

## **Chapter – II**

### **Nehru and his Broad Social Vision – Philosophical Foundation of Nehru’s Political Ideas – External Impact & Indigenous Roots – Views On Social Justice and Economic Equality**

#### **I**

A charismatic leader, a visionary who evolved ideas and concepts which sought to establish a link between the past, present and future course of the Indian society – Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the most prominent leaders of Independent India. He was born on the 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1889 to Swaroop Rani, wife of Motilal Nehru, who hailed from a wealthy family in Allahabad. Motilal Nehru was a barrister by profession and also a political leader. They belonged to the Kashmiri lineage, belonging to the Brahmin caste. Jawaharlal Nehru, was the only son among three younger daughters. His education began in the finest Indian schools of his time, following his education abroad in England at Harrow, Trinity College, Cambridge and the Inner Temple where he practiced Law, before joining his father into politics.

When he was drawn to the political arena soon after his return to India, his way was sharpened and smoothed under the guidance of his father, along with Gandhi. Prime Minister Nehru recalled his years of struggle and experience in the following words “My growth to public prominence, you know, was not by sharp stages. It was rather, a steady development over a long

period of tune. And if I may say so, he added dryly, ‘ I began at a fairly high level’<sup>1</sup>.

Nehru was also gifted with a conspicuously handsome appearance, both by Indian and western standards. Pictures of him at his young age reveal the slim, chiseled features which mark the Kashmiri Brahmin. His expressive eyes, the reflection of intellectual curiosity, wide mouth and sensuous lips, his soft moulded chin, his captivating smile makes him one of the most photogenic personality in history.

The benefits and positiveness of aristocratic background and the finest of education brought a touch of glow in his outlook. He was very much attached to the two men in his life – his father and Gandhi who exercised tremendous impact upon his character. His education in the west set him apart from his colleagues in the Indian National Congress. His approach to certain strategies revealed the western rationalist character, and for that matter he was into many misunderstandings with his colleagues and even with his own father and Gandhi.

He built himself high, second only to Gandhi. He proved himself to be the champion of the oppressed, symbol of a new India; he tried his level best to establish a bond with the masses. The impact of Nehru to the crowd and vice-versa was so strong that it could transmit a wave of energy to his personality. His wide vision on the other hand was also strong enough to move the masses. No one has recognized this unusual emotional link between Nehru and the Indian masses better than the Prime Minister himself. “Delhi is a static city with a dead atmosphere ....

I go out and see masses of people, my people, your people and derive inspiration from them. There is something dynamic and something growing with them and I grow with them. I also enthuse with them.”<sup>2</sup>

Going back to the most happening period of modern India, right from the pioneer of liberal thinking in Indian political system, Raja Rammohun Roy to Jawaharlal Nehru, several leaders have earned credit in influencing the destiny of India, by formulating ideas on the socio-political ground during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nehru was one of those stars among the galaxy of Indian leaders who shaped the future of the Indian sub-continent. The architect of modern India with his dynamic and superb leadership qualities deserve to be read, admired and evaluated. He had the strong ability to engage his mind in rendering service to the nation in many fields. His inspiring leadership and his fabulous ideas gave us our constitution on which India stands today.

His ideas which ran from social, economic and political to constitutional matters developed from many sources and influences over a long period of time. The impact of western ideas, along with Indian nationalism acted in a way as an influence on his thought process, giving way to his ‘wide vision’ and great leadership. Looking back in context of Nehru’s leadership we should mention here his great capacity for his great work, earning him vast popularity with his strong and competent will. His whole being was full of energy and pride and his life and work received the touch of the crowd with utmost appreciation and love. He had a

heart for the weak and the inefficient which added yet another colour to his leadership efficiency and quality.

He had an undying command over the crowd which made him the centre of attraction in Indian politics. He had earned a popularity for himself which touched India from the elites to common masses. He even had the impatience which could endure for any period of time till he had the things done in his own way. His outbursts of anger are well known, but he had acquired more of tolerance and sympathy for the failings of others. It cannot be denied that in Indian context of constitutional democracy his contribution has been the most effective. In his thoughts and ideas, and in getting his thoughts and ideas, and in getting his thoughts into practice he has no doubt been an autocrat, but he has successfully tried to curb the ideas to an extent for which India lies even indebted to him. This aspect goes to be appreciated by most of the Indians as well as western leaders during his tenure of leadership.

His speeches were excellent in form and he had that charismatic quality which would take the crowd into his confidence. He had that magic to communicate his sympathy with their problems. Even though there was a gap between his language and that of the masses, his speeches were translated and in his translation the people were transfixed by what was said – such were the powers of his words. When Nehru talked to people, it was always possible to dive into depth of his popularity. During his address to the audience, he stood in a peculiar position as though surveying each one of them carefully as though he his words were meant for all the individuals individually one after another. He had

a voice which was soft and relaxed which added to his qualities of a great leader. He never aroused his audience by a stern and loud voice, instead he approached them with a calm sway of conduct, stressing the need for discipline. In his speeches he always had the content for hard work, unity, tolerance and faith.<sup>3</sup>

Truth and spontaneity had always been the qualities of his speech. He had the power to talk, think and feel at the same time. His words when uttered had the touch of consciousness and had the ability to touch different channels of Indian politics. His speech proved to be a very positive quality in his leadership which provided an insight into his way of thinking, and also providing the content of his views. He possessed an undying enthusiasm and curiosity which is responsible for his all-embracing involvement in all directions of affairs.

## II

Pandit Motilal Nehru's father, Pandit Gangadhar Nehru, was the Police Chief of Delhi and served as an advisor to the East India Company at the Royal Court. But with the downfall of the Mughals, the Nehrus moved to Agra and it was here that Motilal Nehru was born on the 6<sup>th</sup> May 1861. Motilal Nehru grew up in the guidance of his brothers, especially Nandalal Nehru, who served as a lawyer at the High Court in Agra. But from Agra, this family moved to Allahabad, which was then a quiet provincial town. Motilal received his early education at home till the age of twelve in the Persian and Arabic languages. He then joined the Government High School in Kanpur, thereafter joining Muir

Central College, Allahabad. Under the influence of his English professors, Motilal was very much attracted to the western ways of life and living. He moved to vocational training and passed the lawyers examination with a distinction. He then settled in Allahabad, practicing law at the High Court. The sad demise of his brother left Motilal Nehru heading the Nehru family at the age of twenty six. With his sharp inborn mentality and tremendous hard work, he rose up to the ladder of success as years passed by. Within the passing of some years he stood up to become one of the most distinguished lawyers of Allahabad. It was here that his only son was born on the 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1889, who was named 'Jawaharlal' – The Red Jewel ! <sup>4</sup>.

Motilal Nehru was a man who was very dedicated to his profession, and he knew little about politics and public affairs. He was a man who loved a fight against odds and struggle was his curiosity. He greatly admired the English men and their ways. At this particular point in his life the congress was divided into two camps of the Moderates and the Extremists, and strangely enough with very little interest in politics, he was somehow drawn into the arena of these two camps, and more surprisingly joining the moderates. For the first time in 1907, he presided over a provincial conference and his speech said 'we are constitutional agitators ..... and the reforms we wish to bring about must come through the medium of constitutional authority'.<sup>5</sup> In 1909 he was elected a member of the UP Council, he became the Vice-President of Seva Samiti. He served as a member of All India Congress Committee and also became the president of the Congress.

The coming up of Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian political front brought about a difference in the Indian history, as well as the Nehru family. Of his simple ways and his principles Jawaharlal felt an irresistible attraction towards Gandhi. But as against his son, Motilal Nehru was in no way attracted towards Gandhi. But, inspite of this vital difference, there was a genuine affection between the two. Jawaharlal loved his father and respected his ideas, thoughts and beliefs. His decisions always took into consideration the love and affection for his father, least he would hurt him. Due to the circumstances, Motilal Nehru gave way to Gandhi's practices and gave a strong support to him in all his movements. His life underwent basic changes as he entered Gandhi's circle. He gave much little time to his profession which was scoring its heights. He joined hands with Gandhi and survived to help the masses; he gave his comfort and luxuries, his lifestyle and his wealth to the cause of National Movement. He was so much dedicated to India, that he gave up his son Jawaharlal and his whole family to the cause of India's freedom. So strong and so pure was his dedication to India's freedom that his son Jawaharlal Nehru was being moulded by his thoughts. He was so much moved by his father's personality that he followed his father's strength of character, his devotion to his principles with blind faith. Jawaharlal Nehru found in his father security, love, devotion and a true man of whom he was very proud.

Pandit Motilal Nehru had faced a lot of tragedies in his married life, losing his first wife and his child, and again losing the first child from his second marriage. Hence, Jawaharlal Nehru was his only child who showed his love and hope for the coming years.

The only son of a wealthy barrister was spoilt in a princely fashion, surrounded by unwarranted love, wealth and luxury. He spent his childhood in the four corners of the palatial home 'Anand Bhawan', surrounded by splendor and happiness. His home was the first in Allahabad to have electricity and piped water. Motilal Nehru was the first civilian in Allahabad again to own motor cars directly imported from France. 'Anand Bhawan' was surrounded by people from three different cultures – The Hindus, Muslims and the English. The kitchens were in charge of the Brahmin cooks and all the helpers here were Hindus. In the western part, there were cooks and servants who were trained to cook in the English way, while other servants were Muslims. Motilal Nehru preferred to eat in the western style, with chairs and tables. He imposed English Language as a medium style, with chairs and tables. He imposed English language as a medium of communication in his family. He was infact very much attracted to western customs and traditions. There was a peculiarity in the ways of Anand Bhawan as all the festivals of the three cultures were observed. Nehru was deeply influenced by these mixed cultures resulting in his broad mission and sound secular and progressive outlook, but he also greatly feared his temper. Though his father was covered with the western style in Nehru's eyes he was a nationalist, though not an ardent one. It was from his father that he acquired a sense of national pride. In the big and splendid Anand Bhawan, Nehru had no one of his age and had to grow up amidst people elder to his own age. He grew up in the company of his elder cousins, who talked about the ill manners of the English people and so he was filled with resentment against the English people. The bond between the

father and the son was so strong, inspite of the contrast in their personalities. Nehru's shy nature stood in sharp contrast with his father's strong and stern personality. He never took his own decisions, as his father was a symbol of security and substance for him. His father provided him with an all embracing strength, love and defence.

### III

Jawaharlal Nehru, grew up in his father's guidance of strict rules and regulations, along with his mother's love and devotion. He was surrounded by his unconditional love and was much meal and deal to his mother, rather than his father. He could share to all his heart with his mother. Which he would not even dream of with his father. He had a considerable knowledge of the Hindu mythology, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, which refined his senses in all possible ways. Apart from these mythologies he also gathered knowledge relating to the stories of the 1857 rebellion, which was narrated to him by one of the Muslim servants, Munshi Mubarak Ali. Having grown up in an environment of mixed cultures and people, Nehru was fortunate enough to shape up his personality in a free and refined way. Motilal Nehru from the very beginning gave his son the best of British education under English governesses at home. Besides his English teachers, he also had the Sanskrit scholar, Pandit Ganganath Jha to teach him Hindi and Sanskrit.

Among his tutors, Ferdinand T. Brooks, touched Nehru's life in a significant way. He took charge of Nehru when he was only

eleven years of age. He was a theosophist and had been recommended by Mrs. Annie Besant, the theosophist leader in India. Brooks was a sensitive and highly talented young man of twenty-six when he joined Anand Bhawan. It was under Brooks that he developed a deep love for reading which lasted all throughout life. He had a deep interest in the fables of Lewis Carol and Rudyard Kipling, Don Quixote. His mind was influenced by the writings of Mark Twain, Sherlock Holmes, Scott and Thackery.<sup>6</sup> He was the only Brahmin in Allahabad to have such a wide variety of taste in English Language. He had a deep interest in higher education along with a deep thought on public affairs through his family. Due to the facilities in Anand Bhawan, Nehru decided to turn his attention towards natural sciences in his later years at Cambridge. Since Brooks was an ardent theosophist and his spiritual set up affected Nehru's young mind. Under his guidance again, Nehru was drawn towards Bhagwad Gita and Upanishads. He even attended the meetings of the theosophists and even took part in metaphysical discussions and arguments and karma and re-incarnations. Though he could not understand all the arguments that took place, he had been shaped to understand that there was a key to the secret of the universe. He also admitted that he was deeply influenced by Buddhism, especially its ethical and scientific, side and which was in later years more deeply rooted with his close association with Gandhi.

Swaruprani, like her children lived under the guidance and love of Motilal Nehru, she hailed from a conservative family, unlike that of the Nehru's. She had little formal education and never spoke English well. She never liked her husband's western

habits, though she in time tried her best to adjust to them. She was a delicate charming lady, a typical Hindu wife whose life was wrapped around that of her husband. Even though indirectly, she influenced the life of her children tremendously. In 1920, when Pandit Motilal Nehru joined Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, she gave up her comforts, extending her participation in the movement. Due to her husband's busy schedule, she felt a widening gap in their relation, and she lost another baby within days of his birth. But with all these difficulties, she herself adjusted and kept herself alert with the growing days of both her husband and her son. Her constant anxiety for this widening relation pushed her into depression. She had a deep love for her son, and she poured out her grievances in letters to her son. Jawaharlal Nehru responded with love to every letter and assured her that his love for her was always the same and that there was nothing to fear and feel bad for. He did all that he could for his mother staying abroad. He had the strength and ability to assure her in all possible ways. And she gave Nehru an unavoidable link between Indian culture and his personality.

His parents, to a great extent were responsible for generating that spark in Nehru to move forward. The love and dedication of his mother along with the stern personality of his father shaped his mind and personality. From the heterogeneous cultural basis of Anand Bhawan he grew up with an age to play a dominant role in life. At Harrow, he proved to be an intelligent, reserved and studious boy who did not have much difficulty in passing his exams. During his stay in England he lived a luxurious life, following his father's western life-style, which resulted in

expensive tastes and habits. His annual expense was so high that it was enough to support a comfortable life in England for three years! At Harrow, his interest in politics widened and he began to take interest in International Affairs. He gave himself in knowing about the local politics of his times. In school, he was awarded G.M. Trevelejan's Garibaldi books, which intensified his views on nationalism. In these years he kept himself in tune with Indian politics, which was filtered to him through his father's letters which covered the entire Indian Political scenario. He began to appreciate political methods which defied and challenged the British powers. He began to feel attracted towards political systems which viewed people with an equal eye, giving every individual an equal base. He was therefore drawn towards the policies of the Indian extremists and towards the principles of Fabian Socialism, but he did not give his heart and soul to any of the ideologies. His respect for Indian extremism however took a backseat, but at the same time, his fondness for this particular ideology increased with his visit to Ireland and the Sinn Fein Movement which was a new kind of Irish Nationalism. It was believed here that the salvation of Ireland should be achieved in the Irish soil, by Irishmen themselves. Here he found similar corners of India and Ireland. From Ireland he gathered the experience of boycott methods as a political weapon i.e. to boycott England and ignore England.

#### IV

The 1930s was the period in Nehru's life which was mostly spent behind the bars. During these days, he spent his time reading

and writing. It was during these days that the International world politics were writing towards the writings of Marx. In the 'Glimpses of World History', Nehru mentions that though he was attracted to socialism in his days at Cambridge. Marx had left a mark on his mind with his writings on socialism. The 19<sup>th</sup> century western capitalist democracy according to Nehru resulted in inequality in terms of note value. He gave emphasis to the fact that notes were taken from men without ensuring his economic security.

Nehru studied capitalism from the Marxist-Leninist point of view and agreed with Lenin when he said that Imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism. Taking this view into consideration he studied capitalism in the context of the British Raj in India. He compared capitalism with a huge machine – a machine that had the ability to crush millions of Indians. Imperialism for him constituted this machine, the outcome of Industrial Capitalism.

Nehru studied the point that Imperialism and Capitalism could not be improved upon. He could find no solution to the outcome of these ideologies and the only solution was to get rid of them altogether. An alternative to them was to adopt socialism in their place. The world he viewed was divided between two camps – capitalism and socialism, and there can never be a compromise between the two. This was not only a national view, but had also taken shape internationally. He had studied socialism in minute details that he was of the view that if socialism was to succeed, then it has to take the shape of International World Socialism.

It was during these periods, that Nehru deeply studied Marx and Lenin and was very much influenced by them. Nehru wrote in his autobiography that “the theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many of dark corner of my mind. History comes to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it”.<sup>7</sup> The materialistic interpretation of history attracted him and for him it was scientific and logical. This interpretation of history was free of superstition and religious back up towards history and life. ‘It was the essential freedom from dogma and the scientific outlook of Marxism that appealed to me’.<sup>8</sup>

Nehru believed in the working of various interest groups in the society. Society should be the ground for interplay of varied interest groups relating to Zamindars, professionals, industrialists bankers, agriculturists, lower middle classes, labourers etc... He observed that in such a society there is an obvious conflict in their interests. He observed that only policy, every law which is good for the interest of one class may be harmful to another. Thus he understood and recognized not only the existence of different class interest, but also the irreconcilability of class conflicting interests. He further said that the antagonistic class interests could not be shut up altogether unless followed by Revolution. Revolution for him did not mean the use of violence.

As regards class conflict in the society Nehru to some extent adopted the Marxist view point. Class conflict was the outcome of capitalism and as long as capitalism remains, class conflict remains. Again with reference to the state, Nehru does not agree with the Marxian concept of the state, especially the withering

away of the state.<sup>9</sup> For him socialism was 'control by the state', the means of production and distribution. Here he realized that in the state the necessity of a coercive force is a must. He felt the need of a state, though coercive in nature in nature. He agreed with the point that violence and force is the key of the modern state and society. He further said that the nation state existed due to some kind of force, offensive or defensive. He was of the opinion that social life as well as the government necessitates the use of force and coercion.

Nehru was highly critical while evaluating the matter of inequality in the Indian context. He said that the term 'politics' seems to have lost its importance when the question of social and economic equality takes place. For him the term 'Democracy' meant equality and that democracy could survive only in an equal society. "Social and economic equality" was the main crux of the term equality for him. He was against reservation for minorities in the social arena. Social and economic objective could not be possible in the framework of a socialist of society. Therefore he inclined towards the Marxian and the western brand of Socialism. While he had socialism, in mind, he also thought about the kind of socialism which was to suit India, and for that matter socialism should be practical as well as indigenous. For him, equality meant that everyone, men and women should have the equality of opportunity to develop themselves fully, to the best of their ability and capability. Merit should come from one's hard work and not through caste or birth. He was very much against privileges and reservation of castes and class. For him democracy meant the removal of disparities. His democracy also ensured a good

standard of living for the laymen. He said that there is an immense closeness between practical freedom and socio-economic equality. They are the necessities for the fullest development of an individual. For him real freedom came from political and economic freedom, and he also knew that there existed conflict among these two spheres of freedom. Political freedom and equality should result in economic freedom and equality. "There is no such thing as freedom for a man who is staying on for any country which is poor".<sup>10</sup> To achieve both these freedoms the problems must be met from both the sides – political as well as economic.

Motilal Nehru was already a prominent figure in the Indian National Congress, with its presidentship. It was at a young age that Jawaharlal Nehru entered the Congress. His young and handsome look excited young Indians everywhere and there was an air which felt that his entrance into the congress would reutilise Indian politics. However, Nehru did not follow his father's line, and instead was very much attracted to the leadership of Gandhi. He was taken away by Gandhi's principle of fighting for the Indian society, by peaceful means. And in return Gandhi saw a promising young Indian leader in Nehru. Nehru was so much moved by Gandhi and his teachings that the whole of the Nehru family transformed themselves to the Gandhian lines. They abandoned western concept of dressing and expensive living. They even abandoned the use of English language and embraced Hindu or Hindustani as their common language. They transformed their entire being and took to the use of khadi kurta and the Gandhi cap.

With this new look Nehru entered as a member of Indian nationalist movement.

During his first few steps into politics, he was arrested by the British during Gandhi's Non Cooperation Movement, in 1920-22. In 1922, when Gandhi decided to suspend the civil resistance, there were a lot of confusion in the congress and many congressmen moved away from Gandhi to follow leaders like Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru. But Jawaharlal Nehru decided to continue his political career under the leadership of Gandhi. In 1924, he was elected President of the Allahabad Municipal Cooperation which gave him ground for his leadership qualities, before taking on India's whole government in 1947.

## V

Nehru had an outlook of a new generation. During his stay abroad he had studied the socialism in England and Europe. He had the ideas of freedom struggle that took place in Ireland along with the revolution outbreak in Russia. He therefore stood for 'complete independence' for the Indian society from the British rule. It is to be noted here, that even Gandhi and Motilal Nehru did not share such a wide vision as Jawaharlal Nehru. This wide vision of complete independence was shared by leaders like Subash Chandra Bose during the struggle for Indian independence.

Nehru was very active in the political affairs, but along with his political activities, his personal life was also full of changes which divided his activities into two halves – personal and political. With the death of his father Motilal Nehru, in 1931, he

was left with all the responsibilities to head the Nehru family, which revolved its life in politics. By this time his three sisters had joined the congress women's wing, his wife Kamala Nehru was working as a social activist and his daughter Indira helped in forming the Vanara Sena. During his political activities, he had to spend sometime in prison from where he wrote letters to his young daughter, later published as "Letters from a father to his daughter" which constitutes many of his political dreams and visions for a better India. Due to his wife's ill health, he lost some of his precious time in treating his wife in Germany and Switzerland. After a lot of struggle he lost his wife in 1936. With this heartbreak he gave his way back to politics where he won the presidentship of the congress party. His famous speech in the Lucknow session, 1936 committed the congress party to embrace socialism as the foundation of India's future agenda for Independence. During his stay in the Congress, he had grown closer to Congress socialists like J.P. and Norendra Dev and was also greatly influenced by the liberal-socialists like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad. This sway in his political thought brought him many criticisms from the congressmen, including Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

With Gandhi's Quit India Movement, on 13<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1942, the congress set itself to call for complete independence. Indians were asked to boycott every British goods, institutions and factories. Public services and government programmes which were under the name of the British was opposed and with this major protests and demonstrations broke out in India. Though this was an all congress revolt, with the other parties remaining dormant, it was the most

powerful and forceful revolt even in the history of British rule in India. Gandhi along with the others were arrested. While the other freedom fighters were arrested and imprisoned in Allahabad, Gandhi was imprisoned separately in Pune. Thousands of congressmen were imprisoned and thousands lost their lives in police firing. During his imprisonment with other congressmen, Nehru focused on his writings – ‘Discovery of India’ with hope, vigour and courage.

It would not be out of place to rethink the ideologies of the congress, against the background of Indian nationalism, led by the congress, preceding the birth of Indian Independence. The struggle for Indian independence brought within its embrace a very wide national outlook with multi-dimensional features – it brought within its fold, people of all races, lives and colours. This character of the Indian movement is a contrast to the constitutions of Britain, USA, France and Russia whose constitutions were preceded by the great revolutions of 1688, 1776, 1789 and 1917. But India’s socio-political atmosphere was no less revolutionary in character which had its base in the activities of the congress. India did not have for this matter John Locke, Karl Marx or Lenin, or even a George Washington. But India’s struggle for Independence gave birth to great leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Ambedkar and J.P. along with other numerous leaders. Their dynamic character and far-sighted leadership lighted the spark of socio-economic and political re-awakening at the hour of need. An analysis of the leadership that led the congress from 1886 – 1906, 1906 – 1919 and 1920 – 1947 gave us ideologies covering socio, economic and political dimensions. From the minds of these great leaders were

born brilliant social, economic and political ideas. The ideologies of the congress in socio-economic and political matters were realized in a variety of resolutions, policies and programmes.

Nehru was deeply influenced by the ideologies of the congress. An examination of the congress programmes and policies were targeted at the attainment of swaraj by peaceful and constitutional means. A mention should be made here of the reconstruction programme which was led by Gandhi, resolution demanding complete independence, resolution on fundamental rights and socio-economic matters etc. which made an impact on Nehru's thought process. The ideology of the congress as it developed through the freedom struggle was an amalgamation of the growing aspirations, desires and hopes of a new India. The ideologies of the congress had social, economic and political ideas within its fold.

Regarding the social dimension of the Congress ideology, the century old social set up made a mark on their politics and programmes. Social, religious and cultural diversities, the caste system along with the evils of untouchability accompanied by oppression of the socially backward classes proved to influence the social facet of the congress ideology. These existing conditions gave the congress an assurance for the need of social equality and justice engulfing social, religious, cultural differences and preserving the rights of the minorities. It convinced the congress for the need to wash away the age old curse of untouchability. One of the most painstaking result of the British rule in India could be seen in the economic field. The British manufactured goods were forcefully dumped in the Indian market, there was merciless

exploitations of Indian raw materials for the manufacture of British goods. The British tariff and fiscal policies in India resulted in the addition of the already existing sting of poverty. These forced economic policies of the British rule resulted in the unmanageable backwardness of the Indian masses. The British metropolitan economy with the looted advantage of Indian resources made India economically weak and stagnant. This situation convinced the congress the need for a positive and courageous move in the economic field. The congress saw the necessity of development planning for fighting the ills of poverty, unemployment, injustice and exploitation. The need for economic stability and reformation became the need of the day for India's economic status.

## VI

The philosophy and the fundamentals of the Indian constitution were influenced by the national movement in which Nehru played a crucial role. The framing of the India constitution took place during 1946-1947 when India was going through a lot of events and changes. The phrase 'constitutionalism', with which the name of Nehru gets associated, refers to the adherence of the principles of constitutional government. This constitutional government is based on the exercise of Law. Constitutional government embodies the philosophy of government of law, government by law and government based on law.

Nehru's concept of constitutionalism was comprehensive and positive in nature.<sup>11</sup> It was a blend of the basic principles of constitutional government and liberal democracy along with the

dynamic role of the state in achieving the goals and objectives of social justice. He reviewed constitutionalism both from politico-legal and socio-economic perspectives. Constitutionalism of Nehru was based on the primacy of the Individual and the governance of law. There is hardly any aspect which remains untouched by Nehru's adherence to the basic principles of the constitution. His decisive role in the making of the Indian constitution can be explained with aspects such as the working of the state, relation between state and individual, justifiable rights and liberties of the citizens etc.... and in determining and putting forward these ideas into practice, it is impossible to ignore Nehru's influence in the process of constitution making.<sup>12</sup>

Indian society is known for its ever changing character. Change is viewed as a law of human life and society. Taking this view into consideration, Nehru, like other Indian leaders ventured into the necessity to change the then existing Indian society into a better one. He set himself in making the Indian society a dynamic one for the effective functioning of the Indian democratic and constitutional system. Democracy in the political system together with injustice, exploitation, inhuman practices in the social system were two contradictory themes and could never go together. Nehru's perception of a new social order in this respect found harmony with the perceptions and thoughts of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a crusader for democracy, justice and equality.

Law and social change is intimately linked together. Several factors play the role in changing the society and among such factors, law is a powerful one. Social change determines in what direction a society is actually moving. This factor in the pre-

independence period brought about two schools of thought – one which was led by eminent people like Bal Gangadhar Tilak who was of the view that political emancipation was the attribute and that no governmental authorities should intervene in bringing about social change. On the other hand was another school led by social reformers like Gopal Krishna Gokhale who did not object to the role of government authorities in bringing about social change. They looked upon law as a positive means to bring about social change, and reform. They considered law as an instrument to bring about social change. Nehru was highly influenced by this second school of thought. He carved out his thoughts on social change making law as the means to achieve this end.<sup>13</sup>

Nehru's approach to social change can be best understood when viewed from three different periods – 1. Period of freedom struggle; 2. Period of constitution making; 3. Post constitution making period.<sup>14</sup> Nehru's vision of social change was traced from his deep study of the Indian society with its deep rooted social problems and he knew that unless and until the Indian society was reformed and revitalized the realization for political freedom would remain a distant dream. He believed in social change where law would have the first hand to play its role of dynamism and positive vision. He laid emphasis on the role of the state to enact laws which would be able to fight the longstanding social evils and practices – Laws which would definitely bring about a change in the social sphere. He was of the view that social change in the Indian context, need not wait for its independence. He boldly attacked social evils and practices and bluntly attacked social problems like casteism, communalism, subordination of women

and religious fundamentalism that stood in the way of a progressive India. Nehru was a leader with a profound vision on the then existing social drawbacks and the need for social changes. Landlordism and the Zamindari system came in for a harsh attack at his hands in his public speeches. He made India aware of its deep rooted social problems and even convinced its citizens that there urgently was a need for social change.

His ideas and social awareness were explicitly expressed in the historic aims and Objectives Resolution in the Constituent Assembly. His speeches reflected his commitment to the values of western constitutionalism and democracy, giving individual dignity the first priority. The necessity of social change and modernization greatly influenced Nehru's thought and also influenced his role in the making of India's constitution. He formulated provisions relating to fundamental rights, right to equality, freedom and educational rights. He gave priority to the rights of minorities and their well being. His was the idea relating to the directives concerning the establishment of a social order with its basis on justice and equality. It is difficult to find words to show the crucial role played by Nehru in giving a needed shape to the constitutional provisions that aimed at the establishment of laws touching several folds of the Indian society for attaining social legislation – the crux of social change and social democracy. While reviewing the constitutional provisions aiming at parliamentary democracy, with factors like periodical elections, Nehru was aware of the Indian political system and all his plans would be unworkable unless the forces of social traditions would

be broken up and unless the primordial society would be changed into a new one.

All these ideas of Nehru needed the help and active role of the state in reorganizing the Indian society and giving it the touch of change wherever necessary. The Right to Equality as designed by Nehru was to be devised in such a manner as to emphasise on the social, legal and political dimensions of equality. This in turn is emphasized by the right to equality before law, no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, colour, sex etc.... It took into consideration matters relating to opportunity matters in public employment free from caste, sex and religion. Special reference was given to the problem of untouchability barring social discrimination along with the idea of universal adult franchise. These aspects relating to the right to equality-social, legal and political were finely formulated by Nehru.

Religion was another forceful factor that was successful in dividing the country. It was one of the carelessly handled poison effecting social harmony and unity. India suffered much on account of religious antagonisms. Religious differences played the disbalancing factor towards a uniting India. Nehru along with other constitution makers kept in mind factors such as separation of religion from politics; Identification of the state from religion; Equality of all the individuals irrespective of their religious identity; and to engender the spirit of secularism.<sup>15</sup>

In relation to educational and cultural rights, the rights of minorities were kept in the top list. While inculcating these rights, Nehru assured that inspite of a legislating state, with vast powers

of social change, the cultural diversity of India should never be hampered. He therefore felt the need of a careful plan to keep this diversity in tune with the social reforms and social changes.

Among the ideas and their implementation should be mentioned the laws of social dimension relating to the Hindu Marriage Act, special Marriage Act and Divorce Act. The Hindu Marriage Act brought changes in the attitudes and outlook of women. It installed in them a feeling of security that they would no longer be inclined to allow their men to look at them as mere puppets. The changes brought about by the Special Marriage Act and Divorce Act were equally influential as far as changes in the status of women were concerned. In the caste ridden Hindu society, from ages, marriage between man and woman belonging to different castes were considered to pollute the Hindu social system. The advent of Nehru's ideas of the 'legislating state' with numerous powers bringing about social change was successful in the creation of an anti-thesis between the tradition ridden Indian society and western constitutional system. These acts were very prominent in bringing about social change and modernizing the Indian society. The special Marriage Act sought to break through the watertight compartments of caste and allowed men and women to open up their way through social and religious barriers, and create a union among themselves. The acts brought into realization that marriage was not a divine institution governed by divine laws, but a social institution governed by social laws and norms.

## VII

It is very clear that Nehru's vision of social change was implanted on a ground scale. He wanted to dig to the roots of India's social, economic and political problems. He hoped to carry India into the hands of modernity and progress. He found the solution in the eyes of Law, where law would act as a catalyst in transforming the society into a new one. But while making law the instrument of social change, Nehru kept in mind that law was not too advanced non divorced from the prevailing values of the society. Nehru in his ideas were clear and he was determined to use law in order to move India forward without the consent of the people. He was a liberal democrat and he kept the importance of the people in mind, but if there was any kind of barrier in his thoughts and ideas he was ready to use some kind of force, which was but not violent in nature.<sup>16</sup> He had a clear understanding between law and society. The purpose behind his wide vision was that he wanted a modern India, so that she could stand up in world politics. He was one among the great leaders who knew that 'change' was one factor which could move India forward. Nehru deeply felt the need of social change in view of the fragmented nature of Indian society which was devoid of egalitarian traditions.

The ideas of Nehru, to go for the western constitutional system, to shape the Indian constitution was expressed by him, but the western social and political traditions were a far cry for the Indian system. His ideas were admirable, but it was a superhuman task, when we turn back to the realities of the Indian society, both social, economic and political. This great idea however did not go

a waste, as Nehru's efforts gave polish to the construction of the Indian constitution. The constitutional document was definitely a change oriented one.

Nehru was fascinated by Russia's Piatiletka or the 5-year plans. A believer in the 'mixed economy' of Harold Laski and influenced by the Fabian society, he wished the economy of India to be partially capitalist, but with the state occupying a large role, especially in the economic field. In setting a path for economic policy after independence, he chose from a set of options considerably more limited than those available today, and followed to a large extent the wisdom among Indian academic economists of that time.

The study of Nehru will never be complete unless we analyse him as an exponent of developmental or economic planning and the architect of modern India. His ideas on economic planning are very much closely associated with his scheme of making India modern. His views on economic planning constitute an important sector of the congress ideology, especially during the Gandhian era. He attached great importance to economic problems and made the generation realize an urgency to wash away the problems, especially relating poverty, exploitation, illiteracy and unemployment.

Intellectually and ideologically, Nehru was very well versed in his idea of economic planning. It would be wrong to confine the meaning of Nehru's planning only to the boundaries of economics or economic aspect of life. Economic planning in the Indian context according to Nehru touches the sphere and efforts of

disinterested experts relating to matters of consumption, production, investment, trade, exchange and distribution of income in terms of clearly defined economic and social objectives, for the entire society. For a proper understanding of Nehru's economic planning, it would be wise to study these distinct phases: (1) 1927-1937; (2) 1938-1945; (3) 1947-1954; (4) 1955-1964.<sup>17</sup>

The foundation of Nehru's thinking on economic planning may be traced back to 1927. It was during this year that he participated in the Brussels Conference of oppressed nationalities and League against imperialism which brought him close to the leading socialists who attended the meeting, which in turn gave a lot of weightage to his social ideas. His visit to Russia gave an account of socialism there and from there he gathered a belief that though there were differences between Russia and India, some kind of economic planning under socialist banner was possible in India. But again he was convinced that could be achieved only if India's socio-economic conditions were improved. Nehru's ideas on economic planning took shape in the Lahore session, 1929-1930, and his statement on economic planning came to be implemented in the resolution on socio-economic matters in Karachi session, March 1931. But again he realized that nothing would last, unless the Indians freed themselves from the British rule. For him, along with new ideas of reform and modernization, political independence of the country became the most essential factor for socio-economic transformation. Nehru, as congress president has succeeded by Subash Chandra Bose, who fully shared and joined hands with Nehru's view on economic planning. The Nehru-Bose combination proved successful in the creation of

the National Planning Commission, with Nehru as its chairman. But their plans could be set into action only towards the dawn of Indian Independence, 1947.

The emergence of the new government of Independent India with Nehru as its first Prime Minister gave him enough room to spread his ideas on development planning. Though he admired Russia's plan for development, he was very much against the method which suppressed Individual liberty, thus reducing the whole method of planning into a totalitarian force. This totalitarian nature and repressive Individual liberty proved to be antithetical to his liberal and democratic mind. Moreover, he wanted to pursue economic development for India, keeping its, social, cultural traditions intact. Therefore he wanted to achieve its social, cultural traditions intact. Therefore he wanted to achieve development planning within the framework of democratic political system. The ideologies of the congress, his own political thinking, the state of India's underdevelopment, the necessity for a social, economic and political change deeply influenced his approach to economic planning. His thought process was further influenced by his rejection of the 'laissez faire' approach. Though he fought blood and sweat for refashioning India, his task of formulating economic planning was a very tedious task. His own ministry did not agree and were opposed to his idea of development planning. He sat with this idea of economic planning in the pre-independence period. His rejection of the laissez faire approach was a reaction to the then existing state of affairs. Under his model of economic planning, he favoured, a paramount place for public sector, but he did not altogether forsake the private sector. He put forward clear and

specific ideas on both the private and public sectors. The inclusion of both the private and public sectors thus came to constitute the keystone of mixed economy.

## VIII

In economic planning, Nehru, saw the need of bringing about changes in the Indian society. He knew that change was difficult in the tradition bound Indian society. His undying faith in the economic planning was further intensified with his faith in democracy, socialism and fundamental needs in the Indian society. At the same time he was aware of the fact that unless there was proper and strong administrative mechanism, it was impossible to implement development planning. But to wait for an effective administrative set up would delay the process of development planning, and therefore he readily made up his mind, taking all the risks in implementing his plans.

In his plans, Nehru envisaged the methods to bring about changes in the Indian society. His approach to the economic planning had in it three dimensions:- (1) Social; (2) Economic; and (3) Political.<sup>18</sup> His plans sought to provide food, clothing and upliftment for the poor and targeted itself to helping each Indian to take an opportunity towards self-development. With the era of development planning in 1951, the essential elements of development planning – capital, technical know-how, competent administrative machinery were all absent, but this however did not make Nehru fatal in his dreams. His outstanding courage, excellent leadership and his wise mind fought readily against these

scarcities. His leadership went a long way in ensuring his plans and giving priorities to the agricultural sector, food production and irrigation, along with importance to the rural sector. His development plans also brought about the necessity of nationalization of certain industries, which came in for the longer interests of the public. What India needed according to Nehru was a balanced, integrated and rapid economic development, embracing all the corners of the economy. This realization gave rise to the need of heavy industries, iron and steel factories, transport and communication which became an all essential factor for a changing India. The most tedious task for Nehru was how to make administration development oriented, goal oriented and change oriented. He found an answer to this in the face of democratic decentralization, enshrined in the Panchayati Raj.

Nehru saw in his economic planning a dynamic instrument of change for development and modernization. His plans were based on factors like liberalism, humanism, democratic socialism and modernization. He sought to attain his plans through an egalitarian and socialistic pattern of society. His society provided for equal opportunity for all, social justice and better standards of living.

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