

CHAPTER - I

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

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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 supranational 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 antithesis 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 attention of a galaxy of Marxist scholars. ⁽²⁸⁾ Lenin 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.

Hinsley⁽³¹⁾ (1973), Tivey⁽³²⁾ (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.

It is essentially secular. Ebenstein⁽³⁴⁾ (1973) points out that the association of nationalism with socialism is an important trend. Worsley⁽³⁵⁾ (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 (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 (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 (1980) analyses Indian nationalism from the perspective of relationship between Indian National Congress and Muslims. Guha (1983), Sen (1982) and Choudhury (1971) have done commendable works on the peasant and workers movements in colonial India.

Ulyanovsky (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 (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 Rabindranath 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) (72) 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.

Jayantnuja 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. (73)

Bhattacharyya's account of Gandhian nationalism (1969) and internationalism is written in Marxist perspective. (74) Gandhian analysis of war, peace, imperialism has been appreciated by the author.

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 (76) Narayan (1955) has written books on 'Sarvodaya' showing the value of freedom equality, justice and fraternity in Gandhian

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⁾ Aniya 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 ^ahalf-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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