

CHAPTER - IV

I

Introduction:

"It is out of that struggle that present day India has arisen ... Many of us were moulded by that struggle are what we are to-day as a result of that struggle and the ideals and the objectives that governed us then. This is past history now, but sometimes it is worthwhile knowing that past in order to know better the present." (1) This was stated by Jawaharlal in 1962 during the tenure of his Prime Ministership. Jawaharlal and Vallabhbhai Patel can be regarded as the product of the Indian Renaissance and Indian national struggle for Freedom which was again moulded and reshaped by them.

Socio-Economic and Political Background: Direct crown rule was imposed on British India after the suppression of the revolt in 1858. The East India Company which conquered the sub-continent for crown and investor made its exist from the stage of Indian history. The Company had sown the seeds of discontent. "Along with this constitutional change came a complete reversal of the Company's policies, in an effort to pacify the dominant groups in Indian society the Prince, the Brahmins and the land lords." (2)

Annexation of the princely territories were replaced by unqualified support of the princely order. The policy of social reform, which had threatened the prestige and time

honoured prerogatives of the Brahmin caste, gave way to social conservatism. And the expropriation of certain estates which has aroused the fear and wrath of the landed gentry, was terminated by the new dispensation. By these abrupt and fundamental changes in Imperial policy, the three most influential groups in Indian society were rallied to the British connection, a royal aristocracy whose interests and privileges were identified with the perpetuation of British rule. (3) Thus, when Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India in 1877, an Imperial Assembly was held at Delhi, all the leading Indian princes were given titles of Councillors of to the Empress, and uneducated youngmen of high birth were recruited to the lower levels of the public service. (4) British Power in India was at its peak. (5) It was the hey day of the Raj.

The peasantry, then as now the largest class in Indian society, did not pose a serious threat at the time, for it lacked political consciousness, organisation and leadership. But a serious famine in 1877, coinciding with the costly Durbar attending Queen Victoria's assumption of the imperial title, roused the slumbering peasants creating the fear of an agrarian revolt. Curtailment of the freedom of the press and other unpopular legislative enactments of the period caused dissatisfaction among the urban elite, which was in the process of formation during the last half of the nine-teenth century. Indeed, far more important than these specific events was the growth of new classes in Indian society, (6) largely as a result of the very character of British rule.

The growing needs of the bureaucracy, with the expansion of the governmental activities, and the new professions of law, medicine and teaching, inspired by the British, were creating a Western type intelligentsia which was imbibing the spirit of English liberalism and the ideas of national freedom then sweeping Europe. By the 1880's it was beginning to make its voice heard, haltingly and timidly at first but in the direction of political reform. Parallel with its growth was the creation of a new merchant, industrial class as a result of the economic penetration of the interior by means of railways, the growth of trade and commerce, and the greater integration of India into the world economy following the opening of the Suez Canal. With the emergence of these classes the foundation of a nationalist movement were laid though few were aware of its significance at the time. The intellectuals were to provide its leadership, and the merchant industrialists the necessary funds, without which an effective political organisation could not be built. In time their message was to reach the ~~peasantry~~ (7) peasantry, and ultimately they were to attain complete independence.

The origins of national consciousness in modern India are to be found in Bengal, the area was had the longest contact with British rule and the most highly developed political awareness in the sub-continent. From the early part of the nineteenth century onwards, various organisations, such as the Brahma Samaj (Divine Society), founded in 1828, and the Indian Association founded in ¹⁸⁷⁵ 1876, had come into being as forums for the expression of views by Hindu reformers and the intelligentsia respectively, Gra-

dually the idea of a representative, national body took root and, in 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed. The initiative for its creation was taken by an Englishman, Alan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, with the blessing of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. (8)

The Congress was an unimpressive body for the first twenty years of its existence. Only seventy two delegates assembled in Bombay for the first session. The speeches they gave were in English and abounded in expressions of loyalty to the British Raj. The demands were of minor administrative reforms which would enable the intelligentsia to play a more active role in public affairs. The Congress leaders were anxious for greater prestige and influence, but within the framework of the existing regime. Many years were to elapse before the vision of independent India was to capture the imagination of the Congress and the millions whom it came to represent. Yet the intelligentsia had made its appearance on the stage of Indian politics. From its ranks were to be drawn all the great figures of the nationalist movement : Gokhale and Tilak from Maharashtra; Gandhi and Patel from Gujrat; Motilal Nehru from the united provinces; C.R. Das and Subhas Bose from Bengal, and Lajpat Rai from the Punjab. From the intelligentsia, too, came the most romantic and heroic figure in modern Indian history, Jawaharlal Nehru. (9)

II

The role of Nehru's family in the struggle for freedom movement in India:

While the Congress was making its insuspicious debut, in a atmosphere of quiescence and submissiveness, a young, unknown lawyer named Motilal Nehru was beginning his practice at the High Court in Allahabad, a sleepy town in United Provinces, more famous for pilgrimage than for politics. He had come there from Kanpur after three years of apprenticeship and was soon to establish a reputation as a brilliant and successful barrister. (10)

The Nehru's are Kashmiri Brahmins, one of the most aristocratic sub-castes in the Hindu Social systems. They are renowned for their tradition of learning, their handsome men and beautiful women and their pride. (11)

It was early in the eighteenth century, around the year 1716, that Motilal's ancestor, a distinguished Sanskrit and Arabic Scholar, Rajkaul by name, migrated to the plains at the invitation of the Moghul emperor, Farrukh-n-siar, "A jagir with a house situated on the banks of a canal had been granted to Rajkaul, and from the fact of this residence, 'Nehru' (from Nehar, a canal) came to be attached to his name. Kaul had been the family name, this changed to Kaul-Nehru; and, in later years, Kaul dropped out and we became simply Nehru's." (12)

Motilal's father, Pandit Gangadhar Nehru, was the Kotwal (Police Chief) of Delhi; his grandfather served as the first

legal adviser to the East India Company at the Royal Court. But with the ignominious demise of the Moghuls, after the collapse of the Rebellion, the Nehrus migrated to Agra. It was there that Motilal Nehru was born, on 6th May, 1861. "The Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore was born on this very day, month and year."⁽¹³⁾

Motilal was a posthumous child. In the tradition of the Hindu joint family system he became the responsibility of his elder brothers, notably Nandalal Nehru, a moderately successful lawyer at the High Court in Agra. When the Court moved to Allahabad, the family migrated to this quiet provincial town, known in ancient times as Prayag. Here millions gather annually for the Magho Mela ceremony and, every twelve years for the mammoth Kumbha Mela festival.⁽¹⁴⁾

Until the age of twelve Motilal was educated at home, largely in Persian and Arabic. This was somewhat unusual for Brahmans, except in the united provinces where the fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures had reached its peak. In time this unique cultural blend was to exact a profound influence on Motilal's son. Thereafter, Motilal attended the government High School in Kanpur and Muir Central College in Allahabad. There, under the influence of his English professors, he began to admire Western ideas and ways of living. But he failed to take the B.A. degree. However, he moved on to vocational training, passed the lawyers examination with distinction. After his apprenticeship in Kanpur, he settled down in Allahabad in 1886 to practise law at the High Court. The death of his brother the following year was grievous blow and

placed the burden of family responsibility on the young man of twenty six. By sheer talent and a capacity for prolonged and concentrated work, Motilal rose rapidly in his profession. Within a few years he was recognised as one of the outstanding lawyers in Allahabad. It was there that his only son was born, on 14th Nov. 1889. His name : Jawaharlal, the red jewel. (15)

Jawaharlal wrote about his father in his Autobiography : The National Congress was just then attracting the attention of the English knowing middle classes and he united some of its early sessions and gave it a theoretical allegiance. But in those he took no great interest in its work. He was too busy with his profession. Besides, he felt unsure of his ground in politics and public affairs; he had paid no great attention to these subjects till then and knew little about them. He had no wish to join any movement or organisations where he would have to play second fiddle. He loved a fight, a struggle against odds and yet, curiously, in those days he avoided the political field. It is true that there was little of fight then in the politics of the National Congress. (16)

He was a nationalist in a vague sense of the word, but he admired English men and their ways. He had a feeling that his own countrymen had fallen low and almost deserved what they had got. And there was just a trace of contempt in his mind for the politicians who talked and talked without doing anything, though he had no idea at all as to what else they could do. (17)

Motilal was so absorbed in his profession that he had neither time nor the inclination to participate in active politics. It was the tug of war between the moderates and the extremists in the aftermath of the partition of Bengal, which drew Motilal into the arena and, strangely enough on the side of the moderates. In 1907 he presided over a provincial conference at Allahabad. His Presidential speech was a vigorous onslaught on the Extremist ideology. "We are constitutional agitators", he said, "and the reforms we wish to bring about must come through the medium of constitutional authority." He avowed his faith in the bonafides of the British. (18) Motilal said, "I firmly believe that he (John Bull) means well, it is not in his nature to mean ill." (19) Receiving the Presidential address Jawaharlal a youngboy of 18 years, wrote from Harrow, "you are still very moderate but I hardly expected you to become an extremist. I personally like to see the government blamed and censured as much as possible, but perhaps it is better to be temperate. As regards John Bull's good faith I have not have as much confidence in him as you have. I wonder how your address was received. It could hardly have pleased the Extremists and specially the students." (20)

In 1909 Motilal was elected a member of the U.P. Council. He attended the Delhi Darbar in 1911 in honour of the visit of King George V. and queen Mary. He became a member of the Allahabad Municipal Board, and the Vice-President of the Seva Samiti. He served as a member of the All India Congress Committee, and as the President of the U.P. Congress. Never the less, it was

not politics but domestic and professional pre-occupations which were the dominant interest of his life. From 1912 when Jawaharlal returned from England, these are forces at work both at home and in the country - which were to lead Motilal into the ~~main~~ ⁽²¹⁾ whirlstrom of National politics. The First World War generated deep discontent in several sectors of Indian society which found a focus in the Home Rule Movement. Motilal had been reluctant to join the Home Rule league, but the internment of Mrs. Besant in June 1917 by the Madras Government brought him into the fray. He became the President of the Allahabad branch of the Home Rule League and presided over a provincial conference convened to protest against the internment. ⁽²²⁾ "Gradually my father had been drifting away from the orthodox moderate position". ⁽²³⁾ Now began a gradual but perceptible leftward shift in Motilal's politics, and at the end of year took an active part in the proceedings of the Bombay Congress which demanded radical changes in the Montague - Chelmsford Reforms. On February 5, 1919 he launched a new daily paper, the "Independent", as a counter blast to the well established but moderately edited "leader". ⁽²⁴⁾

The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian Political stage changed the course of Indian history; it also profoundly influenced the fortunes of the Nehru family. The Rowlatt Bills and the publications of the Satyagraha pledge in February 1919, deeply stirred Jawaharlal; he felt an irresistible call to follow the Mahatma. Motilal was not the man to be easily swept off his feet; his legal background predisposed him against an

extra constitutional agitation. Deliberate disobedience of laws seemed to him preposterous and "It seemed to him pre-posterous that I (Jawahar) should go to prison." (25) Heated words passed between father and son and the atmosphere became increasingly tense. According to his youngest child, Motilal "was furious with Jawahar for joining Gandhi, once, in a rage, he ordered (his son) out of the house." (26) The clash was particularly distressing because of their genuine affection for each other. Unknown to his son, Motilal tried to sleep on the floor to imagine what prison life would be like. Jawaharlal loved his father, respected his judgement and was loath to hurt him. Hence he pre-estimated "For many days there was this mental conflict .. Night after Night I wandered about alone, tortured in mind and trying to grope my way out." (27) Finally, Gandhi's intervention was sought by Motilal and Jawaharlal was persuaded to relent, temporarily, in order not to upset his father. Jawahar was then almost thirty, but the bond with his father was so strong that his decisions were not his own. (28)

Shortly afterwards events marched to a tragic climax in the Punjab, the holocaust of Jallianwala Bagh was followed by martial law. Motilal did what he could to bring succour and solace to that unhappy province. He gave his time freely, at the cost of his legal practices, to the defence of scores of hapless victims of the martial law, who had been condemned to the gallows or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. He also served with Gandhi on the unofficial committee set up by the Indian National Congress to enquire into the Punjab disturba

ances. C.F. Andrews who saw the Committee at work noted. "It was painful to see how shock after shock went home, when they (Gandhi and Motilal) both examined, as trained lawyers, the evidence put before them." "Amritsar", wrote Andrews "shook the very foundations of the faith on which Motilal had built up his life."⁽²⁹⁾

The year 1919 was a turning point in his career. Presiding over the Amritsar Congress he gave strong, unstinted support to Gandhiji. From now on till his death in 1931, he stood steadfastly by Gandhiji in all his movements -- sometimes out of conviction, sometimes in deference to Gandhiji's 'superior judgement' which he acknowledged without reserve. His whole life underwent a basic change and he entered the fray with as much zeal and more, as he had shown in making a success of his legal profession. Indeed, the urge must have been sufficiently great for him, a successful man, to give up a flourishing career, to join the ranks of the poor, down trodden ryots of India; to give up the security and comfort of a luxurious home to court imprisonment; to stake all his wealth and to 'donate' his beloved son, Jawaharlal, and indeed his whole family to the National movement. All this because at heart he felt that the cause was just - a cause for which no price was too great.⁽³⁰⁾

By November 1921 the government of India were ready to take drastic action against the non-co-operation campaign which was now developing new and frequent manifestation and frequently erupting in violence. Among other measures it was decided to

strike down the volunteer movement in the U.P. ⁽³¹⁾ The U.P. Congress had also announced its intantion of preparing selected ⁽³²⁾ teballs for civil disobedience, and though the government did not take this seriously, ⁽³³⁾ it was ~~xxxxx~~ obvious that, if civil disobedience were started, trained volunteers would be utilized for their purpose. Every district Congress Committee had been directed to constitute a volunteer board immediately, so the volunteer orga-nisation in the U.P. was declared unlawful and Jawaharlal and his father were arrested on 5th Decesber for their connection with this activity. Motilal was delighted to go to jail with his son. They were sentenced to six months simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs.100/- or a further month in jail. Father and son and a few others, who were being treated better than the rank and file of Congress prison-ers, wrote to the jail superintendent declining these special privi-leges. ⁽³⁴⁾ "We wish to recognise no class distinction in our army of Swaraj."

While the Nehru's were in Jail, Gandhi suddenly suspended the non-co-operation movement on 12th February 1922. The Nehru were ~~xxxx~~ shocked at the news, Motilal who had reluctantly accepted the politics of suffering, no bit back in frustration and anger at what seemed to him a whim of Gandhi. He could not under-stand why a National Movement should be suspended and the sufferings and aspirations of thousands of patriots ignored merely because a few villagers had gone wild in Chauri Chaura and set fire to a police station, burning to death twenty two of its inmates. ⁽³⁵⁾

It was, however, not simply the Chauri Chaura tragedy which has obliged Gandhi to suspend the movement. The Indian masses, being for the first time released from the fear of law and being aroused in the name of "Satyagraha for Swaraj", a concept which they could not understand, had begun to express their individual grievances. All manner of rivalries came to the surface and filled the air with violence. There was an eruption of communal riots between Hindus and Muslims in almost every part of the sub-continent. (36) The Moplah Muslims of the Malabar coast were initially around in the name of Khilafat but then fell back on their long cherished grievances against the Hindu money lenders and consequently, in August 1921, 'converted' or killed many Hindus before the army intervened to restore order. This event set off a chain re-action among the Hindu leaders, some of whom planned Gandhi's campaign for the raising of untouchables which, they argued, had aroused among the Muslims the desire to swell their ranks by converting Hindus to Islam. (37) Accordingly the Hindus began a reconversion campaign. (38) The Hindu leaders also stressed, some with genuine concern, the danger of a further Afghan invasion and the re-establishment of Muslim rule in India. Thus, the Hindu - Muslim unity which had been imposed from above began to be shaken from below. (39)

There was also conflict among the Hindus themselves. Intercaste hostility mounted in almost all parts of India but most noticeably in Bihar where it led to scramble for power between the four dominant castes - Kayasthas, Bhumihars, Rajputs and Brahmins. In the Punjab (where Sikhs had accepted Gandhi's Satyagraha as a means

of winning control of the management of their temple from the Hindu priests) tension grew between the Hindus and the Sikhs. The Non-co-operation movement, particularly the no rent aspect of it, had also aroused class conflicts between peasants and landlords particularly in United Provinces and Bengal, and between workers and industrialists, particularly in Bengal and Bombay. These inner hostilities shook the Congress movement, which Gandhi had intended should include within its fold all religions, castes and classes, and exclude none. The movement had thus already gone out of control even before the Chauri Chaura event. (40)

Motilal's faith in the Gandhian strategy of non-co-operation was much reduced when he was released from prison in June, 1922. Like his friend C.R. Das Motilal believed that Gandhi at the height of his power, had made mistakes, perhaps the greatest being his rejection of Lord Reading's peace offer of December, 1921 to hold a Round Table Conference. Perhaps nothing would come out of this conference, for reading have received no authority from the London government to introduce any major constitutional change in India. But the constitutionally minded nationalist then, and in later years, believed that a great opportunity was missed for the conference would have immediately led to the establishment of full autonomy in the provinces and India would have acquired, according to some speculators, (41) full dominion status by 1939, without having gone through the agony of partition. (42)

Motilal felt that the time had come to revise the programme of non-co-operation so as to permit entry into legislative

councils. This revision was resisted by those who regarded themselves as the faithful followers of the ~~Mahatma~~ Mahatma. A long and bitter controversy which nearly split the Congress, ensued. However, Motilal and C. R. Das who had founded the Swaraj Party in January, 1923, had their way, and contested the election at the end of that year. The Swaraj Party emerged as the largest Party in the central Legislative Assembly as well as in some of the Provincial Legislatures and from 1925 ~~onwards~~ onwards became the political wing of the Congress. (43) To Motilal Nehru's credit, he never (44) pressed his son to accept the Swarajist creed.

Motilal became the leader of the opposition party in the Legislative Assembly for the next six years. At first Motilal was able to secure sufficient support from the moderate and Muslim Legislators to out vote the Government. He ruled his own party with iron hand, but found his task increasingly difficult from 1926 onwards when communal and personal squabbles made politics sink (45) to the lowest ebb.

The year 1928 was, politically, a full year, with plenty of activity all over the country. From the purely political point of view the year was noted for the boycott of the Simon Commission and (what was called the constructive side of the boycott) the All parties conference. The moderate groups co-operated with the Congress in this boycott, and it was remarkably successful. Wherever the Commission went it was greeted by hostile crowds and the cry to "Simon go back." (46) The Madras session of the Congress had not only constructed the nation to boycott Sir John Simon and

his team, but also asked all parties in India to Unite and meet the British challenge (as thrown at Indians by Lord Birkenhead, the conservative secretary of state for India) that Indians could not produce a constitution of their own. In pursuance of a Congress directive the representative of all parties (including liberal, labour Muslim league, Sikh League, Hindu Mahasabha) had ~~met~~ met and in May, 1928 they appointed a sub-committee under Motilal Nehru to draft the out line of a constitution for free India. (47) The Committee was consisted of such representative of diverse thought as for Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sri Ali Imam, Sri Pradhan, Sri Qureshi, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, Sri Madhao Rao Aney, Sri M. R. Jayakar, Sri N. M. Joshi and Shri Mangal Singh. The Committee had the valued assistance of Jawaharlal who was at that time the General Secretary of the Congress. (48) The Committee was popularly called as 'Nehru Committee' (49) after the name of Motilal Nehru and the result was 'Nehru Report.' (50)

Motilal applied all his professional skill to the drafting of the Report, (51) but it was not entirely to Jawaharlal's liking. One feature of the 'Nehru Report', however, caused a sharp division within the Congress. Motilal, supported by Gandhi and a majority of the Old Guard, called for Dominion Status, partly as a concession to other groups who saw added protection in continued Commonwealth membership. Against them ranged the radicals led by Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose, then a fiery young man of thirty and already the hero of Bengali youth. (52) Motilal was adamant on Dominion status and considered it an integral part of the constitutional settlement. The son was equally stubborn. In

his speech before the All Parties Conference he endorsed the Communal agreement but rejected the Dominion status formula. He ridiculed the idea of co-operation with the British, particularly with the 'sanctimonious and canting humbugs who lead the Labour Party.' (53)

No wonder that many were surprised in 1947 when Nehru accepted Dominion status and expressed his gratitude to the Labour party. Immediately after the session the "young Turks" issued a statement approving the 'Nehru Report' as such but disassociating themselves from the commitment to Dominion status. They also announced their intention to form an Independence for India League. (54)

The Nehru committee anticipated the constitution in regard to Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. It formulated for integration into the constitution a bill of rights which assured individual freedom to worship God in his own way, free expression of opinion, freedom of association and equality before the law. Discrimination of any type in our penal laws, whether of substantive or procedural character, was ruled out. (55)

The constitution stated "there shall be no state religion. ... Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens." (56)

The type of executive visualized by the Nehru Report was that of the British Cabinet type. The Executive is a part of the legislature and responsible to the popular House. There shall be a Supreme Court which shall exercise such jurisdiction as Parliament shall determine. (57) Regarding communal representation

the Nehru Report stated "There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and Provincial Legislatures. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives excepts for Muslims in Provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslim in the N.W.F. Province. (58)

It was clear to Pandit Motilal Nehru and his colleagues that the present distribution of the provinces of India had no national basis. Hence they recommended the two most important considerations in re-arranging provinces should be language and the wishes of the majority of the people concerned. (59) The Nehru Report testifies to the imagination, vision and statesmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru that he should have produced a constitutional document which the Framers of the Indian Constitution, when it came to be formulated must have found most helpful and instructive.

For the Presidentship of the National Congress in 1928 two names captured the lime light - Motilal for his Nehru Report, and Vallabhbhai Patel for his success in organising the peasants of Bardoli district, Gujarat, in a ^{no} ~~great~~ Satyagraha against the large increase in the land tax which had been imposed, somewhat arbitrarily, by the Bombay Government. Jawaharlal was perhaps more popular than his father and Patel but he was also a radical, suspect in the eyes of the Congress right wingers who controlled the party machine. (60)

The Congress Presidency thus lay between Motilal and Patel, and Gandhi recommended the former. (61)

The next annual session of the Congress was held in

Lahore in the last week of December, 1929. The citizens crowded into every available space, even clambering on roofs and trees, to hail their President elect, who as if to symbolize the uniqueness of the occasion, rode up on white charger, leading a detachment of Congress Cavalry, like a general marching towards the battle front. The occasion had a personal significance for Motilal : This was the first time in the history of Congress that a son had succeeded his father as president. Motilal proudly made over charge to Jawaharlal, saying that what the father was unable to accomplish the son would achieve.

(62)

In 1923 Jawaharlal was elected Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality. Many Congress men, especially the rabid no changers favoured the capture of Municipal Corporation in order to retain a link with the masses. C.R. Das in Calcutta, Vithalbhai Patel in Bombay, Vallabhbhai Patel in Ahmedabad, Rajendra Prasad in Patna, Sri Prakash in Benaras and Jawaharlal in his home town. While Nehru was busily engaged in local politics, along with the then inspiring functions of Congress general secretary Motilal was at the Pinnacle of his career, as the Swarajist leader in the legislative Assembly. Motilal Nehru had no objections to his son's interest in the affairs of Allahabad but he could not appreciate Jawaharlal's devotion to what seemed a secondary matter. In particular, the suave, polished aristocrat was unimpressed by his son's persistent efforts to come into closer touch with the masses.

(63)

One incident illustrates the difference in their temperament and outlook. During this period Jawaharlal was in the

habit of dressing simply and of using a bullock cart to get around the city. One evening while Motilal was holding court on the veranda of the Palatial Anand Bhawan, his son arrived. As he turned up the driveway his father yelled out, 'If you want to come up to the house, leave that monstrosity at the gate.' Motilal's sensibilities were hurt by this seeming reversion to the primitive. (64)

Despite such friction and their disagreements on natural politics -- Jawaharlal was much closer to Gandhi's views -- the personal relation between father and son were essentially unimpaired. Nehru admired his father's strength of character and his devotion to Principles, his generosity and his deep, Patriarchal concern for the family. Motilal Nehru was proud of his beloved Jawahar, a rising star in the firmament of nationalist politics. During this period Jawahar found much solace and comfort in his family, compensations for his frustration with the dismal political scene. He drew closer to his wife who had shown sympathy and understanding during the period of travail after 1920. (65) Some of conflicting traits in Motilal's personality can be traced to the various environment and cultures to which he had been exposed. The family culture was a Hindu Muslim blend. Hindu beliefs, customs and social values were mixed Persian speech, dress, diet and manners. (66) Again his English education made him liberal.

Motilal attributed his success solely to his industry, and he attributed other people failures to their lack of it : He claimed with justice, that he was the founder of the for-

(67)
tunes of the Nehru family. He was also the first to adopt Nehru as a surname.

Jawahar was then in his mid thirties but had no regular source of income. He had abandoned his law practice, and the idea of remuneration for public service was alien to the Congress, largely because of its upper middle class composition until 1920. He was unhappy with this state of affairs but he found the alternatives equally unattractive. A return to the law was 'out of the question', emotionally repellent. Lucrative offers from business organizations he rejected because of his antipathy to such an association. In 1924 a way out of his dilemma presented itself, a proposal to pay full time officials of the Congress. Alas, Motilal was strongly opposed, for public work was noblesse oblige. The son yielded. On one occasion Jawaharlal broached the issue of dependence to his father. Motilal explained that he could earn enough for his son's annual needs in a few days at the bar -- which was not exaggerated - while Jawaharlal would be compelled to spend most of his time earning a living. Although he remained dissatisfied, Nehru yielded once again to his father's persuasion. (68)

III

Impact of family and early education on Nehru.

Jawaharlal was born at 11.30 p.m. on the 14th November, 1889 at Allahabad, to which place his father, Motilal Nehru had moved three years earlier from Kangur. (69) Jawaharlal was the first child to survive. There had been much tragedy in Motilal's married life prior to the arrival of Jawaharlal. He had been married once before, there had been ~~xxxxxx~~ a child, and both mother and child had died. A child had been born to Motilal and his second wife but it too had died in infancy. Hence Jawaharlal was their object of complete devotion and love. And as the only child of a wealthy barrister for eleven years -- his sister Swarup better known as Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, was born in 1900 -- he was spoiled in a princely fashion. (70)

Until Jawaharlal was three the family lived in the city proper, near the market. Then, as Motilal's practice became increasingly lucrative, it moved to the civil line, an exclusive residential area where Europeans lived in splendour. (71) In 1900 Motilal purchased a large house with extensive grounds in Church Road and named it Anand Bhawan -- Abode of Happiness. A great deal of money was spent on making it a palatial home. (72)

The rooms were built around a courtyard with a fountain in the centre. There was also a swimming pool (73) and the house was first in Allahabad to have electricity and piped water.

Motilal like his son later, was attracted by science. But Motilal's interest was mainly in the practical. In this sense he was very much the victorian polymath. Among the law books and the English classics in his library were man manuals on such subjects as practical bell-fitting and a detailed work, A practical treatise upon the Fitting of Hot Water Apparatus. (74) Motilal was to be the first civilian in Allahabad to own motor-cars directly imported from France. (75)

✓ Three cultural strands pervaded Anand Bhawan (76) -- Hindu, Muslim and English -- Provide the key to the atmosphere in which the young Jawaharlal spent his formative years. Although not a religious man, Motilal adhered to certain Hindu customs regarding family and social matters, largely out of deference to his wife who retained her orthodox beliefs throughout her life. (77) In the Indian Part, the Kitchens were in the charge of Brahmin Cooks and the servants were all Hindus. In the Western Part, there were cooks and servants who had been trained to work in English houses; Goans or Mughs from Bengal were in charge of the Kitchen, while the other servants were Muslims. Motilal ate in the Western dining room sitting on a chair at table. (78) Motilal employed on his domestic staff Muslims, untouchables and English Governess, ~~who~~ who would not be acceptable in an orthodox home. He imposed English upon his family as the language of conversation. He had defided the Hindu taboos after two visits to Britain, first in 1898 and again in 1900. "He refused to perform any Prayaschit or Purification ceremony on his return." (79)

All the religious Hindu festivals were observed in Anand Bhawan. But so was the Muslim Nowroz - the celebration of the new year - which in Kashmir was as much a Hindu festival as a Muslim. Members of the family would also joint Muslim friends to eat bowls of sweet vermicelli scented with rose water and decorated with gold and silver leaf at the end of the fast of Ramadan. In Christmas the children were allowed to go to parties given by their Christian friends, and baskets of flowers were sent to decorate the church of the Holy Trinity which stood next door. (80) All these influences of mixed cultures made Nehru broad minded and incapable of making distinctions on the basis of castes, religion, and creed and race. Thus the foundations of a sound secular philosophy were laid in his early child-hood. Nehru wrote in later, "of religion I had very hazy notions. It seemed to be a woman's affair. Father and my older cousins treated the question humourously and refused to take it seriously. The women of the family indulged in various ceremonies and Pujas from time to time and I rather enjoyed them, though I tried to imitate to some extent the casual attitude of the grown up men of the family. Sometimes I accompanied my mother or aunt to the Ganges for a dip, sometimes we visited temples in Allahabad itself or in Benares or elsewhere, or went to see a ganyasi reputed to be very holy. But all this left little impression on my mind." (81)

Nehru admired his father for his mental strength, courage, pride and liberal and progressive social ideas but feared him also because of his ferocious temper and resented the treatment

Motilal gave his servants. Yet, Motilal, although Westernised to a great extent was in Nehru's eyes "a nationalist, in a vague sense of the word". (82)

It was from his father that Nehru acquired a sense of National pride. Here lies the root of his resentment against British rule -- for Nehru's initial response to politics was emotional not intellectual. (83)

In another way he developed a vague nationalistic ideas in his childhood. In spite of a big family Nehru described his childhood as a lonely one with neither play mates or brothers or sisters of his age. He grew up in the company of his elder cousins who often talked about the insulting manners of the English people and so he was filled with resentment against the alien ruler. (84)

Nehru admired his father tremendously and also feared him much. Nehru wrote -- "His temper was indeed an awful thing and even in after years I do not think I ever came across anything to match it in its own line." (85)

The contrast between father and son in those early days, left lasting impression on Jawaharlal Nehru. The shy, reticent aesthetically inclined son stood in awe of his fathers personality. There was no inducement to make decision, for his father provided a symbol and substance of security. Doubt and vacillation date from this early association with his father. Emotionally his growth was stunted by Motilal's all-embracing strength. So, too, it would appear, does his respect for decisive and strongmen -- men such as Gandhi and Mountbatten, men who acted boldly and swiftly, men of perseverance and self-confidence. That may account for his indecision and vacillation on many vital national issues. (86)

There are few references to his mother in Nehru's lengthy Autobiography. Partly because of his father's pre-occupation with work, partly because of the boy's fear, and partly because of his mother's un concealed and protective love, Jawaharlal was drawn to her in the early years. To some extent he sought compensation for his father's domination. "I had no fear of her, for I knew that she would condone everything I did, and, because of her excessive and indiscriminating love for me, I tried to dominate over her a little. I saw much more of her than I did of father and she seemed nearer to me, so I would confide in her when I would not dream of doing so to father."⁽⁸⁷⁾

His mother and aunt used to tell them the stories from Hindu mythology, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Nehru wrote in his Autobiography "My aunt, the widow of Pandit Mandarlal, was learned in the old Indian books and had an inexhaustible supply of these tales, and my knowledge of Indian mythology, and folklore became quite considerable."⁽⁸⁸⁾

Thus at home, he imbibed some of the classics of Hindu mythology as well as the stories of the 1857 rebellion, related by a family retainer, Munshi Mubarak Ali. It was this composite environment that shaped his later attitude to Muslims and the communal problem in general.⁽⁸⁹⁾

It was but natural that Motilal should want for his son the best that British Education could offer. He first engaged two English governesses and then sent his son for a few

months to a local convent and finally decided on private instruction at home. (90) The great sanskrit scholar, Pandit Ganganath Jha, tried, with no noticeable success, to teach Jawaharlal "Hindi and Sanskrit." (91)

Among his tutors, only one, Ferdinand T. Brooks had any significant effects on the young Nehru when Nehru "was about eleven a new resident tutor, Ferdinand T. Brooks, came and took charge of" Nehru. (92) He was partly Irish (on his father's side) and his mother had been a French woman or a Belgian. He was a theosophist and had been recommended by Mrs. Annie Besant, the theosophist leader and Indian Nationalist. Jawaharlal wrote in later "For nearly three years he was with me and in many ways he influenced me greatly." (93) Brooks was a moody, sensitive, gifted youngman of twenty six when he joined the Nehru Household.

Under Brooks inspiration he developed a taste for serious reading which he retained through out his life. Like many boys of his age in the West, Nehru derived much pleasure from the fables of Lewis Carroll, the Kipling stories, the adventures of Don Quixote, and the more serious real-life adventures of the great explorers at the turn of the century. Mark Twain and Sherlock Holmes also intrigued his youthful mind as did the writings of Dickens, Scott, and Thackeray. (94) It seems to have been a most unusual education for a young Brahmin in Allahabad. And so it was. But it was an experience shared by many upper and middle class Indians of the time. This period witnessed, as well, the begin-

nings of a deep attachment to English poetry. Nehru remains basically an intellectual with higher developed literary taste, thrust into the area of public affairs by force of circumstances. (95)

Brooks exerted his influence in two other directions also -- Science and theosophy. It was due to his initial experience and the laboratory which they set up at Anand Bhawan, that Nehru decided to specialise in the natural sciences at Cambridge some years later. (96)

Brooks was an ardent believer in theosophy, a hybrid belief in which Hinduism is dressed up in traditional christian terms. (97) The tutor's spiritual bent penetrated the curious and receptive mind of his pupil. Although his home atmosphere was predominantly secular, except for the influence of the women, Jawaharlal began to read, with respect, the Hindu classics, such as the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads. Jawaharlal attended the weekly meetings of theosophists in Brook's room. "There were metaphysical arguments, and discussion about re-incarnation and the astral and other supernatural bodies and auras, and the doctrine of Karma and references not only to big books by Madam Blavatsky and other Theosophists but to the Hindu scriptures, the Buddhist "Dhammapadam", Pythagoras, Apollonius of Tyana, and various philosophers and mystics. (98) Jawaharlal did not understand much that was said but it all sounded very mysterious and fascinating and he felt that there was the key to the secret of the universe. In the language of Jawaharlal Nehru -- "For the first time I began to think, consciously and deliberately, of religion and other worlds.

The Hindu religion especially went up in my estimation, not the ritual or ceremonial part but its great books, the "Upanishads" and the "Bhagavad Gita". I did not understand them, of course, but they seemed very wonderful. I dreamt of astral bodies and imagined my self flying vast distances. This dream of flying high up in the air (without any appliance) has indeed been a frequent one throughout my life, and sometimes it has been vivid and realistic and the countryside seemed to lie underneath me in a vast panorama. I do not know how the modern interpreters of dreams, Freud (99) and others, would interpret this dream."

In later years he also admitted these books influencing him, particularly Buddhism because of "the scientific attitude reflected therein, the scientific and ethical attitude. (100) This attraction for the ethical side of the religion was to be confirmed later by his long association with Gandhi, and his intellectual quest was to culminate some forty years later in "The Discovery of India."

Swaruprani, like her children, lived in the shadow of Motilal Nehru. Unlike the Nehru hers was an orthodox family which had descended to the Plains from the valley of Kashmir only two generations before. She had little formal education, never spoke english well, and never fully approved of her husband's Western habits, though she adjusted to them in time. According to her elder daughter, "Mother was a charming and a delicate person, a fragile woman, afflicted with ill health, she was a good, gentle

Hindu wife, whose life was wrapped around that of her husband. Yet, as I think back, I realize now that mother did influence us all though indirectly." (101)

From her marriage at the age of thirteen, she occupied a submissive vital role in the Nehru home. In 1920, when her husband and son joined Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, she gave up many comforts and joined in the fray, even to the extent of participating in demonstrations and courting arrest. (102)

The benefits of aristocratic background and education were not without price. Security was accompanied by an overweening paternalism and a tendency to depend on strong, decisive and oldsmen. Indeed it was not until his early sixties that Nehru emerged completely from the shadow of his father and Gandhi, the two men who exercised the greatest influence on his character. The legacy of that habit is still visible. In part his indecisiveness is due to the intellectual in Nehru who sees all points of view and therefore hesitates to act boldly. But in large measure it must be traced to the circumstances in which his character was moulded. (103)

Swarup Rani began to feel inadequate, insecure, and apprehensive of a widening gulf between herself and Jawaharlal after 1905 when she lost another baby within days of his birth. (104) All the same she did not change her way of life or keep pace with her son. She was aware that she would never succeed, therefore, she did not attempt it. Her one visit to Europe in the

summer of 1905 ran counter to her traditional way of life, and rather than change her life style she never made another attempt. She did not even yield to Motilal's advice that she should learn English. Her helplessness often made her a little jealous of Motilal, resentful towards and isolated from other members of the joint family, and more solicitous of Jawaharlal's assurances of his love for her. Her constant anxieties pushed her frequently into a state of morbid depression. She poured out her grievances and fears in her letters to Jawaharlal. She told her son that his father rebuked her for ignorance of English, that she did not like his father's speech delivered at a conference, and that everybody at Anand Bhawan was against her. She expressed to Jawaharlal her fear that he might not respect her after his return. Throughout his stay in England, he responded to his mother with kindness and tact, while carefully avoiding taking her side. He asked her not to take his father's remarks seriously as he must have made (105) them when very tired. He expressed his surprise at her disapproval of his father's speech, adding that there was nothing wrong with the speech and that he himself liked it (in fact Jawaharlal did not like that particular speech and his mother knew (106) it before she wrote to him.

Assuming his mother of his never diminishing respect for her, he remarked : "It is bad if an illiterate man does not respect his mother. But it is considered very bad if an educated man does not respect his mother. What is the use of education if it does not teach one how to behave with one's

(113)
strength and power to destroy evil.

A cause was not hard to find. There was the fear of the English to overcome. It was his duty, the duty of every Indian, to stand up against "the overbearing character and insulting manners of the English people, as well as Eurasians, towards Indians." (114)

Instances of conflicts between the ruler and the ruled' were discussed by the young members of the family, and Jawaharlal was glad when an Indian was reported to have hit back at an arrogant Englishman. (115)

His resentment was not against English people as such (in his heart he rather admired them) but against the English as alien ruler of India; appeared arrogant and smug. Nationalistic ideas filled his mind and he "mused of Indian freedom and Asiatic freedom from the thraldom of Europe." (116)

He dreamt of brave deeds, of bow, sword in hand, "he would fight for India and helped in freeing her." (117)

The young Jawaharlal was, thus deeply interested in any event which might render the European less impregnable. The Boer War (1899-1902) interested him. At the early age of ten or eleven he began to read news papers 'to get the news of the fighting." (118)

His sympathies were all with Boers; while his future mentor Gandhiji, then in South Africa, was raising an ambulance Corps to help the British against the Dutch. The Russo - Japanese War (1904-5), however, vindicated Jawaharlal's hopes more satisfactorily. For the first time in Modern history an Asian nation was defeating a Western powers. (119)

To some extent his parents were responsible for generating in their only son the desire for the line light. The

excessive love they bestowed upon him and the over powering personality of his father aroused in the solitary child an urge for freedom and power. He could satisfy this in his childhood only by setting his mind free from the bondage of love. He often dreamed of 'flying high up in the air' without any assistance. (120) This remained a constant urge in his life and even at the height of his power his mind would fly to yet higher spheres.

From heterogeneous cultural background Jawaharlal entered Harrow with an incipient desire to play a dominant role in life. In May, 1905, at the age of fifteen, Nehru, along with his parents reached England and began his studies at Harrow.

It was the first time that Jawaharlal Nehru was own, cast adrift from the secure moorings of home and family. He remained at the famous public school for two years, a period in his life which was relatively uneventful but not unhappy. He was quiet, reserved, studious boy who passed through Harrow without much difficulty but did not leave any particular mark. By his own admission he managed to fit into the school life "but was never an exact fit." (121)

When Jawaharlal first entered the gates of Harrow, England too had moved from victorian complacency into the uncertainty of the Edwardian era. The Boer War had raised doubts in the minds of the British about the civilising mission of the empire. The Irish national movement, the Suffragettes, the growing class consciousness among the working people who seemed

less inclined to accept their poverty as the judgement of God, all threatened to erode victorian ideals and values. The rich of Britain, however, were not unduly concerned and lived a life of ostentation, luxury and waste in the midst of working class poverty. (122)

It was in the affluent sectors of English society that Jawaharlal spent the seven years of his studentship in England. He lived luxuriously, even by British standards. In those years Jawaharlal developed expensive tastes (including gambling at cards) in trying to live the life of 'a man about town', whose typical evening would consist of a visit to the theatre and then a late supper with champagne at the savoy. (123) His annual ^{expenses} expenses rose above £ 800, a sum which in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ those days was enough to support a comfortable life in London for three years. (124) This aroused his fathers anxieties, but he did not blame Jawaharlal, for at least in this respect he was proving himself his 'father's son'. (125) Jawaharlal's style of life in London contrasted greatly with that of Gandhi and Vallabbabhai Patel. When Gandhi was student in London he spent only six pence on three meals a day. (126) When Patel was in London for his Bar studies, from 1910 to 1913, he walked from his lodgings to the Middle Temple and back. (127)

The growth of Jawaharlal as an intellectual and a nationalist, however, was not stifled either by the anti-intellectual, anti-scientific, games dominated conservative environment of his public school, by the imperialistic atmosphere of Cambridge or by the carefree, opulent life he led throughout his stay in England.

Cambridge intensified his nationalist aspirations. The comforts of life, which he took for granted, neither aroused in him any fondness for the capitalist order nor prevented him from being academically interested in socialism. At the end of his educational career he emerged as non-aligned as he was before, but with a longing to submerge himself in an all-absorbing cause. (123)

At Harrow his fascination for Politics increased and he started taking more interest in international affairs. He was also aware of the local politics. "Early in 1906 our form master asked us about the new Government and, much to his surprise, I was the only boy in his form who could give him much information on the subject, including almost a complete list of members of Campbell Bannerman's Cabinet." (129) In his school he was awarded one G. M. Trevelyan's Garibaldi books and the study of several books on Garibaldi intensified his nationalism. "Visions of similar deeds in India came before me, of a gallant fight for freedom, and in my mind India and Italy got strangely mixed together. Harrow seemed a rather small and restricted place for these ideas and I wanted to go to the wider sphere of the university." (130) In 1907, Nehru entered Trinity College, Cambridge and took the science course. But his wide interests comprised of literature, politics, economics and history which paved the way for the widening of his intellectual horizon. "My general attitude to life at the time was a vague kind of cyrenaicisa ... partly the influence of Oscar Wilde and Walter pater .. Not having the religious temper and disliking the repressions of religious it was natural for me

to seek some other standard. And so ... the idea of going through
(131)
life worthily ... attracted me."

All these years Nehru kept himself in touch with Indian Politics. He got some meagre accounts from the English newspapers, but most of the news trickled down to him through his father's letters which covered Indian Political scene quite comprehensively. Motilal's interest in politics was revealed to his son through his own letters. He wrote an article in the Pioneer supporting the moderate politics in India and sent its extracts to his son. Nehru's re-action was sharp and critical. He wrote back to his father : "I had till now an idea that you were not so very moderate as you would have me believe. But the article almost makes me think that you are "immoderately moderate" I would have said that the article had been written by a person with strong "loyalist" tendencies if I had not known you better. The object of your article is, as far as I can gather, a defence of the behaviour of the "moderate" leaders of the U.P. Even if I have condemned the action of extremists at the last U.P. conference and before, I would hardly have thought your line of defence a very suitable one. You must have read Gokhale's recent speech, on the same subject, in which he effectively silenced the viceroy and the other members of the Council".
(132)

This was a clear indication of the kind of politics Nehru was to follow in the near future. His sympathies, undoubted, lay with Tilok and his revolutionary extremists party.

Jawaharlal's development as a nationalist was more consistent, though he did not attain in this period any measure of

dedication to the cause, this was to some extent due to his intellectual and generally uncommitted state of mind. His initial resentment against British Power was kept aflame by instances of British discrimination against Indians. He suspected even the English law courts of discriminating against Indians. "The poor chap must have been quite innocent and I am sure he was convicted simply and solely because he was an Indian." (133) He saw iniquitous discrimination in the attempt made by John Morley (Secretary of state for India 1895 - 19) in March 1909 to devise means of limiting the number of Indian students at Cambridge. (134) He was incensed at the disregard shown to distinguished Indian visitors (the Maharaja of Bikanir and the Aga Khan) on Convocation Day in Cambridge in June 1911. The Indians were the only recipients of honorary degree who were not cheered, and the chancellor did not get up when giving them the degree, although he got up for everyone else, even for such a villain as Lee-Warner. (135)

Jawaharlal's pride and sensitivity intensified his awareness of the inferior and humiliating position generally occupied by Indians in the British imperial order. In this order he ~~was~~ realized, there was no prospect for Indians ever to attain a status equal to that of their British so called mentors. He therefore became more appreciative of political methods which openly defied, slighted or challenged British power. He also felt attracted towards any political system which did not discriminate between people on grounds of race, colour or religion. He was thus drawn towards the strategy of the Indian extremists and the socialism of the British Fabians. Yet as an intellectual and individualist he was unable to

commit himself fully either to the ideology of the extremists or to the collectivism of the Fabians. All the same his political views clashed with those of his father. But instead of modifying or suppressing them, which was his usual practice, he kept on trying to convert his father to them, knowing full well that his father was too proud and aggressive a person to pursue for long the self-effacing politics of the Indian moderates. From Harrow the young Jawahar wrote to his father on 8th Feb., 1907. (136) "I am very glad to hear that you are going to be the President of the Provincial Conference, for I am sure you must have accepted the offer. I can think of no possible reason for your not doing so. However much you disagree with the details of the Congress Programme you can not but agree with its general aim. I do not see why you dislike the "Bily" babus. Their erratic methods have no respect than far more than I ever did of course they are often wrong, and do things which they ought not to do but the very fact that they have the courage to do them is something far better than the inert condition of our province. It is practically owing to them that the people here have begun to take some interest in India. It is not very much, I know, but still it is better than nothing. The papers gave a fairly prominent place to the proceeding of the Congress and some of them had leaders on it. Your address is certain to be a very brilliant one in every respect, but only I hope it will not be too moderate. Indians are as a rule too much so and require a little stirring up. You may not agree with the ways of the new extremist party but I do not think you are such a slow and steady sort of

person as you make yourself out to be. At least that is the impression you gave me from "what you said at Massoorie."

Jawaharlal was politically conscious when he entered Harrow. He kept in touch with Indian Political developments through Indian nationalist periodicals, some of which like the Indian people were regularly sent to him from India. He was also briefed continually by his father, who on his return to India in Nov. 1905 was drawn, first as an observer and then as a partisan, into the country's politics, which had suddenly grown defiant and aggressive.

In protest against the partition of the province, the English educated Bengali Hindus had forged a new style of agitation based on the boycott of everything British, and the adoption of everything India. The anti-partition movement seemed to Indianise for the first time, the national movement, which had until then progressed on Western lines. It also constituted a challenge to the moderate politicians who controlled Congress. Motilal informed Jawaharlal of the advent of this new era in British Indian history, symbolised by the ritualistic discarding of European for Indian Costumes -- dhoti and chaddar -- and high lighted by the departure of Curzon from India "unwept, unhonoured and unsung". "If this movement only continues", he warned his son, "you will on your return find an India quite different to the India you left." (137)

Jawaharlal was most gratified by the news of the boycott and Swadeshi. Jawaharlal wrote to his father, "I was very surprised to read in the Times a few days ago that the Swadeshi movement had

spread to Kashmir and that the Kashmiris had bought up, by public subscription, all the English sugar and burnt it. The movement must be strong indeed if ~~it~~ has reached even the Kashmiris. I would never have thought of it." ⁽¹³⁸⁾ His nationalist views, however, seemed out of place in the conservative atmosphere of Harrow. He realised that in his background, interests and inclinations he was different from his fellow Harrovians. At times he suspected he was too precocious. Motilal had to assure him that there was nothing unusual. "An Indian boy is ~~xxxx~~ generally more thoughtful than an English boy of the same age. In fact there is very early development in India which Englishmen call precocity." ⁽¹³⁹⁾ This might be so, but Jawaharlal could not share the true spirit of the Harrovians who were, as a contemporary novelist put it, "repeating the creed of their fathers, knowing that creed will be so repeated by their sons and sons' sons". ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ He wished he had gone straight to a university instead of to Harrow. The liberal victory at the General Election of Jan. 1906 gratified him, but before long he realised that the Liberals, whether imperialists or little Englanders, were in no way different from the conservatives in their policy towards India. Ireland could divide them, but India received the same blanket treatment from all political and from each ~~xxxxxx~~ fractions within each party." ⁽¹⁴¹⁾

The liberal victory aroused new hopes among the Indian moderates and strengthened their position against the extremists. In this crisis Motilal was drawn to take sides. His original enthusiasm for the new Bengali style of politics soon

subsided. At the 1905 Annual session of Congress, held in December in Benaras, Motilal was disillusioned by the irresponsibility, dishonesty and stupidity of the antipartition agitators of Bengal. (143)

This was the first occasion on which he had come into close contact with Gokhale, the Congress President for Benaras session. Gokhale's integrity and his style of leadership impressed Motilal. At the Benaras Congress Motilal also realised that there was a prospect of his assuming leadership of his province, which was the outside the Vertex of Indian Politics. He also in the extremists politics of boycott, which included not only the boycott of British goods but also of English courts and schools, a threat to his own profession and life - style. Moderate politics suited his temperament and he rallied to its support at the annual session of Congress held in Calcutta during the last week of December, 1906. He attended the Congress session virtually as the leader of moderate opinion in his province.

Jawaharlal's respect for individual extremists diminished somewhat. But his fondness for extremism increased during the summer of 1907 when he visited Ireland for the first time. He at once felt an affinity with the Sinn Fein Movement, the aggressive, self-reliant new kind of Irish nationalism. He learnt more about the ideology and strategy of Sinn Fein from "The New Ireland", a booklet by an English journalist Sydney Brooks, which was published in the summer of 1907. (143) Sinn Fein believed "that

the salvation of Ireland must be sought and achieved by Irishmen on Irish soil." (144) The old nationalist attitude of seeking concessions from England was to be abandoned, and a vigorous boycott

of English language and institutions (a method of passive resistance first used by Francis Deak, the Hungarian nationalist, against Austrian imperialism) was to be initiated. Irishmen were urged not to take up arms against England, but to stay at home in Ireland and boycott English law courts, the English Parliament, English educational institutions and English manufactured goods. Ireland and India presented identical pictures to Jawaharlal. In both countries people were listless, numbered by rhetoric into inaction. Irish Parliamentarians and Indian liberals seemed alike to him. Gokhale and his own father appeared to be the Indian counter-parts of Redmond and Dillon. Thus there arose in Jawaharlal's mind the image of extremists as the Sinn Fein of India. He conveyed this impression to his father, asking him to read Brooks'. The New Ireland, and see for himself the striking resemblance between the two groups. "Have you heard of the Sinn Fein in Ireland? It is most interesting movement and resembles very closely the so called extremist movement in India. ... They do not want to fight England by arms but "to ignore her, boycott her, and quietly assume the administration of Irish affairs."⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Motilal continued to fight faithfully for the moderate and he was fully gratified by their victory over the extremists of the Surat session of Congress in December 1907. Jawaharlal on the otherhand refused to be brow beaten. Instead of suppressing his views and becoming a little sarcastic in his communications with his father openly that the moderates were not the "natural leaders" of the country as they arrogantly claimed

to be, and that he was convinced that in a few years' time "there will hardly be any so called "moderates" left in India. (146) He resented the contention of the Indian moderates that "chaos and anarchy" would follow if the British left India. He wrote to his father on 16th Jan. 1908 - "At times he (Dr. Ghosh) begins to talk almost like an Anglo-Indian. I do not see why she should talk about the Chaos and anarchy that would result if the English left India, at any rate in the strain he does." (147) It seemed to him pathetic that the moderates relied so naively on British good will when the British, while conceding the possibility of India's achieving self-government one day, saw this as not happening (as the Saturday Review put it in one of its June 1908 issues) for 'some million generations' the time required to educate Indians upto the Colonial standard. (148) His individual defiance of British was manifested on such occasions as the funeral of King Edward VII and the coronation of George V, when he complained of the disturbance to his studies, while his father respectively mourned and celebrated as a loyal subject of the crown.

Jawaharlal had during the period fallen in with the extremists, but with some reservations. He was attracted to boycott as a political weapon, but not to its correlative the revival and glorification of Hindu tradition -- on which, with a view to Indianising the national movement, the extremists, who were all Hindus, had fallen back. This new nationalism substantially Hindu, did not appeal to Jawaharlal. For example, he disliked the speech which B.C. Pal gave in Cambridge, because it did not take

the Muslims into considerations and contained repeated references to the "spiritual mission of India", to India as "God's chosen country" and to Indians as a "chosen race." He was unreceptive to religious and spiritual images. Besides, he had not yet discovered the rich heritage of India. (149)

His interest in nationalist politics, however, did not reach the point of dedication, although it was already greater than his interest in anything else. In this, as in other fields, he was reluctant to commit himself completely, it was as if he were afraid of being misjudged. His intellect rebelled against the notion that there were any absolutes of right and wrong. How, then could he commit himself fully to one thing and be labelled? Non-alignment was more congenial to him, for it gave room not only for his doubts and conflicts, but also for his reluctance to make final and ruthless decisions.

At Cambridge no one exerted a very marked influence, but George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, John Maynard Keynes and some of the scientific lecturers stimulated his thought. It was at Cambridge, too, that Jawaharlal first came into contact with socialist ideas. Fabianism was then very much in the air. But his interest was of the dilettante variety. Twenty years were to elapse before Nehru began to acquire a serious understanding of, and a genuine attraction to socialism. At Cambridge it was still very academic. (150)

of his political thoughts and needs while at

Cambridge, Prime Minister Nehru remarked to Michael Brecher, the author of his Political Biography, in New Delhi on 6th June, 1956; "So far as political matters were concerned, I was, if I may say so an Indian nationalist desiring India's freedom and rather inclined, in the context of Indian politics, to the more extreme wing of it, as represented then by Mr. Tilak. I felt like any average Indian student would feel. There was nothing peculiar about." (151)

As at Harrow Nehru did not impress his contemporaries. Indian classmates recall him as a typical public-school product, polished urbane, somewhat snobbish, characteristics which were understandable in view of his way of life in Allahabad and Harrow. There was no evidence yet of his future greatness. Nor did he reveal any flair for public speaking. In the Indian student group at Cambridge, the Majlis, he rarely participated in the debates, and in his college debating society he often paid a fine imposed on those who did not speak at least once during a term. Nehru wrote, "often I paid the fine." (152)

However, as stated earlier, his Cambridge experience had a lasting influence on Nehru and on his place in the Indian Nationalist movement. Nehru himself testified to this in a remarkable statement before an Allahabad court in 1922 on the eve of his second imprisonment: "Less than ten years ago, I returned from England after a long stay there ... I had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow and Cambridge, and in my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an English man than an Indian. I looked upon the world almost from an Englishman's stand point ... as much prejudiced in

favour of England and the English as it was possible for an Indian to be". (153) More than thirty years later he told the members of the Cambridge union that wherever he goes he tries to make himself receptive, and 'coming to England it is far easier for me, because a part of me, a fairly important part of me, has been made by England, by Cambridge.' (154)

He took his degree in the summer of 1910, with second class honours in the natural science tripos. As his university days were drawing near to an end the question of a ~~appropriate~~ appropriate career arose. It is ironic, in view of subsequent developments, and indicative of the depth of his Britishness, that serious consideration was given to the I.C.S., the "steel-frame" of the British Raj. The idea was finally abandoned, largely because of expediency. Such a choice would have necessitated an extension of his adjourn in England, for he was still under age, and a career in the I.C.S., would have involved almost constant absence from his family within India. There was, too, Motilal's preference for law. "So the die was cast in favour of the paternal profession, the Bar, and I joined the Inner Temple" in the autumn of 1910. (155)

During his two years in London, Nehru lived the life of an English gentleman. He was every handsome, slim young man, with black hair and a moustache, debonair in his Bond street clothes. He frequented the proper clubs and restaurants, whiled away his time at the theatre and at social functions of the young aristocrats. His law studies took up relatively

little time, as did serious intellectual pursuits. He wrote later "For the rest I simply drifted, doing some general reading, vaguely attracted to the Fabians and socialistic ideas, and interested in the political movements of the day. Ireland and the woman suffrage movement interested me especially. I remember also how during the visit to Ireland in the summer of 1910 the early beginning of Sinn Rein had attracted me. (156) So wealthy was his father at the time that Jawaharlal was able to return to India twice for the summer vacation, 1906 and in 1908.

He was called to the Bar in 1912 with his education complete, he returned to India after seven years in the country against which he was to struggle much of his adult life, and at whose hands he was to undergo imprisonment for nine years. But this was in the future. At that time, Nehru was merely a polished aristocrat, in a triple sense : he was a Kashmiri Brahmin, he was a son of a distinguished and wealthy lawyer; and he had acquired the manners and habits of an English nobleman. (157) He wrote about himself on his return to India "I am afraid as I landed at Bombay, I was a bit of a prig with little to command me. (158)

IV

Amateurish Politics.

The India to which Nehru returned was essentially unchanged. The British were still undisputed masters of the sub-continent. Political consciousness was still confined to the intelligentsia in the cities, though the lower-middle class had been aroused by Fatak and the agitation against the partition of Bengal, from 1906 to 1910. The Congress remained a timid annual gathering, loyal to the British connexion. It was very much an English knowing upper class affair where morning coats and well-pressed trousers were greatly in evidence.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ The extremists had been subdued and their leaders were in prison or self-imposed exile. The peasant masses continued to slumber. Gandhi was still in South Africa. Indeed, India in 1912 was a land of political apathy.

Within his own family little had changed. Another sister had arrived in his absence, Krishna, by name, or Betti as she was called. Swarup, the beautiful one or Nan as she was nick named, was now twelve, but the difference in age prevented any real communion. Motilal's practice was as lucrative as ever, and Anand Bhawan had become the social and intellectual centre of the town.

Allahabad seemed terribly provincial to the young Nehru. The scope of activity was severely limited : the club; family gathering at Anand Bhawan; and the Bar Library, for he began to practise his profession soon after his return. "Gradually the life I led, in common with most others of my kind, began to loose all its

freshness and I felt that I was being engulfed in a dull routine of a pointless and futile existence." (150)

Nor was his legal practice ^{or} inspiring/inspired. His qualifications and assets were impressive intelligence, a legal training at one of the great English inns of court, and the benevolent guidance of Nitilal. But the young Nehru showed little initiative or promise at the Bar. He remained a junior to his father for eight years rarely pleased a case on his own, and made no impression on his colleagues. Many years later he recalled this period without any enthusiasm. "There was little that was inviting in that legal past of mine, and at no time have I felt the urge to revert to it." (151)

During these years he lived a leisured and lordly life in the atmosphere of Anand Bhawan like many youngmen of his class he indulged in armchair politics. But there was little and sustained interest. The conditions were not yet ripe for his complete involvement in the freedom struggle; in fact, it was not yet a genuine struggle for freedom; rather, a debating society of cautious intellectuals. (152)

At the end of 1912 he attended the annual session of the Congress. He joined the United Province Congress Organisation in 1913 but remained inactive for some time. Two years later he served as secretary of a fund drive for Indians in South Africa. During this period, too, he participated in the agitation against the system of indentured labour for Indians in Fiji. But these

activities were peripheral to his essentially placid life. (163)

Of all the events during the war the one which stirred him most was the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant in the summer of 1917. A fiery Irish lady devoted to Indian freedom, Mrs. Besant was an intimate friend of the Nehru Family. And as a leading theosophist, she had excited considerable influence on the young Nehru. He was galvanised into political action and became joint secretary of the Allahabad branch of the Home Rule League. Nehru wrote in his autobiography -- "The atmosphere became electric and most of us youngmen felt exhilarated and expected big things in the near future. Mrs. Besant's internment added greatly to the ~~ext~~ excitement of the intelligentsia and vitalised the Home Rule Movement all over the country." (164)

I was a pure nationalist" he wrote of his period, "my vague socialist ideas of college days having sunk into the background. They were vague ideas, more humanitarian and Utopian than scientific." (165) Throughout his adult life these two ideologies, Nationalism and Socialism, were to vie for primacy in his thought and action. Nationalism was invariably to be the more compelling drive, though he has maintained his allegiance to both. (166)

It was on the ~~xxxx~~ eve of his political awakening that Jawaharlal Nehru was married. The marriage took place in Delhi, in February, 1916. As his attraction to politics increased, Nehru devoted less and less attention to the Bar. An alternative interest has had kindled his imagination, and without regret his legal practice faded away. (167)

Influence of Gandhi on Nehru and his appearance on active Political stage:

Nehru's first meeting with Gandhi was about the time of the Lucknow Congress during Christmas 1916. (168) But Nehru was not much impressed by him because 'he seemed very distant and different and unpolitical. "He refused to take part in Congress or national politics then and confined himself to the South African Indian question." (169) But sometime later Nehru was greatly attracted by the Satyagraha Sabha started by Gandhi in 1919 to defy the Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures of the British Government. He felt that this was "a way out of the tangle and method of action which was straight and open and possibly effective." (170) April 1919 witnessed the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy at Amritsar and Nehru became aware of the brutal features of the British and the miserably helplessness of his own people. The extremist nationalist in him was confirmed by this episode. At that time Nehru's 'out look was entirely bourgeois' (171) and he was totally ignorant of the pitiable conditions of the Indian labourers as well as of the peasants. Then in the summer of 1920, by the sheer force of circumstances, he came into contact with the peasant movement in Guj. It proved to be a turning point in his life which not only widened his mental out look but completely changed his mode of living. He spent a few days in villages amongst the Kisans listening to their tales of woe and miseries. He recorded his re-action thus. Looking at them and their misery and ever flowing gratitude, I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy - going and comfortable life and

our petty politics of the city which ignored this vast multitude of semi-naked sons and daughters of India sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable." (172)

1920 was marked by an episode of great personal significance - his first direct contact with the Indian peasant. Until then his outlook and experience had been confined to the intelligentsia of the cities, tiny islands in the ocean of Indian peasantry. (173) This was the first occasion when Nehru felt the pinch of poverty and oppression so deeply and a new realisation came to him. He became conscious of the agrarian troubles of peasant India. This sympathy for the under dog led Nehru to have a confirmed faith in socialism latter on. It was from this experience that Nehru shed his shyness regarding public speaking and he started his conversational method trying to explain things to the illiterate masses of India like a school master. Gandhi launched non-co-operation movement in 1921 and Nehru took a leading part in it." I was full in those days of what I conceived to be the spirit of Gandhi's Satyagraha." (174) But Nehru did not have absolute faith in the doctrine of non-violence. still he felt that 'situated as were in India and with our back ground and tradition, it was the right policy for us.' (175) He came to believe that a worthy end should be achieved by worthy means. But what did not appeal to his secular mind was Gandhi's repeated stress on the religious side of the movement. Nehru in his own language "I used to be troubled sometimes at the growth of this religious element in our politics, both on the Hindus and the Muslims

side. I did not like it at all. Much that Moulivies and Maulanas and Swamis and the like said in their public addresses seemed to me most unfortunate. Their history and sociology and economics appeared to me all wrong, and the religious twist that was given to everything prevented all clear thinking. Even some of Gandhiji's phrases sometimes jarred upon me thus his frequent reference to Ram Raj as a Golden age, which was to return. But I was powerless to intervene, and I consoled myself with the thought that Gandhiji used the words because they were wellknown and understood by the masses. He had an amazing knack of reaching the heart of the people." (176)

Although Nehru disliked the ways of religion, yet because of Gandhi's influence he came 'nearer to a religious frame of mind in 1921 than at any other time' (177) since his early boyhood.

As Nehru recalled this period many years later "I should imagine that in the early twenties I was much more powerfully influenced by him (Gandhi) than I was a few years later when I started questioning about violence and non-violence." (178) The Mahatma's personal influence at that time was remarkable, Nehru gave up smoking for five years and even flirted with vegetarianism, though only for a brief period. He began reading the Bhagavad Gita, afresh, with its emphasis on right action, caring less for the consequences. His faith in the importance of means dates from this period, as does his stress on the ethical side of politics. In the broadest sense his life was simplified and spiritualised. The Mahatma's spell was all-embracing. (179)

Calm and serene, yet firm and decisive, drawing people from all walks of life, Gandhi the man was a model of behaviour

for Nehru and provided all or a nearly all the answers. Yet it was not only the Mahatma who caused this feeling of exhilaration. The opportunity of action, the goal of national freedom, and the conviction that a new India could arise from the struggle -- these pressed Nehru forward. (180)

As a result of his participation in this movement, Nehru's first arrest came in December 1921. He was released after sometime but was re-arrested and sent to Lucknow District Jail, where he was kept until January, 1923. This was also the time when Nehru felt the bitterness of Hindu-Muslim tension. Communal riots took place in India at various places -- Woplah, Delhi, Nagpur, Lucknow, Allahabad etc. He was much disturbed at the outbreak of sporadic communal violence and wanted the Congress leadership to tackle this problem in a rational way. He developed an abhorrence for religion as it was practised and started moving away "from the religious out look on life and politics." (187)(181)

In 1923 Nehru was elected the Chairman of Allahabad Municipal Board for three years. He started his work with ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm but his interest tapered off very quickly as he was frustrated to find that neither the members nor the Government were interested in the work. 'The whole steel frame of Municipal administration, as erected by Government, prevented radical growth or innovation.' (182) He was fed up and resigned after two years. Nonetheless, it gave him an insight into the working of the British administration.

VI

Influence of Europe and Soviet Russia:

Jawaharlal started for Europe in March 1926 and returned to India in December 1927. This long sojourn in West influenced his political thinking tremendously. In February, 1927, he attended the Congress of oppressed nationalities at Brussels as the representative of the Indian National Congress. Under the impact of the Congress Nehru 'felt more and more that the struggle for freedom was a common one against the thing that was imperialism. (183) His international outlook was definitely broadened and on April 23rd, 1927, he wrote to Gandhi 'I welcome all legitimate methods of getting into touch with other countries and peoples so that we may be able to understand their view point and world politics generally. ... I am afraid are terribly narrow in our outlook and the sooner we get rid of this narrowness, the better.' (184) Moreover, there he got the opportunity of meeting many left wing labour organisations and many socialists and many communists and his earlier emotional attraction for socialism found an intellectual basis. He was much impressed by communism. 'I turned inevitably with goodwill towards communism, for whatever its faults, it was at least not hypocritical and not imperialistic.' (185) He admired communists for their ideals but could not like 'their dictatorial ways, their aggressive and rather vulgar methods, their habit of denouncing everybody who did not agree with them.' (186)

Nehru represented the Indian National Congress at Brussels Congress. He was elected there to serve on the executive

of the league against imperialism which comprised distinguished socialist personalities, like Madam Sanyatgen, Romain Rolland, Garvey, Virendra Chottapadhyay and others. The Brussels Congress provided him with an insight into the labour condition of Europe and the communistic and socialistic trends of the time. Above all, it made him aware of his own sense of responsibility towards the cause of the oppressed classes in Indian society, and the growing need, to co-relate the national movement with the socialistic urge of the time.

(187)

In November 1927, he paid a brief visit to Russia and was much impressed by what he ^{saw} ~~was~~, he felt that India could also learn much to shake of its feudal past from the Russian experiment. The constructive side of the soviet struggle with its massive planned effort to fight against poverty, disease, illiteracy and socio-economic injustice left a deep mark on him. He wrote several articles regarding his experiences of Soviet Russia which were later published in book form. He was interested in Russia not only because of the great Marxist Socialist experiment that was going on there, but also because ^{we} Russia was a close neighbour to India and in some manner its conditions were similar to these of India. He observed, both are vast agricultural countries with only the beginnings of industrialisation, and both have to face poverty and illiteracy. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution for these, our work in India is made easier.

(188)

But he could not approve of everything that was happening in Russia. His liberal and individualistic mind revolted and he condemned the brutal treatment meted out to political prisoners

there. He observed 'The Soviet Government has a special and ruthless way of treating its political opponents and all those whom it may suspect of counter - revolutionary activities. ... These people have been treated badly and in some cases very cruelly in the past.'⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

Nehru returned to India in December 1927, and was decisively a man of new political thinking and changed convictions. His nationalism found a new direction and started viewing India's problems in the wider context of the world. He realised that 'without social freedom and a socialistic structure of society and the state, neither the country nor the individual could develop much.'⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ He recognised the limitations of a purely political approach and felt that political liberty was only a means of attaining a new socio-economic order. Economics provided a new content to his nationalism and from now onwards he strove for the twin goals of political independence and a just socio-economic structure.

VII

Growth of Political Ideas of Nehru.

Complete National Independence and Socialism: Towards the end of 1927 Nehru returned to India and found that 'the Congress was a purely political and nationalistic body, unused to thinking on other lines.'⁽¹⁹¹⁾ At the Madras session in December, 1927 Jawaharlal

moved the Resolution : 'The Congress declares the goal of the

Nehru and Madras
Session

Indian people to be completed national
independence' Mahatma was absent from

the proceedings. But when he learned of it he exclaimed : 'By
passing such resolutions we make an exhibition of our importance
... we have almost sunk to the level of a schoolboys' debating
(102)
society.'

Gandhi's anxiety:- What disturbed Gandhi more
than anything else was Nehru's surge to radicalism, and his
apparent abandonment of non-violence. It was as if a son had
gone astray. The Mahatma rebuked the younger man but not in the
spirit of anger. 'I feel that you love me too well to resent what
I am about to write' he began. In any case I love you too well to
restrain my pen when I feel I must write. You are going to fast,
you should have taken time to think and become acclimatized. Most
of the resolution you framed and got carried could have been de-
layed for one year, your plunging into the "Republican army" was
a hasty step. (Nehru had presided over a Republican Congress, a
one day side show at the Madras Session.) But I do not mind these
acts of yours so much as I mind your encouraging mischief makers
(103)
and hooligans.'

A few weeks later Gandhi wrote again. 'I see
quite clearly that you must carry on open warfare against me and
my views ... the differences between you and me appear to be so
vast and so radical that there seems to be no meeting ground
between us. I can not conceal from you my grief that I should

loose so valiant, so faithful, so able and so honest, as you have always been ... But this dissolution of comradeship - if dissolution must come - in no way affects our personal intimacy. (194)

Despite the tone of Gandhi's letters, an open break was not seriously entertained by either. It was as if the Mahatma were testing the Nehru's loyalty. This play would be re-enacted often in the future. Invariably Nehru would remain loyal to the master. (195)

Encouraged by his victory at Madras, Nehru pressed forward with his 'mission' of educating colleagues and rank and file. He visited many places and emphasized the need for socialism. Everywhere he spoke 'on political independence and social freedom and made the former a step towards the attainment of the latter.' (196) His

All India Trade Union Congress.

faith in socialism led him to

associate himself with the rising Trade Union Movement in India at the time. In December, 1928, he participated in All India Trade Union Congress held at Jharia. He became very popular with this workers and was elected president of the Trade Union Congress.

"Two things are very dear to me" he told the Allahabad District Board, "Independence for this country of ours and equality between man and man ... The future of India lies with the peasantry." (197) Action was essential, he declared;

every wrong action was better than no action at all. Industrialisation was inevitable. Capitalism and Imperialism must be eradicated. The struggle against British rule must be waged on both the political and economic fronts. But he denounced violence as counter revolutionary. He urged the boycott of all foreign cloth and defended Khadar. Nehru rejected the methods of communism and the dialectical theory of history. His attitude to Imperialism was based on emotional antipathy to colonial rule, not an Orthodox Marxism. And on political tactics, he followed Gandhi's lead, rejecting secrecy in negotiations and organisation. He subscribed to the Marxist dictum that religion is an opiate of the people, terming it 'the fountain-head of authoritarianism.' But he was equivocal on the question of compensation for expropriated property, favouring partial compensation for hardship cases. From his speeches in 1928 it is evident that Nehru had not yet worked out a coherent ideology. It is questionable whether he has ever done so.

(198)

At an All Party Conference held in May, 1928, it was agreed that the nationalist should prepare their own Constitution for India. As a consequence of Committee under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru was established and The Nehru Report was published in August. There was one clause that particularly offended his socialist conscience. It contained a recommendation that the rights of the great semi-feudal land-owners of such should be guaranteed. Jawaharlal, in his own language observed: "The All

All Party Conference.

Parties Conference gave me another and greater shock by adding to the Fundamental Rights in the proposed constitution, at the instance of the Oudh taluqadars, a clause guaranteeing their vested rights in their Talugas. The whole constitution was, of course, based on the idea of private property, but it did seem to me an outrage to make the property rights in the huge semi-feudal estates one of the irremoval foundations of the Constitution. This made it clear that the Congress leadership, and much more so the non-congress people, preferred the company of the landed magnates to that of the socially advanced groups in their own ranks." (199)

From December 1927 to December 1929, Jawaharlal played the leadership role in various ways in setting a new basis and goal for the national movement, in acquiring a new following, in increasing his popularity among the masses, in intensifying the conflict between nationalist India and the British Raj, and in strengthening and mobilizing the Congress organisation for the Civil disobedience movement of 1930. By the end of this period, at the age forty, he had come to be recognised by most of his immediate colleagues as a man of superior qualities.

The year 1929 conferred a great national honour on Nehru. At a relatively young age of forty he was elected President of the Indian National Congress in succession to his father. His Presidential address to the Lahore Congress clearly revealed his thinking the twin directions of social change and internationalism. He stated : "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and republican, and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which

produces the modern kings of industry. India will have to accept socialism, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods." (200) He pointed out how civilisation had suffered due to narrow nationalism and expressed the hope that free India would welcome and work for world co-operation. (201) But Nehru assured his listeners, if they were capitalists they had nothing to fear from him at least as long as the struggle for freedom went on. Independence first, Socialism afterwards was the message. (202)

It was here that Nehru became aware of the unusual degree of popularity he enjoyed among the masses of India. This hold over the people became a source of the inspiration and power for him in the later years to come. He developed a sort of communion with them and derived his strength out of that under his inspiring leadership. Congress adopted the goal of complete independence. 26th January, 1930 was hailed as Independence Day and celebrated as such throughout the country. It revealed the enthusiastic mood of the country at the time. People were asked to take the following pledge drafted by Nehru : "We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian People, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India

economically, politically, culturally and spiritually." (203)

Lahore Congress ended with note of uncertainty. The country was waiting for Gandhi's lead and this time he gave a concrete form to his civil disobedience movement by defying the Salt Act for which he undertook the Dandi March. Because of his participation in the movement Nehru was arrested in April, 1930 and sent to Naini Central Prison where he was kept until January, 1931. The

Lahore Congress Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 was important, for it reflected Nehru's thinking at that time. In essence Karachi resolutions laid down a programme of reform which the Congress was henceforth pledged to include in a constitution for Independent India. It is a landmark in the history of socialism in India. Though these principles are enforced in various parts of the non-socialist world, yet it was a pioneering act on the part of the Congress by accepting it at Karachi session. It was considered a broadening act of the Congress programme beyond the purely political goal of complete self-government.

Michael Brecher in his works "Nehru" expressed, there is still some doubt as to who really drafted this resolution,

Controversy over the Drafting of the Karachi Resolution. but it is generally agreed that Nehru played the decisive role". (204) But it is

found in the Autobiography that the resolution was drafted by Nehru. In his own language : "The idea of getting the Congress to pass a resolution of this kind was an old one. For some years the U. P.

Provincial Congress Committee had been agitating in the matter, and trying to get the A.I.C.C. to accept the principles. Then followed the civil disobedience. During my early morning talks in Delhi with Gandhi in February and March, 1931, I had referred to this matter, and he had welcomed the idea of having a resolution on economic matters. He asked me to bring the matter up at Karachi and to draft a resolution and show it to him there. I did so at Karachi and he made various changes and suggestions. He wanted both of us to agree on the wording, before we asked the working committee to consider it. Ultimately Gandhi and I agreed on a draft. ... While I was drafting this resolution, various people who used to come to my tent, were sometimes consulted by me about it." (205)

Hence may be concluded that the Karachi resolution on Fundamental Rights and economic and social changes was drafted by Nehru in consultation with Gandhi and other Congress leader.

The Karachi Resolution was one of Nehru's major contributions during the struggle for independence. Indeed, the inauguration of national planning in 1951 and the Avadi Resolution on a "Socialist Pattern of Society" in 1955 may be traced to the Karachi Resolution of 1931.

The Karachi Resolution gave a directive to the Congress to move and work for socialism by emphasizing that the organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice and attempts should be made to secure a decent standard of living for the common man. (206)

VIII

Marxian impact on Nehru:

The period 1930s was the period when Nehru awarded several jail sentences which gave him ample time for reading and writing. Important changes were taking place in international field and his faith in socialism was being confirmed by extensive and intensive study of Marx.

Though Nehru's attraction to humanitarian socialism dated back to Cambridge yet in the 'Glimpses of world History' the impact of Marx is quite obvious. Here Nehru challenged the very basis of the nineteenth century Western Capitalist democracy which created very unreal equality by giving one vote to everyman without ensuring his economic security. The vote had no value for a hungryman. He analysed capitalism according to Marxist-Leninist theories and to him also imperialism was the advanced stage of capitalism as it was for Lenin who maintained that imperialism was the last stage of capitalism. From that point of view Nehru noted the relationship between capitalism and British domination over India. 'We have been living under a huge machine that was exploited and crushed India's millions. This machine is the machine of the new imperialism, the outcome of industrial capitalism.'

According to Nehru, Imperialism and capitalism could not be improved upon. The only real improvement would be to do away with them altogether; and the only way of doing away with them was to adopt socialism. So the world is faced with two rival

forces - capitalism and socialism and 'there can be no permanent compromise between the two'.⁽²¹⁰⁾ But the problem was not only national but international as well. 'The world is essentially international to-day, although its political structure lags behind and is narrowly national. For socialism to succeed finally it will have to be international world socialism.'⁽²¹¹⁾ He believed that a true socialist could never be a narrow nationalist.

During this period Nehru studied Marx and Lenin and was influenced very much. Nehru wrote in his autobiography 'the theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it.'⁽²¹²⁾ The materialistic conception of History appealed to him as scientific and logical. It was devoid of the superstition and religious approach towards the facts of history and life. 'It was the essential freedom from dogma and the scientific outlook of Marxism that appealed to me.'⁽²¹³⁾

Class-interest:

Nehru believed in the incompatibility of various interest groups of the society. There is the interest of the princes, the zamindars, the professional classes the agriculturists, the industrialists, bankers, the lower middle classes, the workers, the foreign capitals and so on. Nehru observed : 'It is obvious that there are serious conflicts between various interests, in a country, and every law, every policy which is good for one interest may be harmful for another. What is good for the Indian prince may

be thoroughly bad for the people of his state, what is profitable for the Zamindar may ruin many of his tenants, what is demanded by foreign capital may crush the rising industries of the country.' (214) He said, "Nothing is more absurd than to imagine that all the interest in the nation can be filted without injury to any. At every step some have to be sacrificed for others.' (215) Thus he recognised not only the different class interest, in society but also the irrecconciliability of the conflicting interest. Without 'a sudden change called Revolution', probably the antagonistic class interests could not be eliminated altogether. (216) He, however, did not imply by the term revolution 'any necessary connection with the violence.' (217)

As regards class war in society he adopted to some extent, the Marxist or Communist points of view. He observed: "We are often accused of preaching the class war and of widening the distance between the classes. The distance is wide enough, thanks to capitalism, and nothing can beat the record of capitalism in that respect. But those who accuse us are singularly ensuring and ignorant of what goes on around them. Is it the socialist or the communist who separates the classes and preaches discontent or the capitalist or the imperialist who by his policy and methods has reduced the great majority of mankind into wage slaves who are worse even in many ways than the slaves of old? The class war is none of our creation. It is the creation of capitalism and so long as capitalism endures it will endure.' (218) The class war to which he referred intended to prove the existence of class antagonism in society. He regarded it not as the projection of the socialists'

vision of the future but a fact of history and a continued reality of socio-economic order in the capitalist society. This may also be noted here that he did not advocate for engineering or accelerating the process of bringing about any class war. He merely recognised it as a fact.

State:

With regard to state, Nehru appears to have shown no interest in the Marxian concept of the withering away of the state. He ~~defended~~ defended socialism in terms of 'the control by the state' of the means of production and distribution. And in practice also, he found the machinery of the state strengthened in the Soviet Union as well as in other communist states. He realised the necessity of a state even as a coercive institution, using violence and force. He observed in his Autobiography 'violence is the very life-blood of the modern state and social system. Without the coercive apparatus of the state taxes would not be realised, land lords would not get their rents, and private property would disappear. The law with the help of the armed forces, excludes others from the use of private property. The national state itself exists because of offensive and defensive violence.' (219) Nehru also maintained that even if we assume that the worst forms of violence will be gradually removed from the state 'it is impossible to ignore the fact that both government and social life necessitate some coercion'. (220) He realised the importance of state in all eventualities and to him it appeared as a perpetual necessity. (221)

Equality:

Nehru was highly critical of the Indian social order in so far as it had not cared to solve effectively the ~~pratik~~ problem of social in-equality. In his presidential address to the Indian National Congress at Lahore in 1929, Nehru declared: "To-day politics have ceased to have much meaning, and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality." (222) Laying stress on the importance of equality he wrote in the 'glimpses of the world history' in 1933: "Democracy means equality, and democracy can only flourish in an equal society." (223) From that point of view equality in a democratic society does not mean "equality of possessing a vote, but economic and social equality." (224) He was a strong critic of caste considerations in social and public life. The achievement of the objectives and programmes appeared to Nehru possible only with the adoption of socialist ideology. Hence he had sympathetically inclined towards Marxism and the Western brand of socialism. But he felt that socialism in India must be adopted to suit Indian conditions, and to that extent, he wanted 'socialism to be practical as well as indigenous." (225)

By equality Nehru did not mean equalising all person and groups. "What is essential is that they should be given equal opportunities to develop. If a nation, or a group, or an individual has the capacity in him to develop, well, he should have that opportunity." (226) Nehru believed that "democracy is, on the whole, a great leveller." (227) All human beings are not equal in the sense of ability or capacity. It depends upon individual human beings as

to what extent they can develop their faculties, but it can not be denied that there must be "a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility of everyone to lead a good life, obviously this can not be attained unless we produce wherewithal to have the standards that a good life implies. We have, therefore, to lay great stress, on equality, and the removal of disparities." (228)

A social structure which "denies him this opportunity stands self-condemned and must be changed." (229)

According to Nehru equality included all aspects of life - political, social, economic, cultural etc. life is a complete whole and a society must try to remove disparities in all spheres. His ideal was "social equality in the widest sense and equality of opportunity for everyone." (230) Nehru widened the meaning of equality on the social plan when he explained his point of view. "Every man and woman must have the opportunity to develop to the best of his or her ability. ... Honour and merit must come from ability and hard work and not because of caste or birth or riches." (231) Although while saying this he had the Indian social structure in his mind, yet he believed fundamentally in the social equality of man without any distinctions of caste, race, colour and social status. Only such social equality would develop the sense of fraternity among the members of a social group where each would "consider the other as his brother, not higher or lower, and people would feel that none is to be worshipped nor despised, but treated as equal with equal rights to share." (232) Thus Nehru was the supporter of the removal of special privileges; because 'democracy must mean removal of disparities.' (233)

(234)

Political and social freedom and equality must lead to economic freedom and equality. Indeed "there is no such thing as freedom for a man who is starving or for a country which is poor." (235) Democracy can not last long without a just economic structure ensuring good standard of living for the common masses. Freedom and poverty are incompatible. "Freedom becomes unimportant when there is absolute poverty prevailing If through poverty and for other reasons you do not have even the capacity to live worthily, all other freedoms do not count". (236) And so the ultimate aim of the democracy is "to put an end to the difference between the rich and the poor, between the people who have opportunities, and those who have very end none". (237) He came to the final conclusion : 'True freedom is not merely political but must also be economic and spiritual. Only then can man grow and fulfil his destiny. (238)

Relation between Freedom and Equality:

Political freedom and socio-economic equality are essential for the fullest development of an individual. There is one important question as to the relationship between freedom and equality which one of the two should be given greater importance. Replying to a question at a Press Conference in New Delhi, Nehru realised the possibility of conflict between political freedom and economic freedom on practical consideration. Nehru observed : "Real freedom ultimately comes from political freedom and economic freedom. ... But the point is this. There is a conflict between the economic aspect and political freedom. ... In countries which

are under bondage and underdeveloped, where there is a starvation and want of millions of people; those people are more interested in a good meal or a certain economic betterment than in some theoretical political freedom." (239) Therefore, this problem is to be met on the economic plane as well as the political plane. Apart from practical consideration, even from the theoretical point of view, Nehru accepted the difficulty in harmonising the two concepts. He noted that 'freedom carried to the extreme is anarchy' (240) and 'liberty, and democracy have no meaning without equality'. (241) On the other hand, he doubted if ultimately the concept of equality could be co-ordinated with freedom, because when you bring equality it may interfere with some body's freedom'. (242) Hence there is a slight conflict between the two.

But this conflict is not an inherent one. Nehru believed that such conflict can be resolved to some extent by balancing the two. "Until you balance the two ideas of freedom and equality, both of which are important, and each of which has to be limited to some extent in order to co-ordinate with the other, you will not solve the problem of to-day." (243) And yet the question arises : which one is more fundamental and basic - freedom and equality? Nehru was deeply impressed by both -- liberal democratic ideas emphasising freedom, and socialistic ideas emphasising equality. He noted that freedom had been the dominating idea of the nineteenth century but the twentieth century demanded equality as well. He was unable to provide any definite answer; but he basically believed that 'political freedom or political equality is the very basis on which you build up other qualities. At the same time political equality

may cease to have meaning if there is gross economic inequality ...
 But Political equality is the basis for other equalities.' (244)

Ideas on Civil liberty and rule of law:

Democracy requires thinking and responsible citizens who know how to rule and to be ruled. This can be possible only if there is a free flow of ideas and opinions in the state. Nehru was totally opposed to a regimented society. "I object to regimentation and to authoritarianism. I want people to develop their own minds and thoughts and to give free expression to them." Nehru believe (245) that "out of discussion sometimes a little ~~of~~ bit of truth come out." (246) It is not always easy to suppress ideas and contrary opinions. He pointed out that this kind of suppression would be harmful for the society itself because a free atmosphere is required for the development of every kind of national activity - political, cultural, social, economic.' (247) In the absence of civil liberties social progress would be stunted. Emphasising the role of civil liberties Nehru wrote in 1937 "civil liberty is not merely for us an airy doctrine of a pious wish. But something which we consider essential for the orderly development and progress of a nation. It is the civilised approach to a problem about which people differ, the non-violent way of dealing with it." (248)

Opposing too much coercive process of the state he felt that the 'largest freedom should be given to the expression of opinion and ideas.' (249) He realised : "We can not suppress truth; we can not suppress the desire of man to unravel, to discover, to progress, even though it may land him in dangerous situations. If

a human mind by chance takes the wrong turn, well, it suffers the consequences. Therefore, it is no good trying to stop this quest." (250)

But the individual is an integral part of the society and his actions affect it either adversely or favourably. And so the need arises for harmonizing the liberty of the individual with the group. Rule of law appeared to him as an effective measure for that "Unless a community lives under the Rule of law, it will tend to be lawless. The Rule of law should bind the community." (251) Every ^{one} ~~starts~~ taking law in his own hands, then there is neither order nor stability and it becomes only jungle law under which a democratic society can not function. "Law is a pre-condition of freedom and peace." (252)

In the scientific and dynamic world of to-day no society can afford to be static. New challenges are being faced by everyone. The democratic fervour of the society would be maintained if people are allowed to ventilate their grievances through the utilization of civil liberties granted to them. If civil liberties are crushed, then people's choice is 'either to submit and give up all political even public activity, and to suffer a degradation of the spirit and a continuation of the tyranny that oppresses them, or to resort to direct action." (253)

IX

Nehru on Indian Society.

Nehru developed admiration for India's rich cultural heritage in philosophy and immortal past. In the Indo-Aryan Culture, although life was community oriented, yet it allowed freedom of thought to the individual. The very existence of this outlook might have affected social life and 'produced that atmosphere of tolerance and reasonableness, that acceptance of free thought in matters of faith ... , which are dominant features of Indian culture.' (254) And yet the tolerance of every kind of belief, practice and superstition perpetuated many an evil custom and prevented people from getting rid of the traditional burdens that presented growth.' (255)

Under the stresses and strains of time the Indian social structure had exhausted 'its utility long ago ... and only the empty shell of the fossil' (256) remained. Nehru found that the Indian social structure was based on three pillars --- the caste, the joint family and the village community. This structure succeeded in providing 'social security for the group and a kind insurance for the individual'. (257) In ancient time Indian society had that dynamic element which led it to progress but in the later years it faded away and the social structure became rigid and inflexible. So long as stability and security were the main objects this structure functioned successfully, but it was seriously threatened by 'the new dynamic conception of social progress which, could not be fitted into the old static ideas.' (258)

A conflict between the long deep-rooted traditions and customs and new forces of modernism followed, and Nehru believed that unless the Indian society was transformed into a modern one, there could be no progress. There was another contradiction in the outlook of life as preached by the Indian Philosophy and the realities of the social structure. The Indian social structure was communal and paid attention to groups only. The individual was allowed perfect freedom to think and belief what he liked, but he had to conform strictly to social and communal usage.⁽²⁵⁹⁾ The chief aim was the 'continuance of the group, that is of society,'⁽²⁶⁰⁾ and not individual as such, for the emphasis was on duties, not on rights. We have to pay attention to 'the human material we have to deal with, to the background of its thought and urges, and not to the environment in which we have to function.'⁽²⁶¹⁾

The Caste System:

The Caste was essentially a group system based on services and functions. 'It was meant to be an all inclusive order without any common dogma and allowing the fullest latitude to each group.'⁽²⁶²⁾ While it ensured some sort of equality and democracy within groups, an individual was only considered as a member of a group; 'he could do any thing he liked so long as he did not interfere with functioning of the group. He had no right to upset that functioning.'⁽²⁶³⁾ The place of the individual in society was determined on the basis of the membership of a particular caste. It was difficult for the individual to free himself of those group loyalties and obligations.

The caste survived for thousands of years because it gave security, stability and a sense of freedom to each group. 'It held Indian life together for thousands for years, and could only do so, not by preventing change or growth, but by allowing this to take place. (264) But with the passage of time, the caste, because of its exclusiveness and rigidity, became the enemy of every kind of progress.' To-day, 'instead of holding together the social structure, it splits it up into hundreds of divisions and makes us weak and turns brother against brother.' (265) This process brought degradation to the society and the caste developed 'into a prison for that social order and for the mind of man.' (266) Nehru found that with the growth of rigidity in the caste system, rigidity of mind also increased and 'the creative energy of the race faded away.' (267)

Privileged classes entrenched themselves in superior positions. Group loyalties became prominent and it gave rise to a 'narrow small group, and parochial outlook.' (268) Life was divided into narrow compartments and everyman's place was fixed. The greatest sufferers were those who were placed at the lowest level in social scale; and the idea of ceremonial purity and the superiority of caste based on birth led to certain classes being considered as untouchables. Inter-mixing of the higher and lower ~~classes~~ castes faded away and the so-called untouchables were made to suffer grievously by being excluded from the common life of the community. 'Education and opportunities of growth were withheld from the lower castes, who were taught to be submissive to those higher up in the scale.' (269) Thus with the growing rigidity and exclusiveness, the

caste system became 'the citadel of social reaction and basis for the exploitation of the masses.' (270)

Nehru believed that the caste system itself contained seeds of its decay for it was based on 'perpetuating inequality and injustice.' (271) Within the framework of caste system social equality can never be achieved. Nehru observed: In the context of society to-day, the caste system and much that goes with it are wholly incompatible, re-actionary, restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its framework nor can there be political democracy and much less economic democracy.' (272) Thus caste system suppressed certain groups and was wholly opposed to modern conditions. Nehru firmly held the view that no sound and stable society could be built up 'on the basis of inequality and injustice, or on the exploitation of one class or group by another'. (273)

Nehru understood that the caste system was being threatened by the basic economic changes, but it was not eliminated completely. He failed to reconcile himself with the prevailing caste system and repeatedly appealed for its abolition. Nehru said, "The practice of casteism was retarding the country's progress. We have already suffered heavily due to the caste system. We have therefore to fight this demon and to provide equal opportunities for every citizen of India, ~~xxxxx~~ irrespective of any caste or creed, to make progress." (274) Nehru declared at a meeting at Bihar that the system could not be tolerated at any cost. He burst out "I will break it, I will ~~dash~~ smash it." (275)

According to Nehru casteism is a system of medievalism. It had no meaning in a society which claimed to develop equality. (276)

He asserted that there could not be 'either democracy or socialism on the basis of caste.' (277) His ideal was a classless society "where every individual has full opportunity to grow according to his birth and ability." (278) But this was not possible in a society where caste system exists because it curse has been the development of untouchability. Nehru continually declared that our fight against the curse of untouchability and other forms of enforced inequality" (279) shall be continued. The lower classes should be given better opportunities. Nehru said in the constituent Assembly "... it becomes incumbent upon us, not only for humanitarian reasons but from the standpoint of the fulfilment of democracy, to raise up those people who are low down in the social and economic scale and to bring to them every possible opportunity of growth and progress." (280)

The System of Joint Family:

All the members jointly share common property in the joint family. It was the feudal and patriarchal system, headed by the eldest man who enjoyed the greater power over all the other members of the family. Nehru acknowledged the importance of joint family in earlier days when it provided for the needs of all its members. There was a security in a joint family. It was 'a kind insurance for all including even the sub-normal and the physically or mentally deficient.' (281) Moreover, the membership of a larger unit was responsible for curbing egoistic and selfish tendencies of its members and from the very beginning the child developed an aptitude for socialisation. Here the 'emphasis was not laid on personal advantage or ambition but on

that of the group,' (282) that was the family.

The joint family system helped the individual but was also responsible for 'suppressing him and preventing growth.' (283)

The very lack of individualistic tendencies in a large family gave rise to certain trends which were opposed to democratic values. Too much dependence on elders did not give ample opportunities to the younger members to develop their personality and individuality. Differences of opinion was condemned as indiscipline, so that joint family system did not fit in with the concept of modern democracy which permits full expression of differences of opinion and ideas. Large family groupings do not fit in with present day condition. (284)

Nehru wrote to his sister, Krishna Nehru Nuthesing, about the joint family system: "It is pulled in two different directions at the same time - the individual asserting his right to his own way of living, and the larger social group, the community or nation demanding a unified pattern and equal opportunities for all. Between these two pulls, the middle pull of the joint family becomes less and less, it comes in the way of the individual life as well as the larger natural life. It does not fit in with the thought and elemental forces that moved the world to-day." (286)

Nehru believed that so long the joint family system exists, the Indian society could not be directed to develop liberal and individualistic outlook.

Conditions of women:

Nehru was shocked to see the barbaric practice of Purdah which reminded him of a prison or Zoo. He asked : "How can a nation go ahead if half of its population is kept hidden away in a kind of prison." (286) He was convinced that 'the complete ending of this barbarous customs is essential before India can have a ~~progressive~~ progressive social life.' (287) It injures not only the woman but also the child who has to spend much of his time among secluded women.

The economic dependence of the woman on her husband or any other male member of the family is the most important cause of her lower position in the society. Nehru advocated that women should try their best to be independent and self-reliant. The woman should work in fields, factories and offices without any inferiority complex. That would result in the association of man and woman of 'Perfect freedom and perfect comradeship with no dependence of one on the other.' (288) The efforts are to be made by the women themselves to have freedom 'from the tyranny of man-made custom and law ... man is not likely to help'. (289) According to Nehru the law of inheritance should be changed in order to change the status of woman. The woman should be given a fair share in the property of her father. On the 31st February, 1931, he wrote a letter his sister, Krishna, after his father's death. "I would like you, therefore, to consider yourself as an equal sharer with mother and me of father's property. Indeed, mother and you are the real sharers. I am a trustee for the family property. You are in

no way dependent on me. You have as much right indeed more, to
 (290)
 father's property as I have."

Equality between sexes is an essential condition for social democracy. "Whatever man has the right to do, women should have an opportunity and right to do so." Constitution should come to their rescue "special provision must be made for freeing our women folk from the many burdens and disabilities they suffer from, both legally and otherwise. They should have the same status as men" (291) Hence for the improvement of the status of the women some constitutional safe guards were taken under the provision of the Fundamental Rights.

The Village Community:

In ancient India the society was agricultural society and it enjoyed political autonomy to a great extent. Nehru observed that India's strength lay in 'her wide spread system of village republics or self governing Panchayats ... these Panchayats were elected by the village folk, and thus there was a basis of democracy in this system." (292) Nehru was rather surprised to find how village panchayats enjoyed both executive and judicial powers and their "members were treated with the greatest respect by the king's officers." (293)

In the economic field there was no scope for exploitation of the many by the few. 'There were no big land lords and no big Zamindars', (294) and the peasant was not the Lord's serf. "Originally the agrarian system was based on a co-operative and

collective village." (295) Both individuals and families had certain right and obligations which were protected by customary law. This system started to break under British rule. Village industries were destroyed, the land owner started owing the land as private property and this led to the 'break down of the joint life and corporate character of the community, and the co-operative system of services and functions began to disappear gradually.' (296) The break up of the old system created new problems, 'probably the beginnings of the new Hindu-Moslem problem can be traced to it.' (297) In later period, according to Nehru, the economic causes were the root of the communal problem in India. The Hindus were the landlords and the Moslems were on at the other side.

Nehru felt that the village was too small a unit to go ahead. With the passage of time, these village communities became 'self-centred and selfish and narrowminded.' (298) Narrow mindedness increased 'there was an unfortunate tendency for small groups to split up and quarrel among themselves.' (299) Nehru also felt that this little world of the village with "fixed concept of social organization and behaviour" (300) could not provide a sound basis for modern democracy, because the village was not in position to ensure freedom and equality to all its citizens. Nehru found everywhere peasants confronting the same type of problems. "Poverty debt, vested interests, landlords, money lenders, heavy rents and taxes." (301) So Nehru realised that the villages should be transformed socially, politically and economically to suit to the modern democratic ideals.

Nehru never condemned everything of India had in the past, but readily felt the necessity of the 'substitution of social values when the old structure gives place to new, and new institutions replace the old.' (302) To bring about a change from below, it is most essential to change the mental climate of the country. The major problem before India "to pull the people of India. ... out of a past century or past centuries into the modern age - that is in a sense to modernize not only living conditions but their thinking, too." (303)

X

Nehru on Religion.

Nehru was an agnostic and non-religious man. From his boyhood Nehru developed an aversion towards religion and this is clearly manifested in his numerous writings and speeches. He wrote in his Autobiography : 'of religion I had very hazy notions. It seemed to me a woman's affair Father and my older cousins treated the question humourously and refused to take in seriously.' (304)

Nehru was not 'interested in the after life, in what happened after death'. (305)

Nehru found 'the problems of this life sufficiently absorbing to fill' (306) his mind. It was very difficult for him to adhere to the superstitious and dogmas of any religions whether Hinduism, Christianity, Islam or any other. He stated : 'I am not wedded to any dogma or religion, but I do believe -- whether one calls religion or not -- in the innate spirituality of human beings.

I do believe in the innate dignity of the individual'. Religion
'had little conception of human values and social values and social
justice.' (308)

Nehru wrote ten years before his death in his last
Will and Testament which had been read over the RADIO by the elder
of his sisters, that : 'I wish to declare with all earnestness that
I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my
death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies and to submit to
them, even as a matter of form, would be hypocrisy and an attempt
to delude ourselves and others.' (309) Nehru expressed his wish that
there should be no religious ceremony in conjunction with his
cremation.

Nehru stated : ' I am not a religious man, dogmas do
not appeal to me'. (310) For his religion is 'narrow and
intollerent of other opinions and ideas, it is self centred and
egoistic.' (311) As such religion 'does not help, and even hinders,
the moral and spiritual progress of a people'. (312)

Nehru admitted that 'religion have helped greatly in
the development of humanity. They have laid down values and
standards and have pointed out principles for the guidance of human
life. But with all the good they have done, they have also tried
to imprison truth in set forms and dogmas, and encouraged cereemo-
nials and practices which soon loose all their original meaning and
become mere routine.' (313) Instead of encouraging curiosity and
thought, religion 'have preached a philosophy of submission to
nature, to the established church, to the prevailing social order

and to everything that is.' (314) According to Nehru, the belief in a supernatural agency 'led to a certain irresponsibility on the social plane, and emotion and sentimentality have taken the place of reasoned thought and enquiry.' (315) There is no doubt that Religion has brought comfort to innumerable human beings and established the society by its values, but at the same time it 'has checked the tendency to change and progress inherent in human society.' (316)

It is a matter of concern with two meanings of the word "religion" -- one in the personal sphere and the other in the communal. Though Nehru had some eminently sound observations to make about personal religion, but his mind was greatly pre-occupied with communal, or as he preferred to call it, organized religion.

Nehru gave a definition to religion, which we may call personal religion. 'What then is religion to use the word in spite of its obvious disadvantages? Probably it consists of the inner development of the individual, the evolution of his consciousness in a certain direction which is considered good. What that direction is will again be a matter for debate. But, as far as I understand it, religion lays stress on this inner change and considers outward change as but the projection of this inner development.' (317)

Nehru had no doubt that 'this inner development powerfully influences the outer environment.' (318) and 'the outer environment powerfully influences the inner development.' (319) It may be that individuals can rise above circumstances and environment and reach great inner heights. But for large groups and nations a certain measure of external development is essential before the inner development

achieved. 'A man who is the victim of economic circumstances, and who is hedged and restricted by the struggle to live, can very rarely achieve inner consciousness of any high degree. A class that is down trodden and exploited can never progress inwardly. A nation which is politically and economically subject to another and hedged and circumscribed and exploited can never achieve inner growth.' (320) Thus according to Nehru external freedom and a suitable environment is necessary for inner development.

Organised Religion has acted as a force helping authoritarian regimes and suppressed people's desire for freedom. Kings, priests and privileged classes have always used religion as a shield to protect their vested interest 'organised religion invariably becomes a vested interest and thus inevitably, a reactionary force opposing change and progress.' (321)

The Christian Church in the early days did not help the slaves to improve their social status. The slaves became the feudal serfs of the middle ages because of their economic conditions. 'The attitude of the Church, as late as two hundred years ago (in 1727), was well exemplified in a letter written by the Bishop of London to the slave owners of the Southern Colonies of America.

"Christianity" wrote the Bishop, "and the embracing of the gospel does not make the least alternation in civil property or in any of the duties which belong to civil relations; but in all these respects it continues persons just in the same state as it found them. The Freedom which Christianity gives is Freedom from

the bondage of sin and satan and from the Dominion of man's Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their outward conditions, whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptised and becoming christians makes no manner of change in them." (322)

With the help of religion 'the masses have been told that their miseries are due to Kismet or the sins of a former age. Religion has been the fountain head of authoritarianism and meek submission.' (323) Thus religion gave a permanent and an honoured place to poverty and misery in this world. 'The very ideas of liberty and equality were opposed to the authoritarian outlook of the Church and Society!' (324)

Nehru's religion was the service of India, and thus of humanity. 'I am trying to serve my country. If service to my country is religion, I am religious. If it is not I am not.' (325) Religious places were not temples for Nehru. Addressing the Sikhs at the Golden Temple, he referred to the big river valley projects and 'My religion and my temples are those places where noble work is being put in for the country's progress.' (326) Nehru was interested to religion as far as moral values were concerned. He believed that some faith seems necessary in things of the spirit which are beyond the scope of our physical world, some reliance on moral, spiritual and idealistic conceptions or else we have no anchorage, no objectives or purpose in life.' (327) Nehru was sceptical about the existence of God and held that 'after all God is a creation of man's mind.' (328) Nehru claimed for himself the

'freedom not to worship God if I so choose, and I also claimed freedom to draw people away from what I consider superstition and unsocial practices.' (328) Various inhuman deeds committed in the name of religion utterly shocked him. He once told Stanley Jones : 'So many things are done in the name of God and religion with which I can not agree that I have dismissed them both from my life.' (330)

Religion and Science:

According to Nehru all religions degenerated into something which was completely opposed to the scientific temper. 'Religion as I saw it practised, and accepted even by thinking minds, whether it was Hinduism or Islam or Buddhism or Christianity, did not attract me. It seemed to be closely associated with superstitious practices and dogmatic beliefs, and behind it lay a method of approach to life's problems which was certainly not that of science.' (331) There can be no compromise between science and religion, by imposing its intellectual tyranny on mind and by producing credulity and superstition because the enemy of free enquiry and ultimate truth. Science, on the other hand, 'seeks to encourage an open mind and tries to reach truth by repeated experiments.' (332) The scientific temper is 'the temper of a free man'. (333)

This is an age of science 'Science to-day challenges the old concept of religion'. (334) Nehru repeatedly emphasised that India should come out of her narrow sphere of social thought and action. A new India could not be built up without discarding the old reliance on some supernatural factors and encouraging the

spirit of free inquiry in a free atmosphere.

XI

Nehru's Attitude Towards Communalism.

The communal problem was a problem of adjusting 'the claims of the minorities and giving them sufficient protection from the majority action'. (335) Minorities in India are not racial or national minorities as in Europe, they are religious minorities. Racially India is a patch work and a curious mixture, Religion transcends these racial differences, which fade into one another and are ^{often} ~~after~~ hard to distinguish. Religious barriers are not permanent. Conversions can take place from one religion to another. A person does not lose his racial background or his cultural or linguistic inheritance, though he changes his religion. "Religion, in any real sense of the word has played little part in Indian political conflict, though the word is often enough used and exploited". (336) Religious differences as such, do not come in the way, for there is a great deal of mutual tolerance for them. In political matters religion has been displaced by what is called communalism. Communalism is "a narrow group mentality basing itself on a religious community but in reality it concerned with political power and patronage for the group concerned." (337)

Previously Hindus and Muslims were not so hostile but had developed many common traits by living together for a long time. "Partly because the great majority of Muslims in India were converts from Hinduism, partly because of long contact, Hindus

and Moslems in India developed numerous common traits, habits ways of living and artistic taste" (338) especially as far as the masses were concerned there was hardly any appreciable difference between the Hindus and the Moslems; they were indistinguishable in habits, ways of living, language and in their common poverty and misery.' (339) It was difficult to find any major racial or cultural difference between these two communities. India was free from that intolerance and religious persecution which dominated Europe at a time. British policy of divide and rule attributed to the growth of communalism. ... 'communalism began in India by a demand for a specified share in services and in representation in the legislatures.' (340) Thus the communal question essentially became one of protection of the vested interests who opposed change fearing the loss of their feudal privileges. The British Government on the otherhand, was delighted 'in using the communal argument to deny freedom, democracy, or any major change, and to hold on to power and privilege in India.' (341) 'That was the raison d'etre and the justification of communalism in India.' (342)

The communal problem was not particularly a religious question. It had an economic background also. Its roots can be traced to the different economic conditions of the Hindus and the Muslims and their different development. Under the impact of the British rule and industrialisation, a new middle and bourgeois class arose in India among the Hindus. 'The great majority of these people of the new bourgeoisie were Hindus. This was due to their somewhat better economic condition, as compared to the

Muslims, and also to their taking to English education The Muslims were generally poorer'. (343) The landlord and the money lender were usually Hindus and the Muslims were the poorer tenants. The new middle classes did not emerge among the Muslims. "Their avoidance of Western Education, their keeping away from trade and industry, and their adherence to feudal ways, gave a start to the Hindus which they profited by and retained." (344)

The communal question was fundamentally 'a conflict between the members of the upper middle class Hindus and Muslims for jobs and power.' (345) The result of this conflict created a sense of fear and insecurity which gripped the minority communities. The fear that 'bigger numbers might politically overwhelm a minority;' (346) went deeper into the minds of the Muslims. The communal organisation and the actions of the British Government confirmed it. Nehru observed in his Autobiography "on the one side, there were the Muslim fears of a Hindu Majority; on the other side, Hindu resentment at being bullied, as conceived it, by the Muslims. Hindu communalism opposing Muslim Communalism." (347) The Hindus felt that the Muslims were trying to get special privileges from the government under the cover of protection, and the Muslims felt that their rights and position would not remain secure because of the numerical strength of the Hindus. Thus each community looked upon other with fear and envy.

Essentially this was question between the majority group in the country and a big minority.' (348) The distrust and fear of domination by a religious majority pushed the Muslim League to put forward the demand for separate state of Muslims. Mr. Jinnah

propounded the two nation theory that India consisted of two nations -- Hindus and Muslims and they should politically in separate states. But Nehru completely disagreed with Mr. Jinnah's theory. There were so many minority communities in India. 'If nationality was and on religion, there were many nations in India', and not only two. For Nehru this new form of communalism had little to do with religious differences. It was a political conflict between those who wanted a free, united and democratic India and certain re-actionary and feudal elements who, under the guise of religion, wanted to preserve their special interests.' Nehru felt bitterly disgusted of this type of exploitation by religion. He wrote in his autobiography, 'Religion as practical and exploited in this way by its votaries of different creeds, seemed to me a curse and a barrier to all progress, social and individual!

The poison of communalism infected other communities also. 'To add to the confusion, a third type of sectional nationalism arose -- Sikh nationalism.' The Akali Movement was started with the motive of getting the possession of property belonging to shrines, but later it entered the political and got involved in communal conflict which was already raging the country. Many ~~other~~ other smaller groups, specially the 'Depressed classes also gained the self-conscious.

Repeated efforts were made by the Congress as well as other organisation to settle this communal problem with the consent of the various groups concerned. Some partial success was achieved, but there was a basic obstacle -- the presence and policy of the British government. The fissifarus tendencies were

encouraged by the British Government fully.

Communal violence broke out and communal riots shook the country from time to time. Nehru condemned the communal violence. "Anti-social elements were abroad, defying all authority and destroying the very structure of the society. Unless these elements were suppressed, to whatever community they belonged, there was no freedom or even security for any person." (354) Nehru hoped that after the partition communalism would sub-side in free India. But his hopes were completely faded away by what happened in the wake of the partition and by the murder of Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January, 1948. He expressed his grave concern in the constituent Assembly on the 2nd Feb., 1948. 'This tragedy is not merely the isolated act of a madman. This comes out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that prevailed in this country for many months and years ... we have to face this atmosphere, to struggle against and root out the evil of hatred and violence'. (355) In a Radio broad cast on 15th August, 1948. Nehru said "Communalism threatened to crush the free spirit in us, the communalism of the Muslim, of the Hindus and of the Sikh. so let us be rid of everything that limits us and degrades us let us cast out fear and communalism and provincialism. Let us build up a free democratic India, where the interest of the masses our people has always the first place to which other interests must submit." (356)

Nehru repeatedly raised his voice against these narrowness, intolerance, insensitiveness and lack of awareness

which are the barrier to the establishment of equality in India.

'When we bring ~~in~~ in democracy and open the door of opportunity to everyone this narrow outlook brings about group conflict. The so called nationalism of one group comes up against the so called nationalism of the other.' (357) Communalism is essentially based upon the dominance of one religious community. 'If that community is in a minority, this is opposed to all ideas of democracy. But if that community is in a majority, even so its dominance over others as a religious community would be wholly undemocratic.' (358)

It was clear to Nehru that 'there is no chance of a minority community gaining this democratic position in a democratic set up.' (359) According to him every 'cultural group should be given freedom and indeed should be encouraged to preserve and cultivate its culture.' (360) Nehru wrote in a letter to J. Holmes Smith in 1940 'We are prepared to give every conceivable guarantee to the minorities in India within the limits of democracy, freedom and Indian unity.' (361) Nehru accepted that 'they should be given fullest constitutional protection, religious, cultural, linguistic and in every other way.' (362) According to him a free and Independent India must take particular care so that the 'minorities have an adequate and respected place.' (363)

Nehru believed that all religious communities were part of India. 'Nationalism can only come out of the ideological fusion of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other groups in India. That does not and need not mean the extinction of any real culture of any group, but it does mean a common national outlook, to which other matters are subordinated.' (364)

Nehru was opposed to the communal electorates which were introduced in India by the British Government in 1909. Nehru condemned separate electorates on many grounds. The worst result of this system was 'the perpetuation of a feeling of separation and the encouragement in either group of the extremist communal and bigoted elements'.⁽³⁶⁵⁾ Thus a political barrier was created around the various communities and it obstructed the growth of Indian Nationalism. Isolating the minority community from the rest of the people the communal electorates stood as the greatest challenge to Indian national unity.

Nehru condemned them as 'the negation of democracy'.⁽³⁶⁶⁾ They stood in sharp contrast to the ideal of secular state which Nehru wished to realise in India. As a solution to the communal problem, Nehru had always been in favour of joint electorates which would promote 'national unity and harmonious co-operation between the different communities.'⁽³⁶⁷⁾ Nehru was the first man who placed the idea of adult franchise in the resolutions of Congress. The Karachi Resolutions of the Congress (1931), drafted by Nehru, stated⁽³⁶⁸⁾ 'the franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.'

XII

Nehru's Ideas on Secularism:

Vincent Sheean held that Nehru had a non religious outlook. "I do not discover, in his printed work or in any talk I have had with him during the past twelve years, one vestige of the religiosity which otherwise observes Hindu culture. This is truly extraordinary in India."⁽³⁶⁹⁾ Nehru's agnosticism and scientific

temper could not but make him a non-religious man. His secular spirit inspired him to establish a secular society based on justice and equality in a religious country like India. According to Nehru secularism was not only a political doctrine, but a social one of revolutionary which embraced all religions and all communities in India. It means a social structure where individual would not be subjected to some hierarchical position in society on the basis of one's faith and religion, it means a certain mental attitude on the part of individuals and groups towards the members of other religious groups. Inter-group and inter-personal relations are not supposed to be affected by religion and religious considerations.

According to Nehru, secularism meant neither irreligion nor only material well-being. It contained spiritual elements also. He wrote : "A purely secular philosophy of life may be considered enough by most of us ... And yet that secular philosophy itself must have some background, some objectives, other than merely material well-being. It must essentially have spiritual value and certain standards of behaviour." (370) Nehru's ideas on secularism may be discussed under the following four heads:-

Freedom of Religion:

The most essential feature of secularism, according to Nehru, was the granting of equal status to all religion in India. "The right to perform religious ceremonies should certainly be guaranteed to all communities". (371) No religion should have any special privileges, and no community should be deprived of its legitimate rights on the basis of religion. "I find it difficult

to appreciable why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community. I can fully understand the right to freedom in religion." (372) For him that policy meant "equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those who profess any faith." (373)

Nehru always believed in multi-religious India. "India is a common home to all those who live here, to whatever religion they may belong ... they have equal rights and obligations. Ours is a composite nation." (374) In modern plural society the concept of personal faith and personal conduct must be respected. Secularism is a federal principle applied to a federal society for the welfare of the whole. So Nehru declared : "we are building a free, secular state, where every religion and belief has full freedom and equal honour, where every citizen has equal liberty and equal opportunity." (375)

He emphasised that the freedom for which India had laboured through generations of sufferings, "was for all the people of India, and not for one group or class or followers of one religion." (376) Similarly the Congress Election Manifesto of July, 1951, drafted by Nehru, stated : "As India is a secular state, every citizen has the same duties, rights, privileges and obligations as any other. He has full freedom to profess and practise his religion." (377)

Nehru broadened the concept of secularism with reference to the Indian society where caste is a permanent cause of divisions and privileges. He held that 'a caste ridden society is

not properly secular.' (378) He did not wish to interfere with anybody's personal beliefs but emphasised that 'where those beliefs became petrified in caste divisions, undoubtedly they affect the social structure of the state.' (379) So secularism implied elimination of all social inequalities.

State Policy of religious neutrality:

The state should follow a policy of neutrality in religious matters. A secular state meant a 'state not tied to any religion'. (380) Nehru clarified his point of view in a letter to Mr. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta in October, 1945 : "I am convinced that the future government of Free India must be secular in the sense that government will not associate itself directly with any religious faith ...". (381) Earlier in 1931, Nehru drafted the Karachi Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights which stated : "The state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions". (382) It did not mean that the importance of religion in social life would be reduced but it only meant 'the separation of the state from religion.' (383)

Nehru always condemned in strong words any talk of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. He believed in People's Raj, and for that state was expected to follow a policy of Co-existence as far as various religions were concerned. If the state tried to infringe upon religious freedom, then that approach would be not only wrong in itself but will inevitably lead to friction and trouble. (384) Moreover any such attempt would be thoroughly anti-democratic. Referring to the decision of the Pakistan constituent Assembly to

declare Pakistan an Islamic Republic, Nehru stated that such a policy reflected a medieval conception which was totally opposed to democracy, because it created 'two classes of citizens ... one having more opportunities, the other less.' (385)

Secularism is a mental attitude:

According to Nehru, Secularism meant a certain mental attitude on the part of various communities. Particularly, in India, with a variety of religious groups, it became most essential that they should develop an attitude which can bring about harmony and a feeling of fraternity towards one another. Horace H. Kallen explained secular attitude : 'It offers itself as a moral equivalent for the war of the faiths .. It is the attitude of live and let live developing into the attitude of live and help live'. (386) Nehru would have completely agreed with this attitude. All the religions are supposed to interfere neither with each other nor with the basic conceptions of the state. He believed that from the religious point of view, "it is the dominant community and it is its responsibility not to use its position in any way which might prejudice our secular ideal." (387)

From the beginning it was quite clear to Nehru that the realization of the secular ideal depended largely upon the attitude adopted by the majority community, the Hindus, towards other minority communities.' Repeatedly he emphasised that the 'Hindus must always remember that the interest and the well being of the minorities are their sacred trust. If they fail in their trust, then they injure not only the country, but themselves'. (388)

Any narrow and aggressive attitude on the part of the majority community would create a feeling of apprehension in the minds of the minorities communities. "Any thing that creates such an apprehension in the minds of any group in India is to be deprecated. It tends to disturb and it is opposed to our secular ideal." (389) So the greatest need of the hour is "to cultivate this broad outlook and not be led away by the narrowness of others". (390) He cautioned and appealed both to the majority and the minority communities not 'to adopt attitudes which are wrong and opposed to what we stand for.'" (391) It was much better to displease a few persons, to lose an election, rather than fail in our cause and ideals -- such was the belief of Nehru in secularism.

Secularism in Social life:

Nehru observed how deeply religions like Hinduism and Islam penetrated into the social life of India. "Hinduism and Islam, quite apart from their purely religious teachings, lay down social codes and rules about marriage, inheritance, civil and criminal law, political organisation, and indeed almost everything else. In otherwards, they lay down a complete structure for society try to perpetuate this by giving it religious sanction and authority. Hinduism has gone farthest in this respect by its rigid system of caste." (392) The existence of separate set of laws governing different religious communities was was not consistent with the ideal of a secular society. Nehru tried in his life-time to evolve a uniform civil code for the whole of Indian people irrespective of the distinctions of religion and caste by introducing many measures of social legislation. Taking religion as a purely personal affair, he

certainly did not wish 'to interfere with any person's belief,'⁽³⁹³⁾ but objected strongly to the interference of religion in social or political life. Believing all religions to be untrue, Nehru aspired and worked for the establishment of a state which 'protects all religions, but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not itself adopt any religion as the state religion.'⁽³⁹⁴⁾

Nehru regarded secularism as the essential feature of a modern democratic society. Modern India could not go back to the narrow medieval concept of a theocratic state. If she were to develop like a modern state, how could she believe, in 'the religious, theocratic conception of a state which considers people of other faiths as something beyond the pale?'⁽³⁹⁵⁾ With the swiftly changing values 'every state in the modern world barring two or three is a secular state'.⁽³⁹⁶⁾ Thus Nehru's secularism is a practical necessity in India as a solution to the problem of religious diversity which was a challenge to her unity, harmony and social stability.

XIII

Nehru's Humanism:

Nehru's humanism is obvious from his writing and speeches. The real problems for him were the problems of individual and social life, of harmonious living, of a proper balance and adjustment among individuals and groups. Nehru believed in human approach to human problems and he held that a living philosophy must answer the problems of to-day.'⁽³⁹⁷⁾ Nehru wrote in his 'Discovery

of India'. "Essentially I am interested in this world, in this life, not in some other world or a future life whether there is such a thing as a soul, or whether there is survival after death or not, I do not know, and, important as these questions are, they do not trouble me in the least." (398) Nehru considered human approach essential for promoting human happiness, co-operation and progress. "The moment we forget the human approach, somehow the foundation of our thinking is removed." (399)

Nehru had deep faith in human values and showed deep respect for the individual and his welfare. Nehru's basic faith in the dignity of man drove him to have faith in 'people' as well. For him land and people became equals. He explained what he meant by Bharat Mata and here was expressed his unique faith in the people of

Nehru's faith in human values and human welfare.	India. "The mountains and the rivers of India, and the forests and the broad fields, which gave us food,
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were all dear to us, but what counted ultimately were the people of India, people like them and me, who were spread out all over this vast land. Bharat Mata, Mother India, was essentially these millions of people". (400) Nehru wanted freedom for the sake of the good life of the individual. In a speech in New Delhi, on ~~XXXX~~ March 3, 1949, he declared : "We seek freedom to achieve a good life for our people. What is a good life? Can you imagine any good life which does not have an artistic and an aesthetic element in it, and a moral element in it? That would not be a good life; it would be some temporary phase of existence which would be rather dry and harsh." (401)

For ages past, man has been making sacrifices for higher ideals, and Nehru found that, even in this greatest disasters, man had not lost faith in his own capacity and higher values of life. In spite of man's failures and weaknesses, it was (402) 'impossible to lose hope for him'. Nehru believed that policies, principles and doctrines were meant for human beings and for their betterment. "Behind them all lies the human material (403) without which these principles and policies can have little meaning." Though Nehru expressed his scepticism about the existence of superhuman many a time, yet he never lost faith in man which is clearly demonstrated by his words: "God we may deny, but what hope is there for us if we deny man and thus reduce everything to (404) futility?"

Nehru 'is a humanist in the best tradition of East and West. His creed is best defined as democratic socialism and (405) refined and humane materialism.'

Nehru adhered, throughout his life, to certain values, both positive and negative. Negatively he was anti-fascist all his life with a deep dislike for totalitarianism. Positively, he believed in human values, in the dignity of the individual, and therefore, in civil liberty. These made him a democrat, but he realised that democracy in the capitalist context could not ensure human dignity. There could be no human dignity without individual liberty -- liberty, not merely in the form of absence of physical restraint, but perhaps, more importantly, in that of freedom from

Emphasis on Positive and Negative values.

want, freedom to develop one's talent and one's personality as one pleases. It was this wider concept of liberty that attracted him to socialism and it was to this that he gave his unwavering loyalty all his life. (406)

XIV

Nehru's Individualism:

Nehru was an individualist as well. 'I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist' he wrote just before the war. 'I hope that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality; indeed, I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.' (407) Nehru attached great importance to the growth and all-sided development of individual in society. In June 1956, he told his biographer, Michael Brocher: 'I do believe that ultimately it is the individual that counts. ... no individual is trivial. Every individual has an importance and he should be given full opportunities to develop ... They should be common to everybody.' (408) Nehru had a firm belief that the good of the individual could best be realized in democracy. According to him democracy was also a means to an end and that end was the good life of the individual. Addressing the First All India Seminar on Parliamentary Democracy in New Delhi, he observed: 'I would say the end is the good life of the individual. What form it should take can be argued about, but the good life certainly must imply a certain satisfaction of the essential economic needs, which will release him from continuous oppression, and which will give him

a chance to develop his creative faculties.' (409) The development of the individuality of man was the very end to be aimed at and even state and government were instruments for the fullest possible realization of that end.

But what is the importance of the individual in relation to society? Is social good more important than the individual good, Nehru put this question : "We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from and transcending the good of the individuals composing it?" (410) Nehru answered that if the individual was ignored and sacrificed for the good of society, that would not be the right objective to have in a democracy. As a democrat he had a natural inclination towards individual in comparison to society. He emphatically believed that the 'real social progress will come only when opportunity is given to the individual to develop, provided the individual is not a selected group but combines the whole community.' (411)

Nehru is of opinion that the good of the individual belonging to a privileged class would not lead to a social good. Individuals are supposed to develop themselves in a way which would serve the larger interests of the whole community. "The touchstone, should be how far any political or social theory enables the individuals to rise above his petty self and thus think in terms of the good of all. The law of life should ... be the good of each contributing to the good of all." (412) Thus Nehru gave the emphasis on the individuality of the importance of human personality for the progress and betterment of the society as a whole.

To-day the distinct personality of the individual is getting merged in the 'Crowd' due to the process of 'de individualisation and brutalization of individual man.' (413) Over this 'deindividualization' of the individual, he expressed his concern: "More and more the individual is given way to the crowd. When he is by himself, he can be approached and he is responsive to reason. The crowd seldom places the reins on itself that the individual often feels compelled to do. The crowd dominates the individuals but lacks a conscience of its own. ... The crowd is a brute. The crowd terrifies me". (414) To save the individual from the crowd, a democratic society should 'provide the individual with the conditions of creative development.' (415) This creative development would mean the unfurling of the energies and capabilities which would help in building up a social system that can make people achieve the cherished goal of their life.

Nehru gave the central and primary importance to the individual. It was quite obvious from his thought that the individual freedom was a pre-condition of man's ~~xxxx~~ fuller development. A democratic state should furnish a structure of society in which freedom is cherished and human values can be realized. Governments and states are merely the means to promote the "good life" of the individual. Nehru wrote in 1935: "The form of government is after all a means to an end, even freedom itself is a means, the end being human well being, human growth." (416) Good life of the individual is the end of the democratic state.

While referring to India's struggle for freedom, Nehru expressed his genuine love for the people when he wrote: "If we are

to achieve any success in this great enterprise, we must keep faith in our people, be frank with them, take them into our confidence." (417)

He did not believe in deceiving the masses because they also constituted a reality. He was conscious of the variety of the Indian Society which comprised a diverse groups but he liked, "to think of them as individuals rather than as vague groups." (418) No system, however, democratic in its political structure, would be fully democratic if it is not based on the good will and strength of the masses. Along with the democratic political structure there must be 'a background and basis in the masses of the people.' (419)

Nehru was a liberal democrat with a certain romantic attachment to socialism. The image derives support because it is partly true. He certainly believed in liberal, democratic views all his life, but his attachment to socialism was much more than romantic. Liberalism lacks a social frame work in which liberal values can be realised. Capitalism is an inadequate Vehicle for the realization of these values. Socialism provides an alternative frame work. The liberal values of human dignity, of individual personality can be developed better in a classless society, when individuals are free from want and oppression, than in a *laissez faire* economy where competition, fair or otherwise, exalts the strong, leaving the Devil to take the hindmost. It was this realization that gradually grew on Jawaharlal from the early days of this Fabian association to the Congress in 1927 when the "oppressed met at Brussels", as he put (420) in his Autobiography.

Ideas on Personal Liberty:

During the British Period Nehru was forced to confine himself to the Prison Walls for more than nine years of his life. He could feel the utter degradation of soul that follows a person condemned to lead a solitary and isolated life in Jail. In his presidential address to the Lucknow Congress in 1936, he narrated his experience of the British Prisons'. ... 'People are kept in prison and detention camps without charge or trial .. I have watched this process of moral and intellectual decay and realized even more than I did previously, how autocratic powers corrupts and degrades and vulgarises. (421)

More than anywhere else it is prison that one realizes 'the basic nature of the state', it is force, the compulsion, the violence of the governing groups." (422) The history of mankind bears a testimony to the fact that whenever any crisis occurs 'the state possesses so much power of violence that no individual groups can compete with it.' (423) In its eagerness for self protection the state starts using the army and the police with full force and then the prison becomes 'the nakedest form of a state in miniature.' (424) Thus, the state by nature is based on force, coercion and violence. But Nehru was not ready to accept the proposition that even the maximum suppression by the state could kill the free spirit of man. The state might put the offending individual in the prison but it could fail to conquer him. He observed, 'A government, which is essentially based -- apart from the other factors upon the

sanctions it has, comes up against something -- the spirit of man
(425)
which refuses to be afraid of these sanctions.'

When Nehru became the Prime Minister of free India, he realised how difficult it was to stick to his position with regard to personal liberty held by him when he was an agitator against a foreign government. In spite of his profession that no person would be 'sent to prison unless he commits an offence against criminal law.'
(426) Nehru's government had to intern people in large number without trial. Speaking at the rally of workers in Madras on July 26, 1948, he confessed: 'I have stood for the freedom of the individual and the group, and nothing pains me so much as that condition should arise in this country when civil liberties should be limited. ... It pains me hurts me that the very thing I condemned in the past should be indulged in by our governments.'
(427)

The Preventive Detention Act: The greatest limitation on personal liberty came in the form of the Preventive Detention Act of 1950 which was modified in 1961 and 1962. This Act empowers the central and the state governments to detain persons under certain circumstances. This power may be exercised against those persons who are suspected of acting in a way prejudicial to: (1) the defence and security of India, or her relations with foreign states; (2) the security of the state, or the maintenance of public order; (3) the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the public. Any person detained under the Act, must be informed of his grounds of detention within five days of his arrest. The

case should be referred to an Advisory Board Consisting of three members who are, have been, or are qualified to be the judges of the High Court. It is specified that the detained person can not have any legal practitioner to appear on his behalf before the Advisory Board. The Board would report if there is sufficient ground for the detention of the person and the concerned government would act accordingly. The maximum period for detention was twelve months. The Act clearly suspends the use of Habeas Corpus, any person can be arrested and detained without trial even before any crime has been actually committed. Such a measure is considered to be contrary to the accepted democratic legal system and as such it provoked lot of criticism from many quarters.

Nehru was convinced of the necessity of such an Act in India -- a country which was new to self government and needed special defences against those who indulged in disruptive activities and undermined its unity and security. In the constituent Assembly he declared his Government's determination to deal effectively with the conditions of disorder and violence prevailing in India. "It is the paramount duty of the government to give security to the people and to prevent the normal life of the community from being interfered with by such methods of violence. No government and no social life would be possible, if these methods were tolerated".⁽⁴²³⁾ In India there is no dearth of 'revolutionaries and agitators and breakers up of many things,'⁽⁴²³⁾ and it was to deal with such elements that this Act was accepted.

Nehru offered a strong defence of the Act in the

House of people. Admitting that to a certain extent the Act sought to limit the normal freedom of the citizen, he pointed out that he and his cabinet colleagues strongly favoured it in the context of the conditions prevailing in India. If in those conditions 'the safety of the state is at stake, the freedom of certain individuals has to be curbed.' (430) He drew the attention of the members to the three types of anti social and violent activities which were being indulged in by certain groups and individuals : they were the communists the communalists and the jagirdars. The communists stirred up a violent agitation in Telengana which really approximated to civil war. "The authority of the state was challenged" (431) by an open use of arms. In February, 1949, the communist party of India tried to paralyse the running of Railways by giving a call of strike just as a famine was enveloping Gujarat and Kutch, thus obstructing the efforts of the administration to give relief to the starving masses. In Bengal also the communists and certain other organisations inspired by them took recourse to arms, bombs and grenades and endangered public order and security. Referring to such activities Nehru stated in a Press Conference: "Now you may ban the terrorist organisation or the communist party in Bengal, but how are you going to deal with individuals who function like that?" (432) He was ready to allow any kind of the propagation of the philosophy of communism, but "if communism becomes -- or any 'ism' becomes -- violent, then any state has to suppress it". (433)

Nehru referred to the violent activities incited by the communal organisations in Delhi, the West Bengal and the

Punjab which posed a grave threat to public order and security. While he was addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, a bomb was thrown which killed few persons. Calcutta, then, was facing enormous problems because of the large influx of displaced persons from East Bengal. Nehru described the situation : "A state of semi-terror prevailed in the city and bombs were thrown at policemen, shops and tram cars." (434) Nehru firmly declared that small crowds of a few hundred of people could not be allowed to dislocate the normal life of the millions in this way. In the same way, the jagirdari elements killed many men in Rajasthan and Saurashtra due to their sympathy with the Congress. Nehru pointed out how "it was openly proclaimed in posters that any one who voted for the Congress would be killed?" (435) It was in this context that a measure like the preventive Detention Act was considered essential by Nehru.

Replying to the criticisms levelled by the members of the Parliament, Nehru pointed out that the nineteenth century concept of British democracy could not be applied to the Indian conditions in the twentieth century when the whole system of democracy was coming up against several inherent difficulties. India's political structure and many laws are similar to those of British but "there is a vital difference between our country and that compact little island with centuries old traditions of disciplined behaviour by the citizens and above all the Rule of Law ... but only a few years have elapsed since our country emerged from servitude." (436) Since neither the state nor the individual is perfect there is always a conflict between

individual freedom and security of the state. For a proper balance one has to bear in mind not only the interests of the individual but "the interest of the community and the country as well."⁽⁴³⁷⁾ Freedom and security can never be harmonised permanently on the same principle, but have to be re-adjusted according to the changing conditions. Nehru was convinced that conditions of extreme violence and dis-order prevailing in India in the early years of independence demanded these emergency measures and proudly proclaimed that the government had acted with a great deal of courage in initiating such a measure even at the cost of its own popularity. His ultimate contention was : "The main approach of this Bill is not only right but is wholly democratic."⁽⁴³⁸⁾

XVI

Nehru's attitude towards Civil Liberties:

During the British period, Nehru repeatedly raised his voice against the suppression of Civil liberties and severe curtailment of political rights of the Indians. How deeply he felt the pinch is recorded in his "Autobiography". "We also have known not only bodily suffering, but that far worse ordeal of the soul."⁽⁴³⁹⁾ He condemned the attempts of the British Governments to crush liberties in the name of law and order. His own instinctive liking for discipline, law and order and dislike for anarchy and disorder could not prevent him from doubting 'the value of the law and order that state and governments impose on a people'.⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾ Sometimes the law itself was the will of the dominant faction only

and was applied to preserve certain vested interests of the British Government. As such law and order were "the last refuge of the reactionary, of the tyrant and of him who has power and refuses to part with it." (441)

A government which has to make excessive use of coercive apparatus and has to depend on criminal law and emergency powers forfeits its right to exist. Addressing the Lucknow Congress of 1936, Nehru condemned the British Government. "A Government that has to rely on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and similar laws, that suppresses the Press and literature, that bans hundred of organisations, that keeps people in prison without trial, that does so many other things that are happening in India to-day, is a government that has ceased to have even a shadow of a justification for its existence." (442)

In the summer of 1936, Nehru was responsible for the creation of a civil liberties union with Rabindranath Tagore as its honorary president. The purpose was to put up a joint fight against the suppression of civil liberties by the British Government. The same year Nehru, as Congress President, addressed a letter to all prominent public men in which he said : "In countries with a democratic background the greatest value is therefore attached to civil liberty and people of the most diverse and mutually hostile opinions join together in a common attempt to protect this foundation of all liberty and activity." (443)

In 1937, when Congress ministries were formed in many provinces Nehru urged them to do away with severe censorship imposed by the British Government and "nurture the free soil from which the life of the intellect can grow and creative faculties can take shape." (444)

But Nehru was realistic enough to recognise the limitations on civil liberties. He argued that occasions might arise when there was no other way for the state except to use coercive methods. Faced with new problems of communal violence, disorder and chaotic conditions in free India, he realised the crux of the problem and frankly admitted that the Government could not tolerate preaching violence and hatred : 'If there is one thing that this Government can not possibly permit ... it is deliberate murder and sabotage that any group may indulge in ... I do not think any interpretation of civil liberties includes the preaching of violence ~~or~~ or acts of violence". (445) Freedom depends upon responsibility and there is certainly an extent to which it can be limited in the interests of the state.

Freedom of Expression:

Freedom of expression, speech, writing and press occupies an important place in Nehru's thinking. Democracy can not function without free flow of ideas and opinions. A believer in democracy should believe in their fundamental freedom. 'He would rather allow a little wrong to happen than suppress it, because if you attempt to suppress a wrong type of thing, a right type of thing may also be suppressed along with it and it is bad to ~~xxxxx~~ suppress a right thing. (446) Suppression of thought stunts the growth of the whole social group. It is much better that 'we give licence rather than suppress the normal flow of opinion. That, at any rate, is the democratic method. (447)

Nehru believed that no man, no leader, no government

and no organisation was above criticism. A responsible citizen must express his opinions without any fear of offending somebody by his criticism because "even the protest of a single individual has its value" (448) in a democracy. As early as 1936, Nehru stated : "I claim the right of free criticism of Public policies and I gladly acknowledge this right in others who may be opposed to my views. Only (449) thus can we have glimpses of the truth and hammer out a right policy. He always wished that people should not accept anything unthinkingly, and tried to encourage honest criticism of public policies and the government itself. The nation can only advance by reasoned acceptance of objectives and methods and co-operation and discipline based on them and not on blind obedience." (450) Nehru regarded free criticism as a healthy sign in a democracy. In a speech in New Delhi, he welcomed honest and fair criticism : 'I welcome criticism and I welcome your pointing out all our failings. ... I think it is good for an individual and for a nation always to try to find where it is going wrong and to correct itself. Never be afraid of criticism.' (451)

India was faced with various problems and for their correct solution Nehru considered it essential to discuss all of their aspect freely. He felt that it was natural for a democratic society to have differences : 'Let there be differences honestly (452) felt -- we do not want cold regimentation of this country.' That was why inspite of communists' indulgence in violence, Nehru allowed freedom of expression to them also. In a press conference at Los Angeles in 1961, he declared : 'Obviously we are not communists. We don't want communism to come to India. But we still endeavour to follow a policy of free speech even for communist.' (453) The

basic national ideology of secularism, socialism and non-alignment was not treated by him as something beyond discussion or argument. Though he considered this ideology as important for India's existence and progress, yet he did not wish to close arguments upon it even at the cost of certain risks : "It is true they might cause confusion both at home and more so abroad, but that is all part of Parliamentary democracy. It is better to let people speak ... when freedom of speech and writing are denied, the process leads to subversion." (454)

XVII

Nehru on Democratic Socialism.

Nehru is a liberal and a democrat, a socialist and an individualist. 'I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist and intellectually a socialist.' He hoped that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality. He was attracted to it because 'it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage'. (455) He saw no conflict between individualism and socialism, 'His creed is best defined as democratic socialism'. (456)

Nehru realised that 'political freedom does not take us far unless there is economic freedom'. (457) He believed that for the full realization of Political democracy it was essential to have economic democracy. 'There could be no real freedom without economic freedom. ... To call a starving man free is but to mock him'. (458) Full fledged political democracy 'means, progressively, what might broadly be called economic democracy'. Nehru said,

"After all there is no equality between the pauper who has a vote and the millionaire who has a vote. There are a hundred of ways of exercising influence for the millionaire which the pauper has not got. After all there is no equality between the persons who has tremendous educational advantages and the person who has had none." (459) He was also aware that "all human beings are not equal in the sense of ability or capacity. But the whole point is that people should have equality of opportunity and that they should be able to go as far as they can go." (460)

Hence, what Nehru wanted was for democracy to become economic democracy. He defined economic democracy thus: "First of all, that means working for a certain measure of well being for all, call it a welfare state. Secondly, it means working for a certain measure of equality of opportunity in the economic sphere." (461) He realised fully that unless and until the democratic principle of equality was applied to the economic structure of society, democracy would never succeed. For this his concept of economic structure was based on (I) the welfare of the masses (II) equality and (III) co-operative spirit.

Nehru could not agree with those who confused democracy with capitalism. Simply because democracy had grown up in some capitalistic countries, it did not mean, therefore, that democracy was an essential part of capitalism. There were others who thought that any kind of socialism necessarily meant authoritarianism. But Nehru thought in terms of amalgamating socialism with democracy, "Democracy must mean removal of dispa-

(462)
titles."

Nehru was a democrat with a firm belief in civil liberties, but he was not unaware of the difficulties of achieving socialism purely by democratic process. I think it is possible, in theory, to establish socialism by democratic means provided of course the full democratic process is available, "he wrote to Lord Lothian. "In practice, however, there are likely to be very great difficulties because the opponents of socialism will reject the democratic method when they see their power threatened." (463)

(464) Socialism appealed to Nehru "as a philosophy of life" and was in his estimation "the only key to the solution of the World's and India's problems." (465) He was drawn towards socialism from his younger days. He wrote in his 'Autobiography', "our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values, of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, good will and love -- ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary." (466) Nehru saw no way of ending poverty, chronic unemployment, degradation and the subjection of the people except through socialism. "That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian states system. That means the ending of private property,

except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of the co-operative service." (467)

In 1935 Nehru became sure that the world was clearly divided between capitalism and socialism. "A clash of interests seems inevitable. There is no middle path. Each one of us will have to choose our side." (468) The possibility of accepting a basically capitalistic structure and gradually reforming it was specifically precluded. Reformism was an impossible solution of any vital problem at a critical moment when the basic structure had to be changed, and however slow the progress might be later on, the initial step must be a complete break with the existing order, which had fulfilled its purpose and was now only a drag on future progress." (469)

The three basic ingredients of socialism were (i) recognition of the existence of class conflicts, (ii) belief in social ownership of the means of production, and (iii) acceptance of the goal of classless society.

Nehru never denied the existence of classes, nor did he deny the fact that the interests of the classes clashed. He wrote that "class struggles are inherent in the present system". (470) Present society was built upon a relationship of conflicting interests, the interests of the owning classes were unalterably opposed to those of the masses - it was factory owner against worker, landlord against peasant. All attempts to smooth over this essential conflict were superficial, and served only to confuse the basic issue. The conflict would continue until the triumph of the

oppressed over the owning classes would pave the way for a classless society. "I also want a classless society in India and the world. (471) I do not want any privileged classes." Nehru was very critical of the prevailing economic inequalities in society, mal-distribution of wealth and the control of government by privileged class. A society where "some people live in luxury without doing any work, whilst others work from morning to night with no rest or leisure and yet have not got the barest necessities of life." (472) can never be called a just society. Nehru realized "equality can not be established so long as the principal instruments of production are (473) privately owned."

"He drank deeply of Marxist literature from 1929 to 1939 but he never became intoxicated". (474) He was attracted towards "Scientific socialism", partly because it a explanations of the process of history and of modern conditions appealed to him, but mainly because it was "scientific", and, therefore, free from dogmas. It satisfied his scientific instinct and gave him freedom of thought.

Nehru realized that the present economic structure of India was to be accepted with slight modifications. "We can not think of this country in terms of what is happening in the United States." (475) On the otherhand he asked : "Are we to introduce their methods and technique in our underdeveloped economy, or are we to copy the Russian methods regardless of their applicability here." (476) He came to believe that the mere adoption of the term "Capitalism" or "Socialism" did not solve any economic problem.

"Any method which delivers the good" could be used and "that method need not necessarily be an extreme method belonging to either of these two rival ideologies" but could be something in between. (477) Thus he was in favour of a "mixed economy."

Nehru explained : "A public sector and a private sector are essentially combined in such a mixed economy. It is capitalistic economy with a great deal of state control or capitalistic economy plus a public sector directly under the state." (478) He further clarified that such an economy was deliberately accepted not because of giving of some protection to vested interest but because under the existing conditions, we thought that this is the best way to attain our objectives -- the immediate objective being to stir up the machinery of production, to build it up which may lead to more and more wealth in production in every way." (479)

Nehru believed that the world moved inevitably toward some kind of collectivism. He also realized that the extreme collectivism produced certain dangers, for "there is an obvious tendency ⁱⁿ too much collectivism for democracy to go by the board." (480) In over-collectivization, free thought and individual initiative are sacrificed to the system. Where human creativity is thus stifled, the inner decay of a people or a civilization must surely follow. Democracy and individual freedom are absolutely essential.

If the state wants to take the property, every step should be taken to ensure the individual's receiving fair and equitable compensation. But it is too often forgotten that equity

applies not only to the individual but also to the community. "No individual can ultimately override the rights of the community at large. No community should injure and invade the rights of the individual, unless it be for the most urgent and important of reasons." (481) How can the individual's right and the community's right be determined, when a specific question of land reform arises? There is no simple formula which can everywhere be applied. Rather it is a question of balance, and this balance can be arrived at only by the legislature, which represents the will of the entire community. And this was fully in consonance with Jawaharlal's ideal of democratic socialism.

Nehru thought that both socialism and Democracy meant removal of disparities or establishment of social and economic equality in society. Therefore, socialism should follow democratic lines and keep itself away from any kind of authoritarianism. He thought that there were some people who imagined that "any kind of socialism necessarily means authoritarianism". But he said, "It does not at least in theory; in practice, I think it depends on how country will develop." (482) Nehru saw no contradiction between democracy and socialism. "On the contrary, Socialism was the fulfilment of democratic values, and democracy was the vehicle for ushering in socialism." (483)

Nehru felt for long that it was necessary for any community to work for the establishment of social and economic justice. Material well being of the people could also be brought about through fascist means, but there would be no chance for an

individual to grow and think freely. His voice would be suppressed for the sake of uniformity. Democracy was the best political system as it was in democracy only that the individual enjoyed the fullest freedom for the development of his creative energies. But it had no meaning without equality and the equality, in turn, could not be established so long as the principal instruments of production were privately owned. The progress of democracy had been obstructed by the private ownership of the means of production.

To Nehru production attained the highest priority, and though distribution was never absent from his mind. He continually emphasised the production aspect in his immediate post-Independence utterances. In a broadcast to the nation on 15 August, 1947, he said. "Production to-day is the first priority, and every attempt to hamper or lessen production is injuring the nation, and more specially harmful to our labouring masses." (484) He added, however, "But production by itself is not enough, for this may lead to greater concentration of wealth in a few hands, which comes in the way of progress and which in the context of to-day produces instability and conflict. Therefore, fair and equitable distribution is essential for any solution of the problem." (485)

In the Industries conference on 13 December, 1947, Nehru said "Production becomes the first essential, but with it is intimately associated distribution. You can not really separate the two. Production depends on many factors and one of the most important of those factors is the psychology for production If that psychology is lacking, then inevitably production goes down as it has gone down." (486)

To have state control over key industries Nehru advocated nationalisation. But again he did not approach the question in a dogmatic way. For him the most important objective was production, and nationalisation was only a means to achieve that end. "If nationalization adds production, we shall have nationalization at every step. If it does not, let us see how to bring it about in order not to impede production".⁽⁴⁸⁷⁾ Nationalisation was not some kind of a magic remedy for all the ills. Nehru stated "I believe that ultimately all the Principal means of production will be owned by the nation, but I just do not see why I should do something to-day which limits our progress simply to satisfy some theoretical urge."⁽⁴⁸⁸⁾

To those who were constantly urging the Government to nationalise all industries, Nehru pointed out that he did not regard socialism as synonymous with nationalization. He asked the members of the Parliament "not to imagine that because socialism conceives of nationalized industry, therefore, you must have all industry nationalized."⁽⁴⁸⁹⁾ He further argued that more and more nationalized industry was bound to come as the state moved in the direction of a socialistic society. Acquisition of the existing industries by the state would not help much in going ahead with economic development. It was more important to build up new industries under state control. In the long run basic industries, no doubt, will be acquired by the state and run by the state, but he asserted, "It seems to me a far better approach to the problem for the state to concentrate more and more on new industries of the latest type and to control them in a large measure because then the resources of the

state go towards further progress and controlled progress instead of merely trying to get hold of something which exists." (490) In India the basic problem is of growth and not of control over large concentrations of economic power, flourishing private enterprise is contributing to the welfare of the country and the state can impose necessary restrictions upon it to avoid its evils. So Nationalization is to be applied with discretion, only if it helps growth and increases production.

The question was often asked "Have you the personnel to nationalize industries?" Nehru replied, the personnel which function in Private industry will not leave the country when it is nationalised. It is the same personnel including the captains of industry who will also be utilised because of their very special ability -- managerial, executive etc." (491)

Nehru was in favour of trade unions and labour's right to strike 'Now I am the last man to say that labour should be denied the right to strike'. (492) With his knowledge of the labour movement in Europe and in England during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries Nehru was convinced that "the weapon of strike has been much valued weapon by means of which labour has gradually gained a position of strength and eminence in most countries." (493) Nehru wanted every employer to realize the terrible times labour had endured for generations, how they were crushed, how they were sent to Australia for the smallest offence as life term convicts, and how, slowly by means of co-operative efforts the trade unions gradually gained some normal human rights. But "strikes and lock outs should have no meaning in a properly constituted state where one has

his due. Strikes and lock-outs are the symbols of something radically wrong in the economic system".⁽⁴⁹⁴⁾ What worried him was the wastage involved in strikes and lock-outs. Nehru wanted that there should be faith in mutual agreement, or if that was not possible, there should be faith in some third party in the form of a conciliator, arbitrator or tribunal.

Nehru believed that the employer - workers relationship could be based on more reasonable and judicious principles in modern times than before. The conflict could be resolved through mutual understanding and conciliation. Labour was required to leave its tendency to strike and capital was required to give up "the nineteenth century or the early Twentieth century habits of mind." Nehru said, "I am not prepared to accept that the only way for industry to flourish is to encourage acquisitiveness. You may call it by the name of the incentive profit, undoubtedly, but within limitations. But to believe that human beings are such that without this acquisitive instinct they cannot function properly is to do mankind a great injustice".⁽⁴⁹⁵⁾ Nehru pointed out that all the great things in this world had not been achieved or done through acquisitiveness but by the reverse of it. Great inventors, scientist, writers, musicians and engineers prospered and made the world advance because of other urges. Thus, he advocated a broader consideration of social relations and social interests as the means towards social and economic equality. Thus Nehru proceeded and worked to bring about socialism in India through peace and not through conflict.

Nehru was a republican as well. He was no believer

in kings or princes, or in the order which produced the old feudal aristocracy. But 'I am not a communist I feel also that too much violence is associated with communist methods.' (496) In 1952,

Nehru remarked, "I think Marx is out of date to-day. To talk about Marxism to-day, if I may say so, is reaction. I think communist with all their fire and fury are in some ways utterly reactionary outlook". (497)

In his Presidential address to the U.P. Provincial Congress Conference on October 13, 1923, Nehru said "Bolshevism and Fascism are the waves of the West to-day. They were really alike and represent different phases of insensate violence and intolerance. The choice for us is between Lenin and Mussolini on the one hand, and Gandhi on the other." (498)

Nehru pleaded for the industrialization of India. He differed strongly from Mahatma Gandhi on this point. Gandhi laid emphasis on a simple life according to nature, but to Nehru "High standards of living are important and we must achieve them." (499) The Planning Commission at the beginning of the First Five Year Plan stated, "The central objective of Planning in India is to raise the standard of living of the people and to open out to them opportunities for a richer and more varied life." (500)

Nehru all his life adhered to certain values both positive and negative 'Negatively he was anti-fascist all his life with a deep dislike for totalitarianism. Positively, he believed in human values, in the dignity of the individual and therefore in civil liberty. These made him a democrat, but he realized that democracy in the capitalist context could not ensure human dignity. There could be no human dignity without individual liberty - liberty

nor merely in the form of absence of physical restraint, but perhaps, more importantly, in that of freedom from want, freedom to develop one's talent and one's personality as one pleases. It was this wider concept of liberty that attracted him to socialism and it was to this that he gave his unswerving loyalty all his life.' (501)

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