolidation of Indian nationalism constitute an independent chapter of the study on Indian nationalism. A brief resume is attempted here.

Indian nationalism emerged as a result of action and interaction of numerous subjective and objective factors which developed under the British rule and the impact of world forces. It came as a defence-mechanism against the foreign rule. The emergence of Indian nationalism has a long historical background. Indian Renaissance of the 19th century, mainly in the second half, paved the way for its growth. The social, economic, political and cultural factors also accelerated the pace of the nationalist movement. The process of the ideological growth of Indian nationalism culminated in the formation of the Indian National Congress. In the first stage the intelligentsia constituted the front rank leadership, which was later on joined and supported by the bourgeois and feudal lords. In the final

stage of nationalist movement, the workers and the peasants joined it. Indian national movement gathered momentum with the partition of Bengal in the truest sense of the term, and widened with the participation of the peasants and labours. The impact of the world events such as, Japan's victory over Russia, the First World War, Russian Revolution, the formation of the League of Nations, and the major events in between the two world wars, and finally, the outbreak of the Second World War, accelerated the momentum of Indian national movement.

It would not be off the track to mention here that the sociological foundation of Tagore's political thought and the socio-political and cultural dimensions of his nationalism have been detailed in the chapter on Tagore's ideas of nationalism. However, a brief resume, to this effect, would suffice in highlighting the desired views.

Tagore had the perfect knowledge of the fact that India had ceased to be politically and culturally creative. Love of the country was not the characteristic of the Tagore's age. Tagore felt the urgent need of providing national identity and in this regard, he addressed political leaders, landlords and the educated youth to respond to the demand of the nation. Politically, he believed that Britishers failed to make India their home, not learned the language of the people and discriminated the Indians racially. Undemocratic behaviour and racial discrimination found in Tagore a vehement critic of British rule in India.

He wrote a great deal, on social and political questions. He was the source of inspiration to the leaders, intellectuals and even to the simple unlettered countrymen. He paid serious attention to the Hindu-Muslim problem and suggested secularism as the only way to solve this problem. In economy, his spheres of action included such measures which stood for the interest of the downtrodden.

Tagore's concept of internationalism in general, and the concept of the 'great federation of ~~man~~^{men}' in particular, forms the core of his ideas on nationalism and internationalism. His thinking on internationalism reflects his humanist, universalist and internationalist views. His onslaught on nationalism forms the core of his internationalism. He advocated that every nation should behave like a member of the world family, constituting world federation. So he supported the liberation of all the nations. 'Man' continued, in his account, not for the satisfaction of his material needs but in order to strive with all his might for the revelation of the 'universal man' in the world of men. So what was true of an individual was also true in the society and what was true for a society was equally true for a nation. Thus Tagore produced integrated humanism with a plan of 'the great federation of man' in his nationalistic discourse.

In regard to Gandhi's attempts at spiritualisation of politics and their impact on nationalism and internationalism, a detailed analysis has been attempted in his social ideas on

Nationalism and internationalism.

In short, it can be pointed out that Gandhi was a moral purist and as such produced a thorough and a whole-sale application of the criteriology of good. To him, even the colonial encounter, between England and India was between good and bad. Non-violence became both the end and means of social change. His God lived in humanity and Indians were in helpless condition under the British rule. So to serve the countrymen was nationalism, and the only prayer to God. The freedom of India could never be a menace for the world. He favoured democracy but was of the opinion that only through the means of non-violence that could be achieved. He tried to arouse the social consciousness so that the people could solve their difficulties by themselves. Gandhi created the machinery for the Congress, won the masses for it, with fund to carry on agitation. His moral interpretation of politics helped him to rid the Hindu society of the heinous crime against the outcastes. He was a man of religion but he asserted that he did not know any religion apart from human activity. To him, this helped him to be a universalist and an internationalist. He rightly understood that it was not possible to separate religion here from politics. In his religion, God appeared in 'work and wage'. God could be visible through the 'Poor' so to serve poor was worship. As an ideology, secularism was supported by Gandhi. He opposed state aid to religion. He was totally opposed to partition and sacrificed his life for the

cause of Hindu Muslim unity.

His economic doctrine was that of the investment in the human capital. Work performed in the service of others, was 'bread-labour'. Man is the micro-unit of this socio-economic system, totally depending on morality and ethics. This applied to humanity at large. His concept of economic freedom was partly economic, partly moral and partly spiritual - a deeply national ideology. His economic programme reflected his commitment to the cause of poverty alleviation. He opposed state control over economy and favoured decentralisation - a democratic approach. Trusteeship and Sarvodaya formed the base of ideological foundations of Gandhian political economy-committed to the task of unprivileged humanity. Acceptance of 'Ahimsa' as an 'end' and a means, in all social, political, economic affairs of individual, society and nation formed the base of Gandhian political philosophy. It was purity of means which formed the bedrock of Gandhian nationalism and internationalism. All his movements - social, political and economic-were guided by this principle.

Man is the central figure, in Gandhi's political analysis, in both nationalism and internationalism. His approach was individual-moral. To him, Indian freedom never meant suffering for another country. He held, time and again, internationalism is possible only when nationalism is a fact. Because nationalism is no evil, it is narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is evil. He was not a regionalist, favouring Africa

for Africans or Asia for Asiatics and, as such, was totally opposed to regionalism. Gandhi provided the compact philosophy which was equally valid for the individual, the nation and also for the world society and this was based on the method of non-violence. He was opposed to imperialism, fascism and nazism to a greater extent, and even to liberal democracy. Gandhi strongly condemned war and appealed everyone for peace. An ardent advocate of international co-operation and collaboration, Gandhi also favoured federation of independent nations. He wanted that economic equality be established and exploitation of one nation by the other be stopped and suggested realist measures for the disarmament. His suggestion to the states not to use force could be pre-supposed as real steps towards internationalism. If the civilization is not to disintegrate the premises of Gandhi have immediate relevance, no matter, it be termed as spiritualisation of politics. The most crucial theoretical foundation of his entire strategy of winning swaraj for India.

Gandhi challenged the foundations of modern civilization in the 'Hind Swaraj' (Indian Home Rule). On the surface, it is indeed a critique of modern civilization, a civilisation only in a name. The emphasis is not so much on the elements of culture, rather, more forcefully to the moral failure. So to him, colonial encounter was not between England and India or between the East and the West but between good and bad.

It is a moral failure on the part of Indians that

led to the conquest of India. It is not because of the lack of modernity or presence of backwardness but for the reasons that Indians were subduced to the glitter of modern civilization. As long as, Indians continue to harbour the illusions of the modern civilization they will remain a subject nation. To Gandhi, it is not the physical presence of English which makes India a subject nation, rather, it is the modern civilization which has subjected it. His account proceeds with an indictment of modern civilization, as it has emerged in the west and is being imported to India. Modern civilization has released the forces of unbridled competition and there by bring upon the society the evils of poverty. The driving social urge is the craving for excessive consumption. On this basis, he advances his thought on nationalism and holds that there is no way in which any process of industrialisation can avoid the creation of exploitative and inhumane relations of exchange between the town and the country. He prescribed 'Khadi' as the only sound economic proposition for India. To him, mechanisation is good only when the hands are too few. He proposed the theory of 'trusteeship' and 'Sarvodaya' to redress the poverty of the Indians. On political front, he criticises the liberal democracy of the West on the ground that the parliament, the government and the political parties worked for the interest of a group and not for the common men. Hence the disease is the same. On the international level, he finds imperialism subordinating morality and exploiting the nations

which is directly related to organisation of social production and its purposes. Thus what is prescribed for India is equally applicable outside the thematic of nationalism and also not within the bounds of post-enlightenment thought. However, one should take into account the fact that he was mainly concerned with the political movement of the liberation of the country.

The basic postulate of Gandhian idea is that nationalism is the logical step to internationalism, and the same is being recorded in brief.

Gandhi's political philosophy is totally based on individual ^{and} moral analysis. Love of man, and not hatred, is the motive force behind his conception of nationalism and internationalism. Love of man impelled Gandhi to be both a nationalist and internationalist. Gandhi's view on religion also helped him to believe that all religions helped to extend notion of international brotherhood. According to Gandhi, India was doomed unless reconstituted, on the basis of new moral and political principles. His 'Swadeshi' taught him that by being born in it, and having inherited Indian culture, India had prior claim to his service. If he worked primarily for his countrymen, it was because he was born among them and because their suffering and humiliation supplied the necessary incentives to his moral sensibility and his political crusade. Gandhi repeatedly claimed that a man could serve both his country and the world, serve his

neighbours as well as humanity. He categorically held freedom for India did not mean sufferings for another country. As a political concept, nationalism came to him as the basis for internationalism. As a practical politician, he could link independence of India to the furtherance of the cause of humanity. He was quite aware of the fact that 'the world has shrunk to a pinhead' and even the slightest movement on one spot effected the whole. So he was not preaching an abstract internationalism. Gandhi analysed nationalism in its truest perspective when he observed that nationalism was not an evil; it was narrowness, selfishness_R ^{and} exclusiveness which were ^{the} evils. He continued that the profit at the expense of other nations became the order of international society. So, if he could keep India out of this narrowness, selfishness and exclusiveness, only then, he would be able and justified in serving humanity. He tried hard to keep India away from narrow, exclusive concept of nationalism. That is why, Gandhi declared time and again, that it is impossible to be internationalist since only a good nationalist could become a true internationalist. Gandhi never supported 'regionalism' and was not in favour of Africa for Africans or Asia for Asiatics. To him, there was no impassable barrier between the East and the West. He believed due to technological advancement imperialist design emerged in Europe and that led to colonialisation of Afro-Asian countries which also practised radical discrimination and economic exploitation. To him, imperialism subordinated both

morality and politics to the cause of profit maximisation. His method rested on purity of means where both morality and politics were merged. So what was bad for an individual was equally bad for the nation. He criticised liberal democracy, imperialism, fascism and nazism, condemned war, favoured formation of international organisation, was an apostle of peace, talked of disarmament. His philosophical analysis provided directive principles for world federation based on co-operation, principles of equality, non-violence, sacrifice and humanitarian ethics.

Thus Gandhi held, it is impossible to be internationalist without being a nationalist and internationalism is possible only when nationalism is a fact.

Nehru's ideology of internationalism is as powerful as his views on nationalism. His nationalism is equal to internationalism. He emphasised that greater stress should be given on the synthesis. He did not retain everything that was Indian nor discarded everything that was from abroad. Nehru emerged as an actor in the political drama and participated in the struggle for freedom. Indian nationalism found in him, a contributor for its ideology. Nehru was quite aware of the fact that 'nationalistic outlook filled the minds of Indians' so long India was not free from colonial rule. He took note of the fact that the changes that were being brought by the inventions and the development of science had already integrated the world. His reading of world history and understanding of imperialism further helped him to

think in terms of interdependence of nations. Two rival political and economic system the imperialist and fascist on one side, and the socialist and the nationalist on the others, further, found in Nehru an urge to opt for socialism. All these led Nehru to conclude whether it was nationalism or economy no country could lead an isolated life. In this global perspective, Nehru analysed and formulated his views on Indian nationalism, synthesising what he deemed to be the best for India.

Tagore, like Nehru, also supported a synthesis between the East and the West. His world view was moulded by English liberalism in the formative period of his life, his direct contact with the modern world, the English people and their mighty literature, and frequent visits to other countries. On the other hand, his philosophy of nationalism and internationalism was equally influenced by his family and the Indian background. Tagore's humanism condemned the lust for power and profit and advised the Western countries to eliminate their ills. To Tagore, there was no boundary wall between the East and the West. He warned the East not to reject the West but to learn from them their achievements in science and technology.

Nehru rejected the 'assimilative - integral religious approach' on the grounds given below:

Nehru did not regard nationalism as religious faith rather he believed that it emerged at a certain stage of histori-

cal development. He knew the history of Western nationalism, its origin, growth and consolidation. He was influenced by the western conceptualisation of secularism and believed that secularism never meant disregard to religion, rather it meant, a state where freedom of religion and conscience would be guaranteed. His ideology of nationalism was essentially secular and for a country like India where people of different religions lived it was a must. Nehru explained that it was due to the lack of the ideology of secularism, that in India, communalism spread and only the political reactionaries took to communalism. It is Nehru's contribution that he included both socialism and democracy into the concept of secularism. To him, communalism was an economic problem, and partly a middle class problem and communal leaders were only to obstruct the political advance of freedom movement. To him, both the Hindu Mahasabha leaders and the Muslim League leaders were opposed to progressive economic movement and, as such, represented a small upper class reactionary group against the radical tendencies.

Britain started enslaving Indians spiritually with the spread of christianity. In response to this action struggle for liberation from christianity started. One such attempt was made by Dayananda ~~ax~~ in defence of the native religion. He set himself to the task of reforming and reviving the religion of Hinduism with a call to 'Back to Vedas'. In Vivekananda's opinion, religion had to be the principle and leading force in implementing all social changes in India. If any one wanted to

speaking of politics he must speak through the language of religion. Aurobindo, a Vedantist, is of the view that philosophy is the search for the fundamental truth and it is religion that communicates truth to the soul of man. A religion that is not the expression of philosophic truth degenerates into superstition. So he wanted to reorient the traditional Vedanta making it worldly .

Nehru, throughout his career, carried on a relentless struggle against narrow concept of nationalism. He was a whole hearted admirer of the scientific, rational and humane outlook. Nehru's nationalism was composite where there was no place to religious fundamentalism and obscurantism.

Nehru's 'reconciliatory approach' to internationalism is found, to a greater extent, in conformity with his ideas on nationalism.

Nehru's internationalism is the record of the outstanding events of the world and analysis of the main ideologies. His vast knowledge of history, philosophy and world economy helped him advance his understanding of International society. The universal character of the laws of historical development, integration of the world economy, the Industrial and Mechanical Revolutions, all taken together, helped Nehru to view and judge the Indian problems in/global perspective. Nehru understood well that

the country was yet to be free and as such nationalism filled Indian minds. He also thought that his primary loyalty was to Indian national freedom but he was sternly against narrow nationalism and very critical of self-assertion which turned into chauvinism, aggressiveness and hostilities towards other nation. He did not like that type of nationalism where the people were to withdraw into the shell of its own history and tradition and in this respect wanted that India should maintain contact with others so that she could increase her fund of knowledge. He blamed those countries where nationalism became imperialist, fascist and oppressive.

However, Nehru held, in case of Afro-Asian countries, their war of liberation was qualitatively better and appeared democratic and progressive. Nehru was an internationalist, because he believed that it was the demand of the situation. He also knew that nationalism would remain the outstanding urge till some measure of political freedom was achieved.

Being an Indian, he felt the full weight of imperialism, so he was naturally against imperialism, Indians were discriminated racially so he was anti-racialist. There was no political and economic freedom under the British rule so Nehru opted for democracy and socialism. What he wanted in India, he also thought others should get that. Thus Nehru's ideology of nationalism and internationalism was the same and exercised reconciliatory approach to internationalism.

CONCLUSION :

A comprehensive study of the Indian version of nationalism and internationalism, involving their very nature, constitutes the core area of any study of this type. It is important to note that the rise and the growth of these two ideas and for that matter, nationalist movement, was the product of the very imperial system that had two important and integrally connected factors - the reinforcement of imperialism at different stages of its evolution and the accentuation of the desire for self-government. This nationalist movement took an organised form in 1885 with establishment of the Indian National Congress which subsequently became the embodiment of India's political hopes and aspirations.

Since the Indian experience of nationalism and internationalism is closely linked up with the domination under a foreign rule and the struggle aiming at its overthrow, it signified a common political consciousness and a sense of patriotism among the people. The writings of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru are sufficient indications of this urge. At this stage a number of factors responsible for the emergence of their ideas, may be identified as socio-cultural renaissance, impact of the western culture, economic discontent, repressive policy of the oppressive rule, racial discrimination and external situation.

Thus, it may be said that the history of the develop-

ment of ideas like nationalism and internationalism, in the Indian context, is a record of the advancing consciousness and the mass-based struggle that started with a few Westernised intelligentsia, having faith in the British justice and fair play, ultimately leading to a struggle for independence.

The present study, while taking into account its different aspects, has attempted to highlight the contributions made by the leading political thinkers during the period. A survey from the socio-economic and political perspective will show the different stages, as a stage when it was a movement by the Western intellectuals (1885-1905), as an era of extremist middle class movement (1905-20), and an era of mass movement led by Gandhi (1920-48) for a meaningful and complete study of the contribution of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. The concepts of nationalism and internationalism, as developed by these three thinkers, have been examined in their proper historical setting, political environment, cultural and ideological influences and individual orientation.

B. Concluding Observations:

Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru were three outstanding and dominating figures of the twentieth century India. They not only inspired millions of Indians by their actions, but also provided ideas of lasting benefit to humanity. Neither of them was narrowly national. Their message was for the world. They were motive forces in their common task of regenerating their people. They were outstanding personalities not only in India but also for the world during the first half of the present century. The historical context of their philosophy was constituted by two elements: British colonialism and Indian renaissance. However, they were brought up in different ways and in different cultural milieu. Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru had developed their world views in their different ways. As a result, a comparative analysis of these three thinkers on different dimensions of nationalism and internationalism has been a curiosity among students of Indian nationalism.

One of the implicit objectives of the study has been to ascertain to what extent the views of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru on national and international questions are congruent with one another. As those three thinkers had profound impact on the ideological moorings of the national movement in India, and as earlier discussions reveal that though all of them had in their minds the cherished goal of self-determination or Swaraj, there

were differences among them in their perceptions and views on nationalism and internationalism. As nationalism reflected a high level of social, cultural, political, and not the least, economic integration, justice demands a comparative analysis of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru on these aspects of nationalism. Further, as all of these thinkers developed their ideas in the midst of the grim struggle for national freedom against the foreign domination, their views on democracy, secularism and egalitarianism have been compared and contrasted to assess their ideology of nationalism. These views, coupled with their assessment of humanism, socialism and communism, are expected to delineate to what extent they were internationalists and what were the similarities and differences among these thinkers on internationalism.

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From *the above* analysis, it may be concluded safely that :

(1) Both Tagore and Gandhi were more Indian than Western in their world-outlook. However, Gandhi was basically a man of concentrated and ceaseless activity, whereas Tagore was primarily a man of thought. Nehru, on the other hand, was influenced more by the Western culture than Indian in most of his basic ideas. However, Nehru was fully aware of the reality of the Indian social matrix.

(2) Tagore and Gandhi affirmed the supreme necessity of a moral regeneration for the attainment of political ends. In 'prayaschitta' (Atonement), Tagore anticipated Gandhi's non-

violent civil disobedience and no-tax campaign. However, Tagore criticised the concept of passive resistance by saying that it was a force which was not necessarily moral in itself; it could be used against truth as well as for it. Unlike Gandhi and Tagore, Nehru's views reflected the post-enlightenment rationalist and positivist thought of Europe.

(3) Gandhi and Tagore were of the opinion that selfishness and narrowness were the root causes of many modern evils. However, when Gandhiji advocated the improvement of this condition from within people Tagore advocated the improvement from without. Nehru on the other hand, was in favour of modernisation, but his modernisation was modified modernisation. Nehru differed with Gandhi on non-violence, but he had all admiration for moral and ethical side of the non-violence.

(4) Gandhi believed in democracy of the masses, on the other hand, Nehru was a believer in democracy for the masses. On the other hand, Tagore was the aristocratic artist, a "turned democrat with proletarian sympathies." If Gandhi was the prophet of long-suffering martyrdom for the sake of justice, Tagore stood for temperate living based on fortitude and moderation.

(5) Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru stood for the secular concept of nationalism. However, there is a considerable amount of religion in Gandhi's approach and ideas. He tried to resolve Hindu - Muslim conflict within the frame of reference of religion rather

than with a militant secularist frame, thought and action. Tagore developed his religions on the basis of "divinity of man" and "humanity of God". In this approach there was no room for communalism, sectarianism and conservatism. Tagore's philosophy of secularism was based on his notion that Hindus and Muslims should not believe in isolationism since creation depended on the perpetual harmony. Nehru was a liberal in his outlook, though he was conscious of the role of religion in a feudal society. Agnosticism and the absence of any transforming religious experience had strengthened his secularism. Nehru's secularism has a material cloak. Gandhi was building nationalism on the basis of harmonious co-existence and reconciliation, rather than on assimilation and amalgamation and fusion.

On the question of economics, Gandhian economics is not a branch of positive economics which merely attempts to predict economic events on the simple premise that citizens try to maximise their net material gain subject to the relevant constraints. It is, rather, a variant of normative economics which proposes an ideal economic order. Gandhi did not believe in the autonomy of economic laws. "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth its name must at the same time be also good economics". Gandhi's advocacy of a rural civilisation was consistent with his unified outlook, where ethics was interchangeable with economics. Tagore ascribed decisive significance to economic

self-sufficiency; because India was plagued by famine and starvation. Tagore emphasised the village as the primary unit and the shut-anchor for any effort at constructive nationalism to succeed in India. Nehru, on the other hand, was deeply involved with socialism as an economic theory of state ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution. To him, socialism was the economic technique for the liberation of the masses from the industrial and agrarian feudal lords and oligarchs. Nehru supported industrialisation, but Gandhi opposed it. However, at a later stage, Nehru tried to reconcile his views on economy in the shape of mixed-economy where the merits of both socialism and capitalism were synthesized.

Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru also differed in their views on international questions and issues. Gandhi was a prophet with a universal message. His utterance that "my love, therefore, of nationalism, or my idea of nationalism, is that my country may be free so that the human races may live" is a pointer that Gandhi was not a nationalist in the usual sense of the term. Tagore, on the other hand, was a champion of the people and not of the nation. Tagore clamoured for the release of cosmopolitan humanism, and endeavoured nationalism as organised gregariousness and mechanical gluttony. He echoed that "nationalism is a menace to civilisation". Nehru prescribed some kind of fusion between the concept of nationalism and the new ideals of proletarianism and internationalism. He was very much averse to narrow, egoistic and expansionist nationalism.

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