

## CHAPTER - III

### Jawaharlal Nehru's Ideas and Vision of Socialism and Social Justice (Early Attachment To Socialism)

#### 3.1 Introduction

Jawaharlal Nehru has been a multifaceted personality and his contribution to the regeneration and renaissance in India has been significant. He was a nationalist with democratic convictions gradually moving towards socialism. Next to Gandhi, there has been no one in India more written about than Jawaharlal Nehru, nor one who has written more revealingly about himself. Although he occupied the centre stage in Indian politics for more than thirty years, there was perhaps been no more controversial or complex figure than Nehru. He has at various times been called a communist, a fabian socialist, a fascist, an autocrat, a convinced democrat and a liberal humanist.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the only leader whose personality stood out as the one rallying point for the sentiment and loyalty of every section of the Indian society.

He is polished, cultured and articulate. He is rational and pragmatist. He was a man of introspection. He was a great nation builder. Nehru was a man of high imagination, and sensitivity.

"Nehru is a man of modern education and culture endowed with a high degree of moral integrity, refinement and personal charm," writes M.N. Roy.<sup>1</sup>

Nehru represented the voice and aspiration of the modern Indian nationalist movement. More than any other contemporary Indian, he had 'discovered'

India, and read a meaning and a purpose in the panorama of Indian history.<sup>2</sup>

Nehru's services to the making of modern India makes him our greatest nation builder, the founder of our secularism, our socialism, and our democracy. He left a lasting impression on India's social and economic process and pushed them on to the climax of a revolution. He established firmly the planning processes and the foundations of parliamentary democracy.<sup>3</sup>

Nehru's vision, infatuation and conception of socialism was profound and all-embracing and he wanted to infuse and instil the fervour of socialism into the Indian soil. Nehru wanted the country to accept the goal of socialism for free India.

Nehru's socialism visualised a new social order free from political, economic and social injustice. Nehru's philosophy of life for the individual and the society combined in one sweeping whole, fairplay, justice and equality through socialism.<sup>4</sup>

Nehru was really the founder of Indian socialism. Among the Indian political thinkers Nehru first was deeply attracted and influenced by Marxism and Socialism and he felt and understood that it was the best doctrine for the well-being and emancipation of mankind. Nehru looked at socialism as the panacea for all kinds of ills and problems India has been experiencing and he envisioned and cherished the desire to establish socialism to uplift the conditions of the people of India. Nehru imparted to the ideals of secularism, socialism and democracy the compassionate spirit of humanism.

Nehru had high ambition for his country and he always dreamed of its destiny. The standards which he had set and the values which he had established had to be followed with firmness and loyalty.

### 3.2 Formative Influences.

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 14, 1889 and died on May 27, 1964, completing almost 75 years of his life.

To trace the root of injection of socialistic ideas and thinking to Nehru, we have to go back to his academic career at Harrow and Cambridge. Nehru writes in his Autobiography that in London he was 'vaguely attracted to the Fabians and socialistic ideas ...'<sup>5</sup> Nehru said, "I would say that it was really at Cambridge that, broadly speaking, certain socialistic ideas - partly Fabian Socialism, partly some slightly more aggressive socialistic ideas - developed. But it was all very academic ...."<sup>6</sup>

Nehru's sojourn to Europe of the late twenties was very much congenial to his development of interest in socialism. Nehru writes, "Political freedom, independence, were no doubt essential, but they were steps only in the right direction; without social freedom and a socialistic structure of society and the State, neither the country nor the individual could develop much .... I found the vast political, economic, and cultural changes going on in Europe and America a fascinating study. Soviet Russia, despite certain unpleasant aspects, attracted me greatly, and seemed to hold forth a message of hope to the world ...."<sup>7</sup>

Nehru said, "My politics has been those of my class, the bourgeoisie."<sup>8</sup> Nehru wrote that in the twenties 'I got entangled in the kisan (peasant) movement. That entanglement grew in later years and influenced my mental outlook greatly.'<sup>9</sup>

Nehru once said, "Every where I spoke on political independence and social freedom and made the former a step towards the attainment of the latter. I wanted to spread the ideology of socialism especially among congress

workers and the intelligensia, for these people, who were the backbone of the national movement, thought largely in terms of the narrowest nationalism."<sup>10</sup>

India's first Socialist weekly was founded in 1923. The first Indian Workers' and Peasants' Party was established in Bengal in 1926. Jawaharlal was invited to deliver the Presidential address to the first All-India Socialist Youth Congress in 1928. He said, "I was by no means a pioneer in the socialist field in India. Indeed I was rather backward and I had only advanced painfully, step by step, where many others had gone ahead blazing a trail. The workers' trade union movement was, ideologically, definitely socialist, and so were the majority of the Youth Leagues."<sup>11</sup> He said further, "A vague confused socialism was already part of the atmosphere of India when I returned from Europe in December 1927, and even earlier than that there were many individual socialists. Mostly they thought along utopian lines, but Marxian theory was influencing them increasingly..."<sup>12</sup>

Nehru joined in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1920-21 and there after he plunged into active politics with vigour and enthusiasm. Nehru's tour in West in 1926-27 was a boon to him. It enriched and enlightened his intellectual grasp and acumen.

In 1927 Nehru visited Soviet Union. Nehru's visit to Moscow was the last noteworthy event of his European tour. His visit to the USSR in November 1927 has a noticeable influence on the evolution of his political outlook. In the Soviet Union he met representatives of the revolutionary and national liberation movements of Europe, Asia and Africa. He saw the necessity for their unity and cooperation, and became acquainted not with Fabian, but with revolutionary, scientific socialism, which had ceased to be merely a theory and had begun to be put into practice. His infatuation and fascination with communism started at this time. He had acquired a wider perspective, especially the

conviction that political freedom had to be linked to socialism. Nehru notes, "I had long been drawn to socialism and communism, and Russia had appealed to me."<sup>13</sup>

Nehru had imbibed a Fabian view of socialism as a young man in England. "I was a pure nationalist, he wrote of the period round about 1917 when he was making a not very willing entry into political life, "my vague socialist ideas of college days having sunk into the background .... Stirring the embers of socialistic ideas in my head. They were vague ideas, more humanitarian and utopian than scientific."<sup>14</sup>

It was not before the middle twenties that Nehru began to be really drawn towards socialism. His wanderings among the kisans' in 1920-21 'lifted the veil and disclosed a fundamental aspect of the Indian problem to which nationalists had hardly paid any attention.'<sup>15</sup>

In 1927, Nehru was invited as a representative of the Indian National Congress to the Congress of Oppressed Nations in Brussels. Nehru's participation in the work of this congress, in the Anti-imperialist league established there had an important bearing to the shaping and moulding of his political attitude and outlook. It was at Brussels that Nehru was attracted towards communism. He states, "... I turned inevitably with goodwill towards communism, for, whatever its faults, it was at least not hypocritical and not imperialistic."<sup>16</sup> He states further, "It was not a doctrinal adherence, as I did not know much about the fine points of Communism, my acquaintance being limited at the time to its broad features. There attracted me, as also the tremendous changes taking place in Russia."<sup>17</sup> Nehru wrote, "Russia apart, 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 ... It was the essential freedom from dogma and the scientific

outlook of Marxism that appealed to me.”<sup>18</sup>

The ideas of Marx and Lenin replaced to a considerable degree Nehru's former liberal, social-reformist and Gandhian concepts. However, the effect of Marxism-Leninism on Nehru was never complete and he did not become a materialist philosopher.

After his return to India from Europe in December, 1927, Jawaharlal began to play an increasingly important role in Congress. From 1927 to 1929 Jawaharlal was general secretary of Congress. In 1928 he presided over various provincial conferences, and became president of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Without hesitation, Nehru declared himself a supporter of scientific socialism and regarded the building of socialism the ultimate objective of the liberation movement. The strengthening of the revolutionary and socialist tendencies in Nehru's outlook continued until the mid-thirties. From the second half of the thirties the socialist and revolutionary tendencies in his activity became weaker.

Nehru did not like the aggressiveness, intolerance and regimentation of the communists. Nehru writes in his Autobiography, "... I am very far from being a communist. My roots are still perhaps partly in the nineteenth century, and I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out of it completely. This bourgeois background follows me about and is naturally a source of irritation to to many communists.”<sup>19</sup> He adds, "I dislike dogmatism .... I dislike also much that has happened in Russia, and especially the excessive use of violence in normal times.”<sup>20</sup> 'I do believe', Nehru wrote, that fundamentally the choice before the world today is between some form of communism and some form of fascism, and I am all for the former, that, communism. There is no middle road .... and I choose the communist ideal .... I think that these methods will have to adapt themselves to changing conditions and may

vary in different countries.'<sup>21</sup>

Nehru sought to instil in the youth of India higher ideals. Internationalism, democratic socialism, political and economic equality, an end to exploitation and subjugation - these were among Jawaharlal's most ardently avowed goals.

Nehru became President of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1929, and during the same year he was to become President of the Lahore Congress, Jawaharlal said from the President's chair at the Lahore Congress in December, 1929, "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican. We must realise that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over .... India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality though she may evolve her own methods and may adopt the ideal to the genius of her race."<sup>22</sup>

### **3.3 Nehru's Infatuation With Socialism And Communism.**

Born in an aristocratic family and brought up in aristocratic surroundings and mannerisms Nehru's outlook was entirely bourgeois till 1920. His visit to Europe and Soviet Union in 1926-27 influenced his political thinking profoundly, He was impressed to see the stupendous achievements what Russia had made by adhering to socialism.

Nehru was a visionary. He had a vision to establish socialism in India. He had a romantic attachment and fascination about socialism. Nehru accepted socialism as a philosophy of life and had the socialistic pattern of society adopted as the ideal of India by the Indian Parliament.

Nehru is primarily a man of moods and impulses. One may find a strange combination of contradictory qualities in Nehru. However, one would find an

- ideal of its own self. Nehru wanted a 'mental revolution which would transform India.'<sup>23</sup> His expression is transparent to his thought.

"A study of Marx and Lenin produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light, observes Nehru."<sup>24</sup> He says further, "It did not satisfy me completely, nor did it answer all the question in my mind, and, almost unawares, a vague idealist approach would creep into my mind, something rather akin to the Vedanta approach."<sup>25</sup> He writes further, "... while I accepted the fundamentals of the socialist theory, I did not trouble myself about its numerous inner controversies."<sup>26</sup>

Regarding Marxism, Nehru observes, "... I am no expert in it, and, as it happens, even the experts and the pandits differ."<sup>27</sup>

Jawaharlal wrote to Indira, "Socialism, I have told you, is of many kinds. There is general agreement, however, that it aims at the control by the State of the means of production that is, land and mines and factories and the like - and the means of distribution, like railways, etc; and also banks and similar institutions. The idea is that individuals should not be allowed to exploit any of these methods or institutions, or the labour of others, to their own personal advantage."<sup>28</sup> He adds, "Having agreed as to the ideal of socialism, the next thing to decide is how one is to achieve it."<sup>29</sup>

About Marxism, Nehru writes, "It is a way of interpreting history and politics and economics and human life and human desires. It is a theory as well as a call to action. It is a philosophy which has something to say about most of the activities of man's life."<sup>30</sup>

Nehru goes on, "Marx looked upon history as a grand process of evolution by inevitable class struggles ... Capitalism was itself producing and increasing

the numbers and strength of this class, which would ultimately overwhelm it and establish the classless society and socialism."<sup>31</sup> He adds, "Marx's theory of history was an ever-changing and advancing society. There is no fixity in it. It was a dynamic conception."<sup>32</sup>

Nehru was much fascinated by the Marxist statement of socialism, its scientific premises, its emphasis on economic basis of social relations, its interpretation of history as well as its goal of a classless society. Nehru maintained that even his fascination for socialism was inspired by his concern for the dignity of individuality because it was likely 'to release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.' Nehru did not consider socialism as an end in itself but as the only means to the maximisation of democracy. Nehru's prime concern was, "how to combine democracy with socialism, how to maintain individual freedom and initiative and yet have centralized social control and planning of the economics of the people, on the national as well as the international plane."<sup>33</sup>

### 3.4 The Emergence of Gandhi

The anti-Rowlatt Act agitation brought to the fore of the national movement a new leader with a novel political philosophy and technique, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1868-1948). Gandhiji was born on October 2, 1868, in Porbandar in the Kathiwar Peninsula in western India.<sup>34</sup>

Gandhi displayed in the course of his successful application of Satyagraha for vindicating the rights of the Indians and other colored people in South Africa, boundless energy, inexhaustible moral strength, honesty and ability to establish personal relations with all sections of the people. Gandhiji revered Gokhale and accepted him as his political guru or mentor. On his return from a trip to South Africa (1912) Gokhale said that Gandhi had in him "the marvellous

spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs."<sup>35</sup>

The emergence of Gandhiji as the undisputed leader of the Indian national movement is an important event. Gandhiji was firmly rooted in the Indian earth and it was from that fact that he drew this immense strength.

Nehru writes in his Autobiography, "My first meeting with Gandhiji was about the time of the Lucknow Congress during Christmas 1916. All of us admired him for his heroic fight in South Africa, but he seemed very distant and different and unpolitical to many of us young men."<sup>36</sup>

According to Nehru, "Tagore and Gandhi have undoubtedly been the two outstanding and dominating figures of India in this first half of the twentieth century."<sup>37</sup>

Nehru writes about the coming of Gandhi : "He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes; like a whirlwind that upset many things, but most of all the working of people's minds."<sup>38</sup>

Nehru writes, Gandhi influenced millions of people in India in varying degrees .... He was an activist full of dynamic energy ... He has done more than anyone I know to fight and change the quietism of the Indian people.<sup>39</sup>

In the course of his struggle against racialism in South Africa, he had developed his philosophy of action - Satyagraha. Its two major elements were truth and non-violence. He defined it to be soul-force or love-force, the force which is born of truth and non-violence. The Satyagrahi would refuse to submit to whatever he considered to be wrong. He would remain peaceful under all provocations. He hoped thereby to arouse the conscience of the wrong-doer.<sup>40</sup>

Nehru observes, "He had an amazing knack of reaching the heart of the people .... What I admired was the moral and ethical side of our movement and of satyagraha. ... It was the right policy for us .... A worthy end should have worthy means leading up to it."<sup>41</sup>

With the coming of Gandhi the masses became all at once active participants in the national movement. Gandhiji was perhaps the only leader whose personal identification with the rural masses was total and complete.

### **3.5 Growth Of Socialist And Communist Ideas.**

The post-Non-Co-operation period witnessed another development of increasingly great significance in the history of Indian nationalist movement. It was the growth of socialist and communist groups and the rise of independent economic and political class organizations of the working class in the country. The growth of socialist ideas, though on a very small scale, was a new phenomenon in India.<sup>42</sup>

Socialist ideas began to spread among the radical youths in subsequent years. 'Workers' and 'Peasants' Parties were formed in Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab. The parties popularized the programme of national independence. They supported the economic and political demands of the workers and peasants and organised them on class lines for their class demands.

### **3.6 The Genesis Of A New Phase : The Working Class Movement.**

By 1928, the struggle against British imperialism entered a new phase. The years 1928 witnessed remarkable developments. In different parts of India the working class was split and divided into advanced and backward groups. A relatively younger generation knew of the socialist ideals which were

spreading from the USAR, and small groups of dedicated political workers began to diffuse their own interpretations of communism to industrial workers in some towns, primarily in Maharashtra and Eastern UP, and the peasants in the village, especially in the Punjab. They wanted a political programme to be accepted which was more radical than that of the congress.<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, sectional political groups were also beginning to establish contacts with the working class as well as the agrarian poor. These groups emphasised mainly communal interest and tried to influence the Muslim agrarian poor, as well as urban workers and lower castes among the Hindus.<sup>45</sup>

Meantime, labour involvement in the National struggle grew though the emphasis was on strengthening the trade union movement and improving the conditions of working class. The Trade Union Movement, led by the All-India Trade Union Congress, had become powerful. Industrial disturbances took place in various parts of the country. There were indications of peasants' unrest, especially in U.P. and Gujarat. The heroic struggle of the peasants of Bardoli, led by Vallabhbhai Patel against Government attempt to increase revenue earned the admiration of the whole country. The civil disobedience and no-tax campaign organized by Patel crippled the administration in the area.<sup>46</sup>

A Railway strike was organised by the workers at the Kharagpur Locomotive Repair and Maintenance Workshop against low wages and arbitrary action by the company authorities. It became a general strike. This strike was supported by many National leaders, such as Jawaharlal Nehru and the rising trade union organiser and leader V.V. Giri. Jawaharlal Nehru at this time commanded the support of left-wing Indian youth. He became a member of the league for struggle against Fascism and Imperialism which had been set up in Europe which was sympathetic to the Third International of Workers of the World, set up by USSR in Moscow.<sup>47</sup>

Left-wing workers and leaders attracted by socialist ideas were in sympathy with the boycott of the Simon Commission. Labour participation in the agitation strengthened the mass movement in 1928 and 1929. During this period youth movements became popular and widespread. Innumerable Youth Leagues were founded and youth conferences held enthusiastically. The "Go Back, Simon" agitation led to the formation of the student Federation. This association at first inculcated nationalist as well as socialist consciousness, among college students. Revolutionary activities were also spreading fast.

### 3.7 The Karachi Congress, 1931

A significant feature of the Karachi Congress presided over by Vallabhbhai Patel was the adoption of a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. It represented the party's political, economic and social programme of democracy for the future. This had not been previously formulated in clear terms. The resolution indicated a growing radical and socialist trend within the Indian National Congress. The main points were :

- i) Assurance of popular fundamental rights;
- ii) Removal of caste and religious disabilities of all sections of the people;
- iii) Development of regional national language and establishment of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis;
- iv) Reduction of taxes;
- v) Prohibition of begar or forced labour, in vogue in backward regions and many of the Native States;
- vi) Abolition of salt duty; and
- vii) Protection of the special rights of workers, such as healthy working conditions, minimum living wage, unemployment insurance, an 8 hour day and paid holidays.<sup>48</sup>

E.M.S. Namboodiripad points out, "None of the items included in the Karachi

resolution can be considered an integral part of the programme of modern socialism. They are all part of what is called the West European (social democratic) "Welfare state." Nehru undoubtedly played his role in drafting it and, with Gandhi's approval, getting it adopted by the congress."<sup>49</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru mentions in his Autobiography, "In the Karachi resolution it took a step, a very short step, in a socialist direction by advocating nationalisation of key industries and services, and various other measures to lessen the burden on the poor and increase it on the rich. This was not socialism at all, and a capitalist state could easily accept almost everything contained in that resolution."<sup>50</sup>

The Karachi congress marks the introduction of the radical and socialist trend as a predominant element in the congress programme. E.M.S. Namboodiripad opines that, "... it constituted the first left-ward shift of the congress."<sup>51</sup> It was not socialism, but it was a step forward.

It can be said that the Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights, Economic and Social changes, adopted at the 1931 Karachi Congress Session, helped to lay the groundwork for significant future reforms in India and for which Nehru deserves major credit.

### **3.8 Nehru's Socialist Ideas And Orientations**

'In the realm of thought Jawaharlal Nehru has always been a lonely traveller seeking answers to a myriad of problems, answers that seem to elude his grasp. To his keen and receptive mind almost all the ideological currents of the past half-century appealed at various stages in his growth to intellectual maturity....,' observes Michael Brecher.<sup>52</sup>

Nehru was deeply influenced by socialism and communism. Nehru's world outlook took shape under the influence of many schools. His views on the laws governing the historical process and the role of the masses show the greatest influence of the ideas of scientific socialism.

Nehru is an eclectic. Nehru wanted to know and assimilate as much as possible of the experience accumulated by mankind and to select the best of it. He inevitably tended towards eclecticism, which he wanted to avoid at all costs. He preferred 'a mental or spiritual attitude which synthesizes differences and contradictions, tries to understand and accommodate different religions, ideologies, political, social and economic systems.'<sup>53</sup>

Nehru imbibed the traditions of ancient Indian culture and the rich experience of the national liberation movement, especially the philosophy and practice of Gandhism. He assimilated all that West European bourgeois liberalism had to offer, and turned to socialist ideas, at first in their Fabian version. But having once turned to the ideals of equality and social justice, Nehru perceived many of the premises of scientific socialism. He eagerly studied the theory and practice of scientific socialism and found much there that was applicable in India. Nehru was one of the first national liberation leaders unafraid of speaking of the importance of Marxism-Leninism, seeing in it logic of historical development, the call of the times.<sup>54</sup>

Nehru was the leading exponent of socialism in India. Although there were other thinkers or activists more profound than Nehru, it was largely because of his influence that socialism found its roots in the congress. It was at his instance in 1927 that the congress committed itself to socialism. It was at his instance that congress adopted socialist economic programme at Karachi session. For Nehru socialism became the guiding and directing principle of the congress policy after independence.<sup>55</sup>

Nehru did his best to spread the ideology of socialism in India. 'Nehru's socialism had three distinct features, individualism, Marxism and Gandhism. Its ultimate objective was to achieve individual liberty accompanied by equal opportunities and equality among people, through the scientific theory of Marxism applied with Gandhian techniques.'<sup>56</sup>

Nehru writes, "What is Socialism ? It is difficult to give a precise answer and there are innumerable definitions of it. Some people probably think of socialism vaguely as something which does good and which aims at equality. That does not take us very far. Socialism is basically a different approach from that of capitalism .... Socialism is after all not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems ...."<sup>57</sup>

In 1936 Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the annual Congress session held at Lucknow. The session atmosphere was surcharged with socialist slogans, emphasising the rights of workers and peasants on the one hand and declaiming against the forces of Imperialism and Fascism on the other.' In his Presidential address Jawaharlal said : "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is, however, something more than an economic doctrine, it is a philosophy of life and as such it appeals to me..."<sup>58</sup> He further adds, "... I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, and the ending of vested interests in land and industry .... It means ultimately a change in our instincts and habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order ..."<sup>59</sup>

Nehru continues, "I do not know how or when this new order will come to

India. I imagine that every country will fashion it after its own way and fit it in with its national genius."<sup>60</sup>

Nehru states further, "Socialism is for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart. I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change. I should like the congress to become a socialist organisation and to join hands with the other forces in the world who are working for the new civilization."<sup>61</sup>

To quote Nehru, "How does socialism fit in with the present ideology of the congress? I do not think it does. I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country; and only thus, I think, will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combated ..."<sup>62</sup>

The Lucknow session was a landmark in the evolution of socialistic ideas and programme of the congress. But there was neither unanimous approval of Nehru's socialist ideas at the 1936 Lucknow Congress Session, nor substantial agreement about various other important political issues. Controversy raged to such an extent that there was even talk of a "split" within congress ranks; argues Dorothy Norman.<sup>63</sup>

Nehru again states, "Socialism is an economic doctrine. It is a way of organizing the production and distribution and other activities of society. It is, according to its votaries, a solution of the ills from which society suffers today."<sup>64</sup>

Nehru observes, "The Marxian philosophy appeals to me in a broad sense and helps me to understand the processes of history. I am far from being an orthodox Marxist, nor does any other orthodoxy appeal to me. But I am convinced that

the old Liberal approach in England or elsewhere is no longer valid .... The only other way is the Socialist way."<sup>65</sup>

Nehru had a vision of life which was based on socialism, not as a doctrinaire theory or as a textbook maxim but as a way of life. It is certain that Nehru provided the official ideology of socialism for the next thirty years. It could be said that 'it was Jawaharlal Nehru who set the tone in the 1930s.'

Nehru's conception of socialism was inevitably tied to democracy. He believed that far from being antithetical both were complimentary to each other. To him, democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself. He did not want socialism without freedom or freedom without socialism.

Nehru's ideas served as a bridge between democratic socialism and Gandhian idea of 'swaraj' and 'welfare.' It was largely under his influence that the doctrine of the welfare state came to be generally accepted creed within the congress. The ideal of swaraj was combined with that of socialism. Nehru firmly believed that one could not exist without the other.<sup>66</sup>

Nehru was right in thinking that India's salvation lay in the adoption of socialist ideas. He largely succeeded in making the Congress accept those ideas through various resolutions from time to time.

His socialism was based on respect for individual North, and dignity. The question of providing social justice without sacrificing individual freedom was certainly uppermost in his mind. Thus Nehru says, "I do not see why under Socialism there should not be a great deal of freedom for the individual, indeed, far greater freedom than the present system gives."<sup>67</sup>

Nehru was primarily concerned with evolving a set of principles and ideas

to achieve a socialist reconstruction of society without a violent revolution. He had no rigid adherence to any brand of socialism as such. He was solely guided by the practical considerations of Indian society and its concrete situation as it appeared before him. Nehru was convinced that if socialism was to be established in India, it would have to grow out of Indian conditions. Nehru continuously sought to educate the people in the spirit of democratic socialism in order to win them over to that cause. We should keep in mind that Nehru has not pressed forward with socialism at the same speed as he pledged before Independence. But this does not detract from his belief that India must go the way of socialism, in some form or other. Flexible on tactics, he is rigid on goals.

The core of Nehru's approach, it can be said, is to merge thought and action in the achievement of social goals. Pragmatism is reflected in his thought, as it does in his approach to decisions. He does not cling to ideas per se but views them in a social setting. He is brilliant in adjusting them to different circumstances.

To Nehru, socialism was a broad tendency and not a precise body of rigid belief. He regarded himself as a scientific socialist, but this did not dispense with the necessity of adapting the socialist approach to the Indian condition. His preference for socialism came from his heart. His idealism was confronted with practical problems the country was facing and he looked for a solution to remove and eradicate poverty and sufferings of the people and emancipate the society from many social ills and problems and usher in an era of hope and optimism, social and economic progress, development and prosperity. He could see the way only through socialism. However, he resented copying Marxism without alterations. He argued that 'its application depends on the particular conditions prevailing in the country in question and the stage of its historical development.' Nehru was convinced that indigenous methods were necessary to apply Marxism and Socialism to India. He wanted socialism to be 'a

living philosophy which must answer the problems of today.' His socialism is not a dogmatic ideal, but an ever-growing and changing philosophy which moulds society and in turn would act itself as and when situations demand. Thus, while analysing Nehru's views, ideas and perceptions on socialism and socialistic thinking one would find a distinct impress of Indian thinking.

### 3:9 Spell Of Gandhi On Nehru

Gandhi was the only leader who had a plan of action that suited the genius of the Indian people and matched the might of the British empire,' observes M.Chalpathi Ran.<sup>68</sup> Nehru had the advantage of having played a key role in the nationalist movement of being Gandhi's successor. Jawaharlal writes, "I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate."<sup>69</sup>

Nehru was the product of the Indian Renaissance and the product of the Indian Revolution, to which he was to give shape and content. He was a product of the Gandhi era of that revolution, different from Gandhi and with his own individuality, though a part of it. The relations between Gandhi and Nehru will always be of interest. Nehru often differed from Gandhi, fought with him, yet followed him loyally.<sup>70</sup>

Gandhi and Nehru were greatly attracted to each other and worked closely together politically. Yet they were distinct from each other, each a different personality with a separate identity. Between the two personalities, Gandhi and Nehru, there was no complete agreement on the economic substance of Swaraj, though there was complete unity on the need for Swaraj. On the method and strategy, Nehru accepted Gandhi as a guide.

For more than a quarter of a century the close ties between Nehru and

Gandhi were strengthened by the passage of time. Each took the other into confidence on all matters pertaining to independence, but differences could not be avoided as they were mentally and emotionally quite apart. Nehru had the courage of conviction or the capacity to oppose Gandhi whenever his views diverged from Gandhi. Though he disagreed often, he did not break away from Gandhi, but on the contrary gave him unflinching loyalty and recognised his hold over the masses in India. Nehru was not captivated by Gandhi's magnetism, but he rose above the environment and carved out an independent role for himself in the freedom movement.<sup>71</sup>

Nehru writes about Gandhi, "... He was a great and unique man and a glorious leader and having put our faith in him we gave him an almost blank cheque..."<sup>72</sup> Nehru himself admits the difference of opinion and views and Gandhi saying, "There was a great deal of difference between us, and yet I felt attracted towards him, ... I was attracted to him by his remarkable intellectual capacity..."<sup>73</sup> Applauding Gandhi's qualities, Nehru writes, "It was Gandhiji's chief virtue as a leader that he could instinctively feel the pulse of the people and know when conditions were ripe for growth and action."<sup>74</sup>

Nehru's compromises with Gandhi's thought and action cut him off increasingly from his natural militant-nationalist, socialist and communist allies in the movement. One by one, they withdrew to pursue their own paths. M.N. Roy writes, "... Nehru found his god in Gandhi, and dedicated his life to rationalizing the latter's mediaeval ideals and obscurantist ideas."<sup>75</sup> He adds further, "Culturally, Gandhi belonged to the middle ages, representing the best of its moral tradition, though on a much lower level intellectually. Nehru, on the contrary, is a modern man who admittedly found it difficult to share Gandhi's obscurantist outlook. Nevertheless, throughout his public life he has been guided by the faith that Gandhi could never be wrong. His acceptance of the latter's leadership was without reservation. Nehru's entire political career was built on the

basis of that enigmatic relationship between two personalities which apparently had so very little in common."<sup>76</sup>

Nehru once said about Gandhi, "It is undoubtedly true that his politics are sometimes very metaphysical and difficult to understand. But he had shown himself a man of action, a man of wonderful courage, and a man who could often deliver the goods ..." <sup>77</sup> Nehru writes, 'When he enters a room he brings a breath of fresh air with him which lightens the atmosphere.'<sup>78</sup>

Nehru writes about Gandhi's leanings to socialism thus : "He is an extraordinary paradox .... Sometimes he calls himself a socialist, but he used the word in a sense peculiar to himself which has little or nothing to do with the economic framework of society which usually goes by the name of socialism, Following his lead a number of prominent congressmen have taken to the use of that word, meaning thereby a kind of muddled humanitarianism ..." <sup>79</sup>

Nehru had deep love and reverence for Gandhi. He said, "... In action he had been the greatest revolutionary of recent times in India. He was a unique personality, and it was impossible to judge him by the usual standards, or even to apply the ordinary canons of logic to him .... He would release tremendous mass energies and would himself advance step by step towards the social goal."<sup>80</sup> Nehru notes, "... whatever happens, he never loses his integrity and there is always an organic completeness about his life and work. Even in his apparent failures he has seemed to grow in stature."<sup>81</sup>

Gandhian leadership had a vital impact on the making of Nehru's philosophy. Nehru felt strongly attracted to an ethical approach to life' and acknowledge the profound influence of Gandhi who applied ethical norms to the whole range of public affairs.

Gandhi had great regard for Nehru as an ardent soldier of freedom who had a vision of what it was. Gandhi recognised Nehru's natural political talent, his effortless ability to lead; his selfless dedication, idealism, honesty and openness to the need for change. Gandhi was impressed by Jawaharlal's stalwart courage, his breadth of views about international affairs. Gandhi saw his ally in Nehru, the fighter for international causes who viewed the future of his country as an integral part of the world community.

Nehru had the greatest regard for Gandhi as the leader of the freedom struggle. He fretted and fumed, but every time he found there could be no drifting away from Gandhi, who seemed to be the spirit of India.<sup>82</sup>

The contributions of Gandhi and Nehru together and separately to human values are great. They were independent of each other, two in one, one in two. They worked on the same moral plane and that both loved the people, in different ways, but while they agreed and disagreed, they knew each other well. Nehru was a social engineer, whereas Gandhi was a spiritual healer.

Gandhi continued to favour Nehru as his "rightful helmsman" even after Gandhi had resigned from congress. In september, 1934, Gandhi wrote to Sardar Patel : "I miss at this juncture the association and advice of Jawaharlal who is bound to be the rightful helmsman of the organization in the near future."<sup>83</sup> Gandhi said, "... I feel that I am in no sense deserting one who is much more than a comrade and whom no amount of political differences will ever separate from me .... He is courage personified. He has an indomitable faith in his mission ..."<sup>84</sup>

Gandhi said about Nehru : "In bravery, he is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of the country ? 'He is rash and impetuous,' Say some. This quality is an additional qualification, at the present moment. And if he has

the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman ... He is pure as the crystal, he is truthfull beyond suspicion. He is a knight sans peur et sans reproche. The nation is safe in his hands."<sup>85</sup>

Once Gandhi said, "... As for Jawaharlal, we know that neither of us can do without the other, for there is a heart unison between us which no intellectual difference can break."<sup>86</sup>

Gandhi once said, "... Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says that he does not understand my language and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language."<sup>87</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru paid the glowing tribute to Gandhi in a broadeast to the nation after the assassination of Gandhi. Jawaharlal said : "The light has gone out of our lives .... A thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country and the world wide see it. For that light represented the living truth."

Gandhi and Nehru go together. History will find it difficult to separate them.

### **3.10 Nehru's Idea Of Social Justice.**

Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution to the making of modern India is too versatile to be classified and categorised. And yet if he is to be associated with anything specific and central in India's transition into the modern times, it is with his contribution to the conception of social justice as the foundation of national development. The methodology of economic planning was, for Nehru, the chief instrument of securing social justice.<sup>88</sup>

The concept of social justice is not a postscript or a sequel to Indian nationalism. It has been a part and parcel of the Indian national movement for independence and woven into the texture of the ideology of the Indian National Congress since the early 1930s. Nehru was the principal force behind this fusion between the idea of political independence and that of social justice to be realised and made secure through comprehensive economic planning.<sup>89</sup>

In the month of June, 1938, Nehru wrote the following memorandum to the National Planning Committee : 'The ideal of the Congress is the establishment of a free and democratic state in India. Such a democratic state involves an egalitarian society in which equal opportunities are provided for every member for self expression and self fulfilment, and an adequate, minimum, civilised standard of life is assured to each member so as to make the attainment of this equal opportunity a reality. This should be the background or foundation of our plan.'<sup>90</sup>

Thus a revolutionary change of social and economic structure was to be brought about through state ownership and control of industry, industrialisation, and reform of land tenure and revenue systems. These were the three broad strands in the economic thinking of the more radical sections of the Congress led by Nehru at the close of the thirties. Having devised a machinery for democratic planning, which was the first of its kind to be adopted anywhere in the world, Nehru proceeded to give shape to the plans in the light of his own thinking.<sup>91</sup>

Nehru's ideas of socialism, equality and freedom have created amongst the vast mass of the Indian people a consciousness towards their democratic rights and equalitarian justice. Nehru's farsighted vision of socialist planning has embarked India, though slowly but steadily, on the path of development, prosperity and achieving social justice. Nehru emphasised democratically

planned development within the framework of a mixed economy with private, public and co-operative sectors to achieve the objectives of modernization, growth and social justice. The objective of achieving growth with social justice is as relevant today as it was ever before.

Nehru was trying to build a socialist society in the country so that the living standard of the people could be raised above poverty line. Nehru said, "Our objective is a socialistic pattern of society. I do not propose to define precisely what socialism means in this context because we wish to avoid any rigid or doctrinaire thinking .... I do not want to confine my mind to any rigid dogma. But broadly speaking, what do we mean when we say 'socialist pattern of life'? We mean a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility for everyone to live a good life ..."<sup>92</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to achieve swaraj with social justice. He said, 'I dream of a time when there will be social justice and economic equality.'

To Nehru, social welfare meant well being of Indian society in all respects. In an article in the Hindustan Times October 20, 1940 Nehru wrote : What exactly is social welfare ? The well being of society, I take it. If so, it includes almost everything that one can think of spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social. It covers thus the entire field of human activity and relationships.<sup>93</sup>

A welfare state, of a socialist pattern had been Nehru's ideal for India for many years. But he held the view that the socialist pattern of society he envisaged should be achieved not by coercion but by consent. Nehru had firm faith and commitment to the realisation of socialism through democratic methods and he put emphasis on social and distributive justice.

The second five year plan was, built up in the context of the Avadi

Congress resolution on the socialist pattern of society. Nehru emphasised that planning was necessary for the private sector as much as for the public, and the guiding principles of all social action should be over all social gain rather than private profit.

Nehru said, "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, goodwill and love ultimately a world order ... Our methods must lead to this goal and be based on these motives."<sup>94</sup>

The final and finished form of Nehru's views on social justice was essentially practical and pragmatic, ethical and social, altruistic and humanitarian. Starting out in life as a liberal, a democrat and an ardent nationalist, Nehru came to believe in the power of the scientific method and reasoning and was, at the same time, extremely sensitive to injustice and human misery and suffering. In the end, he came to conceive of a free, good and just society, a society of creative individuals, to be realised gradually and peacefully. The type of democratic socialism which Nehru visualised was probably for him not an end in itself.<sup>95</sup>

Nehru was a great protagonist of the dignity of the individual. This led him to the conclusion that higher values of life could be realized only in such a society which is based on the principle of social justice and equality.

Nehru envisioned that India must abolish all the existing inequalities and barriers of social distinctions and freedom is to be achieved on social plane. His social ideal for a free India was : "To bring freedom and opportunity to common man ... and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure

justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.<sup>96</sup> Nehru told in the Lok Sabha in 1955 : 'The real progress of the country means progress not only on the political plane, not only on the economic plane.'but also on the social plane.' Nehru firmly held 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.'<sup>97</sup>

We may say that Nehru's ideas provided the basic elements of the objectives and strategy of Indian plans to achieve growth with social justice. The development of science and technology, infrastructure, social services and a variety of institutions was emphasized in the plans along with stress on balanced regional development and national self reliance.

To sum up, Nehru was a great visionary and he provided the fundamental ideas in the realm of economic policy for developing a strong and self reliant India with a just social order having individual freedom, equality and social justice. His contribution towards increasing economic capabilities of a country in various fields and laying strong foundations of a modern India has been of great and far reaching significance. However, one should admit that he did not follow-up his ideas vigorously and effectively enough for achieving social justice.

### **3.11 Nehru's Conception of Economic Freedom.**

Nehru was too much concerned with social and economic freedom Economic freedom was the central point round which Nehru's whole political ideas and assertions were centred. Nehru was of the opinion that economic freedom occupies a pivotal position in order to liberate and emancipate mankind from the miseries and sufferings of life. Hence he was deeply attracted and enamoured by Marxism and Socialism which he thought offeres a solution to

remove all social and economic ills and problems of human beings and promises human well-being and welfare.

Nehru was deeply influenced and fascinated by Marxian Socialism. But he did not totally embrace Marxism. Nehru's beliefs and conception of socialism and socialistic thinking was a mixture of Marxian ideas plus liberal democratic ideas and convictions. Nehru felt that economic freedom must be based on equality, well being of the masses and co-operative spirit. Like liberal democrat Nehru advocated peaceful and gradual methods. He disliked violence, coercion and forceful methods. Throughout his political career he worked for the economic freedom and welfare of the peasants and industrial workers. He believed in mixed economy and economic planning to ensure economic freedom to the masses giving due weightage to private and public enterprise. He favoured cottage industries and other village development programmes for the economic development of the rural people.

Nehru did not like to embrace any theory or dogma in toto. He said, "... Personally, I do not agree with many of the methods of the communists, and I am by no means sure to what extent communism can suit present conditions in India, I do believe in communism as an ideal of society. For essentially it is socialism, and socialism, I think, is the only way if the world is to escape disaster."<sup>98</sup> Nehru wrote, 'I am not a communist chiefly because I resist the communist tendency to treat communism as a holy doctrine; I do not like being told what to think and do.'<sup>99</sup> Michael Bracher observes : 'From the very outset of his flirtation with communism he was sceptical, especially on the question of means. The Gandhian influence as well as the streak of individualism and non-conformism prevented him from embracing the creed completely.'<sup>100</sup>

(Nehru's concept of democracy had certain specific implications. Broadly, democracy emphasized equality of opportunity for all in the political and eco-

economic sphere and freedom for the individual to grow and develop to the best of his personality. It also involved a high degree of tolerance and a certain inquisitive search for the truth.)

Nehru had tremendous respect for the freedom of man. He firmly believed that to promote and preserve the human values, both society and the individual must enjoy freedom. In Nehru's democratic thought, there was an integrated conception of political, economic and social freedom which could not be separated from one another. He realised that the danger to democracy lay essentially in the economic structure of society. Thus Nehru noted that democracy could grow and flourish only in an equal society.<sup>101</sup> He wanted socialism, not only because it meant social justice and equality but because it was modern and scientific and belonged to the future.

A study of Nehru's economic policies point us to the conclusion that Nehru believed that for full realization of political and social freedom it was essential to have economic freedom for 'there could be no real freedom without economic freedom.'

Nehru's conception of economic freedom included an economic structure based on (1) economic equality, (2) well-being of the masses, (3) Co-operative spirit.<sup>102</sup>

Nehru's ideal of an egalitarian society was 'a cooperative ideal, a one world ideal, based on social justice and economic equality.' Such an ideal could be realized if the existing class structure of society was changed, Nehru felt. He declared in 1955, "I also want a classless society in India and the world. I do not want any privileged classes. I do not want a great deal of inequality among people."<sup>103</sup>

Nehru understood that if the ideal of an egalitarian society was to be realized, one must move in the direction of socialism because it aims at social reconstruction based on an elimination of profit motive. Nehru visualised that a new society in India was to be built-up according to the socialistic principles and the whole purpose of planning was to establish a social order based on social justice ... offering equal opportunities to every citizen.<sup>104</sup>

Nehru felt that any economic programme must keep the interests of the masses uppermost for it is the masses who really are the nation. On their prosperity depends the prosperity of the country. Nehru believed that freedom to the masses signify not only political freedom but also betterment of their standard of living.

Nehru understood that a new socio-economic organisation based on equality and freedom should not be guided by the motive of the private profit but by the principle of cooperation and service to the community for the common good. He believed that socialism was not only a system of socio-economic organisation but 'something deeper which involves a way of thinking and living ... Socialism is based on the growth of material resources as well as social justice and a cooperative method of working.'<sup>105</sup> Nehru felt that socialism must enter people's minds and hearts. Nehru said, 'We do not imhibe the spirit of socialism and if we do not increase the capacity of work in co-operation with others,' there would not be socialism.<sup>106</sup>

We find that Nehru's conception of economic freedom closely related to socialism which was the main stream of his whole political philosophy. Nehru stated, "As far as I can visualise there cannot be full democracy without socialism. Socialism means real economic democracy."<sup>107</sup>

### 3.12 Rise of Radical Organisations.

The nationalist movement in India took an upward swing from 1936. Jawaharlal Nehru, presiding over the Lucknow Congress, exhorted the delegates to adopt a programme of the united front of all forces of national freedom. He recommended the affiliation of trade union and peasant organizations to the congress so that the mass basis of the nationalist movement led by the congress might be consolidated.

The phase covering the period from 1934 to 1939, bears importance and significance in the history of the Indian National Movement and also for the growth of socialist movement in India. There were a number of new developments during this period, A number of radical organisations had sprung up by this time in India. Within the Congress, the Congress Socialist Party was formed. A section of congress men lost their confidence in the ideology, programmes and methods of Gandhi and constituted the congress Socialist Party. It stood for the organization of the workers and peasants on class lines, and making them the motive force of the nationalist movement.

The rapid growth of the Communist Party increasingly spreading its influence among students, workers, and kisans was another significant development.

The rapid growth of the peasant movement was one of the striking developments during this period. During this period larger sections of peasantry developed national and class consciousness. The All India kisan sabha, the organization of the conscious section of the Indian peasantry, formulated for its objective the socialist state of India. It organized independent struggles of the kisans and joined the nationalist movement as an independent unit.

### 3.13 Nehru And M.N. Roy

M.N. Roy is one of the most outstanding personalities in the political life of modern India. His contribution to the radical communist and socialist movements in India and particularly his keen and bold efforts to arouse the feelings and consciousness of the Indian masses and intellectuals towards building of a left movement in India and providing & acquainting to the alternative ideology against Gandhism and Gandhian ideas is noteworthy and should be given due emphasis and importance. Here we are making an effort to analyse the relationship between two outstanding political thinkers, namely, Jawaharlal Nehru and M.N. Roy, who championed and highlighted leftist thinking and politics in India.

While making a comparison between Roy and Nehru, P. Spratt says : "Roy belonged to the type in which the thinking function rules. He had to have a system, a philosophy, and everything he said had to be logically deduced from it. It is equally clear that in Nehru the feeling function ruled. He attached no value to systems. He went by likes and dislikes, and always seemed to be hesitating between alternatives."<sup>108</sup>

Nehru and M.N. Roy both were attracted and fascinated by socialism & they emphatically taked about the ideal. However, their approach and definition of socialism differs. But regarding the relationship between socialism and nationalism they held similar views. On this point observers ventured to suggest that Nehru is likely to find Mr. Roy a valuable and helpful colleague.

M.N. Roy was a great revolutionary leader and he championed the cause of revolutionary nationalism and tried to develop an uncompromising struggle against British imperiatism. He believed that such an uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle was conditional upon the replacement of Gandhian leader

ship by a revolutionary leadership. M.N. Roy challenged the ideology and political leadership of Gandhi. He believed that the philosophical challenge to Gandhism was necessary to promote the cause of Indian revolution.<sup>109</sup> Gandhi knew, M.N. Roy's attitude to him Gandhi once remarked that Roy was his enemy number one.'

The radical politics of M.N. Roy was based on two fundamental principles : replacement of Gandhian leadership both political and philosophical, by a revolutionary leadership, and a method of organized struggle against imperialism for the capture of power through the Constituent Assembly. The objective of the struggle was national independence with a programme of democratic revolution. He emphasised that immediate objective was the attainment of national independence.<sup>110</sup>

- o Nehru and M.N. Roy first met in Moscow in 1927 and that acquaintance was renewed in India in 1930-31. "In the post-war period no one aroused higher hopes and greater expectations than Nehru of India," writes M.N. Roy.<sup>111</sup> M.N. Roy was critical about Nehru's vision and approach to socialism and his allegiance and surrender to Gandhi and his role of a mediator between nationalism, socialism and Gandhism. M.N. Roy writes : "Nehru confused issues by associating nationalism with vaguely conceived socialist ideals."<sup>112</sup> It may be pointed out that the difficulty with Jawaharlal Nehru was that without being a Gandhian he could never set himself free from Gandhi's influence. Gandhi was aware of it and took full advantage of it.<sup>113</sup> M.N. Roy lamented about Nehru's potentialities going astray. Roy wrote : "Nehru missed the chance to lead the movement for national liberation towards the higher goal of a social revolution ..."<sup>114</sup> He adds further : Personal attachment to Gandhi precluded his moving in the direction of genuine political greatness and creative leadership.<sup>115</sup> According to M.N. Roy, Nehru could not rise to the expectations and failed to play a positive contribution towards leading the socialist or left movement in India 'for

his mystic and mysterious relations with Gandhi."<sup>116</sup>

Analysing the national movement in India, Roy related the emergence of the Indian National Congress to the beginnings of indigenous capitalist development. He dubbed the moderates as the spokesman of the Indian bourgeoisie, though he recognised many of them as having advocated social views. Roy was bitter and critical about Gandhian ideas and philosophy. He wrote : "Gandhism is nothing but petty bourgeois humanitarianism hopelessly bewildered in the clashes of the staggering forces of human progress."<sup>117</sup>

We get the social, political and economic ideas and, views of M.N. Roy in what do we want.' M.N. Roy writes : "... we want Swaraj; we want the freedom of our country. We are fighting for the right of the Indian people to live as a free nation, to rule itself, to determine its own destiny according to its own needs and desires."<sup>118</sup> He adds further : "In order that Swaraj may bring about radical economic changes as well improve the life of the working class, it must be something more than a political makeshift or a spiritual formula. It must signify certain principles of economic reconstruction and social readjustment of the entire nation."<sup>119</sup>

Jayaprakash Narayan was deeply impressed by M.N. Roy and he admitted that while a student in the United States in the 1920's he was drawn to Marxism through the writings of M.N. Roy. Both the Royists and the C.S.P. wanted to work unitedly though there were important differences. The purpose the struggle was the attainment of political independence. Both the C.S.P. and the Royists shared a common aversion to Gandhism and Gandhian ideas. Despite the efforts the Royists and the C.S.P. could not work together for a long run and ultimately came Roy's break with the C.S.P. The CSP had the sympathy of Jawaharlal Nehru. though he refrained from joining the party.

M.N. Roy regarded Nehru as an unmitting tool of the old guard despite his socialist leanings and convictions. M.N. Roy said Nehru is "a thoughtless, vain, egocentric, popularity-hunting demagogue," who is popular among the congressmen with a 'modern outlook' because his demagoguery rationalizes Gandhi's irrationalism, and supplies a pseudo-socialist veneer to reactionary nationalism."<sup>120</sup> Roy contended that "Nehru's fascination for socialism was the expression of the longing of the lonesome intellectual of the twentieth century for an ideal, for a cause to which he could dedicate his life ..."<sup>121</sup>

Nehru had been impressed with Roy's intellectual abilities and thought at one time that they would work in unison for the establishment of socialism in India but later conceded that his admiration had not been reciprocated. When the division between the 'Right' and the 'Left' within the congress became sharpened during the period of 1933-34, M.N. Roy's influence on Nehru had been growing. But Nehru said, Roy wrote many articles criticising him and his policies and dubbed him as petty-bourgeois. Nehru said, Roy 'used harsh words which stung but ... I retained a partiality and a soft corner in my heart for him.'<sup>122</sup>

### **3.14 Nehru's Attitude To Communists.**

The theory and practice of socialism in India has been influenced by Marx, Gandhi and the West European democratic socialist movements. During the course of the freedom movement, the communist and democratic socialist movements originated in India. The socialist ideas started developing in the thirties. The Communist Party was established in 1924 under the leadership of M.N. Roy and important members of the Kanpur conspiracy case like S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shaukat Usmani and Nalini Gauba. R. Palme Dutt, an important member of the British communist party, played an influential role in the growth and activities of the party.<sup>123</sup>

Peasant unrest and trade union activities of this period had their impact on the working of the Indian National Congress, and also found concrete expression in the establishment of the communist party of India. For evaluating the role of Nehru in building a socialist movement in India, it is essential to know his relationship and attitude towards the Indian communists. The Communist Party of India was affiliated to the Communist International in the first half of 1921. The British government declared the party illegal and banned it in 1934. The tactics and role of the CPI underwent many changes in the pre independence period. It occupied a predominant position in the Trade Union movement, its programme of action, its attitude towards the congress and its leaders, and the directives given by the communist international created situations owing to which the CPI could not function smoothly with the mainstream of the national movement. The Communist Party could not build effectively a left movement in India with the other left parties jointly.<sup>124</sup>

Nehru's attitude towards communism could be narrated thus : While he did not accept all the fundamental tenets of Marxism, he believed that there were class differentiation and exploitation of the workers and peasants by the capitalists in a capitalist society. He was in favour of an equalitarian society with a just social order guaranteeing individual freedom and dignity based on socialist principles. This system would lead to end social and economic distinctions, help to raise the standard of living of the people and to achieve social justice. This egalitarian society, he held, as better than the capitalist system and social order.

Nehru was profoundly influenced and attracted by Marx's scientific method of explaining the principles of historical processes of development of society. His visit to Soviet Russia was a noteworthy event and he felt attracted to Soviet economic planning. He understood that planning was the key to success, well-being and development. At an intellectual level too, both Marx and

Russian experiment on planning impressed Nehru.

Nehru did not accept the communist way as shown by Russia for his country. The reasons might be his family background and schooling, personality make-up and traits, impact of Gandhian philosophy of means and ends and his aversion to violence. Nehru was essentially a democrat and a liberal. He viewed communism as a philosophy of life.

It can be said that the background of Nehru, the impact of British education and his personality make-up precluded him from joining hands with the Indian communists. Moreover, he discarded the methods, of the communists. Nehru writes : '... I turned inevitably with goodwill towards communism, for whatever its faults, it was at least not hypocritical and not imperiablistic ...'<sup>125</sup>

Another explanation for Nehru's not joining the communists may be his own social background. Nehru wrote : 'My politics had been those of my class, the bourgeoisie.'<sup>126</sup> Nehru himself admitted : 'I am a typical bourgeois, brought up in bourgeois surroundings, with all the prejudices, that this training has given me.'<sup>127</sup>

Nehru criticised the Indian communists for the lack of scientific approach on their part and for taking refuge behind 'slogans' instead of ideas in politics. As movements, the congress and communists were of unequal standing.' Nehru differed not only with the methods and approach of the communists, he also criticised them for not having adapted the communist ideology to the peculiar Indian conditions. Nehru's mind was working in becoming a theoretician of something like Indian Socialism.' He admonished the Indian communists for blindly following the western concepts and literature.<sup>128</sup>

Thus Nehru and the communist party of India were following two separate

paths although deriving inspiration from the same source - Marxism. The communists were also critical of Nehru. They argued that while Nehru in theory criticised some of the ideas of Gandhi, yet Nehru completely surrendered to Gandhi and followed him blindly who became his mentor. They also argued that Nehru failed to evolve an alternative ideology to communism. This view was expressed by B.T. Ranadive when he said that Nehru's conflicts with old leaders of the congress were, 'episodic in their character, transitory in their effect.'<sup>129</sup>

To sum up, the relationship between the communists and Nehru was based on basic differences, the reconciliation of which was difficult. The result was that they did not agree even on a minimum common programme of action.

### 3:15 The Growth of The Congress Left-Wing.

At the close of world war 1, nationalist movement in India stood at the cross-roads. Constitutionalism had lost its appeal, sporadic terrorism had spent its force and armed revolution, in the words of Subhas Chandra Bose, was sheer madness.<sup>130</sup> Then Gandhi appeared on the political scene. And the Mahatma began to be worshipped as an 'Avatar.'

The Left-Wing inside the congress emerged as a 'rationalist revolt' against Gandhi, his philosophy his technique of nationalist struggle. The revolt came from those who held radical views on social, economic and political questions and who advocated an uncompromising, vigorous and activist policy for the attainment of India's freedom. The ideas of radical thinking were socialistic, in contrast to the subjectivism of Gandhi's philosophy and his introvert nationalism. The Left-Wing leaders believed that Swaraj must be interpreted in terms of the masses, providing to the purely political concept of freedom a social and economic content. For them political emancipation was only means to the ultimate end of emancipation from social and economic inequality, oppression and exploitation.<sup>131</sup>

Explaining the significance of Leftism in the context of the anti-imperialist phase of the nationalist movement, Subhas Chandra Bose wrote : "In the present political phase of Indian life, leftism means anti-imperialism. A genuine anti-imperialist is one who believes in undiluted independence as the political objective and in uncompromising national struggle as the means for attaining it. After the attainment of political independence leftism will mean socialism and the task before the people will then be the reconstruction of national life on a socialist basis ..."<sup>132</sup>

It can be said that the left-wing inside the congress emerged when some

radical nationalists committed themselves to the twin goals of complete independence and socialism. And these forces began to come to the surface after the suspension of the Non-cooperation movement in 1922.

In the post-Non-Co-operation years there were early indications of growing communist influence on the Indian National Congress. Some of the revolutionaries who had participated in the Non-Co-operation Movement felt dejected and disillusioned by its suspension and came under the influence of M.N. Roy and his associates. Sampurnanand of U.P. was one of the prominent congress leaders who had contact with communists. He pleaded for the adoption of 'absolute independence' as the goal of the congress in a Memorandum on the congress programme (October 1922) for the Gaya Session. He suggested to Jawaharlal Nehru, then in charge of the congress volunteer movement organized in the model of the *sinn fein*, that the congress should adopt a more revolutionary programme. Nehru appreciated Sampurnananda's point of view but felt that while most people talked of revolution and direct action; very few actually came forward to participate in it. However, Nehru's reply showed a perceptible leftist influence on him.<sup>133</sup>

The Five Years preceding the second world war were permeated in India with a good deal of fresh thinking. Though fully committed to nationalist, anti-imperialist ideals and the ultimate objective of freedom, not all accepted the programme and methodology of the congress. Not only did non-congress leaders and groups espouse different ideologies and different lines of action, but even inside the congress parallel stream of political thinking had developed and gained strength.

There were three clearly discernible trends positively. First, there was the spread of socialist ideas inside and outside the congress. Second, there was the development of the trade union movement, Lastly, there was the growth of

the peasant movement.<sup>134</sup>

The Belgaum session (1924) of the congress revealed that the communist influence had, to some extent, extended to the rank and file of the congress organisation. The trend became more distinct in 1927-1928. In this period the left wing made an attempt to assert itself at the Madras session of the congress in 1927 when the youthful elements led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose successfully carried a resolution committing congress to the goal of complete national independence. Gandhi opposed the resolution. He opined that it was 'hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed.' But despite Gandhi's opposition, the growing strength of the radical elements was evident from the fact that three representatives of the left wing, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and Shuaib Qureshi, were included in the working committee. Thus the Madras congress, in the words of Subhas Bose, "may be regarded as standing for a definite orientation towards the left."<sup>135</sup>

The congress also began to take active interest in world affairs. In February 1927, Nehru attended the congress of oppressed Nationalities at Brussels as a representative of the Indian National Congress. He was elected a member of the Executive council of the League against imperialism that was founded at the Brussels congress. It was a communist front which emerged from the deliberations of this conference. At Brussels Nehru came in contact with many communists and for the first time got an insight into the inner conflicts of the capitalist world and the problems of the colonial and dependent countries. Meantime, with the foundation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party (1927) and the growing industrial unrest, the leftist influence on the Indian National Congress began to extend more rapidly.

During this period socialist ideas activated a good deal of fresh thinking among both the leaders and the people. Especially the young, the workers and

the peasants were attracted to the new ideology.

Inside the congress, this leftist trend resulted in the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as president of the congress for two successive sessions in 1936. Nehru was followed by Subhas Chandra Bose, also well-known for his radical new thinking. Bose was elected president of the congress in 1938, and, again, in 1939, in spite of the fact that Gandhiji himself and many of his followers were opposed to him in 1939. At the Lucknow congress in 1936 Nehru had pleaded openly for the acceptance of socialism as the congress goal.

The socialist trend was equally obvious in the leadership outside the congress. It led to the growth of the communist Party and the setting up of a congress socialist party. The resurgence of the radical left wing under the banner of the congress socialist party was accompanied by an unprecedented awakening of the workers, peasants and students. For the first time, a centralised peasants' organisation, called the All-India kisan sabha, was formed under the leadership of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati. The student's movement also got a new momentum when it was centralized under the banner of the All India Student's Federation.<sup>136</sup>

The growing measure of radicalization of nationalists opinion was indicated by the following observation of Jawaharlal Nehru :

"I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is one between some form of communism and some form of fascism, and I am all for the former, that is, communism. I dislike fascism intensely ... There is no middle road between fascism and communism. One has to choose between the two and I choose the communist ideal."<sup>137</sup>

It may be noted that the growing communist influence on the congress

sessions and no congress workers had a major limitation. The efforts of Jawaharlal Nehru and his associates were effective only when it was 'a question of resolutions and not of action', says one author. Moreover, notwithstanding the dynamism and enthusiasm of Jawaharlal Nehru and other promising young congress leaders, it was Gandhiji who had the ultimate say in formulating the policy and programme of the Indian National Congress.

### 3:16 The Congress Socialist Party.

The origin of the congress socialist party is to be traced to the growing communist influence on the Indian National Congress in the 1920s. The congress socialists developed as a group within the congress who, as B.B. Misra points out, emphasised national revolution as a pre-condition to social change. Misra writes, "Theirs was a peculiar brand of socialism, a blend of vedanta and Bolshevism, where religion and economics were not regarded as mutually exclusive." Congress leftism or radicalism always remained within the nationalist framework and a significant trend of development was cross-fertilization between Marxist and Gandhian ideas and methods."<sup>138</sup>

The suspension of mass civil disobedience by Gandhiji causes confusion among radical congressmen. A section of the congressmen were increasingly feeling the need of an organisation 'independent of international communism but consistent with the country's genius, with the principle of class collaboration, not class war.' An All-India Socialist conference was held at Patna (May 1934) with Acharaya Naraendra Dev in the chair. Among prominent leaders were sampurnanand and Sri Prakasa. In his presidential address Narendra Dev wished the socialist group to keep within the congress fold for anti-imperialist considerations. The conference decided to form an All-India congress socialist Party. Its object was to press for the adoption of socialist principles by the congress. Among those associated with the foundation of the congress socialist party were

Jayaprakash Narayan, Abdul Bari, M.R. Masani, Purushottamdas Tricumdas, C.C. Banerji and Faridul Huq. A socialist conference was held at Bombay (October 1934) with Sampurnanand as Chairman. Among the participants were Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, F.H. Ansari, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, A. Patwardhan, P.K. Pillai and other socialist leaders congress socialist groups energid in Delhi, Bihar, U.P., Bombay, Maharashtra, Madras, Kerala, Andra Pradesh and other places, It was Jayaprakash Narayan who was largely responsible for making anti-imperialism and support for workers and peasants the major objectives of the Party. It is important to emphasis that the communists and the socialists had fundamental difference in their attitude to the Indian National Congress, The Communist Party regarded the congress as a party of collaborators of imperialism. But the socialists viewed the congress as an anti-imperialist force.<sup>139</sup>

The objectives of the congress Socialist Party, as stated in its constitution, were the attainment of 'complete independence ... and establishment of a socialist state.' The party's 'plan of action' called for work within the Indian National Congress to secure the acceptance of there objectives. But at the same time they were determined to 'rescue the congress from the hands of the right wing by educating and organizing the rank and file on the basis of a clear cut program of national revolution and to carry on a consistent propaganda for the exposure of the reactionary aims, policies and programmes of the right wing.'<sup>140</sup>

(A detailed discussion of the ideology, leadership issues, mode of functioning of the congress socialist party and its relation with the communist party of India will be taken up later.)

The congress socialist party has been criticised for its inability to carry any of its resolutions or amendments against the wishes of the Gandhians in the congress organisation. The Congress Socialist Party, in spite of Jawaharlal's

backing, had no dominant voice in the congress organization. One should keep in mind that the congress socialist party was a clear manifestation of the growing challenge to Gandhiji's programme and ideology. The radicalism and socialism of Jawaharlal were to be strictly subordinated to the discipline of the congress which means to the discipline of the Mahatma. The congress socialists were challenging the very fundamentals on which the Gandhian programme had been formulated.

### 3:17 Nehru And Socialists.

Jawaharlal Nehru desired to push the congress to the left. He felt that conditions were ripe for an injection of socialism into the party programme. In this he proved to be prescient, for beneath the surface of Indian politics new social forces were fermenting.

Much of this ferment found expression in the congress socialist party (C.S.P.), created in the spring of 1934 by a group of left nationalists headed by Jaya Prakash Narayan. Nehru was in prison at the time, but his influence among them was great. His clear enunciation of socialist ideas was a model for many of them. Politically, he was their main hope to capture the congress machine.<sup>141</sup>

The role of Jawaharlal Nehru at this time was to give direction to the growing body of leftist opinion within the congress, to motivate and activate the new social forces into the nationalist movement, and to act as the supreme spokesman of radical ideas in the late thirties. With this background and in this frame of mind Nehru took up the reins of office at Lucknow. Nehru felt from the beginning that a clash with the old guard seemed inevitable. Nehru realised that his election to the presidency did not mean the party's conversion to socialism. But he assumed that it reflected a growing desire for change among sections of the rank and file.

About the formation of C.S.P., R. Palme Dutt said : In 1934 a group of younger left nationalist elements, who had come partially under the influence of Marxist ideas in this period, formed the congress socialist party.<sup>142</sup>

It was largely through Jawaharlal Nehru that the CSP hoped to influence congress policy, In the early years of the CSP its leaders looked upon Nehru as one of their own and fully expected him to join with them and lead their party. At their CSP conference at Meerut, in January 1936, the socialists adopted a resolution recommending Nehru for the presidency of their party. But Nehru refrained from joining the socialists, although he was sympathetic to their outlook.<sup>143</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru never associated himself officially with CSP, and it is a disappointment to his admirers. Nehru did not join the CSP because he did not want to associate himself with any faction in the Congress. He wanted to play the role of a national leader in the national movement and felt that association with one group might rob him of this role. He was not satisfied with the way the CSP functioned. Nehru was of the view that the socialists and also the communists had failed to adopt and adjust socialism to Indian conditions.<sup>144</sup>

Another reason in Nehru felt that the CSP had rigidly adopted the language of western socialism Nehru which was little understood by the rank and file. Another likely factor which Nehru might think was that the official membership of the CSP might alienate Gandhi and weaken his won position.<sup>145</sup>

Gandhi championed Nehru for President in both 1936 and 1937. Gandhi was concerned about his progege's drift to the left. It should be mentioned that Gandhi did not like Nehru's flirtation with the socialists. Gandhi felt that Nehru's elevation to the presidency would serve to wean him from the socialists, and he assured his colleagues that if placed at the helm, Nehru would act responsively and impartially in response to majority opinion among party leaders. After Nehru

had been asked to lead they party for a second time in-succeSSION, M.R. Masani commented that his acceptance had deprived the CSP "of its natural leader, who was so well fitted to lead it, to rally the radical forces."<sup>146</sup>

In 1936, congress was in the doldrums. There was a sharp ideological cleavage between the conservatives, led by Patel and Prasad, and the recently formed congress socialists who liked to Nehru for leadership and guidance. As it comes to the fore by a letter of Prasad written to Nehru : 'I know that there is a certain difference between your out look and that of men like Vallabhbai .. and myself and it is even of a fundamental character ...'<sup>147</sup>

It was Gandhi who had pressed Nehru to accept 'the crown of thorns.' Gandhi realised that Nehru was the only other nationalist leader with genuine mass appeal. Gandhi knew that Nehru was the one person who could bridge the growing gap between socialism and Gandhism. As the godfather of the congress socialist party Nehru was entirely acceptable to the left. As Gandhi's favourite son he was tolerated by the old Guard. Thus Nehru was uniquely suited to the task of reconciliation. Nehru himself frankly admitted this special quality and seemed to relish the role of mediation.

Gandhi had confidence on Jawaharlal and gave him 'power of attroncy to state the policy of the congress and was frank in his justification : "I do not think that Jawaharlal's own views are yet sufficiently crystallised to make any fundamental departure from Congress policy likely. He is a firm believer in socialism, but his ideas on how best the socialist principles can be applied to Indian conditions are still in the melting pot. His communist views need not therefore frighten anyone."<sup>148</sup>

It may be said that to Nehru, national freedom was greater cause than providing leadership to the socialists and building a socialist movement in the

country as an alternative to the congress. Nehru wanted to transform the country remaining within the congress organisation. He wanted to change and reform the congress on socialistic lines. Moreover, Nehru did not want to sever connections with Gandhi, who exerted tremendous influence on Nehru.

It was only after the effects of the partition wore off, and after the death of Patel, that Nehru could give any serious thought to socialism; at the Avadi session of the congress the resolution on a socialistic pattern of society was moved and passed.<sup>149</sup>

### 3:18 Nehru And Subhas Chandra Bose.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were the idols of the young nationalists of India in the thirties of this century, and both were attracted to socialism and were very eager to establish socialism in India. Yet their understanding of socialism and their approach to parliamentary democracy and fascism were very different.

Subhas Chandra Bose had joined the Non-Co-operation Movement after resigning from the Indian Civil Service and since then had been a promising dynamic young man of the Congress organization. Yet, Bose nurtured revolutionary ideas and was never really fully happy with Gandhiji's philosophy and technique of political agitations. In 1924 he was appointed the chief executive officer of the Calcutta corporation. But the government was suspicious of his connections with the revolutionaries and incarcerated him. In 1928 he was the G.O.C. of the congress volunteers in the Calcutta Session of the Congress. During this period Bose, like Jawaharlal and other young congressmen, came to be influenced by communist ideas and became more critical of Gandhiji's policy and programmes.<sup>150</sup>

Both Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru were great champions of planning and industrialisation as instruments of rapid economic development of free India. Both of them had a soft corner for socialism and wanted that socialism be established in India.

Subhas Bose put emphasis on social reconstruction of Indian society. Bose writes : "I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines."<sup>151</sup> He stated that 'we wanted to move in the direction of socialism.'<sup>152</sup> He wrote : "My personal view is that the Indian National Congress should be organised on the broadest anti-imperialist front, and should have the two fold objective of winning political freedom and the establishment of a socialist regime."<sup>153</sup>

Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose supported the congress socialist party though none of them associated himself officially with it. Bose supported the CSP but desired to remain outside it. Bose writes :

"There has been a great deal of controversy over the question of forming a party, like the congress socialist party, within the congress. I hold no brief for the congress socialist party and I am not a member of it. Nevertheless, I must say that I have been in agreement with its general principles and policy from the very beginning. In the first place, it is desirable for the leftist elements to be consolidated into one party. Secondly, a leftist bloc can have a *raison d'etre* only if it is socialist in character."<sup>154</sup>

Subhas Bose affirmed his faith and conviction on socialism and earnestly hoped that "out of this leftwing revolt there will ultimately emerge a new full fledged party with a clear ideology, programme and plan of action."<sup>155</sup> Bose argued that 'within the limits prescribed by the constitution of the Indian National

Congress, it is quite possible for a leftist bloc to have a socialist programme ...<sup>156</sup> He noted, "Socialism is not an immediate problem for us - nevertheless, socialist propaganda is necessary to prepare the country for socialism when political freedom has been won. And that propaganda can be conducted only by a party like the congress socialist party, which stands for and believes in Socialism."<sup>157</sup> In the Presidential address at the All-India Trade Union Congress session in Calcutta on July 4, 1931, Bose says : "I have no doubt in my own mind that the salvation of India, as of the world, depends on socialism."<sup>158</sup> However, Subhas Bose suggested that 'Left should co-operate with the Right' towards achieving the goal of Purna Swaraj. To that end he stressed emphasis on maintaining discipline, solidarity and cohesion among congressmen. To quote Subhas Bose, "The first thing that we need is that all congressmen should speak with one voice and think with one will."<sup>159</sup>

Economic planning implies control of production and distribution by the state in order to achieve certain pre-determined social and economic objectives. It is a conscious attempt on the part of the state to achieve full employment and to improve the general standard of living of people by proper utilization of a country's resources with the help of modern science and technology.

In the field of planning and industrialization Subhas Chandra Bose had a very remarkable contribution among the Indian nationalist leaders. In 1938, Bose constituted a National Planning Committee with Jawaharlal Nehru as chairman. Nehru was also a great champion of planning and industrialisation in India. The objective of the planning committee was 'raising of the material of the people as a whole.' Subhas Bose strongly believed in industrialisation, land reforms and modernization of agriculture. However, Gandhiji did not agree with the draft plan of industrialisation and national development prepared by the National Planning Committee of the congress which had been set up on the initiative of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Going through the recommendations of the National Planning Committee it appears that the Committee wanted to make India an egalitarian state where the distinction between the rich and the poor should be narrowed down as far as possible and feasible. An analysis of the recommendations shows that the members of the NPC were for a mixed economy or some kind of a socialistic pattern of society, based on a happy marriage between socialism and Democracy.<sup>160</sup>

It is interesting to make here a comparative study of the socialistic ideas and thinking of Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Sankar Ghose writes :

“Bose started more as a human than as a ‘scientific’ socialist, which Nehru claimed to be. For Bose, the main appeal of socialism lay in its concern for the uplift of the poor and downtrdden, and in this sense socialism to him was not a new ideology imported from Europe, but the realization in practice of Vivekananda’s gospel of Daridranarayan ...”<sup>161</sup> Subhas Bose asserted that this socialism did not derive its birth from the books of Karl Marx, but had its origin in the thought and culture of India.<sup>162</sup>

But though Bose spoke in favour of socialism, he did not believe in any particular brand of socialism. He declared that in India socialism had to be interpreted not dogmatically, but creatively, keeping in mind the peculiarities of Indian history and geography. Bose said, “India should therefore evolve her own form of socialism ... It may be that the form of socialism which India will evolve will have something new and original about it which will be of benefit to the whole world.”<sup>163</sup>

Subhas Bose’s ideas on socialism should not be confused with scientific socialism as enunciated by Marx and Engels. He was a socialist in the broadest

sense of the term. 'He was in fact a great humanist and his humanism led him to resort to socialism for ameliorating the miseries of the downtrodden,'<sup>164</sup> says S.C. Chatterjee.

Subhas Chandra once said : "I consider Socialism good for humanity. When I say good, I accept the principle, but its application in India will depend on history and the psychology of other factors. For free India, however, social reconstruction must be on the socialistic lines."<sup>165</sup>

One should keep in mind that Subhas Bose accepted the economic content of scientific socialism but refused to accept Marxism in toto. He wanted to have a kind of Indian socialism. He wanted to make a synthesis of the traits of Marxian socialism, liberal-parliamentary values and practices, Indian traditional and spiritual ideas and values. This synthesis has been called by Bose Samyavada, which means literally 'the doctrine of synthesis or equality.' According to Bose, socialism of free India must be built on the foundation of Indian history and culture - it must be suited to the soil, natural disposition, needs and conditions of India. Bose says, "... We have to shape society and politics according to our own ideals and according to our needs. This should be the aim of every India."<sup>166</sup> His socialism was also a synthesis of the merits of different systems of the present day world. He 'preferred to think of socialism much too eclectically.'

Bose's ideas on socialism was based on a synthesis between extreme materialism of the West and the extreme spiritualism of the East. It is a synthesis between the old and the new. Subhas Bose says, 'We want to build up a new and modern nation on the basis of our old culture and civilization.' This synthesis is in the true spirit of Indian culture and civilisation.<sup>167</sup> This synthesis is called by Subhas Bose as Samyavada - a variety of Indian socialism highlighting and envisioning values and ethos which would be consistent with India's own needs, environment and cultural heritage.

Jawaharlal Nehru's ideas about socialism were influenced by many streams of thought. His concept of socialism was moulded to suit conditions prevailing in India. The principle of secular democratic socialism became an integral part of his thinking.

Jawaharlal Nehru has created urge in the masses for a better life, raised their hopes and expectations, chartered a course for them and set before them a goal and a vision. Jawaharlal Nehru channelised all his effort towards attainment of social justice in India through just and democratic means.

Nehru was attracted and impressed by Gandhi's insistence on the purity of means, and he sought to reconcile the Gandhian emphasis on nonviolence with the objective of socialism. Subhas Chandra Chatterjee is of the opinion that 'Nehru was very much known for his socialist and revolutionary speeches but not so much for real socialist and revolutionary action.'<sup>168</sup> According to Subhas Chandra Bose, although Nehru's ideas and views were of a radical nature, in practice he was a loyal follower of Gandhi. "It would probably be correct to say that while his brain is with the left wingers, his heart is with Mahatma Gandhi," Bose observed.<sup>169</sup>

From the content of Nehru's socialistic ideas we may say that he was neither an orthodox socialist nor a Marxist. His content of socialism had in it an admixture of Gandhian, national and liberal values.

### **3:19 Haripura and Tripuri Congress : Gandhi and Subhas Bose.**

The radical trend in the Congress was reflected in the election of Subhas Chandra Bose as the President of the Haripura session of the congress in 1938. clouds of the impending second people in the congress were restive, being unhappy with the leadership and achievements of the party. Everyone

knew that it was Gandhiji who was the guiding spirit and influence behind the congress organization.

Subhas Bose differed fundamentally from Gandhiji on vital issues such as industrialisation and India's attitude towards the British government during the coming World War. From september 1938, Bose began to stress that the Indian struggle for independence should synchronise with the imminent war in Eruope, This incurred the displeasure of Gandhiji who did not appreciate the adoption of such a course of action by the Indian nationalists. Thus, an open rift between Gandhiji and Subhas Bose became inevitable.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, Bose did not like Gandhi;s philosophy of politics particularly in respect of non-violence and he enjoyed great popularity amongst the people in all the provinces. The independence of outlook and action was the real source of Bose's challenge to the established Right wing leaders. Bose's speeches and activities during 1938 were a challenge to Gandhism. It appears that Gandhi was observed with the fear of being eclipsed.

The next session of the congress was to be held at Tripuri in March 1939. Gandhiji opposed the re-election of Subhas and lent his support to the candidature of pattabhi sitaramayya as the President of the Tripuri Session. But Subhas Bose defeated Sitaramayya by a wide margine of votes in an exciting contest. Gandhiji expressed his grief at his defeat and issued a statement aht 'the defeat is more mine than his.'

In the face of stiff opposition from the right wing leadership, it became impossible for Bose to continue in the office of the congress president. The 'Gandhi wing; made it impossible for the congress President to function effectively. The result was a complete deadlock in the organization. The Gandhi wing wanted Bose to act only as a puppet President but Bose did not agree. The 'Gandhi Wing' was very well organized. But the 'Left Wing' was not so well organized.

Moreover, even the congress socialist Party began to vacillate when the fight began between the two rival groups. Subhas Bose realised that in the absence of an organised and disciplined left Wing, it was impossible to fight the Gandhi Wing. Finding no other alternative he resigned from the presidentship of the Indian National congress and founded the forward bloc (May 1939).<sup>171</sup>

Subhas Bose was very much shocked for the Tripuri debate. In a letter to Amiya Nath Bose Subhas wrote : "... Tripuri was frankly a defeat for us. But as a Bombay friend told me it was a case of one sick man lying in bed fighting (1) 12 stalwarts of the old, (2) Jawaharlal Nehru, (3) seven provincial ministries (who were canvassing for the old guard), and (4) the name, influence and prestige of Mahatma Gandhi. He ended by calling our defeat a moral victory."<sup>172</sup>

Bose wrote further :

"Nobody has done more harm to me personally and to our cause in this crisis than Pandit Nehru. If he had been with us - we would have had a majority. Even his neutrality would have probably given us a majority. But he was with the old guard at Tripuri. His open propaganda against me had done me more harm than the activities of the 12 stalwarts. What a pity!"<sup>173</sup>

It may be stated that there was no factional party system within the congress at the time and the victory of Subhas Bose was actually his personal triumph as against the nominee of Gandhi and an indication of people's confidence in new leadership. It should have been accepted in any democratic organisation, particularly after the unquestioned failure of Gandhi's policy.<sup>174</sup>

Thus Gandhi succeeded in maintaining and restoring his hold over the congress organisation. Subhas Bose understood that it would not be possible to work within the congress without the co-operation of Gandhi or challenging Gandhi's might and authority. Gandhi feared that Bose's coming to the limelight

would be detrimental to his leadership and authority and this signals the beginning of his end as a political dictator of India. Gandhi was sceptical about Bose's faith to non-violence as a creed and he felt that Bose's ascendancy to leadership, and his personality and stamina would presage a permanent change of leadership.

Bose had to pay a heavy price for his differences with Gandhi, Nehru and the Right Wing Gandhian leaders. Nehru and Gandhi were both fundamentally opposed to a number of the political views of Subhas Bose.

Although, at times, Nehru appeared to be more in agreement with Bose than with Gandhi, his basic attitude toward what was loosely termed 'progressivism,' as toward most other questions, was, in fact, quite different from that of Bose. Jawaharlal's approach to congress policy was essentially Gandhian. Although at one point, Nehru attempted to bring Bose and Gandhi more closely together, his own position tended to become increasingly distant from that of Bose.

Throughout the 'Tripuri crisis' Nehru and Bose carried on a spirited correspondence which reveals much about their differences and their frustrating roles - Bose in his inability to break down Gandhi's opposition, Nehru in his failure to mediate in the conflict.

In a letter to Subhas Chandra Bose Nehru writes about himself in these words : "Am I a socialist or an individualist ? Is there a necessary contradiction in the two terms ? .... I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist. 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."<sup>175</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru was opposed to Bose's re-election firstly because he did not want 'a break with Gandhi,' and secondly because he feared that a 'setback for the real left' might arise from its inability to shoulder that responsibility by itself in the event of a polarization in the congress.

S. Gopal writes : "In all this, Jawaharlal's attitude was individualistic and unwelcome to both sides. He disapproved of the manner in which Bose was being hounded out after winning the election, but he could not bring himself to support Bose. So he declined to sign the letter of resignation of the twelve members of the working committee, but resigned on his own. Although some of his statements tended to be critical of Bose, At Tripuri he remained almost silent, tried in private discussions to patch up a compromise and urged Bose, not to resign. When Bose insisted, Jawaharlal, while making clear his dislike of Bose's action, declined to serve in the reconstituted working committee till the outbreak of war changed the situation."<sup>176</sup>

'The communists and socialists as organised parties, Nehru and Bose as prominent individuals and a large number of others who together constituted the left in the congress was such an eyesore to the Gandhi-led working committee that they turned the electoral victory of the left into the beginning of a major counter-offensive against the left,' writes E.M.S. Namboodiripad.<sup>177</sup>

Subhas Bose would have been tolerated by Gandhi for a second term if he were prepared to put himself at the disposal of the working committee like Nehru. But Subhas Bose was of a different temperament and was determined to assert himself and challenge the rightist leadership. It is unfortunate that Gandhi attempted to remove and corner Subhas Bose from power by certain manoeuvres and manipulations.

Michael Edwardes remarks : 'Gandhi, whom so many both in India and abroad believed to be compounded only of sweetness and light, had, by the use of his overwhelming prestige and the sort of intrigue one would expect from Tammang Hall, succeeded in disposing of the only real opposition to his leadership.'<sup>178</sup> Asim Kumar Chandhari opines, "Had he been a little kind to Subhas Chandra Bose, the course of Indian freedom movement might have been different."<sup>179</sup>

However, E.M.S. Namboodiripad is hopeful and optimistic about the 'Independent Left' movement when he writes in these words :

Although successful in taming the first leftist president, Nehru who occupied the post for two successive years and throwing out the untamable second president, Bose, after a year, the Gandhi-led working committee could not stem the advance of the independent left. The Congress socialists and the communists who were the backbone of the left movement, at the head of which were Nehru and Bose, in fact, made rapid strides during the three consecutive years of the leftist occupation of the president's post."<sup>180</sup>

### 3:20 Nehru as Architect of Parliamentary Democracy.

What is the historical significance of Jawaharlal Nehru? Amlan Dutta writes:

'Nehru's claim to fame in the history of our time rests on one simple fact. He tried to lay the foundations of democracy, parliamentary democracy, in one of the largest and poorest and most illiterate countries of the world. And he succeeded to no small extent. This in itself was something extraordinary ...'<sup>181</sup>

Amlan Dutta suggests that what India attempted under Nehru was something truly extraordinary. He writes, "In a historical perspective, Jawaharlal

stands out as an architect of democracy under very special circumstances. The experiment he made was not without serious flaws. But India's democracy has also its merits, which became evident when we compare it with the contemporary history of other neighbouring countries ... The tradition which he strove to build up during his lifetime has been tampered with since then, but much of it still remains intact."<sup>182</sup> Any serious debate on the nature of Indian democracy would be incomplete without taking the role of Nehru in shaping the foundations of its democratic polity into account.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the greatest champion of liberal democracy in India. Throughout his life, he stressed the importance of democracy and sincerely desired that free India went along the full democratic process. It is to be noted that the intellectual and social influence of the west appeared to have largely moulded his liberal democratic ideas.

Nehru was a nation builder par excellence. He had a unique gift for building and sustaining national consensus on matters of vital importance. One such matter was the laying of the foundation of a democratic order for India. The whole network of democratic institutions in the country was nurtured by Nehru with loving care and zeal.

Another facet of Nehru's thought and practice in regard to democracy was the extension of the democratic principle to the economic domain. Nehru stood for progress, for modernization and for the onward march of India towards a just and egalitarian order.<sup>183</sup>

To Nehru, democracy and socialism had to go together. He viewed democracy and socialism as mutually reinforcing elements and both are complementary to each other. He was of the opinion that democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself.

Nehru's ideas served as a bridge between democratic socialism of the Fabian type and Gandhian idea of 'swaraj' and 'welfare.' It was largely under his influence that the doctrine of the welfare state came to be generally accepted creed within the congress. The ideal of swaraj was combined with that of socialism. He firmly believed that one could not exist without the other. He admitted that the best is one in which production is controlled for the welfare of all, in which there is equality of opportunity and what is produced is distributed equitably in society.<sup>184</sup>

Nehru sought to lay the foundations of socialism by peaceful, constitutional, parliamentary democracy. Nehru strove hard to uphold the values and norms of parliamentary democracy and thought parliamentary legislation he wanted to build in India a socialist state. Nehru as India's Prime Minister took up the task of economic development and modernisation in right earnest and he had a clarity of vision to that end. He wanted India to go the socialist way. While moving the objectives resolution, Nehru stated, "I stand for socialism and I hope, India will go towards the constitution of a socialist state ..."

Nehru wanted to deliver social and economic justice to the people, to end feudal relics and to abolish zamindari system. He inspired the congress party at its Avadi session to adopt the goal of a 'socialistic pattern of society,' and later on, at Jaipur, of 'democratic socialism.'

Another important dimension of Nehru's scheme of democracy, or democratic socialism is economic planning. Inspired by Soviet experience, Nehru pinned his hopes on and put his faith in planning for achieving the economic development and advancement together with social justice. Nehru emphasised that planning was to be integrated with the basic policies of social change and institutional reforms and ultimately with the goal of realizing a socialistic pattern of society.

It is to be noted that Nehru's admiration for the socialist experiment in the Soviet Union had a romantic as well as pragmatic touch about it. It should be mentioned that Nehru was quite critical of the suppression of civil liberties and regimentation that prevailed in socialist societies. In substance, Nehru could accept liberal democracy or communism only partially.<sup>185</sup>

Nehru's notion of democracy rested on the co-relation between liberty and equality. Bringing about a harmonious synthesis between these two principles became his life time mission. Nehru consciously opted for a constitutional and peaceful transformation of Indian society to bring about socio-economic justice. The impact of such a grappling with socio-economic realities could be perceived more concertely through the structures of Indian democracy.<sup>186</sup>

Nehru's concept of democracy had certain specific implications. In the early years of the struggle for independence, democracy meant the ideal of self-rule or responsible government. During the later years, his socialist ideas altered his views on democracy, stressing more and more its economic aspect. In an ultimate analysis, to Nehru, democracy implied a mental approach applied to political and economic problems. Broadly, democracy emphasized equality of opportunity for all in the political and economic field and freedom for the individual to grow and develop to the best of his personality.<sup>187</sup>

'A study of Nehru's ideas leaves an indelible impression of the person who stressed the individuality of man, the supreme dignity of human beings and the significance of personality in shaping society,' says V.T. Patil.<sup>188</sup> Nehru had tremendous respect for the freedom of man. He held the view that to promote and preserve the human values, both society and the individual must enjoy freedom. Nehru was devoted to the concepts of equality and justice and so he urged the Indian National Congress to move on and make heroic efforts for the realization of socio - economic welfare on the basis of a socialistic pattern of

society. He attempted to strengthen the foundations of Indian parliamentary democracy though in certain circles he had been regarded as a 'popular dictator.'<sup>189</sup> Nehru attempted to add an economic dimension to the political concept of representative democracy. He visualised a synthesis of political and economic democracy.

In Nehru's democratic thought, there was an integrated conception of political, economic and social freedom which could not be separated from one another. Nehru pointed out that democracy could grow and flourish only in an equal society. He understood that attacks upon democracy come from the economic structure of society.

Nehru always considered himself not as a socialist but as a 'leftist.' For Nehru, socialism meant the addition of economic democracy to political democracy. Influenced by Gandhi, Nehru's socialism was the product of intense attachment to the higher values of ethics and social justice. Nehru believed that socialism could be achieved by democratic means, without sacrificing the freedom and individuality of man. Nehru was committed to explore the possibility of socialist transformation through a democratic political structure.

While Gandhi was primarily concerned with moral revolution through a change of heart, Nehru was primarily concerned with institutional, social and economic reforms. His faith in parliamentary democracy was unshakeable and it is through this that he pleaded for socialization of property.

Nehru was conscious of the limitations of both capitalism and communism and wanted to avoid their demerits in the model of development he envisaged. He was against following slavishly any dogma or any other country's example because, he believed, circumstances differ and different circumstances might demand different solutions. His socialism could be achieved only through a

combination of state intervention and popular will expressed through democratic institutions. Nehru said, "I do not want India to be drilled and forced into a certain position because the costs of such drilling are too great : it is not worthwhile; it is not desirable from my point of view."<sup>190</sup>

Nehru may be said to be the father of parliamentary democracy in India. Nehru contributed heavily towards the building of a democratic polity in India and the Indian experiment in democratic life. The contributions of Nehru in this regard has perhaps no parallels in the world history. Nehru's earnest and sincere efforts to create a democratic political order founded on universal franchise and the grant of various civil and political rights was not merely a bold experiment in social engineering. It was much more, suggests T.R. Sharma.<sup>191</sup> Achieved against daunting odds, democracy in India adult suffrage, a sovereign parliament, a free press, an independent judiciary is Nehru's most lasting monument.

It must be admitted that Nehru had to face immense troubles, pressures and tribulations to restore and maintain the democratic structures and fabric in Indian polity. We see that in many Afro-Asian countries the democratic institutions have been dismantled and unrest and political turmoil is prevalent in those countries. Nehru did not allow the country to lose its democratic fabric and temper. In this respect Nehru's success in keeping the democratic institution intact and in defending the democratic way of life remain unmatched, even if he did not fully succeed. It is sad to say that after his death the institutions as well as values and norms of parliamentary government have tended to wane steadily.

It is our contention that Nehru is not found wanting at the level of ideas regarding democracy but in the matter of translating these ideas into practice we find the vacillating attitude of Nehru. One should take note of the fact that Nehru often vacillated and displayed ambivalence in his approach.

We may say that if democracy survives in India, it will be Nehru's greatest achievement and his greatest legacy a legacy not only to the people of India but to freedom loving people throughout the world.

### 3:21 Nehru on Secularism.

With modern India secularism is an article of faith and Jawaharlal Nehru was its most distinguished exponent. It was mainly due to Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts that India emerged as a secular state in the mid-twentieth century. Much before independence, he played a heroic role in the development of a secular basis for Indian polity.

A secular state such as India is one in which there is no interference with any religion; in which there is malice toward none; in which no one religion is sponsored or preferred over any other.

It was partly the influence of the western system of education and the use of the English language which enabled our first generation Renaissance leaders to get themselves acquainted with the western liberal system of thought of which secularism is an essential part. Firstly the Extremist leaders were influenced by the ideal. Later when Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru assumed the leadership of the nationalist movement they felt the need for secularism and the relevance of a secular state more strongly than ever.

Secularism, as conceived by Nehru, has, in fact, two principal components. One of these is the vision of a composite culture, where religion too is a special form of culture. A second component is the scientific outlook for at least two reasons, as an essential aid to industrialization and as a solvent of narrow-minded superstitions. The basis of India's democracy would remain weak without the scientific outlook.<sup>192</sup>

Nehru held the belief that secularism was essentially a social ideal to be promoted in the interest of national unity and progress. He wanted to impress upon the people the danger of mixing religion and politics. Nehru believed that communalism could not only weaken the very fabric of a society but also threaten its very existence.

Like socialism secularism is an indispensable ingredient of Nehru's concept of democracy. Nehru's secularism found expression officially for the first time in the resolution drafted by him on 'Fundamental Rights and Duties' which was adopted by the Karachi congress in 1931. During the freedom struggle Jawaharlal Nehru steadfastly reaffirmed his faith and conviction about the secular ideal. Nehru had a big hand in having the principle of secularism enshrined in our constitution.

In Nehru's conception 'secularism' did not mean opposition to or rejection of religion. It rather meant separation of religion and politics on grounds of rationality and social harmony. Nehru wanted to stamp out obscurantism, superstition and illiteracy of the masses of the country.

Religion as an organized system, a body of faith, and a dogma has no place in Nehru's scheme of things. He has condemned it severely. Nehru has criticised religion as generally understood and practised because it thwarts the spirit of enquiry, weakens moral sensibility, makes men intolerant of the view of others and is an enemy of social change and progress.<sup>193</sup>

Nehru says, 'The word 'secular,' conveys something much more to me .... It conveys the idea of social and political equality. Thus a caste ridden society is not properly secular.' Nehru was against organised religion. He says, "Organised religion invariably becomes a vested interest and thus inevitably a reactionary force opposing change and progress."<sup>194</sup>

Nehru was of the opinion that politicisation of religion is not only a danger to modern secular society but to any society as such, past or present. He held the view that those who wish to use religion for their own interests try to politicise it. Thus Nehru had no patience for empty rituals. He ideologically tended to reject not only organised but also ritualised religion.

Nehru upheld secularism as an ideal and consciously worked for its dissemination in the society. Nehru stood firmly for secularism, enlightenment and tolerance. Nehru favoured a strong secular base for the state primarily for the maintenance of social stability and religious harmony among diverse groups. Nehru was specially interested in the enumeration of the 'Directive Principles of State policy' which suggested the creation of a uniform civil code for all in India. In order to maintain national unity and thereby to ensure progress and development, a secular approach was considered to be an imperative need.<sup>195</sup>

As a rationalist Nehru viewed all human problems with an open mind examining and analysing the situation in a systematic and objective manner and choosing a remedy or a solution which appeared to be the best. Nehru was a great visionary and he had chosen secularism for India not merely out of compulsion but as a progressive and scientific view point. It was more of a vision than a compulsion as far as Nehru was concerned. It must be said to Nehru's credit that the Indian state is secular largely because of him.<sup>196</sup>

### **3:22 Nehru on Communalism.**

Secularism became philosophy not only of national building in post-independence India but it was adopted by Indian National Congress right from its inception and remained anchor sheet of its policy throughout the complex course of freedom struggle. It was both matter of choice as well as compulsion for the congress leadership.<sup>197</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru was determined to eliminate communalism from independent India. Nehru himself was western and modern in his outlook. But at the same time he understood the complexities of Indian situation. Nehru was an agnostic. He was hardly attracted by religion, except as a cultural force and past heritage. He was attracted by ethical aspects of social life.

Though Nehru was a Hindu and a Brahmin, he did not conform to the fundamental tenets of Hinduism. He did not accept the traditional precepts of idol worship; nor did he subscribe to the dogmas of Hinduism.

Amlan Dutta observes, "Although he had certain ideological leanings, which belonged more to his heart than to his head, in practical affairs he allowed himself to be guided by pragmatism .... He was not handicapped by excessive dogmatism."<sup>198</sup>

Nehru was firm in his opposition to communal fanaticism. He was particularly severe with Hindu communalism. This was something remarkable. Nehru had no patience with Hindu communalists. He believed that democracy does not mean simply the rule of the majority. Nehru holds the view that without tolerance there is no spirit of democracy. The majority must be tolerant towards minorities. Nehru's faith in democracy was something more than merely political. Its basis lay in his vision of a tolerant and composite culture. It was intolerable to him that the majority community in his country should lapse into a hostile and defensive posture.<sup>199</sup>

According to Nehru' communalism has nothing to do with religion. In a statement made in London to the press on 27 Jan. 1936 Nehru said, "The communal problem is not a religions problem, it has nothing to do with religion. It is partly an economic problem, and partly a middle class problem in a largely political sense." He said further, "I do not think it is a very difficult problem to solve. It soical and

economic issues come to the front the communal problem falls into the background."<sup>200</sup>

There are three primary factors responsible for communalism, namely, political, economic and psychological. Religion is exploited by the vested interests in both the communities to further their own interests. Nehru has repeatedly emphasised that religion and politics must be kept apart. Communalism thrives by exploiting religion, although Nehru was convinced that communal organizations are not religions. Nehru says, "As a matter of fact they function politically and their demands are political."<sup>201</sup>

An ethical approach to life and its problems was the only thing that appealed to Nehru's conscience. Nehru was indifferent to religion as a guide for action. Whereas Gandhi gave importance to spiritual and moral values, Nehru gave importance to political freedom and material development and advancement.

Jawaharlal Nehru adopted a secular approach which stemmed from his liberal cultural upbringing. Nehru's undiluted faith in secularism was a great relief to the minority groups in India. Nehru put too much emphasis on national integration. According to Nehru national integration alone could eradicate the divisive and disruptionist forces of the country. Nehru emphasised that the root causes of communalism was economic. He had also asserted repeatedly that the cure for these social maladies was socialism.

N.D. Palmer pays homage and respect to Nehru in these words : "Nehru was a supreme pragmatist, a man whose faith and convictions could not be confined within any particular religions or philosophical approach. He had a rational outlook on life .... Nehru's greatest contribution to India has been an intellectual one. Throughout his forty-four years of political life he tried to create

in his countrymen a rational approach to politics and to government and even to life itself."<sup>202</sup>

It is unfortunate that gradually the ideas which Nehru had placed before the country have receded. The two most important ideas were secularism and socialism. We still swear by both. But facts show that our economic development has not led to the creation of the socialist society.

Nehru created a secular state and gave it a secular constitution and wanted to create a secular society. But one can say that a secular society in India has not come into existence, and communalism has raised its ugly head and divisive and separatist forces are threatening the unity and integrity of the country. Has Nehru's vision of a united, secular and socialist India been shattered? Where did Nehru go wrong? Is the secular ideal repulsive to the Indian psyche? These questions came to our mind.

We see that despite very secular kind of constitution Indian society is still far from being secular. It appears that in the process of nation building the forces of secularism are getting weakened. We see that more than 50 years after independence India is facing today far greater communal menace and disturbances than immediately after independence. It must be admitted that Nehru was found of secularism not as a matter of compulsion but on grounds of ideal and ideology. But an ideal or an ideology may indicate an intention or a direction, not the actual processes or ground reality. Ground reality is determined by the actual and concrete socio-religious conditions.<sup>203</sup>

Nehru makes a very interesting observation which shows his empirical understanding of the problem. He observes, "Our constitution lays down that we are a secular state, but it must be admitted that this is not wholly reflected in our mass living and thinking ..."<sup>204</sup>

### 3:23 Nehru on Development of Science and Technology.

If one goes through the numerous writings of Jawaharlal Nehru and reads the speeches he delivered on various occasions, two dominant impressions are left in one's mind : his vitality and zest for life and his faith in science.<sup>205</sup>

The most outstanding aspect of his life and work is his approach to all problems with an open mind, with what he himself would describe as the temper of science. Nehru's own interest in science goes back at least to his days as a university student in England where he studied at Trinity College in Cambridge and took the natural science tripos in chemistry, geology and botany. Being a student of science, Nehru had a profound belief in science and scientific method. He appreciated and welcomed the revolutionary impact of science and technology and realised that 'without science and technology we can't progress.'<sup>206</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru observes, "There is no visible limit to the advance of science, if it is given the chance to advance. Yet it may be that the scientific method of observation is not always applicable to all the varieties of human experience and cannot cross the uncharted ocean that surrounds us."<sup>207</sup>

Nehru put too much emphasis on the scientific approach to solve India's social, political and economic problems. This Nehru called the scientific temper. To quote Nehru, "The applications of science are inevitable and unavoidable for all countries and people today. But something more than its application is necessary. It is the scientific approach, the adventurous and yet critical temper of science, the search for truth and new knowledge, the refusal to accept anything without testing and trial .... all this is necessary, not merely for the application of science but for life itself and the solution of its many problems."<sup>208</sup> Nehru writes further, "The scientific approach and temper are, or should be, a way of life, a process of thinking, a method of acting and associating with our fellowmen ...

The scientific temper points out the way along which man should travel. It is the temper of a free man ....<sup>209</sup>

Nehru wanted to use science and technology for social and economic development. According to him, the aim of scientific advancement should have the predominantly social aim to meet the pressing wants of the great majority of people.' In his Azad Memorial Lectures on 'India today and tomorrow,' he advocated the necessity of synthesizing science and industry with a humanist tolerance and compassion. He was the moving spirit behind the setting up of a chain of national laboratories, advancement of atomic energy, exploration and exploitation of oil and minerals, training and expansion of scientific and technical manpower etc.<sup>210</sup>

Nehru laid great emphasis on science and technology and thought that with its dissemination rational and secular forces will get strengthened. Nehru expected that economic development and the spread of education, science and technology will automatically weaken communal and casteist thinking.

To Nehru, planning was intimately associated with science. He understood that economic and national development in India would be possible only through the advancement of science and technology. He realized that it was necessary to involve senior scientists and technologists in the working of the commission. From 1954 Prof. Mahalanobis was closely associated with the commission.

From 1947 through 1950, in addition to being Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, he was the Minister in charge of scientific research, although he relinquished this portfolio in 1951 when the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research was established. Nehru was very much interested about scientific research and he was responsible for presenting and defending the budget demands for scientific research in Parliament and in other ways looking

after the concerns of these areas of governmental activity and interest.<sup>211</sup>

Throughout the period as Prime Minister until his death in 1964, the parliamentary debates are littered with Nehru's responses to questions regarding scientific matters and institutions. Nehru earnestly advocated the importance of science to India's future development.

Even after he relinquished the portfolio of scientific research in the early 1950s, he continued to serve as president of the governing council of the council of scientific and industrial research, indeed presiding over a meeting of the council in March, 1964, only shortly before his death. One dimension of this involvement was his participation in the inauguration of virtually every national laboratory or research institute established under the auspices of CSIR.<sup>212</sup> Nehru's commitment to India's programme in atomic energy was a substantial one and a laudable effort.

Nehru always looked upon science as the servant of man and abhorred all attempts to make the man subservient to science. He always declared to the world that we are harnessing science to the service of the nation and for the uplift and betterment of humanity. Keeping in view the basic question presented by atomic energy, Nehru said: "Use it for evil, it will destroy the world; use it for good, it will raise the world to unknown standards of progress and happiness."<sup>213</sup>

Nehru had a relationship and a close connection with the Indian Science Congress. He inaugurated or participated in almost every annual session of the science congress until his death in 1964. He took the opportunities to underscore the importance of science to modern Indian society. Thus Nehru's keen personal interest in science and scientific development of India is reflected by his involvement and attachment to scientific endeavour. Nehru once said, "Politics led me to economics and this led me inevitably to science and the scientific

approach to all our problems and to life itself.”

It appears that Nehru saw in science social consequences far larger than simply the application of scientific knowledge to human problems. Nehru stressed emphasis on the scientific way of looking at things or the 'scientific temper' which he hoped would permeate all aspects of Indian society. Nehru visualised in seeking 'a growing synthesis between humanism and the scientific spirit, resulting, in a kind of scientific humanism.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the first amongst the leaders of nationalist India to recognise the importance of science and technology for the modernization of Indian society. It should be mentioned that often in his speeches Nehru emphasized the need for India's shedding off the mentality associated with the 'bullock-cart age.' Nehru insisted that it is the scientific method alone that offers hope to mankind and an ending of the agecy of the world.' The quest for scientificity and modernism may be regarded as a contribution of Nehru to Indian social and political thinking.

To sum up, it may be said that Jawaharlal Nehru was indeed a majestic personality. He combined in himself a freedom fighter, a philosopher, a universalist, a nationa-builder, a true statesman and above all a visionary with a sense of purpose and direction, who looked beyond the frontiers of time.

Jawaharlal Nehru felt infatuated towards socialistic ideas from 1920s. Nehru cherished a romantic attachment and vision towards socialism and socialistic thinking in 1920s and early 1930s. Nehru repeatedly emphasised from the thirties onwards that socialism should be established in India. He was very much shocked and depressed to see the miserable conditons of the Indian people and he strongly believed that to remove and eradicate the problems and hardships of the rural masses socialism would act as paianch. He stressed

emphasis on social justice, equality and individual freedom. He wanted to inculcate radical ideas to the congress in the 1930s. He wanted to push the congress to the 'Left' with Subhas Bose, socialists, Royists and other left thinkers. The 'Left-thinkers' were formidable at that time. Bipan Chandra writes :

"The pro-poor orientation imparted a dynamic cutting edge to the national movement in the hands of Nehru, Subhas, Socialists, Communists and other left-wing elements who were a powerful, growing and basic constituent of the National Congress in the 1930s."<sup>214</sup>

Ideological transformation of the congress was put on the agenda during the late 1920s and 1930s. Beginning with the late 1920s, bourgeois ideological hegemony over the national movement was challenged in a serious manner by early communist groups, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, and socialist-minded individuals. In this period Jawaharlal Nehru played a pivotal role from behind the curtain in influencing the socialists to formulate and constitute the congress socialist party in India under the leadership of Jaya Prakash Narayan. The ideological struggle was intensified in the 1930s when the left movement was strengthened by the congress Socialist Party and the Royists. Nehru's speeches and writings during 1933-36 played a pioneering role in this process.

◦ Nehru stormed the country propagating socialism, and the congress was increasingly radicalised. Jawaharlal Nehru felt and strongly believed that the political independence was the prime goal and establishment of socialism occupied the second priority. Nehru keenly aspired to build a political order based upon the universal values of freedom and social justice.

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